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THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1921

No. 198

Towards a Workers' Party

R. C. Richards

.....

Seeing Russia

Wm. Z. Foster

.....

The Communists Answer

R. B. Nelson

.....

Editorials

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International and Labor Notes

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The Toiler

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The Outlook

NOW that the Unemployment Conference is over and the Washington Armament Conference is on, our captains of finance and industry are beginning to think of the millions out of work. They are piling solution upon solution. Yet, unemployment continues to grow. And in order to check this growth Mr. Morman, economist of the Federal Farm Loan Board of the United States Treasury, throws out a few hints to the wise. His most ingenious hint is this: Several million are already out of work because of the present business depression. Disarmament now would do more harm than good. It would mean discontinuing the expenditure of billions for the Army and Navy, the dismissal of a large number of officers, hundreds of thousands of enlisted men, general employees and civilian workers in the various departments. Disarmament, then, means more unemployment. A word to the wise is sufficient! Help the unemployed by dropping all talk of disarmament!



IT'S really tough luck for our poor exploiters. Capitalist society, being a class society, is based on armed force. Armaments are the basis of its social organization. Sad as it may appear, it is true that no nation can seriously speak of giving up the system of military exploitation without further plunging its economic and financial life over the brink into infinite chaos. Only the cruel-hearted revolutionist can fail to pity the decrepit, bankrupt system. Burdensome Government expenditures, huge debts, enormous taxes, and millions of unemployed haunt our friend, the capitalist, at every turn. Decrease armaments and you increase unemployment. Bourgeois logic does yell for help. How about solving the unemployment problem by having every nation increase its armaments? This will give millions work. But such a "solution" can only aggravate the bankruptcy of capitalism. More armament means more money spent. Our system is already broke; really down and out. Wherever it turns, ruin and chaos stare it in the face. The revolutionary workers of the world have the key to the whole situation in their hands. They are the only ones who

can solve the contradictions of capitalism. And this solution is offered by the Communist movement of the world—the overthrow of capitalism through the establishment of a Workers' Republic and the development of a communist society—a society free from class divisions, armed force, and misery.



WHILE the capitalists are paying tribute to the "unknown soldier," the living workers are paying exorbitant tribute to the capitalists. Hypocrisy, deceit, crocodile tears, fraudulent humanitarianism, and notorious demagoguery are the high tributes paid by the master class. But the tribute the workers are paying is one of unemployment, misery and starvation. Beneath the wreaths placed upon the casket of the Unfortunate by the most infamous butchers of the age lies not the corpse of one poor worker but the lost lives of ten million workingmen who died fighting for the profits of the imperialists. On the very day that the nation was rendering homage, decorated heroes, victims of the war, were lying unclaimed and dishonored, in morgues throughout the country; thousands of ex-service men were tramping the streets—friendless, jobless and starving.



GOVERNMENT by injunction is rapidly becoming a commonplace feature of "normalcy." Now it is the New York milk strikers that are given a taste of the "democracy" preserved at the expense of ten-million workers' lives. Picketing is ended by this sweeping injunction. The workers are denied the right to talk to or approach the scabs. The significance of this injunction lies not so much in its sweeping character, as in its very issuance. This incident proves that not only in coal strikes and railway disputes are the bosses supported by the Government but that in every conflict with the workers they can safely count on the full oppressive power of the "guardians of the law." This is capitalist class solidarity with a vengeance. It is high time that the workers took a tip from their masters.



THE cloak and suit industry is again paralyzed. Over 60,000 workers are striking in defense of their union and against the restoration of the infamous sweat-shop system. The solidarity of the workers is most encouraging. By a vote of about 32,000 to 100 the challenge of the bosses was accepted. A long-drawn, bitter struggle is in sight. The garment workers are prepared for a fight to the finish. They have gone through several long strikes and always came out stronger. Every worker must put his heart and soul in this strike. Picketing must not be shirked. All union meetings should be attended. The workers must participate actively in every phase of the strike in order to be prepared for the negotiations which will arise in the course of the fight. This will not only solidify the strikers' ranks but will also increase their influence in whatever settlement that will follow.

EDITORIALS

SCRAPPING THE NAVIES

THE serious economic disorganization in which America finds herself has made her give vent to an outburst of "good will" toward the nations of the world. Secretary Hughes, plenipotentiary of American imperialism, has suddenly overwhelmed the world by an attack of astounding kindness.

America's proposal to have England and Japan join her in scrapping sixty-six battleships and embarking upon a ten-year naval holiday is being heralded as the first real step towards "peace on earth." The United States is again trying to play the role of the Good Samaritan among the nations. Such a policy is likely to enhance America's political prestige, particularly among the weaker nations and colonial peoples. The latter offer immediate possibility of exploitation and can easily be duped by the bluff and fanfare of the capitalist plunderers. Despite the apparent change of front, Hughes' proposal is in full accord with the normal imperialist procedure of first policy and then disarmament talk.

The plan will probably be accepted, with slight modification, by the leading powers. Yet, what does this mean? Are we on the road to disarmament? The answer is an emphatic "no." Neither naval tonnage nor gun power is to be decreased and the program of shipbuilding is otherwise continued as previously planned. On this basis the United States will have 531 vessels to Britain's 403 ships in 1924. Hence the magnanimity of America! Of course the proposed naval cut will save the Powers hundreds of millions of dollars and this will help them stave off bankruptcy.

But merely scratching the naval strength of the leading nations does not mean disarmament. Not a word has been said about the armies of the world, now far stronger in number and more deadly equipped than ever before. Not a word has been said about reducing the aerial navies, gas equipments, and submarines. These are of increasing importance in modern warfare.

The workers of the world should expect nothing from the Washington Conference. It is a conference of capitalist plunderers gathered to form a new balance of power to act as trustees for Russia and China. Soviet Russia and the Far Eastern Republic have been refused participation. There is a great likelihood that Japan will offer to yield to the United States on many points of dispute provided she is given a free hand in Siberia. Such an infamous compromise would be in the immediate interests of both Powers and would serve to unite all the forces of reaction against the Workers' Republic.

It is the task of the militant workers to expose the colossal fraud of the Washington Conference and to discredit it in the eyes of the laboring masses. The workers must force their imperialist oppressors to keep their hands off Soviet Russia. The capitalists deliberately kept the Workers' Republic out of the Conference because they knew that her participation would frustrate their plans of plunder and bring their machinations to light.

Regardless of all the fraudulent humanitarian paens of peace the imperialist hangmen may sing, it is evident that the Conference will be a replica of the Hague Peace Conference called into life by the bloodthirsty Czar Nicholas II. The Executive Committee of World Capitalism is now in session and is retracing old roads to new wars. Only the working masses can put a halt to these sinister plots and the sooner they do so the better.

A NEW PARTY

THE American Labor Alliance has for some time been negotiating with various revolutionary groups for the creation of an open, militant workers' party.

It appears that the negotiations now coming to a close will result in the organization of the new party before the end of the year. Questions of organization have consumed most of the time in the conferences. Throughout the proceedings the communist elements fought all manifestations of centrism and opportunism, though, to date, no difficulties have yet arisen over principles. Under this pressure such groups as the Workers' Council, Jewish Socialist Federation, and Workers' Educational Society have been brought nearer to the position of the revolutionists. The aim of the new political party is the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of a Workers' Republic.

The situation now confronting the laboring masses calls for the immediate organization of a workers' political party. It calls for the immediate organization of just such a political party as planned by the American Labor Alliance. The class struggle is taking on an ever-more political character. Wherever the workers turn they come in conflict with the organized political power of the capitalists—the state. Government by injunction is becoming an everyday matter of fact. Every strike, every protest of the workers is met with threats of military force and jail.

In no other capitalist country is the workers' class consciousness so little developed, the workers' political movement so backward. Yet, nowhere else is there a greater need for direct political action by the workers. The moment for the organization of a militant political party is therefore most opportune.

In the short time of its existence the American Labor Alliance has shown promise of developing into a party of action. With the joining of thousands of revolutionary workers of other labor organizations, with the centralization of all the activities on a national scale, the American Labor Alliance should serve as the backbone and directing force of the new party. The opportunities for an open revolutionary workers' political party are numerous and great. The tasks are urgent and the need is pressing. There is every reason to believe that the American workers will at last have a political party that will lead them to victory over their capitalist oppressors and exploiters.

ARE NORTH DAKOTA FARMERS BEATEN?

The "defeat" of the farmers' revolt in North Dakota by the "poison" I. V. A. is heralded by grain gamblers, bankers and exploiters generally as a "tremendous victory." It was bought with unlimited cash and economic power that consistently pushed a campaign of sabotage and slander.

The Background

The significance of the recall of the Non-Partisan League's Industrial Commissioners does not rest, however, in superficial incidents of the campaign. The recall was the culmination of a political development among the agrarian population of the State which has been both steady and logical.

First came years of apparently hopeless exploitation. The isolated farmers were taught and believed that "high wages"

of city workers cut the farm income. Then came a period of disjointed organizations. As the exploitation became more open, these organizations were federated and joined into state, interstate and even national farm organizations. Most of these were conservative. There were some that had clear headed leaders who saw beyond the petty struggle for a few more pennies per bushel for their wheat. Among these the "Society of Equity" stands out as a leader. It led the farm struggle beyond the terminal grain gamblers—direct to their tools in the State Legislature. But the arrogant and profit hungry buzzards told the farmers to "go home and slap the hogs." It was immediately after this that Townley appeared with the "League Idea." He took conditions that existed and capitalized the bitterness which nearly every North Dakota farmer held for their political bosses. Almost over night they captured the primaries of the Republican Party and the State Government.

For six years thereafter Imperial Wall Street came to the aid of its local lick-spittle lieutenants. It drew an economic blockade tighter and tighter around North Dakota. Credits were refused; the State could not sell its bonds and so the farmers' "Industrial Program" was held up. It initiated suits and recalls, used every trick known to a slanderous kept press supported by a bottomless cash box.

The Real Issue

The recall election of October 28th was not a contest between Governor Frazier and the Independent Voters' Association candidate Nestos. It was in fact a contest between a local parliamentary machine in the hands of exploited workers against national economic power in the hands of the capitalist class. And economic power won!

The Next Step

The lesson is clear: Although the farmers of North Dakota have come step by step to a recognition of an exploiting class, they devoted all their energies to capturing parliament. Now they begin to understand that parliament is a lifeless prize unless those who possess it are backed by the massed economic power of an organized class. The League farmers did permit the recall of their officers; but they emphatically upheld their industrial program against the attack of initiated "amendments" introduced by the I. V. A. This fact proves that the farmers know what they want. It also raises the question: "Are the farmers of North Dakota beaten?"

The Future

They will be beaten unless they now brush aside all pretense of non-partisanship. They must organize as working farmers—as an arm of the working class. They must step boldly forward, refusing to compromise with or adjust their "program" to the capitalist class. Otherwise they must indeed admit defeat.

If the Non-Partisan League gives way to a *workers' party*, which should be a party for all—agrarian or industrial, then the seeming defeat of the farmers' revolt in North Dakota will prove a "tremendous victory" for the workers. Then their battle cry will not be to build a "state program" but will be to build a proletarian state.

THE NEW YORK ELECTION

THE outstanding feature of this year's New York municipal election was the participation of the Communists. This is the first attempt of the American Communists to take part in an Election and their effort was on a very limited scale.

There is no doubt that the coming Congressional contests will find the Communists prepared for greater activity. Yet, despite the fierce opposition of the courts, the lack of a daily press, and the experimental character of their attempt, the Communists polled 3,000-4,000 votes—a greater number than the Socialist Labor Party. Considering the fact that New York City is the capital of American yellow Socialism and the hotbed of radical persecution, one can readily see that the vote indicates a Communist sentiment far in excess of the figures. When candidates are flagrantly thrown off the ballot and when a ten-year State Prison sentence hangs over the campaign standard-bearers only the support of the most conscious revolutionists can be counted upon.

Another significant feature of the Election is the severe setback suffered by the "Socialists." Their Party was swept out of almost every office and their candidate for Mayor received about 85,000 votes. Though the campaign waged by the saviors of 100% Americanism was in no way essentially different from the one waged in 1917, the vote was nearly 60,000 less. And this despite the fact that the voting population has increased considerably since. This crushing defeat marks the official burial of the Socialist Party as a political force in its greatest stronghold—New York City. With its membership completely gone, its electoral booty practically nil, and the support of the masses reduced to insignificance, the flock of Socialist bureaucrats will face lean years ahead of them.

The drubbing administered to the champions of "pure" democracy and the defenders of America's sacred hearth against Bolshevism further emphasizes the need of extending the open, political activities of the militant workers. The coming year must see a well-organized revolutionary workers' political party in the field. The Workers' League of New York has shown the way. The Party about to be launched by the American Labor Alliance and other revolutionary organizations will undoubtedly be prepared to fill this need.

WE have informed the Post Office at Spokane, Washington, that the TOILER will not surrender its mailing rights to magazines published by the United States Navy. Some law-abiding employees of the Spokane Post Office evidently hate to see the workers read the TOILER. They have removed TOILERS from their wrappers and inserted copies of the "Log of the United States Naval Academy." This practice is obviously a violation of the law. We wonder whether the Post Office authorities will punish those violators of the law who work in the interests of the capitalist class. Of course ours is a "democratic" and not a class government. No one should therefore expect our authorities to prevent interference with working-class papers.

An agreement has been reached between the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Communist Labor Party of Poland for joint action against the Polish imperialists and Social Traitors. The two parties are to fight against the policy of plunder pursued by the bourgeoisie who are attempting to rob the peasants in certain sections of the Ukraine of their land and independence. They are also to work jointly for the creation of an alliance embracing Soviet Russia, a Soviet Poland and Soviet Ukraine.

Towards a Workers' Party

By R. C. Richards

The Great War has brought untold misery and ruin in its wake. Millions of workers have been maimed and slaughtered in the conflict of the imperialist plunderers.

The whole capitalist world—victor, vanquished and neutral—is facing economic bankruptcy and chaos. Production has broken down completely. The world market is in a state of wild disorganization. The spectre of starvation haunts the working masses. Millions of hungry unemployed, soaring prices, catastrophic depreciation of currency, brutal capitalist tyranny, are the order of the day. The capitalists are powerless to reconstruct a world in the throes of universal economic disintegration.

State economy and administration have been thrown back to the Dark Ages. With debts mounting into hundreds of billions of dollars, taxation is growing ever more burdensome. The international political conflicts of capitalism are seriously aggravated. The dying capitalist world is reeling headlong into new wars. Over twenty million men, a greater number than in the hey-day of 1914, are to-day armed to the teeth to crush the workers, to enslave the colonial peoples, and to maintain the reactionary puppet states of the British and French imperialists.

Capitalist society is rocked to its very foundations. The middle and lower business classes are being driven into the ranks of the laboring masses. No lasting improvement in the conditions of the workingmen is any longer possible. A fierce class war is raging throughout the world; and all capitalist governments are openly fighting the battles of the exploiters. The struggle of the workers even for the most elementary needs is today met with merciless suppression and tends to become a fight for political power—a revolutionary fight.

Inspired by the proletarian revolution in Russia and impelled by the cowardly and traitorous conduct of their leaders, the workers of the world have organized the Communist International as an answer to the unholy alliances of their capitalist oppressors. The Communist International is growing rapidly and has become a world power, the citadel and hope of the workers of every country, despite the bitter opposition of the capitalists and their labor-lieutenants.

In America

Even America, the bulwark of world-capitalism, is out of balance and is face to face with profound and lasting disorganization. Its economic and financial life has been caught in the violent, swirling maelstrom of war. And because of the irreparable economic ruin of Europe and the scarcity of world markets, its industry cannot find an outlet.

America's foreign trade has declined approximately 50 per cent. The business depression is country-wide and the economic distress is acute. Armies of unemployed crowd every city. Over six million are out of work and unemployment is steadily increasing. War prosperity is ended. Once again bread lines are with us. The capitalists are making no serious effort even to ameliorate the conditions. Totally unable to cope with the situation, their helplessness was brought into bold relief at the recent unemployment conference.

This is not all. The capitalists are using the present economic crisis to increase their power of exploitation and oppression. The whole working class is being crushed un-

der the iron heel of a brutal capitalist dictatorship. Even the mass of soldiers who had given their all to make the world safe for bourgeois democracy is now clubbed and jailed at the first sign of protest against the destitution forced upon them by this same "democracy"—the exploiting class and its government.

The capitalists have launched a most vicious offensive along the whole front. They are slashing wages and slashing them without mercy. The Steel Corporation, the oil industry, the railroads, the textile industry have already made heavy cuts in the workers' pay. Everywhere the bosses are driving the laboring masses into pauperism and slavery. A vigorous open shop campaign is being waged by the powerful employers of labor. The workers are being robbed of their hard-won gains of many years of struggle.

Our Labor Movement

What is the way out? Our labor movement is weak and divided along narrow craft lines. The American Federation of Labor is securely in the hands of Gompers & Co., who shirk the struggle against our exploiters. The reactionary bureaucratic leaders are firmly in the saddle. We are paying dearly for our mistakes of the past. The revolutionary and progressive workers have contributed largely to our present plight through attempts to establish "pure" ideal unions. Deserting the mass unions with their millions of workers, they have left them to the mercy of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. Whatever remains of radical opposition within the old union, is impotent, unorganized and undirected. The American Federation of Labor is to-day not even an organ of resistance, let alone a militant force ready to lead the masses in their struggle for freedom.

The Industrial Workers of the World, an experiment in dual unionism and an attempt at foisting functions of a political party on a labor union plays a role of minor significance in the class conflict.

The independent unions are not united and numerically are insignificant in the labor movement.

The Socialist Party is completely discredited with the masses. Its years of cowardice and treachery have taught the revolutionary workers that it is not the party to lead them in their struggle.

The Communist Party of America, though growing in influence, is functioning under adverse circumstances. Having been driven under ground, it cannot have sufficient contact with the masses.

The open, revolutionary forces, the Communists and Industrial Workers of the World have long felt the barbarous persecution of the capitalists and their government. Thousands of them have been arrested, and hundreds have been deported and jailed.

But the less revolutionary and even constructive labor unions fared no better. When the miners of West Virginia rose in mass demonstration against the inhuman working conditions and the Steel Trust's private army of gunmen at Mingo, equipped with all the modern infernal devices of murder, the capitalist clique in Harding's Cabinet rushed Federal troops to break the ranks of the workers. When the railroad workers threatened to strike in defense of their working conditions and wages, the Govern-

ment placed its entire machinery and full force at the disposal of the corporations. Injunctions and jails, artillery, armored cars, gas bombs and airplanes were prepared by the Government for use against the strikers. And now the notorious Judge Anderson has handed down an infamous decision against the United Mine Workers in order to cripple the union. This decision marks the height of capitalist aggression in America and if left unchallenged by the workers will wipe out every union. This blow, if left unanswered, will undo the work of years of bitter struggle. The issue is plain. Shall the American workers meekly submit to this capitalist tyranny or shall the unions live?

The Need of the Hour

The need of the hour is a political party that will lead and unify the workers against the arrogant capitalists. This party must organize and direct the struggles of the workers against the powerfully centralized opposition of the exploiters. At this critical moment, we must have an organization that will not only valiantly defend the workers but will

also wage an aggressive battle for the abolition of capitalism. Only a revolutionary workers' political party can fulfil this task. There is no political party that can meet this need to-day. We must build a political party that will

(1) Consolidate and develop the existing labor organizations into organs of militant struggle against capitalism, permeate the trade unions with truly revolutionary elements, mercilessly expose the reactionary labor bureaucrats and replace them by revolutionary leadership.

(2) Actively participate in the election campaigns and general political life of the country, and its representatives in the legislative and executive offices of the government, unmask the fraudulent capitalist democracy and help mobilize the workers for the final struggle against their common enemy.

(3) Lead in the fight for the immediate needs of the workers, broaden and deepen their demands, and develop out of their every day struggles a force for the final assault against capitalism.

(4) Fight for the establishment of a government of the working class and by the working class—a workers' republic.

Seeing Russia

Introduction to "The Russian Revolution"

By Wm. Z. Foster

This booklet is a result of my fourteen weeks' stay in Soviet Russia, as a correspondent for the Federated Press, during the Spring and Summer of 1921. It makes no pretensions to being a learned treatise on the Russian revolution; it is merely an effort to give the ABC's of the situation. What I have tried to do is to portray, simply and in workers' language, the broad outlines of the great upheaval; to answer the many mental inquiries of the toilers, who have little information on the subject, by describing in a general way the evolution, present status, achievements and problems of the various important social institutions of the new society, such as the state, the political parties, the trade unions, the industries, the army, etc. It is a brief workers' history of the revolution.

Inasmuch as the social disorganization of Russia is very great and everything is changing with unbelievable rapidity, it is exceedingly difficult for even native investigators to get exact data on the situation. And naturally, for foreigners like myself who do not speak Russian the difficulty is considerably increased. I was fortunate, however, in being able to talk French and German—after a fashion. This helped me greatly, because the Russians are wonderful linguists, and there are few of them of education who do not speak either or both of these languages in addition to their own. It was seldom that I ran across a leader, a man who was really doing something, with whom I was unable to converse. Many live rank-and-filers also speak English, French or German. For contact with the masses and for my extensive reading of Russian revolutionary pamphlets, newspapers, etc., of course, I had to depend upon interpreters.

A favorite argument of counter-revolutionary writers against correspondents who come out of Russia in a friendly or even tolerant mood toward the Soviets is that these correspondents were taken under the wing of the Govern-

ment, flattered and made much of, and assigned guides and interpreters who pumped them full of propaganda and were very careful to see to it that they learned nothing of the real conditions of the country. It is a plausible story, but it is ridiculous, as every honest correspondent who has visited Russia must admit. My own experience is typical. The Foreign Office assigned me to lodgings and then left me to my own devices. I went where I pleased and saw whomever I wished, without any restrictions that I could discover. I scrambled as best I could for news and information. No regular interpreters were assigned me. I picked up my own as occasion offered. During my stay I had several of them, of every political shade from rigid Communists to avowed counter-revolutionists. One who went with me a great deal and who was very anxious to give me his ideas (and I was just as eager to get them) was an outspoken Menshevik. Another was an Anarchist. The latter was especially fearful that I was being "stuffed" by the Communists, and he lost no occasion to explain to me the seediest sides of the revolution. From what I could learn, once a correspondent gets into Russia he is free to do pretty much as he pleases, unless he dabbles in politics. The Russian revolution is too busy solving its great problems to pay much attention to his petty activities. The tale of the "stuffing" of foreigners with propaganda is a joke among Russians!

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

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

I am not astonished or discouraged that the workers are making a poor job of establishing the new society in Russia—I have had too much practical experience with the masses to expect anything else. Have I not organized as many as three or four thousand packing house or steel workers in a single local union and then searched in vain among them for even one skilled or adaptable enough to keep the simple financial accounts of the organization or to conduct its meetings? What, then, could I expect from the even less experienced Russian workers with the enormous tasks of the Russian revolution suddenly thrust upon them? Noth-

ing more than the shrieking incompetence and indifference of the masses that I found—with a few live-wires doing all the real work. Nor am I appalled at the terrible sufferings of the people. I do not attempt to ignore it, but I know very well that it is only through starvation and all-around misery that the workers can make progress. Every great strike teaches that lesson. And the Russian revolution is only a strike raised to the n-th degree.

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

The Communists Answer

By R. B. NELSON

Clearing the Ground

The Communists of America are again under fire. This time the attack is made by editors liberated from romanticism and by a group labelled the "Workers' Council" and advertising itself as being "fundamentally" in agreement with the Third International.

For the past two years the Communist Party of America, section of the Third International, has consistently worked for communism. The Communist Party pursued this policy when the future of the Communist International was a matter of speculation, when its foundation appeared to many of its newly-won noisy friends as merely a part of the body politic of Soviet Russia.

Much water has flown under the bridges since. The Second International is dead; the Two and a Half International is a still-birth and the Communist International is a world-power. Where can a "real" non-romantic revolutionist drift to nowadays? Yes, there is nothing that succeeds like success. The Third International has won a host of admirers who, in deed if not always in word, are guided by the adage "distance lends enchantment." The latter stand outside of and away from the Communist International and shout from the housetops their readiness to join it provided this, provided that, and provided everything else.

In this host of noisy admirers of the Communist International are found a few left-wing socialists—the "Workers' Council." This group, lost in its platonic admiration for the Communist International in Moscow, is directing the following attack on the Third International in America, the Communist Party:

(1) The Communist Party of America was not forced underground. It never should have gone underground. The idea of a secret organization "was a part of the atmosphere of revolution and romanticism that the Russian upheaval had created." Illegality has become for the Communist Party of America the end and aim instead of a necessity.

(2) The Communist International was itself a victim of this romanticism. To-day the Third International "no

longer dreams of small minorities but demands mass movements" and "has deserted its policy of splendid isolation on the industrial field."

(3) To reach the masses, the underground organization which breeds a false sense of security and is a menace to the movement must give way to an open "above-board" Communist Party.

A Little History

To charge the American Communists with having gone underground voluntarily is as preposterous as it is dishonest. Particularly does this come with bad grace from those who had for years defended the Socialist Party and done all in their power to prevent the organization of a Communist Party in America. The American Communists organized in the open and functioned in the open as Communists when their present critics were romantic enough to attempt proselytizing Hillquit, Berger and Lee for even conditional affiliation with the Third International. While the "above-boarders" of the Workers' Council were striving to win over the traitorous Socialist Party to a "real, revolutionary international" (whatever that could have meant after 40,000 to 60,000 suspected of being Communists were expelled), the American Communists were openly fighting as Communists and were being jailed for scores of years of penal servitude.

Then came the country-wide raids in November, 1919, and January, 1920. Thousands were arrested on the suspicion of merely associating with or being members of the Communist Party. The leaders were jailed, the press shut down, and the headquarters closed up. Despite this persecution, the Communists worked in the open. They fought with their backs to the wall against overwhelming odds to maintain their organization in the open. The Communists were driven to cover for protection and worked underground in order to save their organization. Since then the Communists have tried their best to work in the open.

Legal and Illegal Activity

The secret organization has not become an end in itself to the American Communists. It is not possible for them alone to determine their status. Our capitalists are conscious of the dangers of a revolutionized labor movement under communist influence. The American capitalists have stopped short at nothing to prevent the Communists from getting into contact with the masses. This accounts for the barbarous persecution to which the Communists have been subjected in America and for their being driven underground.

Whatever else may be said of the Communists, whatever mistakes may be charged to them, it cannot be denied that they are fully aware of this purpose of the capitalists. It is evident that they are on the job and preparing to thwart the enemy's plans by getting into contact with the broad laboring masses politically on a national scale.

Illegality has never been an end in itself with the Communists who are realists and not romanticists like their critics who still have the umbilical cord of the opportunist Socialist Party on their body politic. Though the Communists participate actively in legal work, they know full well that a revolutionary party must also be prepared to engage in illegal work. The Communists reject the idea that the workers must be iron-bound by the rules set down by the capitalist class. They openly announce that they will not for a moment hesitate to send these rules to the scrap heap when the interests of the workers demand it.

In pursuing this policy the American Communists are adhering to the conditions of affiliation adopted by the Second Congress and reaffirmed by the Third Congress of the Communist International. Says Point Three of the famous Twenty-one Points: "They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party and in every way possible assist the revolution. *In every country where, in consequence of martial law or other exception laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary.*" The Workers' Council and all other insistent "admirers" of the Third International are wrong in their beliefs and hopes that a Communist Party can limit itself to legal work.

The Communist International

Communists do not hide their mistakes. They frankly admit their errors. But our newly-won "communist" admirers are totally wrong when they say the International has changed front at its last Congress. This imputation offered by the Workers' Council group as an apology for its present "fundamental" acceptance of the Communist International shows that these comrades not only were not serious in their last year's indorsement of the Comintern, but that even to-day they do not fully indorse or comprehend the program of the Third International.

The charge that the Communist International pursued a policy of sectarianism and "splendid isolation from the masses" before the Third Congress or at any time in its existence is entirely unfounded.

At no time in its history did the Communist International fail to fight sectarianism and dual unionism aggressively. The last Congress has only reaffirmed and stressed all the decisions of the first two congresses. Months before the Second Congress, in 1920, the Executive Committee of the Communist International disbanded the Amsterdam sub-bureau because of its tendency toward sectarianism and dual unionism. The Theses and Statutes of the Second Congress, the policy of Zinoviev (who is persistently attacked by the

leading spirits of the Workers' Council, as a sectarian and splendid isolationist) at Halle and the attitude towards the French, English and Czecho-Slovakian parties show clearly that romanticism, sectarianism, and dual unionism never had a more bitter and more consistently aggressive foe than the Communist International.

Another illusion with which the Workers' Councillors are burdened is their insistence that the Communist International has, at the last Congress, discarded its former attitude toward the role of the armed struggle and the underground organization in the revolution. The implication is obvious. We are to deduce logically that the "above-boarders" of the Workers' Council welcome the Third International's coming around to the position always held by the indomitable left-wingers. This contention proves decisively that the recent exiles of the Socialist Party were not in the past and are not even now in full agreement with the Communist International.

One need but refer to the Theses on Organization adopted by the Third Congress, Sec. 54: "*The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp the importance of the task before the Party to be prepared properly for the armed struggle, or for the illegal fight in general. Communist organizations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal tasks.*" . . . Every legal communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal Communist organization must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labor movement, in order to become by means of intensive party activity, the organizer and real leader of the great revolutionary masses." (Italics ours.)

As to the flippant attitude of our "realistic" Workers' Councillors towards the protective measures taken by the American Communists, the following excerpt from the same Theses is particularly relevant. Sec. 56: "It is of course imperative for an illegal party to protect its members and party organs from being found out by the authorities, and to avoid every possibility of facilitating such discovery by registration, careless collecting of contributions and injudicious distribution of revolutionary material. For these reasons, it cannot use open organizational methods to the same extent as a legal party. It can nevertheless, through practice, acquire more and more proficiency in this matter.

"On the other hand a legal mass party must be fully prepared for illegal work and periods of struggle. It must never relax its preparations for any eventualities. It must have safe hiding places for duplicates of members' files; must in most cases destroy correspondence, put important documents into safe-keeping and must provide conspirative training for its messengers."

Reaching the Masses

The American Communists have never denied that the underground organization forced upon them by the capitalist class is not a means suited for reaching the masses. This is evident, for the Communists are constantly improving and extending their open activities. But this does not at all support the ridiculous contention of the "above-boarders" that a secret organization breeds a false sense of security. The secret organization does make it more difficult for spies to operate. There is no labor organization, open or secret, that is perfect in this respect. Every trade union is honey-combed with spies. All workers' organizations that are up and doing are under strict surveillance by the enemy. In

the underground organization the membership is more safe legally and wholesale raids resulting in general demoralization and break-up are prevented.

Besides, the creation of an open, Communist mass party cannot be accomplished by any one act. A Communist mass party can evolve only through a process of long duration. In this process of building a Communist mass party it devolves upon the already organized Communists to take the lead in the organization of the open party. It is the task of the latter to unite the advanced masses into the legal ranks, permeate these masses with a correct understanding of Communism, and firmly establish the ideological and political hegemony of Communism within these ranks. To-day the realization of this task presupposes, of course, the maintenance of the Communists' highly disciplined and centralized organization. The report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for 1920-1921 completely substantiates the above position. *"We advised our American comrades that they must not only conduct an illegal party, but that they must also take it upon themselves, to organize, despite the White Terror, a broad movement, legal or semi-legal, to work parallel with the Party and strive to enlist the support of larger masses."* (Italics ours.)

Summary

1. While the Workers' Council constituents were still in one camp with Hillquit, Berger & Co. against the Third International, the American Communists openly worked and fought as Communists.

2. The Communists of America did not go underground of their own accord. They were driven underground and illegalized by the capitalist reaction. The secret organization is to them a matter of necessity and not of choice.

3. The Communists have since made great strides in frustrating the enemy's plan to devitalize their organization by forcing it completely underground.

4. The Communist International not only never advocated sectarian and splendid-isolation policies but at all times insisted on the creation of broad, mass parties and fought aggressively against sectarianism and dual unionism.

5. The anxiety of the "Workers' Councillors" to agree "fundamentally" with the Communist International because of its supposed new position shows clearly that our left-wing Socialist comrades were not in the past and are not even to-day ready to accept fully the principles and tactics of the Third International.

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

Thanksgiving and Political Prisoners

The workers of the United States—what have they to be thankful for?

The open shop drive against the unions?

The seven million unemployed primed by the bosses to take the jobs of those who are more fortunate?

The breaking of their strikes by all the powers of the capitalist state?

The injunctions against picketing and against union activity?

Workers, Thanksgiving Day is not a day of thanksgiving, but a day for clear thought and retrospection. It is a most fitting day to remember those who have served the workers' interests loyally and without stint—those whom the bars of capitalist bastilles separate from us.

The National Defense Committee, New York Division, that is taking care of the New York State "Criminal Anarchy" cases, has arranged a grand ball for Thursday, Nov. 24, at New Plaza Hall, Havemeyer and Grand Streets, Brooklyn. The proceeds will go for the defense of these political prisoners.

Remember that they are in prison for you. Will you not be present and increase the proceeds for their defense?

Admission is 35 cents, and you are assured of an evening well spent among class conscious workers.

National Defense Committee, New York Division.

From a Miner in Montana

Editor of the Toiler:

I am sending you a money order for one dollar, for which please send me the Toiler for six months. I hope that you continue to give those yellow labor leaders hell. They sure need it. I am a miner and the mines I work in have not worked more than fourteen days since Dec. 27, 1920. Money is scarce with me, and I guess things are going to get

worse because the workers of this country are blind to their condition, and it seems all they want is plenty of capitalist religion.

Yours truly,

Another Miner

Dear Fellow Workers:

A friend of mine read the two issues that had the letters from the mine workers' convention. He is sending money for the Toiler. They sure were hummers. I shall send a dollar soon, but we are all out of work and have been for a long time, I since the 10th of February, 1919. Our master has about 20 mules to pull coal out of his mines and he just hauled a big truckful of hay up here for them and early this week he hauled two big truckfuls of corn. His mules are getting theirs, but some 400 two-legged mules are begging the storekeeper to carry them over until the master can use them again to make profit for him. He claims he can not make any money at present but is running in debt paying our wage scale. It looks as if the miners were doomed for a big reduction next spring.

An ex-Soldier

Dear Brother:

I am enclosing in this letter money for a subscription to the Toiler and for the book by our greatest hero of the working class which is now struggling with blindness and apathy. I was too after two years of frightful fighting for freedom in this terrible war. Finally I woke up to the facts of this war, and so I am one of the brothers in favor of a brotherhood of workers who can not be used to kill each other for anybody's profit.

International Notes

Bulgaria

The Bulgarian Government has assigned to Deputy Dianov the task of murdering Kolarov, the secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party. For any technical assistance he may require a sum of 200,000 leva has been advanced as expense money.

The Bulgarian Government in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of peace was to disband its conscript army and to organize a volunteer force not to exceed 12,000 men. The Communist Party of Bulgaria is encouraging enlistment by its members in the new volunteer army. Premier Stambulisky is greatly worried over the probability of finding the armed forces of the nation composed of revolutionary workers.

Czecho-Slovakia

The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia is on guard against the intriguing entente imperialists in Central Europe. Huge mass demonstrations have been arranged to rouse the workers on the basis of the following slogans:

Suppression of reactionary Hungary.

Removal of the present reactionary regime in Czecho-Slovakia.

Death to the enemies of Soviet Russia.

This great manifestation of international solidarity shows the strength of the Communist International as a force in world politics. In the powerful Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, the bloody Horthy regime of Hungary will find a mortal enemy.

France

The strike of the textile workers in Northern France is proceeding with vigor. The struggle has now been going on for three months. That the workers are standing firm is evidenced in the last vote at Troyes when the workers decided by a vote of 9,513 to 3,237 to continue their strike.

Mass demonstrations for Sacco and Vanzetti are being held in every large city of France. The police, troops and artillery squadrons have been called against the workers but the demonstrations are increasing.

Greece

The strike of the railway workers in Thrace is in full swing. Transportation has been completely tied up and Parliament is unable to open.

The General Trade Union Alliance turned down the proposal of the Greek Government to send three representatives to the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations at Geneva on the ground that this organization was not working for but against the interests of the workers. Thereupon the Labor Exchange of Athens and the Piraeus was summoned by special order of the government under the control of the secret police agents and ordered to proceed with the election of three delegates. To their huge surprise the police braves met a two third Communist Majority. The government nominees and the police agents threw themselves upon the Communists with knives and revolvers. After driving them out the government proceeded to elect "representatives" of Free Labor to the League of Nations Labor Bureau.

Hungary

From now on the word "Comrade" is to be prohibited in Hungary because even its use is a menace to the "protection of the State and social order" and because it reminds the

workers of the proletarian dictatorship and their spiritual community with Bolshevism.

Italy

The Milan Congress of the Socialist Party has ended. Serrati carried the day on the plea of unity. The group for the Third International organized itself to remain in the Socialist Party as advocate of full acceptance. Lazzari, Maffi, Riboldi and Corbetta head this group. Throughout the Congress they persistently exposed the opportunists led by Turrati and fought for their expulsion from the party.

As was to be expected, Serrati led the fight against carrying out the instructions of the Third Congress of the Communist International, although at Leghorn he won support through a pledge to adhere to the decisions of the Communist International. Serrati again, this time openly, chose the company of Turrati to that of the Third International. Clara Zetkin and Henry Voletsky represented the Communist International at the Congress.

Maffi, speaking for the Communists, characterized the attitude of the Socialist party to the Communist International saying that the Bologna Congress had been a Congress of delusions, the Livorno Congress a congress of passions, and the Milan Congress one of hesitation and confusion.

Poland

The Communists have snowed under the Socialists in the elections for the Health Insurance Boards. The Socialist Party then had the elections annulled. The "Socialists" of all countries believe in majority rule. This proves it.

The Polish Socialist Party is going the reactionary press one better. Its organ, "Rabotnik," is indignant at Pilsudski's yielding to Soviet Russia's request for the expulsion of such counter-revolutionists and Pogrom leaders as Savinkov, Petlura, and Balackovitch.

Danarovicz, the new minister for the interior, is preparing to introduce a Communist bill similar to those which have become law in Roumania and Jugo-Slavia. The Polish bourgeoisie see in the Communist Labor Party the most dangerous enemy to their imperialist policy.

The Communists are leading the workers in their defense of the eight-hour day. The huge mass demonstrations and the wave of protest strikes have already forced the minister of finance to seek negotiations with the workers.

In the Lemberg Trade Union elections the Communists obtained eleven of the nineteen seats in the Executive Committee. Thereupon the Polish Socialist Party secured the imprisonment of the elected Communists and arranged for a "Democratic" election consisting of the appointment of its lackeys. Despite the alliance of the Socialist Party, a loyal supporter of the yellow Amsterdam International, with the Polish Secret Police (the Ochrana), the Red Trades Union movement is making strong headway.

Soviet Russia

The Soviet Government is cooperating with the Trade Unions in setting up machinery to fight the encroachments of private capital. Strikes in private concerns will be unavoidable. The Unions are therefor preparing to create strike funds. The Workers Government has already prepared a project for state support of strikers. How different from our democratic Government's action at Ludlow and Mingo and in the Railroad and Mine controversies.

In the Rank of Labor

New Jersey Leather Workers

Striking leather workers of New Jersey who have been on strike for nearly nine weeks are having the wholehearted assistance of the New York Leather Workers. When the workers fight together they fight to win, and the New Jersey Leather Workers will get their 44-hour week, a continuance of the present wage scale, collective bargaining and union recognition.

The Milk Strikers

Three large milk distributors have already signed agreements with union milk drivers and handlers. Fifty smaller companies have also accepted the terms handed them by the union. The Borden and Sheffield Companies, the two largest distributors in New York City have again refused to arbitrate, although the union desires the chance to place the facts before a joint board for settlement. The drivers and other milk employees are as solidly arrayed now as on the first day of the strike. They are fighting the large employers' attempt to break their unions and the attempt of the distributors to lure them back through promises of ideal conditions in "company unions" has proved a dismal failure.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers on Strike

For living wages, week work and their union the International Ladies' Garment Workers has voted by an overwhelming majority to fight for their rights. Sixty thousand workers are now on strike, but already the employers are weakening. In this industry the workers are organized in a strong militant union, and the forces of the employers are divided into the independent employers and the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association and the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association, and the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association. The ranks of the independents have been broken already, and the American Protective Association is divided within itself about the strike.

The Oil Workers' Strike in California

The news from the California oil fields seems to indicate that the oil workers have called off the strike at the request of the Government, whose decision they went on strike to uphold. The Government now is in the open upholding the employers. So since there is no longer even the semblance of a disagreement between the employers and the government the workers have called off their strike. That there may be disagreements between the workers and the employers does not seem to be of much importance to any one. Great are the powers of the economic organization of capitalists backed by their puppet government, but the answer of the workers one of these days will be an economic organization of their own backed by the power of a workers' government.

Metal Workers on Strike

At Scranton, Pa., the second reduction in wages in six months has met with a prompt and active protest on the part of the Wyoming Valley Metal Trades Federation. Every man in the federation is out. One of the employers said that the reduction in wages is only a business proposition. What else has a wage reduction ever been, and as long as industry is run for profit reductions will continue to be business propositions. The men feel this second reduction is too drastic, and even for the sake of increasing the employers' profits they can not accept it.

Kansas Coal Operators Lose Business

The Kansas Industrial Court, backed by the Honorable Governor of Kansas and opposed by the striking miners, is having most disastrous results as far as the coal operators are concerned. There have been 228 strikes and there is no coal being mined in Kansas, thanks to the courage of Howat and the Kansas miners. The 8,000 miners on strike against the infamous Court of Industrial Relations declare they will never recognize a law which makes them slaves. Three carloads of bacon, beans and flour were sent to them recently by their fellow workers in Illinois.

Greetings to Mooney

Byron C. Parker, counsel for Thomas J. Mooney, is preparing a brief for presentation to the District Court of Appeals in answer to the decision of last spring denying a motion for a writ to force a new trial. And so the months pass, years roll by and Mooney remains in jail, a victim of the capitalist war upon labor.

Anderson not Supreme in Illinois

In Illinois the coal operators are up against it. Judge Anderson calls upon them to break their contracts with the workers regarding the "check-off," and Judge Miller of Franklin County threatens to punish them with contempt of court if they do. The chances are they will be able to appease the court of Franklin County one way or another in the long run; still it must be annoying to the coal operators when they own the big buys that the little ones won't behave.

Fur Workers Victorious in Chicago

The Chicago fur workers have defeated the attempt to reduce their wages 10 dollars a week. This was a case where the workers were organized in a stronger association than the independent employers, who were forced to abandon hope for the anti-union shop.

Philadelphia I. L. G. W. Prepare to Fight

The International Ladies' Garment Workers of Philadelphia, members of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions, are preparing to strike against the proposal of the Women's Garment Manufacturers' Association to institute the piecework system on November 21st. A strike vote is being taken which will undoubtedly be in favor of a protest strike.

United Mine Workers in Colorado to Buck Rockefeller

John P. McLennan, president of the United Mine Workers of the Colorado District, declares a strike will take place when the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (the Rockefeller Corporation) carries out its announced policy of reducing wages 30 per cent. The reduction would be a violation of the contract signed by the company, but how little this means to the perpetrators of the Ludlow massacres should be obvious.

Miners Aid Russia

Local Union 3574, Klein, Montana, has donated 50 cents per member to the relief fund for Soviet Russia.

Commissary Fund for the Unemployed

Minneapolis had a million dollar Community Fund Drive which labor refused to support, but during the week, November 7-12, organized labor in Minneapolis conducted its own commissary fund drive. These funds will be used to aid the families of the unemployed this winter.

Out of Work

The Unemployment Council of Greater New York has called a conference of all labor unions in New York on November 26 at Astoria Hall, to discuss ways and means of organizing the unemployed and especially of providing them with work.

The farce of the Unemployment Conference in Washington, and the methods suggested at an Unemployment Conference in New York, which was called by the Mayor of New York, have revealed even to the conservative workers the futility of labor waiting longer for any constructive plans for relief from the employers.

It has long been clear to progressive and radical workers that the authorities have no intention of doing anything in the matter. Six million unemployed are not a great problem for American capitalism. There have been millions of unemployed before, without the government raising a finger to alleviate the misery.

Harding himself asserted that in "normal" times there are a million and a half unemployed. The bosses of industry and finance are not distressed when millions are hungry and homeless. It is part of their system, of the system whereby they earn profits which run into billions.

But the workers of the United States are now being driven to action. The steadily increasing unemployment coupled with the high cost of living which the capitalists refuse to reduce are forcing the workers to take action.

The New York Unemployment Council has been in existence for several months. There are a number of labor organizations behind it. The Council is now reaching out to all the large, active labor organizations in Greater New York in order to extend its work.

The millions of unemployed are being used for the employers as levers to reduce wages, increase hours and smash the unions. Hence it is clear that it is in the self-interest of the unions to help organize the unemployed.

The Committee in charge of the Conference is preparing an order of business that will be practical in every way. Specific demands are to be made. Labor organizations must likewise accept their responsibility.

Unemployment Council Active at Bridgeport, Conn.

The Unemployment Council of Bridgeport, Conn., is one of the most active in the country. Out of 22,000 industrial workers there, more than 17,000 are out of work.

Complying with the excellent "recommendation" of the Washington Unemployment Conference, the Mayor of Bridgeport called a meeting of the employers of the city, which accomplished nothing.

Now the workers of Bridgeport are taking matters into their own hands. The Bridgeport Unemployment Council recently sent a resolution to the Mayor of Bridgeport demanding that he at once call a conference of the employers to devise ways and means of relieving the unemployment situation. In default of real results, the Council demands, as do the Councils everywhere—that the *city authorities provide either work or maintenance at living wages.*

National Unemployment Council

A National Unemployment Council is in the process of formation. The purpose of the Council is to link up the activities of the numerous local unemployment councils, to coordinate their work and carry on a national campaign. Organizations are to be established in every industrial center. The National Unemployment Council is one of the activities of the American Labor Alliance, which is now reaching out into every section of the life of American labor and proposes the launching of a radical political party in the very near future. The office of the National Unemployment Council is at 201 West 13th St., New York City.

Soviet Relief

CRIME TO UNDERTAKE RELIEF WORK FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

In the city of Manchester, N. H., a veritable storm has arisen. The American Legion, the city authorities and Hibernalians are on the hunt for a "Communist plot."

Workers in Manchester recently called labor organizations, educational societies, etc., to a conference to start an organization for carrying on systematic work for the relief of the 20,000,000 starving children, women and men in Soviet Russia.

In order to present the situation in its true colors, the workers sent a leaflet to the labor unions, which openly described conditions and the efforts being made by capitalist governments at the present time to undermine and overthrow the Soviet Regime. It also appealed to the workers to unite in helping their brothers and sisters in Soviet Russia. This leaflet was issued by the Friends of Soviet Russia, headquarters at 201 West 13th St., New York City.

Immediately a full stream of patriotism was brought into tow. The worker who sent out the notice was alleged not to be a "voter." His discharge from the mill at which he

worked was sought on the grounds that there are hundreds of ex-servicemen out of work.

The whole city was mobilized for the disclosure of the "Communist plot," which was said to be more "widespread and serious than that nipped in the bud two years ago in Manchester."

In these days of unrest, editors, mayors, city authorities and sections of the American Legion are seeing red!

The relief fund of the Friends of Soviet Russia is steadily climbing up to the figure that the organization set itself for Nov. 15. Up to date (Nov. 4) \$198,000 has been received. Branches are being formed in town after town, the interest is increasing from day to day.

Special drives are being made for Christmas and New Year work. The Friends of Soviet Russia is issuing its first large bulletin—Russian Famine Relief Bulletin—which, in word and picture, gives a comprehensive view of the famine situation in Soviet Russia and a review of the work accomplished by the Friends. Copies may be obtained from

the local branches, or by application to the national office, 201 W. 13th St., N. Y. City.

In addition to the central labor bodies of Chicago, Detroit, Montreal, Toronto, Seattle and Tacoma, the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly has become a part of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Labor everywhere is uniting on the relief proposition. Is it possible that the labor troubles in America are bringing the workers of the world closer together in common suffering?

A Seattle friend writes in that he is disillusioned in the co-operation of the Friends Society with Hoover and wants to send his contribution through the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The fourth ship that the F. S. R. has shipped across will leave the end of the week. Two have left New York, one Philadelphia and one San Francisco. American workers' aid is reaching the workers of Russia in ship loads.

The steamer "Eastport" will sail from New York on December 22nd, carrying another \$100,000 worth of relief supplies direct to famine stricken Russia. The port of Petrograd is ice-bound, so this shipment will be unloaded at the more southern port of Riga.

The American Russian Famine Relief Committee is sending:

- 40 long tons pure refined lard.
- 15 long tons pork sides.
- 20 long tons smoked butts.
- 50 long tons beans.
- 200 long tons corn grits.
- 2,400 cases condensed milk.

In addition to the above foodstuffs, the Federated Committee will include 10 fully equipped ambulances and 5 light touring cars. These are sent in answer to the growing demand for the "Flying Squadrons" sent out by the Soviet Government in the famine areas.

Several affiliated organizations of American workers have joined the Federated Committee in making up the "Eastport's" relief cargo:

- Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.....\$20,000
- The Arbeiter Ring 20,000
- The Canadian Russian Red Cross..... 20,000

This third shipment, totalling \$110,000, is sent by American workers direct to the Workers' Government of Russia.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATED RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

Room 303, 110 W. 40th St., New York City.

CHALIAPIN FORBIDDEN TO SING FOR CHARITY IN AMERICA

It has been ascertained that Feodor Chaliapin has been forbidden to sing at any charity benefit during his stay in the United States. In fact, his admittance to this country was made contingent upon his consent to refrain from singing at such affairs.

This policy of denying organizations carrying on relief for Soviet Russia, such as the Friends of Soviet Russia, the opportunity of presenting the great artist to the host of workers who would gladly pay a high price to hear him under such auspices, seems part of a scheme to hamper all relief work outside of Hoover's.

But such acts as this one, which clearly disclose the underhand methods being employed by those in power, will do more to help workers' relief for Soviet Russia than the concerts themselves.

RUSSIAN WORKERS ORGANIZE SECTION

Last Sunday thirty-two Russian organizations from New York and vicinity met and formed a Russian section of the Friends of Soviet Russia to assist in the relief of the famine stricken men, women and children of the proletarian republic.

The Russian section will immediately proceed to get in touch with the Russian workers all over the country to line them up for this much-needed work. Branches will be formed wherever possible to act under the direction of the Russian section of the National Office.

The Russian workers in America have more than once shown their solidarity with their fellow workers in Russia, and they can be depended upon to outdo all previous efforts in the present relief campaign.

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA

After protracted negotiations for over three months the members of the Board of Aldermen failed to grant a permit to the Friends of Soviet Russia to hold a Tag Day. Our comrades insisted that we must go ahead with the Tag Day regardless of the attitude of our city administration. Relief for Russia cannot be depended on the Board of Aldermen or any other legislative body in a capitalist country. Russia's salvation lies with the workers.

It was this principle that animated the one thousand or more volunteers who went forth last Saturday and Sunday, November 12 and 13, to raise money for the starving in the first Workers' Republic.

Over \$9,000 was collected by our volunteers in the two-day drive. This was a remarkable achievement and can only be ascribed to the enthusiasm and spirit that animated the workers.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

The Toiler Boosters are on the job. Our aim, 10,000 subscribers in New York, 25,000 circulation, a daily paper. The committee meets every Friday evening.

Help Wanted! Comrades should volunteer at the Toiler office, 208 East 12th Street.

Rome reports that a Soviet Republic has been proclaimed in Montenegro. For the world revolution this news is not of decisive importance. No Soviet Republic can last under the conditions that prevail in Montenegro today. But the whole matter is significant from another point of view. The Kingdom of Jugoslavia, one of the puppet states of allied imperialism, has been trying to absorb Montenegro. This has met the united opposition of the workers of both countries. The introduction of the Soviet slogan into this struggle proves conclusively that despite the ruthless persecution to which the laboring masses of these countries have been subjected, their spirit remains unbroken. More than that. The turning of a national struggle into a fight for a Workers' Government shows that the Soviet idea is today as powerful as ever a force in world affairs.

Sylvia Pankhurst is again in the limelight. The Communist Party of Great Britain has expelled her and she has openly announced her adherence to the sterile Fourth International. This body represents the romanticists whom Lenin once aptly called "balalaika revolutionists." In every day language we might well call them "jazz revolutionists." The Fourth International is an association of the lovers of "pure truth"—of left-cripples in every sense of the word. Sylvia could never tolerate Communist discipline and realism. Her exit is no loss to the English Communists who are steadily growing in influence among the working masses of Great Britain.

Report of American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee

The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee was organized during the middle of September upon the initiative of the American Representative of the Russian Red Cross acting under mandate from its general headquarters in Moscow. A survey of the field of relief disclosed that the most active and effective, consequently the largest, of the general relief organizations, was the Friends of Soviet Russia. This organization had branch organizations throughout the United States and parts of Canada and had already begun making shipments to Soviet Russia. This organization was asked to join with other collecting organizations to effect a better understanding and more co-operation in buying and shipping. Its consent being secured, invitations were sent out to representative men of the labor movement, asking them to join in a general national committee. A provisional executive committee was elected to plan and organize the work, consisting of the following: Allan S. Broms, A. Bittleman, David H. Dubrowsky, Max Eastman, Dr. Jacob W. Hartmann, Ludwig Lore, Joseph Schlossberg, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Engdahl, and A. Brownstein.

The total receipts of the Federated Committee to date are \$177,388.51.

The friends of Soviet Russia contributed \$170,000.

The Socialist Cooperative Publishing Co., \$5,500.

The Workmen's Mutual Aid Association, \$1,500.

Miscellaneous, \$338.51.

The Friends of Soviet Russia have appropriated an additional \$20,000.

The total expenditures to date amount to \$171,579.72.

Two shipments have left direct for the port of Petrograd. The first aboard the "Margus" cleared Oct. 15th, carrying \$73,400 worth. The second aboard the "Elzasier" cleared Oct. 27th with \$63,285. Both were consigned to the chief of the port of Petrograd. A third shipment is being organized and will leave on Nov. 21st, with \$58,863 worth. \$58,863 worth.

Besides these consignments directly from the Federated Committee amounting to more than \$195,000, several other organizations co-operating with us sent over \$180,000 worth as follows:

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, \$140,000.

The Arbeiter Ring, \$20,000.

The Canadian Russian Red Cross, \$20,000.

Making a total in-round numbers of \$375,000 of relief supplies sent by American workers direct to a Russian agency.

At the outset the Federal Committee defined its general policy. It was not to interfere or enter into competition with any of its member bodies in the matter of collections or appeals. It was agreed that no prospective donors, either individuals or organized, were to be approached except as the member bodies designated such prospects as unresponsive to their several appeals. On this general understanding the work of the committee was described as being that of pooling the funds collected to make them available for

wholesale purchasing and shipping to be handled wholly by the Federated Committee. The moneys held by the Federated Committee are deposited in the Mount Vernon Bank of Washington, D. C., subject to withdrawal by the signatures of a finance committee of three. A purchasing committee was elected, with authority to call in expert buying advice and help.

In order to increase the usefulness of the Federated Committee's buying and shipping facilities, the Executive Committee makes the following recommendation to the affiliated organizations:

1st. That all affiliated organizations ship direct to the relief agency designated by the Soviet Government.

2nd. That they centralize the purchasing of supplies, by notifying the Federated Committee's Executive Committee each week of the amounts appropriated by the separate organizations for Russian Relief. The Purchasing Committee will then organize bulk shipments for the total.

3rd. That all shipments through the agency of the Federated Committee will be billed from the organization making the donation; and that future "overhead" expense be apportioned on the basis of business done.

Respectfully submitted,

H. M. WARE,

Assistant Secretary.

Ivy "Rockefeller" Lee, editor of the underground paper running in the New York Subway, seems to have lost all respect for his strap-hanging public. Ivy, the press agent of the Oil Trust, is apparently a self-appointed executive to carry out Hoover's unemployment program. Here is his latest to the hundreds of thousands of jobless in New York. "All together. Buy all you need and smile." At last there is a practical suggestion for the relief of the unemployed! New York's Health Commissioner also has a sense of humor. He comes across with the Billy Sunday Message: "Get the spirit and live longer." Well, we hope the workers do get the spirit and kick out their bosses for good. Then they will be able to buy, smile, and live longer.

We are now in the hey-day of American freedom. Several weeks ago the Nelson bill was rushed through the Senate. Should this bill become a law the workers of America will be bound, gagged and helpless. The press did not bother to give this bill any publicity. We wonder why. The Nelson bill empowers a Federal Judge to order the arrest of any one living even outside of his court jurisdiction and that the arrested shall be denied the right of a preliminary hearing in the Federal Court in the district of his own residence. Under this provision Judge Anderson could order the arrest of individual workmen from Maine to California. Organized Labor has already shown sufficient determination to spike this bill in the House. But its very birth is a monument to the viciousness of the American capitalist dictatorship.

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

Toledo, Ohio—There will be a meeting in the Labor Temple November 26th at 8 P. M. for the purpose of organizing a branch of the American Labor Alliance.

SAVE SACCO *and* VANZETTI

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 8 P. M.

Central Opera House, 205 E. 67th St.
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Speakers:

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Ludwig Lore

Arturo Giovannitti
John H. Holmes
Edgar Owens

Carlo Tresca
Fred Biedenkapp

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

Workers' Defense Union

Italian Defence Committee.

Workers of New York

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Thanksgiving Ball

For Defense of Political Prisoners

New Plaza Hall

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