

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1921.

No. 194

Vote for Gitlow and Winitzky

"It is shocking and absurd that these candidates should be permitted to have their names printed on the official ballots, but in the present state of the law, our courts seem powerless to prevent such an outrage on decency."—Justice Mullen in Supreme Court of New York County.

The Municipal Campaign — A New National Party Women in Politics

Immediate Demands and Others . . . A. Bittelman
Proletarian Dictatorship . . . Ben Gitlow
The Railroad Crisis . . . C. S. Ware
The Workers' League Campaign . . . Israel Amter
Socialist Party or Workers' Party . . . Ludwig Lore

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The Toiler

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Advertising Rates Upon Application

COURTS MOVE AGAINST THE WORKERS' LEAGUE

The workers of New York City need no better evidence of the fact that the capitalists of this country and their government have not the slightest regard or respect for their own laws, than the illegal methods they are employing to keep two candidates of the Workers' League off the ballot. The Board of Elections was the first malefactor and overstepped all lawful rights in attempting to interpret the law. But determined to keep Benjamin Gitlow, nominee for mayor, and Harry Winitzky, nominee for President of the Board of Alderman, off the ballot, they paid no attention to law until summoned to court. Judge Mullan, in Special Term of the Supreme Court of New York County, held that the Board of Elections had no right to bar the names. The noble judge stated, however, that "It is shocking and absurd that those candidates should be permitted to have their names printed on the official ballots, but in the present state of the law, our courts seem to be powerless to prevent such an outrage on decency."

What is the "outrage on decency"? It consists in the fact that Gitlow and Winitzky have been convicted and are now serving their sentences for activity as Communists. Having advocated methods and tactics that "call the bluff" both of the capitalists and their government, and of the socialist-traitor party, they were considered most dangerous men and consequently were incarcerated. They exposed capitalist methods, they showed up the real nature of government, they organized the workers of this country to meet the unlawful methods of the government, and for that they were jailed. No wonder their acts have been considered "an outrage on decency"!

The Board of Elections is appealing from this adverse decision. The Workers' League, on the other hand, is determined to fight this thing through, not because it

expects or cares much to get the two names on the ballot, but for the sake of unmasking the methods of our "democratic" government, which does not hesitate at anything when its power is endangered. The workers of New York must be made to understand, the followers of the treacherous Socialist Party must be made to admit that capitalist democracy is the crassest tyranny. It is sheer dictatorship—the elimination of constitutional rights, the application of violence, the substitution for law of open coercion against which no legality or lawful methods avail.

WORKERS' LEAGUE CONFERENCE

The active effort on the part of the Workers' League to reach broader masses of the workers is meeting with an enthusiastic response. At the call of the Workers' League, a conference met on October 15th representing a number of working class organizations who endorsed the program and platform of the League and were prepared to cooperate in its campaign. These included the Workers' Council, Irish American Labor League, African Blood Brotherhood, Finnish Socialist Federation, Hungarian Federation, Jewish Socialist Federation, Greek Socialist Federation, Paole Zion (Left), Independent Young People's League, German Educational Society, and the Workers' League. A joint campaign was organized to arrange for the assignment of speakers through the Workers' League to the various organizations, for joint distribution of literature, for issuing a campaign bulletin and for pushing the fight to have the names of the Workers' League candidates replaced on the ballot. The masses in search of a chance to express their disgust with the old political parties are turning enthusiastically to the Workers' League. The fact that this conference has been brought into existence by the Workers' League should be registered as one of the big victories of the present electoral struggle.

WATCH YOUR LEADERS

The Chiefs of the Brotherhoods are conferring with the Rail Labor Board, having previously expressed the belief that the strike could be settled but not averted. After the conference the Chiefs returned to their wigwams and the Board emerged empty handed. The strike has neither been settled nor averted. The owners' representatives have expressed the beliefs that the strike would never be called. At present it seems to be President Harding's next move. The workers believe there will be a strike but they are the only ones who do. Their leaders have at least gone through the motions of calling the strike. The railroad executives sit back and smile and bet on their hands. The Rail Labor Board runs about distractedly issuing statements, while President Harding deliberates. Will the railroad workers really have a chance to strike for fair wages and decent working rules or is it all just another American poker game with the cards stacked against the rank and file?

SACCO AND VANZETTI ABROAD

The terrible injustice inflicted upon two great idealists by the corrupt justice of American courts has echoed across the ocean. The labor press of France and Italy resounds with indignation at the villainy of American capitalism. In Rome and other cities of Italy great demonstrations of protest have been held. The Italian labor movement has forced its government to intervene in the case through the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. All honor to the class-conscious workers of Europe who do not forget their champions! Shame upon the Gompers clique in the United States who are always eager to betray the real friends of the workers!

PALMERISM IN PARIS

The story of the bomb explosion in the American Embassy in Paris as a communist protest in the Sacco-Vanzetti case is the usual fabrication of the capitalist press. Attorney General Palmer was an adept in this particular brand of fiction and kept the press ringing with lurid tales of bombs and wicked reds. The bomb always exploded conveniently underneath door-steps or porches, or in the hands of maid-servants, and never injured the illustrious pillars of society to whom they were sent. The perpetrators of these outrages were never discovered, probably for the very good reason that they dwelt not far from the Department of Justice itself. The French bomb was equally discreet. It carefully avoided the family of Ambassador Herrick and the worthy gentleman himself, and waited to explode till it had arrived in the hands of a valet who threw it into a bathroom. We would like some day to be shown Mr. Palmer's maid-servant with her hands blown off and Ambassador Herrick's injured valet. Has the French Secret Service, with its reputation for cleverness, really fallen so low? Communists make their protests not by bombs but by mass demonstrations, because they know that the latter method is far more effective. This cheap attempt to discredit Communism and the Sacco-Vanzetti case at one blow is too obvious to reach its mark.

PROSPERITY AND POVERTY

The Census Bureau has just announced the results of the census of manufactures in 1920. The production of American industries increased three-fold in value in the last ten years and five-fold in the last twenty years. Manufacturing establishments with a capitalization of \$44,678,911,000 produced in 1920 commodities valued at \$62,910,202,000 with a force of wage-earners estimated at 9,103,000. These figures reveal the gigantic increase of productive forces through the war period, which is now the chief difficulty of American capitalism economy, because of the impossibility of marketing the products. The seriousness of the unemployment crisis appears if we compare the total of nine million workers with the six million unemployed. According to official figures we thus have an unemployed percentage of 70%, a degree of unemployment unparalleled in the history of industry!

The United States Shipping Board is ready to give over government vessels to private owners at a nominal charge of \$1 a month. Why not moor them along the coast and lease them as houseboats to homeless workers?

The newspaper reports of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian leader, are untrue. The British government has not yet dared to seize him. He is actively propagating the boycott of British goods, British administration and British militarism in India and organizing a general strike to greet the Prince of Wales on his approaching visit to India.

THE USES OF OPTIMISM

The American capitalist press is conducting an active propaganda to create the impression that the economic crisis is being liquidated, and that a real and permanent improvement of conditions has begun. The New York Evening Post, Mr. Morgan's paper, has assembled a formidable list of experts who will contribute articles to this effect. W. G. Harding, the governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, states in an article in "System" that "business has turned the corner." "Optimism has its uses, and so has pessimism," says Governor Harding. The last statement is the most revealing of all. As the economic collapse becomes more and more disastrous, the official grin of capitalist optimism becomes broader and broader. As conditions become worse and worse, the slogan will be, "Smile, smile, smile!" If propaganda put across the war, it can surely put across the economic crisis.

WORLD CRISIS DEEPENS

The facts show that the world crisis, instead of disappearing, is growing daily more serious, and that there is actually no prospect of improvement. For that view we have no less authority than that of Sir George Paish, formerly editor of the London Statist, and a leading English economist who states that the crisis will grow constantly worse instead of better, and that by next year there will be twice as much unemployment in England as today, while the United States will be in a much worse condition. America's foreign trade continues to decline, the totals for September being only 50% of those for the same month last year. During the last month there was a decline of about \$50,000,000 in the value of American exports. The imports of gold, however, for September, 1921, are about \$30,000,000 higher than for the same month last year. In a word, the vicious situation continues: concentration of gold in America, collapse of foreign trade and production, and unemployment. American capitalism is trying to find a way out by propaganda because there is no other way out.

According to a German economist, the swollen gold reserve of America may lead to her eventual economic downfall, in the same manner as Spain fell, from the richest country to the poorest country in a relatively short time. American export trade is bound to diminish still further, and unemployment to grow more severe, as its gold reserve increases. The only remedy, according to the unanimous verdict of the financiers, is for America to abandon her policy of isolation and identify herself with the stricken nations of Europe. All must combine without delay for the pooling of obligations and the establishment of a uniform currency standard. Mr. Hoover speaks the truth about unemployment at times when he is not officially speaking about unemployment. In a speech on currency and banking he remarked: "So long as acute economic instability exists in these areas of 200,000,000 people, there is no hope of stability in the rest of the world, nor of our commerce."

That American Junker, Nicholas Murray Butler, announces that Columbia University, over which he presides, is "one of the great citadels of liberty at a time when the world is increasingly given over to the rule of compulsion and force." Liberty, which once was endangered by monarchs and by ruling classes, has long ceased to fear either of these. What it now has to fear are "tyrannous and fanatical minorities." Dr. Butler is right. These minorities are becoming ever more determined and powerful and will soon crush that cherished bourgeois liberty of his, which a French thinker a century ago called "the liberty of poverty, the liberty of death."

BANKRUPTCY AND REACTION IN GERMANY

The same economic forces which are producing the world crisis are driving Germany rapidly into bankruptcy. German finance suffered a complete collapse this week when the mark sank in value to half a cent. Panic and speculation reached such a stage, that the Berlin Stock Exchange had to be closed.

The Upper Silesian decision and the reparations enforcement seem to have been the contributing causes. To the same source may be ascribed the growing nationalist reaction in politics, of which the Berlin elections last week gave new evidence. The Communists and Independent Socialists lost 22 of their 84 seats on the Greater Berlin Common Council, while the Majority Socialists of the Ebert-Scheidemann group gained 8 seats. Altogether a Socialist-Communist majority of 25 was replaced by a non-Socialist majority of 2 to 4.

OUTLAW RADICALS PLAN SOVIET HERE

So announces the New York Times on its front page. And it continues:

"Scattered remnants of the outlawed Communist Party of America, the Socialist Labor Party, and radical labor and political factions are being welded into a national political organization to be known as the American Labor Alliance, which will aim to establish a Workers' Soviet Republic in the United States.

"This became known last night when it was learned that the Alliance, which had been quietly organizing, had received pledges of support from more than 200 labor unions and workingmen's societies and probably would be formally launched at a convention to be held in this city in January.

"Officials of the proposed alliance said the organization also planned to 'fight against the reactionary policies in the labor movement' in America and 'bore from within' until the American Federation of Labor and such organizations had become converted to the idea of a workers' republic."

We hear also that "Labor Chiefs Spurn New Soviet Party." Samuel Gompers and Jim Holland will have none of it. The spurning is mutual. We believe, in fact, none of it. The spurning is mutual. We believe, however, more effective method of destroying the influence of these worthies.

THE TOILER

November 5—Russian Revolution Anniversary Number

Enthusiastic mass meetings in celebration of this historic event will be held the week of November 5th. Order a bundle for your meeting.

November 12—Disarmament Number

A number that will disarm all who thought that the imperialist nations intended disarming. Help fire a broadside. Order a bundle.

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The Municipal Campaign

Nothing disturbs the good old traditions of a New York City electoral campaign. Men may come and men may go, but it goes on forever. World wars are fought and won. Millions suffer and bleed and die. Empires totter to their fall. But the New York political game proceeds serenely on its way. Fusion lambastes Tammany as a low-down grafting gang. Tammany reviles Fusion as the spokesman of the vested interests. The Socialist Party rises nobly to cast them both aside and demand municipal ownership of public utilities. And Tammany or Fusion steals back into power with no one happier or wiser. Such has been, is and will be a New York municipal election.

The campaign of this year presents minor variations. The great issue of the struggle is apparently the five-cent fare. There are a half million unemployed in New York alone, and thousands more working irregularly and on short time. The streets and parks are full to overflowing with unemployed workers with the signs of years of exploitation in their calloused hands and lined faces. The hundreds of thousands of women workers of the city are leading lives of anxiety and privation with unemployment and starvation wages staring them in the face. The great slums of New York, the filthiest and most overcrowded in the world, cover a suffering mass of humanity driven together by the speculators' rent of war times and vicious and uncontrolled landlordism. Side by side with all this misery the wealth of New York parades itself shamelessly. Unimaginable luxury is hidden behind the satin and lace clad windows of the mansions of the rich. The shops of the wealthy quarter exhibit exotic articles de luxe plundered from every quarter of the globe and brought here for the gratification of the American money kings of the world. Fifth Avenue looks as did the Nevsky Prospekt before the Russian Revolution. And yet for Fusionist, Tammanyite and Socialist the chief issue of the New York City campaign is the five-cent fare. Socialism hopes to achieve this all-important end thorough municipal ownership, Fusion by the Transit Commission and Hylan by standing pat. But the end is the same.

Echoes of the world crisis are heard in New York, the cry of starving Russia face to face with the bayonets of the Allies, the plaint of enslaved Germany under the heel of the Versailles imperialism, the murmur of the unemployed masses roaming the streets of all cities of the world. The first shocks of the world-wide economic earthquake are being felt in Wall Street. But the New York electioneers, Republican, Democrat and Socialist, prate of rates and offices, schools and street railways, and above all of the five-cent fare.

The Fusionists are frankly the representatives of large capitalism and landlordism in New York, the guardians of property and vested interests. Openly and cynically they are now playing the game of the traction interests in New York City, threatening the use of their power in the state and its Transit Commission when the local population proves intractable. They rely for support upon property and reaction and upon the mass of stupid and respectable "good citizens" of the professional and middle class, and particularly upon the new women voters, for whom honesty, efficiency and economy in the city administration are the watchwords rather than property and privilege. Attacks on Tammany corruption and strong language in favor of more and better schools serve to delude the well-intentioned. Beneath this camouflage of civic virtue and humanitarianism lies the enemy, capi-

talism. The strength of Fusion is the strength of the existing system, entrenched and inert.

The Hylan administration represents the smaller business interests, numerous in commercial New York, and expresses the timid venom of the petty bourgeoisie toward big capital. With the support of these elements, the unenlightened mass of the workers in the A. F. of L. unions, the Irish and German nationalists, and the large population of the New York underworld, Tammany dares to fling down the gage of battle to the big capitalists—and demand the five-cent fare and things as they are. Not a word of the terrible evils of landlordism, unemployment, wage reductions and destitution! Only the five-cent fare.

From the standpoint of the class-conscious worker, to attack Tammany or Fusion is like kicking a dead dog. They have no claim to his consideration. The Socialist Party is in a different situation. In the past it has boasted of the loyalty of larger masses of organized workers, and still claims to represent their interests. The Socialist party has shown, however, in this campaign more clearly than ever that it is totally unfit to represent the working class in the issues which confront it today, and that it has become merely a reform party of the small middle classes.

The two chief issues on which the socialists have fought this election are schools and transit. The school issue is merely a leaf taken from the Fusion platform, the transit issue another from the Hylan platform. Both are put forward in the same spirit of demagoguery and vote-catching that characterizes the capitalist parties. The real issues of the working class, unemployment, landlordism, cost of living, the labor struggle, and the international labor movement, are ignored because they do not fit in conveniently with the socialist plans for peaceful reformist activity.

The one ray of hope for the workers in the municipal campaign has been the campaign of the Workers' League. This campaign has endeavored to make clear to the workers that it is hopeless to expect reforms in a capitalist state, and that they must send representatives to legislative bodies only to voice their protest against the existing system. The immediate demands of the Workers' League drag to light the issues which are vital to the working class from the oblivion where they have been left by all the other parties. The Workers' League voices the necessity of mass action on both the political and industrial fields to resist capitalist aggression, and calls upon the workers to elect its candidates as the only true representatives of the working-class on the municipal ticket. Two of its six candidates, Gitlow and Winitzky, are now serving long terms in prison for so-called criminal syndicalism, that is, fearless championship of the workers' interests, while two others, Edward Lindgren and Rose Pastor Stokes are under indictment for the same crime. Every vote for the candidates of the Workers' League is a gesture of defiance to capitalist persecution.

Lastly, the Workers' League is the only party in this campaign which represents the international struggle of labor against international capitalist imperialism. A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for the Socialist betrayers of labor the world over, the Ramsay MacDonalds who are fighting industrial action in England, the Mrs. Snowden who found the Russian Revolution unrefined, the Serratis who preferred the socialism of a handful of

middle-class professionals to the communism of the working masses, the Kautskys and Bernsteins who supported the Noskes and Scheidemanns in killing the German revolution. A vote for the Socialist party is a vote for those who are the milk-and-water friends of Soviet Russia in public, her enemies in private. A vote for the Workers' League is a vote for the international solidarity of labor, for defence of Soviet Russia, for the triumph of red trade-unionism the world over, under the banner of the Third International.

A New National Party

The American Labor Alliance during the short period of its existence has demonstrated the fact that a mere combination of previously existing organizations is not sufficient as a foundation for the revolutionary class struggle in this country which must now assume a broader character and follow the mass tactics marked out for it by the Third International. To accomplish this task there is never a political party with a dues-paying membership which will carry out a clear class-conscious program with a true revolutionary discipline.

The Socialist Party is totally unfitted for the task of political leadership of the toiling masses. It has renounced every revolutionary principle and disavowed the soviet form of government and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has refused to recognize the general strike as a weapon in the labor struggle and pins its whole faith upon forcing reforms within the capitalist system by purely parliamentary activity. It is true that the Socialist Party still insists upon a socialist society as its final aim, but this is a mere paper declaration. The history of the labor movement of all countries during the last few years has shown the bankruptcy of the old socialist theory that socialism may be realized by peaceful means, that by forcing ever more concessions in parliament capitalism will grow into socialism. The experiences of this revolutionary epoch, and particularly of the Russian revolution, have demonstrated that the liberation of the working class is to be won not in parliaments but on the streets, not by oratorical discourses of socialist statesmen, but by mass action of the workingmen.

The backwardness of the working class in this country is to no small degree the fault of the Socialist Party. Instead of arousing their revolutionary spirit and showing them the true methods of struggle, the Socialist Party has busied itself with electoral campaigns and legislative programs. Its fulsome promises made in campaign speeches were, of course, never realized when it was fortunate enough to smuggle one of its candidates into a legislative body. The workers lost their confidence in such leadership. From a membership of more than 100,000 the Socialist Party has declined to a membership of not more than 5,000, and has been deserted completely by the class-conscious groups of the workers.

The revolutionary temper of the American workers is growing under the pressure of an arrogant capitalism that hesitates at no crime for the perpetuation of its own domination. To express this revolutionary temper a new political party of labor must be created without delay. Such a party would not be satisfied with mere campaign agitation but would take an active part in the daily struggles of the workers. It should rally the masses with slogans adapted to their needs and lead them in the struggle against capitalist oppression. Such a party would in time become the power through which Socialism could be realized in the United States.

The millions of unemployed workers who roam the streets with empty stomachs and hearts full of bitterness are fertile soil for a truly revolutionary propaganda. Once awakened, they would spread the message of liberation broadcast and would arouse the other workers who do not yet realize their situation.

We hail, therefore, the decision of the American Labor Alliance to organize a new political party which shall approach the masses not with the outworn phrases of liberalism but with the watchwords of their daily struggles, which shall participate actively in the collective life of the workers and march by their side along the stony path which leads to the final goal, a workers' republic in America.

Women in Politics

The years of suffrage agitation are over. The ardent speeches for liberty, equality, and fraternity for women are a thing of the past. Drawing-rooms no longer ring with the impassioned phrases of the suffragists. The emancipation of women from social subjection and economic dependence through the power of the ballot, once the announced aim of the suffragists, has been forgotten for the more entertaining and less difficult game of political intrigue for place and power in the old parties. The new generation of hard-fisted and materialistic women politicians instead of cleansing politics according to their pre-suffrage promise have leaped into the mire and are disporting themselves merrily there.

The more conservative element among the suffragists under the leadership of Mrs. Catt, having sold themselves and the men of the country to the government during the war, are continuing the revolting bargain in peace time. They have not hesitated to throw their political influence to the support of the patriotic defence societies, the official propaganda organizations and the whole apparatus of reaction. The Woman's Party, which used the methods of direct action to attain suffrage, albeit in very tame fashion, has failed to fulfil the promise of its youth. The more radical young bourgeois women, who were its leaders, have been unable to unite on any program for the use of their new political power and to cover their futility have fallen back into a campaign for legal equality for women, which will serve to keep their ranks united on a purely feminist and safe bourgeois issue for years to come.

The political bankruptcy of the middle class women's movement now stands clearly revealed. Woman suffrage has failed to cleanse politics, it has failed to realize the social equality or the economic independence of its own supporters, it has failed to rouse the much-heralded moral idealism of the female sex to the support of such obvious humanitarian ideals as opposition to militarism and imperialism and the starvation of populations by the economic blockade. In fact, this very idealism of women, a bourgeois sentimentality which flourishes in the rarefied atmosphere of economic parasitism, has proven a most useful tool in the hands of the wily bourgeois politicians.

Through the skilful manipulation of moral and religious phrases by Wilson, Harding and their ilk, the women voters are being dragged at the chariot wheels of capitalist imperialism. Exploitation of the workers, bloody suppression of subject peoples, cynical preparation for world slaughter, all these can be palmed off upon the women of the middle classes and secure their enthusiastic support, if coated with sugary phrases about disarmament, the association of nations, the safeguarding of liberty, and the like.

The women of the middle classes since their enfranchisement have avoided or glossed over every vital political issue concerning society as a whole or their own position. They have shown themselves as self-deluded hypocrites in their "moral" support of an immoral and iniquitous political system. Failing to achieve their own emancipation, because that emancipation can only be achieved by a destruction of capitalism, they are standing on the necks of the workers with the men of their class. Even the most radical of them have been unprepared to use their new political weapon for the support of the labor movement, the only hope for a better world.

What of the working women of America? Their political and economic problems are very different from those of the women of the middle class. For that reason the belated liberal slogan of political freedom produced little response from them, and the voting privilege, now that it has been granted, arouses little interest among them. They have no national economic or political organization. The Women's Trade Union League, which travels on the pretence of representing the working women, is an autocratic organization of middle-class sentimentalists with political axes of their own to grind. Their slight working-class connections they have magnified and used to bolster up the government and the Gompers machine in its worst deals. Clearly the Women's Trade Union League is even less fit than the official labor movement to aid the women workers in their labor struggle.

Yet, powerless as they are, the working women of America must and will attain power. As the most downtrodden and exploited section of the working class they must be brought to a realization of their position and the necessity of organization on the political and economic field. As the suffering wives and mothers of underpaid and unemployed workers they must make their voice heard in the present economic crisis. Once awakened the working women will prove a real reservoir of power in the revolutionary struggle. The splendid spirit of the American women workers wherever they have succeeded in organizing, as in the garment industries, shows the hope for the future. The working women of America will fight side by side with the working men for the overthrow of capitalism, through which alone they can realize their emancipation both as women and as workers.

The revolutionary labor movement must not make the mistake of neglecting the work of educating and organizing the women workers for economic and political action. The beginning made by the militant groups in certain women's unions and by the Workers' League of Greater New York must be continued on a nation-wide scale. The organizations of working women will contribute untold strength and vitality to a national party of labor. They must not be left aside or outside.

TOILER ADVERTISING

It will pay you to advertise your meeting or entertainment in THE TOILER. This periodical circulates in the thousands of copies in the larger cities, reaches an immense audience of workers whom you should apprise of your events.

We request that labor unions, branches of the American Labor Alliance, branches of the National Defense Committee and other workers' organizations take advantage of space in THE TOILER to announce meetings and entertainments. It will add to their success and you will, at the same time, assist THE TOILER financially. Rates are \$1.50 per column inch per issue. Full page \$30.

Every reader is asked to constitute himself a committee of one to solicit advertising of this nature for THE TOILER. If you hear of an entertainment or meeting being planned, if you see one advertised, get into touch with the committee in charge and secure an advertisement for YOUR paper.

Immediate Demands and Others

By A. BITTELMAN

There is some uneasiness in the minds of a certain revolutionary element of the working class regarding the immediate demands contained in the platform of the Workers' League of New York City. Doubts are being expressed regarding the consistency with revolutionary policy of presenting any demands to the capitalistic world. Furthermore the question is asked, is a campaign on an issue of legislative demands conducive to the revolutionary development of the proletarian class-struggle? And lastly, is it not imitating the betrayers from the Socialist camp to present legislative solutions for problems such as unemployment? First, it is necessary to point out that the platform of the Workers' League does not propose solutions in its immediate demands but declares that "Even security of a job is becoming a thing of the past for an ever-increasing number of workers. Capitalism can no longer provide work or subsistence for the broad laboring masses. The working class of America, as of other countries, must therefore do away with capitalism in order to live. And this can only be done by establishing a Soviet Republic in the United States. This is the fundamental aim with which the Workers' League of Greater New York enters the 1921 campaign."

This quotation from the platform should dispel all doubts regarding the intention of the Workers' League to solve the contradictions of capitalism in any way save by the abolition of the present order of things through the seizure of political power by the working class of this country.

On the issue of presenting immediate demands we have been fighting our major battles with the social patriots and betrayers of the American working class. As a result there are nowadays very few class-conscious workers in the United States who do not realize the opportunist, anti-proletarian nature of the Socialist Party. This has become apparent to large numbers of the workers mainly because of the merciless criticism of the every day immediate practices of Hillquit, Berger and Company. But in justly attacking the immediate demands of the Socialist Party the revolutionary group has moved too far to the left.

The position of the Leftists is wrong theoretically as well as practically. Theoretically the preparation for the social revolution, the sole task of the revolutionary movement, is not a one-act affair. It is a long sequence of many acts developing as the class struggle develops, day by day. This everyday class struggle is and must be for immediate demands. Large masses never struggle for anything else. Even that goal, the proletarian dictatorship, which looks now so theoretical will some day become the immediate demand of the masses of the workers.

The difficulty of relating the politics and activities of the revolutionary movement to the every day struggle of the workers is complicated by those who reason as follows: Since the working masses will struggle only for immediate betterment of their conditions, the revolutionary worker should not "lower" himself to championing the average worker's immediate interests. This is the affair of the trade union bureaucrats and yellow socialists. The revolutionary workers on the other hand must keep the banner of their final aims high above the

vulgar turmoil of every day life, waiting for the day when the imminent crash of capitalist economy will compel large masses of the workers to raise their heads to this banner and carry it to victory.

This is the state of mind of those workers who cannot agree to the immediate demands in the platform of the Workers' League. Otherwise they would agree that our present slogan must be of an immediate nature. Whatever our final goal may be, our start must always be made toward the things which the large masses of workers actually want now. Effective slogans must always be of a nature to call forth a direct and immediate response from the proletarian masses. In some cases slogans may call upon workers to institute a change directly by the strength of their organized might. Even then, except in the case of the final conflict for power, demands may have to be presented to the capitalists and their state institutions.

Considering the platform of the Workers' League from this point of view its immediate demands are: Emergency legislation to check the campaign of the capitalists for the reduction in wages and for the "open shop," and to ameliorate the conditions of unemployment; hands off Mexico and Haiti; the recognition of Soviet Russia and resumption of trade relations with her. The reduction of wages and the campaign for the "open shop" is being resisted by numerous groups of workers. Most of these fights are ineffective because they are being waged by comparatively small and isolated groups. In many instances the workers are compelled to submit to the dictates of the capitalists. The Workers' League opens its municipal campaign precisely on this issue. If it wages a real campaign of agitation and organization the result will be that the workers' struggle against wage reductions and the "open shop" will be intensified and extended. Then again the Workers' League demands emergency legislation for the relief and amelioration of the conditions of the unemployed. It tells the workers that unemployment as a social phenomenon cannot be dealt with under capitalism, that it is only the results of unemployment that can be ameliorated, if the workers themselves will organize.

Underlying the immediate demands is the idea that the parliamentary activities of the candidates of the Workers' League, should they be elected, are merely supplementary to the main struggle that the workers themselves will have to wage. Whatever can be secured under capitalism toward ameliorating the conditions of the unemployed will have to be fought for hard and bitterly by the masses themselves through strikes and demonstrations. As far as the candidates of the Workers' League are concerned, standing upon the political field they will agitate, organize and unify this mass struggle shaping its development to the best interests of the working class as a whole.

Does this look like opportunist Socialism? Never did the socialists conceive a parliamentary campaign in this manner. The mistake of the workers who dislike the immediate demands of the platform lies in their failure to differentiate between the politics of the social-patriots and of the social revolutionists. The former frame their immediate demands with a view to reforming capitalism,

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Proletarian Dictatorship

By BEN GITLOW

There are no special issues in this mayoralty campaign as far as you the workers are concerned. You will not be one bit better off if either Mr. Hylan, the Democrat, Mr. Curran, the Republican, or Mr. Panken, the Socialist, is elected to the distinguished position of mayor of the largest city in the United States. The day after election, if you are fortunate enough to have a job, you will still work as before and if you are one of the unemployed you will be madly hunting for a chance to work.

If you for one moment believe that Mr. Panken, the Socialist, as mayor of New York City, could improve your conditions as a worker you are not only deluded but badly informed. The Socialist Party controls one large city in the United States, the city of Milwaukee. Unemployment, poverty, crime, prostitution, low wages, long hours, high prices and all the other characteristic evils of the capitalist system flourish there as elsewhere. The worker in Milwaukee under a socialist administration is exploited by capitalism just as the workers in every other large American city. When you wake up the day after election you will wonder what all the political excitement was about. As for the issues of the campaign you will have already forgotten them.

The question of your job is the all-important issue for you. In your job you are interested every day in the year. When you are out of a job you are extremely interested in getting one soon. If you have a relatively good job you eat relatively well, clothe yourself comfortably, live in fairly decent quarters and enjoy yourself somewhat. If you have a bad job, you work hard, receive small wages, eat little and cheap food, wear shoddy clothes, live in the foul, cramped quarters of a dirty tenement district and suffer all the ills of the poverty-stricken. If you have no job at all you will steal if you have the nerve, or accept the bitter scraps of charity if you haven't—or else you will starve.

Your job is your life every minute of the hour and every hour of the day up till the last moment of your existence. If you want to better your existence as a worker you must do so at your job. Of course you may say that you do not intend to remain a worker, that you are going into business, that you are going to become rich, for America is a land of golden opportunities. Perhaps you may succeed. But you will admit that the vast majority of American people do not succeed. The vast majority of the American people, if they want to improve their lot, seek to do so through their jobs. But jobs today are the private property of the capitalists who own the wealth and the industries of the country.

The capitalist class owns the means by which the working class must work in order to live. In industry the capitalist is an autocrat who dictates every condition of the worker's life. The worker receives for his work wages, the capitalist the product that the worker produces. If the worker received in wages as much money as the product of his toil is worth the capitalist could make no profits. The worker not only produces the equivalent of his wages but the profits of the capitalist as well. The capitalist class becomes richer and richer because they can continue to gather in profits produced by the workers. The workers become poorer and poorer because they work to enrich the capitalists. That is why in the United States today the capitalist class is the rich-

est in the world and the working class among the most miserable.

The worker is exploited you may, say, because the individual employer capitalist is too greedy. If all the capitalists would only be like Henry Ford everything would be different. What did Henry do? He closed his plants when business became slack and threw his army of workers out of work for months. When he re-opened them he announced a reduction in the selling price of his cars and an increased profit per car for the Ford company. Mr. Ford explained that this was accomplished chiefly by reducing the labor costs of a Ford flivver from \$193 to \$98. Mr. Ford, however, found himself growing richer than before. Evidently the workers cannot depend for their salvation upon the magnanimity of the individual capitalist.

The workers, to protect their livelihood, must replace the capitalist domination with their own domination. Then the working class would own the land, the wealth and the industries of the country. They would own their jobs. They would work for their own profits and not for those of the capitalist. The more clothing, the more food, and the more necessities and comforts of life they would produce the better would be the living conditions for all the workers.

There is, therefore, for the workers in every campaign but one issue, the abolition of the capitalist system. It is an issue that they must face every day. Black or white, Christian or Jew, American, Polish or Irish, the workers must stand together to wrest the ownership and control of the wealth and industries from the hands of the capitalist class.

The issue then for the working class at all times is the daily struggle of the working class against the domination and dictatorship of the capitalist class. The working class and the capitalist class are facing each other as opposing armies in deadly combat. The capitalist class owns the wealth of the country and it is fighting desperately to hold on to that wealth. The ownership of that wealth gives the capitalist class power, riches, ease, luxury. A small part of the working class, that is, the communists and revolutionary unionists, is fighting consciously, the larger part unconsciously, to wrest the wealth from the capitalist class. The working class wants the ownership of the wealth of the country for the same reason that the capitalist class wants it, because such ownership means power and welfare. The victory of the working class means the abolition of capitalism and the liberation of the workers from economic bondage. Capitalist society fights to maintain class rule with all its antagonisms, inequalities, and bloody consequences. The working class fights for the establishment of a society based upon the abolition of all classes and the use of the wealth of the country for the benefit of all.

How is it possible for the capitalist class which represents such a small percentage of the population of the United States to keep in subjection over 100 million people? Because the capitalist class is strongly united and the working class is not. Because the capitalist class controls the government. The United States protects with all its might the power and privileges of the oil kings, steel magnates, bankers, manufacturers, merchants. It protects the wealth of the American plutocracy in spite of the fact that it has been accumulated by fraud,

plunder and theft. Furthermore, the capitalist class owns and controls the press, the pulpit, the movies, the theatres and almost every agency of public information and instruction. The workers are poisoned with false ideas about government and economics, about religion and morals, about patriotism and about history and are kept in ignorance or intentionally misinformed with regard to every movement or event of interest to the workers.

The capitalist class is not molested in its organization. It enjoys absolute freedom to do as it pleases. The working class, however, is brutally assaulted and mercilessly persecuted in all its attempts at organization. In Mingo the heroic miners are shot down like dogs because they try to organize. Mooney, thought declared innocent, is still in jail because he is a loyal member of the working class. Thousands of workers in the United States are in jail today, some serving sentences as severe as 20 years because they dared to champion openly the cause of the poor and oppressed.

In the United States today workers are beaten up, judges issue injunctions against them, private gangsters hired as detectives by capitalist corporations shoot them down, the clergy hurls its holy wrath and the curse of damnation upon them, and the government jails them because they attempt to resist the campaign on the part of their industrial masters to reduce wages, lengthen the hours of employment and smash the unions.

If you are unemployed, if you suffer the gnawing pangs of hunger, if you congregate as the unemployed did in New York City to demonstrate the obvious fact of your terrible suffering and misery, you will find the police well fed and well armed, ready to make you realize that slaves must suffer in silence. The United States government spends billions to help finance business. The shipping interests, the railroads, the manufacturers and bankers have all been the recipients of its bounty. But Mr. Harding, president of the United States, the supposed chosen representative of the people, says that the unemployed cannot expect any relief that will necessitate the drawing of money from the United States treasury. Mr. Hoover, at the opening of the unemployed conference, gave additional notice to the starving workers that they can expect no relief legislation from Congress. The United States government will spend more money for the preservation and care of pigs than it will for the preservation and care of the people, for pigs are private property.

The United States is the richest country in the world. Its working class has produced billions of dollars worth of food, clothing, fuel, and other commodities. But there is poverty, want and hunger in the land because the workers in America work for the profits of others and not for themselves. There is no sane reason why millions of workers with their dependents suffer hunger when they are willing to work but unable to find a job. There is no reason why little children should be stunted in their youth because their fathers were denied the opportunity of earning a livelihood. A government that protects a system of private ownership which piles up untold wealth in the hands of a few and leaves millions to starve is an unjust, tyrannical government. Such is the government of the United States.

No politicians can help you as workers nor can reforms help you. The workers must help themselves. Against the capitalist government, the united front of the capitalist class, the workers should hurl their organized power. The wealth that the workers produce should belong to them. If the capitalist class needs a government to protect it in its ownership of the wealth accumulated by robbing the workers, then the workers must

organize a government of their own to protect their rights. A working class government organized on the basis of common ownership of the wealth of the country for the benefit of the producers is the only way out of the nightmare of capitalism with its crime, poverty, and unemployment, its imperialism and war-making. To accomplish this revolution is necessary. The Workers' League asks you as a worker to register your opposition to capitalism and your determination to fight in the ranks of the working class to abolish it. The message of the Workers' League is directed to all workers, voters or non-voters. The destruction of capitalism at all times is the immediate issue confronting the working class. Organize the might of the workers in powerful unions, abolish capitalism and its bloody tyranny, and erect in its place a government of, by and for the working class.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND OTHERS

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the latter with a view to destroying it. The former present immediate demands irrespective of the actual state of the class struggle, the latter make the class struggle the starting point for the presentation of their demands. The former propose means for the realization of their immediate demands calculated to allay the unrest of the workers, the latter base the realization of their demands upon the direct struggle of the masses themselves. This in a nut shell is the difference between the policy of the social patriots and the revolutionists. A careful analysis of the platform of the Workers' League of New York City and the municipal program of the Socialist Party of New York will prove conclusively this difference in policy.

In the revolutionary class-struggle the real utility of immediate demands is dependent, first upon the nature of the demands, next the method of presentation and lastly the means of realization. If these three conditions are satisfied in accordance with sound revolutionary policy, then immediate demands will serve their purpose, that is to organize and train the working class for the final conflict for political power.

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The Railroad Crisis

By C. S. WARE

Presidents, Governors, Boards of Directors and bankers are all busy expounding to the "public" what the railroad controversy is all about, while conferences are the order of the day in railroad circles. The Brotherhoods are meeting in Chicago with the Rail Board, the A. F. of L. craft unions are conferring with themselves, and the railroad executives who have set the match to the fuse are waiting. The issue of the controversy is made to appear a reduction of wages, an issue upon which the "public" has already made up its mind. Actually the issue is far more serious. Nothing less than the complete annihilation of organized labor is the aim of the present capitalist policy.

The powerful forces which are attacking the ranks of workers at the present moment can only be understood after a brief survey of the industrial development of the United States. In the period from 1893 to 1898, as a result of a policy of reckless rate-cutting and competition, 65% of the railroad mileage of the country was in the hands of receivers. It was at this juncture that the former J. P. Morgan formulated new commandments for big business. "Don't fight each other. Don't waste the strength of one another. Stand together and divide the profits which assuredly will be yours." Mr. Morgan had up to this time been a banker. Now he became a railroad magnate, and he reorganized practically the entire American railroad system upon the plan of "community of interest" and elimination of competition.

A few years later in 1901 he had a further chance to apply his theories regarding "community of interest." Carnegie was threatening a steel war. The Rockefeller interests, fearing the competition of Mr. Carnegie in the Lake Superior ore fields, attempted to buy him out, but would not pay his price. Carnegie at once started to carry out his threats by cutting prices and beginning to build his own carriers. The Standard Oil group joined with the independents and turned to Morgan. The result was the organization of the United States Steel Corporation.

Morgan had well estimated the importance to capitalists of combination. Not three months later he had begun the task of preventing combination among the workers and had crushed the beginning of organization among the steel workers. Competition forbidden to the capitalists was prescribed for the workers. Labor must never be allowed to stand together. Mr. Morgan's slogan was "No compromise!" and it has been the motto of the steel industry ever since.

From the destruction of the organization of the steel workers the same power moved on into the soft coal districts of West Virginia. Here the United States Steel Corporation operates through the United States Coal and Coke Company and with the help of the United States Army works 170,000 acres of coal lands in Mingo, Logan and McDowell counties. With all other soft coal districts organized and perhaps striking, this section alone could keep the wheels of the capitalist machinery moving. The other large company operating in the unorganized field is the Norfolk and Western R. R., which is directly controlled by Morgan representatives, and the same group is now directing the full power of its organization against the railroad workers.

It is interesting to see who controls these railroads which not only connect the coal fields with the steel industries but are the arteries through which the life of the country pulses.

There are just 25 men who link together 99 of the Class I railroads operating almost a quarter of a million miles or 82% of the country's steam transportation system. Messrs. Stotesbury, Morgan, Lamont and other partners of the Bank of Morgan are directors on 12 railroads. Mr. Morgan and Mr. Baker also control well upwards of 2-5 of the stock of the National City Bank, while principal directors of this bank, Messrs. Wm. Rockefeller, Ammon, McCormick and others hold 48 railroad directorships. This is the group who own the oil, steel, copper, coal and the banks. This is the group whose existence depends upon an unorganized, disunited working class.

The railroad situation as presented by these capitalists would be in their own words somewhat as follows: We gave over our roads to the government for use in winning the war. They were returned to us in crippled condition. The wages of the men had been raised out of all proportion to other costs. The total yearly increase was \$558,000,000. Specified rules regarding wasteful and inefficient labor conditions were imposed upon us. The workers were spoiled by the pampering of an incompetent government and we were allowed a guarantee for six months only and that for not more than 6% upon our invested capital. We must return to an efficient footing. We must reduce wages and change working conditions.

The Railroad Brotherhoods are quick to reply: You turned over your roads and rolling stock in outrageous condition to the government. You charged a rental which Senator Cummins stated on the floor of the Senate on February 11, 1918, was \$200,000,000 too high. Whereas the total wage increase made us was \$558,000,000 per year the freight rate increases granted you by the Interstate Commerce Commission for the same period was \$1,340,000,000, or a difference of \$576,000,000 in your favor. Your own officials operated the railroads under government control and for any carelessness, waste or inefficiency which occurred they and you were responsible. You carried on a calculated and persistent campaign to discredit government control. You sold equipment and repairs to yourselves at exorbitant rates and charge it up to the Government. Your officials have been found guilty in court of such acts. In the six months covered by the government guarantee you not only estimated your income on the basis of exaggerated figures, purporting to represent your investment, but you bought, sold and contracted with yourselves for supplies and repairs at 200-500% more than they were worth. In this way you reduced your net income to 3½-4% and now demand the rest of your guaranteed profit from the government. When we, the workers, voted by a majority of 90 to 98% to strike in protest at the wage reduction of 12% you went to Washington, conferred with President Harding and his advisers, then returned to Chicago and announced that "not only would a further reduction in pay be demanded but a radical change in the rules and working conditions which were inaugurated under the United States Railroad Administration would be requested."

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From the Prison Cell

LETTERS FROM GITLOW AND WINITZKY

Comrades:

I take this opportunity to send my greetings to the Workers' League in the midst of its campaign to bring the truth to the workers of New York City, and to lead them forth as the vanguard in the coming revolutionary struggle in the United States. The Workers' League is sending forth a call that will soon ring from one end of the country to the other, and will mobilize the forces of the workers for the final battle with capitalism.

Arrayed against the revolutionary ranks of the workers are all the reactionary, treacherous and bloody forces of capitalist society such as the schools, the press, the pulpit, the yellow socialist and conservative labor union organizations, but the most formidable force is that of the government with its police and military powers. Capitalism in the United States is drunk with power. The American capitalist class has accumulated fortunes in the hands of individuals to the hundreds of millions of dollars, while the aggregate of privately owned capital accumulated staggers the imagination. The United States is to-day the mightiest capitalist power in the world. But this vast accumulation of wealth contributes nothing to the welfare or prosperity of America's workers. On the contrary, the American workers are sinking deeper and deeper in the economic scale. They are suffering more severely from unemployment than the workers of any other country. Those that are fortunate enough to have work must work for wages that have been reduced 15 to 50 per cent. Following the artificial prosperity of the war has come the present crisis in which the capitalist class are using the weapon of the open shop campaign to drive the workers down into conditions of real slavery. Workers in one branch of industry after another have been forced to accept large reductions in wages, a lengthening of the working day, and an increased speed in production in order to enable American capitalism to compete in the world market.

The labor organizations that boasted of their power during the period of war prosperity have been unable to combat the pro-slavery forces. They have been badly defeated wherever they attempted to resist. In most instances they were forced to accept meekly the conditions of slavery dictated by the capitalist owners of industry.

The world war with its insatiable appetite for commodities was responsible for the organization of American industry on a highly efficient and productive basis. With the aid of the government there sprang into being gigantic factories with new and improved machinery, which utilized the most modern scientific methods for large production.

The abnormal development of the forces of production in the United States as a result of the war has opened the eyes of the American capitalists to the need of foreign markets and imperialist expansion. The enormous production now possible must be sold if at all to foreign countries. The United States is today glutted with a large amount of idle capital, to which gold that has been arriving from Europe since the end of the war has added greatly. This idle capital cannot be utilized because of the bankruptcy of Europe, and unemployment ensues.

The accumulation of idle capital in the hands of the American capitalists has its natural expression in the imperialist policy of the American government. Imperialism is now absolutely necessary for the continued existence of American capitalism. Hence the American imperialist ad-

vances in Mexico, Haiti, Panama, Cuba, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere. Domination over undeveloped capitalist countries and colonial expansion has now become the accepted policy of the United States. It turns its eyes especially to the East where the greatest imperialist prizes are to be won, the vast undeveloped resources of Siberia and China with their millions of workers to be exploited. Here the United States meets the opposition of her imperialist rival, Japan. The culminating glory of capitalist civilization will be an American-Japanese war, with all its dreadful consequences to the working class.

To insure the dominance of capitalism and its imperialist expansion the capitalist government of the United States will drive millions of its workers to the insane hells of war and death. The lot of the workers during peace or war will be increasing misery, untold suffering, unemployment, insecurity, and death.

The Workers' League must enter the organized ranks of the workers and fight with them in all their struggles against their oppressors. The Workers' League must be an active participant in every phase of the class war. So it will win the support of the workers and bring nearer the proletarian revolution in America.

Comrades, I send you my heartiest greetings and wish you the greatest possible success in all your endeavors.

BENJAMIN GITLOW.

Comrades:—

It is with great joy and deep gratification that I learn of the formation of a real revolutionary working class political movement in America. It is my earnest hope and desire that you comrades, assembled here in convention, will faithfully perform your duties to the American proletariat, and strive to fulfil the historic mission of the revolutionary working class.

The American workers for many years have drifted from one bourgeois political party to the other in the hope of finding a way out of the mire of wage slavery. They have been taught to believe that they are different from the workers of other countries, that here in America all men are free and equal, that Justice and Equality reign supreme, and that in this glorious democracy slavery is a thing of the past. But clanking chains are no longer necessary to keep slaves in subjection. Society has improved its devices for oppression in the passing centuries. Far more effective than chains, and balls, and the iron collar, is the ownership of the means whereby men live. Whoever controls these is a potentate, by whatever name he is called, and those who depend upon him are slaves by whatever name they are called.

During the past twenty years, however, there has been a gradual drift from these political parties to the now sterile and obsolete Socialist Party. Slowly but surely, many workers came to have faith in the Socialist ideal, the destruction of the capitalistic system and the ultimate establishment of a worker's republic, and in the Socialist Party as the embodiment of that ideal. But the Socialist Party, like all vacillating and reformist movements, has continually betrayed the trust of the working class. They have "sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage." They have betrayed the fundamental principles of socialism which they professed to serve in order that they might keep Meyer London in Congress, and a few Assemblymen in the Legislature.

The World War has left economic collapse and destitution in its train. Conditions have been going from bad to worse, until to-day, almost three years after the signing of the armistice, half of Europe is still in a state of war, and

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The Workers' League Campaign

By ISRAEL AMTER

It was not a mere accident that the Workers' League of Greater New York launched its electoral campaign at the present moment. It was not an accident that the League came into being at a time when the country is facing tremendous labor upheavals. The Workers' League is the product of a crying need for a political party which will enter into the vital conflicts of the workers,—their very struggles for existence.

The fearful unemployment which has been growing from month to month, the increasing demands of the employers for reductions of wages, while the cost of living continues to mount, their insistence on longer hours, which can only result in the unemployment of further millions, and the concentrated movement and organized campaign to institute the open shop regardless of consequences, these are but a few of the cardinal conditions that called for an organization like the Workers' League to step into the arena and take up the gauntlet thrown down by the bosses and their government.

The crisis in the coal industry, the threatened wage reduction and strike in the meat industry, the threatened railroad strike, appear like isolated manifestations of labor unrest, but in reality are all so closely related to the present capitalist crisis that the necessity of a unifying agent for the labor struggle, such as a political party of labor, becomes apparent at once.

The capitalists of this country, conscious of their power, both economic and political, and of their strangle-hold on the world situation, do not hesitate to challenge the united and disunited labor forces of the country. Although greater chaos confronts the actual operation of industry in this country than in any other part of the world, the capitalists who have created this situation, sure of their control and of the strength of the government, do not hesitate to plunge still further into chaos.

The American workers are unprotected in the face of these pressing problems. They do not understand the situation as do the European workers and are not so well organized. Against the drive of the bosses to enslave them economically, they have not even the safeguard of powerful organizations. Whatever the treachery of the yellow union leaders of Europe, none has descended so low as the American "leaders." None has so brazenly rejected the notion of international affiliation as have the leaders of the A. F. of L. None has so stupidly accepted the dicta of capitalist patriotism as have American labor "leaders," such as Gompers and Lewis. Face to face with open capitalist and governmental despotism, with the open application of force, coercion and violence, as evidenced at Mingo, Albany, Troy, Denver, Bisbee and Calumet, with the abrogation of the "constitutional" rights of free speech, free assemblage and free press, American labor organizations have crumbled.

They have crumbled because at their head are men who cannot and dare not face the issues. They know that it means a fight, a struggle, but they have neither the courage nor the intellectual clarity to face it. They know, or they seem to sense, that *struggles today tend to mass manifestations and now no longer are directed against the employers, but against the government.* They know that the government, in its "paternalism" toward the capitalists, intervenes and must intervene whenever capitalist dominion is endangered.

From experience, the workers are beginning to realize that short strikes with great power behind them alone can succeed. The workers are also beginning to grasp that strikes solely as mere *economic* tests of power are doomed. The few gains made are offset by the power of the bosses to rob them at the other end. Hence the tendency to enlist larger and larger numbers of workers in strikes. Hence the government's interference with greater frequency. Hence the undisguised elimination of "rights." It is a test of power, and the labor leaders, unequal to the task, flinch, hesitate and back down! Back down as Lewis backed down, as the miners' convention backed down in refusing to stand behind Howat, and in not supporting the Mingo miners by a general strike, which alone could force the bosses into negotiations. Back down, as undoubtedly the railroad leaders will back down, utilizing some such slogan as "public consideration," since they have openly been told that the "strike is not against the railroads but against the government."

As a result of the break-down of the unions and their inability even to organize the unemployed, there is arising a movement of rebellion against the present labor bureaucracy, against the cowardly labor "leaders," who, even today, in the midst of unemployment of such vast proportions, and of fearful wage-slashing, retain their high salaries. There is a movement to bring the unions together into industrial unions, into One Big Union—which is fought as *openly by the labor leaders, as by the bosses and the government.* There is the rank and file movement—the Shop Delegate System—to put all power in the hands of the workers in the shops. There is a revolutionary mass movement going on in the ranks of labor that is showing itself all over the country in an endeavor of the rank and file to get control of the labor organizations.

Propagating these ideas and the necessity of organizing for achieving them the Workers' League openly combats the treacherous Socialist Party, *which denounces proletarian dictatorship and supports capitalist dictatorship.* Its experience of capitalist terrorism at Albany, the counting-out of Lee and Cassidy as aldermen in the city of New York, and similar encounters in all parts of the country do not prevent it from seducing the workers into the belief that they must use the "pure" methods of parliamentary persuasion and the capitalist ballot as the *sole and rightful* means of labor emancipation. It sees in the gradual realization of reforms the steps to the Socialist state, rather than the strengthening of the capitalist state. It has rejected the only possible means of revolution—direct action, international organization and proletarian dictatorship—and is leading the workers to surrender. In America as in Europe, the Socialist Party is the heart of counter-revolution.

The crumbling of the Socialist Party, the expulsion and resignation of all of its revolutionary elements, the slow permeation of the more virile and progressive unions with the new labor tactics, and the affronts of the capitalist government have furnished a splendid field for the propagation of revolutionary ideas by the Workers' League.

The giant figure of Soviet Russia, the incarnation of the new methods, the embodiment of revolutionary thought, tactics and strategy, has blazed a new road for the workers of the world. The very attacks of the capitalists and the imperialist governments on Soviet Russia are proof of the

validity of her methods. Hence the rallying of the revolutionary workers to the banner of the Third International! Hence the demand for the recognition of Soviet Russia! Hence the looking to Russia for revolutionary inspiration and ideas! Hence the demand of the Workers' League for a Soviet Government in the United States!

The capitalist courts, realizing the revolutionary significance of the Workers' League, have already attempted to use capitalist dictatorship and prune the ticket of the Workers' League by ruling off the ballot as "convicts unfit to be on the ballot beside decent people," two of its candidates, Benjamin Gitlow and Harry Winitzky, serving sentences for activity as Communists. The capitalists and their government are the best educators of the Communist movement!

(Continued from page 11)

Little of what either group says on these subjects is relevant. The true issue lies not in the field of wage adjustment but in that of organization. The time is ripe for an attack on organized railroad labor. Secretary of Labor Davis claims that there are 600,000 transportation workers unemployed. The railroads themselves state they discharged that number. The Pennsylvania Railroad alone has discharged 90,000. The streets and parks are full of hungry men looking for work. There are many others on part time or poorly paid work who might be ready to scab on the strikers. Winter is coming. Most important of all, labor is not organized as a solid fighting unit. There are distinctions between the Brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor which cause friction. The truck drivers have already been pledged by their organization for the breaking of the strike just as trucks have been promised by the Automobile Chamber of Commerce.

The only hope of the railway workers for a successful strike in these circumstances lies in amalgamation. The days when a loose federation of autonomous unions could function effectively have passed.

As F. D. Underwood, President of the Erie, has said regarding the strike, "this is the time and place." The Wall Street Journal for Tuesday, Oct. 18, quotes a prominent banker and railroad man as follows: ("It will clear up many troubles and problems if the workers are allowed to strike. . . . I am afraid, however that the whole thing will end in a compromise." Another banker prominent in railroad affairs for many years, said in speaking of the strike, "There has never been a time that the roads could face a strike with as much confidence as today. . . . A successful strike is impossible. If any attempt is made to put the strike order into effect, it will mean the death of organized railway unions." This is the bankers' answer to the strike threat. The issue of this strike is not a matter of wages, although a wage settlement may result in a compromise. It is a clear question of the organization of labor upon which the capitalists are launching a direct attack. Today conditions favor such an attack. The powers that fight any attempt to organize the steel industry, that are ready to kill in order to prevent organization in the West Virginia mines, that are prepared for the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, will break the railroad unions if they can. The railroad workers must save their organizations. As individuals and groups, as Brotherhoods and Internationals, they must hearken to the words that J. P. Morgan spoke in 1885: "Don't fight each other. Don't waste the strength of one another. Stand together and divide the profits which assuredly will be yours." Otherwise they can never do battle with the forces of organized capital.

LETTERS FROM GITLOW AND WINITZKY

(Continued from page 12)

there are more than 7,000,000 men and women out of employment in America alone. Wages are being reduced daily throughout the country. Conditions are becoming constantly more acute, worse with every passing day, and the workers have nothing to hope for but endless misery and exploitation. Yet the only relief the Socialist Party holds out to the workers are promises of cheaper bread, cheaper milk, and municipal ownership of transit facilities. The capitalist press carries news features daily, concerning the famine in Russia, Poland, and China, but not a word is said about the starving masses here in America.

World imperialism near to complete collapse turns its last decaying energies to another assault on the Workers' Republic of Russia, while it attempts to crush revolt at home.

The capitalist class now realizes the truth of its desperate situation and is preparing itself for all emergencies. Thousands of workers are being brutally assaulted and thrown into prison, the police are forming riot squads with machine guns, ready at a moment's notice to shoot down the workers should they demand the necessities of life for themselves and their starving families. The 100% American patriotic defence societies, and the Ku Klux Klan are secretly organizing and making ready to mow down the defenceless workers should the occasion arise.

What has the Socialist Party or the official labor movement in America done to meet this terrible situation? They have done nothing, Comrades! What are we going to do about this? Shall we sit and wait for a Messiah to come down from heaven to lead us, or shall we take matters into our own hands and organize for the coming struggle? That struggle in America will be a bitter one, I know. The capitalist class is strongly intrenched, and will use every available weapon at their disposal. But I also know the working class, and have implicit faith in them. I know that they will rally round our banner, their courage and determination once aroused, and fight valiantly, fearlessly, as our comrades have done in Russia.

The economic development of the United States has reached a point where the growth of a workers' political party must henceforth go forward with startling rapidity, once the American working class has been weaned from its faith in parliamentarism.

We must prepare for action. Let us raise the standard of the Workers' League on high, and call to all the workers for their support.

Comrades! I have but one regret, and that is that due to my incarceration in the Bastille at Sing Sing, I cannot be among you, and do my share in the task that confronts you. I nevertheless have implicit faith in this new political movement of the working class, and know that it will justify that faith.

Let us inscribe on our banners "*The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain!*" Down with capitalism and exploitation! All power to the workers!

HARRY M. WINITZKY.

Socialist Party or Workers' Party

By LUDWIG LORE

Voting, in the past, was an easy matter. Either you belonged to the great majority that voted regularly for one or the other of the old political parties, voting the same ticket year after year, perhaps because you were, above all, a staunch party man, or changing your party allegiance at every election, because the past term had always so thoroughly convinced you of the absolute worthlessness of the party in power, that any candidate seemed better than the one before you. Or else you belonged to those voters who realized that there is no difference between the old capitalist parties, that both of them represent the interests of your exploiters against the interests of the working-class. Then you voted the socialist ticket as the only expression of working-class opinion. Very probably you did not even know exactly what it was that the socialists demanded. You had not taken the time to read their platform thoroughly. In general you knew that they stood with the workingman, and for the moment that was enough.

In this campaign it will not be quite so easy for you to decide. Of course if, in spite of all that has occurred in the past seven years, in spite of war and oppression, of unemployment and high prices, you are still prepared to cast your vote for the Democratic or the Republican parties, there is little more to be said. There your task narrows itself down to guessing which of the candidates is most likely to be personally honest. It's a game of heads you win and tails I lose. But if you believe that your vote must mean something, that it is the concrete expression of certain political views and certain more or less definite political principles, then the political situation with which you are confronted in the present campaign demands your serious attention.

Instead of a single party representing, or claiming to represent, the interests of labor, there are two in this campaign, the Socialist Party and the Workers' League. With the Socialist Party the voters are more or less familiar. The Workers' League, on the other hand, is a new organization with whose purposes and principles many are still unfamiliar. They are working-class parties in the sense that they are opposed to the domination of capitalist interests in our national, our state and municipal governments. Beyond that, however, there are differences between them that are so far-reaching and so all-important, that no working man who takes himself and his vote seriously should enter into this campaign without a fairly definite conception of their relative position.

The Socialist Party continues to occupy approximately the same position that it has held for the past twenty years. It demands, as it has always demanded, the public ownership of the important public utilities in the city, it calls upon the civic authorities to provide better schools, to inaugurate public improvements in order to procure work for at least a part of the men and women who are looking for jobs. It calls upon the voters of the city to elect its candidates to office so that they may use their political influence in the legislatures to improve the condition of the working-class, to do away with some of the most pressing outrages under which the workers of New York are suffering. While it never fails to insist, in this campaign perhaps even more religiously than on previous occasions, that the evils under which we are suffering are the result of capitalist misrule, and that only a government by the working-class can solve the problems that confront us, it is careful, under

all circumstances never to demand anything that could not be accomplished under capitalist rule. In other words, the demands of the Socialist Party are demands for reforms that could, with a sufficiently strong socialist minority in our legislative bodies, be forced upon a capitalist state or municipality, without in any way endangering its existence and integrity.

The Socialist Party has always prided itself upon the fact that the old parties have been forced time and time again to incorporate in their own platforms the demands that have been popularized by socialist propaganda. It has sponsored social insurance, minimum wage laws, child labor laws, laws regulating the hours of industry, laws providing for safety appliances and hygienic conditions in our industrial establishments, laws safeguarding the political rights of American citizens. Its representatives, whenever they were elected, strove almost without exception to force their capitalist opponents in the various legislatures to adopt measures that would alleviate in a measure the most acute miseries of the working-class.

This very desire to win reforms that would make the life of the worker a little easier has led the Socialist Party to become more and more modest in their demands. They formulate their measures so that they are in accord not with the needs of the working-class, but with the willingness of the parties of the ruling class to adopt them. Their representatives have again and again betrayed the most fundamental principles of the socialist movement because they feared that determined insistence upon these principles would bring political annihilation to the entire movement. They have foresworn the revolutionary movement, they have denied allegiance to Soviet Russia, they have repudiated affiliation with any international socialist movement, they have supported war measures, they have purged their party of every man and woman who openly supports and advocates proletarian revolution and the forcible overthrow of the capitalist system as the only hope of the working-class, because they are determined that their party shall be, first and foremost, at all times in a position to elect its candidates, so that they may make use of all legal means for improving the condition of the American proletariat. Having once taken this position, it follows as a natural consequence that the organization must insist at all times upon its legal character. It must emphasize that the Socialist Party stands for the achievement of working-class rule by democratic and constitutional methods only, and that it is unalterably opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Undoubtedly it can be argued that there is room in American politics for an honest reform party. America stands far behind all European countries in all social reform measures, and a strong Socialist Party could perhaps force the adoption of some such movement. There is room for a party in America that will represent those elements in the working-class that are fairly satisfied with conditions as they are, that are opposed to the overthrow of the capitalist system, but believe that the working-class should force upon its rulers a sort of benevolent paternalism, that will take care of those unfortunates who through illness, accident or unemployment are condemned to temporary or even permanent suffering under the present system of unlimited and unrestricted capitalist control. There is room for a party that will represent those elements in the working-class and in the bourgeoisie who still uphold the American

OUR PRISONERS

In the September issue of the Bulletin of the National Defense Committee, we reported that Ben Gitlow, candidate for Mayor of New York City on the Workers' League Ticket, and Isaac Ferguson, engaged in preparing the Ferguson-Ruthenberg briefs, had quite suddenly and unexpectedly been transferred to Auburn, while Winitzky had been transferred to Great Meadow. In Winitzky's case the plan to remove him to Great Meadow was not carried out, and Ferguson has again been brought back to Sing Sing. Of course it is very important that Ferguson should be within easy reach of New York City while he is preparing his legal briefs. As for Gitlow, with his appeal coming up this month, it is also imperative that he can be easily accessible to his attorneys who have been instructed to make the request that he also be brought back to Sing Sing. Ruthenberg was transferred to Dannemora at the same time that Gitlow and Ferguson were taken to Auburn, but he has now been brought back to Sing Sing.

GITLOW-WINITZKY APPEAL

The Gitlow-Winitzky Appeal comes up this month. Our drive to raise funds for this appeal is still on. Lawyers cannot serve us without money. The decision in Gitlow's case will effect all the other criminal anarchy cases. Funds we must have. We have borrowed money to pay our lawyers for past work so that they could take up this appeal for us. The money we borrowed must be paid back within 90 days, and other money raised to meet the expense of the Appeals and trials scheduled for this fall and winter. We need help! Can't you, each one who reads this, bring this matter before your union and make an appeal for help? We have no rich, middle-class people to support us; we must depend for all support upon the workers. Do not fail us! These men are in jail now because of their efforts in behalf of the workers. Failure to support them simply means desertion in the hour of their greatest need.

MINIMUM BUDGET FOR NEXT THREE MONTHS

Actual Expenses		Additional Expenses (Estimate)	
Hale, Nelles & Shorr	\$1,200	Ferguson-Ruthenberg appeal	\$ 250
Hale for Gitlow-Winitzky	550	Lindgren-Amter-Jakira	3,000
Incidental legal fees	800	Lindgren, Federal	500
Services	150	Jakira, Sullivan case	500
Gitlow Record	300	Three Bronx Women cases	3,500.00
Ellis Island Commissary	370	Deportation cases	1,000
Relief (\$300 per month)	900	Cortland, N. Y. cases	800
Total actual expenses	\$4,270	Total estimate	\$9,406
		Total actual and estimated	\$13,670

.....READ THIS BUDGET—\$13,670—

That is what is required to meet the obligations of the National Defense Committee in New York during the next three months. The Committee has in its treasury \$661.16. Of this, \$300 has been borrowed and must be paid back as soon as possible. And we have over \$13,000 to raise. Every person interested in the fate of our class-war and political prisoners must set to work to do his utmost to assist.

(NOTE). Our financial report shows only \$48.94 as the balance in the treasury at the end of September, but since then we have made desperate effort and have managed to increase the balance on hand, though the actual balance will disappear and we shall be in debt as soon as we pay our lawyers. We face a situation that will require the undivided support of all who are interested in our political offenders.

traditions of political liberty. There is room for a party that will represent the pacifist, anti-war elements in our population who still believe that education and propaganda can bring about the cessation of all wars under capitalist rule.

Inasmuch as the Socialist Party has attempted to unite these elements into one movement, somewhat after the pattern of the British Labor Party, we have no quarrel with it. It is when the Socialist Party, in its platform and through its speakers still insists that it stands for the overthrow of capitalism, when is still pretends sympathy to Soviet Russia, the forerunner of a world-wide proletarian revolution, that we object in the most emphatic terms. The Socialist Party is dishonest when it claims to represent the revolutionary proletariat of the United States. It is dishonest when it claims that its ultimate goal is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic. The Socialist Party to-day is as truly counter-revolutionary as is the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Its revolutionary phrase-mongering is nothing but a revolting attempt to hold in its ranks those men and women who are ready to join a revolutionary movement.

It is poor policy to try to be clever in great things. That the Socialist Party has learned to its own loss. It tries to appeal to all classes, to capture all shades of opinion. And in consequence antagonizes them all. The liberal bourgeoisie, where it possesses sufficient courage to become a

political factor, has joined the Farmer Labor Party because it openly and honestly espouses a program of reform, without resorting to phrases which in their very nature must be repugnant to the delicately nurtured sensibilities of our middle-class professionals. On the other hand, the revolutionary working-class, the former membership of the Socialist Party, is leaving the organization *en masse*. All over the country entire local and even state organizations are severing their allegiance with the party which no longer represents their ideals. The Socialist Party, though in this campaign it may still poll a large vote from among the disgruntled workers and shop-keepers, is on the downward road toward complete disintegration.

In the present campaign there is only one party that represents the principles of the revolutionary socialist, the Communist movement. The Workers' League makes no secret of its revolutionary character. It is not afraid to tell the working-class that capitalist reforms, even when they are won by a determined working-class. The Workers' League recognizes that the working class pays doubly and triply for every reform measure by intensified production, that the capitalist class will reimburse itself for every penny that the working man and the working woman gets in the form of social insurance by intensified exploitation.

Lastly, the Workers' League dares, openly, to espouse the cause of Soviet Russia, because it knows that a proletarian republic, a Soviet Republic, is the only hope of the class-conscious American working-class.

The World of Labor

GERMAN MAJORITY SOCIALISTS AT GORLITZ

The congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany recently held at Gorlitz shows a new movement to the right in the ranks of the German Majority Socialists. The keynote of the proceedings was the necessity of still further compromise with the bourgeoisie for the preservation of the republic. The struggle against capitalism had been replaced in the program of the right Socialists by the struggle against monarchism, and they thus revealed themselves in their true light, republicans, political liberals, representatives of the radical smaller bourgeoisie. Eduard Bernstein, the father of reformist socialism, admitted that the experience of the Kapp Putsch had shown that the direct action by the workers was the final security against reaction. But this was too costly a weapon and one too disturbing to production. Bernstein therefore recommended the alternative, cooperation with the middle-class and employers, and specifically with the Stinnes National Liberals pro-monarchists and bitter enemies of the working class, a proposal which was accepted by a majority of four-fifths. Such too was the recommendation of Schiedemann, a leading figure at the congress, while Ebert sent his blessings from the Presidential palace in a telegram. The policy of coalition was accepted in the congress but has already met strong opposition among its own membership, who begin to realize that their leaders are selling them out to the capitalists.

The coalition with the Stinnes group means the elimination of anything in the Social Democratic activities that smells too strongly of socialism. Scheidemann, Muller, Bernstein, Braun and others will find the way open to ministerial portfolios and have the honor of administering Germany and governing the workers side by side with the steel and coal magnates. Thus firmly entrenched in seats of power, the Majority Socialists were by no means cordial toward the advances of the minority of the Independent Socialists, who since the departure of the majority Independents to the Communists, have been drifting aimlessly. "We can combine with the Independents only if they get rid of their radical phraseology, and show positive constructive capacity, only if they feel the will to power." Among the Socialists of all countries today one thing certainly is not lacking, the will to power.

The Erfurt Program which has guided the policy of German Social Democrats for thirty years was replaced at this Congress by a new program which suppressed the principle of class struggle and set up the Burgfrieden or peace between classes that was first declared by the Social Democrats at the outbreak of the war. Much was said of the difficulties of establishing a socialist regime but, remarks Charles Rappaport in *L'Humanite*, "to maintain the capitalist regime under present conditions is still more difficult than to construct a Communist regime. If it is a question of difficulties the Communists prefer those of the future to those of the past. Opportunism has its martyrs. Our condolences!"

Soviet Russia and the Communists came in for the usual drubbing. Distinguished foreign Socialist guests of the congress, made hysterical attacks on Moscow, and saluted their great brother party of Germany. The congress in the process of coalition-making decided that there was one group with whom it could never combine, the communists. In the local governments of Lippe and Mecklenburg it had preferred an alliance with the National Liberals, and it remarked with regard to the assistance of some of its members in the expulsion of the Horthy representative from Frankfort, that they should rather have been thinking of their worst enemy, the Bela Kun regime.

What will be the results of the congress in the present political situation? The road to power hoped for by Scheidemann and Bernstein may not be open by way of the Stinnes coalition, if the allies continue their policy of plunder. Those German workers who are held to the Majority Socialists by the hope of economic security will then break away. Many others will be disillusioned by the complete betrayal of Socialist principles at this congress, and will move to the left. The reactionary tactics of the Majority Socialists and the economic difficulties of the capitalist regime are preparing the way for the real German revolution.

COMMUNISTS FOR UNITY IN FRENCH UNIONS

The officials of the C. G. T. (General Confederation of Labor) in France continue their efforts to drive out the communists who are nearing the capture of control. They do not hesitate to create serious splits in the trade union movement in this effort to retain their own vanishing power, while the communists within the unions are fighting for trade union unity. For this purpose they are appealing the resolution of the recent Trade Union Congress of Lille rejecting affiliation with Moscow by a bare majority. To interpret this resolution as calling for the expulsion from the unions of all who opposed it is of course quite unjustified and a criminal breaking up of organizations. The industrial Federations within the C. G. T. are the last citadel of reformism, their representatives misusing their votes. Merheim votes for division though representing a revolutionary and unitary union; so Tillet of the Potters Federation, Robert for the workers on naval armament violates a referendum of his organization in opposing the communists. Combes, who had proclaimed the right of the minority to organize votes for their exclusion. The question now is whether the 1,500 unions who voted at Lille against affiliation with Moscow will tolerate this high-handed action on the part of their executives.

RED TRADE UNION CONGRESS IN ITALY

The first conference of Communist trade unions of Italy was held in Milan beginning the 20th of September and was a great success in spite of difficulties and the opposition of the Milan police who forbid all meetings of a communist tendency. Delegates were present from 19 central bodies, among them those of Turin, Trieste, Pola, Forli, Cesena, Grosseto, Vicenza, Cuneo, Giorgenti, 12 sections of the Federation of Metal Workers, the Federation of Wood Workers, and from Communist groups of railroad workers, building workers and peasants. The report of the executive committee showed dozens of central bodies and trade unions now affiliated, so that the votes received at the Congress of Livorno, 1,500,000, have been retained although their representation has been diminished. At the Congress of the Red Trade Union International the theses of the Italian communists on shop committees and trade union activity perfectly expressed the attitude of the Congress.

The resolution on unemployment pointed out that unemployment is only one phase of the universal crisis and that a fight against unemployment was identical with a fight against capitalism. The unemployed are not a separate class of workers. They must struggle side by side with the whole working class in the same organization for a common goal. The communist nuclei must support the unemployed in every way and point out the common interests of employed and unemployed.

The Communist trade unionists number 40,000, to which will be added 40,000 young communists.

The report submitted to the congress by the executive of the Communist Party stated that there was no contradiction between political division and trade union unity. The trade unions should embrace all the workers on the basis of the class struggle without distinction of party. The party must work in the unions to influence the masses of the workers. The Italian Communists are working energetically for the control of the C. G. T. (General Federation of Labor), to drive out the opportunist Socialists and make it a basis for the Italian revolutionary movement. In the matter of unemployment the Communists, unlike the Socialists, are indifferent to reforms of actual conditions of industry. Unemployment according to them is caused by the bourgeois regime and the unemployed should struggle to free themselves from the capitalist system. The final resolution, passed unanimously, stated that

1. Communists should stay inside the C. G. T.
2. Communists should work for trade union unity.
3. Communists in the trade union federations affiliated with the Red Trade Union International should work for unity with the C. G. T.
4. Communists should not try to detach unions from the C. G. T.
5. Communists in the railroad federation and other independent unions should work for affiliation of their organization with the Red Trade Union International and the C. G. T.

The Rank and File

New Textile Amalgamation

All the textile unions not affiliated with the A. F. of L. are at present planning a new federation to be known as the Federated Textile Unions of America. There are about 150,000 workers who would be united in this union. The most active group working for the new combine is the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, claiming a membership of 25,000 members. The officers of the American Federation of Textile Operatives with a membership of 20,000 located for the most part in Fall River and New Bedford, have already approved the idea which will be submitted to the Amalgamation Lace Operatives of America, Body Brussels Carpet Weavers, American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, Associated Silk Workers of Paterson, The International Spinners Union, The National Association of Loomfixers, and the Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers of Cohoes, N. Y. It is of especial interest in connection with the formation of this federation that a co-operating committee of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America consisting of Hillman, Schlossberg and Bellanca has been appointed to form an agreement with the Amalgamated Textile Workers for uniting these two organizations.

The Latest Scab

The Automobile Chamber of Commerce has offered its services to President Harding, promising 9,200,000 cars and trucks to perform scab labor if the railroad strike is called.

Law and Order in California

The strike in the oil fields of California has now been brought to the attention of President Harding. It is time the Federal Government looked into a strike which has been going on since September 12, when the California Oil Fields Workers Union called out the workers in the San Joaquin valley because of the refusal of the operators and owners to meet with the workers and negotiate wage scales and a working agreement. Perhaps President Harding's interest in the case has been aroused because of the complaints that the deputizing of strikers is a conspiracy to force the employers into a concession. It is a fact that in Kern County, California, Sheriff Jones has deputized strikers in preference to Company guards, and the results have been absolute law and order. A committee of 250 ex-service men who are among the strikers patrol the roads and effectually discourage scabs and Company provocateurs who are trying unsuccessfully to discredit the strikers. At the same time the district council, realizing the force which the strikers are up against, has issued the statement, "Do not delude yourselves into the idea that you are going to win any great victory. You are simply going to show them that you will not go plum to hell without a struggle."

The Chamber of Commerce Again

Indianapolis.—The International Typographical Union reports a steady gain in its strike to enforce the 44-hour week. The employers have repudiated their agreement made regarding the 44-hour week, but 354 Typographical shops with a membership of 28,546 have secured the shorter week. The situation was expressed in no uncertain terms when the International Convention recently held in Quebec stated, "While we condemn the employing printers who violated their sacred agreements with us we desire to inform members of the International Typographical Union that the Manufacturers Associations and various Chambers of Commerce are responsible, in most cases, for their action, because of threats made by those bodies to ruin the business of any employing printer who desires to abide by the agreement entered into by our International Officers."

An Authority on Unemployment

According to the Trades Union News we note that the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce has appointed Mr. G. L. Peck, Vice President of the Pennsylvania Railroad system, as a member of the Committee to "register the unemployed and to take steps for relief and to stimulate industry." Surely they have picked the right man. The Pennsylvania has recently discharged 90,000 workers and its President, Mr. Rea, is one of the strongest advocates of the open shop and a stimulation of industry by a reduction of wages.

American Workers Push Supplies

Relief for Russia is running a race with winter which will close the port and seal the fate of many millions. On October 15 the ship "Magnus" sailed from Philadelphia bound for Petrograd with a cargo of food stuffs. Four million pounds of wheat and a thousand cans of condensed milk were contributed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee representing the Friends of Soviet Russia and the New York Volks Zeitung and a large group of American workers, added 1,000 tons of flour, 2,000 cases of condensed milk, 7,800 pounds of chocolate, and 59,110 pounds of cocoa. The "Magnus" will deliver her cargo to the Russian Soviet Republic for distribution in the famine stricken areas. She carries the first reply of the workers of America to the appeal sent out by the Workers' Government of Russia.

The Furriers Work Overtime to Earn Pay Checks for Direct Russian Relief

On Saturday, October 22, the Furriers Union, although not yet recovered from its recent prolonged strike, will work overtime that it may contribute its share to the supplies which the workers are sending to Russia. There are six to seven thousand fur workers in New York who will send their pay checks for four hours' work on Saturday to their Joint Board to be used for supplies for Russian Famine Relief.

Second Relief Ship Sails Monday, October 24

The "Elzasier" of the Belgian Line, leaves New York with the second shipment of relief supplies for Russia. The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee is sending upwards of \$50,000 worth of fats, flour, condensed milk, beans, meats and cocoa. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are sending 2,000 heavy coats and 2,000 pairs of pants amounting to about \$30,000 worth of clothing, and the New York Call is sending about \$6,000 worth of food stuffs. Weekly shipments will be made by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee which was organized with Lincoln Steffens as Executive Secretary to consolidate the relief work of the labor organizations desiring to ship supplies to the Russian Soviet Republic.

IRISH-AMERICAN LABOR LEAGUE ENDORSES CANDIDATES OF WORKERS' LEAGUE

The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the Executive Committee of the Irish-American Labor League at a meeting held at its headquarters at 250 West 25th Street, on Sept. 6th, 1921:

"Whereas Tammany Hall, that cesspool of political corruption, succeeded in inducing American citizens of Irish birth and descent to vote for its candidates on the ground that it was interested in the freedom of Ireland and the welfare of the Irish race in America, and

"Whereas, Tammany has trampled in the mire every principle of human liberty which the best spirits of the Irish race have always held dear, and has even used its political power to crush and imprison Irishmen who dared to champion the rights of the workers, as in the case of Jim Larkin, who was prosecuted by two Tammany district attorneys, namely, Alfred J. Talley and Alexander I. Rorke, and sentenced to a term of from five to ten years in prison because he believed the workers should own and control the product of their toil, and

"Whereas, the Workers' League of Greater New York is the only political party worthy of the support of the workers of any and every race, as it stands for the Workers' Republic and against Tammany Hall and all other political parties.

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the Irish-American Labor League, composed of citizens of Irish birth and descent, endorse the platform of the Workers' League of Greater New York and call upon all our members and sympathizers to vote for the candidates of the Workers' League and thus protest against the imprisonment of Jim Larkin and his fellow workers, and against the continued exploitation of the workers for the benefit of the parasite class, and be it further

"Resolved, that copies of this resolution be given to the daily press and be published in the next issue of the Irish People.

International Documents

The American Labor Movement and the Red International

THESES OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL

Shortly after the Civil War of 1861-65, when the slave-owning, agricultural, ruling class was superseded in power by the industrial capitalist class in the United States, the labor union movement began its existence on a mass scale. The movement in its infancy developed two types of unions, the craft union, each confined to a skilled trade, and the general union, admitting workers of all trades, both skilled and unskilled—the forerunner of the modern industrial union.

The first large, general union, the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, grew harmoniously side by side with the craft unions until 1886. Then the efforts of the Knights of Labor to extend their organization in some of the skilled crafts resulted in the beginning of bitter competition with the craft unions. From that time until to-day the American Labor Movement has been divided into two hostile camps.

In 1886 the principal craft unions formed a close alliance in opposition to the Knights of Labor, under the name of the "American Federation of Labor." This federation was a centralization of the former very loose federation formed in 1881 with a membership of about 300,000. Although the Knights of Labor was at that time more than twice as large as the American Federation of Labor, it rapidly declined and disappeared, leaving a small industrial union movement in its wake. The craft unions, then growing in size, became more and more conservative, while the industrial unions merged and founded the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), which has since been the predominant industrial union with declared revolutionary aims. The One Big Union and various other labor organizations of small membership with programs of revolutionary industrial unionism have sprung up during the life of the I. W. W. A fraction separating from the I. W. W., taking the name of the Workers' International Industrial Union, has a program attempting to accomplish revolution through the ballot and otherwise in conformity with the capitalist system.

The natural increase in numbers of organized workers during the ripening of American capitalism has been absorbed, not by the revolutionary industrial unions, but by the reactionary American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods, the right wing of the American labor movement, which now include more than 85 per cent of the organized workers. The revolutionary industrial unions are small in membership, all of them together having in their ranks less than two per cent of the organized workers. In short, the masses of the organized workers are in the unions controlled by the reactionary bureaucracy.

The American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods are composed chiefly of a multitude of craft subdivisions declaring themselves to be devoted to narrow craft interests. With the spirit of "labor aristocracy," some of the higher skilled trades put severe restrictions upon apprenticeship, demand very high initiation fees, and require American citizenship of foreign born workers. Some races are excluded from membership. Wage contracts are made to expire at different dates, so that if the workers go on strike at the expiration of contract, other workers of another plant or of another craft in the same industry are induced to continue working in observance of their own unexpired contract. The leaders make every effort to hold the workers back from the class struggle. Many union officials privately or even publicly engage in breaking strikes. It is the habit of the labor bureaucracy openly to guarantee the capitalist class and government complete security against any radical developments in the labor movement. During the World War and the subsequent industrial crisis, this went so far that the government used police and military power to compel the workers to obey what are called their "lawful" union officials in the railroad and coal mining districts. At the same time, the leaders of the I. W. W. and thousands of its members were im-

prisoned, some of the leaders being condemned to prison terms as high as twenty years.

But the labor bureaucracy has not completely succeeded in emasculating the trade unions under its rule, especially not in the case of the large mass unions. The International Association of Machinists (metal workers), 273,000 strong, more or less mildly advocates a change of leadership in the American Federation of Labor and a change to the industrial union form. At the close of the World War, large and spontaneous "outlaw" strikes of railroad workers and coal miners were directed against union officials as well as employers.

The physical nature of the coal mining industry has necessitated the mine workers' organization taking the industrial union form, even under the worst type of reactionary bureaucracy. The United Mine Workers have engaged in strikes of terrific violence throughout their history. In West Virginia the mine workers of this union have since 1912 been engaged in intermittent warfare against their employers and the state, having had thousand of workers under arms at one time. Yet this union forms a solid block of half a million men—one-eighth part of the American Federation of Labor, and ten times the size of the largest of the revolutionary industrial unions outside of the American Federation of Labor. In several districts, it is, and has been for two years, in a state of rebellion against its corrupt leaders. In many instances the spontaneous rebellions against the union bureaucracy have collapsed through the inability to find capable new leaders and executives. In other instances able and honest leaders have developed out of the coal pits and have led a few sections of the United Mine workers into advanced positions.

The revolutionary labor unionists are not by any means all in the small revolutionary industrial unions. On the contrary, many thousands of revolutionary and semi-revolutionary workers have developed consciousness inside of the reactionary trade unions. Also a great many workers after getting a revolutionary training in the I. W. W. have drifted back into the trade unions and have obtained an influence over the backward membership. Since the foundation of the Communist parties, now united into one, the Communist Party of America, Communist nuclei have been in rapid process of formation and have already obtained strength in many unions, in some local unions even the power of control.

In notable instances, large or small sections of the conservative wing of the American labor movement have grown restless and have overridden the will of the bureaucrats. In 1914, the majority fraction of the United Garment Workers, in rebellion against the bureaucracy, was refused recognition by the American Federation, and thereupon founded the large, independent union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with a semi-revolutionary program. It now has 175,000 members, and is the largest of all the independent unions. In several other cases, sections of unions have been expelled and have formed small unions with programs and ideology more or less like those of the I. W. W.

It is now an established custom of the Federation to expel from the general mass of organized workers any portion of it that becomes infected with revolutionary thought.

At the same time it has become the custom of revolutionary workers to accept their expulsion almost as a matter of course, or even voluntarily to secede from the reactionary unions, to found new unions with a revolutionary program, and to call upon their fellow workers of the industry to join them. This works in strange accord with the wish of the reactionaries to get the revolutionary workers out of the mass unions. Of course, the workers who join the new organizations are those inclined to radicalism. The masses are left behind more hopelessly than ever in the hands of the reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods, while the rebels find themselves in small unions with little economic power, segregated for easy capitalist suppression.

The policy of the Red International of Labor Unions is to keep the revolutionary workers inside the mass organizations of backward workers, such as are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Dual unionism must be done away with. The R. I. L. U. adheres to the principle that wherever possible there should exist but one

union in each field. Adherence to this policy means that attempts of the labor bureaucracy to expel revolutionary individuals or sections will be resisted with every possible means. The custom of revolutionaries seceding from the mass unions to form smaller unions on the ground of the reactionary character of the mass union, must be brought to an end. The policy of the R. I. L. U. is that of consolidation, not division. The slogan shall be "No splits in the labor movement!"

The Executive Council of the Red International of Labor Unions advance the following application of its policy to the American labor movement:

American Office of Red International

The Executive Council of the Red International of Labor Unions will appoint and maintain in the United States of America a special representative who shall be a practical revolutionary unionist. This representative shall have the special task of directing the application to the labor union work of such methods as have in practice been shown to be effective in bringing trade unions into revolutionary structure and control, for example, organized minority committees, committees of action, shop stewards movements, educational leagues, publication of journals specializing in labor union questions, and publication of pamphlets, leaflets, etc. pertaining to labor union questions as such. The activities of the special representative shall be confined strictly to labor union work. He must understand that his work is not general Communist propaganda, but the special work of inaugurating and directing the developments of the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions. His activities must in no way conflict with or encroach upon the general work and propaganda of an existing revolutionary working class political party, but on the contrary, all of his activities must be in full co-operation with the work of any genuine revolutionary force and the directing body of that force.

Revolutionary Unions Must Aid

The Red International of Labor Unions will call most naturally upon the existing revolutionary industrial unions to co-operate in a concerted and thoroughly modernized plan to revolutionize the four or five million organized workers in the reactionary unions of the United States, to reach whom all methods heretofore used have failed. Workers of the revolutionary industrial unions are expected to respond immediately to the call to join in the work of (1) changing the structure of the reactionary mass unions into the industrial union form, and (2) ejecting from control of those unions the reactionary leaders. The R. I. L. U. constructed as it is out of the combined experience of the revolutionary unions of all countries, is the instrument for bringing the tactics of each country into adjustment with the scientific knowledge of revolution gained in the experience of all, especially with the knowledge gained in the after-war and revolutionary period. All affiliating revolutionary industrial unions will carefully re-examine and adjust their tactics to the scientific knowledge gained in the experience of the last three years, using for the purpose their connection with all other revolutionary unions of the world through the Red International of Labor Unions.

Abandon Dual Unionism

In industries dominated by the trade unions, and where the revolutionary industrial unions are either non-existent or a minor factor, the revolutionary industrial unionists shall be induced to abandon their dual unionism, and to concentrate their activities in the trade unions. Such industries are, principally: Coal mining, building trades, printing trades, metal trades, clothing trades, railroads, general transport, theatrical trades, meat slaughtering industry, and electrical supply trades. In all these industries the trade unions are strong, containing in each instance the overwhelming majority of the workers that are organized. The revolutionary industrial unions either have no organization there at all, or are negligible in strength and influence. Nor is there a prospect of the situation being changed by the tactics heretofore used. For the revolutionary industrial unions to continue their program of maintaining a dual organization in these industries, and to insist upon the support of all revolutionists on that basis, would be to block the performance of real work. The revolutionary industrial unions must be induced definitely to stop maintaining, or attempting to form, arbitrary dual unions in such industries. What few members they now have in such industries shall enter the old unions and organize themselves therein as minority groups. The direction and control of the revolutionary trade union work in these branches of industry shall devolve upon the Red International of Labor Unions.

Support the Strongest Unions

In certain industries the trade unions are weak and the

revolutionary industrial unions have developed some degree of constructive organization. These industries are principally metal mining, textile, lumber, boot and shoe manufacturing, baking and candy making, automobile manufacturing, hotels and restaurants, and agriculture. Where one of the revolutionary industrial unions has attained in such an industry a membership superior to, or approximately equal to, the membership of the reactionary trade unions the Red International of Labor Unions will vigorously support such revolutionary industrial union with a view to its absorbing the entire industry. Where several revolutionary industrial unions have a foothold, the aggregate of their membership being greater than, or approximately equal to, that of the reactionary trade unions, the policy will be as follows: the representative of the R. I. L. U. will call conferences of the revolutionary industrial unions fractions involved, so that a united course of action may be decided upon. Failing agreement, the R. I. L. U. will support the union showing the greatest hold upon the industry.

Organize Sympathizing Groups

The representative of the R. I. L. U. under instructions given him by the Executive of the R. I. L. U. will formulate programs for individuals and fractions that may be expelled from unions by the reactionary bureaucracy finding solutions wherever possible entirely free from the old mistake of dual unionism.

Within all trade and industrial unions the American representative of the R. I. L. U. will widely organize and promote and extensively cultivate the revolutionary groups, and will help to crystallize around such groups larger blocks of sympathetic workers growing in understanding. The American representative will supply the revolutionary groups with literature, information, instruction as to methods, and also with the means of communication between the unions, so as to co-ordinate the entire left-wing of the American labor movement on a national scale without removing it from the old mass trade unions.

Support Industrial Amalgamation

The trade union minorities working under the direction of the R. I. L. U. will vigorously support all of the present tendencies toward breaking down of craft aloofness and getting closer to the industrial form. The movement of the International Association of Machinists for introducing industrial union forms into the American Federation of Labor, as well as the movement for closer federation and subsequent amalgamation of the various crafts of the railroad brotherhoods, will be supported without giving support to the reactionary leaders who have been drawn into a half-hearted identification with these movements. The object shall be, not to destroy the craft unions, but to accelerate in a vigorous manner the natural process of federation and amalgamation by which they evolve to a practical industrial union form.

Don't Smash or Split the Unions

The work of the revolutionary groups within the trade unions shall not be directed to smashing these unions, nor of splitting them, but of keeping the mass as nearly as possible intact as to membership, while throwing off from each union its bureaucratic superstructure. The subject matter of the agitation of the revolutionary groups in the reactionary unions shall be the questions of every-day struggle, with revolutionary principles applied to their solution in a practical manner—never in an impractical or abstract manner. The revolutionists must be more practical than their opponents, more efficient and hardworking in handling the daily routine of the union. At the same time they must work as rapidly as possible to bring their unions into line with the more advanced unions for the proletarian revolution.

Resist Expulsion; Stand for Unity

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

An Open Letter to the Metal Workers of all Countries

The yellow leaders of the International Union of Metal Workers have again placed us, metal workers of Soviet Russia, in such a position that we cannot come in contact with you in close brotherly union by a direct conference with your delegates at an International Congress and are compelled to address you in an open letter.

We, the Russian metal workers, understand fully that the working class can throw off the capitalistic chains by no other means than revolutionary activity and more effective methods of struggle adopted by all the workers of the world, certainly not by such tactics as the leaders of the Lucerne Congress of Metal Workers advise. The firm stand of the leaders who have behind them the revolutionary masses, the elimination from their midst of the fawning social harmonizers, the irresistible striving to realize the aims of the workers by revolutionary methods, those are the ways which bring us nearer to socialism. With this in view, our intention was to acquaint the representatives of the metal workers of all countries with our revolutionary and trade union experience during our three and a half years of active struggle with the bourgeoisie. We are confident that our unsuccessful attempt to have our representatives seated at the International Congress and the means by which it was thwarted will draw the attention of the metal workers of all countries and that they will interpret in its proper light the role of their leaders in the capacity of henchmen enabling the police of the German and Swiss governments to accomplish their work.

We assume that our three years of persistent effort during a period of bitter class struggle to form a revolutionary International Trade Union of Metal Workers must be taken into consideration. It must be agreed once for all that we have a right to have our victories and our defeats considered by the International Union of Metal Workers, as well as to criticize its activity and the activities of its leaders, and that, finally, we have a right to form an organic union with the revolutionary metal workers of all countries.

We assume that you take the proper view of the hypocrisy of your leaders, their efforts to avoid giving satisfaction to our demands, and the resistance of your government to our meeting with you although you desire to see us in the general international family of metal workers and wish to get to know us. Last year such an attempt was blocked by the Swedish government in arresting our representatives to the International Conference of Metal Workers. This year, taught by this experience of police bars and the red tape of the International Secretariat of Metal Workers, we sent written propositions and inquiries to Ilg, secretary of the Bureau, and succeeded at last in getting an invitation to the International Conference of Metal Workers.

The regular convention of our union which took place at the end of May of this year elected a delegation for this purpose. When our German comrades inquired whether there were any chances for our delegation to be allowed legal pas-

sage to the congress, Ilg answered that all attempts in this direction had failed, but that he would propose to the Russian delegation to wait in Berlin to the end of the Congress, when he would come himself and take up matters with the delegation. Our delegation knew Ilg too well and the kind of pressure he would bring to bear upon the Swiss government to believe him naively and to hope for results from a consultation with such a well-known opportunist and advocate of class cooperation. Our delegation certainly had no intention of having a personal interview with Ilg, who wished under such circumstances to play the representative of the whole Congress in consulting with our delegation. Our delegation thought rather of appealing to the Congress and of defending its rights from the rostrum before the rank and file of the metal workers. The delegation therefore received Ilg's response on its merits, characterizing it in their answer as an attempt to make a fool of them. But of this Ilg said not a word to the metal workers.

The delegation left for Switzerland at its own risk, where it was surprised to find the unity between the Swiss government and the chief leaders of the Congress at Lucerne in their views and tactics. When the Swiss police had arrested our delegation with no legal grounds for such action, Ilg announced, with the tacit approval of the whole Congress, the decision of the executive committee to expel the All-Russian Union of Metal Workers from the International Union because of their affiliation with the Moscow Red Labor International.

Thus in the fourth year of the proletarian revolution, the yellow leaders still continue the policy of isolating the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat from the metal workers of the whole world. Our new failure to achieve unity is at the same time a sign of weakness on the part of the yellow leaders as well as a justification of our principles. We are convinced that the more Ilg bars the way to our brothers and comrades in the struggle with the bourgeoisie, the more the rank and file of the metal workers wishes to come closer to us.

We are confident that this letter will be a warning signal against the touching unity between the opportunistic leaders of the metal workers and the police agents of the bourgeois governments who aim to bar the revolutionary workers of Russia from the proletariat of the west by a solid wall.

Fellow-workers! Brand with infamy such a policy on the part of the leaders, adopt protest resolutions against the tacit agreement to such methods and their sanction by Congress, which has deceived your trusts and hopes.

The revolutionary proletariat of Soviet Russia demands your intervention and is confident of the censure you will pass upon your yellow leaders. It demands conditions for close contact of this union with their brothers at the bench and at the fighting front all the world over.

With fraternal greetings,

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALL
RUSSIAN UNION OF METAL WORKERS.

Affiliate with the Red International

The revolutionary groups in the unions of all types in the United States must work consistently to bring their unions to accept the program of the Red International and to affiliate with it. However, local unions and other units of an "International" union must not be encouraged actually to affiliate with the R. I. L. U. until such time as they can bring the "International" union as a whole to affiliate. Until such time, their intercourse with the R. I. L. U. and their representation in the world congresses shall be as minorities of their "International" union.

Resist Affiliation with Amsterdam

The American labor movement is not at the present moment confronted with any efforts of the controlling union bureaucracy to reaffiliate with the Amsterdam International of yellow socialists, the American labor officials having repudiated even the reformists Henderson, Jouhaux, Oudegeest and Thomas. But when in the future the American labor bureaucracy shall attempt to divert the revolutionary current by reaffiliating with the Amsterdam International, the revolutionary unionists of America must be prepared to resist such affiliation with all their power. Meantime a wide educational campaign of enlightenment on the differences between the Amsterdam pseudo-international and the real international—the Red International

of Labor Unions—must be made to nullify the present mistaken efforts of some labor union reformists to bring about Amsterdam reaffiliation.

Support Revolutionary Workers' Party

Revolutionary unions affiliating with the R. I. L. U. will conduct a propaganda against parliamentary reform, against the expectation of "lawful" revolution—against the kind of political action engaged in by the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor Party in the United States. But such revolutionary unions will take an altogether different attitude where a workers' political party uses an electoral campaign or a legislative seat for agitation in favor of overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the workers' republic. The affiliated revolutionary unions will permit no opposition to such political action through the union channels, but while they remain a small and feeble minority, the subject of the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the workers' rule shall be explained in their press and on their platforms so as to give the workers a favorable impression of these revolutionary tactics. In other words, they shall go as far in their advocacy of these revolutionary measures as is possible while maintaining their open existence. As they gain economic strength sufficient to protect their existence, they must frankly and vigorously advocate these proven revolutionary methods as the only means leading to permanent betterment of the working class.

MANIFESTO AND PLATFORM OF WORKERS' LEAGUE

The Workers' League of Greater New York is organized for the purpose of participating in the coming elections on a working-class platform—on a platform that will express the aspiration of the workers for complete liberation from capitalist misrule and voice their pressing needs of today.

The imperialist war has brought in its wake a serious crisis. At least seven million workers are now unemployed. These millions of working men and women are now walking the streets without hope of finding a job, without means of support for themselves or their families, haunted by the fear of approaching starvation. Those who are still at work live in constant fear of loss of their jobs or reductions in their standard of living.

The masters and oppressors, the captains of finance and industry who are in possession of the American government, are little concerned over the desperate situation of the workers. They are rather encouraged by the weakening of the resistance of the workers under the pressure of unemployment and by the traitorous behavior of the official labor leaders, to make an attack upon the workers' standard of life and force general reductions of wages. The trade unions, usually the workers' most effective means of defense against capitalist oppression, are being reduced to impotence by the exploiters and their lieutenants among the trade union officials, who are thus bringing upon us untold misery and driving us into pauperism and slavery.

The ruling class denies responsibility for the plight of the working masses. "It is the chaotic condition of Europe that has brought unemployment upon us." "It is the high American wage, preventing successful competition with European manufacturers, that has brought a halt in our production." Thus is the present crisis explained by the defenders and beneficiaries of the present order.

The chaotic condition of Europe has indeed a close relation with the economic crisis and unemployment in the United States. But this chaos is the result of the Imperialist war. It is the insatiable greed of the imperialist capitalism of Europe and America for profits and power which brought about the war and the subsequent political and economic collapse.

The war is over but peace has not come. The capitalists of Europe and America are unable to settle their difference, and pool their resources for the rehabilitation of the world. The old imperialist game that has brought the world to the verge of ruin and destruction still goes on. Only the participants and their respective strength have changed somewhat. The combination of Russian, English, French, American and Japanese capitalism against that of Central Europe has been replaced by a coalition of all other powers against Soviet Russia, while each is occupied in a competitive trade conflict with the others, French capitalism with English, English with American, American with Japanese. Such is the criminal imperialist game which prevents Europe and the entire world from resuming the work of production.

Our American capitalist oppressors are leading this mad race for profits and power. No longer satisfied with the profits of pre-war days and the exploitation of the American workers, they now seek war profits, super-profits such as only the exploitation of colonial peoples can provide. Hence the intervention in Mexico! Hence the subjection of the Philippines, Haiti, Panama and other republics of Central America. Hence the aggressive march toward South America and China. Hence the slackening of production and the creation of the present crisis by our captains of finance and industry.

In a rich and bountiful country like America, we can surely produce enough for our own use. We do not lack any important raw materials. We do not depend upon other countries for our food supply. We have everything required to produce a plenty for every man, woman and child in the United States, and a surplus for the rest of the world. But capitalism produces not for social use, but for profit. It undertakes colonial conquests and imperialist wars for greater profits. It has brought the work to a condition where uninterrupted production is no longer possible. Even security of a job is becoming a thing of the past for an ever increasing number of workers. Capitalism can no longer provide work or subsistence for the broad laboring masses.

The working class of America, as of other countries, must therefore do away with capitalism in order to live. And this can only be done by establishing a Soviet Republic in the United States. This is the fundamental aim with which the Workers' League of Greater New York enters the 1921 campaign.

The candidates of the Workers' League will oppose without compromise the candidates of Tammany Hall and the so-called "Coalition," both of them political trusts of corrupt politicians defending the interests of the capitalist class against the workers. Tammany Hall caters to the interests of the smaller capitalists and gains the votes of the workers by appealing to their prejudices. The so-called Coalition, a fusion of Republicans, Independent Democrats and "Non-partisans," caters to the interests of Big Business. The conflict between Tammany Hall and the Coalition is a mere manoeuvre to delude the workers. A vote for the candidates of either of these parties is a vote for the enemies of the working class.

The Workers' League of New York City will oppose the candidates of the Socialist Party, which does not fulfil its claim to represent the working class and is incapable of leading them in the struggle for the defence of their interests. The Socialist Party is out of date. Its policies are left-overs from the pre-war days, when capitalism could still manage to keep up production and provide subsistence for the great mass of the workers. Today with world capitalism in the process of disintegration, with American capitalism losing its control over the economic life of the country, even a fight for wages can no longer be made successfully through the pure and simple trade-unionism of Gompers or the parliamentarism of Hillquit. The situation calls for a combination of trade union and political action with the emphasis on direct political action by the workers themselves. The Socialist Party refuses to recognize this. It appears before the workers of New York with a program of municipal ownership of public utilities—a program which can never be realized under capitalist rule. To pretend that this is not so, as the Socialist Party does, is to deceive the workers and weaken them in their struggle for their pressing needs.

The Workers' League enters this campaign with a clear understanding of the limitation of pure and simple parliamentarism. The Workers' League appeals for the support of the working masses of New York City. It stands for the abolition of capitalism through the only means by which this can be accomplished—the establishment of a Workers' Soviet Republic in the United States.

Our candidates for office if elected will at all times speak the mind of the workers within the legislative chambers and give aid in their struggles outside.

They will agitate, organize and call the workers to fight for the following immediate demands: Emergency legislation to combat reduction of wages, immediate legislation against the open-shop drive, emergency legislation for the relief of the unemployed, hands off Mexico, Haiti, Panama and the Philippines, recognition of and trade with Soviet Russia.

Working men and working women of New York City! There are difficult days ahead for us! The unemployment situation is getting worse from day to day. The struggle for better wages and working conditions is becoming a fight for existence. In this fight our enemies, the capitalists, are organized and united, on the economic as well as on the political field. They have the overwhelming power of the governmental machinery behind them, while our ranks, the ranks of labor, are divided. On the economic field most of our trade unions are controlled by reactionary leaders who purposely obstruct our unification and hold us back from independent political action. On the political field there is not a single organization able and willing to lead the struggles of the working class with the exception of the Communist Party which has been outlawed by the enemies of labor. It is time to be up and doing.

Rally to the banner of the Workers' League of Greater New York!

Join hands with us in sounding the call for battle, for the rights of the workers and the freedom of the working class! Workers of New York City! Spread our Message and Support Our Candidates.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

National Office

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

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From Date of Organization, August 9 to September 30, 1921

EXHIBIT "A"

Income received from all sources:

Receipts Nos. 1 to 432 detailed in Financial Statement dated September 19.....	\$ 45,995.52
**Receipt No. 214 referred to in Financial Statement dated September 19, now included as "Income" and "Deduction from Income"	200.00
Receipts Nos. 433 to 457 detailed below	4,141.68
Receipts Nos. 458 to 636 (except Nos. 570, 633 and 634 for \$56.00, total, to be included in next report)	28,426.30

Total Income \$78,763.50

Deductions from Income:

Receipt No. 1—Money order for part of total sent back for signature	\$ 74.25
**Receipt No. 214—Check protested	200.00
Receipt No. 393—Check for part of total returned for signature	25.00
Receipt No. 430—Check returned for signature	20.76
Receipt No. 506—Discount on Canadian remittance60
Bank Charges: Exchanges, etc.	1.60
Expenses—Local Tag Day	50.52
Expenses—Local Mass Meeting	82.00
Express on clothes, etc., received	9.62
	464.35

Income, less Deductions \$78,299.15

Expenses—As per Schedule "1" attached (4.3% of Income less Deductions) 3,449.31

Balance Available for Relief of Soviet Russia 74,849.84

Balance is accounted for as follows:

Funds disbursed for Relief:	
Products Exchange Corporation	
For 400 cases dried milk	\$ 2,000.00
For Ocean Freight and Marine Insurance thereon	185.73
*American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, September 13—	
Check	20,000.00

Total Relief \$22,185.73

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES

From Date of Organization, August 9 to September 30, 1921

SCHEDULE "1"

*Wages

Secretary Allan S. Broms (including 2 weeks prior to organization)	\$ 360.00
Office Staff	475.00
Speakers	207.68
Office Rent	115.00
Office Space Fittings and Alterations	149.14
Office Furniture Rent	10.00
Committee Rooms Rent	8.00
Safe Deposit Box Rent	8.00
Office Supplies	127.60
Office Printing and Stationery	189.43
Postages	56.91
Telegrams	81.25
Telephones, Carfares	5.55
Publicity	
Leaflets	370.00
Cuts, Mats, Cartoons, etc.	55.11
Printing Financial Reports	70.00
*Wages	80.00
Traveling	279.54
Organization Supplies (Lists, Buttons, etc.)	801.10
Total	\$3,449.31

*Maximum rate of wages is \$40.00 per week.

Relief Expenses:

Washington Conference for American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee with Mr. Hoover	114.57
*Cash in Bank	50,098.59
Cash on Hand—Contingency Fund	1,000.00
Cash in hands of American Labor Alliance for our current expenses	500.00

Advances:

N. Y. Local Friends of Soviet Russia....	250.00
Ella Reeve Bloor	100.00
Louise Bryant	150.00
Thurber Lewis	30.00
Office Furniture and Equipment	66.00

Total \$74,849.84

*Check for \$45,000.00 sent to American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, October 1.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the period from the date of organization, August 9 to September 30, 1921, a period of nearly two months.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me. Valuables received to be sold for the fund, but not yet sold, are not included in the above statement. Merchandise received for shipment is not included. Expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included.

In my opinion the above statements of accounts, including a statement of receipts and disbursements and a statement of expenses from August 9 to September 30, 1921, are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

2764 Creston Avenue,
New York, N. Y.
October 13, 1921.

J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
Chartered Accountant.

October 19, 1921.

Dear Comrades:—

The following action was taken at a meeting of the Joint Campaign Committee of the Workers' League, held last night. Immediate co-operation is requested in order that we may carry out the work undertaken.

1. That in the event of not being able to secure permit for our open air demonstration on Saturday afternoon, October 29, at the Union Square, we will hold the same at Rutgers Square, East Broadway and Rutgers Street. Definite notice as to the location will be given to you at the next meeting of the Joint Conference, to be held at the headquarters, 250 West 25th Street, Saturday afternoon, October 22, at 3:30 o'clock. In the meantime get your membership lined up and have them ready to attend at whichever place the demonstration will be held.

2. That all affiliated organizations must by Friday morning, October 21, furnish the office of the Workers' League with a list of speakers and arrange for at least one meeting, and as many more as they are in position to arrange, for the week beginning with Monday, October 24. Meetings can be either indoors or open air.

3. That 100,000 leaflets were ordered to be ready not later than Saturday, October 29.

4. That each affiliated organization be taxed at least \$20. This sum to be turned over to the secretary of the Workers' League not later than Saturday, October 22.

5. That each affiliated organization be supplied with copies of the Program of the Workers' League and requested to have a general distribution of same on Sunday morning, October 23.

6. That each affiliated organization be requested to secure watchers for the polls on election day from among their members and friends.

EDWARD LINDGREN, Sec'y.

P. S.—Our candidates have been placed on the ballot by order of the Court.

Sharpening the Knife

Upon good authority it is stated that Lord Curzon has written within the last few days to Premier Briand advising the French Government on no account to enter into any relations with the Russian Government and declaring there is a good possibility of a new concerted effort being made to overthrow the Soviet Government.

SHARPENING THE KNIFE—GETTING READY TO STAB RUSSIA IN THE BACK!

Read again: "... a NEW concerted effort being made to overthrow the Soviet Government." The capitalist nations of the world intend a new alliance to wipe out the only workers' government, Soviet Russia. Capitalist charity, while giving bread with one hand, with the other hides the knife which still drips with the blood of counter-revolution in Hungary.



**RUSSIA SHALL
NOT BE
STABBED IN
THE BACK!**

Organize a branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Hold mass meetings. Secure the affiliation of labor unions. Demonstrate your power as workers. Secure financial contributions from treasuries of workers' organizations, from individual workers.

Join the workers of this country, join the workers of all countries in relieving the famine. Millions of workers' marks, francs, lire, shillings, kronen and dollars have purchased ship loads of wheat and milk for starving children, women, men of Russia. Add YOUR dollars. Do your duty as a worker to the victorious but famine stricken workers of the FIRST WORKERS' REPUBLIC.

**CAPITALIST CHARITY WILL BE WITHHELD THE MINUTE SUCH ACTION
WILL SERVE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PURPOSES.**

ONLY WORKERS CAN SAVE THEIR FELLOW-WORKERS IN RUSSIA.

ACT! AND ACT AT ONCE!

The Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street

New York City