

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1921

No. 200

How Capitalists Disarm

George E. Powers

The Negro Liberation Movement

C. Lorenzo

Unemployment Conference Acts

Editorials

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International and Labor Notes

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The Outlook

WHAT is happening? Why is the Monthly Labor Review suppressed? For six or seven years it has been the official monthly report of the United States Department of Labor regarding the condition of workers. It has dealt with wages, cost of living, data on strikes lost and won. Although its information has often been incomplete and although at times we have even doubted its absolute accuracy, still it has given many of the facts regarding industrial slavery as it is practised today in the "land of the free and the home of the brave." Have the social and economic conditions in this country become so bad that all information regarding them must be suppressed? What is it that has driven the gluttons in our Congress and their glutton masters in Wall Street into such a panic? How many men and women are there who are denied the right to earn their bread, clothes and a shelter? We are not to know. How many strikes has organized labor won? The "Open Shoppers" will not let us have the facts. Don't the babbling idiots know that they can not keep the workers in ignorance for ever. Suppress the "Monthly Labor Review." Start a lying bulletin to tell the truth; you would have us believe, and still we, the workers, will one day know the truth, and we, the workers, will, on that day, teach it to those utterly stupid pigs who would hold back the rising tide of the power of the workers with an impotent gesture.

IT was left to the Beef Trust to give the workers a raw demonstration of what a company "union" means. America is a land of wonders. Its poor are getting richer and its rich are getting poorer. At a grand dinner and theatre party tendered to its "union," Armour & Co. convinced the "representatives" of the workers of the need for reducing wages. The twenty-four company-chosen spokesmen of the workers

were deeply moved by the pleas of corporation poverty, and, refusing to bite the kid glove of their masters, they voted to cut the pay of the unskilled workers. These "unionists" were all representatives of the skilled, higher paid mechanical trades. There was not present a single laborer of the unskilled, who constitute 70 per cent of the working force. The "democratically" chosen walking delegates cut the pay of those getting 45 cents an hour or less $7\frac{1}{2}$; those receiving from 46 to 50 cents an hour they reduced five cents; those getting more than fifty cents they cut only three cents. Thus the poor Beef Trust was saved! And now that the workers are preparing to resist the wage cut Armour & Co. are making a lot of noise about their highly advertised fraternity. It really pays to advertise, but the workers can't be fooled by such union fakes.

APPARENTLY the Disarmament Conference is determined to get down to business. We are told there is a proposal to limit the use of gas. According to the Wall Street Journal, this suggestion was first put forward by the women. And our contemporary scolds the peace-embracing women for being too personal. For once we heartily agree with the Wall Street Journal. But when civilization, culture, humanity and democracy are at stake we should not be guided by personal reasons. Therefore we would, in the interests of humanity, go the women one better. We would suggest to the grand pacifiers that they do not forget the old adage "Charity begins at home." This would undoubtedly be hard on Briand, Hughes and Balfour. But what of that for disinterested servants of peace on earth? The limitation of the use of gas at the Washington sessions would really be the first tangible step taken by our High Priests of world stability towards disarmament. We would then at least have some disarmament. Better sooner than never and better some than nothing.

FRANK A. VANDERLIP has just returned from Europe with a batch of lessons. Europe is dangerously sick. Its governments are spending more than they are taking in. The Europeans are so broke that they can't even pay the interest on America's loans. But Vanderlip is highly solicitous for the world's welfare. He recommends that the American indebtedness be paid into a revolving fund for the economic rehabilitation of Europe. We have an idea that the great financier despite his criticism practiced at Versailles has his own multiplication table twisted. Of all the allies, only Britain can pay the interest on the loans made to them by America. How, then, will they be able to make the payments necessary for the establishment of a "Revolving Fund"? It looks as if even Vanderlip is now involved in revolving theories. Unless capitalism can succeed in enslaving the workers, in reducing the laboring masses to virtual coolies, it is doomed. No revised arithmetic and no ridiculous theories spun in the cob webbed heads of diplomats or bankers can help capitalism.

EDITORIALS

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

THE Department of Justice, the Capitalist Press and the "Socialist" Party are once more in thorough agreement. Not since the deluge of patriotism at Albany has the trio been in such an entente cordiale. The occasion at this moment is the Convention of the Workers' Party of America. The trinity of pure "democracy" and American law and order is in complete accord in the attack on the rapidly growing militant political party. The Department of Justice talks of a "Party of Revolt" and is circulating lurid stories about its Genesis and Revelation. Dougherty's squad is so interested in the new effort of the workers to liberate themselves from capitalist oppression that the language of the convention call has been changed.

The entire Capitalist press is painting horrible pictures of the Workers' Party. The lickspittle editors conjure up to the masses the menace of a party beginning with fifty thousand organized workers. The "Times" even throws out a gentle hint of caution to the organizers. This loyal organ of Wall Street tells us that it cherishes no objection to a workers' republic in America. It cannot, however, see the need of organizing a Revolutionary Party for that purpose. To the "Times" the problem is rather simple. The majority of the voters of this country are workers. They are the ones who have voted the Harding Government into office. Therefore we already have a Workers' Republic in America. The "Times" closes with a warning that every one must keep within the law.

The attitude of the "Call," the official mouthpiece of decadent Socialism, is substantially the same, though its method is different. It fights the new party with silence, fearing that there may still be some workers in the paltry ranks of the "Socialist" Party who realizing that a real Workers' Party is to be organized might leave the moth eaten flock. The Socialists see the problem of working class freedom in the same light as the "Times" does. To them it is merely a matter of voting out and voting in a set of officials.

Hillquit, Berger & Co. are already panic-stricken. The Special National Committee has acted. The launching of the Workers' Party is forcing the Socialist Party to drop its half-hearted recognition of the class struggle much sooner than originally planned by the opportunist solons. We are shortly to be favored with a call for the organization of an open reform party embracing a handful of union bureaucrats and a mess of petty bourgeois reform freaks and acrobats.

This division is welcome. Throughout the world the opportunist Socialists are uniting with the reformists and labor lieutenants of capital. Everywhere under the inspiration and leadership of the Communists the revolutionary masses are solidifying their ranks. America is no exception. Our "Socialist Party" is welding the enemies of labor into an organization against the workers. Our Communists are leading in the organization of a united, common front against the capitalist class and its social patriotic defenders.

COLORADO

IN spite of martial law, the Colorado miners' strike is in full swing. Meetings have been banned. All strike literature is barred. The whole mining area is in the grip of the State Rangers, whom Governor Shoup, an associate of Rockefeller in the oil business, has sent to terrorize the workers. Patrick J. Hamrock, notorious as the "butcher of Ludlow," is in command of the gunmen.

Here, as in the other mining regions, the government, schools, the church and the press are owned outright by the corporations. All these forces are lined up against the workers who are fighting a 30 per cent wage cut. The State Industrial Commission, an agency of the Rockefeller plan, is already threatening the miners with arrest, though the latter are striking in defense of a decision of the United States Wage Board. The company is spreading the usual bunk about wage cuts. It maintains that "the wage reduction is being made as a result of petitions circulated last August and signed by the men, asking for a cut in pay in order that their working time might be increased."

This whole affair is an excellent example of capitalist democracy in practice. Hundreds of these company savior petitioners did not even exist. Those who did sign the petition did so under threats, coercion and intimidation. Such are the methods of all capitalist profit sharing and industrial peace plans.

A bitter fight lasting months is in sight. The officials of the United Mine Workers should spend their energies helping the Colorado workers and not fight the Kansas miners. Still it must be plain to the rank and file that their bureaucratic leaders will not render any services to the union unless they are actually forced to. Let every miner's local start a campaign in the organization against Lewis and Company under the slogan: "Stop fighting Howat and the striking workers of Kansas and help the Colorado miners in their struggle against the coal barons."

THE TRIPLE DETENTE

THE Triple Entente is dead! Long live the Triple Detente! With Germany strangled, Austria a cooly colony and Russia starved, the erstwhile allies are finding themselves more and more in serious disagreement with each other. Curzon's answer to Briand's speech has brought the tenseness of the situation into bold relief. Italian Nationalist mobs are storming French Consulates. France is suspicious of England. England more than mistrusts France, and Italy has no faith in either of them.

France's agreement with Kemal's Angora Government has more than any other one event brought the former allies into disagreement. Were it not for the present financial conditions of these antagonist Powers we would today be face to face with a second Fashoda incident. The Franco-Turkish Treaty gives the French imperialists concessions in iron, chrome, silver, railroads and river traffic. Ports and technical schools are to be put under French influence. A part of the famous Berlin-Bagdad railroad is to be turned over to France. Anatolia becomes a French sphere of influence. France is to have a protectorate in Syria and "guarantees" in Silicia from which the French troops are to be withdrawn.

Kemal has whipped the Greek army, the standard bearer of British Imperialism in Asia Minor. The Anglo-American difficulties over the Japanese alliance only strengthened France's hand and hastened the agreement. Now Young Turkey, the sick man of Europe, is once more a dagger in the heart of British Imperialism. The Turkish Nationalists are now to have the whole of Anatolia, Smyrna, and almost the entire region of European Turkey of 1914, including Thrace and Adrianople. The international Allied Control—that is England's control—of the Straits is to be discontinued and the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmosa, and the Bosphorus are to be left to the complete control of the Turks. France is also to substitute a loan to Turkey in-

stead of the reparation provided for in the now dead Treaty of Sevres.

There is a great resemblance between Anatolia and Upper Silesia. In Upper Silesia the paramount task of the French imperialists was the creation of an economic and military base against Soviet Russia. It is the same in Asia Minor. France has her eye on the oil resources of the Baku and Turkey is to be primed as the Poland of the Near East.

The ruins of the war are growing. Now it is the peace treaties which are collapsing. St. Germain, Trianon, Sevres, San Remo are all being torn to bits. The capitalists are marching to new wars. "Conferences," "Amendments" and "Agreements" can not hide the road to their ruin.

TELLING THE TRUTH

WHEN you want the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth leave it to the Admirals and Generals. Unless instructed otherwise by the "representative" of the people, the latter can be safely counted upon to talk straight from the shoulder. While Hughes was coquetting with the great peacemakers, Briand, Kato and Balfour, Major General O'Ryan, addressing the Temple of Rodeph Sholbm (in plain English the Temple of Peace Seekers), did some very plain talking. Indeed, it was so plain that we wonder to what extent the Hebrew Lord Jehova inspired O'Ryan. He said: "Remember that at this very moment, in every country of the world, the best brains of the nations are preparing for the next war. Remember that these brains are busy with the task of how the mobilization is to be carried out, how subsistence is to be furnished to your boys who go to the battle fields, how they are to be trained and how they are to be 'blooded.' If you don't know what 'blooded' means just ask any man who has seen a dog fight or a cock fight. And remember that these best brains are working on the problem of how to evacuate these boys who are no longer useful on the field of battle and how, without much annoyance to the world in general, to bring up for use your sons who will be needed." This, we admit, is putting the case very well. We need but supplement this with Edison's admission and boast that the gun having lost its killing power, future wars will be waged by gas, submarines and airplanes and that he has a "destructive agency so terrible that nothing short of a national disaster would cause it to be revealed." Great days are before us. Long live capitalist incentive and democracy!

GOOD SENSE AND BAD MANNERS

AT last the Daily Mail of London has decided to drop H. G. Wells's articles on the Armament Conference. In the eyes of Northcliffe the historical outlines of the Washington gathering portrayed by Wells have outraged impartiality. Our novelist friend is accused of pro-German and pro-Bolshevism. What is worse, he is anti-French. And what could be more monstrous today than a spokesman of England being anti-French? Wells is further charged with being guilty of making an excursion into the future in order to speculate on the end of the British Empire. According to the statement issued by Lord Northcliffe's organ, this prophecy conveys "to the plain man nothing but sinister significance, so we are driven to the conclusion that no useful purpose can be served by our continuing to publish his articles." The indictment closes with a confession that it has always been the custom of the Daily Mail "to accord perfect liberty to distinguished writers within bounds prescribed by good sense and good manners." So here we have it. Wells is guilty of

bad manners. What a crime! Wells has put his foot into it. He has openly violated British imperialist "etiquette." Let no one be so foolhardy as to expect a Northcliffe paper to tolerate such "bad manners," such utter irreverence. The conference is a secret gathering. And for Wells or any other historico-belletristic journalist to attempt to bring to light its underlying forces is to propagate Bolshevism. Surely this is unpardonable.

AN INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' LOAN FOR RUSSIA

THE greatest aid that the International Proletariat can offer to the Russian workers is the overthrow of their own capitalists. As long as this does not happen, however, economic co-operation between the workers' organizations of all countries and the Russian Proletariat is absolutely necessary. The workers can help Russia with money and machinery. The Soviet Government is planning to issue a loan upon agreement with the European and American labor organizations. The latter can become partial owners of factories, and participate in the management of the industry. Such action on the part of labor organizations would be a revolutionary deed which would lessen the danger of a counter-revolution and strengthen Soviet Russia's position.

The Russian Proletariat would consider such aid not in the least as a gift, but as a loan which is to be paid back. From six to eight per cent interest would be paid into the strike funds of the various organizations, for capital invested in Russian enterprises. All this would lead to an economic strengthening of Soviet Russia on the one hand, and to the creation of support for the foreign proletariat, in case of any conflict, on the other.

How would the necessary sum, which naturally amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars, be raised? Every branch of industry of the foreign proletariat would be able to offer an hour's pay weekly for the raising of the necessary funds. With the money thus raised, the particular branch of industry becomes a shareholder of one or of a whole group of enterprises.

The bourgeoisie could give enormous sums; it does not do so, however, because it fears the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia. But the international proletariat is also capable of gradually raising the necessary means, in order to become a shareholder in Russian factories and industrial enterprises.

THE UNEMPLOYED

By Sanford Hamilton

You have helped us save autocracy.

You have done your job quite well.

We should honor you had you been killed;

You're alive, so go to hell.

But don't go too far, don't stay too long!

There's another war in sight.

Till we need you, go. . . And is your belly

Empty? Pull your belt more tight.

How Capitalists Disarm

By George E. Powers

If the capitalist press should tell us that in a large city in the United States was gathered a convention of burglars for the express purpose of reducing their own power to rob by agreeing to throw away their guns and to junk their jimmies, nobody would believe it. People of ordinary common sense would assert that if the burglars did agree to get rid of their guns and other customary tools of their "trade," it was only because they had decided that their purposes would be better served by more "scientific" methods, such as the use of nitro-glycerine, oxy-acetylene torches, etc.

What is true of one gang of robbers in this respect, is equally true of all others. Size has nothing to do with it. Therefore "The Conference on the Limitation of Armaments" now being held at Washington by the biggest gang of organized robbers on the face of the earth is fundamentally a contradiction in terms.

This conference should more properly be called "The conference on the limitation of *Expensive* Armaments." But the very difficulty which its friends have had in agreeing upon a name for it discloses the deceptive character of this conference. When people do not desire to call a spade a spade, the chances are that they will not all agree whether it should be called a shovel or a hoe. This explains the avalanche of names which have been suggested in the capitalist press, such as disarmament conference, conference for the limitation of armaments, peace conference, etc. However, the deception practised in the use of all these terms is that they imply an intention on the part of capitalist governments to limit their own power to carry on destructive warfare.

The Washington Conference is animated by no such intention. Considering the proposal of Secretary Hughes to limit the size of the naval armaments of all governments, this may be considered by some to be a rather sweeping statement. A few important facts are here presented to substantiate this very statement.

According to the "World's Work," the five principal naval powers now have about \$2,500,000,000 (two and a half billions) worth of battleships, about one billion dollars' worth of destroyers, and about one billion dollars' worth of submarines, besides hundreds of other vessels ranging in cost from one million to ten million dollars apiece. Broadly speaking, this entire "investment" has to be replaced every ten years on account of obsolescence." One of these battleships alone costs forty-three millions of dollars.

These figures reveal the gigantic expense of naval armaments. Moreover, these can be used for but one purpose, actual fighting. They do not bring the greatest possible returns upon a given "investment." Nevertheless, unless there were available a more efficient substitute for naval armaments, there would be no talk of reducing armaments.

"The United States," says the Literary Digest, "now has available a practical aerial torpedo; radio control of submarine torpedoes; diphenyl-chlorarsine, a sneezing gas more deadly than that used in the late war; masks and clothing impervious to the most deadly gases; an armored three-seated triplane, mounting eight machine guns and a 37-millimeter cannon; it is developing devices for dropping 3,000-pound bombs; illuminating projectiles to light vast areas and a liquid poison, three drops of which will kill on contact." Other governments are following the lead of the United States in developing chemical warfare for which, according

to Theodore Knappen in the "Independent," the United States is the best prepared nation.

Not only has the United States the best chemical preparation, but, according to the United States Army Air Service, it has the greatest potential aerial fighting strength. Aircraft can be quickly built and easily transformed from commercial to military uses. Therefore the factor determining the power of any nation in the air is industrial productivity. In this respect the United States is unrivaled.

Aerial chemical warfare is the most deadly kind of warfare known in all history. Not only is it the most efficient in a military sense, but from a "business" viewpoint, it is most desirable. Money "invested" in battleships is lying idle on the high seas most of the time. Only during actual war is this "investment" bringing a return, and then only with victory. With money "invested" in chemical plants and in factories, however, the case is quite different. Money in this latter case may be used for "peaceful" production, thus bringing returns a greater part of the time.

In view of the above economic reason for the reduction of expensive armaments, what is there to prevent each capitalist nation from separately scrapping its navy? While the battleships as a "business proposition is out-of-date, it still remains a formidable weapon. Therefore the only "safe" way to reduce this enormous expense is by a general agreement to reduce proportionately all naval armaments. It is significant that this proposal was first on the order of business of the Washington Conference and that it was made by Secretary Hughes, representing American Junkerdom.

Under whatever name and by means of whatever devices the purpose of capitalism is, at bottom, always the same. Simply stated, that purpose is the conversion of human flesh and blood into money. The greed of capitalism is never appeased. Prohibition is legalized because the capitalists believe that drink interferes with efficient exploitation of the workers; and expensive armaments are limited because airplanes and gas constitute a cheaper and more efficient means of conquest.

In 1917 the capitalist government of the United States plunged a duped people into the World War. As a result the American Imperialists are now economically in a strategic position. In order to consolidate that position, it is now proposed to limit the more expensive kinds of armament. Just as in 1917, the real reason is hidden and a "humanitarian" reason is proclaimed. Then it was "to make the world safe for democracy"; now it is "to save humanity from the horrors of future wars."

Divergent economic interests inevitably lead to the use of force in some form. Only in a classless society of workers, devoid of the clash of conflicting economic interests, can real disarmament be even considered. The first step toward such a society is the establishment of a Workers' Republic. Such a republic can be built only by the class conscious action of the vanguard of the working class itself. This is the right road to the disarmament of the world, to that brotherhood of man which has been the dream of the best of all times. All other attempts, such as that at Washington, are foredoomed to failure. And those who advocate any other method are deceiving the masses and thereby serve only to prolong the agony of millions of suffering workers now held in the iron grip of a ruthless capitalist dictatorship.

The Negro Liberation Movement

By C. Lorenzo

THAT the Negro people are at last waking to a realization of their rights and, accordingly, to participation in the universal liberation struggle of the exploited masses of the world, must be, of necessity a source of constant and intense gratification to all workers who are genuinely class-conscious.

The efforts of the Negroes to throw off the yoke of the white capitalist-imperialists cannot fail to react favorably on our fight against the same enemy. In spite of the folly and blindness of most of their present leaders, the Negroes, to attain any measure of success in their struggle against the imperialist governments of Europe and North America, must come eventually to a full realization of the identity of their interests with those of other oppressed people and of the class-conscious white workers. They are beginning to realize that not all white people are their enemies, and that the same group which oppresses and exploits them also exploits and oppresses the working masses of the white race.

Every blow struck for Negro liberation will be a blow struck for the world Proletariat, since whether the Negroes consciously will it or not the effects will be the weakening of the capitalist foe of both the "subject peoples" and the exploited white workers. In like manner, every blow struck for the liberation of the Proletariat will be a blow struck for the Negroes, both as Negroes and as workers. The difficulties which will face the proletarian struggle in Europe and America will be increased so long as the enemy is able to draw on the colonies for material resources and fighting men with which to war upon the workers in the homelands. This is a truth that, while fully recognized by the Communist International and its millions of followers in all countries, is generally blinked at by the leaders of the British Labor Party and other traitors to the Workers' Cause. It is largely on account of these traitors that the Negroes have not yet been brought to a realization of the primacy of their workers' interests over their merely racial interests. For this reason a short survey has to be made from a racial angle.

At present there are two great outstanding sections or phases of the Negro Liberation Movement with headquarters in the United States. These are the Universal Negro Improvement Association, better known as the Garvey Movement, and the African Blood Brotherhood. There are minor phases which, however, either are not of an international character, or do not subscribe to the doctrine of full Negro liberation. Some of these phases, as we may call them, are represented by the Equal Rights League of Boston and the Pan-African Congress, the first a purely political and American organization, the second merely an aggregation of the Negro petty bourgeois officeholders and other beneficiaries of the imperialist system who, in the early part of September, strutted around three or four European capitals pleading for an amelioration of the condition of the natives in the colonies, but otherwise endorsed the partition and exploitation of Africa by European capitalists. Then there are the two great native African movements: the Mohammedan Movement, which seeks to drive out "the infidels and aliens" and win Africa for Islam; and the Ethiopian Movement in South Africa, whence first came the cry of "Africa for the Africans and an end to native despoilation and exploitation."

Of the two great sections of the Liberation Movement emanating in the United States and now encircling the globe and demanding full Negro liberation, the African

Blood Brotherhood, or A. B. B., headed by Cyril Briggs, appears to have the better tactical direction which, together with a clear realization of the underlying causes and intensity of the struggle, makes it the most effective Negro organization in the field. It is the only Negro organization that the capitalists view with any degree of alarm. This may be because of the historic reputation of the organization, dating from the Tulsa race riots, or because the A. B. B. recognizes the capitalist-imperialist system as the cause of the economic slavery of the Negro people and loses no opportunity to drive home to the Negro masses this most important point. Moreover, A. B. B. tactics are based upon the idea expressed by the Indian proverb that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," and the organization openly seeks the co-operation of all other forces genuinely opposed to the capitalist-imperialist system.

While placing a free Africa as the chief of its ultimate aims, the A. B. B. has no intention of surrendering any rights that the Negro has won in other parts of the world, or of letting up on the fight for liberty—"political, economic, social"—in the United States. It is at present carrying on a most uncompromising fight for the rights of the Negro workers in this country to organize for the betterment of their condition, the raising of their standard of living, and for shorter hours and higher wages. At the same time it seeks to imbue the Negro workers with a sense of the necessity of working-class solidarity to the success of the struggle against the capitalist-imperialist system which it asks Negroes to wage both as Negroes and as workers. The A. B. B. is a genuine working-class organization, composed of Negro workers, and with Negro-workers at the helm.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, or U. N. I. A., is headed by Marcus Garvey, and may be described as an organization of Negro workers headed by a Negro bourgeois and pursuing bourgeois policies. It represents a prostitution of the Liberation philosophy to business ends, such as the "Black Star Line, Inc.," "The Negro Factories Corporation," etc., etc., and is a fair sample of a tendency among the Negro petty bourgeoisie to graft capitalist enterprises upon mass movements, for the "Black Star Line, Inc." and "allied corporations" are not co-operative enterprises which would give equal benefits to the members of the U. N. I. A., but corporate affairs which are supported by the many for the benefit of the few.

While there is more noise in the Garvey Movement than in the A. B. B. this is no sign that that movement is the more effective. Rather the contrary, it would appear, for much of the time and energy of the U. N. I. A. is expended in the giving and receiving of empty titles and meaningless decorations. Garvey himself bears the grandiloquent self-bestowed title of "His Excellency, the Provisional President of Africa," while Mayor Johnson of Monrovia, Liberia, who is merely an African appanage of the organization, bears the even grander title of "The Potentate" and occupies in theory the position that Garvey occupies in reality. Then there are the knights and nobles—a set of parasites specially created to take the place in a free Africa that the European parasites now occupy—whose titles belie Garvey's more democratic, if high-sounding, title and give credence to the conclusions which his opponents draw from the existence of a Potentate as theoretical head.

Big noise and big salaries are two of the outstanding fea-

(Continued on page 14)

Unemployment Conference Acts

World War Veterans to Work in Close Cooperation with Unemployed Council

New York, Nov. 26—"The time for asking and taking charity has passed," said Pat J. MacClellan, Chairman of the Unemployment Conference called by the Unemployment Council of New York, at Astoria Hall. "The working class, as the producer of everything, is not going to take things as beggars, as Hoover would like, by handing us over to the Salvation Army or some other charitable organization. We demand of the government that it provide us with work or compensation."

Incapacity of "Sound and Sane" Politicians Exposed

Hearty applause greeted this statement. More than 100 delegates representing about 55 labor unions in the city attended the Conference and participated in the deliberations not, as one of the resolutions adopted by the Conference stated "merely to express their views on unemployment, but to devise methods to provide immediate relief and work for the unemployed."

There is no doubt that the conference was not one of utopians—of wild-eyed revolutionists—but of radical realists who put to shame all the "sound and sane" politicians of the conservative type whose floundering about has put the country and the world into the mess in which it now is.

World War Veterans Promise Cooperation

One of the splendid features of the Conference was the cooperation promised by the two representatives of the World War Veterans, John M. Levitt and L. Parsons, the National Organizer.

Parsons told glowingly of the splendid work that the World War Veterans are doing. "We have lined up more than 500,000 ex-service men in the country, who are fighting the same problems as you," he said. "We have been excluded from the regular channels of propaganda just the same as you have. The daily is either closed to us or is so poisoned that our work is hampered."

Patriotism Still Working

The capitalists are befuddling the minds of the men, and are resorting to their old tricks of playing up patriotism, by giving them work not at 50 cents an hour but at 25 cents, and all in the name of patriotism.

"The World War Veterans stand side by side with organized labor. We demand the bonus for ex-service men the same as you. We demand that a high tax be put on all fortunes, especially on those of the 15,000 multi-millionaires produced by the war."

Unemployed May Be Potential Scabs

"We have come here for practical work," said A. Goldman. "There have been unemployment conferences in all parts of the country. The delegates have verbally consented to everything proposed, but nothing has been accomplished. We are organizing the unemployed to show them that we have a sense of real solidarity. We want to organize them further, since we realize that in every one there is a potential scab."

"We understand the scab. We know that the majority of them don't even reflect on what they are doing. They are hungry and their only vision is to get something to eat. Let us show them that we understand their needs and intend doing something to alleviate them; then they will listen to us."

Food and Propaganda for the Jobless

The practical measures adopted by the Conference were the recommendations to labor unions to pledge a regular weekly

contribution to provide a meal a day to the unemployed; that they grant the use of their halls for this purpose and for reading and lecture rooms where the unemployed would be educated in such matters as labor unionism and kindred subjects. Although under the supervision of unions of the food industries, it would be expected that the unemployed themselves take care of the halls. The assistance of farmers and grocers would also be solicited.

Demands on the Municipal Government

Realizing that such methods would furnish only immediate relief, the Conference made specific demands on the local, State and National Governments.

Of the local Government it demanded that all vacant buildings be opened up as sleeping quarters for the shelterless; that no unemployed worker be evicted for non-payment of rent; and that work immediately be started on public improvements, such as schools, subways, harbor repairs, etc., at union rate of wages and union conditions of work.

Reduction of Hours But No Reduction of Pay

"Whereas the majority of the workers in the United States are working 9, 10 or 12 hours a day; and whereas six millions have no work at all, thereby being deprived of the means of earning a livelihood; and whereas while so-called 'over-production' prevails it is only logical that there be a general reduction of working hours; therefore be it resolved that the Unemployment Conference demands that the State Government enact a law providing six hours as the legal working day, with no reduction of pay."

A demand was also made that the State armories be opened as sleeping quarters for the workless.

Unemployment Compensation or Work, the Rational Demand

Pointing out that the National Government manages to raise billions when it considers that a national emergency exists and emphasizing that "the present unemployment crisis is a national phenomenon of extreme acuteness," it was resolved that a demand be made on the National Government for Unemployment Compensation to all out-of-work persons according to the following schedule: \$20 to unmarried persons, \$25 to married persons, \$30 to married persons with children."

Bonus Demanded for Ex-Servicemen

An emphatic demand was made that the Government pay to the "ex-soldiers of the World War the bonus which was promised them but which they have never received."

"The government shall raise the funds for the compensation and the Bonus by taxing all incomes above \$3,000.

Child Labor Condemned

The more than 2,000,000 children who are allowed to work in American industries, thanks to the consideration of the United States Supreme Court, which declared unconstitutional the Child Labor Law, shall at once be withdrawn from industry and their places given to adults. A Child Labor Law shall be enacted and provisions made for its strict enforcement.

The Unemployment Council, I. Amter, Secretary, seeks the affiliation of all labor organizations in the City of New York. Unions are requested to send delegates to the regular Council meeting, which will take place Saturday, Dec. 3, 3 P. M., at 83 East 4th St.

Further information may be obtained at the headquarters, 201 West 13th St.

American Labor Alliance

By Elmer T. Allison, National Secretary

"Standing in line waiting to join," is the word received from the Bureau of the Jewish section of the American Labor Alliance. A great deal is said in those few words. Their import is prophetic and stupendous. New branches are being formed and new members admitted everywhere.

Comrade Camarda of the Italian Bureau is touring a number of New England cities organizing branches and good support of the Italian magazine, "Alba Nuova," is being obtained. One comrade in each branch is taking upon himself the duties of increasing its circulation.

ENDORISING US!

The Peoples' Protective League of Columbiana County, Ohio, has endorsed the A. L. A. and will send a representative to attend the National Convention. The League consists of former members of the Socialist Party who have been too lofty in their tendencies to stay in it.

Comrades representing South Slav organizations of Canton, Akron and Cleveland have written the National Office of their desire to affiliate with the A. L. A. A South Slav

Federation of the A. L. A. is being formed and its growth is most promising.

A comrade at Jacksonville, Ohio, writes us that a branch of 35-50 members is ready to organize. This is one of the coal towns of Ohio. The miners, like other workers, are ready for a new start for a mass workers' party.

The Bohemian Federation, withdrawn from the Socialist Party since last September, requested the National Office to send a representative to their Convention, held in Chicago, Nov. 24, 25, 26. Secretary Kolank writes that the majority of opinion of the Federation is for affiliation with the organizations endorsing the formation of the Workers' Party.

The Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, through its National Secretary, Joseph Kucher, writes us for full particulars regarding aims, objects and terms of affiliation with the A. L. A.

The Workers' Alliance of Winnipeg, composed of a number of labor organizations and pursuing similar aims as the A. L. A., writes us for our literature, plans, etc. We are glad to be able to assist our comrades of Canada toward the desired unity of the working masses of North America.

\$\$ For Organization Work \$\$

of The American Labor Alliance are Needed

NOW --- TO-DAY --- AT ONCE!

The Convention Call to form a Workers' Party in the United States has been issued.

The Convention will take place in New York City, December 23-8.

The work of organizing Branches. Locals and Federation of all language speaking workers of the A. L. A. is under way.

In scores of cities the work is speeding up. In scores of others the work lags because of lack of funds to tour speakers, organizers, to print literature and make direct and personal contact with the workers.

This work must not lag. The workers must be reached. Branches must be formed wherever groups of workers endorse our program as outlined in the Convention Call.

We MUST organize the workers who demand affiliation with us.

Every Local, every Branch, every individual member of the A. L. A., every worker who endorses the aims and purpose of the A. L. A. should—must help finance this work. If you endorse us you must accept some financial responsibility for our work—your work.

HELP NOW!

HELP TODAY!

HELP AT ONCE!

Address AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE, 201 W. 13th St., N. Y. C.

For the Comrades in Jail

Out of the January, 1920 Red raids, engineered by Mr. Palmer and his spies, the National Defense Committee came into being. Its purpose is to defend the many Communists arrested and to render legal, moral and physical support to those who are now the political prisoners of the bitter class-struggle in this country.

Lest you have forgotten, Ruthenberg, Ferguson, Larkin, Gitlow, Winitzky and a host of others all over the country, daring and gallant soldiers, unbroken in spirit, are still confined in prisons. We feel deeply the personal loss of these our bravest comrades. In their first skirmish with the capitalist state, the custodians of private property and predatory governments, the relentless enemy of the working class, these comrades did not lose. They won a decisive victory for the revolutionary labor movement in this country. They penetrated the camp of the enemy. For putting the labor movement of this country on a clean-cut, class-war basis, these Communists have bitterly felt the onslaught of the reactionary forces. They are now lodged in prison cells which are oppressive, even infernal. Because of their defiance of danger, their fearlessness and their marvelous spirit, they are the inspiration, courage and hope of the revolutionary working-class movement. To bring comfort and cheer, to break the dreadful monotony of ghastly prison life, have been the obligations and the privilege of the National Defense Committee.

Under this guise or that disguise, the government at the behest of the industrial magnates will no doubt soon stage arrests of the leaders of the militant labor organizations. If this situation is faced seriously, we might expect that in this revolutionary strife, everyone who assumes an active part in the triumphant rise of the workers, puts himself in danger of going to prison. The path to the liberation of the working class is full of such dangers. Just so long as the class struggle continues, until the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, the workers everywhere will be persecuted. It is for the political prisoners of this class strife and those who, replacing the imprisoned leaders, will follow as victims of the class-war that the National Defense Committee has been created and is now in existence. The militant comrades must at least have the assurance that, when caught in the network and wire-entanglements of "recreated" and "passed-for-the-occasion" emergency capitalist legislation, there is an organization they can depend upon to provide them with legal aid and to see that their dependents are properly cared for.

That political prisoners are a result of the class struggle is unmistakable. The need for the defense of these political prisoners is apparent and what is more, the urgent necessity for the National Defense Committee to function as a permanent organization, is likewise obvious. To minimize the importance of the tasks, not to give whole-hearted support is to play into the hands of the enemy. Let no one be too optimistic, too secure, too sure of oneself. The aid rendered by the N. D. C. during the last two years has amply demonstrated the great need for such an organization. We are just at the threshold of the militant labor movement in this country.

The N. D. C. may be likened to the Revolutionary Workers' Red Cross. The raising of funds with which the legal defense work and welfare aid are made possible for the prisoners and the deportee cases, is the greatest and most difficult task of the N. D. C. While the response to the numerous appeals for money has been gratifying, under the present conditions of widespread unemployment, the legal

defense work has never been so crippled for lack of funds. It is hard to imagine how much money must be expended because of the red-tape of the capitalist legal system.

The N. D. C. is in desperate need of money. The New York Branch is equally in distress. Many comrades who lent their money for bail are now in urgent need themselves and the problem of reimbursing them has added to the task of the organization. The funds thus far raised are an infinitesimal portion of what is actually needed in order to satisfy the demands made upon the Committee. The scattering relief already rendered is inadequate. The Committee is carrying a heavy and constantly increasing burden. Almost unaided it has borne the task of defending all its cases.

The National Defense Committee comes in regular, periodic contact with the political prisoners and is the only organization that handles Communist cases, the deportees, their wives and children. Our comrades in jail must know that we, who are on the outside of the jails, have not forgotten them nor our sacred obligation to appeal to the workers in their behalf. Workers, remember those in jail for YOU; remember the N. D. C. Redouble your efforts and hasten the day of liberation of our imprisoned comrades.

THE DEFENSE SITUATION

All preparation has been made for the conduct of the New York appeals. The Ferguson-Ruthenberg appeal is set for Nov. 29; the Winitzky appeal for the first part of December; the Larkin appeal for Dec. 13th; the Gitlow appeal for the latter part of December. The appeals of Comrade Mizher and of Paul Manko are going forward, and we hope to announce the dates upon which they will be argued in our next Bulletin.

Date of the trials of Lindgren-Amter-Jakira cases has not yet been set; the same situation prevails with the Leisman, Jurson and Kalnin cases. These cases grew out of the arrests made in New York last May. No date has been set for the trials of the Cortland comrades, who were arrested in the raids of two years ago. But all these cases are subject to call at a moment's notice and preparation must be made to meet the issue when it does come up.

In Philadelphia, where 38 were arrested and indicted last April and May for alleged violation of the state "anti-sedition" statute the situation is unchanged. Thirty of the above comrades have had deportation proceedings instituted against them. The N. D. C. is seeing to it that in all these comrades are given an adequate defense.

In Pittsburgh Joe Martinovich is serving a three-year sentence; two comrades are serving nine month sentences; two have been convicted but sentence has not yet been pronounced; six are under indictment and wait trial; and four are held for deportation.

Of the Ohio cases four are awaiting deportation; of the cases from the arrests of last May, one has been disposed of, and the other four have not yet come up for trial. All are out on bond.

Michigan has five deportation cases. Of the thirteen in Wisconsin six received adverse rulings in the Federal Appeal Courts and will be carried higher, and seven are still pending.

(Continued on page 13)

International Notes

Bulgaria

From a cable from Sofia, Bulgaria, we learn that conditions in Jugo-Slavia are assuming alarming aspects. There is a secret understanding existing between the Montenegrin Communists and the Bolsheviki for the purpose of causing a general uprising in the Balkans.

Czecho-Slovakia

An alliance has been concluded with Poland. This will permit the transportation of munition to Poland and will help the latter in an offensive against Russia. The Communists are organizing the workers to thwart the plans of their "Democratic" government.

Chili

"Claridad" (Clarity) of Santiago, Chile, reports the formation of a Soviet by the revolutionary university students of that city. The new body, to be known as the "Santiago Students Soviet," includes three university groups: "Spartacus," "Renovation," and "Lux," which initiated the unity movement. Among other activities it is proposed to publish a weekly, "Rebellion," devoted to revolutionary propaganda, and to establish a South American Bureau of Revolutionary Students with its quarters at Buenos Aires in charge of the university group "Insurrexit" of the Argentine capital.

The existence of this Soviet will add intense interest to the student movement of Santiago. There is now a frank and clear-cut division in the student family: the extreme right, formed by the National Association of Catholic Students; the center, consisting of the Students Federation; and the extreme left, constituted by the Students Soviet.

Cuba

"Justicia" (Justice) of Havana, states that during July a Communist Group was created in Panama with unanimous agreement on the following principles:

1. Material and moral betterment of the working class.
2. Proclamation of uncompromising class struggle and absolute opposition to so-called "harmony between labor and capital."
3. Advocacy of Communism as the only solution of social problems.
4. Support of Soviet Russia and unqualified adhesion to the Third International.
5. Condemnation of any submission to bourgeois political parties.

The November 12th issue of "Justicia," Havana, states that on October 29th ten workers were arrested in that city and held without bail on a charge of having circulated a leaflet threatening to take vengeance on the person of Gen. Crowder, should the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti be carried through.

On November 6th the police searched a printing establishment in an attempt to find the source of the leaflet and arrested four other persons. Despite the total lack of evidence and the ridiculous ignorance displayed by the detectives, the judge held the four men for trial incommunicado. By recourse to a writ of habeas corpus, however, all of the accused have been restored to liberty. Workers' organizations were aroused by this case and there was talk of a general strike.

Japan

The formation of trade unions is proceeding apace. Not only manual workers but also teachers, clerks and minor state officials are unionizing. One of the strongest unions is the "Salaried Employees' Union." Even the village poor are organizing. They are beginning to unite with the industrial workers.

Mexico

This is how "El Obrero Comunista" (The Communist Worker) of Mexico City, sums up the proceedings of the First Congress of the General Confederation of Labor held in September:

The Congress acted as follows: (1) Declared its solidarity with the miners of West Virginia and protested against all governments; (2) sent greetings to Flores Magon, who is at present in a U. S. prison; (3) decided to aid a young lady deprived of her position in the National University; (4) listened to a report by an Executive Committee member who spoke *continually* for almost two days and said nothing, while the Congress itself likewise said nothing on the report; (5) approved, *in principle*, its affiliation with the Red Trade Union International! (6) expelled from the C. G. T.* the Federation of Communist Youth; ((7) decided to constitute the Executive Committee out of delegates from the federations, which practically means the abolition of the C. G. T. as a national organization, since there are only two federations. And that is all!

On the other hand the Committee on Resolutions refused to introduce the following resolutions of the Communist delegates: (1) To authorize the Executive Committee to promote organization work and call a general strike if the situation requires it; (2) a program of militant action on the problem of unemployment; (3) the initiation of a national campaign to organize the unattached workers and peasants; (4) the revocation of the constitutional provision for the expulsion of all members belonging to a communist party; (5) accept the decisions of the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International; (6) declare the solidarity of C. G. T. with Soviet Russia and call upon all Mexican workers to aid their starving comrades in Russia.

Of the 68 delegates present 15 belonged to the Communist group. The Anarcho-Syndicalists, however, dominated the Congress and revealed their utter bankruptcy.

Organized in February, 1921 amidst great enthusiasm, the C. G. T. rapidly grew to a membership of 50,000. Due to the deportation of its most active leaders (chiefly foreigners), industrial depression, lack of organizing experience among Mexican workers and, above all, paralysis of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Executive Committee, the ranks of the Confederation rapidly dwindled, so that the 68 delegates at the First Congress represented not more than 20,000 workers.

The rank and file is keenly dissatisfied with the inactivity of the present C. G. T. leadership and, under Communist guidance, a strong movement is on foot to draw in the masses of industrial workers and peasants with a view to converting the confederation into a formidable proletarian weapon.

*In Spanish, C. G. T., Confederacion General de Trabajo,

In the Ranks of Labor

Oklahoma Miners

Nine hundred miners have been thrown out of work as the result of the abandonment of three of the most important mines near Lehigh, Oklahoma.

Victory for New York Teamsters

The Merchant Truckmen's Bureau and the International Teamsters Union of New York signed a new contract for the coming year on the same terms as the old contract called for. This is a victory for the teamsters as the Merchants Association had suggested a wage reduction of \$5 per week and as the new contract is said to contain no clause permitting the cancellation of the contract on thirty days' notice.

Open Shop in Philadelphia

It is reported that the ten months' strike of the full-fashioned hosiery workers was settled through the efforts of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. The strikers are said to have agreed to return to work on an open shop basis. We can not believe this report, and ask that we be informed of the actual conditions upon which the strikers returned to work.

The Illinois Federation of Labor

At the thirty-ninth annual convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, the Federal government was called upon to take over the coal mines now and eventually all natural resources, and to recognize the Soviet Government of Russia.

For Mooney Pardon

Matthew I. Brady, District Attorney of San Francisco, has written a letter to Governor Stephens of California outlining his findings in the Mooney-Billings case to serve as the basis for a pardon. The District Attorney has often reiterated his belief that the two men were innocent. Admitting that officials in California were in favor of keeping the men in jail, Brady stated to newspaper men that he would submit his evidence and ask that the Governor consider the case on its merits.

From the West Virginia Federationist

"The miners of Mingo County have taught the greatest lesson of the results of solidarity that can be learned and one that should carry enlightenment throughout the state. Thrown upon the highways before the ink had dried upon their charters they united and have carried on the greatest resistance to organized greed in the history of the American Labor movement. And while this battle is raging, it is to be deplored that union men who have been members of the organization for twenty years, are quibbling and squabbling in their locals over the merest trifles and thus weakening the morale of the movement.

"Cut out your foolishness; take a lesson from the Mingo miners and solidify your forces and unite in one grand movement for the advancement of the cause of the working class. Personal feelings, selfish motives and self-aggrandisement have no place in the ranks of organized labor."

Morris and Company Reduces Wages

Morris and Company, the last of the big five of the Chicago packers, has announced wage cuts. The other four firms resorted to the subterfuge of their newly organized "Company Unions" but the farce was so rotten that Morris and Company have seen the uselessness of the subterfuge as far as misleading anyone and have frankly announced a cut of approximately ten per cent, affecting principally the unskilled and piece workers.

North Texas Miners Need Help

The miners in the coal fields of North Texas need help. At Thurber, Texas, union miners have been locked out for months. They have been dispossessed and their wives and children are living in tents. They lack clothing, food and shelter. The Houston, Texas Labor and Trades Council has appealed for funds, canned goods and clothing to be sent to Thurber. The appeal of the Texas Federation of Labor is printed under Correspondence in this issue.

Machinists Prepare

A referendum ballot on the levying of an assessment of one day's pay to create a commissary fund for a possible strike of the shop crafts on the railroads has been issued by the International Association of Machinists. The ballot is returnable December 15th. The laws of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor require that a strike fund be created before a strike is ordered. The shop crafts are preparing to protect themselves in case the Railroad Labor Board attacks their working conditions.

\$3,000,000 to Back Landis

In Chicago there are citizens who have undertaken to raise \$3,000,000 to be used to import carpenters and other workers to replace the building trade workers who refused to accept the notorious decision of the notorious Judge Landis. Such carpenters as refuse to abide by the Judge's "open shop" program will be permanently outlawed according to the Chairman of the Citizen's Committee. Meanwhile Jensen of the Carpenters District Council states that 18,000 carpenters of his organization are trying to win the cooperation of the Building Trades Council in supporting the stand taken by the carpenters. The Painters and the Plasterers are the only ones who stood solidly with the carpenters in their resistance to the attack of the open shop Judge and his millionaire backers.

The Battle of the Typographical Union

"After eight months' lockout and heavy assessments, printers are as solid and steady as they were May 1st." The campaign forced upon the International Typographical Union to compel a certain number of employing printers to respect their agreements to establish forty-four-hour week, an eight-hour day, with Saturday half holiday has now clearly developed into a fight, according to a recent review of the case of the opponents of organized labor to establish non-union conditions in the print industry. The following extract is from a bulletin issued by the "Employing Printers of America": "Don't give the unions a toe-hold in your plant or they will have you in a head-lock. Whenever you put a union member on your payroll you are simply contributing your good money to funds which will be issued to fight you. Let the men come back only when they are ready to tear up their union cards and sign individual contracts."

Chicago Unemployment Conference

After Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago wrote to Secretary of Commerce Hoover, protesting Secretary Hoover's unemployment conference plans as "capitalistic schemes," the virtuous Mayor promptly appointed his own unemployment commission, consisting of seventy members. Among the fine company of Aldermen, anti-labor men and the leaders of Chicago's kept press there were invited a small group of labor men. One of these, John Fitzpatrick,

president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, wrote the following answer to Mayor Thompson's invitation:

November 18, 1921.

Mr. William Hale Thompson,
Mayor of Chicago,
City Hall.

Sir:

I have been informed, first through the newspapers and then in a letter from Alderman Mulcahy, that you have appointed me a member of a committee or commission on unemployment. It appears from the same informal source from which I first received this information, that less than one-tenth of the members appointed by you represent labor on a body to deal with the questions of unemployment, which is of more importance to labor than to any other element in the community. It also appears that the newspapers which fight organized labor without ceasing have just as much representation as labor on your commission. It also appears that there are several times as many labor-fighting employers on your commission as there are representatives of labor.

I am compelled to decline to accept this appointment at your hands, Mr. Mayor, for the following reasons:

1. At the present time those large employers who are backed by organized and centralized wealth are engaged in a supreme effort to break down the courage of the workers and reduce wages and lengthen hours of labor. Supporting this purpose, they are developing the so-called open shop movement, setting up machinery in the form of company-controlled, so-called unions, to prevent their employees from determining their own affairs and they have deliberately caused unemployment as a means toward these ends, the central purpose being to maintain as far as possible and at all hazards the outrageous rates of profit they built up during the war. Your commission is packed with employers who are engaged actively in this effort, notably J. Ogden Armour, Louis F. Swift and Thomas E. Wilson, whom I charge specifically with having deliberately caused unemployment for their own ends. It is idle to expect a commission dominated by such men to attempt seriously to solve the problem of unemployment in the interest of the welfare of the community. I cannot divest myself of my responsibility to the labor movement of Chicago. For me to sit in this conference on this subject with these men would be for me to cajole the workers into thinking there was hope in the situation you have set up, when there is none.

2. Inasmuch as the labor-fighting employers with which your commission is packed will not permit that body to do anything about unemployment, except to exploit it further; so, also, will the heads of the newspapers controlled by Wall Street, which you have placed on your commission, deliberately prevent the public from learning anything useful about unemployment. My presence on your commission, while these newspapers are represented upon it, would, in view of my official status in the labor movement, tend to express lack of distrust of these newspapers. Not only do I distrust them completely, but they are thoroughly discredited throughout the labor movement, and I cannot permit even a single worker to understand from any action of mine that the labor movement has any confidence whatever in the subsidized press of Chicago.

3. Even in a conference controlled by the enemies of the workers and the news of which will be censored by the newspapers which are their servants, there might be something to be gained by making a fight in the interest of labor, if there were enough of the strong men and women of labor to make it possible to develop an opposition that could force for itself a hearing. But the shamefully inadequate number of

representatives of labor you have appointed to your commission doom any such attempt to develop constructive ideas by minority opposition to become a farce and remove the remotest possibility of my rendering useful service as a member.

4. You have been officially declared unfair to labor by the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor because of the unbridled use of the city government by your administration to foster, aid and encourage the labor fighting Yellow Cab Company and put the union taxicab drivers' own co-operative companies, as well as their union, out of business. I can neither accept the present appointment nor any other appointment at your hands while you are on the unfair list of the labor movement.

JOHN FITZPATRICK,

President

Chicago Federation of Labor.

In view of the fact that there are thousands of workers in Chicago who have no job, no food and no shelter, we hope that after every kettle has quit calling every pot black the workers will organize their own unemployment "Conference" if they have not done so already.

We reprint: "They are offering ex-service men 25c an hour to work in the steel plants. Ex-service men are rushing to fight for Spain at 90c per day."

We note later than this solution of unemployment has not stood the test as "eighty-three men who went from New York to Spain to make Morocco safe for Spain are back in New York again—disillusioned." How many imperialist wars for democracy will the average American fight before getting on to the game?

And another unemployment panacea gone.

(Continued from page 10)

Courts and will be carried higher, and seven are still pending.

In Illinois the Chicago C. L. P. case, involving 19, is now before the Illinois Supreme Court. Deportation warrants have been cancelled against two comrades, and a stay of six months has been obtained for another.

The J. O. Bentall Appeal was ruled upon adversely by the Federal Court of Appeals and will now be taken before the United States Supreme Court.

The Cannon-Baker case will come to trial in the Kansas Federal District Court the latter part of December. This case grows out of the comrades' arrest for speaking in the Pittsburg Kansas coal fields during the miners' strike in November, 1919. The charge is violation of the war time Lever act. Of course, the war was over when the alleged offense was committed, but this is merely an illustration that any agitation the aim of which is to advance the cause of the workers will be twisted so as to appear against the government."

In Boston the deportation cases of Mack, Bonder and William and Amy Collyer were upon appeal in October; we have yet to hear the court's ruling on these cases.

A request has come to the National Defense Committee from Carl Ahlbien, who since Sept. 19, 1917, has been locked up in Cook County Jail, Ill. He wants H. G. Wells' "Outlines of History," and Klein's "Dynastic America and Those Who Own It."

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE BULLETIN,
7 Bank Street, New York City.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Wm. Z. Foster will speak on the "Need of Soviet Russia" in the Labor Lyceum Hall, 376 William St., 8 P. M., Dec. 11th, 1921. Admission 15 cents. Auspices Buffalo Relief for Russia.

Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street

The raid on the meeting of the Friends of Soviet Russia in Chicago on Nov. 20 merely reacted to the advantage of the meeting. The police declared they perceived a Communist plot in the pictures of the Second Congress of the Communist International! The audience, however, was not horror-stricken, but sat through the whole performance and expressed its enthusiasm in a splendid collection amounting to almost \$3,000.

Boston is one of the liveliest cities in the country. For some time Boston headquarters has been managing the speaking tours in New England, and has attained splendid results. In contributions the city stands near the very head of the list. In addition to series of meetings with Fisher, Cosgrove, Wells, with occasional meetings with local speakers of Canada. Their refusal will only add to the energy of given entertainments, balls and any number of other affairs.

The City of Brockton, Mass., has collected more than \$2,000 to date. So let no city believe that it cannot do its share.

Cincinnati has held splendid Foster meetings, which have inspired the comrades to more intense activities in relief work. Foster's meetings in Indianapolis, Omaha, Moline, St. Louis have produced excellent results.

Superior, Wis., has a force of 60 canvassers out collecting funds and clothing. They are attaining fine results, despite the intense unemployment in that section of the country.

Toronto is suffering from the same antagonistic attitude on part of the authorities as towns in the United States. In order to hold a meeting, a police permit must be obtained. Application for a meeting was recently made in order that conditions in Russia might be portrayed, but the authorities decided that the sufferings of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia shall not be disclosed to the workers and farmers of Canada. Their refusal will only add to the energy of the movement to help Russia.

The \$250,000 mark has been reached—at an earlier date than we expected. American workers are doing their bit—but they can well afford to do so. As the Central Bureau for Labor Relief for the Famine-Stricken in Soviet Russia, in Berlin, states, despite lockout and strike, despite the reduction of wages and the great number who are on part-time, American workers relatively speaking still can buy sufficient food for themselves and their families.

We must now push on to the \$500,000 mark. What do you say, Comrades? February 1st or March 1st? A quarter of a million today—make it half a million! All together!

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of Cleveland has assessed its members a half day's pay. This is in line with the policy of many other unions and locals all over the country. It is the Russian "Sabotnik," which Russian workers are willingly performing for their famished and famishing comrades.

Famine relief has been organized as far away as Johannesburg, South Africa. Meetings and entertainments have been arranged. Great enthusiasm prevails and excellent results are promised.

A society of Russian emigrants in Kingston, Pa., has sent in its relief contribution to the Friends of Soviet Russia, with strict injunctions to see to it that it reaches the famine-stricken districts through the agency of the Soviet Government.

The Negro Liberation Movement

(Continued from page 7)

tures of the U. N. I. A. Salaries range from \$3,000 to \$12,000 per year. Garvey gets \$12,000 a year as President-General of the U. N. I. A., and \$10,000 more as president of the Black Star Line, Inc. He is also president of the Negro Factories Corporation, but no one seems to know whether he draws a salary for that position. Mayor Johnson of Monrovia also receives a big salary for the privilege of his connection with the organization—a connection which helps to confuse the masses as to Garvey's real strength and standing in Liberia. While Garvey continuously calls upon the race-patriotism and loyalty of the Negroes to support the various capitalistic enterprises which he has launched under the auspices of the U. N. I. A., it is apparent that he proposes no reciprocity in race-patriotism and loyalty on the part of himself and other officials of the organization and its corporations whose big salaries plainly represent "all that the traffic will bear" and are said to be a source of constant irritation to the more intelligent membership of the U. N. I. A., as well as an effective bar to the further growth of the organization.

The Garvey organization in concentrating its attention upon a free Africa to the neglect of the race and labor rights of Negroes in other parts of the world has done much to confuse the Negro masses and distract the America Negro workers from their urgent problems in this country. There are signs, however, of a reversal of this policy, due, no doubt, to the stream of criticism which has been leveled at Garvey as a result of said policy. The A. B. B., in particular, has attacked Garvey on this and other points in order to show to the masses of the Negro workers exactly what the Garvey movement stands for. The African Blood Brotherhood is practically supported by the rank and file of both organizations. In fact, several thousand members have left the U. N. I. A., and that organization now faces a severe international crisis as a result of the brilliant tactical victories which the A. B. B. leaders have won over Garvey and his staff.

It is clearly seen, then, that the two great sections of the Negro Liberation Movement are almost diametrically opposed in policies, and in aims, for while the goal of the Garvey organization is evidently the liberation of Africa from the white imperialist powers for the purpose of creating the entire vast continent of nearly 12,000,000 square miles into an empire for the new imperial dynasty of Marcus Garvey organization is evidently the liberation of Africa from Workers' Republic. The A. B. B. is fighting the battles of the Negro workers in the political, economic and social field; educating and organizing them to take their place in the class struggle as workers as well as oppressed peoples. So that the Negroes will not rid Africa or any country from white exploiters in order to turn it over to imperialists of their own race but that a Workers' Republic may be established, since only under a Workers' Republic can the oppressed masses of any race hope to throw off the chains of economic slavery.

Italy

The Printers' Union declared a general strike in protest against the killing of Signor Miller, President of the Trieste Typographers' Union. The Fascisti captured Miller, took him to an isolated spot, fired several bullets into the man's body and left him to die. A companion of Miller's received the same treatment. It is interesting to note that the Fascisti have been given publicity as an organization which exists in New York to teach law and order to the Italians in this country.

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

To the Toiler Editor.

Dear Sir:

I am a very busy man, and this accounts for my not taking advantage of your offer made to the Toiler readers for the latter to discuss moody questions in this paper's columns. I will here discuss matters pertaining to attempting to organize a party such as is contemplated by "The American Labor Alliance."

This latter organization and its mouth-pieces have a very sound argument for the need of a revolutionary political party here, but where they fall short of good logic is proof of the need of organizing a rival party to the Communist Party, the only party the Third International recognizes now, and seemingly will ever recognize. The only reason advanced by the new parties is the Communist Party's inability to reach the masses because of lack of being "open." Methinks the people supporting the latter claim are really opportunists of the type of Levy and Serratti, they are good revolutionary phrase mongers, but are afraid of real revolutionary work such as propagandizing amongst soldiers, which requires no sense to know entails underground work. A good supposition of the above claim is the action of some of the new party leaders in boasting of a yellow feeling in that they were joining the Third International not because they were in entire agreement with its program but to reform it.

Nelson stated the facts decisively in your paper anent the undergroundness of the Communist Party. This latter party's leaders loved to have this party in the open, but it seems as if the bourgeois will stand for no long time the teaching of easily understood and naked truths, and will attempt to throttle the teachers of same, especially in "our" land, where advanced thought finds so little headway. It is true our bourgeois leave loopholes by which they can be fooled into allowing a part revolutionary working, but only a loophole is there and only a part revolutionary open action is allowed. The point is a revolutionary political organization is here forced to keep an intact underground auxiliary to any of its possible open branch.

Of course, the Communist Party did not see enough loopholes for open work in the past, and maybe even now, but that is no argument for organizing such a new party, for the point is the former party is actively on guard looking for these loopholes crowned with great success recently and also that a revolutionary party as I pointed out above can conduct but little of its total necessary work openly without suffering extinguishment at the hands of the bourgeois.

If you new partists are really sincere "Third Internationalists," why not join the Communist Party and point out to the latter more loopholes for open work, and if your plans are ridiculed and not heeded go to the executive of the above internationale for redress? As it is, how can your application to join the latter internationale be heeded when the same recognizes but one organization (party) here, the Communist party? Do you think the Third Internationale executive would give you much recognition when they are working so ceaselessly to unite the United Communist Party with the Communist Party, and after succeeding in this work you would have them believe you nullify their work by asking recognition of you?

I quite recently secured subs for your paper believing it represented my point of view on matters of the day. But your stand in favor of a new party wiped away my such impression. I would certainly like to see a revolutionary English daily paper started, and I would support you in your efforts at inaugurating a daily "Toiler" if I did not

suspect it to represent opportunism by your new party stand. Anyhow, make yourself plain on the latter question. Yours very truly,

P. C.

Dear Comrade:

As soon as I draw my Civil War pension which is now due, I will send you \$2.00 to extend my subscription to the TOILER for another year.

I am an old rebel, 78 years old, yet I am a rebel against the capitalist system. To say I am a rebel does not express my economic principles. Neither does the word "radical" express them. I am for the social revolution. I am a revolutionist in the highest sense of the word.

Yours for economic justice and industrial freedom,

W. H.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

Under capitalism the young workers are the greatest sufferers. They do the hardest and dirtiest work at lowest wages. They are used as scabs by the capitalist class in every strike. It is they who bear the heaviest burden in the wars. It is they who are sent against the working class youth of other countries, and taught that it is patriotic to stick a bayonet into a young worker of another country.

The capitalist class has created many organizations to beguile the youth and teach them to be 100 per cent patriots. When they are through with their daily grind, they go to these organizations. There they are trained to be enemies of their class, to act as scabs when their older brothers go out on strike.

The young working class students whose parents have slaved and saved enough to send them to school are no better off than the workers. Every subject taught them is twisted to suit the interests of the capitalist class. Any student who shows signs of rebellion is immediately disciplined by suspension or expulsion. Any teacher who as much as dares to tell the truth is dropped by the Board of Education.

The Young Workers' League has set itself the task of counter-acting these vicious and soul-deadening influences. Its aim is to train the young workers and working class students in body and mind for the service of their class.

The Young Workers' League has many teachers who will give all their energy towards the education of the working class youth. It will conduct classes in Marxian economics, sociology, the trade union movement and current topics. It will engage in every activity which interests the youth.

At present the Young Workers' League is conducting a series of lectures, Friday nights, at Parkview Palace, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue. Harry Waton is delivering this series as follows:

Dec 2—We begin with the young.

Dec. 9—We proceed from the center to the periphery.

Dec. 16—We start with the Russian Revolution.

Dec. 23—We go through capitalism.

Dec. 30—We establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Jan. 6—We teach communism.

Jan. 13—We look towards God.

The price of the course tickets has been reduced to \$1.25. Single admission is twenty-five cents.

Tickets may be procured at the following headquarters of the Young Workers' League:

Bronx, 1258 Boston Road; Harlem, 59 E. 105th Street; downtown, 61 Canal St.; Williamsburg, 226 Roebling St.; Brownsville, 327 Stone Ave.

NATION--WIDE DRIVE

December 15 to January 1
1921 1922

G I V E

FOOD

Nourishing foods in tins or bags, ready for shipment. Must be non-perishable. Secure contributions from your neighborhood merchants.

CLOTHING

Babies, children, mothers and men need clothing. Repair the garments about the home which are not in use. Send them to the millions of unclad in Russia.

MONEY

Write us for a money contribution blank. Go to your friends and relatives for dollars. Send them to us and we will purchase food at wholesale BY THE TON.

Join this effort to clothe and feed the famine stricken in Soviet Russia. Canvas your neighborhood. Write to the Friends of Soviet Russia for details. Every child, woman, every worker in America should help.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Send all remittances and mail to 201 West 13th Street, New York City.

Send all packages to the National Warehouse, 429 East 8th Street, New York City, or to the address of our local receiving station in your city.