Cutting the Cost of Bread

Albert Coyle
Secretary All American Cooperative Commission

A Fighting Party

J. T. Oblan

Unemployment No Longer Exists!

I. Amter

International Notes  :-:  Editorials  :-:  Labor Notes
The Toiler

Vol. IV.
SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1922.
No. 207

Contents

THE OUTLOOK ................................................................. 3
EDITORIA L S ................................................................. 4
... France Uber Alles.
... Public Opinion or Labor Solidarity?
... A Rotten Mess.
... Treason in West Virginia.
... Law and Disorder.
... Cutting the Cost of Bread
... Albert Coyle.
... A Fighting Party
... J. T. O'Brien.
... Unemployment No Longer Exists!
... I. Astor.
... Announcement
... International Notes
... In the Ranks of Labor
... Correspondence
... The Friends of Soviet Russia

THE TOILER, published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association, 206 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y. C. S. Ware, Manager. Entered as second-class matter September 25, 1921, at the post-office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, $2.00; six months, $1.00 foreign, one
... Single
... copies, 5 cents.

Advertising Rates Upon Application.

The Outlook

That sanctimonious purveyor of syndicated piffle, Dr. Crane, compares the warlike utterances of Leon Trotsky, who occasionally rattles his red sabre and sets the old bones of the capitalist diplomats rattling with fear—with the great peace effort that is being made by the representatives of the other nations at Washington. The comparison is unfavorable to Trotsky. The Dr. and his tribe of medicine men asked the blessing of God on the late murder feast in which seven millions of the flower of the world's manhood were sacrificed to the greed of capitalism. The clergy have justly been termed "the air forces of capitalism." They keep the eyes of the workers on the clouds while their masters are robbing them. Capitalism alone is responsible for war. Until capitalism is overthrown war will curse the earth. Trotsky and his Red Army have done noble work in freeing mankind from that cursed system. With the assistance of their comrades in all lands they will finish the job.

The Progressive Labor World of Philadelphia has a plan for getting the unemployed back to normalcy. Hoover and Gompers pondered over the problem of unemployment without solving it. Instead of getting better it is worse. The Christian Scientists have hesitated to tell the workers that hunger is only a state of mind or something like that. Any Christian offering religion as a substitute for food to a hungry man would very likely be looking for a hospital. But the Philadelphia editor does not hesitate. He remembered that Henry Ford and his wife tramped the streets seventeen years ago looking for a Thanksgiving chicken without finding a storekeeper who would give them credit. Today Henry has money enough to buy a chicken farm and some besides. Here is a tip for the unemployed. Do not get downhearted over your lot. Think of Henry Ford and the chicken. The mental bankrupt responsible for this piece of philosophy should be head of the Department of Justice. He is certainly dumb enough.

Poincare received a vote of confidence from the French Chamber of Deputies, after threatening to take control of Germany's finances, and brandishing the big stick of militarism. The Socialists and Communists refrained from voting. Too much reliance should not be placed on votes from the confidence men of the French Chamber. The financiers who manage the affairs of France make their deputies jump and act like puppets at a show. The French imperialists are the most rapacious and ill-mannered of the international gang of robbers that control the capitalist nations.

Secretary of Commerce Hoover believes a coal strike is inevitable. The operators maintain that to continue the present wage scale is impossible, that their competitors in the non-union fields have reduced wages and that they must follow suit. The unions declare on the other hand that with the many weeks of curtailed employment during the year they are confronted with starvation if they accept a wage cut. "We have no desire nor inclination to provoke an international conflict," declared John L. Lewis, president of the miners. Of course not. You can depend on John L. to keep out of a fight with the bosses. He is willing, however, to bring the full power of his machine to bear on Alexander Howat, the fighting leader of the Kansas miners. With Lewis as a general, the miners enter the fight with a serious handicap.

The League of Nations still lives, says Woodrow Wilson. Well so does Woodrow, but Wilson is not as lively as he used to be. Neither is the League. The fact that Ireland wants to join may put some life into it. A few thousand curious people who wanted to have a look at him visited the home of the ex-President last Sunday. The greatest political mountebank that America ever produced was introduced by Sam Gompers the world's foremost labor faker. He spoke a few words and departed.

Andrew Braum, 40-year-old ex-service men, shot himself in the head while sitting in the United States Veteran's Bureau in Washington a few days ago. He was placed in an insane asylum after the war was over. He was receiving $20 a month compensation. He wanted an increase. Evidently anticipating failure he put an end to his misery. Such is the fate of those who do the dirty work for the capitalist state.
Grand Minstrel Show and Ball

Arranged by

Workers' League

OF GREATER NEW YORK

FRIDAY, JANUARY 27th, 7:30 P. M.

At CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE—67th Street, Between 2nd and 3rd Aves.

Tickets, 50 cents...For sale at the office of the Workers' League, 250 West 25th Street, and all Headquarters of the Workers' Party Clubs.

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA
Announces the Opening of Its
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT

We will carry the fullest line of literature of the revolutionary movement of any distributing agency in America. Write for catalogue. Order what you want, we will send it. Lowest wholesale prices.

Two New Books—Now Ready

"The Revolutionary Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France."
A study of the revolutionary movements of the world.
By Wm. Z. Foster, Author of "The Russian Revolution."

"Theses and Resolutions of the Third Congress of the Communist International"—June 21 to July 12, 1921.

Price 50c
Price 25c

Address Lyceum Literature Department
Workers' Party of America

UNITY BALL
Celebrating Founding of
THE WORKERS' PARTY
Saturday Evening, February 18, 1922
Harlem Educational Center
62 East 100th Street
Admission 50 Cents

HUNGER BANQUET
Given by the
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
Bronx Branch
On Saturday Evening, January 28th, 1922
at 1347-49 Boston Road
Proceeds for Soviet Russia
Admission One Dollar

Youth Ball
The best ball of the season will be held
Saturday evening, Feb. 18, 1922, at
WORKERS' HALL
1347 Boston Road
Tickets 50c, including wardrobe. Get your tickets in advance at any Y. W. L. headquarters.
E D I T O R I A L S

FRANCE UBER ALLES

"Take it or leave it." In this blunt fashion Briand put his case before the French Chamber of Deputies. Briand, the bulldog of French Imperialism, has been somewhat on the map of late. At Washington he was eloquent. At Cannes he was noisy, and in Paris, as his self-overthrow shows, he was tempestuous. All the inalienable qualities of a successful diplomat we confess.

Briand took French leave from the Chamber of Deputies as he was about to get a vote of confidence. His resignation was an ultimatum to the Chamber of Deputies to accept his Cannes negotiations for an alliance with Britain and an adjustment of the German reparations.

The exit of Briand is of tremendous significance. It has already had a blighting effect on the Washington manoeuvres for world peace. Though the Genoa Conference will be held, the Cannes plans will be considerably changed.

Poincare, the new Premier, is far less skillful and tactful a representative of French capitalism than Briand. He represents the narrow Nationalist policy and will brook no "ideal" camouflage to hide his ends. Poincare says what he means and means what he says. "I did not conceal from Lloyd George that in the future I wish to have as few Supreme Council meetings as possible. I told him I hope to continue these conversations through ambassadors." This is plain talk and is an open confession of a policy of an armed balance of power.

The new Cabinet indicates a strong reactionary shift in French politics; not that Briand the strikebreaker is any better, but Poincare happens to be worse. He is definitely opposed to compromising the reparations dispute and to a reappraisal with Soviet Russia. Of course, this does not mean that Poincare will be able to draw blood out of stones. Germany will pay at most all she can and no more. France is too exhausted to attack Russia and will not court isolation if the other powers extend some measure of recognition to Soviet Russia. The new Cabinet does not look like one destined to live long. It is surrounded by powerful enemies and has set for itself an impossible task.

Behind the scenes in the fall of Briand can be seen the intriguing hand of finance capital—a struggle between the banking interests. For some time there has been going on a contest between Doumer, Minister of Finance, and Loucheur, Minister for the Devastated Regions. Doumer is connected with the powerful bank Union Parisienne and Loucheur with Bank de Paris et Pays Bas. It is interesting, though strange, to note that the former bank is directed in the main by English interests. The latter is directed largely by American.

The policy of the Union Parisienne represents the French conservative idea of finance. It favors small investors seeking investments that are conservative, safe, and bear fixed annual guarantees. With the Bank de Paris et Pays Bas it is different. Its policy is based on the newest ideas of finance. This bank helps the big industrials seeking daring speculation, large dividends, unlimited raw materials, and exclusive markets. Minister Loucheur of the latter bank represented the tendency toward a great industrial and financial combination with Germany and international finance in general. He was a special confidant of Briand.

But Poincare's Party grew rapidly. In order to placate his enemies Briand retained Doumer, representing the tendency toward conservative nationalist finance. The rift between the opposing forces of finance grew wider with Briand's absence. The rivalry soon made itself felt in all political struggles.

For the moment it appears as if the conservative Nationalist France uber alles policy of protecting fixed obligations has won. In reality the victory, if it is a victory at all, will be short lived. The opposing forces, in a long struggle, are most unequally matched. Briand is yet likely to come back stronger than ever.

We are presented here with a situation that is fraught with great possibilities. If the anti-British attitude wins the day and the alliance fails France is due to enjoy the fruits of isolation—nowadays a damnation worse than hell can offer. Should the alliance win serious trouble will appear on another front. A Franco-British alliance would make it more difficult than ever to obtain sensational ratification of the naval limitation treaty adopted at Washington. Such an imperialist arrangement would give the United States a 5 to 10 ratio in naval strength. America's entry would be incurred and this is to-day a price no power can afford to pay.

France is between the devil and the deep blue. When France is Europe is, for the condition of Europe depends very largely on the status of every one of the world powers. And when Europe is arrayed the whole capitalist world is seriously sick. The inherent contradictions of capitalism are coming more and more to the fore. Only the working masses can remedy the situation.

PUBLIC OPINION OR LABOR SOLIDARITY?

The victory won by the ladies' garment workers of New York City over the clothing bosses is ascribed by some liberal editors to the fact that public opinion was on the side of the workers. The kind of public opinion that the capitalist papers talk of belongs in the realm of mythology. Society—or the public—is divided into two divisions—those who toil and those who live on the toil of others. Whenever a struggle arises between the toilers on one side and the exploiters on the other, the sympathy of the "public" is divided. The capitalists are always on the side of the exploiters. The class conscious workers favor the toilers. When the capitalists through publicity agencies succeed in saddening the working men and succeed in convincing a great number of the toilers that a strike is unjustified they show that the public is against the strike. But as in the case of the clothing bosses—the Manufacturers Protective Association—when the capitalists use such poor diplomacy as to violate an agreement in such an autocratic manner as to arouse the fighting spirit of the workers who presented a united front to the enemy, then the papers say that public opinion is on the side of the workers.

The clothing bosses attempted to return to a 49-hour week and piece work sweatshop conditions. The solidarity of the workers prevented them from accomplishing this purpose. Of course, the union lawyers won victories in the courts, which helped a good deal. The workers should use all the weapons at their disposal in fighting the bosses. It is well, however, to remind the garment workers that they should not rely over much on injunctions or clever lawyers but rather on their organized power and their fighting efficiency. The fact that Supreme Court Justice Wagner issued an injunction compelling the manufacturers to carry out their contract hardened the bosses' surrender. But the manufacturers have announced that they may appeal from that decision. Another judge may render another decision.
The workers should always keep the fact in mind that until they own and control all industry struggles between themselves and their bosses are inevitable. They should also remember that in the final struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system the battle will not be won by legal injunctions. In the meantime President Schlessinger of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers Union, like a good disciple of Sam Gompers, asked the members to give the bosses “a fair day’s work for a fair day’s pay.”

A ROTTEN MESS

Senator Newberry spent $265,000 to get elected to the United States Senate. His opponent was Henry Ford, who appeared to be the popular candidate. But Henry did not come across with the dough, so his campaign flivvered. An investigation was started, and ever since the millionaire Senator has been the star actor in an unsavory political drama. Politicians who profess a regard for decency ostentatiously put on their gas masks when approaching this object of political curiosity. But why all this fuss about buying a seat in the Senate? Senator Norris analyzes the legal aspects of the case in the following manner:

“Mr. President, they had a public sale in Michigan. The property that was placed on the auction block was a seat in the United States Senate. The sale was public, the bidding was in the open and the property was knocked down to the highest bidder. Every citizen of Michigan had an opportunity to get in and bid. The sale was public; the price was adequate. It is said by some who are opposing the confirmation that this would establish a precedent by which the poor man would be eliminated from the Senate chamber. Suppose it does. What business has a poor man here anyway? As I look at it, this is just exactly what it is intended to be, the establishing of a precedent so that we will have more men of means in this Chamber and that seats will be put up in the market place, just as seats in the Stock Exchange. This will insure a high-class membership.”

Newberry could not get elected to the Senate. So he bought his way in. The cesspool of capitalist politics is stirred to the depths by the splash of Newberry’s millions. The voters of this country who like to believe that they elect all their servants from dogcatcher to president resent this pollution of the political atmosphere by Newberry’s gold. President Harding is a friend of Newberry’s and shows his affection by playing golf with him. The president evidently did not see anything abnormal about spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in winning a seat in the Senate.

How the capitalist press enjoyed talking about the dictatorship of the Communist Party in Russia and the alleged corruption of Soviet officials. But in Russia conviction of a Soviet impressed with charges of corruption brings a severe penalty; in America under capitalism corruption is rewarded by a seat among the rulers of the nation. Those of our readers who fondly hope that this robber system of capitalism can be overthrown by the use of the ballot alone should take a lesson from the manner in which wealth can be used to make a mockery out of the ballot box.

TREASON IN WEST VIRGINIA

Frank W. Snyder, editor and publisher of the West Virginia Federationist, has been arrested on charges of “treason and conspiracy” in West Virginia? In the opinion of the mine owners of that hell hole of capitalist oppression in its most revolting form, the action calculated to lift the workers from the depths of slavery is treason. Any man who fights for better working conditions is a conspirator against the bosses and any man who tries to organize a union is a traitor.

Snyder is only one of the many who have been indicted in West Virginia charged with treason. Only a few weeks ago officials of local miners’ union were indicted on the same charge. Now these officials are not Bolsheviks or Communists. They do not demand the overthrow of the capitalist system, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their only aim is to organize the miners so that they can secure more wages and better working conditions. But these demands do not sound good to the ears of the mine bosses. More pay for the miners means less profit for the bosses. Shorter hours for the wage slaves means more leisure to read and learn about the class struggle and the capitalist system. The bosses do not like labor unions of any kind. They are not fussy whether they be industrial or pure and simple unions. They know that any kind of a union is bad for them. The wise capitalists buy the leaders. The mine owners of West Virginia, dominated by the Steel Trust, use the leaden bullet instead of the golden dollar and hangman’s noose instead of the injunction.

The miners of the United States are facing the greatest struggle that ever confronted any section of the army of labor in this country. The battle is already raging in two theatres—Kansas and West Virginia. Soon the conflagration will spread and line up in battle array the miners in every section of the country with their enemies. The miners are standing on the threshold of this struggle with forces divided. The Yellow Lewis is fracturing with the enemies of labor. The miners need unity. They must have unity, else they will go down to defeat. The fight is going to be hard, the stakes are high. For the capitalists the elimination of unionism. For the miners, their only protection against peonage.

LAW AND DISORDER

Harold W. Mulks of Chicago, counsel for two members of the I. W. W. convicted at Shreveport, La., on vagrancy charges, was taken from his hotel by a band of men, severely flogged, put aboard a train and warned not to get off this side of Dallas.” Mulks had previously been warned to leave Shreveport. At the time the kidnapping occurred he was in the lobby of the hotel talking to the clerk. Two men accosted him and told him to come along. He resisted and shouted “murder.” He was shoved into an automobile and rushed to the Texas border.

Claude Irwin and W. M. Hickey, the men whom Mulks came to Shreveport to defend, appealed to the District Court to keep them in jail for their “personal safety.” W. M. Carney, another lawyer from Oklahoma City, who arrived in Shreveport to investigate Hickey’s case, is missing. Police officials express the belief that he left of his own volition, “as no complaints have been heard from him.” How simple! There were no complaints heard from Frank Little after he was taken from his bed at night, dragged through the streets of Butte, Montana, and hanged, for the good reason that Frank was dead.

The case of Mulks is only another proof of the white terror that holds sway in many parts of the United States. In some places the hirelings of capitalism cover their operations with the cloak of legality and use the “frame-up” to put away the fighters of labor’s battles, as in the case of Mooney and Billings in San Francisco and Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts. In other parts of the country legal formalities are dispensed with. Armed mobs hand out “justice” with the rope, the torch and bullet. “We believe in law and order,” howl the capitalists when the workers resist the bloody onslaughts of the bosses, but the capitalists are dumb and blind when the workers and their defenders in plain violation of their constitutional rights are delivered to the mercy of the broadcloth mob.
Cutting the Cost of Bread

By Albert Coyle

Bread Produced for Three Cents a Loaf

The farmer is getting less for his wheat today than at any time since 1913. The price of flour has dropped from $13 a barrel to $6.50 within a year. Yet the bakers have not only failed to reduce bread to pre-war prices, but in several large cities they are now announcing an increase in price of from one to two cents a loaf.

Everybody eats bread. About twelve billion loaves of it are consumed annually by the American people. It is the mainstay of every worker's table. The poorer the worker is, the more completely he relies for his existence on the "staff of life." To profiteer in bread is to pinch men's stomachs. It is only less criminal than would be monoplastic extortion for the air men must breathe or the water they must drink.

Except greed for profits, there is no reason why a pound loaf of bread should cost more than 5c today. And that would leave 2c margin for the baker and retailer. The flour in a pound loaf costs less than 2½c, according to Senator E. F. Ladd of North Dakota, the eminent authority on grain. The total cost of the other ingredients—yeast, salt and sugar, does not exceed ½c a loaf, and the same amount will cover the labor cost of making and baking under large-scale machine production. Surely 2c out of a 5c loaf is adequate compensation for those who make and distribute our bread.

100 Per Cent Profiteers

The workers are now compelled to pay 7c to 10c for a pound loaf. Who grabs the extra profit? Statistics just presented to Commissioner of Markets O'Malley of New York City by expert economists representing the Bakery Workers' Union prove that the big bakers of that city are profiteering from 75 per cent to 100 per cent in bread and other bakery products. A Congressional committee investigating the highcost of living in the District of Columbia found that one of the large bakers made a profit of $315,059 in one year, not counting his own salary of $30,000. Flour then cost twice what it does now. And yet within the past week this same baker has announced an increase of a cent a loaf in his products1. During the four years of the world war, Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium sold a pound loaf of bread made from American wheat, with heavy transatlantic freight costs added, for less than half the price we had to pay for it in America.

But the bakers and retailers are not the only ones who are profiteering on the people's universal need for bread. The wheat millers stand convicted by the Federal Trade Commission, in its report on profiteering to the U. S. Senate, of squeezing the people for an average profit of 36 per cent, profits that are indefensible, considering that an average profit of one mill for six months of the year shows as high as $2 a barrel, as against an average profit of 13½c a barrel before the war. A Nebraska court of inquiry finds that one of the large mills in that state secures $2.61 a hundred for the products of wheat costing $1.80 a hundred. Today the British Co-operative Wholesale Society is selling its best flour, made from American wheat, at 2c a pound, while the lowest quotation in the big markets of this country is 3.3c a pound.

How European Workers Get Bread at Cost

The workers can cut the cost of bread if they want to. There is no reason why they should not have at least one thriving co-operative bakery in every city of the country, which would insure them bread at cost of production. Bakers are one of the commonest and most successful forms of coloperaation all over Europe. The late George Hawkins, one of the English co-operative pioneers, declared that the bread trade was the foundation of their great co-operative success. The London society is now turning out over 200,000 loaves a week for its members. The United Co-operative Bakery of Glasgow has recently compiled all bakers of the Scotch metropolis to cut the price of bread to meet its competition. Similar action has been taken by the Workmen's co-operatives throughout Italy, where private bakers have had to meet co-operative prices or go out of business. In Germany almost every town has its co-operative bakery, intent on supplying the people with bread at cost. The great bakery of the Berlin co-operative produces 100,000 loaves a day, while in other large German cities nearly the entire bread trade is in the hands of the co-operative societies. The Belgian co-operators, following the remarkable success of Edward Anseele in Ghent, have built up a whole system of political fraternal, social welfare and co-operative activities around the bakery. The citizens of Christiana, Norway, own the largest bakery in the Scandinavian countries, capable of supplying the needs of 120,000 people. The state-owned bakers established by the Labor movement Government of New South Wales, Australia, supplied bread during

Wheat Gamblers Make Millions at People's Expense

Next to the miller stands the jobber, through whom all but the biggest bakers buy their flour. The Federal Trade Commission reported that jobbers who were content with an average profit of 15c a barrel in 1913-14 have increased their exaction to 50c a barrel. Between the miller and farmer stands the owner of the grain elevator, the wheat speculator. As the whole horde of brokers, wheat pit manipulators and other parasitic middlemen. Each one of these gets his diet out of the price of wheat, which is added to the cost of flour and to the ultimate price of bread to the consumer. The enormous profits of the elevator men are notorious, while within the past three months one of the big "operators" is estimated to have cleaned up from five to ten million dollars in the Chicago wheat pit on "transactions." The wheat gamblers add their graft to the price the people must pay for bread.

Farmers Sell Wheat at a Loss

Back of all these middlemen stands the farmer-producer. Instead of making a profit on his wheat, every bushel he sells is at a loss. The grain barons, the big millers, and their baker associates have "deflated" the farmer until he is receiving for his grain about half the cost of production. The progressive farm organizations of the country are demanding that the Government receive the U. S. Grain Corporation which existed during the war, and stabilize the price of wheat at not less than $2 a bushel. In justice to the farmers, some such arrangement should be speedily made. Nor would a fair price for the farmer's wheat increase the cost of the worker's bread. With wheat stabilized at $2 a bushel, the value of wheat in a pound loaf would be 3.3c.
the past year at 2½c a loaf cheaper than private bakeries, and in addition returned a profit of $2,000 to the government.

**Successful Cooperative Bakers in America**

Co-operative bakers have been equally successful in this country. Up in Utica, New York, 92 workers started a co-operative bakery in 1915 with a capital of less than $15 each. The bakery is now the second largest in the city, turning out about 8,000 loaves a week and doing a business of $150,000 a year. In Greater New York there are now three wholesale co-operative bakeries with a number of branch distributing points. Of these the Brownsville and East New York bakery is the largest, serving through its four branches 2,300 co-operators with over $200,000 worth of goods a year and all on a non-profit basis. Starting with a small business in Worchester in 1917, the Jewish workmen of Massachusetts now have ten large co-operative bakeries in as many cities, several of which are doing a business in excess of $100,000 a year.

The cost of bread can be cut by co-operation. While the farmers are co-operating to slice down the juicy profits of the wheat speculators and the milling trusts, the city workers should co-operate to take the “ake” of their bakery bills by establishing their own co-operative bakeries.

---

**A Fighting Party**

By J. T. Oblan

Since the left revolutionary elements left the Socialist Party, it has consistently been tending towards the enemies camp. The S. L. P. does not play any role in the political life of the American worker. The Union movement is on the whole controlled by reactionary and conservative bureaucrats. The I. W. W. failed to see the importance of the political nature of the class struggle. The elements that split away from the Socialist Party and others who formed the Workers" Council groups have been too small numerically and had no appreciable hold on any of the fields of activity of the American working class. They in addition were not organized and had no definite program to propose to the workers.

The only party that had centered within its ranks the more revolutionary Marxian elements and organized them politically into one body was the Communist Party. It, however, was driven underground by the master class and so was cut away from contact with the large working masses of the country. Its form did not lend itself to organize politically and lead the American worker in his struggle.

The American workers had no organization which could unite them politically and industrially assist them in their struggles, which would teach them the ABC of communism or of the elementary principles of the class-struggle. They had no organization that would stand by them and support them in their daily struggles against capitalist exploitation and at the same time point out that capitalism is doomed, that it has outlived its usefulness, and has to give way to a saner order, to the Workers' Republic.

A unifying rallying center for the political life of the American workers was the crying need of the hour.

This need was grasped by the best revolutionary elements in the country. They realized that their responsibility to the workers of America as well as to the workers the world over demanded the fulfilment of this task, of this holy obligation. Unity of all revolutionary elements was the need of the hour.

Conferences were held with a view towards achieving unity. At last the American Labor Alliance and the Workers' Council Groups came to an agreement and issued a joint call for a convention. That convention was held from Dec. 23 to Dec. 26, 1921, and marks a new epoch in the political life of the American worker.

It accepted a direly needed program of action based on the every day struggles of the American workers and calculated to connect up the immediate struggles with the ultimate goal. The keynote of that program is a realistic approach to the problems confronting the American workers. Due to the peculiar conditions of capitalist rule, the inert and backward stage the workers are in, etc., the program was so written as to answer to the immediate needs without going into details as to the methods through which the workers of this land will liberate themselves. The program, stating that the party is out to overthrow the capitalist regime through the establishment of the Workers' Republic, is on the whole a well planned guide to action for the American workers, based on the major issues of their struggles, and in that sense lets the future take care of itself. As against the dualist method of organization proposed by the Syndicalist elements in the country and the non-communist "neutral" attitude of the Socialist Party towards the trade union movement the Workers' Party Convention declared itself for a policy which will in a short time revolutionize the entire trade union movement. The program practically and concretely deals with the Agrarian, Racial (Negro) and other problems confronting the American working class movement.

The constitution adopted by the convention makes for a highly centralized and well co-ordinated structure, giving ample elbow-room for the varying activities of its various departments, such as federations, press, etc.

It is but natural that the success of the realist Marxians of America in creating a fighting Workers' Party should meet with vicious and ill founded opposition from the sterile group of the Marxian Simple Simon's of the Left, who branded the coming party as "Centrist." It was also to be expected that the program, wisely and practically constructed, should be attacked—this time from the same Left Sick Children as well as from the Right, by comrades who learned very little from the recent experiences of the Communists and I. W. W., etc., and who seemingly are concerned more with phrases than with deeds. The Right and Left found themselves in agreement (extremes once more met) conjointly attacking the truly revolutionary and practical members of the Workers' Vanguard of America.

The American worker now has a fighting party with a workers' program, with truly proletarian leaders and with a far-sighted determination to fight hard for the workers' cause, to wage a relentless war against capitalism, and to forge the mechanism through which he will establish the Workers' Republic. To your task, Workers of America! Swell the ranks of the W. P. of A. Long live the Workers' Party! Long live the Workers' Republic!
Unemployment No Longer Exists

By I. AMTER.

A serious dispute arose at the Unemployment Conference between Mr. Hoover and Secretary of Labor Davis. The former, in an endeavor to minimize the extent of unemployment in the country asserted that Davis' figure of 5,500,000 jobless far exceeded facts. Mr. Hoover made a "liberal" estimate of 3,000,000.

Now after several months of "interest" in the unemployed and earnest effort to procure work for them by "recommendation" to the State and municipal authorities, Mr. Hoover finds that 2,000,000 of his supposi- tions, 5,500,000 are back on the job. It is obvious that Hoover is playing a game of bluff and is getting away with it.

The Committee of Unemployment for New York City announced on December 15 that work had been obtained for 12,000 men and women since October 15. There are still 331,000 unemployed in the city of New York alone, according to the estimate of the committee. "The main increase in employment which has occurred is in the retail trade, which is probably the result of seasonal conditions." There are more idle steel workers—and the steel trade is an index to activity in the United States.

Mr. Harding is "confident of the return of good times." Mr. Gary on the other hand, warns us that 1922 may be a year of serious industrial disorder. There has been no satisfactory revival of trade, profiteering continues and the world situation is most discouraging. The steel industry is not working more than 30 per cent. of capacity, as compared with 70 to 80 per cent. of a year ago. Farming conditions—the economic confusion in Europe—the decline in export trade—point to the fact that 1922 instead of being a year of hope will be one of struggle for the workers.

The English method of caring for the unemployed is not proving a great success. Naturally! The dolé, inadequate as it is, was declared a drain on British finances. It was continued, however, under the threats of the unemployed, who were getting into a desperate mood. But the coming of winter demonstrated that the workers are not content to accept charity. They are organizing and are making definite demands on the government. The unemployed of Germany have even gone on a strike against the lower wages that have been granted them for munici- pal emergency work.

The issue is clearly defined. The unemployed are a menace to all workers. It is the duty of workers who are interested in their own welfare to take steps to protect themselves. Unity of the working class is the slogan that must guide the workers in all their actions. This is the motive that is bringing together the workers, despite all differences. Unity against further encroachments on the part of the employers; unity in an offensive to regain the losses that have been sustained in the past year or more. This unity must include the whole working class, both employed and employed.

Hence, as in other countries, the labor unions must be the first to take steps to organize the unemployed. In the crisis, they must make strenuous efforts to increase their membership. Organization work to include all workers must be the immediate goal.

To do the job properly, the following steps must be taken:

1. All delinquent union members out of work must be reinstated without payment of arrears and without compulsion to pay dues and assessments while out of work.
2. All unorganized workers out of a job must be admitted to Labor Unions without initiation fee and with remission of dues while unemployed.
3. All organized workers must refuse to work overtime, in order to put an end to artificial unemployment on the one hand, and overwork on the other.
4. Labor unions must organize Unemployment Councils, in order to give expression to the needs of the unemployed and make it possible for them to enforce their demands.

These four steps represent the unity and solidarity that alone can save the working class as a whole from further degradation.

Protests against injunctions and wage reductions, against evasions of federal regulations (as by the Railroad Companies who have decided to abolish shop work and let it out to sub-contractors, who, in many instances, are the companies themselves), against the open shop campaign and the reinstatement of long hours of work, when millions are clamoring for a job—all such protests are futile, unless the working class is lined up solidly for a common battle.

These four steps are so obvious that argument is hardly required. Nevertheless, the exclusiveness of the American labor movement has been such that the fight must be taken up in every local. There are but few unions that issue "out of work" stamps. Furthermore, such stamps are merely a postponement of payment. Men out of work should not be compelled to pay a cent of dues and assessments, but should be retained as full-fledged members. Unorganized workers should be admitted without initiation fee or payment of dues. They are of the class that does not yet recognize the necessity or good of labor unionism. They must be won over by the employed workers and lined up to protect the labor organizations themselves.

No man should consent to work longer hours than hitherto. This will lead but to further unemployment. In fact were the American labor unions prepared to act, they should logically demand a general reduction in hours in order to find work for the unemployed. But labor unions in America are too weak, too disorganized, to attempt even to more than hold their own.

Finally to do their work efficiently, and not be compelled to wait for the conversion of all unorganized workers to the notion of labor unionism, the labor organizations must organize Unemployment Councils, backing them up in every phase of their activity and giving substance to their demands. Christian G. Norman, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Building Trades Employers’ Association, says that "where there are more men that there are jobs, the efficiency improves."

There are many more men than jobs at the present time, and the bosses are increasing efficiency—from their point of view—by exploiting all labor to the limit.

But according to the sage Mr. Hoover, unemployment is decreasing at an alarming rate. Mr. Gary, whose industry is working 30 per cent., is a better prophet. 1922 is to witness serious events in the industrial world. Now is the time to prepare.
Announcement

The Toiler and The Workers' Council

Will merge and appear as a six-page weekly newspaper

THE WORKER

TO TOILER SUBSCRIBERS:

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

BUNDLE AGENTS

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

Renewal...... New Subscriber...... Date.................................1922.
Subscriber's Name......................................................................
Address ........................................................................................
City ............................................................................................
State............................................................................................
Bundle Agent, Number Desired...............................................
International Notes

Russia

THE NINTH SOVIET CONGRESS

The Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress has ended. The sessions were given to the consideration of Russia's problems of reconstruction. Lenin was greeted with a stormy ovation whenever he took the floor. In his main speech he pointed out that the destruction of Soviet Russia by the more powerful states had shown itself to be impossible. He bade the Finnish, Polish and Roumanian brigands remember that the Red Army could be counted on as much as ever. Lenin dealt at length with Russia's new economic policy the basic principle of which is that the peasant has a vital interest in an alliance with the worker. The task of uniting worker and peasant into a new alliance is not merely a Russian problem but a world problem.

Khintchuck reporting on the Co-operative showed that the Consumers' Co-operatives contributed greatly to the strengthening of the alliance between the peasantry and the proletariat. In the course of their work they have set up 25,000 departments and offices. He proposed that a Co-operative bank be set up, State subsidies must cease, the farms be managed upon business principles and have credit at their disposal.

In dealing with Finance Krestinski showed with great lucidity that the basic task of the new financial policy was the gradual renewal of the gold equivalent. The present lamentable condition of Russia's monetary system is due to the scarcity of goods and the continual issuance of paper money.

Trotzky was given a rousing welcome in his address on the Red Army. At its height the Red Army numbered 5,300,000. Today it numbers only 1,300,000 inclusive of the Red Fleet and the cadres for general military education. Eighty per cent of the officers are workers and peasants—-who received a high military and strategic training. These form the kernel of the Red Army. Serious attention is being paid to the development of military aviation and armored cars. The Red Fleet heavily hit by the White attacks is to be raised in inefficiency. The Red Commander-in-Chief brought home very eloquently the fact that while Russia is anxious for peace she is prepared to fight for it. He pointed out the danger from Poland, Finland, Roumania, and Japan. "In Spring and Summer we will prepare for peace, but if anyone tries we will prove, when we are forced to, that in the year 1922 it will be easier to extend the frontier of the Soviets than to shorten them."

It is interesting to note that in former times the sons of the capitalists and nobility came to the military institutes with the conviction that they were born to rule. The sons of the peasants and workers are still very slow to develop this spirit. The young workers and peasants who get into the military schools must absolutely at the beginning of their military education gain the deep conviction that they are the sons of a great, ruling and inconquerable class.

The Congress adopted a number of resolutions covering the questions mentioned in the various reports. The new economic policy was approved. In carrying out the new economic policy all the interests of the state are to be safeguarded and measures are to be taken to stabilize the rouble. Public expenditure is to be limited. The state compulsory labour which the peasants have to perform is to be simplified in its form. The same attention is to be given to agriculture as to industry. The development of the Cooperatives is to be assisted. Trade relations of the economic organs with foreign countries are to be made easier. State industry is to be run on a business basis. More room is to be left to provincial autonomy. The rights of personal property of the citizens are to be ensured by the laws of the republic.

Japan

The Opposition in Parliament is demanding the evacuation of the troops from Siberia. Public opinion is decisively in favor of their withdrawal.

Throughout the country the workers are organizing demonstrations and strikes demanding the organization of public works, the granting of workers' insurance, the eight hour day and an increase in wages.

Australia

In New South Wales the Minimum Wage is based on the cost of living and fixed by a Board of Trade consisting of representatives of the employers and employees. A basic wage is announced in October of each year, based on the preceding June.

For the current year the Board of Trade has announced a reduction in the basic wage of 72 cents per week; it being estimated that the cost of living has fallen by that amount during the past twelve months. But most of the unions resent the reduction. They insist on the maintenance of last year's level for at least another year. Industry is well able to stand this. Members of the Labor Government also take the same view. It is likely that the Government will introduce a bill through parliament giving effect to this suggestion.

Germany

A storm of protest has arisen in the Reichstag against the request of the Spanish Government that Fort and Conception, two Spanish revolutionary labor leaders, be extradited under suspicion of having assassinated Premier Dato. The Government has assured the working class parties that the refugees from the Spanish White Terror will not be surrendered unless an investigation demonstrates their guilt to the German authorities.

England

In protest against the "public improvement schemes "of the Bexley Council the unemployed have organized great demonstrations. Recently the Council was locked up all night by the unemployed and forced to give promises of relief. Now that the councillors are free they are openly repudiating the promises made to the workers and are adhering to their original plans to which there is so much opposition.

India

Serious rioting welcomed the Prince on his arrival in Madras. The streets are heavily patrolled. An attempt is being made to unite various nationalist factions. A conference is now being held in Bombay to straighten out all differences. Ghandi is blaming the Government for all the disturbances. He condemns its policy of repression, but expresses readiness to go into conference with the Government provided that all political prisoners are freed first.
In the Ranks of Labor

Rail Bosses and Union Officials Confer

Conferences between railroad craft union officials and rail managers of the Eastern district now are in progress here on wage disputes, the outcome of which will affect about 750,000 workers directly, and perhaps 2,000,000 indirectly. The meetings are being attended by the system boards of adjustment of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, and Express and Station Employees, which replying to proposed wage cuts of 7 to 14 cents an hour, are presenting counter proposals for a restituation of the 12 cents an hour reduction ordered by the Railroad Labor Board July 1, besides an additional flat increase which probably will be placed at 5 cents an hour.

In the opinion of George W. Eastty, vice president of the United Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, that will be the general attitude of the unions in the negotiations. Mr. Eastty added that in his opinion it is not probable that and unions and the rail officials will be able to reach an agreement.

A Spring Drive

The Pennsylvania System has announced that on April 2 it will discharge from its employ all men above the age of 45 who were hired during the war. In the case of the Long Island the number of men affected probably will not be over 100, on Pennsylvania lines it will mean that 2,000 men will be jobless.

It has become known, according to information reaching us from reliable sources, that these 2,000 men on the Pennsylvania would have been discharged on January 2 except for an interesting reason. This reason, as given out by the Pennsylvania, was the existence of widespread unemployment and the desire of the railroad to help the men tide over a hard winter. The real reason was the fear of the road that it might be facing a strike, and as these men, practically without exception, are not organized, it was thought that they might have been persuaded to act as strikebreakers.

Capitalist Court Aids Lewis

John L. Lewis, International President of the U. M. of A. was upheld in his action in removing Alexander Howat of Kansas as President of District 14, by Judge Samuel A. Dew of Jackson County Circuit Court.

Meat Workers End Strike

The strike in the local branches of the six meat packing concerns has been ended after continuing five weeks. Although no official statement of the terms of the settlement has been made by either side, it is understood that the men will return on the same basis existing at the time of the walkout.

Four thousand workers in the six branches of the meat trade here were affected. The strike was called here by Dennis E. Lane, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America, in protest against the attempt of the employers to destroy collective bargaining in the industry, which had been in force here 20 years. Since the expiration of the last contracts, on January 1, 1921, the union had made repeated efforts to open negotiations to renew collective agreements, but the packing house managers refused to do so.

It is understood here that the Philadelphia meat workers who went out shortly after the local strike was called also will go back.

Harbor Workers Amalgamating

An amalgamation of the striking harbor workers' organizations here under the name of the Associated Marine Workers' Organization, is being effected. Nine hundred men already have joined, and according to Capt. Wm. A. Maher, temporary secretary-treasurer, 4,000 members ultimately will be enrolled. Capt. Maher said the tug boat workers on strike are more than holding their own.

Hotel Workers

On the 20th of December one of the employees of a company controlling several cabarets in Broadway was discharged for no just reason. Officials of the Hotel Workers' Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers called on the proprietors and asked why this worker was discharged. There was no answer forthcoming. A shop meeting of all union members of the company was called. The bosses were given 20 minutes to reinstatce the discharged employee or else a strike would be called. "What in h—l kind of a union is this that only gives 20 minutes notice?" growled the management. But the discharged employee was reinstated.

A Workers' Party for Canada

The Workers' Party of Canada was launched at a convention held in the Labor Temple, Toronto, on December 11th. It was called to order by Comrade F. J. Peil, editor of the Workers' Guard. Twenty-three workers' organizations were represented. Delegate Buhay stated that "The Workers Party must lead by actual contact. The trade unions, open shop fight, unemployment associations, must all feel our presence. Every strike develops a feeling of militancy which must be preserved. Inactivity must be rooted out and we must work from two angles, one of contact and one of action. This would develop militancy, and a workers' party must arise from such conditions."

Fur Workers

More than 8,000 fur workers here, members of Locals 1, 5, 10 and 15 of the International Fur Workers Union, through their joint board, have broken off negotiations with the Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc., over the latter's demands to increase the present 44-hour week to a 49-hour one, to drop holidays with pay, and to reduce wages. The existing contract provides for 10 days holidays with pay. Other demands of the employers rejected by the union include the right to hire and discharge workers at will.

It is expected that in the event of a strike or lockout the local unions will have the support of the International, the general executive board of which at its recent quarterly meeting at Montreal, supported the joint board in the latter's determination to hold the 44-hour week and the present wage scale.

Notice

The Workers' Party of the Bronx is arranging a concert and Vetcherinka on Saturday, Feb. 11, at the Workers’ Hall, 1347 Boston Road, the new and beautiful home of the Bronx comrades. The proceeds of this affair are to be used for the defense and relief of our class war prisoners.
Unemployment Situation Desperate

The unemployment situation in New York City is becoming desperate. More men and women applied in the last week at the free employment bureau operated by the city than in any other week since the bureau was started early last fall.

The situation is so bad, in fact, that those in charge of the free employment bureau are becoming alarmed. A conference of all the employees of the bureau recently was held, at which Louis H. Sullivan, head of the bureau, gave the following instructions:

"Stop telling the applicants that the situation is bad. By doing that you only spread the industrial phobia which threatens to possess our whole economic and industrial civilization."

Mr. Sullivan did not explain what that meant—but he followed it with a still more remarkable analysis of the reasons for unemployment.

"The trouble is," he declared, "the major reason why the unemployed man cannot get a job, is his uncertainty, his lack of confidence in himself."

On the night of the last snow here, 600 persons asked for shelter at the municipal lodging house. Twenty-five of them were women, three of whom had children. Fifty were men who had done emergency snow shoveling for the city and had not yet been paid. The shoes of almost all of them were full of holes scarcely any had gloves or overcoats, and many of them had been frostbitten.

The Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association of New York, which broke its contract last November with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have promised to reopen their shops under the week-work, 44-hour week system provided in the contract and in place of which they tried to force a 49-hour week and piece-work bases.

However, the announcement of the bosses that they will reopen their shops under the old conditions is made in such carefully-worded fashion as to warrant the belief that they may make still another effort to squirm out of their contract in case the appellate division of the State Supreme Court does not uphold the injunction against them granted by Justice Wagner. The announcement was made in a letter addressed to Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, and James P. Travis, Secretary of Labor. The letter makes it plain that the capitulation is made in a very bad grace. It says in so many words:

"Whatever we do now, we are compelled to do pursuant to the directions therein contained (in the court order) and not otherwise."

France

The threat of the miners to strike has compelled the operators to give up their attempt to cut wages. They are loud in their protest and maintain that a wage reduction is needed to net some profit. This is the universal cry of the capitalists. Only the strength of organized labor can stop the exploiters' onslaught on the workers.

Italy

As a result of the conference between the representatives of the workers and bosses and the Minister of Labor the general sympathetic strike in the Department of Liguria, in favor of the metal workers, has ended.

Unemployment is increasing. Due to a cessation of the agricultural operations, the situation in Tuscany and Emilia is becoming particularly aggravated. Discontent is rife. The Socialist Party of Serrati is coming across with the "normal" reformist solution—"a strong government." We wonder how much room Signor Serrati will allot to the Fascisti in the government that is to be strong enough to end the strife.

They Helped Themselves

A PAPER published in Philadelphia proudly bearing the title "Progressive Labor World," draws the attention of the Henry Dubbs to the fact that nearly every one playing an important part at the peace conference at Washington is a self-made man. Harding, chief ventriloquist in the vaudeville show, began life as a poor boy (we might add as a poor baby). Charles E. Hughes was the son of a minister who was as poor as a church mouse. Briand of France was born and reared in Brittany only of middle class parents. Kato, handicapped by being born in Japan, still got to the top of the political dungheap. Balfour's success is most remarkable considering the fact that his means would allow him to lead a life of ease. (Balfour is as lazy as a country policeman.) And Lloyd George's career, who did not come to the peace conference, was held up in addition to the others as brilliant examples for the readers of the "Progressive Labor World."

The one bright spot in the editorial referred to is the title, "Men Who Helped Themselves." Here you have the secret of success. Help yourself at the expense of others. Coming to think of it we could add several other brilliant examples to those featured in the editorial of the "Progressive Labor World." Henry the Eighth helped himself at least to eight wives, King Solomon the Wise to 969. Their names shine in history. James Stillman, the millionaire banker, has Henry knocked into a cocked hat and has Solomon on the run. All these fellows mastered the art of helping themselves.

Captain Kid was born without even the garment that made Paradise famous and yet he rose to wealth and influence by helping himself at the expense of others. In those days large scale piracy was not considered lawful, so the captain was continually in hot water.

Jesse James was a self-made man. For courage and dash none of the diplomatic brigands at the Washington Conference could hold a candle to him. He believed in helping himself. We could add numerous names to those of the celebrities named in the editorial. What is the use? The workers will not take our advice. Outside of brilliant fellows like Gompers, Berry, Brandel, J. H. Thomas, T. V. O'Connor and others of similar mental calibre, the great majority of the workers prefer to remain poor.

We hate to call anybody names, but the writer of the editorial in the "Progressive Labor World" reminds us of the symbol of the Democratic Party.

Young Workers' League

Circle No. 4, Hungarian, 81 East 86th Street, meets every Thursday evening. To have Liebknecht-Luxemburg memorial meeting Sunday evening, Jan. 22, in Hungarian.

Circle No. 5, 61 Canal Street, meets every Sunday evening. Gym class every Sunday at 11 A. M. Series of lectures by Allan S. Broms of Seattle soon to be started. Watch for further announcements.

Circle No. 6, 59 East 105th Street, meets every Thursday evening. Class in "A B C of Communism" every Saturday at 12; class in "Capital" every Saturday at 3 P. M. Soon to move into new headquarters.

Circle No. 10, Jewish, 143 East 103d Street, meets every Friday evening.

Circle No. 11, Jewish, 61 Canal Street, meets every Saturday evening. K. Martner lectures on "Development of Socialist Thought" every Friday evening. Class in economics soon to be started.

Williamsburg Comrades, notice: All Comrades living in Williamsburg who want to join the Young Workers League please communicate with Y. W. L., 61 Canal Street, New York City.
CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Comrades:

It is with interest that I have read the constitution of the Workers Party of America. It appears that at last sanity has returned, leaving the spirit of division behind, assuming activity on the basis of unity.

Unity! The word which now again is permeating the workers of American Unity, on a basis, that will uncompromisingly fight the battle—the class-battle. Along those lines alone shall victory be ours. Let us forget the differences which were more or less the product of opportunistic elements. Time is ripe for action. Let us act consciously—class consciously.

The constitution as printed can be considered strong enough to cope with the present situation. Tactics as outlined will be very efficient in the final struggle against the existing order of society. Hero worshiping will have to give way to the recognition of talents of action.

Only one point seems to be missing. This is an adequate educational provision, as far as an understanding of dialectic monism is concerned. Although in article No. 1, name and purpose, is mentioned "Its purpose shall be to educate and organize the working class," it is rather flexible. Has not in the past education been handed out? Yes! But education may cover the field of theology, metaphysics, or dialectic-monism.

This shall not act as a criticism for those who have formulated the constitution, as those undoubtedly possess the qualities necessary after two years of bitter experience. It only comes up in one's mind when recalling the work and activity of the organizations of the past, pretending that they were fighting the battle of labor.

In general one must appreciate the work accomplished at the unity convention.

Hoping for success and that some day I can be actively engaged in the party

I remain

with greetings for success,
M. G. GOETZE
1814 E. 63rd Street
Cleveland, Ohio.

To the Editor of The Toiler:

Dear Comrade:

As a subscriber and constant reader of the Toiler I thought it would be interesting news to have the readers of our paper know the present campaign for the office of General Secretary-Treasurer in our organization.

There seems to be a great sentiment for a change in the office and so the most progressive element, the active and file in the office and so the most progressive element, the active rank and file of our Local in Cleveland and about a dozen other Locals, including Kansas City, Pittsburgh and Washington, D. C., have nominated Max J. Allinsky and we hope to see him elected.

Max J. Sillinsky is the most progressive man in this campaign. In the past when a delegate to A. F. of L. Conventions he has always fought the Composers Policy, stood for Industrial Unionism within the ranks of the A. F. of L. and advocated an alliance of all the needle trade organizations into one.

At the Tailor’s Convention last August Max J. Sillinsky fought reaction to a stand still and championed all progressive measures.

In Cleveland he is well thought of among the Radicals and Progressives and is a leading figure always championing the cause of the under dog.

We urge and request the readers of the Toiler in the various localities to make these facts known among the tailors which may lead to the election of Max J. Sillinsky in our organization.

Very fraternally yours,
MATH POLAUKA

TO ALL LOYAL WORKERS OF THE UNITED MINES WORKERS OF AMERICA

Dear Fellow Workers:

On December 11, 1921, a mass meeting was held in the City Auditorium in Belfair, Ohio. Representatives from all local unions listed below participated in this meeting and without a dissenting vote adopted the following resolution, which was sent to different working-class papers for publication and to the National Secretary of the United Mine Workers of America.

Resolution

To the Representatives and Brothers Attending This Mass Meeting.

Greeting:

Whereas, it is time for the mine workers of our country to take a decisive stand against the tyranny that is being exercised within and without our organization, and

Whereas, Our friends and brothers Howat and Dorhey are incarcerated in the Cherokee County jail because they dared to resist the wishes of the Industrial Plutocrats of Kansas, whose sole purpose is to break up the organized labor movement; and

Whereas, We believe that the President and International Executive Board of our National Organization are aiding and abetting the enemies of the labor movement by taking from our brother workers in Kansas the charters of their local unions, and also in the action they have taken in regard to brothers Howat and Dorhey; and

Whereas, We believe that Brother Howat is a much better and more capable man than J. L. Lewis, as Brother Howat refused to bend his knee to the Kansas Industrial State Law, which proved to the workers that he would not be subdued by the Industrial Cars of Kansas, and therefore stands out as a beacon light to the lovers of freedom and justice in America, therefore be it

Resolved, That we the representatives and all mine workers attending this mass meeting go on record against President John L. Lewis and the entire Executive Board for the cowardly action they have taken, and that they be asked to resign from office at the earliest possible moment.

(Signed)
WALTER JAKOVITCH, Chm'n.
Local Union 1696.
JACK BELL, Sec'y, L. U. 971.
CHESTER A. LOWE, L. U. 1840.
WILLIAM KNOX, L. U. 2159.
JOE BRAYAN, L. U. 1286.
WALTER WISNICH, L. U. 1609.
MIKE ZUARDO, L. U. 1077.
Resoluion Committee.

Local unions represented: Tiltonville, Ohio, No. 397; Belfair, Ohio, No. 430; Shadyside, Ohio, No. 93; Glen Robbins, Ohio, No. 4503; Glen Robbins, Ohio, No. 4472; Belmont, Ohio, No. 3933; Neffs, Ohio, No. 2526; Neffs, Ohio, No. 3662; Neffs, Ohio No. 193; Wheeling Creek, Ohio, No. 13; Big Run, Ohio, No. 2662.
Alexander Howat acknowledges receipt of resolution and makes reply from his cell in the Cherokee County Jail:
Columbus, Kansas, Dec. 16, 1921.

Mr. Jack Bell,
Pres. L. U. 971,
Tiltonville, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This is to acknowledge receipt of yours of December 13, which was forwarded to me from Kansas City. I want to assure you and the mine workers of Ohio who participated in the mass meeting with you, that I appreciate more than words can tell the action taken at your meeting and the kind sentiment contained in your resolution.

I hope the time may be near at hand when the Mine Workers of this country may know the truth, and learn how the International officials try to crush out of the labor movement every District official who refuses to line up with them on every proposition.

I will be obliged to you if you can conveniently let the other locals know of my appreciation of their action in connection with the resolution.

Assuring you of my good wishes, I am,

Yours very truly,

ALEXANDER HOWAT,
President District No. 14.

Mass Meeting and Publicity Committee:
PAUL RUDISH, JACK NICHOLSON,
JOHN J. HOGE.

Young Workers’ League

The Young Workers’ League has taken the first step towards the organization of a national Y. W. L. A national committee has been elected from the cities of New York, Chicago, Boston and Detroit. Within a few weeks a call for a National Convention will be issued. As cities answer this call, they will be given a man on the national committee. Comrades in other cities who want more information, communicate with Y. W. L., 61 Canal Street, New York City.

As usual, one of the greatest obstacles to be overcome is the lack of funds. To raise money for the work, the Y. W. L. has arranged a ball, Saturday evening, Feb. 18, 1922, at Workers’ Hall, 1347 Boston Road.

At this ball a “Disarmament Conference” farce will be presented.

We ask all comrades to remember the date, the place and the cause.

Y. W. L. News

Circle No. 1, 1258 Boston Road, meets Saturday evening. Class in “A B of Communism” every Wednesday; class in Public Speaking every Thursday; class in economics every Monday; class in “Fundamentals of Communism” every Tuesday; class in physical training every Sunday at 3 P.M. Open forum every Sunday evening. Prominent speakers, admission free.

Circle No. 2, 307 Stone Avenue, meets every Sunday afternoon. Class in “Capital” every Saturday afternoon; class in “A B of Communism” every Saturday evening.

The Workers’ League

A Minstrel Show and Ball will be held by the Workers’ League of Greater New York on Friday evening 7:30 P.M., January 27th at the Central Opera House 67th Street between 2nd and 3rd Avenues. Tickets are for sale at the office of the Workers’ League 250 West 25th Street and all headquarters of Workers’ Party Clubs. Our readers are urged to help make their affair a success. An enjoyable evening is promised. A first-class orchestra will tempt everybody left, right and centre to trip the light fantastic. Those with web feet can slide.

Splendid Demonstration of the Unemployed

in New York

A large number of unemployed turned out at Beethoven Hall Monday night last to hear about the intentions of the Unemployment Council of New York City.

“The American capitalists don’t speak English or French, but only Russian. They have learned that you must have might and then you are right.” The workers present understood that clearly and applauded.

What have the workers of this country to do, especially the unemployed? Organize! That is the only thing that will help them. Organize and then make their demands.

“We are not here merely to organize the workers and have them down on paper. We are organizing them for action. It is time that the unemployed call the bluff of the government.

“Capitalism is here only to grind profit out of us workers. When the war broke out, there wasn’t anything too good for us. Then they made cannon-fodder of us. And since then they have got no use for us. We workers have got to organize and show them what we think of this American capitalist democracy.”

Demonstration of War Veterans Planned

“This demonstration is but the beginning of a series of demonstrations. We intend getting the workers together in ever larger numbers. We are going to have a demonstration of the ex-soldiers. The ex-soldiers were promised everything when they went to war, and now have unemployment as their reward. How many of your fellow-workers are ex-soldiers?”

The hands of half of the men went up.

“The workers of this country are treated worse than those of any country in the world. Do you think they would dare to treat a British worker, or a German worker, or a French or Italian worker as they do an American worker? Do you know why they do it? Because they haven’t any fear of the American worker or his organizations. The American labor unions under their reactionary leadership won’t fight. So the boss despises them. And he uses the unemployed to break them up.

The hungry workers in the hall fell in with the sentiment. They were hungry, but they knew that their hunger would not be stilled by the sandwiches and coffee that the Unemployment Council was providing for them. They followed the line of thought. That is what they want—action. They are tired of phrases and talk. They have gone through the mill too long not to know that only organized action will procure anything.

Songs End the Meeting in the Eating Room

While eating the workers filled the room with lusty singing of revolutionary songs. The Unemployment Council is with them—they know it and they promise to bring hundreds of their fellows—the unemployed—to the next demonstration.

All Radical Workers Will Meet at the BALL of the SHOP DELEGATES LEAGUE of the Ladies’ Garment Industry Saturday, Jan. 28th, at LONDON CASINO, 3rd Ave. and 173d St.
The funds collected by the Friends of Soviet Russia steadily climb up; $335,000 is the total to date, while the amount of clothing that has been donated by the 140 branches all over the country during the past month is valued at more than $250,000.

New York alone has gathered more than 4,000 bundles of clothing conservatively estimated at $40,000. Detroit has sent in 83 cases of clothing, shoes and other supplies. Wilmington has contributed 10 bales; Jessup, Pa., 11 bales and 15 cases of clothing, shoes, etc.; Chicago 22 cases of clothing. Numerous individual parcels, packages and bundles have arrived from every section of the United States.

San Francisco is conducting a great drive to enlist the labor unions. A large committee is at work and prospects are excellent. Los Angeles is looking far ahead. Jan. 22, April 1, and May 1 are being dedicated to big affairs. Los Angeles recently sent off a number of cases of clothes, etc., direct to Soviet Russia. Phoenix, Ariz., is beginning to function as a branch full of life. The workers in that section of the country want to know the truth about Soviet Russia and are clamoring for speakers.

Cleveland is showing renewed vitality and is figuring among the top-notchers. Activities in Chicago do not diminish. Detroit and Chicago comrades seem to be an endless source of energy and invention. Probably the state of mind of the workers in that section of the country is accountable for the excellent results being attained there.

Foster’s Eastern tour has come to an end in Canada. From New York Foster went to the New England States and passed triumphantly from there across the border to Canada. Foster will remain some time in Chicago and then will begin a Western tour. Com. Foster’s meetings were not only a splendid financial but also a moral success. The demand for his book has been specially active after his meetings. In fact, the F. S. R. has already sent out more than 5,800 paper bound copies of his “Russian Revolution,” which is full evidence of the popularity of the work.

Edgar T. Whitehead, the well-known English journalist, who went to the Berlin International Conference of the Foreign Committee for Organizing Workers’ Relief for the Starving in Soviet Russia, has been detained at Ellis Island. The government officials refuse to recognize his credential, which states explicitly that his mission in the United States is to organize relief for the starving Russians. Com. Whitehead has just come from Sweden and Norway, where he did similar work. In view of the critical state of things in Soviet Russia at the present moment, with millions facing death, the detention of Com. Whitehead is an outrage against which protest should be raised in every part of the country where there are sympathizers with the starving workers and peasants. The F. S. R. is taking up the matter with the Federal authorities and it is hoped that Com. Whitehead will be released on bail in a few days.

According to the report of Com. Whitehead, the situation in Soviet Russia is as serious as described. He states that, according to official figures, 50,000 people are dying daily, 1,000,000 have perished in three weeks. The famine is at its most acute stage and will remain so for the next two months. Help must be rushed within the next six or eight weeks. As soon as spring arrives, and the grain begins to sprout the danger will diminish.

“We Russian children thank the American children for having sent us warm clothing. I got a warm dress for which I thank you.” “We Russian children thank the American children for having made us a present of warm things. I have got warm woolen stockings and gloves and thank you heartily for them.” This is the spirit of gratitude that is being felt by Russian children for the aid that is being given them.

The larger part of the food supplies sent by the F. S. R. on the S. S. Margus has been sent to Kazan, to the authorized representatives of the Russian Red Cross. This will assure the work of the Medical Feeding Units of the Russian Red Cross for the period of two months. A smaller quantity was left in Petrograd for the units forming there and in Moscow.

Up to December 7, 49,750 tons have been received by Soviet Russia from foreign countries. Persia donated 833 tons of rice and grain; Bulgaria 500 tons, American workers 3,463 tons, Norway 2,133 tons, Turkey 5,333 tons.

There have been additions to the list of central labor bodies affiliated with the F. S. R., viz., Washington D. C., Central Labor Union, Richmond Central Labor Union, and Mansfield Ohio, Labor Union. The number of affiliations continues to grow, new branches and large bodies joining up.

The United Mine Workers continue to send in assessments. From the Rocky Mountain region and Central West contributions are coming in daily.

“I want to draw your attention to A. McGowan, who is a helper in the Great Northern here and has a large family. He contributed $5 and his two small boys who sell papers gave a dollar apiece. This is a good spirit and should be encouraged.” No question it should, and we hope that all boys and girls will follow this beautiful example of devotion to the cause of Soviet Russia.

The big items of the week are Toronto, Canada, $5,000; Lithuanian Section of the F. S. R., $2,700, Chicago $4,000, New York $1,034, Cleveland $885, Detroit $800 San Francisco $700, Philadelphia $750, Pittsburgh $650, Milwaukee $345, Schenectady $350, Russian Dramatic Club, Boston, $300, Women’s Educational League, West New York, N. J., $300, Minneapolis, $357, Seattle $250, Portland, Ore. $150, Russian Babies’ Relief, rBoxx. N. Y., $200, Rochester $200, United Mine Workers of America, Rock Springs, Wyo., $217, Roxbury Lettish Club, Boston, Mass., $250.

Books Wanted
C. E. Ruthenberg from Sing Sing sends in a request for “America and the Balance Sheet of Europe,” by Baso and co-author.
Gus Alonen from Dannemora State Prison would like to have Ranson’s “Book on Russia” and any other of the new books on the subject.

It is hardly necessary at this time to emphasize the importance of books to political prisoners and the duty of each class conscious worker to our class war prisoners.
Continue
The Famine Relief Work
Indefinitely

THIS IS AN ORDER TO US!
IT IS AN ORDER TO YOU!

The All-Russian Famine Relief
Committee (Moscow) So Commands

What you GIVE in the next two months
will count most. GIVE OFTEN

The Friends of Soviet Russia
201 West 13th Street,
New York City