

THE TOILER

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Production For Profit

Under our present Capitalist System all our production and distribution is carried on on a profit basis. Those commodities, and those only are produced which promise to the owners of production profits. The same is true with our system of distribution.

It is under such a system that the people are skinned and profiteers are made. The process by which this is accomplished is a most interesting study. We haven't time to go into all the complexities of the system, but only desire to point out some of its wastes and inconsistencies. For production for profit is only profitable for the profiteer.

Some weeks ago the writer made a journey into the San Joaquin Valley. This is one of the most fertile regions in California, not to say in the world. Yet hundreds of producers, one is told, will be impoverished in that valley this year. And primarily because production is carried on for profit.

The ranches have produced hundreds of acres of cotton. Yet we found ranchers discing it under instead of picking it, because there was no market. Notwithstanding the fact that half of the world is in need of cotton products, and cotton cloth is selling around 75 cents a yard.

The sheep grower, one found, must leave the wool on the sheeps' backs or stacked in his barn. And while there is no market for this product, one finds it all but impossible to get first grade woolen material. At the same time a writer in the Pacific Rural Press points out that the old clothes sent for Belgium relief, but never used, are being shipped back by the big woolen mill interests by the tons. This material is being ground up and made into shoddy cloth and blankets which are being sold on the market on an "all wool" basis at enormous profits.

The animal hides of the stock rancher are practically unsaleable. While all kinds of shoes and other leather products are selling at outrageous prices.

One found melons rotting in the fields or had been diseased under by the grower because he could not make any profit out of them. At the same time

the city worker was paying at the market most dearly for these commodities.

In other sections, tomatoes, onions, etc., were wasting in the field, while the buyer was paying dearly for raw tomatoes and exorbitant prices for canned ones.

Way back in the Middle West the process is the same. So is it also on the Atlantic Coast, and even worse in the Southern States. In the Kansas section we are told that many farmers are putting their corn in the coal bin, instead of the crib, because it is selling so cheaply that they find it more profitable to burn it than to sell it and buy other fuel.

In the last issue of the Western Worker you doubtless saw the statement of Judge Gary, of the "Steal" Trust. He states in cold figures that America is the "world's greatest producer." Yet in spite of that we have millions of men, women and children who will go hungry, cold and thinly clad this winter. While a worse fate will come to the peoples of Europe.

Moreover, while the raw materials and commodities of the producers waste, the great factories and mills are closing down, and millions of workers are being thrown out of employment.

Thus does the Capitalist System—production for profit—prove unprofitable to all, except the profiteers, who are being produced by the thousand. Both the worker and the rancher suffer. While millions of industrial workers are facing the "bread line" in our land of plenty, because of unemployment, we find that the vast majority of the farmers are making a bare existence or becoming bankrupt. The following is an item sent in by a reader and is illustrative of that fact:

The United States Department of Agriculture has been investigating farm operations in three States, Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin, for the purpose of determining what income farmers are obtaining. Representatives of the department visited certain farms year after year, taking records concerning the farm business, the living expenses, the value of the



THE POOR BOOB DOESN'T EVEN KNOW IT!

Here and There in the Labor Struggle

By Al Meathers.

ONLY FOR THE SAKE OF EFFICIENCY.

family living obtained from the farm, cost of investment, etc., and from these figures carefully compiled they obtained the farmers' net income, the amount he actually receives for his labor.

In Washington County, Ohio, the twenty-five farmers visited for the seven years, 1912-18, had an average farm income yearly of \$610. This covered 4.6 per cent interest on their investment, and \$276 labor income. In addition they had house rent, fuel, and some of their food, the last three items estimated to average \$359.

If we add the \$276 cash return for their labor, and the \$359 value of food, fuel and shelter furnished by the farm, we find that the farmer received \$635 per year, or a little less than \$53 per month for labor. Without doubt his wife and children worked to help him, and the \$53 covered the labor of all hands.

One hundred farmers in Clinton County, Indiana, on better land than those visited in Ohio, had an average cash labor income for the seven years they were under investigation of \$558, the return on their capital was 5.7 per cent, and food, fuel and house rent, was estimated at \$425. That is to say, they received, each of them, on an average, \$983, a year, or \$82 a month for the labor of the family. They did well.

The sixty Wisconsin farmers visited for five years, 1913-18, averaged \$408 labor income, and 4.7 per cent return on their investment.

Only four farmers out of the 185 visited made over \$500 labor income every year. Averaging labor income and loss over the whole time, 15 per cent of the farmers failed to make any labor income at all. Ten per cent failed to make even 5 per cent interest on investment in any year of the study.

Department specialists point out that while the turn-over for recent years has been larger than for earlier years, the returns have been little larger if measured by their purchasing power rather than in terms of dollars and cents!

It is not enough, however, that we should merely point out the evils of the Capitalist System—a system of production for profit—we must go farther and suggest a way out.

In Soviet Russia a new system of society is being perfected. It is called Communism. Under this system Production is for Use instead of for Profit. Profiteering is not tolerated. It is made a capital offense for any one to be found attempting to profiteer on the workers.

men can turn out far more work in eight hours than in twelve.

When the workers employed by the steel trust demanded a reduction of hours, they were called Bolsheviks and threatened with every kind of mishandling. When they said that, in Europe, the hours have long been lowered to eight, they could get out.

But when an economist states that it will mean an outlay of only 3 per cent and the efficiency will be far higher—well, that is a quite different matter. Now, perhaps, in the name of "humanity," it will be found to be a good business proposition to lower the hours.

THE RED CROSS.
The Red Cross just had a drive for new membership and renewals of old memberships. Its posters were up at all street corners; every billboard contained one. The appeal was strong to help this so-called humanitarian society, for the work that it is said to be doing. One thinks of Nurse Cavell and the innumerable women who endangered their lives and health to lessen the suffering of the boys who were dragged away to the war. One thinks of the few pleasures that they are supposed to have arranged for the boys behind the lines. One thinks of the help that people say they brought to suffering homes where death and disease ruled.

One thinks of the children that they have comforted and provided with food. And one also thinks of the shameful plots that were devised at the headquarters in Petrograd to betray the Russian revolution. One thinks of the observers who were sent to Russia, incognito, to obtain secret information. One thinks of the embezzlement of funds; of the supplies that never reached their destination, and most of all, one thinks of the refusal of the Red Cross to aid the suffering workers of Russia, and the fighting revolutionists of Ireland. One thinks of the difference that is made between the worthy and unworthy—BECAUSE OF ORDERS FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Hence, one is inclined to believe that, instead of being a humanitarian institution, the Red Cross is a department of the government in disguised form—and, as it would seem, of the Intelligence Department.

It is good that the truth should be known.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST TWO ITALIAN WORKERS.
The Department of Justice never seems to tire. Thus far, it is an excellent department of government work

Confessions of a Legion Post Commander

By M. H. R.

"We are tenaciously determined to stamp out the radicals of this country; to deport all aliens who are susceptible to radical propaganda; to punish all native 'reds' and promote the open shop, which is the American Shop."

to intimidate and subdue workers who are class conscious).

When asked what were the present activities of his organization he answered, "First to protect the country against disloyal elements, the Bolshevists, Communists and anarchists." He continued, "We are tenaciously determined to stamp out the radicals of this country; to deport all aliens who are susceptible to radical propaganda; to punish all native 'reds' and promote the open shop, which is the American Shop."

Three Million Scabs.

That a white guard band is organized and backed by the financial plutocrats for the avowed purpose of smashing workers' organizations is glaringly apparent. This white guard band is the American Legion, which claims to represent three million ex-service men, who fought in the world war to make the world safe for democracy, (for world imperialism).

The American Legion's aim was presented to me in utter frankness by a Post Commander of a large middle west city; the Commander being a Lieutenant over seas and evidently a product of bourgeois culture.

In entering a restaurant in that city a short time ago to get a bite, a well dressed young man seated himself across the table when I was feasting.

A conversation started. In his first remarks he introduced himself as Post Commander of the Local Unit of the American Legion and told me in length of his official responsibilities.

I grasped the situation and realized that I had a good opportunity to get some information about the American Legion and to present it to the readers of The Toiler.

During our preliminary conversation I professed ignorance of the events transpiring throughout the country, and devoted myself chiefly to asking numerous questions of my new acquaintance.

To all my questions he replied in a very ostentatious manner. Having a good command of English he explained and emphasized all matters which he thought were abstruse and difficult for me to comprehend.

The Legions First Principles.

When questioned what the chief object of the American Legion is, he replied unhesitatingly, that "the aim of the American Legion is first and foremost Americanism. The individual obligation to the Community and nation (to scab); to foster and perpetuate one hundred per cent Americanism."

He continued, "The American Legion is absolutely non-partisan and does not disseminate partisan principals," (only

its activity, however, is such that one must think the matter over many times before giving the department a vote of approval.

Its latest deed is a repetition of those acts which have called for the resignation of Mr. Palmer. But Palmer is too valuable—he must remain, in order to discredit the whole system.

Thus, again, the authorities seem in a conspiracy to railroad two fighting workers to jail. Sacco and Vanzetti are two Italians of Dedham, Mass. and are charged with the murder of a special officer and paymaster. This is but the technical charge, the purpose of which is to remove them as quickly as possible because of certain knowledge that they have regarding the case of Salsedo. Salsedo is the Italian who, according to practically confirmed versions of the happening, was pitched out of a fourteen-story building in New York, where he had been detained by the Department of Justice for more

than two months. Sacco and Vanzetti had been friends of Salsedo and would not stop in their efforts to have him released. They organized a mass meeting against his detention. The meeting was never held. The two men were arrested and charged with a capital crime.

The purpose is clear. These men know too much. They have considerable "inside" information regarding a case that aroused general public indignation—and which the Department of Justice would gladly drive out of memory. But instead of forgetting the Salsedo case, the American working class is having it brought before them in a more intense form by those who are trying to fix a dastardly crime on these men who dared to stand up for Salsedo.

Sacco and Vanzetti will not go to court undefended. The acts of government and particularly of the Department of Justice have aroused the wrath

(Continued on page 4)

By Going After Them

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The Program of the American Arm of the Communist International

EDITOR'S NOTE: At the present time the Third (Communist) International has no competitor in the field of world proletarian political organizations. The Second International has gone down to its grave in the clash and conflict arising from the World War. It is dead, never to rise. At Moscow last year was organized with representatives of 22 countries the Third International of Workers which the world has seen. It is growing in power and authority in every country, with a representative Communist Party in each functioning under its direction and discipline. It is the greatest political organization in the world, a world-wide Communist Party in fact. On the 22nd of February there will meet at Vienna part of the remnants of the old Second International representing that element of Social-Patriot, Reform Socialism, "Political" Socialism, which is opposed to the tactics advocated by the Third International as those of workers' victory over the capitalist class.

The Party representing the Third International in the United States is the United Communist Party formed out of Left Wing elements of the Socialist Party. This Party has recently issued a Program of its aims, objects, and methods. The first portion of this Program was published in The Toiler last week and the concluding portions follow. Such a program, coming from a Party sponsored by a world-wide organization of workers, such as the Third International is of the highest news value. It is in the spirit of giving this news and information to our readers that we publish it. Considering the growing power and prestige of the Third International among the world's workers, we believe it important for workers in this country to acquaint themselves with the purposes and methods of its representative party here, trusting to the intelligence and experience of the workers to decide for themselves its value and applicability to American conditions and needs.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR.

Two great powers remain in the world. Russian imperialism met death in October, 1917. German and Austrian imperialism were buried alive in the close of 1918. Crippled France and Italy are called great by courtesy, while adolescent Japan is flattered among the nations for its growth in stature and knowledge of cheating, but the two truly Great Powers carefully watch and thwart its further growth.

The two Anglo-Saxon Powers rise high above the rest of the imperialistic world. Britain, the older, and possessing the shrewder political engineers, moves faster in seizing by political trickery and force the remaining valuables of the world.

Shattered and hysterical imperialist France, terrified in finding her war winnings worthless, hurls her militarized black colonials into Germany, and the resulting accounts of violation of women supply jokes for the jaded Parisian bourgeois. Unable to trust its conscripted troops within the radius of the Russian Revolution, the French government pours out its remaining treasure to any brigand that applies with a plan to slaughter Russian workers and retrieve the Tsarist loans. Losing wealth and prestige at every venture, imperialist France sinks fast to insignificance as a beggar at England's door.

But while all imperialisms are equal enemies of the working class, the working class of each country must objectively recognize that its own imperialism is the nearest at hand and is therefore the most immediate enemy. The old, loosely federated Second International pursued the policy: "Let each proletariat curse the OTHER imperialism and remain silent about its own" (thus really serving its own master class, which wants the workers to hate foreign imperialism and so be the readier to stampede into war). The working class Communist International holds to the policy: "Let each proletariat spring to the attack of its OWN imperialism!" In this spirit the United Communist Party centers its critical analysis and condemnation upon the comparatively newly fledged imperialism of the United States.

The entry of the United States into the world war and into the consequent diplomatic intrigues of Europe, marks the maturity of American imperialism. The rest of the life of American capitalism must be devoted to foreign military adventures. And yet, capitalism of the whole world fears the next war. It dimly foresees that the next world war will end in world revolution, and for that reason seeks such a method as would not again put arms into the hands of the exploited masses.

The world capitalist class has found its one "peace measure." This measure is a league or "Association of Nations," by which to settle capitalist rivalries in committee, so to speak, instead of upon the battlefield. This scheme does not for one moment even contemplate full peace, but only peace between capitalist classes of the various countries.

To the working class, the league or association of nations does not offer peace, but more terrible and unrelenting warfare. To avoid putting weapons into the hands of the slowly awakening and dangerous masses, the capitalist class strives to establish an international military body, professionalized and rid of working class elements.

The plan announced and already in several instances put into practice is to shift this international army from country to country on occasion and rebellion of a tortured people may require, to shoot, rape, burn and loot at the pleasure of the old men sitting at Versailles. Five times this League of Nations' army, in embryo form and not yet given its name, has been launched on murder-junkets against the most advanced and only free people on earth—Soviet Russia. Kolchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, Wrangel, and the Polish Government, each led its international brigands into Russia, and each fell before this mightiest army now on earth—the army of the first Socialist Republic—the army of the Third International.

The League of Imperialists that exterminated the Hungarian Soviet Republic has failed in its attempts to crush the Russian nation of free workers. The Communist International grows stronger, and commands the loyalty of more and more thousands of workers in the great cities that are the strategic centers of capitalist nations. Neither industrial populations nor conscripted armies can any longer be trusted by capitalist governments. National loyalty cannot any longer be the popular teaching of governments that have violated every nationalism—even surrendered their own national sovereignty to a mechanical, soulless, international league. There are only two loyalties left—the fragile loyalty to international capitalism, and the loyalty to International Communism.

Capitalism can no longer teach belligerency to a popular mass that it cannot trust; pacifism, more especially civil pacifism, must now be taught to its exploited and restless subjects. Under the cir-

cumstances workers of humane instinct must leave the utopian attitude of pacifism and must take the enlightened attitude of international working class resistance by armed force. No more "conscientious objection" by individuals, but conscientious insurrection by masses outside or inside of military units.

The United Communist Party warns the workers not to be lulled by bourgeois "peace" agreements into expecting peace between capitalist nations. The very nature of capitalist production calls for competitive exploitation of ever new fields. The enormous and rapid accumulations of investment capital, with simultaneous diminishing of available, undeveloped territories, guarantees not even a capitalist peace, but more wars of greater frequency; greater intensity and of more terrible consequence if the capitalist system survives. We must expect these wars as a moral certainty and must prepare, that the workers, acting internationally, may transform them from wars between nations to wars between classes, to overthrow the governing classes and all capitalist governments, establish Socialism and put an end to all wars.

The machine for that international action is the Communist International.

COLONIAL PROBLEMS.

Because of the late coming of American capitalism's need for foreign expansion, America has (as yet) a much smaller colonial problem than have the other large powers, and little understanding of the question. The brutality of American military rule in the colonies recently wrested from Spain, attracted little attention. The subjection of the people of the Philippine Islands to a reign of fire and sword was accomplished without the American workers being awakened to understanding and sympathy. The recent cruelties of American rule in Haiti have been successfully covered with lies.

But the American workers' respite from thought on the colonial question will soon end. The impending assault upon, and subjugation of Mexico promises the American Workers a high enough and serious enough colonial problem in the near future.

The precarious truce between Mexican politicians and the agent of oil mining companies who has just been placed in the presidency of the United States, will soon be broken by pressure of American capital for greater profits than can be gained without direct administration of Mexican affairs and full enslavement of the Mexican workers. The indispensability of large petroleum supplies to present-day industry, and the fact that Mexico contains a large share of what petroleum has not already been monopolized by the British, dooms the Mexican people to assault, devastation and robbery by American oil and mining interests, backed by the United States Army.

If the American workers and their brother-workers of Mexico do not successfully resist the attack upon that country, we shall soon have upon our hands as deadly a colonial problem as has any nation of the world.

But wider fields than Mexico are sought by the Imperialism that ripened in the United States through the war. Already most unidealistic politicians mutter of the "ideal of the Monroe Doctrine." South America must be taken by United States capital, first through intrigue, then through war. China, Siberia, and even the island possessions of the rival thief Japan, are eyed feverishly for anything in them that American capital can steal. The United Communist Party must warn the workers against the anti-Japanese race-war propaganda now being stimulated on the Pacific Coast, couched in soft words of democracy, to lure the workers into a capitalist adventure for loot in Asia. America is already bursting with new colonial ambition.

The United Communist Party is, therefore, doubly obliged to give its attention to the colonial problem in general and especially, at the earliest possible moment, to give help to the peoples of Haiti, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Hawaii, Samoa, St. Thomas, Guam, etc., as well as a shamefully belated assistance to the people of the Philippines.

This task can only be accomplished through a careful study of historical, social, and economic conditions in each separate colony upon its own peculiarities. Propaganda must be made to clarify the minds of the proletarian and rural peon class as well as landholding farmers not of the employer class. They must be made to see the class division rather than the racial division of peoples. By the example of Communist workers in their midst they must be brought to understand their interests in common with the white and black proletariat of the United States. At the same time the American proletariat must be brought to understand its interest in common with exploited colonials, by means of the United Communist Party press. American workers must be brought to support, by all means in their power, any insurrection in colonial possessions, and at a proper time incite effective insurrection. By communications and co-operation with American proletarian organizations, the exploited classes in colonial possessions will learn to understand that the parasitic class of their own race is not their friend but their betrayer to the enemy for a share of the loot.

By cultivation of class-consciousness of the propertyless masses, even among peoples where capitalist forms have not developed, a distinct progress towards Communism can be made, as has been demonstrated by the Russian Soviet Republic in its handling of the problem of backward peoples.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Capitalist society, staggering under the effect of the great war, reveals itself ever more clearly as incapable of fulfilling those functions which its apologists have always advanced as the excuse for its existence. It has now failed, more dismally than ever, in its pretended mission of supplying the world with the world's needs. In its self-imposed task of the organization of production, the capitalist class has revealed itself a failure.

The dislocation of production, and the breakdown of the delicate and intricate fabric of international credit, as a result of the war, has plunged the industrial world into a crisis. Capitalism, by the very nature of its being, has always been attended by periodical "panics," but the present crisis is of an essentially different nature from those crises which previously appeared and which eventually ended by the disposal, in various ways, of the surplus of commodities. This is no ordinary case of "over-production." The world's stock of commodities is abnormally low, but despite their need, the

hopelessly insolvent foreign nations can no longer purchase the surplus of American industries.

In every other land, large masses of the people suffer for want of food, clothing and shelter, for whom a partly paralyzed industry can provide neither work nor subsistence. American capitalism cannot be immune from this infection, and we are confronted with a crisis rapidly growing to the proportions of the great social disasters of Europe.

The capitalist press, despite its evident desire to conceal the extent of the evil, daily carries the news of more and more stoppages in various industries. With increasing frequency, large numbers of workers are being thrown out of employment, owing to the shutdown of industrial enterprises. At the same time the cheapening of money, with the consequent "high-prices" and "high rents" is adding to the dissatisfaction of the masses.

Already the stirrings of this widespread discontent are heard. Rent strikes, popular manifestations against "the high cost of living" are symptoms of restlessness which will increase as the unemployed workers exhaust the small savings of the period of "war prosperity." We may expect with assurance a series of popular demonstrations on an unparalleled scale, as a result of unemployment.

It is the task of the United Communist Party to crystallize and co-ordinate these scattered manifestations of discontent by directing them into channels of definite revolutionary action. The mass of the unemployed is not stable in composition. It is a fluid body of drifting and changing membership. The Party, on the other hand, is stable, and possesses a permanent machinery of action. Thus it should be comparatively easy for Communists to earn the confidence of the unemployed toilers and be entrusted by them with the guidance of their activities.

It shall be the duty of the Communist units in each locality to initiate the formation of unemployed committees. Where such committees already have been formed, through the efforts of other organizations or individuals, Communists should secure as large a representation as possible, in order to influence materially the local policy. It is the task of the Party to formulate a program of unemployment agitation and action, which will unify the procedure of all local bodies and conform with the revolutionary policies of Communism.

The active participation of the United Communist Party in the unemployed movement will offer it wide opportunity for the revolutionary enlightenment of the masses, by interpreting to them the real cause and nature of their situation, and by showing them that there can be no lasting mitigation of their lot, except by the overthrow of the capitalist system through the aggressive action of the revolutionary workers. By pointing out the assistance which the State lends to the master class, in repressing any effort of the unemployed workers to attain relief from their suffering by the seizure of food or clothing or the forcible occupation of the houses of the bourgeoisie, the Communists will be able to illustrate powerfully the necessity for the destruction of the capitalist State and the establishment of proletarian power.

NEGRO PROBLEM.

The negro population of the United States, about 13 millions, is principally composed of unskilled laborers. It is the most exploited people in America. In the southern states, the former slave owners' descendants, who have inherited all the hatred and contempt of their fathers for this helpless people, ruthlessly exploit them. Negroes are denied even the formal protection of the law accorded to their brothers, the white laborers. Scarcely a pretense is made of even permitting them to vote. They are an outlaw race. Organized illegal societies, secret or open, are formed by leading citizens, to exercise over them a frank mob rule. They are lynched, shot, hanged, and publicly burned at the stake, and their women are outraged with impunity. They are deliberately kept in a state of illiteracy by open and insidious methods, and those exceptional individuals who overcome these tremendous handicaps face the insuperable barrier of race prejudice. After attaining a skill at a profession they are compelled, in many instances, to labor at unskilled callings. The leadership of reactionary politicians of their own race and the degrading influence of their church organizations only perpetuate their economic and social subjection.

The capitalist class in order to maintain its power and reap its profits, deliberately encourages, cultivates, and incites the white wage slave against the negro wage slave. As a result he is placed between two fiercely contending forces of capital and white labor. Beaten and cajoled in turn by both, he is used by the master class as a strike-breaker either in the uniform of the United States soldier, or in overalls. Under these conditions the negro is used in such a manner as to obscure from his own eyes as well as the eyes of his white brother laborer, the nature of the class struggle.

The United Communist Party will actively support the negroes in their desperate struggle against these hellish conditions. It points to the only possible solution of the negro problem, namely: the abolition of wage slavery, through the overthrow of the capitalist State and the erection of a Communist society.

The task of the United Communist Party is to break down the barrier of race prejudice that separates and keeps apart the white and the negro workers, and to bind them into a union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of their common enemy.

The United Communist Party must find the revolutionary and potential revolutionary elements among the negroes and select those most likely to develop into revolutionary propagandists. These shall be trained for revolutionary work. Negro Communists must enter lodges, unions, clubs, and churches (which, among negroes, are not essentially ecclesiastic institutions, but in effect are social clubs and forums), etc., to expose the reactionary leaders, who, for the purpose of betraying their race, infest these institutions. Negro Communists must combat in these gathering places the ideas of patriotism, religion, etc., which aid in the subjection the negro people.

Communists shall use the negro press as a means of presenting revolutionary ideas. Communists are to aid every movement that tends toward the cultivation of the spirit of revolt among the negroes, and especially must organize revolutionary direct-action bodies of negroes for resistance to lynching, mob rule, etc. Great care must be exercised to avoid race wars, and to cultivate the spirit of self-protection and solidarity with the white workers in the class war.

(Continued on page 3.)

Along The Soviet Front

By Propaganda Pete.

Stockholm.—The Swedish printing concern "Progress" has received an order amounting to 6,000,000 crowns to furnish the Russian schools with books. It is said that a large part of the 20,000,000 crowns authorized by the Soviet government to be expended for school books will be spent in Germany. At present exchange rates on New York a Swedish crown equals about 21 cents.

Stockholm.—Reports from Moscow say that at a conference of representatives on the non-partisan peasants of the Moscow government (administrative district), held last week the following resolution was adopted:

"We promise to carry on the war against economic dissolution to a victorious end. We welcome the latest decrees of the Soviet government and the resolutions of the Eighth Soviet Congress which give us assurance that our industries will not perish, but, rather, will flower out in a new collective form for the benefit of the proletarian republic. We declare that we, non-partisan peasants, are for the Communist revolution and for the Soviet Power."

BY THE FEDERATED PRESS.

New York (N. Y. Bur.)—A slender pamphlet has just been turned off the press here which contains between its two grey covers enough reason and clarity to dispel all the lies circulated about the status of women in Soviet Russia. Its title is "The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia," and it is the first complete English text of the code of laws drawn up in Russia dealing with marriage, the family and domestic relations.

Not a word that might be interpreted by the most clever exegist as sanctioning the "nationalization of women" is to be found in this code, which was adopted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on September 16, 1918. What does distinguish the laws above all else is their recognition of the rightful social function and economic status of women. They disclose no trace of the old, political, economic and legal discrimination between the sexes.

How the rights of various groups of the population are provided for in this code may be learned from the following typical clauses:

Rights of Married Women—"Marriage does not establish community of property between the married persons." And to strengthen this proviso and weaken the pressure of old customs which tended to diminish the wife's economic rights, a supplementary clause adds that any agreement between husband and wife tending to impair his or her property rights shall be deemed void. Moreover the change of residence by one of the parties to a marriage shall not impose an obligation on the other party to follow the former."

Rights of Children—Parents are obliged to keep their children with them and are responsible for their care and education and their "instruction in useful activity." Parents may not contract for the employment of their children between the ages of 16 and 18 without the children's consent. Employment of children under 16 is forbidden by the labor laws. After the age of 14 children may profess whatever religious beliefs they choose regardless of the religious affiliation of their parents.

Rights of Parents—The obligation of parents for the care, maintenance and education of their minor children is accompanied by an equal obligation upon mature children for the maintenance of their parents if the latter are indigent and unable to work, provided that the parents are not receiving support from the government. Men of 55 and women of 50 are not required to show any proof of incapacity for work.

Rights of "Illegitimate" Children—"Children descending from parents who are not married have equal rights with those descending from parents living in registered marriage. "The right to establish the actual descent of a child is reserved to the interested parties, including the mother." Full obligation is imposed on the unmarried father for his equal share in the expenses connected with the gestation, delivery and maintenance of the child."

The tentative and experimental quality of this code is fully recognized by its framers. Says A. G. Hainberg, editor in chief of the Collegium of Laws: "It is to be understood that in publishing this code the government of the proletariat engaged in establishing Socialism in Russia, does not aim to make them of long duration. It does not desire to establish 'eternal codes.' The proletarian government constructs its laws so that each day of their existence should make their continuance

THE TOILER

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

AN HISTORIC PAMPHLET

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH.

Just as there are certain events in the individual lives of men, which may be recognized as marking a new period, a fresh point of departure, in their personal careers, so are there outstanding happenings in the lives of nations, of movements, or of all the people of the earth, which are also as "white stones" marking definite stages of progression on the highway of life.

This pamphlet which I have just read seems to me to signal, very definitely, a culmination of an old period and the starting of a new. It marks with precision a new orientation for the labor movements of the world. It is a rallying of scattered forces, and a channel for the new streams of effort which are manifesting themselves, ever more vigorously, among the working classes of our time.

The book is called, "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions," by A. Losovsky. It is published by the Union Publishing Association, of New York City.

The war and the war's catastrophic aftermath have stressed the vital necessity of international working class organization. Not the old international labor organization, which consisted merely of a sort of central clearing-house for information, but of an International of action. Out of the turmoil of the war have emerged a certain number of labor unions to which the term revolutionary may be well applied. They are industrial organizations which recognize the class struggle, and which aim at the abolition of capitalism.

Where are such organizations to turn, for international affiliation? Shall they seek the feeble, new International Bureau of Amsterdam? Losovsky, in this vigorously written pamphlet, shows exactly why they should not. He exposes mercilessly the temporizing and reformist nature of the "Yellow International," as it is now called by all militants. He shows that it is but the weak appendage of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, that expression of international capitalism which has been formed by international financiers for the suppression, on a world-wide scale, of labor. Its leading spirits are Jothaux, Appleton, Legien and other "labor leaders" who have earned the confidence of the master class, by becoming expert in the befuddlement and misleading of their proletarian followers. The Amsterdam International, in fact, is an International of labor bureaucrats and reactionaries.

Losovsky describes the birth of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, or, as it is more popularly called, the Red Labor Union International. In June and July, 1920, there were several delegations of labor unionists in Russia, who had been sent there by their organizations for the purpose of studying conditions in that country. At the Second Congress of the Third (Communist) International was also held at about that time, there were also a number of prominent union leaders of various countries who were present in their capacity as delegates from the revolutionary political parties to which they also belonged. And then, again, there were a few individuals, members of various unions, carrying no credentials, who had come to Soviet Russia to ascertain conditions. Among these last may be mentioned Taro Joshiharo, Japanese member of the American I. W. W., who attracted much attention at the famous Mooney Convention in Chicago. Joshiharo was later elected a member of the Provisional Council of the new industrial International.

Among others present at this historic conference were Rosmer, representing 700,000 members of the Revolutionary Minority of the French General Confederation of Labor; A. Madson, Norwegian Industrial Union; Pescana, of the Spanish Syndicalists; J. T. Murphy, of the British Shop Stewards and Workers Committee; Robert Williams, of the British Transport Workers; M. Tomsky, All-Russia Trade Unions; Shablin, Bulgarian Unions; and many others.

The occasion of the presence of all these men of importance in the revolutionary labor movements of their respective lands was too valuable not to be seized. A conference was therefore

organized labor is too well known to need defining here. It has usurped the lawful authority in many cities and on many occasions in dispersing meetings to which it objected. Newspapers have carried many accounts of such happenings. If you wish to investigate its attitude in strikes and strike breaking, direct your inquiries to the labor unions and learn their grievances in these matters. Its reputation is not a savory one and the counts against it held by union labor are many. Whether the Legion now has as claimed, at its command 250,000 scabs, admitting a possible overstatement, is a matter of much importance to organized workers. A force of strikebreakers of even half that number available to capital in a national strike, simply means that the Legion is a strike breaking agency in the pay and under the domination of capital.

This is the opinion which is forming toward the Legion. This Legion is responsible by its former and present acts for this opinion. It is for the Legion to demonstrate its falsity, if false it is.

PROGRAM OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

(Continued from page 2.)
Especial attention must be given to those that have military experience, in order that their talent may be used for training their people for the inevitable revolutionary outbreak.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

Capitalism dominates agricultural production as well as all other functions of the economic life of society. The exploitation of the agricultural proletariat links up the interests of this class inseparably with the interests of the industrial proletariat of the cities. The forces which drive the city workers into conflict with the capitalist State are also at work in rural districts. There, too, capitalism compels revolutionary action on the part of the workers.

The toilers on the farms cannot solve their problems alone. Only the industrial proletariat, led by the Communists, can release them from the bondage of capitalism. Only by joining hands with the workers of the cities can they throw off their yoke and achieve a more abundant life.

It is equally true that the industrial workers cannot fulfill their historic mission of liberating humanity from the domination of capitalism, if they limit their interest to the narrow confines of their own industrial lives. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class when it acts as the vanguard of ALL the exploited. The United Communist Party must, therefore, foster the revolutionary tendencies of the agricultural workers. It must coordinate their struggle with that of the workers in other industries. Successful action against the capitalist State can be achieved only through the united efforts of ALL workers.

In order to promote this solidarity of action, the United Communist Party must make the agricultural workers conscious of their interests in common with the whole of the working class. The Party must inaugurate a special campaign to organize units among the agricultural proletariat, to develop the struggle of those workers into revolutionary action.

The agricultural proletariat (farm hands, migratory laborers, harvest hands, etc.) does not constitute the only element of the country population which has interests in common with the industrial proletariat, and which must be reached by the United Communist Party. The small tenant and the poor farmer also face a problem of capitalist exploitation no less cruel than that which robs the wage worker. These two are also the prey of profit-hungry capitalism. They are the victims of the landlords and mortgage holders. They are harassed by farm machinery trusts, produce monopolies and usurious bankers. They have not the necessary capital to produce their products with modern machinery, nor up-to-date methods by which to compete in the markets.

The small tenant and poor farmer try to make up for this lack of capital by toiling from dawn till dark, as no wage slave would labor for any master; and their children and wives are forced to a never-ending grind of unpaid labor. Yet they cannot compete successfully with the capitalist farmer, even though they sell in the same market. Inevitably and inexorably they are being crushed in the race of life, under the existing capitalist rules of the game. The process of degeneration of the small farmer into the mortgaged farmer, then the tenant-farmer, then the farm-hand and migratory worker is one of the unceasing tragedies of the capitalist system of exploitation.

To a certain extent, these classes of farmers find consolation for their present misery in dreams of a prosperous future, dreams of times of "busted trusts" and "people's rule." Numerous varieties of fake-reformers, including the yellow Socialists, encourage these dreams, with promises of what "they will do" for the small farmer, if only elected to office.

It is not the function of the United Communist Party to curry favor with these small farmers through promises of easy success. It is the duty of the Party to point out to them that between them and the capitalist farmers there exists an antagonism of interests, an impassable gulf that cannot be bridged. By the very conditions of their existence these elements of the country population will be drawn into the maelstrom of revolution against capitalism. Rapidly they are becoming conscious of the fact that there is no hope for them under capitalism, that as long as this system endures they are doomed.

It is the duty of the United Communist Party to organize widespread propaganda among these classes. It must bring the small farmers and tenants together with the farm proletariat, and make clear to them the identity of their interests with those of the industrial proletariat. It must point out to them that only through a Communist revolution can tenantry be abolished, the use of the land restored to the workers without the payment of tribute to any exploiters, and the great estates of the capitalist farmers be seized for the purpose of large scale co-operative production. The United Communist Party must organize them to take their place with the militant working class under the banner of proletarian revolt.

In addition to these classes of agrarians, there are the middle-class farmers, who, while working on their land themselves, occasionally hire labor. The natural tendency of this class is hostility

(Continued on page 4.)

organized among them for the purpose of discussing the formation of a Red Industrial International.

The author of the pamphlet brings vividly to our sight the sessions of this conference. Long discussions, there were, and some of them were stormy, too. But out of the chaos, order was achieved, at last. The delegates were not there to rant about theory; they were all imbued with the sense of the actual practicality of the problem they were facing. Somehow—and soon—they had to secure an international revolutionary center for the labor unions of the world which took the Left position. And so, after long discussion, and with mutual concessions, they evolved a platform broad enough, and yet clear and definite enough, for all.

Undoubtedly, this conference marked a new historic era in the life of the in-

(Continued on page 4.)



A New York socialist has just been released from prison where he has spent a year as a punishment for selling "The Price We Pay." Well, we're still paying the price.

Citizens have no inherent right to use the streets for purposes of assemblage and discussion, but merely to pass and repass, according to a decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. This is probably the end of "free speech" in Pa., that is, as long as the capitalist dictatorship lasts.

Mrs Marcinak, widow of one of Palmer's victims has sued him for \$250,000. Marcinak was taken in a red raid without warrant, half clothed and landed in jail where he shortly died of pneumonia. He was a returned soldier with a perfect record.

Standard Oil has cut its workers' bonuses 10%. Other oil companies are expected to follow suit.

The U. M. W. A. declares that a Judge was offered \$75,000 to aid the coal barons of the Matewan district in W. Va. where the strike and the trial of coal miners has been making current history.

"A fleet second to none" is demanded by the every General Board of the Navy. Yes, and demanded too by any great capitalist controlled government.

Copenhagen held a demonstration of 48,000 unemployed recently. All the world has quit work. All the world is starving. All the machinery of the world is owned by a few capitalists.

What's the matter with the brains of the workers?

Shipyards strikers at Philadelphia have resorted to aerial picketing. Leaflets were dropped from an aeroplane over the yards. The leaflets were characterized in the local Brass Check press as "radical". It contained this sentence—"The Bosses are organized; why aren't you?"

Harding's neighbors have demanded trade with Soviet Russia thru the local central labor body.

Wonder if Harding cares—now—what the neighbors say?

The American Legion has discovered 8,000 'disloyal' school teachers. It wants them fired. Do you want your children educated by the Legion is a question for parents to consider.

Alexander Howatt and members of the District Board of the Miners Union have been arrested at Pittsburg, Kans. They are charged with violating the Allen Industrial Court Law by calling a strike.

It looks like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were out to win. More than 70 shops have signed up in New York. These shops employ 10,000 workers who are giving 20% of their wages toward the maintenance fund of the remaining members on strike.

Be careful of your state of mind. If you catch your brain in the act of thinking, stop it at once. Possession of a state of mind even the unexpressed by word or deed is sufficient ground for deportation of a foreigner according to a decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Don't think.

There is no race between falling wages and falling prices. Wages just quit, mostly. Where they kept on they have speeded up so that prices are far outstripped in the tendency downward.

The common laborer is finishing where he began—at the bottom of the list.

Forty five % of the women workers of Iowa work more than nine hours per day. Iowa is in America. In Russia women workers are not allowed to work more than eight hours per day and night work for women is prohibited.

Brindell, the "representative" of 115,000 organized construction workers in New York has been declared guilty of extortion. Now, will the A. F. of L. please select another leader to fill his place so that the line of grafters may remain unbroken?

Here are the main features of Persia's new alliance with Soviet Russia, as supplied by the American State Department:

All treaties imposed on Persia by the Czar are abrogated and Persia recovers all her railroads, banks and natural resources.
Russian armies may enter Persia to repel any foe of the two nations.
Persian officers hostile to Russia will be dismissed.
The fishing resources of the Caspian Sea are divided between the two countries.

Persia permits free speech, free assembly and free press to Socialist and labor union bodies, and allows all propaganda not aimed at overthrow of the Persian Government.

The Italian Socialist Party's vote upon the question of affiliation with the Third International was 58,000 for unconditional acceptance and 109,000 against. Therefore the minority withdrew from the convention and organized a Communist party leaving the majority of the party to adjust its differences and wage a hopeless battle against the Communist Party of the World, the Communist International.

Alexander Kerensky, deposed head of the Russian government (Menshevik) has organized a little group of leaders in Paris which, while awaiting the fall of the Soviets entertains itself with pipe dreams of returning power.

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PROGRAM OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

(Continued from page 3.)

to revolutionary change. They have the psychology of the petty bourgeoisie. Their inherent antagonism toward the proletariat is constantly fostered by the dominant capitalist class.

Although it is not the function of the United Communist Party to cater to these middle-class farmers by taking up their competitive struggle against the great capitalist interests, the United Communist Party must neutralize as far as possible the effects of capitalist propaganda by spreading among them the facts about capitalism and its institutions, and the truth about Communism and the revolutionary movement.

Lastly, there is the large class of bourgeois farmers, landed proprietors and employers of labor, whose interests lie clearly with those of the industrial capitalists as opposed to the proletariat. This class is not susceptible to Communist propaganda. It will be our bitterest foe. Against this class the United Communist Party must lead the workers in an uncompromising struggle.

In the United States, the lines between these different classes of the agrarian population are not as distinctly drawn as in the older settled countries of Europe; in the Western states especially, the ranks of small farmers are honeycombed with veterans of the industrial struggle, blacklisted machinists, railroadmen and miners, workers who find it impossible to sell their labor-power to a capitalist for wages and who have "gone back to the land." These furnish a ferment among their neighbors, which makes a very favorable field for Communist propaganda.

In spite of the fact that lines are not entirely crystallized and that there is a constant flux from one class to the other, in general the attitude that the United Communist Party must assume toward the agrarian question can be summed up as follows:

- 1) Active championship of the agricultural proletariat and the poor tenant farmer;
- 2) Neutralization of the hostility of the middle-class farmers;
- 3) Relentless warfare against the capitalist farmers and landlords, in the name of the proletarian revolution.

LABOR UNIONS AND SHOP COMMITTEES.

The official leaders of the American labor movement have long been the puzzle and the despair of the international revolutionary movement. A labor union officering as a lucrative profession in the United States ranks well with the lawyer's profession, stockbrokerage, or real estate.

The heads of the American Federation of Labor, counting themselves the voice of the workingman, even amaze the leaders of the yellow Amsterdam International Labor-Suppressing Secretariat by refusing to co-operate with that yellow International on the ground that it seeks to gain too much for labor. With a compact union-political machine almost entirely divorced from and subjecting the mass of the membership, the Gompers type has led a merry and prosperous life these many years. Labor leaders hold lifetime sinecures and when they pass away, their probated wills often reveal fortunes worthy of Wall Street operatives. Occasional accidental exposures bring to light labor kings by whom the craft unions are hired out for a percentage, are withdrawn from one employer for a consideration paid by another, voted in the elections, and disciplined either by the labor king's private thugs or through tips given to employer or police. Labor leaders holding government positions during the war systematically worked with the government secret service in the arrest of militant labor unionists for disturbing production. Heads of the large Railroad Brotherhoods published in the capitalist press signed statements calling for union members to act as strikebreakers in the recent "outlaw strike."

With such leaders as their mouthpiece the vast majority of the trade unions of America manifest no purpose further than that of conserving the capitalist system and, in lawful manner, gaining slight concessions in wages and working conditions. The destiny of the American labor unions is, nevertheless, a revolutionary one. Split up into isolated craft groups within one shop, holding union meetings one or two evenings per month in places far removed from both residence and shop, the workers attend union gatherings only in handuffs, and leave the affairs of the organization to the unrestrained will of officials.

Facing such paralysis of the body of organized labor, and yet knowing that organized labor can and must take a large part in overthrowing capitalism, sustaining the dictatorship of the working class and reconstructing industry in the Workers' Republic, the United Communist Party considers as one of the most serious and immediate problems the question of the best method of breaking the bureaucratic control and transforming the union structure into a machine of revolutionary action.

Not only can the revolution not come about without the active participation of the larger part of organized labor, but the experience of Hungary and of Germany would prove, even if American experience did not forecast that labor unions neglected in such condition and left under control of such leaders, will be manipulated as a deadly implement for the defeat of the workers' revolution. The workers' revolution cannot succeed without the support of the great bulk of whatever labor organizations may exist at the time.

For these reasons the United Communist Party cannot be satisfied with the formation of a few new unions of declared revolutionary purpose, but of small membership and slight relation to key industries. The exceedingly discouraging surface indications of the old labor movement have led to the springing up of several new unions comparatively small in size, of more or less revolutionary intent. It had become almost an axiom of radical workingmen that the old craft unions were corrupt and impotent beyond redemption, and should be deserted in favor of new organizations. But mostly the members do not desert the old unions for the new. The most typical of the new unions do not grow in size. Therefore, dialectic reasoning brings the conclusion that reliance upon the formation of unions confined in membership to workers who are theoretical revolutionists, is a mistake in policy.

The old unions grow more reactionary when the revolutionary workers leave them. The opportunist officials discern this and will seek by every means to expel the Communists from the unions, in order that their influence over the mass may be weakened by their isolation. Bearing in mind the necessity of the closest contact of Communists with those workers who have not yet reached the viewpoint of the class struggle, Communists must not foster artificial division in the labor movement, nor deliberately bring it about. On the contrary, they must use all measures, short of abandoning Communist work in the unions, to avoid giving to the bureaucracy the

pretext to expel them. On this most important question the thesis adopted at the Second World Congress of the Communist International points out the proper tactics: "Placing the object and the essence of labor organizations before them, Communists ought not to hesitate before a split in such organizations, if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle, the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. But even if such a split should be necessary, it must be carried into effect only at a time when the Communists have succeeded by incessant warfare against the opportunist leaders and their tactics, by their most active participation in the economic struggle, in persuading the wider masses of workmen that the split is occurring not because of the remote and as yet incomprehensible aims of the revolution, but on account of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. Communists, in case a necessity for a split arises, must continuously and attentively discuss the question as to whether such a split might not lead to their isolation from the working mass." When bodies of militant workers are forced out of the old unions by the reactionary officialdom, Communists are bound to support them.

The United Communist Party must work within the industrial unions of the I. W. W., where these are unquestionably established; and must give Communist support to its revolutionary rank and file especially during strikes and mass movements. At the same time, narrow syndicalistic teachings in opposition to the violent overthrow of capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat must be discouraged and combated.

The United Communist Party confirms the present necessity of militant workers remaining with the large mass of organized workers, regardless of the declared reactionary aims of these unions and, by determined and co-ordinated strength, turning those unions to a revolutionary course. The United Communist Party, section of the Communist International, is the instrument for that co-ordination of revolutionary work within the unions.

Militant workers must remember that the fabric of labor organizations is undergoing a change. Improvements in the machine process are throwing the burden of production more and more upon the unskilled worker, breaking down the aristocratic power of the highly skilled craftsman, which has so frequently led him to form tight little unions enjoying the special favor of employers and has often impelled him to return to work in the midst of a strike on the plea of "keeping contracts." Great masses of semi-skilled workers are flooding into unions formerly reserved to the skilled. They are driven there in quest of relief from the pressure of collapsing capitalist economy. Since the unskilled or semi-skilled are able to perform the new machine tasks, the unions are compelled to admit them in self-protection. In this way the substance of the unions is changing in character.

At the same time imperialist capitalism, with its increasingly powerful co-ordination and control of exploitation, is able to defeat strikes or to defeat the worker's victories of all value. The lessons of defeat and of sterile victories alike turn the workers' minds to restless thoughts of new methods. Such opportunities to open the minds of the mass of organized workers must not be wasted by Communists withdrawing from the mass into small "revolutionary" unions.

A militant union preamble will not suffice as a substitute for membership. It is demonstrated that a labor union, craft or industrial, cannot fulfill the task of a political party. A labor union must in order to function at all, take in every worker on the job, regardless of his political or social opinions. Obviously, many non-revolutionary workers must be taken into the most "revolutionary" of unions, even compelled to join against their wills.

The principle in regard to labor unions is exactly the opposite of that of the revolutionary political party. A revolutionary political party must confine its membership to workers of absolutely known revolutionary devotion and clear understanding. Labor union membership must be spread to the broadest possible masses. A revolutionary political party must function at least partly underground and secretly. A labor union can function efficiently only in the open.

A tangle between these two principles has brought the I. W. W. to much trouble and hampered its growth. Trying to function as a revolutionary propaganda body (i. e., political party, whether it admits the term or not), and at the same time as an open union, the I. W. W. has wavered between a propaganda too revolutionary for an open organization, and one too moderate for a revolutionary purpose.

The remedy for this is a clear distinction between the political party and the labor union. The labor union should function in the open as it must. The revolutionary political party should function under the protection of secret membership, and thus give the workers, through its underground press, a full understanding of the science of revolution, which the workers can never get until the propaganda is made without reservation or camouflage. A revolutionary party must discard all camouflage and cloudy circumvention, and say what it means—that the workers must prepare for armed insurrection.

Members of the United Communist Party will form the revolutionary group within each union, regardless of what kind of union it may be. The United Communist Party caucuses within the unions shall have the power of discipline to compel Communists regularly to attend union meetings. They shall by discipline regulate the activities of Communists upon the floor, and in voting in the union assembly. Upon every important question affecting the welfare of the union and labor in general, the caucus shall formulate a policy and all members shall strictly adhere to the decision.

In all industrially developed countries the increasing pressure of the class struggle compels common action of all the workers in a given industry, in spite of the craft divisions fostered by the craft unions and in spite of the sabotage of the union bureaucracy. This intensifying of the labor struggle necessitates the development from craft unionism to industrial unionism. In striving to transform the unions into more efficient instruments of the class war, the workers are hindered by the method of union management which puts all power within the union into the hands of the officials. In order to overcome this condition, the workers make use of the shop committee and the shop delegate system of union management. Under the shop delegate system, power in the union rests in hands of delegates elected by the workers in the shops. In this manner, the workers are enabled to gain control of the union and to transform it into a more powerful weapon for the revolutionary struggle. Through the shop committees the workers in the shop

deal directly with the employers without the intervention of the union officials. The shop committee is a form of organization especially adapted for the struggle of the workers for control in the shop. Where the shop is organized into a number of craft unions, as is generally the case in the United States, the shop committee will consist of members from all the crafts and thus become a force for their transformation from the craft to the industrial form. The experience of revolutionary workers in European countries shows that, in the course of the struggle, the shop committee takes on more and more authority, and eventually becomes the medium through which workers' control over production is established. In the inevitable struggle for that control, the most determined resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie through the State will be directed against the workers, and will thus force them into a struggle for political power. Keeping clearly in mind their special functions, as instruments, first for control of the unions by the workers in the shop, and ultimately for workers' control over production, the Communist must strive in every way to popularize the shop committees and the shop delegate system and take the leading part in organizing them.

Members of the United Communist Party must aim to subordinate the general activities of the labor unions to the revolutionary struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism.

While two Internationals of political parties contend for the leadership of the working class (the yellow "Second International" striving to hold the workers in loyalty to the various capitalist States and to the Capitalist League of States, while the Communist International rouses the workers everywhere to disobedience to their enslavers and to loyalty to the cause of World Socialism), another and parallel struggle is going on between two Internationals of labor unions (economic organizations).

On the one hand, the "International Federation of Trade Unions" with headquarters at Amsterdam, endeavors with a subtle program of mild "socialistic" reform to lure the economic labor unions into collaboration with the capitalist governments and league of governments, seeking, in case of revolutionary crisis, to paralyze and demoralize the working class of all countries simultaneously, in the interest of the capitalist class.

On the other hand is the Red Trade Union International, with headquarters at present located in Moscow. This International of trade and industrial unions seeks to do for the trade unions what the Third (Communist) International is doing for the revolutionary political parties; that is, to ally the economic organizations of the workers of the world into a single front for the carrying on of the labor struggle on the economic field in the interest of the working class, renouncing loyalty to the capitalist class and governments, and co-operating with the Communist International in all respects.

The American Federation of Labor officials have as yet been displeased even with the mild "socialistic" phrases of the yellow Amsterdam International, and have expressed unwillingness to affiliate with it; while they do not so much as dare to mention the Red International of Trade Unions.

The United Communist Party, vigorously opposing any suggestion of affiliating American organized labor with the Amsterdam International, will carry on a wide propaganda for affiliation of all organized labor with the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions. Members of the United Communist Party within unions shall work accordingly.

Where revolutionary minorities within American organized labor adheres to the Red Trade Union International and affiliate with it, United Communist Party members will pursue the policy of keeping these revolutionary minorities within their national organizations, there to combat any efforts at affiliation with the Amsterdam International and to bring the entire American labor movement into the Red International.

The winning of the organized labor masses away from their misleaders becomes each day more feasible. Already labor leaders have frequently had to resort to the aid of the police power of the government to compel obedience to the "lawful" (!) union heads; already the capitalistic labor leaders have gone to law courts for anti-labor injunctions which they formerly denounced as enslaving. Already "outlaw" strikes have been directed mainly not against the employers, but against labor officials. A vast mass of the workers within the unions is not willingly under the influence of the labor officials, but is restlessly searching for fellow-workers upon whom they can pin their faith for leadership in revolt. Often these revolts fail through the incapacity of the untried new leaders chosen at random. The work of the United Communist Party is to train its members to take this leadership. "Outlaw" movements may, by intelligent direction, often be made to burst the bureaucratic shell, instead of filtering out in schisms, or resulting in the discharge of the employees involved.

Communists must seize every opportunity to show their fellow-workers that the historic function of the labor movement is not to gather crumbs from the capitalist table, but to expropriate from private hands the means of production and exchange. Communists must utilize every example of violence against the workers by the state to convince them that the necessary overthrow of capitalism cannot be accomplished by unarmed and passive opposition, but by superior armed mass action on the part of the organized toilers.

"The economic struggle of the proletariat becomes a political struggle during an epoch of the decline of capitalism much quicker than during an epoch of its peaceful development. Every serious economic clash may immediately place the workers face to face with the question of revolution. Therefore it is the duty of the Communists in all the phases of the economic struggle to point out to the workers that the success of the struggle is only possible if the working class conquers the capitalists in open fight, and by means of dictatorship proceeds to the organization of a Socialist order."—Theses and Statutes of the Second Congress of the Third International.

In all its work the United Communist Party of America is guided and aided by the Communist International, a part of which it is and to whose principles and tactics it unreservedly subscribes.

The United Communist Party of America calls upon the workers of America to take their place in the ranks of the world revolutionary proletariat under the red banner of the Communist International.

There is but one solution for the ills of capitalist society, but one way for the workers to achieve freedom: the way of revolution and the workers' dictatorship.

**ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!
HAIL TO COMMUNISM!**

AN HISTORIC PAMPHLET.

(Continued from page 3)
international economic movement. And this pamphlet is more than a pamphlet: it is an important historical document. And no militant unionist can consider himself informed unless he read it.

There are several very useful appendices to the booklet. They include the Minutes of the First Conference, the Declaration of Principles, the Provisional Rules; and later news, added since the first writing, of the admission of new labor bodies, such as the British Shop Stewards, the Transport Workers' Federation of Holland and the Dutch East Indies, and others.

This well written little volume of 64 pages is well worth the trifling price asked for it; and it is indeed needed at this juncture, when the question of international affiliation is the most vital of all problems to be immediately considered by workingclass economic bodies.

It is to be hoped that every militant member of a trade or industrial union will study this pamphlet thoroughly; and that, having read and digested, he will do his utmost to work within his organization for affiliation with the new International of Labor Unions, the general staff of the revolutionary industrial organizations of the world; The Red Labor Union International.

EDITORIAL NOTE: The pamphlet is ably reviewed above may be obtained of The Toiler for 10c per copy—15 copies for one dollar.

Trade relations between Italy and Soviet Russia are making steady headway. M. Vorwiski has been appointed Soviet Minister to Italy and is on his way to Rome to take up his official duties.

Several hundred Russians have left this country within the past two weeks for home. They plan going by way of Latvia.

HERE AND THERE IN THE LABOR STRUGGLE.

(Continued from page 1.)

ing class in the whole East. The time is past when even the Department of Justice can snatch a man out of his home and put him into prison. The workers of the country are watchful—they know that every case against a single worker is a CASE AGAINST THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS!

So the Dept. of Justice would do well to create no more martyrs. Martyrs are heroes—and the lives and deaths of heroes are inspiring.

REVOLUTION IN WEST VIRGINIA.

Europe is alive with revolution—each country having its particular kind. Americans, however, do not seem to know that there is revolution right at home.

In West Virginia, there is regular civil war between the native miners and government troops. Yes, Americans, mountaineers, men and women who know what it means to stand up for what they call their rights—and fight for them. Not fight for them with words, or law suits, or appeals. No, in the regular fashion in which all serious matters are decided. In the manner that was applied in solving the dispute that led to the great war. In the manner that the League of Nations has proposed to settle matters. In the manner that the United States government settles all disputes—as it is trying to settle this affair—by sending down troops.

These men know that, in an argument, they would be bested. What is the use of hiring a lawyer, when you cannot control what he will say. And what is the use of trying to beat the lawyer that the bosses can employ, since the bosses have bigger funds and can buy the best services. And what is the use of trying to settle the matter in the way altogether, since the bosses can wait—they do not suffer—but to the men the settlement, one way or the other, means their very EXISTENCE.

So these simply decided that the matter was too pressing and too serious to hand over to anybody for settlement. There are some things that a man must arrange himself. This is one of them. Shall the workers be allowed to come together and discuss their affairs? Shall they be allowed to organize to protect themselves? Shall a man have the right to go down to their town and talk to them on such subjects? Shall they be allowed to think they are living in the United States or somewhere in Africa?

Yes, they will be allowed to understand that they ARE living in the United States, where laws permitting one to think, speak, write and meet have long been abolished. So that, if they insist upon doing these four things, they must have a "pepperbox" handy.

The miners of West Virginia have decided to uphold the UN-AMERICAN custom of thinking, speaking, writing and meeting as they please.

Therefore, there is civil war in West Virginia.