

THE TOILER

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1921

No. 192

Famine Relief in Soviet Russia

by Jacob W. Hartmann

Editor of Soviet Russia



The Red Trade Union International

The First World Congress of Revolutionary Unions

by Earl R. Browder



Letters from the Mine Workers' Convention

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RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL: PROGRAM OF ACTION

G. Zinoviev

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VOL. IV.

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Advertising Rates Upon Application

THE MINE WORKERS' CONVENTION

The vote of the mine-workers convention to postpone the framing of the coal miners' wage demand until next February leaves the situation in the hands of John L. Lewis to manipulate as he will. This manipulation cannot, however, be in the direction of wage reductions, if he follows the decision of the convention, which was for increase, to be extracted if necessary by strike action. Financial support was granted the Colorado and Washington miners on strike against wage reductions. An appeal to President Harding was ordered on behalf of the imprisoned miners of West Virginia, and the convention authorized the making of a test case of the Kansas Industrial Court injunction before the Supreme Court. The convention proceeds with Lewis and Gompers still in control, but there have been many signs during the proceedings that this control would not be permanent. The widespread unemployment, which is affecting the mining industry still more seriously than others, the suffering of the present economic crisis, will teach the miners the necessity of rank-and-file activity in their local and a more militant policy in their national organization. Trade-unionism cannot survive safe and sane in an unsafe and insane world.

THE POLITICS OF A SUFFRAGIST SOCIALIST

The Socialist Party merits some sympathy for the disillusionments it has suffered. Memories of Spargo, Russell, Walling, Benson and Lunn must still poison its happiness. It seems, however, to have been prone to seduction. A successful muck-raker, a much-read journalist or a millionaire radical was never kept waiting long for high distinction in the Socialist Party. Vote-getting was the aim, and a well-advertised name got votes. Subsequent discovery that socialist candidates for President or Governor were not socialists at all could not nullify the election statistics. And the publicity game went merrily on. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, the well-known suffragist, seems to be the latest addition to the list of un-socialist Socialists. Her endorsement of organizations which fought labor legislation on the ground of the right of women to work unlimited hours is a sufficient indication of her views. Immediately after her entrance into the party she appears as Socialist candidate for Controller. Mrs. Blatch is well known as a lady of independent mind, and will not be confined to the expression of socialist views by the mere fact that she is a candidate on the Socialist ticket. Her personal publicity campaign is being conducted with education as the keynote, and justifies her in being classed as a pluperfect Fusionist. Mrs. Blatch believes that education alone can save the world. Shades of Marxian materialism! "The issue before the world today is not monarchy versus Republican forms, . . . nor yet is it Socialism or Communism. The issue is civilization or bar-

HE STOOPS TO CONQUER!

Alexander Howat is in prison. He is in prison for failing to order Kansas miners back to work under oppressive conditions and for refusing to give a peace bond. "We'll see the Kansas industrial court in hell before we give such a bond," he told the Mine Workers' Convention. But the convention failed to support Howat. The vote on his appeal showed a majority for the Lewis machine, although a majority considerably reduced from that of a year ago. Such a tragic failure on the part of one of the most militant sections of American labor to defend and support its most courageous champion can only be accounted for by the composition of the convention and the methods of election of delegates. Trade union conventions are not necessarily more representative of their members than is the United States Congress of the American masses. Every political device can be and is used when occasion requires to defeat the will of the membership and carry through the will of the trade union officialdom subservient to capitalism and often actually purchased by it. Log-rolling, graft, election frauds, no device known to American politics is unknown to trade-union politics. And this defeat of the popular will in the unions is possible because of the indifference of the membership who do not attend meetings, and the racial and national divisions which obstruct solidarity and the growth of a healthy rank-and-file opinion. Alexander Howat has lost for the present; his cause will win in the future, and not the distant future.

barism," remarked the "veteran campaigner for suffrage, on the roof garden of the Women's University Club where Mrs. Blatch is making her home" according to the Call. "Sometimes I think we should appeal to the women, not asking them to accept the full Socialist philosophy, but on the proposition that any new broom sweeps clean, and the Socialists will be the new broom." If the Socialist Party is ready for this humble function, it may find itself in very excellent society,—as other brooms do. It may even win the support of "the women"—as new brooms do. But it will find itself very far removed from the working class. Some other instrument than any old broom is needed by the real movement of labor.

FREE TRADE IN THE DOLDRUMS

Free trade seems to have been one of the chief casualties of the great war. It is passing into the limbo of forgotten things along with free speech, free assembly and free press. Economic liberalism is as dead as political liberalism. The International Free Trade Congress which recently concluded its sessions in Amsterdam thus assumes the aspect of a memorial meeting rather than an organization for action. The congress met at a particularly unfavorable moment. The United States is occupied in strengthening her tariff wall, France and Italy have just revived their tariffs, Portugal has increased hers four-fold. Premier Meighen of Canada announces that he will fight the forthcoming election on the issue of protection for Canada, because of the competition of the United States. Even commercial little Holland is trembling on the brink of a high protection policy, while Great Britain, the classic land of free trade for well-nigh a century, has strengthened the ties of imperial preference with her colonies and passed anti-dumping legislation, the entering wedge for a protective policy which the British conservatives have been scheming for years to foist upon the people. The cause of international free trade no longer rests in the hands of the liberals. It can now only be realized by the destruction of capitalist imperialism and all its works, a task beyond the desires or powers of the liberals.

KLU KLUX TOO KANDID

The recent revelations concerning the activities of the Ku Klux Klan show it to be a White Guard organization whose activities and ideas closely resemble those of similar groups in Germany, Italy and elsewhere. The Ku Klux Klan is for King, God and Country, against foreigners, negroes and Jews, and ready for direct action in suppressing labor. It has a tradition, experience, discipline and a highly developed technique. It is difficult, therefore, to understand how an organization so valuable to the capitalist state and so ready to serve its interests should encounter general disapproval among the middle classes and opposition from the government itself. The exposures of the bourgeois press have forced the resignation of the Imperial Kleagle of the Ku Klux Knights, and brought about a resolution for a congressional inquiry. Is not the Ku Klux being treated ungratefully?

The Klan has undoubtedly been indiscreet in including Catholics and Jews in its proscribed list along with negroes, foreigners and workers. But the chief cause for popular disapproval lies elsewhere. The Ku Klux is too honest. It uses Real-politik in the class-struggle, and meets the same opposition from the class state that Imperial Germany encountered from other empires, less frank and more given to hypocrisy. The Ku Klux Klan believes in direct action and says so. The class-state wishes to preserve the illusion of constitutional guarantees as a psychological antidote to mass action by the workers. And when the moment arrives for violent repression of the masses, it wishes to undertake that itself under the guise of protecting society. Only when it is really hard-pressed, as in Europe today, is it ready to admit the general cooperation of private organizations. Such methods are characteristic of bourgeois democracy, and pseudo-liberalism. Governor Dunne of Illinois, who is organizing a league to fight the Klan, makes the situation clear: "In view of the fact that the Ku Klux Klan has adopted the weapon of mass action, it was our desire to organize a society which shall develop harmony and good feeling between classes, rather than enmity." The present capitalist program is for veiling brutal class domination with social pacifism and moral platitudes. Decidedly the Klan is too candid! But the time may not be far distant when it will be better appreciated.

FOX IN THE LION'S SKIN

The White Terror continues unabated in Jugo-Slavia. The Communist party with its sixty deputies and quarter of a million voters has been outlawed. Thousands of its members have been imprisoned, exiled or executed, while its deputies have been expelled from the National Assembly. The New York Call prints a complete account of the persecution of the communists under the caption: Socialist Party Activity Forbidden, and Its Deputies Fugitives from Reactionary 'Justice.' From the English weekly Communist we learn that the Yugoslav Socialists, far from being attacked, were actually in league with the government, and while thousands of workers were being tortured and imprisoned took over from the government the confiscated funds, the printing houses, and buildings of the communist party and the red trade unions. "Thankful for this Judas-reward, they are now eagerly continuing their murderous policy of denouncing the communists to detectives." This situation is further clarified by the New York Times, which prints a statement from the worthy socialist, Dr. Topalovitch, one of the secretaries of the Socialist Labor Party of Jugoslavia organized for carrying on a peaceful propaganda for industrial democracy. The socialist doctor says that Jugo-Slavia was "over-run by agents of the Third International" and the government was forced to act in self-defence. Where does the truth lie in these conflicting accounts, with the British weekly Communist and the New York Times or with the New York Call? Perhaps the Call will enlighten us.

Political Mass Action in America

The need of political expression has been felt more keenly in recent years by the workers of America. As American industry has become national in organization and market rather than local, and international rather than national, the horizon of the worker has widened from the shop to the industry and from the industry to the whole economic system.

The industrial organization of labor itself has proven less mighty than was hoped in the struggle with combines of national and international scope, as was recently shown in the experience of the steel strike. Powerful industrial groups are able with the support of the financial interests to shift and manipulate their production in such a way as to defeat the resistance of the workers and even to suspend operations indefinitely without that fear of competitive losses which often brings the smaller manufacturer to terms. Their control, moreover, of government, national and local, places at their disposal in labor struggles all the machinery of police, army and courts. Clearly the worker must have some weapon more powerful than mere industrial unionism, some aim more fundamental than wages and hours. In the terrific struggles of recent years he has come face to face with the naked class-state, established and used by capital for its own ends. This situation is penetrating the consciousness of the worker, and turning his attention to political action as giving space to wider field of conflict and a more far-reaching program.

The failure of the American Federation of Labor has been one of the chief factors in leading the workers to seek another way out. The incapacity of Gompersism to achieve even the limited ends it set for itself impressed many of the least thinking. The corruption of the federation, its despotic indifference to the problems and wishes of the rank and file, and the tyrannous use of its control of the job in league with the employer to crush the opposition of its own members has forced upon them the idea of organizing on political lines. Much of this feeling of revolt was surely to be found among the elements that organized the Farmer Labor Party, however poorly adapted that party was to accomplish the end in view or any other end of labor.

The Socialist Party has waited long and patiently, over-patiently, for these currents to bear the forces of labor toward its haven. It was ready to provide them with education, with legislative programs and above all with legislative agents—new statesmen who would make propaganda for reform and careers for themselves at the same time. But unfortunately for its own success this was all that it was prepared to do. The rest was up to the workers. The rather wearisome process of edification and amelioration would have to continue indefinitely until the workers had rolled up a

majority. If they did not roll up a majority, all the more evidence that they were ignorant and needed education, in other words that the Socialist Party was right. In the meantime they would have to suffer, but not so their legislative agents. They would be making brilliant records in city halls and houses of congress, records which would be useful in private profession and in public office, and which would bring much middle-class and intellectual support to the Socialist Party.

Such aims involved of course a participation in the class state. Socialists took the government seriously. They shared with "liberals" and "radicals" the faith in "constructive" reform. Capitalism was gradually and painlessly to be constructed into socialism.

The Socialists adopted the political philosophy of the American bourgeois. The state was not necessarily an instrument of force and coercion. It was society and community. Through it the "people" gradually educated to Socialist ideas and ideals would co-operate to nationalize industry. The Socialist expected from the capitalist state democratic guarantees, the right of free press, free speech and free assembly and they guaranteed these in turn to the bourgeois for the Socialist future. How else, exclaims one of their leaders, can we expect democratic rights?

The basic idea of American socialism has thus been the rights of man, of the French revolution, its theory of the state the class-less democracy of Rousseau rather than the proletarian dictatorship of Lenin. The illusions of liberalism have furnished its inspiration rather than the bitter realities of class conflict.

The class conflict, however, is the central feature of the new historical epoch ushered in by the war. It has been intensified a hundred-fold by the economic effects of the war and has been transferred to the international field. Class antagonism, formerly an internal affair of each nation, is now the center of international gravitation. Proletarian nation struggles against capitalist nation as proletarian class conflicts with employing class. International policy is therefore now of the first importance for the labor movement, where before the war it was secondary to national policy. International policy is the touchstone by which the true nature of any political party may be judged.

The American Socialist Party has no international policy. It takes no stand in the international class struggle which is rocking the world. It lacks the courage even for a negative position and evades altogether the central issue of working-class policy of to-day. Of international organizations, it avoids the second, two-and-a-half, third and fourth, content to sit forever, like Buddha, contemplating its own navel.

The United States has been drawn by the war into the center of the maelstrom of international politics. It is not merely one among the nations engaged in the international class struggle. It is now the central citadel of international imperialism. A greater responsibility therefore falls upon the working class of America than upon any other, both for its own emancipation and that of labor all over the world. And the first aim of an American working-class party should

be to assume this responsibility and impress it upon the American workers. The Socialist Party, in avoiding this central task, shows itself morally and politically bankrupt—a mere survival.

The time is therefore ripe—and rotten ripe—in America for a great political mass movement of labor with an international orientation. The working class of America must be aroused in the near future to a realization of world problems and of its own relation thereto. It must learn to view all its smaller problems in their relation to this central situation. It must be prepared earnestly and diligently for the serious duties which the economic crisis and the position of America in world imperialism impose upon it. Such a task in most countries is conducted by the Communist parties. The United States and Jugo-Slavia, however, share the distinction of having driven Communism underground. The labor of organizing the American masses for political expression must therefore be undertaken by a party which is legal and can approach the masses. The beginning of such organization has been made by the Workers' League of New York City, but the political movement of labor must soon become national in scope and influence.

DIRECT ACTION THE ONLY HOPE

The English unemployed have been by no means idle in dealing with their own problem. Violent unemployed demonstrations are taking place in all parts of the country, Dundee, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol, Leicester, London, and countless smaller centers. There have been marches, parades, mass meetings. In many towns the local authorities have been literally besieged by thousands of idle men demanding work or maintenance. The recent Trades Union Congress at Cardiff was forced to admit the unemployed delegation before it proceeded to business. The government is trying to force the burden of caring for the unemployed upon the local authorities who get their funds from the poorer classes. The resistance to these tactics centers in Poplar where the local authorities led by George Lansbury, editor of the London Daily Herald, the labor paper, have gone to jail in protest. The Stepney Borough Council passed resolutions demanding the release of the Poplar councillors and threatening to refuse any further taxes to the government. Bethnal Green, another London Borough, will follow.

Even the bourgeois press recognizes the chief if not the only factor of importance in forcing government action on unemployment is the "*violence of the unemployed who have no mind to starve.*"

England has now 1,500,000 out of work, with 400,000 more on short time. Only 300,000 have exhausted their unemployment and are without relief of any kind. These facts were compared with the 6,000,000 unemployed in the United States by Premier Lloyd George, who remarked further that Great Britain had spent since the armistice \$500,000,000 for unemployed relief whereas the American government had not spent a cent. Rather a caustic comment, we should say, upon the American workers and the American labor movement!

Work or Wages

The National Conference on Unemployment has adopted an "emergency program for the immediate relief of the idle workers of the United States." The first plank in the program is to wish away the unemployed. Two million have already been thus disposed of. Over the protest of Secretary Davis, who clung to his original estimate of 5,500,000, "the conference finds that there are variously estimated from 3,500,000 to 5,500,000 unemployed." Further statistical efforts may further relieve the unemployment situation. The first step therefore is to investigate again the numbers of the unemployed.

The second plank in the program is "community effort." The emergency relief of unemployment is "primarily a community problem." Under the leadership of "the Mayor," Emergency Committees should carry through a community plan, coordinating existing activities, establishing employment agencies with a personnel equipped to find the right job for the right man. Other planks furnish more light. Public construction is better than relief. Public work, local and federal, *for which appropriations have already been made*, should be carried out. Let building start! We need more houses. More than two million people *could* be employed, if construction were resumed. The governors must see to it that building is resumed. The Governor should support the Mayors in supporting the Community.

Such is the product of the new statesmanship at Washington. The burden of responsibility is shifted from the federal government to the Mayor and the Governor and from them to that vague Shibboleth: *the Community*. The word community has covered a multitude of sins during the war and after, and although now quite threadbare, its shreds can still be used to cover public neglect of the unemployment situation. "Community effort," means here, if it means anything, voluntary, confused, unintelligent, irresponsible muddling of a situation which demands centralized, responsible, intelligent, organized treatment.

Housing is indeed needed, but by what sleight-of-hand are "the governors" going to produce it from the box now, when a severe housing crisis itself could not stimulate action?

Employment agencies are of little avail in the present situation in the universal famine of work, and are most futile when organized in a loose, decentralized manner through "community effort."

This childish and evasive program for dealing with the unemployment situation is an insult to the workers in their dire need. The situation demands not "community effort," but government responsibility, not employment agencies and elusive plans for housing construction or public works, but *Maintenance for the Unemployed*. The idle American workers should be given either work or maintenance, and maintenance at the full trade union rate of wages.

Famine Relief in Russia

By JACOB W. HARTMANN

Editor of Soviet Russia

Workers all over the world are by this time fully aware of the danger threatening in Russia. It is not certain that this danger is of such proportions as to shake the foundations of the Soviet Government, nor is it reasonable to suppose that no calamity of this size has befallen Russia before this. It is a situation to which the Russian population has been subjected at fairly regular intervals. The last great famine due to drought was in 1891, followed by lesser disasters at regular intervals of about five years. But the present famine bears with particular severity on a population which like that of Soviet Russia, has had to bear privations due to war, revolution and intervention, for a period of more than seven years.

In previous calamities of this kind—and they occurred rather frequently under the tsarist regime—no effort was ever made by tsarist governments to spread the news of the misfortune to other parts of the world, or to ask for assistance from charitable organizations in other countries. And the amount of charity that was distributed in Russia itself to the victims of drought and famine was, of course, largely influenced by the consideration that those victims were after all not complete human beings entitled to sufficient and regular nourishment, but rather creatures of an inferior race, who must be held by poverty in a condition of subjection. The policy of the tsarist government, therefore, was to conceal from the public, both in Russia and abroad, the extent and even the existence of calamities of this kind: in Russia, in order that discontent might not be spread among the classes not directly affected, who might be moved to sympathize with the unfortunate; abroad, in order that newspaper enterprise and missionary and philanthropic organizations might not become curious to the extent of sending reporters or social workers to Russia, who might return to their native countries with tales that would further weaken the already bad reputation of the tsarist government in Western Europe and America. Anyone who will take the trouble of going through the files of New York newspapers for the year 1891, for instance, will find that the reports of the famine conditions in Russia in that year are invariably scant, and just as invariably accompanied by complaints of the impossibility of getting direct information as to conditions, of the extreme reluctance and hostility of the tsar's officials to whom application for information was made.

The era in which the 1891 episode fell is now so long past that it seems difficult for us to imagine a condition of affairs where one of the most powerful governments of the world would permit its population to starve because it desired no interference or suggestions from abroad.

How different is the case with the Soviet Government!

For years the Soviet Government has had to exercise the utmost care in excluding undesirable persons, particularly newspaper reporters, who were really spies, from its territory. No sooner does this famine condition appear, then every facility is granted to foreigners to travel freely in Russia and study the situation. The Soviet Government sends broadcast over the world its appeal to workers and others to aid in feed the starving millions of her population. Moreover, in spite of the enormous risk involved in entering into any close contact with counter-revolutionary organizations, she invites foreign Red Cross societies and relief administrations, representing capitalist governments that have attempted to overthrow the Soviet Government for four years, to enter the country and to penetrate a thousand miles or more into the interior to carry on their relief work. The sole purpose of the Soviet Government in the present situation is quite evidently the relief of the suffering, and not the pursuit of political aims. For the tactics followed by them would otherwise be more like those chosen by the tsarist government in similar cases.

The Soviet Government naturally is fully conscious of the danger, not only from the reactionary foreign governments, who aim to penetrate the country at any cost, but also from the counter-revolutionary elements within the country, who are eager to obtain assistance from outside in re-establishing the autocracy. Probably the most disturbing news to radical circles abroad, in connection with the measures taken by the Soviet Government to fight the famine, was the announcement of the formation of a non-partisan committee, consisting largely of counter-revolutionary or uncertain names, to whom much of the work of relieving the starving in the famine districts was to be entrusted. All over Europe and America the counter-revolutionary press hailed the establishment of the committee as a sign of weakness of the Soviet Government and regarded the committee itself as the germ of a restoration of "law and order," as the capitalist understands it. Relief for the starving in Russia began to have added charms in the eyes of American philanthropists, when it seemed probable that this relief would pass through a counter-revolutionary committee, which would make use of it as a means of weakening the prestige of the Soviet regime and possibly of ultimately overthrowing it. But the government of the workers has learned to act swiftly. The Non-Partisan Committee has been dissolved. The hopes placed in it by counter-revolutionists abroad seem not to have been misplaced. The Committee lived up to the best counter-revolutionary precedent and immediately began irregular and shady proceedings, for which they were called to account by a request to proceed at once to the famine areas and do some work, instead of

negotiating with foreign governments, a right that could inhere only in the Soviet Government. This meant the end of the Committee, for the only thing they were not prepared to do was to conduct actual relief. Anything else would have been more to their taste.

Karl Radek has written a brilliant article, entitled "Philanthropists," on the subject of the Non-Partisan Committee and its dissolution. He points out in his usual sharp and striking style the reasons for the dissolution of the Committee and the useful results to the Soviet Government of its counter-revolutionary activities, which revealed the existence of a new conspiracy conducted by a cadet organization, and inspired by the notorious Prokopovich and Madame Kuskova.

... "The politicians of the Committee do not understand that hunger is not a thing to be trifled with and anyone playing this game would lose it" ...

One magnificent paragraph of Radek's article must find place here, as no summary or restatement of it could transmit its strength.

... "The jig is up. And the moral to be drawn from this interlude may be summarized briefly as follows: anyone wishing to help Soviet Russia in her struggle with hunger will be given an opportunity for honest and useful work, no matter who he may be. But anyone who attempts to create of hunger a subterranean mine against the Soviet Government will be blown up by the very grenades which he is attempting to place under the structure of Soviet Russia. For bourgeois circles abroad a further lesson may also be drawn: the philanthropy of foreign capitalists is an activity for which they always get paid—and well paid at that. The gold lent to the moujik in time of need by the usurers always yielded a handsome profit. The Soviet Government has listened patiently to all philanthropic speeches and has just as patiently waited for a declaration by these philanthropic gentlemen of what it was they expected in return for their gentle hearts. No distinction can be drawn between aid for the hungry and the delivery of locomotives and machinery, but if in return for their locomotives and machines they should expect from us, instead of wood or ore, the right to control the Soviet Government, we should have sent them home packing. Let them try it, while they give a piece of bread to the moujik ruined by their intervention. Even in their own populations there are large sections which are not yet accustomed to flay alive those that are starving, and whom such actions would arouse against their rulers. As matters stand we shall merely discuss the question of their profits with these humane gentlemen, and not permit them to broach any other subject." ...

The workers of foreign countries are responding to the appeal to feed Russia. The extent of their response is determined by the degree of their class consciousness and the means that are at their disposal. Unfortunately, these two elements are nowhere in full strength at the same time. In America the means are unlimited but the class consciousness is absent. All over Europe the class consciousness and sense of solidarity with Russia is magnificent, the spirit is strong, but the resources are absent. But even with their wretched means, the European workers are rising nobly to the need. To give just a few instances: A labor paper in Lisbon, Portugal, collected 41,451 milreis up to September 1; the English Communist Party collected £350 up to September 4; the inflated and worthless currency of Central Europe is repre-

sented by contributions of millions of marks and crowns from Germany and Austria. In America great organizations of workers are going to give sums far exceeding the contributions of their European fellow workers, but by no means reaching the proportions required. It is in America that the greatest stocks of food can be purchased for shipment to Soviet Russia. It is in America, therefore, that the workers should get together enormous sums of money by every possible means, in order that they may purchase foodstuffs in great quantities and forward them as whole shiploads to Russia direct. Many workers' organizations can raise a million dollars each, if they really want to.

Capitalist relief organizations are also at work. They have been at work for years, although not always in the direction which we might have wished. One relief activity, for instance, that conducted by Captain T. T. C. Gregory in Central Europe, has to its credit, to use Capt. Gregory's own boastful words, "The overthrow of the Red Regime in Hungary." It is not certain that the American Relief Administration in its work in Soviet Russia aims a similar overthrow of the Russian Soviet Government, but so pronounced an opponent of communism as Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, will not oppose the overthrow of the Soviet Government, if any of his agents should feel disposed to use their positions for such a consummation. Secretary Hoover has frequently evidenced a philanthropic attitude toward Russia, which he has just as frequently failed to put through with energy. Secretary Hoover has said that he has always been opposed to armed intervention in Russia, but Secretary Hoover has always been unsuccessful in preventing armed intervention, and has never publicly come out against it. The workers of the world have nothing to expect from Secretary Hoover. At most he will lend no actual assistance in the effort to overthrow Soviet Russia, a consummation that he would regard with satisfaction. As he himself has said, "I want them to get through with their experiment in communism."

Capt. Gregory has given a long account of his work in Hungary in "World's Work," New York, for June, 1921. Secretary Hoover and his aids in America have shown great activity in attempting to explain away this incident in private conversations with radical representatives, but have failed to make a public denouncement of Capt. Gregory's statement, to make their position really convincing. "Soviet Russia" for September of this year discussed Capt. Gregory's story, as had also a number of liberal and radical periodicals. In September also, the London edition of the "World's Work" (published by William Heinemann), reprinted the article that had already appeared in the American edition with a few additions that must bring dismay to those who had hoped that Mr. Gregory might have repented since writing his original article and decided that he was depicting Mr. Hoover in too unfavorable a light. An editorial note, descriptive of Mr. Gregory's article, says on behalf of the London "World's Work":

(Concluded on page 10)

The Red Trade Union International

THE FIRST WORLD CONGRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS

By EARL R. BROWDER

I. Background of the Congress

THE first world congress of revolutionary trade unions held in Moscow in July marked the culmination of a long historical development in the principles and tactics of the international labor movement. It is difficult to analyze the transactions of the congress and to estimate its significance without understanding the background of the revolutionary labor movement of today. We will therefore trace the development of the movement which brought the Red International into being, and describe some of the currents which came into conflict at that Congress, before they were welded together into one great army of revolutionary labor.

There was an international organization of trade unions before the war organized under the leadership of Karl Legien of Germany and other conspicuous figures of the Second International. This International Federation of Trade Unions was hardly more than an information bureau, and with the outbreak of the war it broke up along nationalistic lines. Each national section became practically a department of its respective government. The labor movements of the Entente countries became recruiting grounds for the armies; the same was true of those of the Central Powers. This breakdown of all international labor union connections left an intolerable situation in the trade union world after the armistice. Taking advantage of the instinctive movement of the trade union masses toward international solidarity the same leaders who had betrayed them in the war came together and patched up their differences. In Berne, and later in Amsterdam, they re-established the old International under the name of the International Federation of Trade Unions, commonly known as the Amsterdam International.

During the post-armistice period, which was one of revolutionary change and political instability throughout Europe, the attention of the revolutionary vanguard of the workers was occupied exclusively with the immediate political situation. This was the period of the rise of the communist parties and the Third International, the Soviet Governments of Hungary and Bavaria, and the Spartacan uprisings in Germany. But while the Third International was wresting the leadership of the politically conscious workers from the compromisers and collaborators with the bourgeoisie on the political field, these same leaders were entrenching themselves in their control of the trade unions and rebuilding the old "international." The same "yellow" leaders who delivered the unions to their governments during the war now ap-

peared as apostles of "internationalism." Thus the Amsterdam International under the control of Henderson, Legien, Thomas, Jouhaux & Co. was able to capitalize for its own ends the instincts of the masses toward international solidarity, and in collaboration with the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations served as the chief instrument by which capitalism weathered the great political crisis of 1919 and 1920.

In Germany it was Legien and the social-democratic bureaucracy in control of the trade unions, who by coming to an agreement with Hugo Stinnes and the capitalist class and entering into partnership with them, guided the course of events to the right and headed off the revolution. Noske and Scheidemann, in slaughtering Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and the other Spartacans, were merely carrying out the agreement which had been subscribed to by Legien for the German trade unions. Liebknecht and his associates gave up their lives in an effort to break this trade union agreement. In the other countries the situation was in essence the same. It was the old bureaucracy of the trade unions which blocked the revolutionary movement and saved the capitalist system from world revolution.

The treachery of Amsterdam with its policies of compromise, class peace, conciliation and collaboration with the bourgeoisie was soon apparent as the chief enemy of working-class aspirations. Everywhere a spontaneous opposition developed from the rank and file. In Italy, France, and Spain, the old revolutionary syndicalist traditions revived and grew to power. In Central Europe, where the Amsterdam bureaucrats had acted as the open agents of counter-revolution, the communists and all the other militant elements in the labor movement were forced into a struggle to break their hold upon the trade unions. Thus by the spring of 1920 a great movement of revolt against the reactionary control of the trade unions by the international organization at Amsterdam was in full swing throughout Europe.

This revolt was spontaneous, chaotic and unorganized, and without center or directing head. It took on varied and even antagonistic forms. In Germany, for example, the small syndicalist unions, the Allgemeiner Arbeiter Verein and the Freie Arbeiter of Genselkirchen, took on new life, and the latter obtained a strong hold on the miners of some districts; while the great majority of the revolutionists, acting under the leadership of the Communist Party, organized themselves as minority committees or "nuclei" within the old unions to fight against the bureaucracy from within. During the following year

these two expressions of revolt themselves came into conflict. Added to this was the hostility which existed even between the syndicalist organizations, and some deplorable situations developed. In Spain the revolutionary syndicalists obtained the leadership of the majority of the organized workers, while there existed also a smaller labor federation under reactionary leadership. In France the revolutionists organized within the old unions (the C. G. T.) as revolutionary committees, or *noyaux*, while one small group organized the "Confederation of the Workers of the World" as a separatist union. In Italy the Confederation of Labor under the influence of the Socialist Party declared for Moscow. When the Socialist Party split and the Communist Party was organized, the unions remained under the control of the right wing and under D'Aragona compromised the revolutionary movement for factory occupation. There was also a strong separate federation of syndicalists in Italy which declared and maintained its allegiance to the Third International. In the other countries of Central Europe the revolutionists quickly adopted the tactics recommended by the Third International and organized as minorities within the old unions.

The first steps taken to unite all these forces into one disciplined body were taken in Moscow in July, 1920, when the leaders of the Russian trade unions took advantage of the presence of many union representatives from England, Italy, France, and other countries, some of whom were attending the Congress of the Communist International, and invited them to confer. Out of the negotiations and meetings between these representatives came the Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. The Provisional Executive immediately organized a world-wide propaganda for a world congress of all revolutionary unions and minorities for 1921. They issued a manifesto, and a pamphlet prepared by A. Losovsky, the famous Russian labor unionist, which had a profound effect upon the entire revolutionary trade union government.*

In the meantime a small group of anti-political syndicalists attempted to head off the move toward Moscow. Their efforts resulted in the well-known Berlin Conference, which issued the "six points," and set forth their program of a purely economic revolution and an industrial international with no political affiliations, and expressed their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This conference realized that it was not strong enough to fight against the movement toward Moscow and called upon all its adherents to attend the Moscow Congress in an effort to capture it.

Thus we see gathered at the First World Congress the entire revolutionary trade union movement of the world. There were two fairly distinct groups at the opening of the Congress, first, those who in general accepted the pro-communist views of the Provisional Council as embodied in Losovsky's pamphlet; second, those who took

the attitude of the Berlin Conference, including the French who stood on the basis of the Amiens Charter which declared for the independence of the unions from political affiliations. This alignment was not stable on all issues, however. On the question of tactics within the trade union movement, the French were in agreement with the majority, that is, for working within the old unions. Some of the delegates who stood for "destruction of the trade unions" and rebuilding the union movement, were willing to have close relations with the Communist International. But the vast majority were agreed on all essential points, and the decisions of the Congress all followed the general lines laid down by the theses of the Provisional Council. The opposition was vehement but not large, and it divided on various issues. The fight on the various issues and the decisions of the Congress will be described in another article.

Famine Relief in Soviet Russia

(Continued from page 8)

"Within the last few days we have seen the application in Russia of Mr. Hoover's doctrine that political and diplomatic ends may most easily be gained by economic pressure. He has now agreed to assist in relieving the starving millions in Russia in return for definite concessions on the part of the Soviet Government in favor of American prisoners in Russia and a general favorable treatment of American nationals everywhere. This event throws a new light on the series of articles contributed to these pages by one of Mr. Hoover's agents, Mr. T. T. C. Gregory, who tells in the present issue of his overthrow of the Bela Kun regime in Buda Pesth."

In an introduction to the article, this Mr. Gregory in the London magazine repeats in September, for Russia, the remarks he made in June with regard to Hungary: "Since then, within the last month, in fact, he (Mr. Hoover) has again given evidence of clear vision and of the power of economic assistance in fighting anarchy. The arrangement which he has completed with the Moscow Government in exchange for foodstuffs for starving Russia is an admirable example of the creed I have sought here to set forth."

The creed set forth seems to be—to sell food to Soviet Governments, take the money which is fixed as purchase price, but withhold the food on the understanding that it will not be delivered until the Soviet Government is overthrown. At least, Capt. Gregory says that he did this in Hungary.

Until Mr. Hoover comes out with a definite denunciation of Capt. Gregory, and a statement that his aim in Russia is to work with the Soviet Government, which is aiming to feed the people, and not to restore the monarchy or the rule of the capitalists, Mr. Hoover will have to accept the implications inherent in Mr. Gregory's article that he approves of Mr. Gregory's work in Soviet Hungary, and that he would not object to its repetition in Soviet Russia.

The workers of the United States may judge how much assistance they may expect Secretary Hoover to give Soviet Russia, and whether they themselves should not rather do all in their power to make it unnecessary for the Soviet Government to depend on assistance from its outright opponents.

*The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions," by A. Losovsky.

Letters from the Mine Workers' Convention

(Continued.)

THE INJUNCTION WHIP CRACKS

HOWAT FIGHT THREATENS LEWIS MACHINE

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 26, 1921.

The Lewis machine, which is in control of the United Mine Workers, has decided that Alexander Howat of District 14 must be "broken." The decision must have weighty reasons behind it. The dispute itself cannot explain the fight. The machine has deliberately chosen this fight, and taken as the basis for it, an appeal from the Southwest Coal Operators' Association. And today the administration of the U. M. W. A. definitely threw all that it had into the scales against Howat. They have spoken and said that Howat must be repudiated, or all the charges against the U. M. W. A. made by the coal operators are true. They seem to have staked everything upon winning this fight.

The reasons for this, as is said, are unknown to me. That they are grave reasons is indicated by the fact that, in spite of the unanimous machinery of the administration against him, Howat is very strong in this convention. Howat has all the enthusiasm there is here. How he stands on votes remains to be seen. But the enthusiasm is for Howat, the good speeches are for Howat, the whole atmosphere is for Howat.

Let us suppose for the moment that I were to write a novel. One character is ambitious and unscrupulous, and a rather able man in his way, with some political connections on the side. He receives word through his political connections that certain assistance which he needs in his ambitions can be secured through ridding his organization of certain influences represented by another. Let us suppose that this plan fits in with his own personal desires. Let us suppose that through mutual friends, these forces are acquainted with each other's plans. A sees, too late, that B is much stronger than he thought. If he were making his battle alone he could modify his tactics, but as one section in a wider battle front, he must go through with it at any cost. The Field-Marshal above has commanded it. Forward the the light brigade!

Idle imagination! But one must do something to fill in these great blank spaces which are unexplained. There are some reasons, grave weighty reasons, lying behind this little scrap. This petty fight may easily become one of historic importance in the labor movement.

Today was the third round. The fighting was not so definite and the result not so clear in today's battle. Both sides were weaker, Lewis' side because he had some more members of the Executive Board speak for him. They weaken anything they speak for. Howat was weaker because Frank Farrington entered the lists in his cause; and Frank Farrington can hardly strengthen a cause in this convention except by opposing it. This does not mean, of course, in the voting. A vote is a vote, even in the U. M. W. A. Altogether, today must be said to have strengthened Lewis a little, because his biggest gun, Wm. Green, was shot off today. Mother Jones, entered the program for an hour, received an ovation, and delivered her usual fiery talk, but she was outside of this fight. And Lewis gained a little ground. But this convention is a long way from belonging to Lewis or his machine, and it will take a lot of voting to overcome the powerful sentiment for Howat that boils in Indianapolis.

Some more big fights loom up, but none of them will touch this one. The others will most likely be decided by the roll-call vote which will be taken on this. If Howat wins, other progressive measures will be carried out. If Lewis wins, he will run the rest of the convention to suit himself and those who give him orders.

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 28th, 1921.

"Howat was whipped," yells the press with delight.

Yes, Lewis and his Executive Board won on the roll-call vote. The vote was about 3 to 2. Howat carried 6 districts out of 27. Illinois gave him a wonderful vote. It is the back-bone of the U. M. W., the best organized field in the country. The delegates from this district voted more than 95 per cent against Lewis. Lewis drew his strength from the East and South, especially from those fields where fighting is going on. When the smoke cleared away, it was clear that the crack of the injunction whip had carried the day.

A few days ago was "cheering time," but the roll-call came and changed all that. It was interesting to pick out the delegates who were, one knew from first-hand information, in favor of Howat, and yet who voted for Lewis on the roll call. Good fellows, all. But the machine is powerful, and one must be careful when the vote is being written down for all men to see. So not a few cheered for Howat and voted for Lewis.

But today the administration received a setback. The real extent of opposition to the Lewis machine found expression in the vote on the section of the President's report regarding salaries for officials. The Cleveland convention of two years ago authorized an increase in salaries proportionate to the gains achieved for the miners. Instead of following this decision, the Executive Committee passed around salary increases of 60 to 70 per cent. The President's report asked the convention to approve this. It was voted down in a roar of disapproval. There was no chance to crack the Government whip over the delegates on this issue, and the administration lost with hardly a semblance of fight. Secretary-Treasurer Green spoke on "this all important question," as he called it, telling how other unions with small membership paid their officers much more than the miners. He was booed off the platform. Lewis pleaded for the salary-list. He was heard more quietly, but his arguments did not please. He seemed to imply that the miners should bid against the coal operators for the loyalty of the officials. He cited the salaries of mine superintendents as higher than the union officials, and asked the convention to pay as well as the coal owners paid their lackeys. This convention is a poor place for that kind of stuff, and the official machine, on the first issue where they could not bring threats of the government's hard fist, was defeated badly.

"Where do you get that 'gentlemen' stuff?" yelled a voice, when Murray tried to quiet the delegates by calling them "gentlemen." This incident was significant. These men want results; they don't know just how to get them, but soft words are at a discount.

The Lewis administration has won on most issues, but the victories have been costly. On every occasion they have had to fall back on the government. The injunction whip has cracked regularly on every issue, and when it cracks the delegates cringe and vote as they are told. But this is a weapon that may wear itself out. The hides of these work-horses may become toughened from too much beating. This official machinery which gets its strength from the heavy hand of the Government will be in a precarious position when the Government openly challenges it again. It has lost its strength with the rank and file, and the victories won in this convention may easily become disasters next spring.

EARL R. BROWDER.

Save Sacco and Vanzetti

By EUGENE LYONS

In New England credulity is perhaps stronger than elsewhere. Doubt of its courts is a blasphemy which Massachusetts does not forgive so easily. Though the evidence in the trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was reported rather fully in the local press during the seven weeks of trial in Dedham, many important facts did not appear in the newspaper reports, the ugly atmosphere painfully built around the defendants, the obvious prejudices of the presiding judge. Nevertheless the speedy verdict of guilty came as a distinct shock to the reading public. But after the momentary daze—a shrug of the shoulders and “Oh, well, the court has spoken. That ends it.”

How was the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti obtained? Twelve good men and true sat in the jury box. Judge Webster Thayer, who is accepted without question in the “best circles” of Boston, presided. Even the Boston American, which had a man in court throughout the proceedings, and whose sympathy for labor agitators is not extensive, calls the evidence “most unconvincing.” As a matter of fact, it was preposterously inadequate. The defense brought to the stand a score of eye-witnesses of the pay-roll murders charged against the two Italians, and all of them asserted under oath that they had not seen the defendants on the scene. Iron-bound alibis were established for both men. Yet the astounding verdict!

Astounding as it was, except to those of us who know the extent of anti-red, especially anti-foreign-red, sentiment in New England. I feel that my imagination is not running rampant when it pictures the twelve good men and true in the jury room, agreeing before they begin deliberations that innocent or guilty “these wops are bad actors.” Remembering the cast of the jurors’ ingrown Puritan minds, the probability of some such fundamental accord is not far-fetched. The men whose fate was in their hands had all the attributes of the highly advertised animal, the “dangerous alien agitator.” They were admittedly radicals and had been mixed up in strikes, preferred a trip to Mexico to service in what they persisted in terming a “capitalist” war.

Cunningly enough the state nursed the prejudices in the hearts of the jurors. All the old and some new tricks were brought into play to create a “Don’t touch—explosive!” aura around the prisoners. They were led to the court each morning under heavy guard, manacled, and walking in the middle of the street instead of on the sidewalk. When asked for an explanation of this procedure one of the guards explained that an attacking party could be handled more easily in that fashion. Under the very window of the jury the defendants were led in this fashion, the men presumably innocent because not yet found guilty. Once in the court room they were placed in an iron cage, according to the ancient custom. But that

being insufficient precaution, from two to four officers fully armed were always stationed near the cage.

The same vicious atmosphere was generated in and around the court house. Unusual numbers of uniformed and plain-clothes officers were placed everywhere “to protect the Court and jury.” From time to time, without any reason, the newspapers were given the basis for scare-heads about the guard being “redoubled.” Spectators were searched for concealed weapons. Everything was staged to ward off an imaginary and ultra-dramatic rescue. Such elaborate measures of defense naturally fixed the probability of an attack firmly in the jurors’ minds, re-inforcing their private beliefs as to the character of the defendants and their friends. Such was the bizarre light thrown on the testimony, the light which distorted the facts and blurred the jurors’ vision, which blinded them to the absurdity of the prosecution’s case. Such was the touchstone by which items of testimony were tested. . .

It took nearly seven weeks to read the testimony into the record. In five hours the jury had disposed of it all and determined to send the two Italians to the electric chair. With a gesture it brushed aside the sworn testimony of unimpeachable witnesses for the defense in favor of highly circumstantial, incredible testimony introduced by the prosecution. Where several of the most eminent firearm-experts in the country disagreed on certain questions, these twelve laymen called for a microscope and proceed to judge for themselves on a complicated technical matter. The microscope was a concession to conscience. They had already made up their minds to believe the experts for the prosecution, right or wrong.

And now the Italian organizers await death. Unless something happens before the fatal day arrives, a workman will turn on the switch and these champions of a new world will remain limp and lifeless. Ten years ago they fought the battles of their countrymen in the mills of New England. Now they are ready to pay the price.

“We do not fear death,” they said in a recent statement; “we fear a useless death.”

Their readiness to give up their lives for their ideals is a challenge to the working class of America. The workers of Italy have already taken up that challenge. The co-operation of every toiler in this country is needed to break through the the cordon of prejudice, ignorance and greed which surrounds these big-souled Italians. Get in touch with the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Box 37, Hanover Street Station, Boston, Mass.

Announcement

The Bronx Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia has arranged a theatre performance and ball for Friday, November 4th, 1921, at the Star Casino, 107th Street and Park Avenue. The proceeds will go for the hungry people of Soviet Russia. Friendly organizations are requested not to arrange any affairs for that evening.

The World of Labor

THE BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

By C. D. Guthrie

The recent British Trades Union Congress at Cardiff shows clearly the present alignment in the British labor movement. There is a clear movement to both right and left, with the right apparently in the ascendant at the present time. This new conservative orientation is due to a combination of influences. There is the challenge of the Red Trade Union International which has led the old leaders of British unionism to strengthen their political fences. Thomas, Henderson, Bowerman, Clynes, were the unquestioned pace-makers at the congress, and Edo Fimmen appeared to depend the yellow Amsterdam International against the attacks of the radical elements. A needless effort, to judge from the resolutions. The Congress, on the motion of the Rt. Hon. J. C. Clynes, went on record as favoring the League of Nations, while calling for its "reorganization to provide for the fullest democratic representation of all nations, as essential to the prevention of future wars. Adequate representation was demanded for labor upon the council of the League, and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress was instructed "to secure popular support for national and international aid of organized labor to obtain a League which would recognize the rights of all peoples." The congress thus allied itself with entente imperialism in spite of a lavish expenditure of democratic phraseology. It took its stand definitely with the Amsterdam International, which has become hardly more than an annex of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations.

The imperialist tendencies of the British labor movement were no less clear in the debate on disarmament. J. H. Thomas, with the shadows of Black Friday still dark upon him, moved a resolution strongly supporting the Harding Disarmament Conference and asking for independent labor representation in the British delegation. He pointed out that in the "war to end war" millions of lives had been sacrificed but that now the British government was spending three times as much on the Army, Navy and Air Force as before the war. Their extreme friends agreed that wars ought to be stopped, but their means of stopping wars was by a bloody revolution. (Cries of No! No!) Then their friends had told them the remedy was the Red International, but if he understood what the Russian position was—well, bad as our position is, God save us from the remedy. (Applause). He defended himself for being a Privy Councillor in that government, but was the object of a bitter attack by H. Pollitt of the Boiler-makers, who accused him of being ready to

betray the workers to militarism a second time in case of another war. Armaments were as necessary to the perpetuation of the capitalist system as unemployment, declared Pollitt. The only way to abolish war was to abolish the capitalist system. In Moscow and not in Washington lay the only hope for world peace.

Thomas was supported quite naturally by Ben Tillett, who used an apologetic tone in defending his jingoism of the war period. Communist speeches were not of much use against machine guns, averred Tillett, although he might have learned the contrary from the experience of Russia.

Robert Smillie's appearance in the debate brought a new note of intelligence and defiance. His remedy for war was the international strike against war. That was the remedy which the international organization of miners proposed to take—and Smillie recommended it to the British Trades Union Congress. But Smillie was defeated, and Thomas and Tillett won. That fact is sufficient indication of the temper and political outlook of the Congress. The international horizon of its leaders, although they mouth the socialist phrases, is little different from that of Samuel Gompers himself.

In internal affairs the congress showed a more militant spirit, defying wage reductions and the government statistics for the cost of living by which these were justified. Aid was voted for the Russian famine, which was held to be due less to the drought than to the Allied Blockade. Provision was made for departments of labor, education and research. Relief was demanded from parliament for the unemployed upon the basis of work or maintenance. The fiasco of the Triple Alliance, which Smillie declared was a breakdown of leaders and not of the rank and file, was covered by the organization of a new General Council to replace the old and weak Parliamentary Committee. Including representatives of all industries and occupations it would be in a position to centralize labor action and make it more effective.

There was visible in all the proceedings a distinct drift on the part of the leaders and the majority toward parliamentary activity as a weapon rather than direct action, a tendency due in large part to the failure of the miners' long struggle and the collapse of the Triple Alliance, the cherished instrument of direct action. Amid the general discouragement the way was open for the counsellors of political action and they used their opportunity. England is on the brink of the general election in which the Labor Party intends to run five hundred candidates and make a strong bid for power. Either defeat or victory in this election will mean a new alignment for labor; defeat, another chance for the propaganda of direct industrial action, victory, the separation of the sheep from the goats in the ranks of labor,—the militant internationalists from the ministerial imperialists. But possibly the unemployment crisis will have shown another way out!

A Week with the Hungry

MONDAY—Harding to his Unemployment Conference:

"It is fair to say that you are not asked to solve the long controverted problems of our social system. . . . I would have little enthusiasm for any proposed relief which seeks either palliation or tonic from the public treasury. . . . and the world is looking on to find helpfulness in our American example. Fundamentally sound, financially strong, industrially unimpaired, commercially consistent and politically unafraid, there ought to be work for everybody in the United States who chooses to work. . . ."

MAYBE WILLIAM BURNS, NOW CHIEF DETECTIVE FOR THE UNITED STATES, COULD DETECT FOR US JUST WHAT THIS ALL MEANS AND HOW IT WILL SOOTHE THE APPETITES OF THE UNEMPLOYED. But it might jolt some masterless worker desperately in need of a good dinner to learn that while Harding holds up his left hand in warning to the unemployed against making demands upon the public treasury, his right hand is just about to put five hundred million dollars of this same public treasury into the pockets of the railroad corporations.

* * * *

TUESDAY—Harding's Unemployment Conference makes a wonderful discovery. We credit it entirely to its superior intelligence and its humanitarian proclivities! It is called rotation of labor. It means this: Give the six million now unemployed part time employment by throwing six million now working steadily out of work part of the time.

FROM A "COFFEE AND" ASPECT TWELVE MILLION ARE NOW TO STARVE PART TIME INSTEAD OF SIX MILLION FULL TIME!

* * * *

WEDNESDAY—Upon the rumor that a church had suffered a relapse, having momentarily given an ear to Christ, hundreds of hungry men race through the streets of New York City to this church to get a cup of coffee and a chunk of bread.

* * * *

THURSDAY—The Committee on Homeless Men and Youths states that "there is potential danger to the State in armories filled with unemployed . . . that a rising of the unemployed is within the range of possibility."

* * * *

FRIDAY—Harding's Unemployment Conference makes another discovery. To relieve unemployment all governors and mayors are asked to establish employment agencies, these agencies to make a thorough canvass for jobs.

THE ELUSIVE JOBS, WHICH SIX MILLION WORKERS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO FIND, COMPELLED TO A MINUTE SEARCH BY EMPTY STOMACHS, ARE NOW TO BE FOUND BY A COUPLE OF HUNDRED FED UP GOVERNMENT AGENTS!

* * * *

SATURDAY—Thomas Proctor, in whose bed Abraham Lincoln died, is found in an almshouse. Lincoln's son is president of the Pullman Company. Maybe he'd be so kind as to send Proctor the price of Lincoln's lodging the night he died.

A boss hatter admits he can't hear anything but the jingle of dollars. He does not know a thing about Russia, is not losing sleep about Japan, is not worrying about Germany. He signs this attestation of ignorance with his own name, mind you. He does more than this. He also has a solution for the general depression, inclusive of the depression in the neighborhood of the sixth button on the shirt of every unemployed man. His solution is a slogan which he suggests to the World's Chamber of Commerce to be sent around the world.

Here it is:

"THROW AWAY YOUR HAMMER AND GET OUT YOUR HORN."

This, then, is how THEY serve the unemployed. And what do we propose? That is for THE TOILER to tell, and it WILL tell.

Will you help compel Harding to open the public treasury for the unemployed? Will you help compel the State to consider this problem? Will you help compel the opening of the armories so that the unemployed, especially the ex-service men, may have a place to sleep? Will you help get full time pay at union wage rates for all unemployed? Will you help compel the war profiteers to give their war profits to the unemployed? Will you help in demanding a reduction of working hours for all unemployed with no less pay?

You can help in all this by helping THE TOILER. If 200 readers will give \$1.00 a week for twelve weeks; if six hundred will give \$1 a month for six month; if all others will give all they can RIGHT NOW, then the leadership of THE TOILER in this battle, in every battle, will be assured.

THE TOTAL NEEDED IS \$10,000.

REMIT YOUR SHARE TO-DAY.

A. B. MARTIN, Manager.

THE TOILER, 208 East 12th Street, New York City.

International Documents

Program of action for the Revolutionary Unions

By G. ZINOVIEV

New Tactics: Direct Action

NEW problems confront the revolutionary trade unions all over the world. New methods of economic struggle are required to meet the present conditions the acute economic crisis which is spreading all over the world, the catastrophic decline of wholesale prices, the over-production of commodities coincident with the collapse of the market, the militant policy of the bourgeoisie toward the working-class, the determination to reduce wages, and throw the workers back into the miserable conditions of the past, the growing exasperation of the masses and the impotence of the old trade unions to express their needs or achieve their ends. These conditions which have arisen in the present epoch of decomposition of capitalism require a new aggressive economic policy on the part of the trade unions. They should be prepared not only to repulse the attacks of capitalism, but to strengthen their positions and pass over to the offensive.

2) The basis of the tactics of the trade unions should be direct action of the revolutionary masses and their organizations against capitalism. The gains of the workers will be in direct proportion to the degree to which they undertake direct action and revolutionary activity. "Direct action" here refers to all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon employers and government, boycotts, strikes, street demonstrations, seizures of factories, armed uprisings and other revolutionary activities which tend to unite the working class in the fight for socialism.

The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to use the weapon of direct action to educate the masses of the workers and train them for the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Shop Unions of the Rank and File

3) The last year of the labor struggle has shown with startling clearness the incapacity of the "pure and simple" trade union organizations to meet the issues of the present day. The fact that the workers in one concern belong to several unions weakens them in the conflict with the employers. The starting point in a determined struggle must therefore be the advance from the strictly trade organization to the organization on the basis of production. "One union for each enterprise!" This must be the slogan for future organization.

The fusion of related unions into a single organization should be carried out by the revolutionary method of placing this question directly before the members of the unions in their shops and factories, and then before district and regional conferences and national congresses.

Factory Committee of All Workers

4) Each factory and workshop should become a citadel of the revolution. Factory committees should be organized to replace the old types of representation such as money collectors, elected representatives of the membership, proxies and others. The factory committees should be elected by the workers employed in a given enterprise regardless of political creed. The problem before the supporters of the Red International of trade unions is to involve all the workers of a given concern in the election of their representative body. The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively from adherents of the

same political party, leaving outside the broad non-party rank and file, should be severely condemned. Such a group would be a nucleus but not a factory committee.

The revolutionary section of the workers must bring its influence to bear through its own nuclei, its committees of action, and finally through every individual member upon the general members' meeting and the elected factory committee.

Unemployment and Lockout Tactics

5) The first question to be put before the workers and their factory committees is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment at the expense of the employers. The employers should not be permitted to throw workers on to the streets without any responsibility. The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed workers in his enterprise. At the same time it must be explained to the workers that the problem of unemployment cannot be solved under the capitalist regime and that the only way to abolish it is the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6) The closing down of enterprises and curtailment of working hours furnish at the present time the most effective means for the elimination of antagonistic elements. With the help of this instrument, the bourgeoisie is forcing the workers to accept reductions of wages, increase of working hours and abolition of collective bargaining. The lock-out is taking more and more definitely the form of direct action on the part of the employers. The workers should therefore in each case institute an investigation into the causes for the closing down of the enterprise. They should create for this purpose special control committees with regard to raw materials, fuel and orders for the purpose of verifying effectively the quantity of available raw materials, of materials necessary for production and of money resources in the banks. The control committees should study with the greatest care the financial relations between the given enterprise and others so that the next practical task of the workers may be the elimination of trade secrets.

Seizure of the Factories

7) During the present commodity famine it is especially important to prevent every cessation of production. The workers should therefore not allow the premeditated closing down of workshops and factories. The seizure of the enterprise can and should be accompanied by other methods of attack upon the employing interests to be determined by the local situation, the conditions of production, the political situation and the intensity of the class struggle. After the factories have been seized they should be entrusted to the management of factory or workshop committees and of a representative especially designated by the union in the industry.

Raise Pre-War Standard

8) The slogan for the economic struggle should be the increase of wages and improvement of conditions of labor to a degree considerably above that of the pre-war period. The attempt to force the workers back into the pre-war conditions of labor should be met with the most determined revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working classes during the period of the war should now be compensated for by increase of wages and improvement of conditions of labor. The plea of foreign competition on the part of the capitalists should receive no con-

sideration whatever. The revolutionary unions of the working class cannot approach the question of wages and conditions of labor from the standpoint of the competition between the profiteers of the various nations, but solely from that of the protection of the life and energy of labor.

Organize Workers' Guards

9) In cases where the wage-reducing tactics of the employers coincide with a general economic crisis of the country, the duty of the revolutionary unions is not to permit separate reductions of wages in each concern, not to allow themselves to be defeated in isolated detachments. From the beginning the attempt should be made to draw into the struggle the workers in the public utilities, the railwaymen, miners, electricians, gas workers, so that the struggle against the offensive of capital touches the very nerve-centers of the economic organism. In this case all methods of resistance are necessary and suitable, from the partial and intermittent strike up to the general strike extending to all the basic industries of the nation.

10) The unions must keep before them as their practical daily task to prepare and organize international action in the various industries. The interruption of transportation or coal-mining, if carried out on an international basis, is a powerful weapon against the bourgeois reaction in every country.

The unions should follow the world crisis with attention in order to choose the propitious moment for their economic offensive. They should not forget for a single moment that international action is possible only when revolutionary unions are established which have nothing in common with the Yellow Amsterdam International.

11) The faith in the absolute value of the collective contract propagated by the opportunists of every country should be met with a resolute and keen resistance by the revolutionary labor movement. The collective contract is only an armistice. The employers break the collective contract, when the least opportunity offers. The religious respect for collective contracts shows how deeply the bourgeois ideology has penetrated the minds of the labor leaders. The revolutionary unions do not withdraw altogether from collective contracts but recognize their relative value and face clearly the problem of methods of breaking these contracts whenever such action is advantageous for the workers.

Widen the Conflict: Work Toward the General Strike

12) The struggle of the labor organizations against the individual employer and the whole employing class must adapt its methods to the local and national conditions. It must make use of all experience accumulated by the working class in its struggle for liberation. Every important strike must therefore not only be well organized but must be supported from the start by special groups created by the workers for the struggle against strikebreakers and the white guard organizations of all kinds equipped by the bourgeois and their governments for provocation among the workers and the launching of an offensive against them. The Fascisti in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the civilian white guard organizations formed by former officers and non-commissioned officers in France and Germany—all these organizations have as their aim the disorganization and defeat of every attempt on the part of the workers, with the purpose not only of replacing the strikers by scabs but of destroying their organizations and killing the leaders of the working masses. Under such conditions the organization of special strike guards and detachments for workers' defense is a question of life and death for the working class.

13) These fighting organizations should not limit their activity to the struggle with the employers' organizations and the strike-breakers, but should undertake also such tasks as the stoppage of goods and merchandise destined for the given factory, and the hindrance of the transfer of its products to

other factories and enterprises. In this connection the unions of transport workers are called upon to play an especially important role. The task devolves upon them to interrupt the transport of goods, a task which cannot be carried out without the aid of all the workers of the district.

Establish Real Workers' Control

14) The entire economic struggle of the working class in the near future must be concentrated upon the control of production and the organization of a party through which this control may be realized before the government and the ruling classes have created their substitutes for workers' control. A bitter fight must be waged against all attempts on the part of the ruling classes and the reformers at the establishment of employer-worker committees of control of production, and workers' councils in co-operation with the employers. The control of the industries must be undertaken with great energy in order to achieve definite results. The revolutionary unions must offer determined resistance to the perverted socialism carried out in the name of socialization by the leaders of the old trade unions with the concurrence of the ruling classes. All the phraseology of these gentlemen regarding peaceful socialization has but one end, the turning aside of the workers from revolutionary action and the social revolution.

15) In order to distract the attention of the workers from their immediate tasks and arouse in them small middle class ambitions they are fed with the idea of participation of the workers in profits, the equivalent of returning to the workers a small part of the surplus value created by him. This device for the demoralization of the workers should encounter a severe and implacable criticism. "No participation in profits, the abolition of capitalist profits!" That is the slogan of the revolutionary unions.

Aim at Dictatorship of the Proletariat

17) The revolutionary unions strive for the betterment of the conditions of labor, the raising of the standard of life of the masses, the establishment of workers' control. They should, however, keep constantly in mind the fact that these problems can not be solved under the capitalist regime. The revolutionary trade unions must therefore wrest concessions step by step from the ruling classes and force them to put social legislation into operation. At the same time they must make it clear to the working masses that only by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can the social problem be solved. Therefore no activity, no strike, however limited, should be allowed to pass without strengthening this position. The revolutionary unions should aim constantly to give a more general significance to their struggles and to widen the mental outlook of the working masses to a realization of the necessity and unavoidability of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

18) Every economic struggle is at the same time a political struggle, that is a general class struggle. But the struggle itself, even when it involves the widest masses of the workers, can be conducted on a really revolutionary basis and with the greatest advantage for the working class as a whole, only when the revolutionary trade unions go hand in hand in the closest harmony and practical unity with the communist party of the country. The theory and practice of the separation of the class struggle into two independent parts is most pernicious at the present revolutionary moment. Every undertaking demands a maximum concentration of forces which is not possible except when the revolutionary energy of the working class is in a state of high tension. Isolated activity of communist party and unions is foredoomed to failure and disaster. For this reason unity of action and organic union between the communist parties and the trade unions is the preliminary condition for success in the struggle against capitalism.