

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1921

No. 201

A Workers' Republic for Ireland

Thomas J. O'Flaherty

Organized Labor and the American Legion

Jos. Poore

The Famine

Victor Serge

International Notes :- *Editorials* :- *Labor Notes*

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The Outlook

I. E. FERGUSON, convicted of "Criminal Anarchy" in New York and now serving a ten-year term in Sing Sing appeared in person before the Appellate Division to argue the appeal of C. E. Ruthenberg and himself. Ferguson and Ruthenberg were among the ablest leaders in the organization of the Communist movement in America. In a brilliant address Ferguson exposed the vicious prejudice of the Trial Judge Weeks who acted as persecutor, prosecutor and dispenser of injustice. Summing up the defendant said: "Your Honors, we did not have the benefit of a trial impartially conducted. Whether Mr. Ruthenberg and I shall longer remain imprisoned is, after all, a personal concern, of importance only to ourselves and to the very few with whom our lives are intertwined. That is not the issue underlying the contention that we are imprisoned on prejudice, not on proof of crime. The issue here is far more profound. It is a question of the integrity of the judicial establishment of this great state, a question whether there is one rule of law and procedure for all who are accused of crime, or one rule for criminal cases in general and another rule for the trial of those who dare to profess themselves at odds with the prevailing industrial and political system. The question is not whether we deserve a fair trial; it is to make clear, so that he who runs may read, whether or not there is in these courts a single system of justice for all who are called to answer on charges of crime."

APPARENTLY the Company Union is not so successful and entirely satisfactory to the workers as the capitalist press was "mised" into stating. We learned only a few days ago that the employees of four of the big packing concerns had come together and voted to cut their own pay in order to save the abused employer from financial ruin. A little later the publicity committee of the new Company unions admitted that all was not quite well. The press then announced that all workers going on strike on Monday, December 5, in protest against this cut would lose their jobs. Even so the strike was of no concern, since, as Armour and Co. stated that of their 26,000 employees all but about 400 were

participating in the plant conferences of the Company Union. And in spite of the Associated Press statement that 90 to 95% of the men are working, the Times reports that "Chicago Police fight a mob of 100,000," that "munitions have been rushed to the police" and that "Children aid the strikers." Apparently the Company Union does not expect to win by reason of its virtue or even of its lying publicity. In Fort Worth the bosses have an injunction, in St. Paul Minnesota, State troops are breaking up the picket lines and with fixed bayonets have charged against the strikers, and in Chicago all the machinery of the capitalist government is being called into action. While the "law and justice" of the land is being invoked, riot guns and tear bombs are being prepared. Mounted police are riding down women and children; 1,500 police have been called for duty. A large number to enforce a reduction which the packers assured us is the desire of the workers. The fight against the open shop is on in Chicago. The workers, their wives and children are on the firing line with them. They are being trampled and beaten. They will be bombed and shot. Will the workers stand aside and see their battles fought by the children of others? All Labor must unite and make its protest heard above the shots of the Chicago Police.

MAJOR GENERAL Leonard Wood, the general who is reputed to have never even smelled gunpowder, has issued a report on the Philippines. He admits that the American administration has been autocratic and inefficient and that the Filipinos desire independence. Yet, he recommends, in the interests of the Filipinos themselves, without doubt, not to give them independence at this time. The backward Filipinos are not quite forward yet. They must be more Americanized. They must become better trained in the art of American "democracy." Therefore the brave General recommends a state of "protected independence" for the Philippines. The Governor General is to be cloaked with even more authority than he already has. Autocracy has always been the essence of capitalist democracy. The Congress of the United States is to have the veto power over all activities of the Philippine Legislature that are likely to infringe upon the authority of the Governor General. Besides, should the Philippine Senate refuse to accept any of the Governor General's recommendations our President will have the last say in the matter. Here we have pure capitalist democracy run amuck. The imperialists of every country are strengthening their grip on the exploited colonial working masses. The gross business of the Islands has increased from \$200,000,000 in 1907 to \$863,000,000 in 1920. The total resources of the commercial banks have risen from \$15,000,000 in 1906 to about \$215,000,000 today. The Philippine Islands are becoming a good business proposition. It would be foolhardy for America to let them slip out of its hold. And the key to all business situations is "democracy"—the fraudulent capitalist democracy, the camouflaged rule of military force.

EDITORIALS

ANOTHER REWARD

LOYALTY must be rewarded. It may take time but the Gods never go wrong on this. The six shop crafts, blacksmiths, electrical workers, machinists, car men, sheet metal workers and boilermakers, recently refused to line up with the brotherhoods against the rail corporations. They chose to await the decision of the Railway Labor Board on working rules. Now they have the fruit of their "watchful waiting."

The Railway Labor Board has handed down a decision highly favorable to the railroads. Our rail barons are at one stroke relieved of all the working agreements which they have been fighting against for the past three years. Another \$50,000,000 is to be annually lopped off the workers' payrolls. From now on payment for unskilled labor is to be according to the conditions of the "labor market." There is not to be any regard for the working man's standard of existence. This is pretty rough on the cousins of the "aristocracy of American Labor." The sweeping changes almost without exception broaden the scope of each craft's work and eliminates many of the narrow and strict boundaries of craft divisions. At this moment the broadening of the field tends to weaken the existing unions because unskilled labor is largely unorganized labor.

The recent decision of the Rail Labor Board is indicative of the spirit and tempo of the situation confronting our whole working class. Not only pay cuts, not only working conditions, but the very life of the unions is aimed at. The Board, being democratic, is most solicitous of the interests of minorities, especially unorganized minorities. Hearings for the grievances of unorganized minorities are even provided for as follows: Regional adjustment boards are to be established and these will accept and act upon written petitions "signed by not less than one hundred unorganized employees or subordinate officials directly interested in the dispute." Here we have an outright endorsement of the open shop. Here we have the entering wedge of a campaign to break up the unions. On the whole these crafts are well organized and this part of the decision will not vitally affect them at once. Nevertheless this is a blow aimed at the present life and future development of the unions.

We are now at the end of the first act of the railroad fiasco. A strike was called off, solidarity rejected and the Rail Labor Board promised that no wage reductions would be considered for six months. Now nearly 500,000 workers are deprived of the advantages won through years of struggle. Hundreds of millions of dollars will fall into the capitalist coffers.

In this whole controversy the political nature of the class struggle is brought home in the most telling terms. To-day the price which the workers will have to and are bound to pay for loyalty to and faith in capitalist government institutions is still more evident. At no time should the workers put any interest above loyalty to their class. At no time should the workers hope for any award from their masters other than increased exploitation and degradation.

WITH THE GARMENT MAKERS

UNITY prevails in the ranks of the garment workers. The inspiring display of solidarity has proven to the manufacturers a wall which they can neither turn nor scale. Everywhere the fight is in full swing and bosses are yielding all along the line. The union is even invoking the capitalist law in order to hasten the end of the strike.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, in seeking to hold the bosses liable for the loss of wages incurred by the strike is taking the Danbury Hatters' case as a precedent. In the latter case the employers took action on the ground of "breach of contract." In the situation today it is the workers who aim to collect from their employers on the ground that the Manufacturers Association has been guilty of a breach of contract. Already a New York Court has sustained the position taken by the union and a battle royal in the courts is to be looked for.

To many this new phase of the class struggle is an ominous puzzle. To others it ushers in an era of justice for the whole working class. At last the Jeffersonian Democracy and the dyed-in-the-wool Americanism of Hillquit's business Socialist Party are vindicated. The courts are no longer organs of capitalist injustice, but in truth have become blind dispensers of justice and righteousness.

An examination of the much heralded legal victory of the International Ladies' Garment Workers will convince even the most credulous of the fundamental hollowness of this so-called victory. The issuance of the injunction is not at all a new phase of the class struggle. We do not maintain that it is "ethically unjustifiable and tactically suicidal" for the workers to utilize fully every temporary inadequacy of the capitalist law against their exploiters. This injunction procedure is merely the proof of the union's readiness to pursue this policy. But let us not fool ourselves. This preliminary injunction will not defeat the bosses. Even if Justice Guy's decision should be upheld it will not prevent the individual employers from breaking their contracts. It will not compel the bosses to pay damages for loss of wages. Only the Manufacturers' Association as an association is prevented from breaking its contract. As individuals the bosses are left free to establish any working conditions or wage scales they may decide upon regardless of the former agreements which they entered into as an association. Furthermore, they may even form a new organization which would then be immune from the present legal attack having never entered into any contract with the union.

In so far as the injunction weakens the hold of the Manufacturers' Association upon its members and hastens individual settlements it is of unquestionable advantage to the workers. But this victory is obviously limited. No worker should be misled by false hopes. No capitalist court can ever bring them victory. This is as true as ever despite the exaggerated advantages attributed to the injunction by the union's lawyers and leaders. The garment workers will win only if they continue to maintain a united front. In the last instance it is the strength shown by labor that will force the bosses to yield.

HOLY MOSES

MORRIS HILQUIT, Pontifex Maximus, once world famed leader of the "deceased but pure American Socialist Party," is flushed with angry pride. He has scored a sweeping victory over the Cloak Manufacturers' Association. So he says. This feat of our Socialist Moses will revolutionize the class struggle in America. And who should know more about revolutions than the intellectual giant of the purified Socialist Party.

He says: "A few more injunctions against employers and the entire capitalist press will howl against the use of the writ in favor of labor or capital." We are inclined to be charitable and will therefor credit the great Hillquit with

naivite only. Granted for the sake of the argument of the law that the injunction obtained by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is all that its godfathers hold it to be. Yet we fail to see how such "victories" can stop the capitalists from using their courts in the fight against the workers.

But there is one fact that we see clearly. The Union bureaucracy throughout the country is acclaiming this injunction as proof of the impartiality of the courts. The conservative leaders are waging a feverish campaign to increase the confidence of the masses in the judiciary. The reason for this is obvious. Should the workers put their trust in the courts they will be prone to rely less and less on their own strength. It will check the growing tendency of direct action by the workers. This will also intensify the need for the present type of business union leadership.

It is good policy to make use of the capitalist courts in the class struggle. The workers should never fail to take the fullest advantage of all legal possibilities. But at no time should the workers in the manner of the Hillquit crew make a fetish of the law. The workers should not be hoodwinked by the propaganda of their reactionary leaders and legal talent regarding the efficacy of the law as a weapon in the class-struggle.

No one can honestly charge the Communists with urging the workers not to utilize fully all the legal possibilities. It is the insistence of the Communists that the use of the capitalist law be properly understood; it is the activity of the Communists in pointing out the attempts of the union bureaucrats to mislead the workers through spreading false hopes and illusory promises that has aroused the caustic ire of Pope Hillquit. In his campaign of advertising his injunction victory and misleading the workers Hillquit charges the Communists with expecting "the social revolution to come at one blow through a spontaneous rising of the masses, driven to despair and rebellion by a long course of unbearable suffering and brutal persecution." He goes on to say: "The Socialists on the other hand believe that the workers' emancipation must be accomplished gradually in persistent daily struggle, by a working class steadily advancing in education and organization, in political and economic power, in self-confidence and class dignity."

No space will be devoted to a discussion of the balderdash of Hillquit's dignity and education. Woe unto the workers who are soaked in the education and organization of the Socialist party. Yet as an honor man of the bar Hillquit should be more careful in dispensing the oath of "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." His attack upon the Communists is only a smoke screen behind which he, like all opportunists, hides his retreat from the struggle of the working masses.

The Communists maintain that the workers will and must be prepared for the revolution through their every day struggles. More than that the Communists are leading the masses in their every day struggles regardless of how moderate their demands be. The "Socialists," however, without exception, refuse to fight even for the most elementary needs of the workers and when the Hillquit crew is driven into struggle it does everything in its power to avoid broadening and deepening the fight, and betrays the interests of the workers at the first favorable opportunity.

If any one is guilty of propagating the mechanical idea of the revolution's coming at one blow, it is Hillquit and his ilk. The fixed notion of voting in Socialism through a fifty-one per cent ballot count and the peaceful flowing of capitalism into communism convicts Hillquit & Co.—convicts them of the crimes they attribute to the Communists.

The workers will not be misled by the clouds of deception spread by the opportunists.

PICKETING BARRED

THE offensive against labor is proceeding at an alarming pace. Here the railroad workers are cajoled into defeat; there the miners are victimized by injunctions. And now all organized labor is forced to the wall by the United States Supreme Court—our sanctum sanctorum of capitalist reaction.

Chief Justice Taft delivering the decision of the Court in the appeal brought by the American Steel Foundries Company, declared that organized labor has no right to picket when it involves "importunity." These certainly are great days for the American working masses. We are swinging at a savage rate from "normalcy" into "importunity." Were this decision written in non-moth-eaten English, it would be obvious to every worker that it actually bars picketing; that the very heart is now taken out of picketing. Evidently the capitalists are not yet ready to bar picketing openly so they hide behind gaseous words and phrases. Picketing can be lawful only when it is peaceful. It must be free from importunity—free from restraint or intimidation.

Well, the logic of our smiling Chief Justice yells for help. Does he not know that the scab as well as the striker has something to say about the peaceful nature of picketing? And what about the thugs and gunmen in and out of uniform that protect "law and order" in every strike? Suppose this peaceful gentry incites to or itself commits violence? Then the picketing is accompanied by restraint and intimidation and it is unlawful. With the bitterness the class struggle has taken on there is today as much chance of picketing being peaceful and absolutely free from intents of intimidation, coercion, restraint, or any and all other shades of "importunity" as of a harem-loving Mohammedan getting into Christian heaven.

In practice there can really be no such peaceful picketing. The very presence of strikers is a threat to the scabs. Of this the arch-guardian of our freedom is well aware. He takes particular pains to fence his imposition with sundry specious hedges. First of all the striker has a right "to communicate with them (the scabs) and to persuade them to join the ranks of his opponents in a lawful economic struggle." The whole decision is riddled, in true Yankee capitalist fashion, with jokers. Even the impossible "peaceful" picketing is tabooed unless the struggle be lawful and economic. When and how will the starving workers know whether their struggle is both "economic" and "lawful"? They will have to wait for an answer from the venerable mouthpiece of our capitalist reaction—the aristocrats of the robe. The Lord have mercy!

We have had experience aplenty to know that a strike is lawful and economic to the judiciary only when it does not seriously menace profits, only when it does not endanger the interests of the "public"—that is when it is of a rather insignificant nature or a disastrous fizzle. Can a miners' or railworkers' strike be lawful nowadays? And will the Government pledge itself to keep out of all strikes in order to limit them to the economic field? The answer to these questions has already been given in most painfully clear terms to the workers all too often.

The wave of injunctions, imprisonments, and martial law are the fruit of Gompers' treacherous trade union and political policy. Law or no law, Gompers to the contrary notwithstanding, the workers must not surrender their right to strike. A surrender of the right to picket is only a surrender of the right to strike. All the workers should unite to curb the power of the courts.

A Workers' Republic for Ireland

By THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY

TO many Americans the Irish question is as inevitable as a revolution in South America. They think it is a kind of necessary evil that must be tolerated like growing pains. Most people are in favor of freedom for Ireland, but until recently they thought that Ireland did not want freedom, only an excuse for fighting with England and giving the Irish-American politicians something to talk about at election time. They believed that in favoring freedom for Ireland they had performed their full duty in the same way that a Christian performs his religious duty by making an annual contribution to the sustaining fund of his favorite sky pilot. The Irish in America have always conducted the fight for Irish freedom in a respectable sort of a way. An Irish-American patriot could favor Irish freedom and the subjection of Mexico at the same time and get away with it. He could denounce England as a robber Empire for her predilection to international loot and at the same time praise the altruism of the United States for going to the trouble of licking the Spaniards in order to save the Philippines and Cubans from Spanish oppression and sweeten their lives by turning them over to the sugar trust. It was not exactly consistent but as the Irish question was looked upon as an election promise and not a reality the average American did not consider the conduct of the seeker for Irish votes inconsistent or unethical. All in all the fight for the freedom of Ireland from British rule was conducted by the exiled children of the Gael in America according to the highest conception of civilized warfare. In fact the manner in which the lion's tail was twisted was humanitarian enough to satisfy the demands of even a pacifist.

The most prominent of the Irish revolutionists in America wore silk hats and frock coats and occupied such revolutionary positions as that of Supreme Court Judges or Police Commissioners. It is true there were divisions in the Irish movement in America. Some of the patriots were Democrats and others were Republicans. Some favored sending the money across the waters so that John Redmond could impress the British government with banquets in London while others favored spending it in America on United States Senators who it was claimed were entitled to at least one good meal as their share of the Irish question. Nobody thought of fighting the enemy, with the exception of a few like James Connolly—he got out of here as soon as he could raise his passage—who believed that only through a social and political revolution combined could the freedom of Ireland be attained. Connolly oftentimes had to borrow the price of a plate of beans while he was in the United States. But he was a revolutionist and he went to Ireland and when the opportunity arose struck the blow that set the feet of the Gael on the revolutionary path that leads to one inevitable goal—the workers' republic. It is because many otherwise well informed people do not understand the significance of the present struggle in Ireland that this article is written. Those who judge the Irish movement at home by the reactionary speeches made on American platforms by the apologists of the capitalist system who pose for the time being as Irish enthusiasts are mistaken. The present struggle in Ireland is not revolutionary in the sense that the Russian Revolution was, but as the Irish question cannot be settled until the capitalist system on which British Imperialism is based is destroyed, it is inevitable that the present fight for political separation should develop into a struggle for political emancipation from England and social

emancipation from the capitalist system which is the cause of misery in Ireland and in every country under the sun. While splendid phrases are being bandied about the right of all peoples to self-determination and national independence is proclaimed to be the highest ideal that any people could strive for, the workers of all countries irrespective of whether the flag that shields the bandit who robs them is a foreign flag or a native one, are robbed and starved and murdered.

Judging from the press reports, the negotiations carried on in London between the representatives of the Irish Republic and those of the British Government do not consider the position of the workers. It is quite likely that the official Sinn Fein element believe that the workers should be satisfied with an Irish flag and Irish exploiters happy in the knowledge that when they were beaten over the head by an Irish policeman at the command of an Irish capitalist during a strike that the baton would be made of native Irish hickory and as they succumbed to the ministrations of the wooden argument the strains of "God Save Ireland" would lull them into unconsciousness. But there is an element in Ireland that understands the economic basis of British rule; an element that has tasted the benevolent despotism of an Irish employer and went into the industrial trenches not against a foreign born master but against his own kith and kin of another class. This element knows that there can be no freedom in Ireland until the capitalist system is overthrown in Ireland and all over the world. The Irish Transport Workers' Union and the Communist Party of Ireland represents this element.

When Connolly led the revolt in Dublin in 1916 some of his comrades in other countries did not understand why he lined up with the Nationalist elements. They claimed that Connolly lost his original Marxian purity. These elements could not see in the revolutionary opportunism of Connolly the tactic that is today the guiding star of every revolutionary party in the world. Connolly's idea was to mobilize all the available discontent in Ireland and hurl it at the enemy. Out of the inevitable sacrifice which the Easter Week Revolution entailed would spring a new movement inspired by the example of the martyrs of Easter Week. Connolly knew quite well that national independence alone would never give Ireland independence until the Empire was overthrown, therefore every move made to overthrow the Empire tended to bring about the inevitable revolution. The Citizen Army composed of members of the Trade Unions was pledged not alone to strike for Irish freedom but for the Workers' Republic. The Nationalist Volunteers had a certain contempt for the men of the citizen army. The former were carried away with their hostility to England into a feeling of sympathy with Germany. The citizen army, however, was just as much opposed to the Kaiser as to King George and hung over its headquarters the banner with the inscription "We serve neither King nor Kaiser."

When Eoin MacNaill, the leader of the Nationalist Volunteers, issued the countermarching order which kept the full force of the members of that body from participating in the Easter Week revolution, Connolly called out his citizen army. The army of the workers was the backbone of the rising and according to Seamus MacManus in his "Story of the Irish Race," it was Connolly's insistence on making a fight that ultimately carried the motion for the insurrection. But since Easter Week Irish labor has been relegated to ob-

security and the Irish middle class have been given credit on American platforms and in the Irish journals for the great struggle that has been carried on against British tyranny.

The most significant events of recent occurrence in Ireland are the raising of the Red Flag over the Port of Cork and the taking over of a factory in Dundalk by the local branch of the Transport Workers. In each case the Soviet idea was utilized and the institutions run by the workers themselves. In Cork the local Republican officials stepped in and made peace between the workers and the bosses, but in Dundalk the workers made a success of the undertaking; increasing the output and the number of employees. Incidents such as these point to the fact that Irish labor is skirmishing before the final attempt to take over the industries for the benefit of the workers. It is generally understood that 85 per cent of the members of the Irish Republican Army are also members of the Trade Unions and are ready to use their weapons in behalf of a Workers' Republic. Until the English workers are compelled by force of circumstances to overthrow the government, there is no likelihood that an Irish attempt at the establishment of a Soviet form of government could be successful. At the present time, with the exception of the Communist Party, no other party in England has taken the position that Ireland is entitled to independence. The British Labor Party, —some of them are Privy Councillors—are up to their necks in the plans of Imperialism. It is not to be expected that the Gompertian Imperialists would be any more in favor of allowing Ireland to freely function than the Liberal or Tory Party. That Ireland can never function as an independent state as long as capitalism exists should be clear to any student of Imperialism whether British or American. Ireland is not held by England just for the fun of it. Ireland is a strategic point on England's flank and no British government except a revolutionary one will ever free Ireland. When Kerensky came to power in Russia he talked a good deal about freedom, but it took the Bolsheviks to make freedom something more than a mere phrase. The only hope for Irish freedom is in a revolution in England, and whether that event takes place soon or later it will have to take place before the Irish Republic can carry out its plans.

The present stand of the Belfast defenders of the most reactionary section of the British ruling class is not due to the alleged pig headedness of the Orangemen. It is the historical policy of every British government to use a small section of Ulster as an excuse for refusing to grant Ireland what the majority of the English people themselves are willing to grant. The grand stand play of Carson is the work of Lloyd George. It must be remembered that it was Lloyd George who created the fake Orange Parliament to use as a trading point against the demands of Sinn Fein. The Orange element have the backing of the powerful English landowners and the real rulers of the Empire. They refuse to coerce Ulster, which is a diplomatic way of saying that the little bit of territory under the domination of the big landowners of Belfast has veto power over any proposition made by the British Government for the reconciliation of the differences between Ireland and England. Now the British Government cannot afford to appear before the world, while the disarmament conference is on in Washington as favoring the Orange minority over the great majority of the people of Ireland, so the question of allegiance to the King is trotted out as the main reason why Ulster would not accept the peace plan of Lloyd George. In view of the willingness of the Orangemen to kick the crown into the Boyne when it suits their purpose and their receiving arms from Germany immediately prior to the war, such an excuse cannot fool anybody except those who want to be fooled. The so-called public will take the position that England cannot afford to give Ire-

land permission to refuse allegiance to the King, realizing that no capitalist country in the same position as England is would do it. The efforts of Sinn Feiners for a number of years to conciliate the Orange capitalists by telling them that Ireland was their country have ended in failure. The Orange capitalists puts his class interest above his sentimental fondness for his country. So does the Southern nationalist. Both would crucify the Irish working class and clasp hands over his corpse. The Irish working class can eliminate both the Orange and nationalist exploiter and in that elimination will come the unity of the so-called North and South of Ireland. Jim Larkin did more to bring the Orange and Catholic workers of Belfast together than any other living Irishman, yet it is strange that Jim is not popular either among a certain section of the Sinn Fein element or among the Tory Orange element. Jim brought the Orange and Catholic workers out into the streets of Belfast in a strike while united against them were the capitalists Orange and Green. The branch of the Irish Transport Workers formed in Belfast numbered at one time 3,000, and this, it was believed more than any other factor was the cause of the pogroms in the Belfast shipyards, where the Catholic workers were driven out in the middle of a wave of religious lunacy artificially stimulated by fake patriotism and booze—a good combination. In fact, religion, booze and patriotism when present simultaneously in any organism make a very dangerous explosive.

The Orange capitalists fear the more advanced workers of the South of Ireland. In spite of the accepted conservatism of the Catholic, the workers of Southern Ireland manage to mix revolution and religion, or properly speaking relegate religion to its proper place in their lives. Recently a correspondent of a daily paper relates how during a conversation with an Irish Communist the latter interrupted the conversation suddenly by saying: "I am sorry, but I must go to mass." He was after dwelling with intense satisfaction on the prospect of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Irish workers are well acquainted with secret organizations, and while the Communist movement there may not appear to be very strong judging from surface manifestations it is very likely that when the social revolution put forth its symbol many men now considered quite tame may be found in the front ranks. The great strength of the Irish revolutionary movement is in the labor organizations. In many towns every worker from the village blacksmith to the school teacher is a member of the Transport Workers' Union and practically form a village soviet. In the remote fastnesses of the County Donegal the children sing the "RED FLAG" and some of James Connolly's labor poems. The same occurs in the streets of Dublin. When it was possible to hold a May Day Celebration the workers carried the red flag. While the green, white and orange is a symbol of unity between the north and south of Ireland, the red flag is accepted by the revolutionary Irish workers as a symbol of the solidarity that should exist between the workers of the world. A nationalist movement today is out of date, though it is quite evident that the national question must be settled before the Irish workers can find the way clear to move forward to the ultimate goal of a Workers' Republic.

The landowners and business men of Ireland do not want a continuation of the war between the British army and the Irish Republican Army. In case they should interpose any obstacles in the way of the activities of the I. R. A. when the British Government recommences hostilities the inevitable clash between the Irish bourgeoisie and the workers will take place. The Catholic Church will bring its powers to bear against the workers, as it has always done when the Irish people made a forward move. While the Catholic Church

(Continued on page 14)

Organized Labor and the American Legion

By JOS. POORE

The American Federation of Labor at its last convention voted to send a delegation to the next conference of the American Legion. The delegation is to bring fraternal greetings to the Legion and to proffer a closer bond of connection.

From the miners' convention at Indianapolis we hear a milder bugle blowing the same notes. Despite the vehement protests of the minority led by Howat, the Lewis steam roller succeeded in passing a resolution which, though taking cognizance of the Legion as a strike-breaking agency, contents itself in urging the leading spirits of the American Legion to "put their house in order." A motion to bar members of the miners' unions from membership in the Legion was lost. It becomes as clear as daylight that organized labor, in sending out friendly overtures to an organization notorious for its villainous activity against Labor, is playing bag and baggage into the hands of the capitalists of this country.

That the Legion is a scab organization supported and financed by the Big Interests is acknowledged by the rank and file of the workers everywhere. What worker having participated in a strike has not felt the brutal hand of the Legion or its accessories? Nevertheless it is not out of place to quote from the Congressional Record an official indictment of the Legion reenforced by definite charges of collusion with the Vested Interests of America. The indictment is in the form of a petition laid before the U. S. Senate by the "Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion of the U. S. of America" asking for the revocation of the American Legion's charter.

We quote the following verbatim as printed in the Congressional Record of August 15, 1921:

We charge:

1. That the organizers and present officers of the American Legion organized it with tainted money, for the purpose of giving the men who placed themselves in its control an opportunity of misrepresenting the wishes and desires of former service men wherever such wishes and desires clashed with those of the unknown men who had furnished the money, and who are the real power behind the Legion.

2. That the present officers of the American Legion have no authority to speak for the rank and file of veterans, either within or without the Legion.

3. That the present officers of the Legion are receiving and paying out to themselves vast sums of money in salaries and expenses, ostensibly because of the services they are rendering to former service men, when in truth, their services and activities are not in the interest of the veterans, but of the hidden group of men who furnished the secret funds for its organization.

4. That notwithstanding a clear and unequivocal provision in the law granting the American Legion its charter to the effect that a financial statement must be annually filed with Congress, no such statement has ever yet been filed.

5. That in carrying out the orders of the unknown interests who furnished the funds for its organization the present officers of the American Legion have instigated and incited lawlessness in numerous instances. An examination of the facts in the cases of Arthur Clark, Carpenteria, Calif.; Frederick Reis, Jr., Cincinnati; Kate O'Hare, Minot, N. Dak.; former Senator J.

Ralph Burton and Prof. Wilson, at Ellinwood, Kan.—to mention only a few of these instances—will convince all fair-minded men that the perpetrators of these outrages should not be permitted to hide their offenses behind a Federal charter.

6. That the leaders of the American Legion have pursued the settled, uniform policy of interfering with and dictating to public schools and colleges, churches, newspapers, public meetings, political assemblies, officers charged with the preservation of the public peace and all persons and all activities which in any way threatened to endanger the interests of the secret financial backers of the Legion, and they still pursue this policy under the cloak of their Federal charter and without any authorization from the body of their members.

7. That from the day of its organization the attitude of the officers of the American Legion toward labor, and especially toward organized labor, has been so virulent and hostile as to justify the inference that the secret funds secretly furnished for its organization were contributed for the express purpose of opposing the welfare of all men who work for wages, under the specious guise of patriotism.

We have no quarrel with our buddies who were induced by false pretenses to join the Legion. Our criticism is directed solely against the men who have misrepresented and exploited not only the rank and file of the American Legion but ourselves and all other veterans as well; and we respectfully petition the Congress, in the interest of all former service men, to appoint a committee to examine into this matter, with the view of repealing the charter of the American Legion, so that it may cease to cloak the scandalous and disgraceful conduct of a small coterie of self-constituted, self-perpetuating officials.

Respectfully submitted,

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
PRIVATE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS,
LEGION.

(Seal)
EARL L. SEAL,
National Secretary.

MARVIN GATES SPERRY,
National Chairman.

The charges speak for themselves. That Organized Labor, through the A. F. of L., should send fraternal greetings to such an organization is scarcely believable. Yet, this is the ugly truth. We are aware that the rank and file of Labor thinks differently but as long as Gompers & Co. are permitted to speak for Labor, the rank and file of the workers are playing into the hands of their bitter enemies. We hope that the day when "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work" will not satisfy the American worker is not far off. Until that time, Gompers & Co. will have succeeded in doing infinite harm to the Labor movement. "The emancipation of Labor is the task of Labor itself" and people who preach cooperation with the capitalist class not only do not represent the workers but are part and parcel of the capitalist enemy.

The American Legion, as an organization, is capitalist, the Fascisti of America. Workers, do not be deceived! Watch the American Legion!

The Famine

By VICTOR SERGE (Moscow)

THE Famine.—It has been talked of for months every day. In terms often earnest, stirring, with figures, with theoretical and convincing demonstrations! I have read in the "Petit Parisien," which for a long time approved of Pichon of the blockade and of Noulens of Jaroslov,* that "Lenine and Trotzky have done their work well." For months the bourgeois press of the universe has been repeating this, which in its imbecility surpasses infamy. For months we have been answering, have fixed the responsibilities, have shown the extent of the cataclysm, have appealed for aid. But every time that I read in any workers' paper in the world, these four terrible words: "The Famine in Russia," I cannot help doubting whether they know what these words mean, what heinous, unspeakable, inhuman things they mean. Words are lacking. I fear that the workers, even the comrades, become used to this "heading." These words are pronounced at table, in the cafes, in a chance conversation as ordinary words. Certain it is that they signify something formidable and painful—one knows that—but something far away and abstract.

Well, then, this must no longer be. We must know all the reality, all the truth. Precise pictures are needed, to make hearts bleed, to torment the imagination, to bring forth the will to combat and aid. If the worker of Paris or of Rome, who returns home every evening through lighted streets where wealth and luxury are evident, could see with his own eyes the horror of Samara or only the feeble reflection of it that we have in the large cities of Red Russia—what rage would seize him—and how he would tomorrow become more powerful, more deeply devoted to the work of aid, more hostile to the class enemy, the rich.

Our newspapers are filled with things more frightful than anything Edgar Allan Poe has written. Nightmares haunt us everywhere. You have often read "Twenty million human beings die of hunger. . . ." But you don't know what that means. It is impossible for you to know it; the number and these facts are beyond our imaginative faculties. Three entire Belgiums, half of France in agony. What agony! Do you understand?

Little as it might be, I would want to visualize this reality for you. During a whole winter (1919) when no one spoke of aid for Russia, but when, on the contrary they were making speeches in the Parliaments of Europe, on how to tighten the blockade—I have seen in the streets of Petrograd passersby, old men and women, shrunken for the most part, stopping suddenly in the snow, at the threshold of some house. They would set down, with a trembling hand the small receptacle containing some tasteless gray soup, that they were bringing to their homes; they would sit down there, broken in two, the breath short, the eyes moist, seized with dizziness. Lamentable faces, wrinkled, swollen, cadaverous, half dead. Sometimes they would vomit, or else a fainting-fit would suddenly calm their features. They would be carried away. Other passersby with cadaverous faces, would hasten their pace saying "Golod—the Famine." The third or fourth time they fell, they would die of slow starvation.

*It is to be remembered that the white uprising at Jaroslov in 1918 which ended with the destruction of that city, was started through the instigation of M. Novlens (witnesses were Rene Marchasse and former members of the French Military Mission in Russia).

The official statistics very conservatively acknowledge several thousands of these deaths in Petrograd. But the most trifling sickness would usually carry off the famished person before he died of simple starvation—a thing which statistics do not take into account. . . . No matter. The animals also perished. On Nevsky Prospect, or on Tverskaia, coming home in the evening, I saw thin horses, lying on the hardened snow, beating the ground weakly with their heads. They would rise a little and with head turned towards some distant lantern they would try to rise at the sound of steps; death was already in their large eyes. And their suffering has often seemed to me so like, so near to the suffering of man.

That was the blockade. M. Clemenceau was giving a moral lesson to the Bolshevik bandits. But that was merely the beginning. I have recently seen fugitives from the Volga arriving at Moscow and at Petrograd. Not far from the bright monastery of Smolny, women in rags passed in the streets, their bare feet covered with a layer of filth and dust—a number of mothers. By what miracle were their infants yet alive? These little saffron-colored faces with reddened eyes, snapping desperately at flabby breasts. The flies tormented them. One of the women on being questioned, said, "The two older ones died." At her skirt clung a little blond being, of whom one could only see the head—too large for the shrivelled neck—and eyes filled with a vague animal supplication.

Famished ones—more fortunate—arrive by cart, having traveled six hundred to a thousand kilometers, living on the way on the meagre aid which other starving ones, less famished, could offer them. The big cities draw them. They do not know that, at bottom, it is modern civilization which is killing them, and that no one is harder or colder of heart than the petty-bourgeois of the large cities. Their little horses covered with dust can hardly remain standing. A moujik conducts them. He is pensive and sullen and he looks back from time to time seeking under the cover of the cart the thin faces of several astonished and sad youngsters. Under the cover in the shadow, there is almost always someone lying down—someone sick—often someone dead.

It was told that in entire provinces these carts covered the road as far as the eye could see; and that they surrounded the cities on their passage with an improvised camp, dying, dying in myriads. And they brought the cholera in their wake. . . .

But that is not all. Let us open these "Letters from the Famine-Stricken Regions." "Men and horses eat grass—it nourishes a little. Or else earth—one dies of it, but with a little less suffering." In order not to see them succumb they abandon their children. Samara is at the centre of the devastated territory. When one arrives there the following is what is seen at the railroad station: "One immense pile of human dirt and excrement. Even near at hand one cannot make out a human form. The flies above form a cloud. The air is suffocating from bad odor of carrion mingled with the smell of sweat and excretions. Approach and you will see here and there in this heap, a face, eyes. . . ." The surroundings of the station, as far as the eye can see, are thus covered by a crowd which has the immobility of death.

"Samara is a dead city. Children in the streets, lying on the sidewalks, thin and mangy dogs, coffins—rags, filth, stench. The horror. . . ." These children are abandoned.

(Continued on page 14)

International Notes

Denmark

We note by the "Wall Street Journal" that the "Danish Prince is to spend a year at sea, probably qualifying for the Danish Rigsdag's finance committee."

England

The second week in November showed an increase of unemployment of 8,000. Out of 200,000 miners employed a year ago, 80,000 are now idle.

Germany

Today in Germany it is a question of whether the small capitalist clique led by Stinnes expropriates the state and takes over its control or whether the masses compel the state to expropriate these robbers and to place industry and finance under thorough control.

In this struggle which of necessity must flame up and which the Communist Party is preparing to energetically lead, the social-democracy is chained to the destiny of capital. In Prussia, it has entered into a direct coalition with the party of "big business" and it is manifest that it leaves the masses in the lurch in all the economic conflicts rendered necessary by the increase in prices. The Independent Party has rendered lip-service to this struggle but it is closely bound to the majority socialist trade-union bureaucracy, one of the decisive factors in this struggle, and that paralyzes a priori its will to combat, let alone that its leaders are thoroughly impregnated with a faith in the superior strength of capitalism and the helplessness of the working-class.

The workers and officials of the railways were the first to raise a sharp protest against the surrender of the state railways to private capital. The government seems to be ready to put through some sort of compromise. However the first stages of this controversy may turn out, they must inevitably lead to an intensification and extension of the class-struggle.

It is extremely probable that the Stinnes group has undertaken its large scale offensive in conjunction with various groups of English capitalists. It is an open secret that the various capitalistic groups and governments in Germany are to-day nothing but the puppets of one or another Entente government. Germany today is merely a colony of the Entente.

The first to take the offensive against Stinnes' attempted dictatorship are the German workers. But in order effectively to carry on this struggle they require the assistance of the proletariat of the Entente countries through an inflexible struggle against the continued predatory plundering of Entente-capital, called "Reparations." The fight against the oppression of the German working masses by a robber band of capitalists must be carried on from the interior and the exterior simultaneously. The economic and financial collapse and the enslavement of its working-class means a substantial and immediate peril for the proletariat of the Entente countries. It is the fantastic "Yellow Peril" of Europe, the danger of the reduction of the working-classes to the level of the German coolies.

Poland

The Polish Sejm (Parliament) has passed a drastic anti-communist bill, providing first: That every attempt against the government of the existing regime is to be punished by death, and second, that every preparation for such an attempt is to be punished by imprisonment for twenty years. There are no extenuating circumstances in either case. If

a tribunal establishes either fact, the penalty automatically follows. The second clause, that of preparation, is so vague as to include almost anything. The first clause includes the whole Communist Party in its scope, since the object of the Communist Party is to destroy the existing regime. As the danger to the ruling class becomes greater, the methods of the ruling class become more violent.

Spain

Everywhere "Dato-murderers" are being arrested. Already 70 comrades are sitting behind prison walls of Spain under the charge of having murdered Dato. There are no proofs or evidence, but the bloodthirsty murder-camarilla of Spain is trying by these means to bring all Communists and Syndicalists that they can lay their hands on to the gallows.

Enticed by the millions, which the Spanish Government has offered as reward, the Berlin police have started a regular hunt after Spanish revolutionaries. Anyone, who has the reputation of being a communist or syndicalist, is brand-marked as a "Dato-murderer" and delivered over to Spanish justice:

Comrade Fort and his wife Joaquina still await, as alleged "Dato-murderers," the decision over their threatened extradition and again they have suspected the syndicalist Nin and the communist Arlandis and have arrested them in Berlin, as a "Dato-murderer," although they have not been in Spain at all during recent months.

And so the persecution goes on and is extending to other towns. Ever more urgent therefore is it to raise the cry: Workers of all lands, prevent the extradition of Spanish revolutionaries!

What can be done? What are the facts?

All the Spaniards, arrested abroad, are not to be regarded as having had any connection with the murder of the murderer Dato. It is an established fact that one of those, who carried out the sentence of death on the murderer Dato, has already unfortunately fallen a victim to the Spanish justice; a second one, however, the Anarchist Coranellas, is in safety in Moscow and enjoys Russian right of asylum.

All the other persecuted ones are wanted by the Spanish authorities, as conspirators or accomplices, simply because they are leaders or supporters of the workers' movement in Spain, whom they are trying by execution and murder to exterminate at all costs. And so they are hunted from land to land as hated political enemies.

The act of political necessity, which was carried out on the murderer Dato, is no murder but an act of despair of the oppressed workers. There was no other way out, since their power was not sufficient for a revolution. But some means of lightening the oppression of the cruel Dato administration on the workers of Catalonia had to be found, in order to arouse in Spain and in the rest of the world opposition to this regime. Even bourgeois circles, who stood far from the act, felt that it lightened the political situation.

No treaties between states can justify the extradition of persons falsely accused. Mass demonstrations and the pressure of labor organizations must prevent the capitalist governments from delivering up the Spanish comrades to their political opponents. The proletariat must win for its champions an international right of asylum.

Switzerland

During the ten months of 1921 unemployment in Switzerland has increased 32 per cent.

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American Labor Alliance

By Elmer T. Allison, National Secretary

WORKERS' PARTY ORGANIZING FOR XMAS CONVENTION

New York City, December 5, 1921.

The Convention Committee of the Workers' Party, which is scheduled to hold its national convention at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th Street, New York City, December 23-26, announces the election of temporary sub-committees for arranging the convention and drafting the party's program and constitution to be submitted for consideration to the regularly elected committees at the convention.

The convention has been called by the American Labor Alliance, Workers' Council, Jewish Socialist Federation,

the Workers' Educational Association and other radical groups which seek by means of this convention to amalgamate all revolutionary workers of the United States into one political party.

"A convention committee of seventeen representing the organizations which have signed the Convention Call are hard at work arranging all details of the convention," said Elmer T. Allison, Secretary of the Committee. The convention will have 150 delegates, he stated, and will come from every part of the United States, representing practically every Left Wing political organization of consequence.

A mass meeting is to be held on the opening night of the Convention.

To Those Who Want To Build

This is an appeal to you who want solidarity in the ranks of labor.

To you who see the need of Labor's unity.

To you who know that American workers are exploited, disunited, with unions breaking under the strain of unemployment, and the attacks of the Lords of Industry and the capitalist State.

To you who know that American workers have no political weapon worthy the name.

To you who know that American workers must rally their forces, unite, build a political party that will lead them to victory and control of industry and government.

To you who know these things—and will act to get them—

To you this appeal is made—

Help the American Labor Alliance organize this party help by giving funds to organize with. That is the great need to-day—money, dollars, for dollars can be changed into rent, postage, literature, organizers' and speakers' wages; into the hundred and one essentials of organization work, without which no organization whatever can be built.

If you are a BUILDER you will help. Help now.

Send all contributions to

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

National Office, 201 West 13th Street,

New York City.

In the Ranks of Labor

Hoover's Strike Breaking Agency

Recently there has been created by Secretary of Commerce Hoover a Federal Emergency Organization for the Movement of Necessities in Case of a Strike. The power and machinery of the Government is being organized by the business interests to fight any workers who go on strike. This new organization will be prepared to direct the proper necessities to any district threatened with shortage. Chambers of Commerce, Manufacturers Associations, Business Clubs, Private Detective Agencies, Corporation Police Forces and State Political Machinery will be used under the direction of the Government—financed Strike Breaking Agency. In close touch with the national organization will be state bodies divided into districts. Within each district organization there are to be several divisions such as bread stuff division, meat, dairy products, fruit and vegetable products, coal and oil. In case of a strike involving any of these products a proper division would come into action. For example, at the time of the threatened railroad strike the motor transport division was, according to the officials of the Department of Commerce, prepared to start operations at a day's notice. The Federal Government has placed orders for thousands of flanged wheels, of the standard railroad gauge for the equipment of Government army motor trucks on railroad tracks. The workers must realize that the power of the capitalists and their sham democracy will be pitted against them mercilessly and that not until the workers as a class organize politically and economically can they hope for industrial freedom.

Amalgamation for the Shoemakers

The United Shoe Workers of America, the Shoe Workers' Protective Union of Haverhill, the Allied Shoe Workers of Haverhill and Manchester, New Hampshire, representing a membership of 60,000 shoe workers, voted to petition their unions to authorize a referendum vote on the question of amalgamation.

Labor Assembly Quincy, Ill.

Delegates reported that unemployment is on the increase. Jobs given out by agencies are temporary and many of those who are employed are on for half time or less. The Assembly went on record as against the practice of sending information broadcast that industrial conditions are improving when it is a fact that they are going from bad to worse.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Service

Under the title "Unemployment Conference Was Successful," President Gompers ends his report with the paragraph, "Final judgment of the work of the Conference cannot be made until it goes out of existence. It can be reconvened at any time to deal with either temporary or permanent relief, and it will be reconvened when the time comes to concentrate its authority and influence for the purpose of giving to its recommendations permanent form and substance." **BLUB! BLUB! BLUB!** This is a sample of Sammy's success!

"Can't Strike" Law in Texas

An Industrial Equity League has been formed in Texas whose purpose is to establish an industrial court which shall land the worker behind the bars if he refuses to work under conditions not satisfactory to him. **SOME equity!**

UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK

201 West 13th Street.

I. Amter, Secretary.

New York, Dec. 12, 1921.

Brothers and Fellow Workers:

The Unemployment Conference called by the UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK, took place on Nov. 26, at Astoria Hall, and was attended by nearly 100 delegates.

The conference pointed out that if we do not organize to fight against the bosses, our unions will be destroyed and the work and sufferings of tens of years be wasted.

The place to begin is with the unemployed, for they are being used to smash our unions, reduce wages and increase hours. **WE MUST ORGANIZE THEM AND STAND SOLIDLY WITH THEM.** We must make **THEIR** fight **OUR** fight. We must do this in **SELF-PROTECTION.**

As practical men, the Conference decided, among other things, on three points, which we ask you to assist us in:

1. That you arrange educational or propoganda meetings. These meetings are either to be special meetings of your organization or part of the meeting set aside for educational purposes.

We ask you to arrange these meetings **AS SOON AS POSSIBLE**, in order that your membership may gain a full comprehension of the Labor and Unemployment situation by a thorough exposition of the matter and by discussion. We shall be glad to furnish speakers.

2. That you make a regular weekly contribution to the Unemployment Council for the establishment of one or more kitchens at which the unemployed will be provided with one meal a day.

This is not a matter of charity. The conference emphasized that it is time to show the unemployed that we are with them—not in words, but in **DEEDS.** The jobless are sick and tired of being told that they must not scab. They are hungry and hungry men throw all scruples to the winds. So it is up to us to make them understand that we are with them solidly.

3. That you grant the use of your hall for this purpose. We cannot and do not want to pay rent for any hall, particularly if there are any unions that can donate the use of theirs. Furthermore, we do not intend merely to feed the jobless. We intend to educate them in Labor Unionism and related subjects.

Do you realize, Fellow Workers, that only a small portion of the working class of America is organized? Do you realize that many men are dropping out of the unions at the present time? Now is the time to carry on a strong propoganda and educational drive among the workers of this country to build up strong unions. Now is the time of all times when we must be in a position to **FIGHT.**

It is essential that the decisions of the Conference be carried out without delay. We must prove to the unemployed that there is only one class that can help them and the workers as a whole, and that is the **WORKING CLASS.**

Help us to realize this program. Every day makes the situation more critical.

The Council is planning an unemployment demonstration to take place within a few weeks. Food will be provided for the hungry unemployed. It is hoped that, within the same time, the kitchen will have been started.

Correspondence

Dear Comrade:

I get my Toiler every week. The Toiler gives me the news I want to know. The Capitalist papers are no good to the working class. I am a colored man. The working class men and women have not got any brains but they have got stomachs. That is the only way they can learn anything. Let them starve a while and that will teach them how to side.

KENTUCKY.

Dec. 1, 1921.

Dear Comrade:

Here is just a brief report of the action of the Workers' Study Club last Tuesday night. Perhaps its use in The Toiler will stimulate emulation, if you care to use it.

OVER 150 PRESENT. UNANIMOUS VOTE TO JOIN A. L. A. GREAT ENTHUSIASM. NO OPPOSITION.

The Workers' Study Club, with a paid membership of nearly 150 and a regular attendance at its Tuesday class and Sunday Forum of 200 to 300 people, voted unanimously last Tuesday night to join the American Labor Alliance, and elected two delegates to attend the committee meeting next Thursday night to choose a delegate to the National Convention in New York.

The Secretaries of nine militant labor bodies in the Bay District met Nov. 24th, and drafted an appeal which has been sent to these bodies calling for the same action as that taken now by the W. S. C. There is no doubt that these other organizations will also join the A. L. A.

At the same meeting of the W. S. C. was announced an intensive course of eight lectures on Marxian Economics by James H. Fisher during December, to be followed in January by a new course of lectures by A. E. Allbright on "The Economics of Finance Imperialism and the Modern Class Struggle." In addition, a weekly class in "Historical Materialism," beginning in January, will be conducted on Monday evenings by Comrade Brown.

The prospects of activity and growth for the new Workers' Party soon to be organized in this section are fine.

Fraternally,

W. T. BROWN,
Secretary, Pro Tem.

Org. Committee of A. L. A. in San Francisco.

You will find inclosed a check to the amount of four dollars (\$4) for which you will please enter on your mailing list Carpenters' Local Union No. 1417 of Tonopah, Nevada, as many copies as the \$4 will pay for for six months.

CARPENTERS' LOCAL UNION NO. 1417,
P. O. Box 413, Tonopah, Nevada.

The Toiler,
208 E. 12th St., New York City.
Dec. 1st, 1921.

Dear Editor:—

I subscribe to several farm papers which speak editorially of "better methods," "optimism," "put your shoulder to the wheel." I speak for many of my neighbors when I say that we are tired of this bunk. We put our shoulders to the wheel fourteen hours a day all our lives to the same tune, but the system has made us poorer and poorer. Your paper will not appeal to farmers in general, but I would like to appeal through you for a better understanding between the toilers of the country and those of the city.

The bank which owns more of my farm than I do and receives a better income than I do, from the interest that I pay, gave me a magazine the other day, called the "Banker-Farmer." It is pure capitalist propaganda. We farmers are

not proletarian, in the sense of Industrial workers, but we are toilers, and most of us are subject to bitter exploitation by the same group the industrial toilers slave for.

You cannot succeed in your struggle without creating among us a better understanding of your problems. Do not leave the field to the "Banker-Farmer"; give us a "worker-farmer" paper. In the meantime send me THE TOILER.

Yours for the Success of all Toilers

A PENNSYLVANIA FARMER.

To the Editor, the Toiler:

He remembered the time when his mother walked with worn-out shoes to work in a factory in a big city, and he remembered how her feet had bled in the snow, and he remembered how she sat up all night (the night before she was to go to a hospital) to make him an overcoat from her own clothes.

Now he was a man, and she had a little business, and he helped her night and day, but the big fish always gets the little fish in the end, so at last she failed, and debts distracted her mind. Gas men, installment collectors and the landlord hounded her footsteps like a pack of wicked wolves, till she became temporarily a mad woman, and he a communist.

EDWARD J. IRVINE.

American Labor Alliance Members

A house warming to celebrate the opening of the club rooms of the Lower West Side Branch of the American Labor Alliance will be held on Saturday evening, December 10, at 250 West 25th Street. Refreshments will be served. Comrades and friends are invited; admission free. Club-rooms are open every evening from 8 o'clock to 11 o'clock. All are welcome, especially workers.

Joint Educational Committee of the Harlem Branches of the American Labor Alliance

The Joint Educational Committee of the Harlem Branches of the American Labor Alliance announces the formation of the following classes:

A class in "Capital" (Karl Marx) every Saturday afternoon at 3.30 o'clock, by Max Lerner, 59 East 105th Street.

A class in "A. B. C. of Communism" (Bucharin) every Monday evening. Register at 59 East 105th Street; will begin to meet on December 12.

A class in Public Speaking, every Tuesday evening, by Julius Codkin. Register at 59 East 105th Street; will begin to meet on December 20.

A class in English for foreigners who can speak and understand a little English, by Thomas Mufson. Register at 59 East 105th Street.

A meeting of the Arrangement Committee of the Toiler Ball will be held Sunday, Dec. 18th, at 2 P. M., at the Toiler office, 208 E. 12th St. All Comrades who will help please come, especially Harlem Comrades.

Concert and Toiler Ball, Dec. 31st, Park View Palace, 110th St. and 5th Ave. Tickets on sale at the Toiler office, 208 East 12th St.

A Workers' Republic for Ireland

(Continued from page 7)

never interferes with the right of established governments to murder and kill, it has never failed to offer strong moral opposition to any movement on the part of the people to bring down tyranny by force of arms. But as in the past when the church interfered in Irish politics the Church was usually defeated, as the Irish people have never forgotten the relationship between John Bull and Pope Adrian's Bull which granted England the right to conquer Catholic Ireland and civilize it on condition that the Vatican receive the equivalent of one penny for each Irish household. The authenticity of this bull has been attacked by apologists for the Roman Church but never successfully. At least every honest and intelligent Irishman believes in its authenticity. Therefore interference on the part of the church in Irish politics has in the end been to the disadvantage of the church. In the expected civil war between the Irish workers and their masters the church will have the backing of not alone the Vatican but of the Protestant British Government and the robber governments Catholic and Protestant will unite to crush the Catholic and Protestant workers of Ireland as they united in the various countries during the world war to kill and murder the foolish workers who went to war to satisfy the greed of the capitalists of the world.

Only through a revolution in England can Ireland secure her independence. This must never be lost sight of, no matter what prejudices we may have against the English worker and his non-revolutionary psychology. As a matter of fact with the exception of Russia the workers of England are as far ahead in respect of revolution as any other group of workers in Europe. They will rebel when there is no other way out of their misery. They will fly to arms "when the pains of rebellion are no greater than the pains of obedience" and not until then. The Irish workers trained in guerilla warfare may apply their experience in overthrowing the British Government with Merrie England as the battleground. They may shift the theatre of war, but the objective will be the same. The cutting off of the raw supplies from the English factories by a revolution in India will hasten the revolt of the English workers. The policy of Lenin and the Soviet Government is here revealed in its effort to foster the spirit of national independence among the colonies in the East. With Soviet Russia as the Mecca of the revolutionists of the world and the Third International, their general staff, the capitalist imperialists will not know the sleep of security until their robber rule is overthrown in Ireland and all over the world. The Sinn Fein policy of protection of Irish capitalists will never win Irish independence, but the "World for the Workers" slogan of James Connolly will.

The Famine

(Continued from page 9)

With their little fingers they search in the dung of horses for the remains of badly digested hay. . . . "The Soviet takes them in charge. But it has no beds for them, nor place to sleep, nor blankets, nor medicaments. Nothing. For the typhus patients, as for the others, it has nothing but the meager rations of a roll made of hay and a herring. Lice infest the refugees—here where warm water is wanting on account of lack of wood, lack of horses for transporting the wood. . . . The glass-panes are broken; with the first cold weather, death will enter by these windows to claim the little ones who might have been saved from the Famine. . . . But perhaps aid will come in time. Some obscure heroes work on the ground with the Soviet. Right now they are building a bathhouse, truly an exploit.

Before the coach of the witness (K. Spassky) a graceful young girl about sixteen years old is lying on the ground, her eyes closed—dying. The eyes open for a few moments and look up fixedly. They offer her bread and milk which she refuses with a hardly perceptible movement. . . . Too late. When they try to carry her away, she fixes on the people a distracted look which no longer understands and begs that they do not trouble her death, already begun. . . . They leave her. They would like to close her eyes.

Let us close these letters. Do what one may, one can never tell the thousandth part of the reality. "Twenty millions human beings are dying of hunger." . . . Is it not true that on getting a glimpse of things from far, this little phrase acquires a new significance? Now to hear "These twenty million famished are really very dangerous criminals. They belong to the people which has made the first social revolution." M. Dimitri Mrezhkovsky, poet, novelist, philosopher, a highly advanced intellectual—the wretch—has written that "Every grain of wheat sent to the famished will serve Lenine's cause." ("La Cause Commune," Paris). Further—the industrial crisis is raging in America. The business world is uneasy. There is too much wheat—prices are falling. There are too many machines and manufactured articles. Merchandise is disposed of too slowly. The canned goods are not sold. The millionaires decide that they have to discharge their workers. The ship-builders do not know what to do to exorcise the crisis in shipping—there are too many yards, you understand. Ten million tons of shipping are lying unused in the world's ports.

While Chicago, New York and San Francisco overflow with riches which workingmen have produced and the barren accumulation of which, by an absurd recoil, throws millions of workers out of work, famine is depopulating the east of Russia. The enormity of this single fact should suffice to condemn present society. But it is not enough to state it. Immediately and with all energy at high tension, the peasants who are dying at the Samara railroad station must be succored! And to intensify the effort at relief the horrible reality of the Famine must be shown.

MINSTREL SHOW
A LOT OF FUN—DON'T MISS IT
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 8 P. M.
250 West 25th Street
YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE
Benefit of
UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK
Admission 25 Cents

Educational Program arranged by the Harlem Branches
of the American Labor Alliance—Political Action and
Peaceful Revolution. Allan Strang Brams will lecture at
the Workmen's Circle, 143 E. 103d Street, Sunday, Dec.
18th, 2 P. M.

The Friends of Soviet Russia

A. B. MARTIN, Secretary

Today the Figure Exceeds \$265,000

Clothing is coming in in large quantities. Cleveland is already hard at work. In addition to the splendid Foster meeting that was held there, which means the work of many comrades, more than 26 bales of clothing have been collected.

Chicago has gathered more than 3,000 pair of overshoes and 7,000 pair of used shoes. A group of shoemakers in New York will repair the shoes and make them serviceable for our Russian fellow workers.

The United Mine Workers of America are very active in collecting funds and assessments for Soviet Russia. In Illinois they are especially active, the only opposition, regretably, being that of the Socialist Labor Party. Can a party that calls itself socialist openly oppose relief work for Soviet Russia? Will workers allow such a thing to persist? There must be unity on this proposition. The whole working class of the country must unite on the question of famine relief. Whoever is against it proves his treason to working class interests.

Two clothing manufacturers in New York City offered the use of their shops and machinery for the manufacture of dresses for Soviet Russia. As already reported, these dresses were made by volunteer groups of the Shop Delegate Committee of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. This is a plan that deserves emulation wherever clothing is manufactured.

Detroit is arranging a symphony concert with the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. Women are being organized into knitting and sewing groups and circles, just as during the war days, except that their mission this time serves humanity.

Chicago is organizing the druggists for the supply of drugs and medicines. Excellent idea, worthy of imitation!

The State Building Trade Council of California has affiliated with the branch in Los Angeles. Labor on the coast is wide-awake, and is surely showing its colors.

Collections of grain should be made in the farming districts. Get a group of farmers to donate a carload of grain which amounts to 40,000 pounds. Divided among many, it does not mean much for each. Furthermore, many farmers have a surplus of grain, of wheat or corn. This is worth more than gold in Russia at the present moment, and should be gathered. The paper report that a power plant in O'Neill, Neb., is using corn for fuel instead of coal, and that its heating capacity is satisfactory. In the meantime, the people of Russia are starving! And we call ourselves civilized!

A farmer in Oregon donated a cow and calf, which was raffled off in a hamlet containing ten families, and brought in \$93.75. The farmers of this country know what the struggle for existence means. Their heart goes out to the starving and suffering workers and peasants of Russia. There is no hesitancy on their part.

Big contributions during the week: Cleveland, \$2,000; Chicago, \$4,000; Lithuanian Section, \$3,700; Detroit, \$1,000; Boston, \$4,000; Cleveland, \$860; Los Angeles, \$600; San Francisco, \$400; Seattle, \$600; Binghamton, \$300; Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, \$600; Indianapolis, \$300; Cincinnati, \$500.

Floyd Ramp, Norman H. Tallentire and Dennis E. Batt are additions to the list of speakers touring the country for the F. S. R. They know Russia—they know America. To hear them is to help Russia!

The films of the Second Congress of the Communist International are being exhibited in various towns with tremendous success. The pictures of the leaders of the Communist movement evoke immense applause.

No other relief organization is doing the big work that the F. S. R. is. Has it ever occurred to you why? Is it not possibly the nature of our appeal and the energy that the comrades are putting into the work, that inspires the great masses to response? We believe it is. We believe that the people of this country are slowly comprehending.

Local News Bulletin F. S. R. Sections

In order to facilitate the work of the FSR, so that all organizations within a given neighborhood may work in absolute harmony, it has been found advisable to arrange for the establishment of section or neighborhood branches as follows: Lower East Side, Lower West Side, Yorkville, Harlem, Bronx, Williamsburg, Brownsville, and others as soon as it is deemed advisable. No attempt is being made to interfere with the existing machinery of the various affiliated bodies or with their plans, but it is, however, sound policy to co-ordinate such work throughout the city and prevent duplication. Aim of local conference is therefore to bring delegates of organizations together and formulate policies. Aim of section conference is to bring individuals together for the carrying out of purely neighborhood activities and to insure the co-operation of each body with the plans of the other.

Immediate Tasks—Map out territory for the efficient distribution of return postcards. Get volunteer trucks and notify local secretary at once! We plan to hire others.

Future Tasks—Foster meetings to be arranged for. New Star Casino, January 1; Brownsville Labor Lyceum, January 5; Webster Hall, January 3. Needed: Chairman, collection squads, ushers, literature sellers, ticket sellers, treasurer, press agent etc. Advertising matter will be furnished by the local office. Gigantic FSR bazaar in February; apply for space. Get materials ready. Prepare your stunt.

OPEN THE SHOPS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

Several weeks ago the Shop Delegates Committee of the I. L. G. W. U. called upon Weiner & Schwartz of 145 West 27th Street, and asked them to co-operate for the relief of Soviet Russia. These manufacturers responded by volunteering their machines and power for one week for the making of dresses for the needy Russian women. Schwartz & Leich of 36 West 26th St. and the C. & G. Dress Co. of 13 West 17th St., also volunteered their plants for one week. The workers in turn enthusiastically offered their services gratis. The Friends of Soviet Russia thereupon engaged to finance the experiment and defray all necessary expenses for cloth, trimmings, etc. Mr. Wiener gave his expert knowledge for the buying of the necessary material, assisted by Mr. Greenberg, a woolen salesman. Complete plans were formulated by a committee of the workers and work was begun. Over 1,000 garments have been turned out to date. They range in value from \$8 to \$10 each. The dresses are made of serge and tricotine. The strictest discipline was maintained throughout the experiment, no loafing or wasting of time being permitted. It was impossible to accommodate the many workers who applied for a chance to do their bit for Soviet Russia. Other factories may be opened in the near future.

BERT MILLER, Local Secretary.

AN APPEAL

Addressed to

Every Labor Union
Every Workers' Organization
Every Worker
Every Woman
Every Child

You Have Eaten Today

Millions in Russia Have Not
Eaten For Days

SHARE WITH THEM

Join the Nation-Wide Holiday Drive

(December 15 to January 1)

for Clothing -- Food -- Tools -- Money

For Information Write

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street, New York City