

VOICE OF LABOR

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No. 1.

Stop Gompers From Sabotaging Soviet Russia!

The policy forced upon the American Federation of Labor by Samuel Gompers, of maligning and attacking Soviet Russia is, a disgrace to the American Labor Movement. The convention of the American Federation of Labor should definitely repudiate this policy and take its stand with the workers everywhere in the world in support of the government of the workers and peasants of Russia.

The American Federation of Labor is the only section of the international labor movement which has gone so far in its enmity towards Soviet Russia as to make an alliance with the bosses to fight Soviet Russia. The British Labor Party, although by no means a Communist organization, demands the recognition of Soviet Russia and has supported Soviet Russia in times of international crisis.

Edo Fimmen, secretary of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions has declared that the organized workers everywhere must support Soviet Russia in order to prevent a black reaction from destroying the whole organized labor movement.

Yet Samuel Gompers joins with the lackey of the exploiters in the United States, Secretary of State Hughes in fighting against recognition of Soviet Russia and in throwing mud at the workers and peasants, Government of Russia.

Soviet Russia and Reaction

The policy of Gompers is a policy in aid of the American capitalists in their effort to destroy the Soviet Government. The destruction of that Soviet Government would mean a weakening of the American Labor Movement and possibly even the destruction of that labor movement.

Soviet Russia today stands as a victory of workers and farmers in the struggle against their exploiters, the capitalists. This victory has put fear into the hearts of the exploiters everywhere in the world. They know that Soviet Russia stands as an example for the exploited class at home, and as long as there exists in one part of the world a government of workers and peasants there is a threat that the exploited classes elsewhere will follow the example of Russia and overthrow their exploiters.

Should the Soviet Government of Russia fail, it would hearten and encourage the capitalist class everywhere. If Soviet Russia went down before the attacks of the counter-revolutionists, and autocracy again establish itself there, a wave of reaction would sweep through all of Europe and the capitalists everywhere would mobilize their forces to destroy the organized labor movement. This wave of reaction would make itself felt even in the United States and the fall of Soviet Russia would be the signal for an attack on organized labor in the United States more vicious than that which was made during the open shop drive of 1921 and 1922.

Yet Samuel Gompers aids those who are fighting Soviet Russia and thus aids those who wish to destroy the labor movement throughout the world.

Soviet Russia and Organized Labor

The Gompers policy of fighting the workers and farmers of Russia is all the more discreditable in view of what has been done in Russia so far as organizing the workers is concerned.

In the days of the Czar, the organized labor movement—the unions—in Russia was weak and without power. Only a very few of the industrial workers were organized and these organizations existed subject to the whim of the government of the Czar. Their activities were limited. They might be destroyed at any moment by an order of the government.

These were the conditions in Russia prior to 1917. Since the victory of the workers and peasants of Russia in establishing their own government, the organized labor movement in Russia—the unions—has grown to be the greatest in the world.

Today in Soviet Russia the unions no longer are obliged to fight for their very existence. They have become a part of the social system in Russia and are recognized as vital factors of the life of the people and have been assigned important tasks in the administration of industry.

In Soviet Russia the unions help to administer the industries of that country. The wage scales and hours of labor are fixed in consultation with the unions. The unions have representatives of all important boards dealing with the administration of industry.

In Soviet Russia organized labor—the unions—have come into their own. They have achieved that place which organized labor in all other countries is still struggling to achieve. They are the instruments which are serving to make of industry a great social institution supplying the needs of the people and administered by the workers themselves rather than instruments of exploitation and oppression of the workers.

Yet Samuel Gompers and the official A. F. of L. policy is that of destroying this—the greatest achievement of organized labor.

Certainly there could be no greater disgrace, no greater betrayal, than that the American Labor Movement through the Gompers Bureaucracy should act as the agent of the capitalist class in its effort to destroy this great achievement of organized labor in Russia.

What Is The "Crime of Soviet Russia?"

Why is it that the capitalist class and Gompers attacks the Soviet Government of Russia? What have the Russian workers and peasant done to earn the enmity of the capitalists and Gompers, who acts as the agent of the capitalists in attacking Soviet Russia?

The great and glorious achievement of the workers and peasants of Russia is that they have thrown off the government which ruled in the interests of those who robbed and oppressed the workers.

The workers and peasants of Russia stand erect as freemen and declare that they will no longer submit to the rule of those who use the government to take from them what they produce and to compel them to submit to unbearable conditions both in industry and in their lives generally.

The workers and peasants of Russia today

are the rulers of Russia. They have taken into their own hands the government, and they are using it not for the purpose of oppression but for the purpose of building a better and happier life for the workers and peasants of that country.

This may be a "crime" in the eyes of the capitalist class the world over. It is a "crime" in the eyes of the capitalists of the United States who fear that the workers and farmers here will follow the Russian example.

But is the fact that the Russian workers and peasants have thrown off the yoke of their exploiters a "crime" in the eyes of the great mass of American workers and farmers?

Samuel Gompers through his policy of non-recognition and of aiding capitalists says it is a "crime" for workers and peasants to govern themselves.

Does the American Labor Movement agree that it is a crime?

Samuel Gompers says it does.

It is time that the rank and file of the labor movement in the United States which does not agree with Samuel Gompers expressed itself and repudiated the Gompers policy.

Demand Action by the A. F. of L. Convention

The rank and file of the American Labor Movement has the opportunity to express itself through demands upon the American Federation of Labor Convention which begins at Portland, Oregon, on October 1st, that it reverse the Gompers policy and go on record for recognition and support of Soviet Russia.

Every local union, every City Central body that stands for organized labor in place of aid to the capitalist employers in their effort to destroy Soviet Russia should adopt resolutions for recognition of Soviet Russia and send telegrams to the A. F. of L. convention demanding action for such recognition. Let the rank and file of organized labor in the United States express itself. Let them say whether they stand with Morgan and the international bankers, whose views Secretary of State Hughes expresses and Gompers supports, or whether they will line themselves with the embattled workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, who for five years have stood unshaken under the attacks of the whole capitalist world.

Stop Gompers from sabotaging Soviet Russia and organized labor!

Make the American Federation of Labor Convention remove the blot put upon organized labor in this country through the Gompers' policy!

Recognize and stand by Soviet Russia!

"101 JOHN L. LEWIS LIES ANSWERED"

The October 5th issue of the "Voice of Labor" will contain the Communist answer to the series of articles published in the capitalist press by the officials of the United Mine Workers of America.

This number will expose in all its shamefulfulness the Lewis machine alliance with the Burns Detective Agency, and the attack upon the members of their own union made in order to win favor with the coal mine operators.

Every member of the United Mine Workers of America should read this number. Every trade unionist should know what the Communists really stand for in the trade unions.

Articles by William Z. Foster, John Pepper, Jas. P. Cannon, J. Louis Engdahl and C. E. Ruthenberg.

Help Circulate A Hundred Thousand Copies of this Number

Subscriptions: 25¢ for Six Months. Bundles: 10 for 10 issues \$1.00. Bundle Orders of the "101 John L. Lewis Lies Answered Issue," \$1.00 per hundred.

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VOICE

Room 214—1009 N. State St.

Voice of Labor

Published twice a month by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America, C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, Room 214, 1069 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

Subscriptions: 25c for Six Months. Bundles: \$1.00 for 10 copies of ten issues.

C. E. Ruthenberg, Editor. Associated Editors: J. Louis Engdahl, Jas. P. Cannon, Jay Lovestone, N. Cosenberg, Business Manager

Entered as Second Class Matter under the name of "Focal Democrat," October 5, 1911, at the Post office of Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879. Changed to "The New Age" March 25, 1921. Entry under the title of "Voice of Labor" applied for.

Subscribers, Attention!

Beginning with the present issue the "Voice of Labor" will be issued in a new form. Each issue will be devoted to some issue in the labor movement and it will endeavor to present that issue in a manner to interest the workers who will not read many columns of the ordinary newspapers, but who will read a few pointed, simply written articles.

The role of the "Voice of Labor" will be to express a militant message on every great issue arising in the labor movement.

The present issue is devoted to the great questions which are coming before the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and to arouse the rank and file of the labor movement to express themselves in opposition to the policies of the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor.

The next issue will be called "101 John L. Lewis Lies Answered!" It will be a scorching reply to the attack of the officials of the United Mine Workers upon the Communists and upon all the militant members of their own organization.

The price of the "Voice of Labor" has been reduced so as to make it possible to give it a wide circulation among workers who can invest only a small sum. The subscription rate is \$5.00 for Six Months; bundles \$1.00 for 10 copies of ten issues. The new "Voice" will appear twice a month—on the 5th and the 20th.

These readers who have subscribed for the "Voice" at the old rates can either have their subscription extended, or, if they prefer a full-size weekly newspaper, arrangements have been made with "The Worker" to transfer the subscriptions to that paper. Unless the Voice of Labor is otherwise advised the subscriptions will be extended.

We ask every reader of the "Voice of Labor" to boost the paper in its new form by securing subscriptions among his shopmates and brother trade unionists.

Our aim will be to make the paper a real Voice of Labor by building up a circulation of several hundred thousand copies. We urge every reader of the "Voice" to aid in achieving that goal.

The Rank and File Demands the Labor Party

By J. LOUIS ENGDALH.

The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, starting at Portland, Oregon, Oct. 1st, will provide the next big arena in the struggle for the labor party—united, independent political action of America's city workers and working farmers.

It was just ten years ago, in the neighboring city of Seattle, Wash., that an American Federation of Labor convention discussed such a proposition, presented by none other than George L. Berry, international president of the Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union.

At that time Berry was considered a "progressive." Today, as a result of the World War, he is a "Major"; he is high in the councils of the American Legion, with fascist ambitions; he is in New York this very hour outlawing the members of his own union on strike for higher wages against the trust press of the metropolis.

Labor Party Idea Grows. Yet the idea of independent political action has made tremendous strides ahead during the last ten years. Berry is typical of the labor officialdom that has slipped backward. Minnesota offers the best example of the rank and file workers and farmers who have moved forward against the two old parties.

At Seattle, Wash., in 1913, John H. Walker, then a Socialist and delegate of the United Mine Workers' Union, was against the old parties. At the convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, at Decatur, this September, 1923, Walker is against independent political action and is charged with trying to deliver the workers to the governor of Illinois, Len Small, and his Republican machine.

Berry did not get the support of the Socialists for a United Front on the political field, at Seattle, in 1913. They were too sectarian to consider such a proposition. The Socialist Party, its publications, trade union members and speakers, have not lifted a finger in support of the demand for a Labor Party at this year's A. F. of L. convention. The fight for the Labor Party, like the demand for amalgamation, for the recognition of Soviet Russia, for the organization of the unorganized, for the release of the class war prisoners, is considered a Communist "conspiracy." All these elemental demands are accepted without opposition, by organized labor in every other country in the world. But in the United States, not only the open shop bosses and their hiring lawyers of the American Bar Association, but the yellow officialdom of the labor unions as well, all join in attacking these rank and file proposals.

Capturing the A. F. of L. It was toward the end of his 20,000-word exposure of red activities in America, that President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, thru his own kept editor and press agent, Ellis Searles, declared that the Communists are held to be "hopeful of controlling the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and are carefully working now to control a majority of the delegates that attend it." It may be said now that the Communists have no hope of controlling even to a small extent, the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L. Not even the militant left elements enlisted in the Trade Union Educational League will be able to make a very great showing. When the vote is

taken on the labor party question, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L.; Mr. Matthew Wolf, and any other grand dukes will herald the result as a triumph over the Communists. It will, in fact, only be a triumph over the rank and file, a triumph of the very evidently growing sentiment of the membership of organized labor.

The demands of the broad masses of organized labor will not be registered at Portland, because this A. F. of L. gathering, like all previous conventions, will be made up of international officials, the labor bureaucracy. Repeatedly the international convention of the United Mine Workers' Union have voted for the labor party idea. But the delegates of the Miners' Union, headed by Mr. Lewis, at Portland, will fight the labor party, just as they did at the Cleveland Conference of the Committee for Progressive Political Action, because they would betray the wishes of the union's membership will be sabotaged by the delegates of the Socialist-controlled unions in the needle trades, because these are more interested in small favors that Gompers may do out to them, than they are in the broad, vital struggle of the workers.

Only Few Exceptions. Perhaps there will be an occasional delegate of an international union, fresh from the rank and file, who will refuse to go along with the bureaucracy. Such always appear. But they are the exception.

The only hope for a rank and file expression is thru the delegates who will represent the state federations of labor and the central labor councils. These delegates can raise their voices for those who toil in the mines, the mills and the factories. But according to A. F. of L. convention rules, they have but one vote each, whereas the delegates of the international cast huge votes in proportion to the memberships of their various unions.

It was the Minnesota Federation of Labor that adopted the original demand on the Portland Convention for the labor party. It instructed its delegate to Portland to urge the ending of the moth-eaten Gompers' policy of "reward our friends and punish our enemies." The Minnesota resolution has received encouraging support everywhere. It was approved by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and in the same week was endorsed by the widely separated West Virginia and Utah State Federations of Labor. These resolutions demand that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so changed that the A. F. of L. will be able to proceed to the organization of a labor party in this country.

Now that the labor party idea is pressing for recognition, it is interesting to note the arguments presented for evading the issue. The Socialists oppose the labor party idea where they cannot control. The Gompers regime, that flirts with LaFollette, Brookhart & Co., in the old parties, fights the labor party because they insist labor is nonpartisan and must get its political results thru the old parties. The Johnston-Keating-Stone Conference for Progressive Political Action, that started out as a champion of the labor party idea, has surrendered completely to the Gompers program and is fighting independent political action wherever possible. It succeeded in backward Massachusetts, but it was routed by the militant workers in West Virginia, and elsewhere.

Beware of the Alibi Hunters

Then there is another class of alibi hunters. It is made up of those who have professed to be sympathetic in the past to the labor party idea. They saw the sunshine militants, the fair-weather progressives. When Gompers raises his fist they all run to cover. The officialdom, all that is left of the Fitzpatrick-Rodriguez Farmer-Labor Party in Chicago, is typical of this class. This was seen very clearly at the Decatur Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor. John Fitzpatrick, the president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, did not even appear at this gathering. The labor party resolution that came up at Decatur was the resolution that had been unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Yet the only fight for this resolution was made by William Z. Foster, supported by the militants in sympathy with the Trade Union Educational League. The fight for the labor party was deserted by the Farmer-Laborites and the Socialists and was bitterly opposed by the reactionaries. And then the New Majority, official organ of the Farmer-Labor Party, proclaims that the Chicago resolutions were defeated "because Foster and his friends supported it." As a matter of fact if Foster had not led the fight, there would have been no fight. The labor party idea would then have been a door-step orphan with no one to take it in.

The Workers Party is making the fight for the labor party because it knows that labor needs this united political front to carry on its battle against the bosses. It knows that it has the support of the rank and file workers in this struggle. It is giving all the support possible to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party to organize the sentiment for the labor party idea wherever it can be found. The forces of reaction, both inside and outside organized labor, the open shop bosses with the trade union bureaucracy, fight the labor party idea as a Communist idea. They do this even in Minnesota, where the united farmers and industrial workers have already elected two United States senators and where it would seem that all trade unionists, and all exploited farmers, even the officials, would favor the united political front. Yet there is opposition. But a real Farmer-Labor Party will be created in Minnesota, even as in Rhode Island, the smallest state in the nation, where the reactionaries also fight it.

Must Push the Fight.

A few days remain before the A. F. of L. convention meets on Oct. 1. A few more rank and file delegates of state federations and central labor councils can be elected to help put up the fight for the Minnesota resolutions. But the struggle must continue. It must be made during the months to come to secure the election of officials of international unions favorable to the labor party idea. Only then will it be possible for the labor party idea to control the coming A. F. of L. conventions.

If the news comes from Portland, Oregon, that "The Labor Party is Defeated, that should be the signal for workers and farmers in every city and state to renew and develop the campaign for the labor party. Upon the shoulders of the masses the labor party is carried forward to victory, to triumph over all the enemies of the workers—in the cities and on the farms.

The Achievement of Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia today stands before the world and particularly before the workers of Europe as having achieved something which all Europe has failed to achieve during the past five years.

The workers and peasants of Russia have gone thru a period of great suffering and sacrifice during the years since 1917. They have during that period of time carried on a ceaseless struggle against efforts of the czarist generals to destroy their government. They have faced famine and starvation. Probably no people anywhere upon the earth have shown the heroism that the Russian workers and peasants have.

the rest of Europe, Soviet Russia today is re-building its industrial system and social life while the rest of Europe is still on the downward path.

In spite of all that the capitalist governments and the experts have been able to do since the end of the war in 1918, the European system of production has not been rebuilt. It is still in a process of decay. The productive forces are still on the downward road in place of, as in Russia, going forward to greater productive power.

The war undermined capitalism in all of Europe. The financial system of practically every European country has collapsed or is on the verge of collapse. Germany today is nearing bankruptcy and France is not far behind. The financial system of

parts of Europe tried to find ways and means or re-establishing the financial system of capitalism and rebuilding the productive forces of Europe but both these conferences failed utterly to accomplish their purpose.

As before the Genoa and Hague conferences, capitalism is still in a process of decline and with its decline comes greater and greater suffering for the workers and peasants of all Europe. In contrast with this picture of what is happening to the workers and peasants in Europe outside of Russia, we find that Soviet Russia has laid the foundation for a new social order.

Soviet Russia has discarded as the basis for its system of production the capitalism system and is rebuilding upon a Communist basis. In Russia thus far the new system

of production has not been brought into existence in complete form. There still remain the vestiges of capitalism.

But the basic industries of Russia are now operated for service to the people of Russia rather than for private gain and the workers' and peasants' government has as its aim to transform the entire system of production to a Communist system as against the capitalist system.

While all of Europe outside of Russia is still on the downward path and is sliding over the brink to the collapse and disintegration of the capitalist system, the workers and peasants of Russia have averted the complete collapse of production in Russia thru taking over the power of the government and using it to establish a new system of production. (Continued on Page 3.)

Amalgamation--The Burning Question

By JAMES P. CANNON.

One of the biggest questions on the agenda of all labor conventions these days is amalgamation. The demand for it is steadily growing, despite all official opposition. It is a powerful movement from below, born of the actual need of the hour, and nothing can stop it.

The amalgamation proposition is very simple, and has been stated in its classic form by the Chicago Federation of Labor in the resolution adopted on March 19, 1922. After pointing out that, under the present conditions of craft divisions, "the unions are unable to make united resistance against their employers, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions," the resolution says:

"The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry."

A Bad Year for Labor. Despite the optimistic talk of officials, the Open Shop movement of the bosses is still pushing forward, wrecking one union after another and depriving ever-larger numbers of workers of hard-won conditions. The year between the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor and the one about to be held at Portland has been a disastrous one for the workers. This is the bitter truth, and even Gompers will not be able to juggle figures enough to hide it.

Since the Cincinnati convention we

have had the opportunity to see the full effect of the Open Shop war on the railroad shop crafts, once the stronghold of American unionism. On many roads the seven shop craft unions have been completely wiped out, and in their place has come the "Company Union." Even on those roads where settlements were secured, the old-time power of the unions is gone. The "settlements" were really surrenders on the part of the strikers in practically every case. This crushing defeat, the manifest inability of the shop crafts alone to cope with the consolidated power of the railroad companies, has robbed all the railroad unions of militancy and aggressiveness. They take what they can get, because they have not the power to take what they want.

The defeat of the railroad shopen has a widespread effect outside the railroads; it dealt a heavy moral blow to the entire labor movement. So depressed and paralyzed have the trade unions become under the crushing effect of the open shop campaign that they were not able to show a noticeable recuperation during the industrial revival. In previous periods of "prosperity" the trade unions have greatly increased their membership and pressed home their advantage; big and successful organization campaigns have been the rule in every trade. But in the period just closing the trade unions have not been able to hold their own, to say nothing of making headway. What will happen when the coming depression gets under way and millions of unemployed workers flood the labor market?

Bosses Wage Real War.

The employers are waging a real war against the unions. By new mergers and consolidations they are

eliminating all competition amongst themselves and presenting a solid front against labor. They have the government, the police, the army and the courts all on their side absolutely. The great daily papers are just so many organs of lying propaganda for them. They are assembling every conceivable weapon for the attack against unionism. The trade unions, with their present antiquated craft form of organization cannot defend themselves against this attack. It is a matter of life and death for them to be amalgamated into industrial unions without delay.

Gompers and the whole officialdom of the American Federation of Labor are united against amalgamation. They fight it by all unfair means of falsehood and misrepresentation. They cover its advocates with slander and abuse. They resort to every form of trickery and deception and intimidation in order to "kill" amalgamation. But all to no avail. Amalgamation rises up ever stronger. Where they suppress it temporarily in one place it springs up in another. While they are concentrating all their forces to defeat it at a convention of the Illinois Federation it was being passed at Utah and West Virginia. They defeated it at the American Federation of Labor convention a year ago, but when they meet this year at Portland it will confront them again. They cannot kill amalgamation, but amalgamation will kill them if they continue to fight against it.

A Rank and File Movement.

The leadership of the trade union movement today is the enemy of all progress, and every proposal to strengthen and regenerate the trade unions and make them a mighty

power for the interests of the workers has to be advanced in the face of their opposition. Every forward movement is a movement from below, from the rank and file. This is particularly true of the amalgamation movement.

Despite the opposition of the Gompers' officialdom, the rank and file has pressed the issue so hard that several International Unions, 15 State Federation, scores of city central bodies and thousands of local unions have already declared for it. Some idea of the tremendous sweep of the movement may be gained from the report of O. H. Wangerin, secretary of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, that 3,377 local lodges, including all the 16 standard railroad unions, have endorsed the program of amalgamation for the railroad industry.

It is no exaggeration to say that the majority of rank and file trade unionists already favor amalgamation. The officials are the big obstacle. They will only move in response to tremendous pressure from below. Rank and file workers everywhere must make their voices heard on this burning issue. Put your local union on record for it. Raise the question in every central body and convention, and develop a mighty wave of sentiment that will sweep all obstacles aside and bring about the complete amalgamation of the trade unions before they are annihilated by the bosses. Amalgamation or annihilation is the issue. Fight for amalgamation.

A Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

By I. AMTER.

(The writer of this article, Israel Amter, is now residing in Moscow and he writes from first-hand knowledge of conditions in Russia.)

On July 6 there was created the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, a union that binds together the working class of the world in co-operation, in class solidarity.

The establishment of this union is an act of tremendous importance not only for Soviet Russia but for the whole world. For Russia it denotes the centralization of the power of the four Soviet republics that up to the present have existed in Russia, viz.: The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, including the Soviet Republics of Azerbaidjan, Georgia and Armenia.

By this act, the power of conducting diplomatic intercourse, of making political and other treaties is placed in the hands of the newly formed central government, which will have its seat in Moscow. The new republic has the sole power to declare war and conclude peace, float foreign and internal loans. It will control the post, transport and telegraph in the various republics, foreign trade, the distribution and use of land, establish the fundamental labor laws, and the general principles of national education, and adjudicate disputes between the contracting republics. The union will adopt a single state budget including the budgets of the contracting republics. Union citizenship now replaces citizenship of the separate republics.

The Union Soviet Congress is the supreme authority of the union and meets annually. Extraordinary congresses may also be convoked by the central executive committee or on the demand of the union council, the council of nationalities or two of the republics. The central executive committee of the union consists of

two chambers: The union council, which has 271 members elected by congress and apportioned to the contracting republics in ratio to the population of each republic; and the council of nationalities, which is composed of five representatives each of various republics, one for each of the autonomous regions of the Russian Soviet republic. The union central executive committee elects a presidium of 21 members, which is the supreme body between the sessions and has legislative, executive and administrative authority. It is responsible to the central executive committee. It also stands above the Union Council of People's Commissaries, which is its executive and administrative body. The regulations and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries may be suspended or rescinded by the central executive committee or its presidium.

The transformation of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is an act of great significance since the addition of the Ukrainian White Russian, Georgian, Azerbaidjan and Armenian republics to the federation has broadened the scope of the union. It opens the way for the addition of other Soviet republics.

What was the reason for the establishment of the U. S. S. R.? The world situation has created the necessity of the Soviet republics consolidating their power in defense of the achievements of the proletarian revolution. The world is divided into two camps—one under the dictatorship of capital, the other under the dictatorship of the working class. In the capitalist camp today, there is hate, distrust with misery, suffering and another year starting for workers in the face. One has but to look at the Ruhr, at the impending penetration and subjugation of China; one need but regard the mad building of airplanes, cruisers and submarines, the manufacture of gas and deadly bombs to realize the proximity of war. The situation of the workers in Germany, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the continued unemployment in England, indicate clearly that capitalism cannot and will not provide for its miserable slaves. The crushing of the colonial peoples, the subjugation of the colored races, the plundering and looting by capitalist exploiters, are the insignia by which capitalist governments rule.

We are living in the period of the proletarian revolution. Even though great masses of the workers do not yet recognize this fact, the capitalists are fully cognizant of it and have

prepared accordingly. The oppression of the capitalist class is driving the working class to action. The Mussolini dictatorship in Italy, the vile rule of Horthy in Hungary, the recent overthrow of the government in Bulgaria and the establishment of a military dictatorship; the terror in Rumania, and the recent acts of barbarism in Finland, Latvia and Poland, but above all the crushing of the German workers, coupled with the treachery of the Social-Democracy, have opened the eyes of the workers. The Day of the Revolution is approaching in Germany. The establishment of a Soviet Republic in Germany will be accomplished by the entrance of the German Soviet Republic into the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics. This will strengthen the camp of the workers' government against that of the capitalist governments, and encourage the workers and farmers of the other countries to take the steps that will put an end to capitalist tyranny in their own countries.

In order to keep his boy from straying into the paths of evil a Christian father in the great city of Chicago chained him in the backyard for weeks at a time. Today this man is condemned as a brute. Had he lived when the Old Testament was written it is quite likely that millions would be worshipping him today as a saint. The world does move.

The only obstacle in the way of the capitulation of the German government to the French is the passive resistance carried on by the labor unions. When this ends Stresemann and his socialist allies can sup with Poincare and have a real good time.

The farmers can make all the cider they want without interference from the Prohibition commissioner. Merciful commissioner. The farmer will at least be allowed the privilege of forgetting his troubles.

"WHY EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE A COMMUNIST AND JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY"

The Workers Party has just published an eight-page pamphlet with the title above.

In it appears a brief statement of the principles of Communism, written in language which every worker will understand.

The opening statement is the challenging question:

"Is This the Best You Can Do?"

followed by some plain facts about the operation of the capitalist system.

The pamphlet is illustrated by two original cartoons, one by Robert Minor and the other by Ellis.

On the back page is an application for membership and subscription blank for the party publications.

Circulate A Million Copies

The circulation of a million copies of this pamphlet is a part of the membership drive of the party to add TEN THOUSAND MEMBERS to its ranks. EVERY PARTY MEMBER, EVERY PARTY BRANCH MUST HELP CIRCULATE THIS PAMPHLET. THE LANGUAGE BRANCHES MUST CIRCULATE THEIR QUOTA. THE QUOTA IS 100 COPIES PER MEMBER.

THE PRICE IS ONE CENT PER COPY--IN LOTS OF 1,000 \$5.00.

Sell them to your shopmates, brother trade unionists and friends. Send in your order quick. Cash with order.

Workers Party of America, Room 214, 1069 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

Des. Comrades:

Enclosed find \$_____ for which please send copies of "Why Every Worker Should Be a Communist and Join the Workers Party."

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

(Continued from Page 2.)

The workers had peasants of Russia may not have great difficulties to meet. They may still have years of bitter struggle before they rebuild entirely what capitalism destroyed in the great war. But at least they know that they are no longer going down hill with capitalism as the rest of Europe has. They are slowly, painfully fighting their way up hill to the new social order--Communism.

All for Peace!

This speech, delivered by Leon Trotsky before the Moscow Soviet in May of this year, gives an exceptionally good picture of the progress of Soviet Russia and an attitude toward the imperialist-capitalist countries, which are continually attacking the Soviet Government of Workers and Farmers.

Comrades, yesterday various items of news and various facts arrived simultaneously in my workroom. I received two comrades, delegated by the workers of a paper factory in the Kaluzh government. One of them had worked in the factory for 51 years, the other for 46 years. A few minutes earlier I had received, from the People's Commissar for foreign affairs, the news of the murder of our friend and representative, comrade Vorovsky. Almost at the same moment I received a whole budget of newspapers, published abroad by the one-time land-owners and capitalists of our country.

I do not know, comrades, whether I have already spoken to you here of the raging and insane campaign of lies and inventions, now being conducted against us by the white emigration press. The period in which we live, and which is distinguished by a great and constantly increasing unity between the Soviet power and the working masses throughout our whole federation, and by a great revolutionary peoples' movement of the period the hallucination of the bourgeoisie press designate as a period of fresh risings in every corner of Soviet Russia, as a period of rebellion in one regiment after another, as the period of decay of the state apparatus and the Communist Party. And when we peruse these newspapers, published in Warsaw, Helsingfors, Riga, Reval, and other places, we involuntarily ask ourselves: by whom and for whom are they issued? and who is it who have lost their reason: the publishers of the papers, or their supporters?

We must say that there is one group of Helsingfors correspondents which can boast of being the source of the most idiotic rumors. In whose name do they write all this, what do they expect to gain by it? They want to set the dogs of imperialism upon us.

A ring of foreign states lies between us and the imperialist west. And should a foolish and criminal blockade, or even a war, set in against our will, the logic of the geographical situation will first affect this ring of states.

And now yesterday, when these two old workmen told me what they had experienced since 1918—hunger, cold and actual collapse in the years 1919 and 1920, in part also in 1921—they said that today they are comparatively well off. These old men, these heroes of toil, brought with them some dozens of forms which they have to fill out in relation to various economic and cultural requirements. With gnarled fingers, rendered unsteady by decades of work, they showed me with justifiable pride these signs of our reviving industry. And we say with them: two more years, three more, five more, of work in peace, and we shall perfect our economic, our schools, and our culture. And they say we are meditating war. We, with our vast territory, our population of many millions, and our backwardness, our poverty, our defective culture—how can we think of violence, of conquests, of attacks? No; what we say is: cursed be every one in our ranks who raises his voice in favor of an attack, of a war.

One of these two workmen had worked for 51 years! (I do not know how old Lord Curzon is) at the workbench, and if we were to say to him that we, the state of the workers and peasants, cherish the idea of attacking anyone, he would not understand

this language. He would reject the idea. The working class would drive anyone from its ranks who would not defend peace and work with every available means.

Nevertheless, the sky has become overcast again in the frontiers of Soviet Russia, and we must again anxiously and attentively observe the plans, not only of the governments, but of various groups and various cliques within these governments, for the present position of European politics is such that the attitude taken by separate groups or persons at the head of an imperialist power may involve things in such a knot that these gentlemen will be obliged to cut it in the end.

We defend peace with all the means at our disposal, and support our diplomacy, which is fighting honorably, sincerely, and determinedly for the independence of the Soviet Federation, and is employing the peaceful agencies of negotiations and understandings. And I think, comrades, that every Red Army soldier—and in our country the Red Army soldier is above all the citizens of the state, taking active part in the political life of the country—that every Red Army soldier today, understands the language of the Soviet power and its diplomacy. It is the language of peace and quietness, of admonition, of exhortation to prudence.

Comrades, I know very well that we have good cause for indignation for showing our clenched fists, and gnashing our teeth. But, comrades, the situation is such that we must throw all our prudence, reserve, and caution into the balance. The masses of workers and peasants belonging to our Red Moscow have shown that they fully realize the dangers of the present position.

We do not know whether Lord Curzon's act is an isolated one on the part of Great Britain, or whether there are also others, nearer home or equally distant, collaborating with Lord Curzon in the same diplomatic—and perhaps not merely diplomatic—plans. Despite this, or rather because of this, we do not take a single step, or utter a single word, which might tend to render the situation more acute, or close the path to a peaceful solution by means of negotiations.

We desire peace above all things. Naturally not at the price of capitulation, not at the price of converting the Soviet federation into a vassal state of foreign imperialism. We know that the governments of the Entente, since the war and the Versailles peace, have become accustomed to carrying on intercourse with other states and nations in tones of command. To this we reply that words of command do not penetrate to Red Moscow. Continuous applause.)

We, the republic of Workers and Peasants, are prepared to make the greatest concessions, but only on the basis of agreements of contracts, on the basis of independence and equality. For this we stand, comrades, alike in the government and in the state apparatus, in the ranks of our party, and in the ranks of the many millions of non-partisan workers and peasants of our country; we stand as one man behind every step taken by our diplomacy in the interests of peace, and for upholding commercial agreements and maintaining economic relations with other countries.

Reactionary and Hypocritical

By ADAM COALDIGGER, In the Illinois Miner.

Sam Gompers does not like the Soviet government of Russia. Consequently he embraces every opportunity to administer a kick in that direction. But in spite of Brother Gompers, Boleshévka, magage to function through their Soviets. Indeed, it begins to look as if the Soviet government were here to stay.

Now the present Russian government may be bad enough. In fact, it may be as bad as—most governments.

However, as long as it suits the Russian people and does not interfere with the rights and liberties of other people it is nobody's business what sort of government the Russians inflict upon themselves.

Gompers don't think so and there being nothing stirring in the Soviet line, he writes a letter to Secretary of State Hughes, and wants to know if he don't think the Soviet government is as bad as he thinks it is.

Hughes is an obliging gentleman, and he comes back with a letter to Sam, written on official stationery, in which he opines that the Soviet government suppressed free speech, free press, destroyed political opposition, confiscated capitalist property and in-

augurated compulsory labor.

We have a suspicion that all these charges are true, but what Secretary Hughes forgets to mention is that while the Soviet government was perpetrating these crimes it was at war with enemies within its borders as well as with a number of foreign states, including our own, which had invaded Russia.

Wars are usually accompanied by more or less violence as Messrs Hughes and Gompers ought to know. America was not invaded in 1918. Those who opposed the war did it through speech and print exclusively. Our government nevertheless suppressed free speech and free press. We also had our "work or fight" laws. And we confiscated the property of our enemies as ruthlessly as did the Boleshévks.

In addition to the above "pleasantries" we also mobbed, mal-treated and murdered quite a respectable number of people because somebody suspected them of being pro-German, and neither the government nor Mr. Gompers became unduly excited over these outrages.

Of course the Russian government is bad. How could it be otherwise, being that it is now one of the oldest established governments in existence? But why people, who live in glass houses, should throw stones at folks 3,500 miles away, is more than we can explain.

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