



KATE KOLLWITZ
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Wholesale Arrests in Germany and Other Countries

Workers Imprisoned	
in	
Germany, about	7,000
Italy	8,000
Spain	23,000
Belgium	2,300
Lithuania	200
Latvia	500
Finland	1,200
Poland	12,000
Hungary	70,000
India	253,000
Roumania	3,000

Book!

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Name

Address

City and State

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Kate Kollwitz

Germany Under the Dawes Plan



SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI

Wm. S. Fanning

oppressed masses were seeking a political instrument to use in their own behalf.

This movement of the workers for a political organization of their own offered great advantages to the Workers Party. The duty of Communists and the general principle by which a Communist mass Party must be built is the participation in the daily struggles of the workers against the capitalist class. The growing labor party movement offered us an excellent means of reaching the masses with our propaganda and of furnishing them with practical leadership in this, their first important step towards definite political organization.

Some elements in our Party looked askance at the proposition of working for the formation of a labor party, but the advantages were so patent that their opposition was broken down and the Party launched into the campaign. This campaign was waged with vigor. It was not long until the Communists became the acknowledged leaders of the labor party movement everywhere. Every place that sufficient consciousness developed amongst the workers and poor farmers for a political organization of their own, our hand was in evidence. The consequence was that our Party derived the most substantial advantages. The Workers Party became a definite and recognized factor

in the labor movement. Its gain in experience, prestige, and influence was invaluable.

Withdrawal from Farmer-Labor Party

The first stage of the W. P. labor party policy, that is active participation in the struggle to build a farmer-labor party, came to an end with the development of the LaFollette movement as distinct from the two old parties. This was caused thru the swallowing up of the Farmer-Labor Party generally by the LaFollette movement. The first active manifestations of this took place at the St. Paul convention of the Farmer-Labor Party on June 17 of this year. The growth of sentiment for LaFollette to take the field and the likelihood of his doing so upon an independent ticket tended sharply to cut to pieces the June 17 convention. LaFollette completed the job by his denunciation of that gathering. He succeeded in driving out of it most of the mass elements and attracting them to the July 4 conference of the C. P. P. A., where they were quickly absorbed into the general LaFollette movement. The National Farmer-Labor Party, born at the June 17 convention, was the merest shell of an organization.

This situation made necessary a rapid change of policy by the Workers Party. The only basis upon

most of the bureaucracy in the unions will do likewise. Pessimism will seize upon the "progressives" who will hesitate to form a third party in this situation. But the movement, representing as it does the discontent of the broad masses of petty bourgeoisie and workers, will live, even though it does not crystallize definitely into a party immediately. In the near future insofar as the masses of workers take any political action at all, it will be in the shape of this alliance with the petty bourgeoisie.

To break this alliance and to bring the workers into political action on their own behalf, is one of the big objectives of the Workers Party. This cannot be done by the formation or attempted formation of a mass farmer-labor party. Only a very small percentage of the workers, and these the most radical, are now prepared to break the alliance with the petty bourgeoisie. To attempt to form these into a party would be merely to set up a rival to the Workers Party. This would be sheer folly. The Workers Party must absorb these advanced elements directly into its own ranks or, where this cannot be done, to form united fronts with their organizations upon vital issues of the everyday struggle.

In the era of the developing farmer-labor party movement, when masses of workers all over the country were demanding a party of their own and before this movement was swallowed up by LaFollette's organizations, the advocacy of the slogan "For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party" was practical and beneficial for the Workers Party. But now, when such a mass farmer-labor party is out of the realm of possibility for the near future, the advocacy of the slogan in a general campaign becomes distinctly detrimental to the Workers Party. It would sabotage our organization. In the future, as the Progressive Movement runs its course, the Workers Party will criticize its policies from a Communist standpoint. After doing this, then to tell the workers that what they have to do is to form a farmer-labor party would not only be ridiculous but would shove the Workers Party into the background and ruin its interests. In our fight against LaFollettism we must not only propose to the workers a Communist program but also a Communist organization.

When the LaFollette movement swallowed up the farmer-labor party movement in the months preceding the election it left us with two dead things on our hands. One of these was a dead organization, the National Farmer-Labor Party, and the other was a dead slogan, "For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party." The Central Executive Committee was quick to see the necessity of ridding the Workers Party of the dead organization, and now it has also rid the Party of the dead slogan. As against the LaFollette movement we must raise the slogan not of an impossible farmer-labor party but of the Workers Party. Now, more

than ever, the Workers Party must throw itself into all the struggles of the working class, political and industrial, establishing the widest mass contacts and leading those struggles into ever-widening fields and for ever-growing demands. Not a retreat to sectarianism, nor the creation of opportunistic substitutes for Communism, but immediate and direct participation of the Workers Party in all phases of the class struggle.

Anatole France



"THE GREAT ARTIST WHO HAS JUST PASSED FROM OUR MIDST, THE CLEVER AND GOOD MAN, WHOSE WORKS WILL IN THE FAR-OFF TIME BE THE APOLOGISTS OF THE CAPITALIST CULTURE OF THE 19TH CENTURY, CARRIES IN HIS FRAIL AND AGED ARMS ALL THAT IS BEST IN DEMOCRACY IN ITS CLOSING EPOCH."

Victor Serge.

A Visit With Sun Yat Sen

By Alfred Wagenknecht

ACCORDING to the best circles in Shanghai, Dr. Sun Yat Sen was dead. International imperialism hugged this rumor to its bosom and hoped for days for its verification. The foes of imperialism also hoped and wondered whether a dirty thirty pieces of silver had at last reached a Judas and robbed them of their foremost leader.

In Canton, a few weeks later, we were visited one sunny afternoon by Liao Chung-hai, the Civil Governor of Kwangtung province. Thus officially the labor representatives of the Philippine independence movement, and I, were invited to visit Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

The trip to Honan, where the Generalissimo has his headquarters, for Dr. Sun is the head of the South China army, has its military aspects. Canton and Kwangtung was under martial law. The merchants and compradoras, whom imperialism was feeding with profits and commissions, had organized successive strikes against the Sun Yat Sen government. Merchant's Volunteer Corps, true fascisti bands, had been organized by them, armed by them, drilled by them.

The automobile which awaited us in front of our hotel was guarded by soldiers. We stepped into the car, the soldiers mounted the running boards, revolvers were drawn, and amid continuous piercing shrieks of the auto-horn we raced down the Bund, traffic scattering to the curbs.

Two miles behind us. We stepped from the automobile aboard a speed-boat which literally shot us across the Canton river. Upon the floating wharf immediately facing the entrance gate of the headquarters of Dr. Sun, we were confronted by the first detachment of his body-guard. The command of "Attention! Present arms!" was responded to by Governor Liao with a deep bow and the removal of his hat to the soldiers. We, each in our own way, attempted similarly to convey our high regard to a soldiery armed to fight against the imperialist plunderers who hope to suck China bone-dry.

A wait of five minutes brought Dr. Sun Yat Sen from some distant inner recess into the reception room to which we had been conducted. His walk was firm, his carriage erect, his eyes clear and friendly. Without a word having been spoken he became one of us, a *massenmensch*, dangerous if a demagogue but invaluable if a true leader in a revolutionary mass movement.

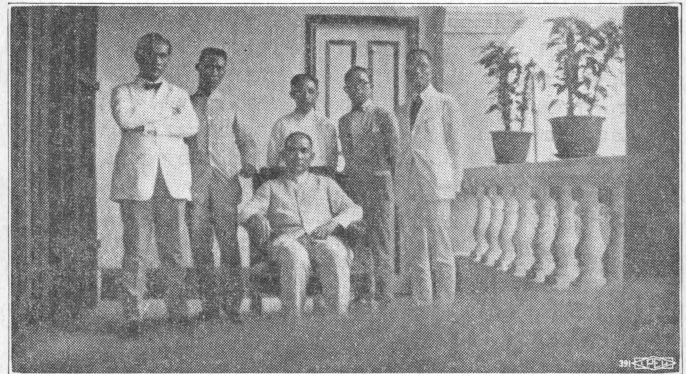
A hand-shake all around and we took our places at the conference table. "What do you think of Philippine independence, Dr. Sun?" was the question immediately asked by one of the Filipino representatives. Dr. Sun, in a brief ten seconds, looked keenly at each of the five Filipinos present and then answered by asking, "How large is your army?"

To the Philippine representatives, who had for years been attempting to win their liberation by peacefully penetrating the bourgeoisie of the United States and its parliamentary machine at Washington, this answer caused surprise. They at once and very forcefully entered into long explanations, centering around the impossibility of the Filipinos ever winning their independence by the methods America used against England in 1776. Dr. Sun listened and when argument had at last been completed, curtly, but with an indulgent smile, replied: "Every state is predicated upon force."

The development of people's revolutionary parties in all the colonies and semi-colonies of the orient, their mass composition and discipline, the need for an alliance between such liberation parties so that all suppressed peoples of the Far East might make common cause against international imperialism, close cooperation with revolutionary workers' and peasants' parties of the Occident, one mighty organization of the proletariat of the world, all the oppressed in a victorious battle against the oppressors—these constituted the subjects of conversation for the next hour.

It seemed to me that the old Sun Yat Sen that Shanghai and Hong Kong knew was dead. But in his place stands a new Sun Yat Sen, more formidable and powerful than the old. It is a Sun Yat Sen, so I surmise, who having discovered the significance of November 7, having studied the strategy of the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers in their victory over the imperialists of the world, now knows how.

It was in this spirit and as a message to the revolutionary masses of America, that I accepted from him his autographed photograph.



DR. SUN YAT SEN, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH CHINA AND LEADER OF KUO MIN TANG, PARTY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS OF CHINA, SURROUNDED BY FILIPINO REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF KUO MIN TANG, CANTON.

for its independence and longing for the day when the workers of the United States will compel their government to withdraw its troops from that unhappy island country. Gompers was seized with the bright idea of stopping in Haiti and asking General Russel, American Charge d'Affaires and Consul Ray how Haiti liked being invaded. He also asked the dummy president, ruling by the grace of the American troops. Naturally, he is able to report that Haiti is delighted with the invasion. But let Gompers talk for himself:

"At Haiti," he naively reports, "the vessel stopped for a few hours." (Lots of time for Sammy to whitewash an invasion which he approves of in advance.) . . . "I called upon General Russel and Mr. Bray, American consul. General Russel told what the Americans had done to make the country safe for its inhabitants" (3,000 of them have been killed by American troops) "and to advance it from its primitive state. A road has been built over the hills for 70 miles into a territory almost unknown." (The Roman conquerors also used to build military roads.) "I asked General Russel what was the feeling of the Haitians toward the United States. He said it was excellent.

". . . . I then asked President Borno (of Haiti) the same question: 'What are the relations between the United States and Haiti?' President Borno said they were very friendly. I then mentioned that from time to time there appeared in the press of the United States denunciations of the American government and demands that the marines be taken from the island. President Borno smiled and said: 'It is only the outs that are dissatisfied.'" (Only the disinherited and the despoiled, Mr. Gompers, are ever dissatisfied. That's why President Gompers and President Borno are satisfied with American capitalism and American imperialism.)

The president of Haiti continued enlightening Gompers. Of the protests of the bleeding Haitian people he explained:

"One, two, or three men might some day send out a statement contrary to what is the opinion of the great majority of the Haitian people. Naturally, people in the United States may think that there is some basis for the charges made. But there is not. We have the most friendly relations and General Russel has proved a great friend to Haiti."

It is publicity given to facts like these that may cost Gompers the presidency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor when it meets in Mexico City in December. He nearly lost it in the Congress of 1921, when the opposition to him was so strong that almost all Latin-Americans wanted to prevent his reelection. They united on Morones, president of the Mexican Federation of Labor and tool of Gompers. Morones was clever enough to keep quiet until after the nominations were closed, and then resign, leaving Gompers as the only candidate. Even at that, Gompers received only the votes of the delegates from Santo Domingo (picked by the American government), Porto Rico (American colony) and the United States. The others did not vote.

To save Gompers, Morones is likely to point out that Gompers supported the Obregon government against the De La Huerta revolt in 1923. But so did the National City Bank. So did Mr. Hughes. So did the house of Morgan. So did the oil interests. They supported Obregon against the Fascist revolt of De La Huerta because (1) the latter was backed

by British oil interests; (2) Obregon had recognized the tremendous debt which, with interest, will amount to \$2,000,000,000; (3) Obregon had agreed to emasculate Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, which protects the natural resources from foreign imperialism. He agreed to nullify it by declaring it non-retroactive in respect to oil and mineral steals already made by American interests. (They own two-thirds of the oil lands and four-fifths of the mineral lands now under exploitation.) And (4) Obregon had agreed to recognize the claims of American citizens for damages suffered in the Mexican revolutions. For these reasons of great weight to labor statesmen such as Gompers, he, along with Morgan, Rockefeller (National City Bank), Coolidge and Hughes, supported Obregon against De La Huerta.

And as to the childish story which Haberman circulates to the effect that Hughes does what Gompers tells him and withdraws battleships at the command of the "labor dictator" of the United States, we shall turn that legend inside out and point out that Hughes does what Morgan tells him to, and Gompers does what Hughes tells him to. Hughes does not oppose recognition of Russia, or favor Obregon, or send or withdraw battleships, or keep troops in Haiti or Santo Domingo, because Gompers tells him to, but Gompers supports Obregon or opposes Russian recognition or praises the occupation of Haiti because Hughes tells him to. Or, more correctly, both of them do what Morgan tells them to, and Gompers is the agent of Morgan in Latin-America. Unless the Communists succeed in December, Morgan will continue to be the real boss of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.



UNION OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE
Trotsky with Lunion, French Negro, and
Nguen-Ai-Quack, China.



RUSSIAN AND BRITISH TRADE UNION LEADERS FRATERNISE AT HULL, ENGLAND
 Second from the left is M. Tomsky, Chairman of All-Russian Council of Trade Unions; third is George Hicks, President of British Building Workers' Union.

edly urged joint action upon the Amsterdam International.

(6) At the Hague International Peace Congress the R. I. L. U. attempted to propose the united front with the Amsterdam International. Similar attempts were made after the occupation of the Ruhr, and prior to and after the Frankfort conference.

(7) The R. I. L. U. has always considered the united front in the trade union movement as a first step towards organizational unity of the broken sections.

(8) Whenever a tendency to split the trade unions began to develop within the Comintern and R. I. L. U., the latter always emphatically opposed this tactic, championing the unity of the labor movement by all the means and forces available to it.

All these facts are known to anyone who has followed more or less attentively the activity of the R. I. L. U., who is acquainted with the decisions of its Congresses and of its Executive Bureau. In fighting for

unity, the R. I. L. U. was not based upon any abstract considerations, but upon a desire to enhance labor's capacity of resisting advancing capital by means of united labor organizations.

How did the Amsterdam International and the organizations affiliated to it respond to the action of the R. I. L. U.? By frantic baiting and expulsion of Communists from the labor unions. Had the R. I. L. U. guided itself by the same motives as the Amsterdammers, that is, by a desire to rid itself of its opponents by any means, a split all along the line would have been an accomplished fact. However, in this question the R. I. L. U. did not base its decision upon the sentiments of individual revolutionary workers, but upon the interests of the class struggle, and therefore, in spite of all provocations, it has remained at its old position, *against splits and for unity*.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. drew a logical conclusion from the four years' struggle for unity. The external situation has become more favorable to



TRADE UNION STUDENTS IN MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

A section of a meeting addressed by A. Losovsky on the subject of the Trade Union Unity Movement

sent a letter to the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions proposing to open negotiations on the basis of the Vienna decisions, naively assuming that the Russian unions would fail to note the trick.

The Amsterdammers propose to conduct negotiations on unity on the basis of two preliminary conditions:

(1) They are prepared to negotiate *only* with the Russian unions and only on the *affiliation* of the Russian unions to Amsterdam.

(2) The negotiations on affiliation must be based upon the program and constitution of the Amsterdam International.

That the right wing Amsterdammers raise such conditions is natural. They continue the sabotage which they began at the Vienna Congress. They continue the line followed by them for a number of years. If we take the correspondence between the Amsterdam International and the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions for the last two or three years we will find that their latest proposals contain nothing new—all these proposals have been made repeatedly, and the A. R. C. C. T. U. has invariably replied that it did

not participate in the working out of the program and constitution of the Amsterdam International and has no reason for accepting them as preliminary conditions.

Thus the right Amsterdammers are engaged in sabotage. There is nothing strange about this, as sabotage of the unity of the world labor movement is their profession. Such activity is quite understandable. But what is less understandable is the participation in such combinations of representatives of the left wing. Do the leaders of the left wing of the Amsterdam International suppose that this is the shortest road towards the establishment of unity in the world labor movement? If they think so, they will soon become convinced of the erroneousness of their point of view. Some of the leaders of the Amsterdam International apparently suppose it possible to *dictate conditions*, forgetting that conditions are worked out in accordance with the real relation of forces. The real relation of forces in the labor movement is far from what the right and even the left wing Amsterdammers think. That is why *both the former and the latter may be advised to throw out of their heads the idea that they can force their will upon the revolutionary move-*

Letter From Moscow to Amsterdam

Your letter of Sept. 11 was received on Sept. 20, could not be taken up earlier than Oct. 23 at the full meeting of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

We read with satisfaction your declaration that you too are desirous of creating organizational unity within the trade union movement.

We do not believe this is the time to enter into a detailed discussion as to who is responsible for the split in the international trade union movement. We must point out, however, that generally speaking, there was never in existence such a thing as a real unified concentrated and all-inclusive international trade union movement. We believe that our present common desire may lead to the ending of the split in our movement, and we are very glad to meet your request for a written statement to serve as a basis for future negotiations.

We, on our part, desire the creation of a unified trade union movement, nationally and internationally, the maximum possible unification of all trade unions, those affiliated with the Profintern, those affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, as well as the unions standing outside both these organizations, upon the condition of the acceptance of the principle of class struggle.

We need not go into detailed explanation as to why we are struggling for such unity, the unity of all trade unions which accept a real anti-capitalist orientation. You know just as well as we do that the unity of the International Trade Union movement is a basic condition for a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, the Fascist reaction, as well as against the capitalist system as a whole.

The best means of arriving at such unity and the creation of one unified trade union international we consider the joint calling of an international labor congress. The question of how, when, and where, such a congress could take place would be easy to settle in the course of negotiations. We take note of your opinion that there is a basic difference between the policies and tactics upon which we base our work in the unions, and your own policies and tactics and that the difference is "much more than one of degree."

The significance of this phrase is not very clear to us. The fact is that there is nothing new in the differences existing between us. They have been known for years and have certainly been taken into consideration by the Vienna Congress of your Federation. In the proper time and at the proper place we shall be perfectly ready to discuss in detail our differences. But for the present we want to say that whatever our real differences of opinion are, we are perfectly willing to do all in our power to find a common basis.

We declare that the chief, most important, guiding principle of the trade unions we consider the irreconcilable contradictions between capital and labor, a consistent class struggle between the class of wage workers and the class of capitalists for the complete abolition of the system of capitalism and the liberation of the proletariat from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and its resultants of poverty, ignorance and slavery.

On the basis of this we propose the following: A break with all kinds of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a united struggle of the workers and their organizations, nationally and internationally, against world capital. The acceptance of this condition would make possible the unification of all those labor organizations which are really struggling for the liberation of the working class.

We shall expect your reply and particularly a notification regarding the time and place of the first meeting of the representatives of the two organizations.

Although we are perfectly ready when necessary to continue our correspondence on the question of unity, yet it appears to us desirable in the interests of the cause to enter as soon as possible into a direct exchange of views, thus preparing the way for further steps that will lead to the desired end.

With comradely greetings,
Chairman All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions,
Tomsky,
Secretary: Dogadoff.

The prosecution of the international unity program is an application on the international field of the program long applied nationally and industrially by the Trade Union Educational League in America, with the approval and support of the Red International of Labor Unions. And just as the Trade Union Educational League has been the principal fighter for national and industrial unity, so is it today the only force fighting for the application of the international unity program to the labor movement of the United States. Under the deadening regime of Gompers the American labor movement has cut its connections even with Amsterdam, but the progress of the world labor movement in the direction of unity and class struggle will make easier our task in America.



S. SAKLATVALA
Communist Member of Parliament

on the basis of the trade unions, so long is it impossible to keep the Communists out of the Labor Party. Mr. Hodges and Mr. Morrison both knew this, that is why they were so paternal and anxious that we should "go into the highways and byways," to "fight for our principles." True, this advice comes a little strange to a Party whose work is carried in every workshop and every trade union branch in this country. And these men know it and under the cover of fine phrases they are slowly preparing the way.

But the comments of all the press on these decisions make interesting reading. The leader writers knew that this issue is not a sham issue. It is the fight for the leadership and direction of the labor movement that is at stake. And that fight so far, as both the capitalists and the right wing labor leaders are concerned, can but be impelled by pursuing the policy of exclusion to the bitter end. The following two extracts are a clear indication of what may come, for they only express publicly what the reactionaries think privately.

"For self-preservation either the unions will follow the Labor Party in repudiating the Communists,

or they must accept the risk of seeing their funds used for purposes utterly foreign to the objects for which they were created. The struggle which began on Tuesday is certainly not finished, and it will be curious to watch its development in the coming months; or rather, for it is not a matter which will be decided in a few months, in the coming years, in the years which will make the next generation."

"The Times," Oct. 8, 1924.

Or to see the same thoughts more brutally expressed:

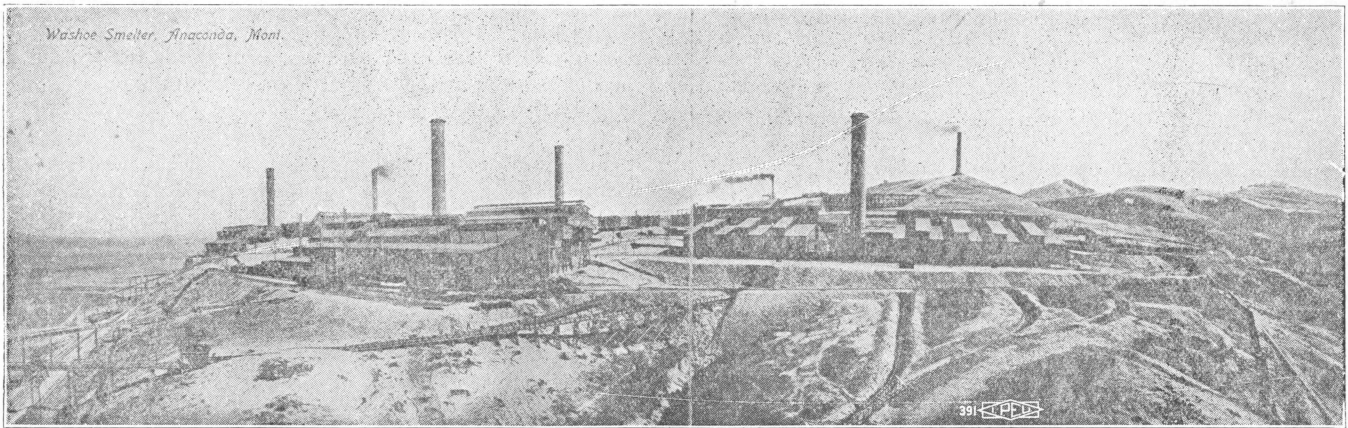
"When we perceive them (the labor leaders) actually expelling the Communists from their ranks we may believe in the sincerity of the disclaimer."

"The Morning Post," Oct. 8, 1924.

When the voting on the resolution took place it was very curious to observe in the first two resolutions, that the bulk of the votes against the Labor Party Executive's recommendations came from the Trades Councils and Local Labor Parties. This is not surprising, and it provides the key to our future tactics. These are the organizations direct from



DEMONSTRATION OF 8,000 WORKERS ADDRESSED BY COMMUNIST SPEAKERS
In Trafalgar Square, London, in protest against MacDonald's forged Zinoviev letter. Comrade A. M. Wall, speaking.



But for the man with a little money, opportunities for theft are still quite common. I have seen the most impossible things stolen. I knew one mine superintendent who regularly stole all his spare parts for mine and concentrating mill machinery, all his steel for new tools, all his small dynamos and motors and wire, from other and temporarily abandoned mines around the country. Some of the mines from which he stole were a couple of hundred miles away. Usually some watchman had to be either bribed or bumped off, as the virtue or lack of virtue of the man demanded. But the "super" always got the stuff he went after—he just sent a truck and got it—that was all.

I know of one case, near Salt Lake, where a group of ambitious workers put the lessons they had learned, to good use, and stole a smelter—pretty nearly the whole thing. They began in a small way, taking the brass parts and copper wire and selling them, from which they got money enough to buy a horse truck, after which they stole motors and pieces of pipe, and got money enough to buy a good four wheel drive motor truck, and in the end they were trying to get away with some of the big furnaces, when the owners interrupted. I believe these men have formed a company and own mines themselves now, proving that the *Chicago Daily News* is right, when it alleges that there is still room for hard working persons to climb to comfort and even affluence through the "Romance of Small Business."

The Real Exploiters.

Now, just because a good deal of the silver lead is produced by little mining companies, more or less wild-cat in nature, it should not be supposed that big business plays no part in the metal mining industry. Even silver lead has to be smelted, and much of the ore has to be concentrated first. The mills and the smelters are pretty much in the control of George Wingfield, of Salt Lake, and of the Guggenheim family, of New York. They get the really big profits, and in purely legitimate ways take much more than the little swindlers get in illegitimate ways. They buy the ore or the concentrates from the mining companies at the smelter's own price, and they come pretty close to selling the stuff, after it passes through their hands, at what price they please. Also, they do things like this: When galena ore is sold to them (most of the Nevada and Arizona ore is galena) they know it contains silver, lead, zinc, and gold. They buy it for the silver and lead it shows on assay, and refuse to pay for the gold, if that is in small quantity. They actually charge the mining company for all the expense of removing the zinc

from the rest of the metals. Then they sell the zinc—clear velvet. I have seen mining superintendents turn purple in the face and choke with rage when describing the extortion and greediness of the smelting trust, but I have never observed that it hurt the Guggenheims any.

As a result of their grasp on the smelting and refining end of the silver lead mining industry, Wingfield and the Guggenheims buy up for very little the best of the mines, the real mines, which it pays to operate. If you have a good mine, and one of these mining capitalists wants it, you might as well take his first offer, for he will never make another as good, neither will you sell any ore to amount to anything after the first offer is made. Moreover, if you are stubborn, your cars of ore will mysteriously go astray, and the railroad company will deny that they ever existed, and sabotage will break out in your camp; your working places will be flooded, and your employes will be poisoned, and your hoisting sheds will be burned. All these big pirates of the mining industry stand together, and their spies are everywhere.

Concentration of Capital in Metal Industry.

Such advantages, and the fact that the ores most easily worked have been used up, necessitating for the mining of lower grade ores more complicated technique and more expensive machinery, have resulted in the rapid concentration of the gold-silver-lead-zinc mine companies and the still more rapid centralization of ownership in the copper fields.

Let us take up the gold-silver, etc., mines first, and resort to government figures. According to the authority quoted above, in 1902 there were 2,017 gold and silver lode enterprises; in 1909 there were 1,616, with 2,011 proprietors or firm members, and in 1919 there were but 740 enterprises, with but 712 proprietors or firm members. Later figures are unobtainable, but the process indicated above is continuing. Notice that the number of proprietors was greater than the number of enterprises in 1909, but that in spite of the great concentration of enterprises in 1919, the proprietorship was still more concentrated, so that there were fewer proprietors than mining companies. It is true that the decrease in the number of mines may be accounted for by the fact that the value of the ore mined decreased from about seventy-seven million dollars in 1902 to about fifty million dollars in 1919. That is, the industry itself is smaller now than it was.

But when we take up the case of the lead and zinc mines (remember that this governmental division into gold-silver and lead-zinc groups is artificial and arbitrary, for all the metals are usually to be found in the same mines) we find

The Results of Impotence.

The fruits of this deliberate shackling of organizational efforts and the internal dissension which it renders inevitable, is a declining standard of living for the Canadian workers, in the face of conditions which enabled the majority of industrial establishments to report the past year as either a record, or very close to a record year, for business and profits.

The total value of mineral production was 20 per cent higher than for the previous year, coal production being the highest in the history of the industry. The lumber industry had one of its best years, the value of unmanufactured lumber produced being \$85,000,000 in excess of the year before, while the pulp and paper industry also had the biggest year in its history, increasing its exports by over 30 per cent.

Monthly production of pig iron came within 5,000 tons of the 1920 figures, which were the peak of the industry's production. The total value of merchandise exported for the year almost hits the billion dollar mark. It is more than 25 per cent greater than for 1922, greater in volume even than the record year, and puts Canada into third place among the countries of the world in exports per head of the population, and fourth among the nations of the world in total volume of exports.

Nothing was done during this fleeting period of trade activity either to improve the position of the workers or to build up the organizations. Now, with falling markets and increasing unemployment, the employers are preparing for fresh onslaughts upon the working class, of which the long-drawn-out struggle in Alberta, and the announced intention of the British Empire Steel Corporation to reduce wages in Nova Scotia are only the more striking examples.

The railways are preparing for a drive against wages and conditions by widespread lay-offs and a great publicity campaign to the effect that the exorbitant railway rates are due to the "artificial" wages and living standards enjoyed by the railway workers. Meanwhile, the International officials are so busy trying to foist the B. & O. plan upon the men, that they have no time either to offset the propaganda of the railway companies or to prepare for the inevitable struggle.

The anti-labor injunction, being cheaper than troops and mounted police, is coming more and more into favor as a weapon of the Canadian employers. This menace demands determined action by the labor movement to stamp it out now, before it becomes as firmly established here as in the states. Unions suffering from the effects of injunctions at the present time, urged the last convention of the congress to organize a one-day national demonstration against it; but true to their policy of respectable "statesmanship," the Executive will content themselves with the bunk of appealing for amendments to existing laws.

Our Tasks.

The growing discontent with the above described policy and activity is reflected in various incidents, each typical of many. In the West it is seen in the drift of sentiment toward the Industrial Workers of the World, in the East, in the vote cast by the conservative Pictou county miners' locals in favor of seceding to the One Big Union. In each of these cases, the underlying cause was disgust, the avenue of expression being due simply to the fact that the particular organizations had organizers on the spot to capitalize it.

Another, and better, reflection of it, is seen in the elec-

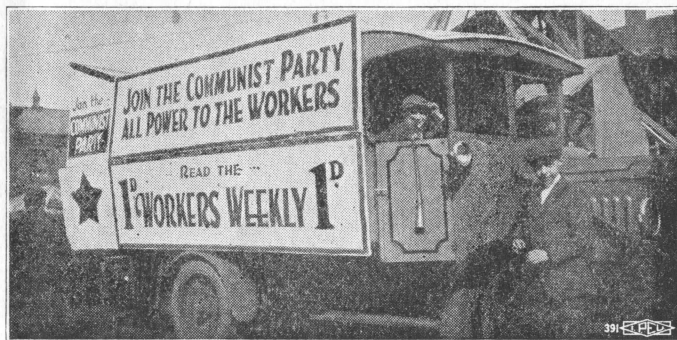
tion of a Communist to the presidency of the Canadian Labor party, and in the further fact that the Communist candidate for the presidency of the Trades Congress received 44 votes, as against 156 for Tom Moore, the reactionary.

The fight for world unity, amalgamation, and Canadian autonomy, has rallied a huge following thruout the country, and sentiment among the rank and file is all for progressive action. The machine-control of the congress, however, combined with the disruptive activities of some of the international presidents, (Lewis, Hutcheson, etc.) and the shameless flouting of all democratic procedure, render this developing sentiment of little effect unless assisted by organizational activities, by which to strengthen and consolidate the left wing.

One of our difficulties is to overcome the scattered nature of the general movement, and the distances dividing the various sections. More and more local and sectional conferences will have to be held in the future, and the militants must have a definite wages policy for every industry. Inasmuch as our great weakness today is the fact that, while the International treasury enables the officialdom to be well represented at the conventions, regardless of where they are held, while we have to rely upon the delegates from adjacent progressive locals, energetic efforts must be taken to make the local central bodies all-inclusive, and to develop them into local organs of struggle, in that way arousing the interest and confidence of the workers in their organizations.

To offset in some measure the terrible apathy among the unorganized workers, the Canadian section of the Trade Union Educational League is initiating a campaign for the organization of shop committees, representing both organized and unorganized, in that way bringing them into organic contact with each other in the daily struggle.

The real struggle, of course, and incidentally our immediate task, is the rallying of the organized workers for the fight for freedom of action for the Canadian movement, which will enable us to advance a step further on the road to the revolutionizing of the working class. Canadian autonomy is the bugbear of the officialdom today, and our task is to make this threat a fact. Forty-four votes to a Communist as president, and fifty-six to another Communist as vice-president, is not bad as a measure of the sentiment of the rank and file, and thru the organization of shop committees, development of central councils, and forthcoming minority conferences, we hope before long to make this protest vote the vote of the majority of the membership of the Canadian labor movement.



CAMPAIGNING FOR COMMUNISM IN ENGLAND

party movement nor to support the independent candidacy of LaFollette.

In the light of what transpired between June, 1924, and today, it is perfectly clear that our decision to enter into an alliance with the third-party movement was a mistake even from the point of view of tactics. Neither an alliance with the third-party movement, nor our willingness to support LaFollette, would have saved the farmer-labor movement from destruction by the LaFollette forces. Why? For one reason mainly. Because the farmer-labor movement, which we wanted to save from being swallowed by LaFollette, was substantially a LaFollette movement. To save it from LaFollette meant to win it for class-struggle which, under the prevailing conditions, was the same as accepting the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party. And such a step the farmer-labor movement of the Northwest, predominantly agrarian and petty-bourgeois, was very far from being ready to take. Our wrong decision with regard to the third party movement, later corrected by the Communist International, was a direct result of our orientation upon the farmer-labor movement of the Northwest which was substantially a LaFollette movement. We attempted to save a farmer-labor soul which didn't exist and in the process we nearly lost our own Communist soul.

The Orientation on the Workers Party

July 8, 1924, will stand out as a historic date in the annals of our Party. It was on that day that the Central Executive Committee decided, upon the initiative of Comrade Foster, to enter the election campaign as the Workers Party on its own program and with its own candidates. By this decision the Central Executive Committee gave recognition to the fact that there was no farmer-labor movement in existence to justify or demand a United Front in the elections.

We came back to firm ground. For once after a long, long while we were again operating with realities instead of with fiction. Behind this decision of the Central Executive Committee there was a deep realization of the truth that it is the duty of a Communist party always to stand in the forefront of class struggle and in its own name approach the masses with its message and slogans, that the United Front tactics were designed to bring us into contact with masses in their daily struggles and not with ourselves alone under another name. The decision of July 8 was a turning point in the direction of realism, self-criticism, and correct Communist tactics.

In looking over our labor party activities for the past three years, we find that we started out right. We didn't think it was our duty to form new political non-Communist parties. We were confronted with a strong mass sentiment, in some places even a movement, for a labor party, and we decided to join that movement and to function within it as its most conscious and militant wing. That was correct. To this idea we should have stuck.

But Fate and the former majority of the Central Executive Committee decided that, because John Fitzpatrick and his Chicago group were mildly in favor of a labor party, it was the duty of the Workers Party to begin a determined fight for the immediate formation of such a party. This was wrong. Instead of a labor party based upon and formed by the organized labor movement, it produced

the split of July 3 and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party which proved neither federated, nor farmer-labor nor a party. It produced an organization which threatened to liquidate our own Communist party. It also produced the August thesis.

The worst did not happen, because of the criticism and pressure of the former minority (now the majority), but our tactics continued twisted and wrong. Why? Because the debacle of July 3 drove us to the orientation on the Northwest and this in turn pulled us into the compromising policy of the third-party alliance. Which is the same as saying, that the rush of the former majority to "assume leadership" in the farmer-labor movement was the origin and main cause of most of our major mistakes on and since July 3.

We shall now have no labor party policy because there is no farmer-labor movement. We shall also have no labor party slogan because such a slogan will now have no dynamic appeal and will offer no basis of struggle to the masses of workers and poor farmers. But we will have United Front campaigns, on the political field (not only in elections) as well as on the economic field, on the basis of the immediate struggles of the working masses. Thus we shall build our own Workers Party into a powerful mass Communist Party.



ONE OF RUSSIA'S NEW RULERS.

A Young Communist acting as chairman at the great mass-meeting in Moscow on Youth Day.