

SEE IT BY

AFTER a long and bitter struggle, the American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of William Green, has passed away. The American Federation of Labor, which was the largest labor organization in the United States, has been replaced by the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, under the leadership of Walter Reuther. This change represents a significant shift in the labor movement, as the new union is more inclusive and represents a broader range of workers. The American Federation of Labor, which was founded in 1869, had a long and distinguished history. It was the first national labor union in the United States and played a major role in the development of the labor movement. However, its leadership, particularly under the influence of Samuel Gompers, was often criticized for being too conservative and too willing to compromise with employers. The new union, on the other hand, is more radical and more committed to the interests of workers. This change is seen as a victory for the labor movement and a step towards a more unified and powerful organization.

GOMPERS died with the harness of American imperialism on his back. And as in life he was the close ally and loyal aid of the exploiting class, it is only right that in death he should follow the same policy. His carcass will rest between two of the leading figures in the history of American capitalism: William Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. The latter was one of the bloodiest scoundrels that ever coined gold out of the flesh and blood of the working class, but he appreciated the services of the head of the American Federation of Labor and left him a pension. The workers have no reason to mourn the death of Gompers.

THE socialists are now busy taking stock of the profit and loss to what is left of their party resulting from their immersion in the LaFollette movement. They find nothing on the credit side except a little publicity for a few leaders like Hillquit and Berger. The latter is by no means happy as the adventure practically wiped out his "socialist" machine in Milwaukee. Hillquit is anxious to form a "third party" in which he will undoubtedly be a leading figure. He has ability of a kind that will prove useful in parliamentary activities.

JUDGE PANKEN, writing in a socialist weekly, declares that the decision of the socialist party to support LaFollette after allowing the latter to write his own program, was almost fatal to the S. P. Socialists were placed in the position of supporting capitalist candidates, he says. Many so-called radical unions that had never previously voted for capitalist candidates, threw down the bars and picked out "friends" in the Gompers style. Instead of voting for Thomas as candidate for governor of New York, many of the needle trades workers voted for Al Smith. "Everybody was doing it," so to speak.

THE policy of the socialists was branded as opportunistic by Panken. It was worse than that, he said, it was stupidly opportunistic. LaFollette got the assistance of the socialists while he made speeches denouncing socialism. It was with great difficulty that Norman Thomas was allowed to speak on the same platform with the "progressives" at large mass meetings. In fact the poor socialists were sacrificed to make a Roman holiday for Hillquit and the ambitious S. P. leaders who expected a big victory for LaFollette and a short cut to Washington. They were disappointed.

THE socialist press sneered at the Workers (Communist) Party when it ran William Z. Foster for president, the only presidential candidate running on a platform calling for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the organization of society on the basis of the rule of the workers thru Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They laughed at the comparatively small number of votes polled by our candidates and the still smaller number counted for us. But the Workers Party gained in strength thru the campaign. The circulation of our daily jumped ahead and the morale of our party was raised.

Y. W. L. to Celebrate Karl Liebknecht Day With Mass Meeting

International Karl Liebknecht day will be celebrated by the Young Workers' League of Chicago on January 11, 1925 at a mass meeting which will be held in the Northwest Hall corner North and Western avenues. Speakers for the demonstration are Max Shachtman of the National Executive Committee of the Y. W. L., Alexander Bittelman of the C. E. C. of the Workers Party, Peter Herd and a junior speaker The Y. W. L. orchestra will play. All Workers Party branches and friendly organizations are requested to give every support in rallying the working class youth of Chicago to the International Karl Liebknecht day.

350 TRACTION EMPLOYEES GO BACK TO WORK

Win Closed Shop and Overtime Pay

(Special to The Daily Worker)
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 14.—The strike of the 350 employees of the Illinois Traction system was reported settled although the vote on the compromise agreement reached by union officials and traction company (Continued on page 2.)

\$1,000 PLEDGED BY YOUNGSTOWN COMRADES TO DAILY WORKER DRIVE

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT.
(Special to The Daily Worker)
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Dec. 14.—One thousand dollars was pledged to be paid the DAILY WORKER within thirty days by the Youngstown branches at a meeting attended by representatives of all Youngstown branches and nearby towns. The Workers Party locals in Youngstown, East Youngstown, Warren, Farrell, Leontia, East Liverpool, Newcastle, and Besemer, which total 308 members, began today to make this pledge good. The Workers Party branches here are determined that the DAILY WORKER will be an even bigger and stronger working class daily paper in 1925.

CAPITALISTS IN MOURNING OVER GOMPERS' GOING

Coolidge, the Breaker of Strikes, in Tribute

From the whole capitalist world comes a cry of sorrow at the passing of Gompers. President Cal Coolidge, the strike-breaker, in a telegram to Gompers' widow expressed his "great regret" for Gompers because, in his position "as the founder and head of a great

German Socialists Proud of Aid Given the Kaiser; Cite Hindenburg's Praise

SECRETARY FRANK MORRISON IS THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE TO FILL GOMPERS PLACE TEMPORARILY

(Special to The Daily Worker)
SAN ANTONIO, Texas, Dec. 14.—Reports are that the temporary president of the American Federation of Labor, who is to be chosen at a meeting of the executive council in Washington in a few days, as provided by the A. F. of L. constitution, will be Frank Morrison, now secretary. He will probably fill both positions until the next convention of the federation in November, 1925.

DENY THEY LED WORKERS IN WAR STRIKE OF 1918

Compete with Fascisti in Loyalty to Capitalism

(Special to The Daily Worker)
BERLIN, Dec. 14.—Ex-Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann has told how the entire executive board of the social-democratic party betrayed the workers by voting against support of the striking munitions workers in 1918, and urging the German workers not to disobey the conscription laws. Scheidemann was replying to attacks of the German monarchists and nationalists at the libel suit trial of President Ebert, now taking place. Scheidemann denied that he and Ebert led the German workers in the 1918 munitions strike, and declared himself an upholder of the ruling class. Ebert read a letter from Field Marshal von Hindenburg, which commended Ebert for his work on behalf of the German bourgeoisie during the war. The nationalists are trying to make Gen. von Winterfeldt the next president, and are vying with the socialists for control of the next German cabinet. Ebert is trying to keep the head of his party above water by showing that it is as ruthless against working class movements as the monarchists or nationalists.

GOMPERS AT THE GATES



"YES, THIS IS AN OPEN SHOP, COME IN."

MICHIGAN COURTS' RULING IN THE RUTHENBERG CASE PUNISHES IDEAS

(Special to The Daily Worker)
LANSING, Mich., Dec. 14.—The opinion of the supreme court of Michigan, upholding the conviction of C. E. Ruthenberg, covers some forty-one typewritten pages but it is only on page 39 that Judge Wiest, who wrote the opinion, deals with the main contention of the defense and then fails to meet the main argument of the defense against the position of the trial court. The main contention of the defense was that irrespective of what the Communist Party was, there had been no proof submitted that the Communist Party or Ruthenberg had, within the state of Michigan, committed any act which violated the criminal syndicalist law, and that the mere assembling of the convention and Ruthenberg's "assembling with" the convention could not be punished as a crime.

Evidently the Michigan court found this a difficult question, for it was only after thirty-eight typewritten pages, most of which consisted of denunciations of the Communist Party and the Communist International, that the opinion deals with this question and then glosses it over in the following terms: "It is also said there has been no overt act by the Communist Party committed within this state, and no showing of intent to commit any in the immediate future, and it is claimed it is without the power of the state to make it a felony to join an assembly formed to teach or advocate criminal syndicalism unless it is shown that activities are carried out within the state. This statute does not make criminality dependent upon the commission of crime or overt act. It reaches those who advocate or teach the commission of crime as a means to accomplish an end, and those who, by choice, assemble with them. An overt act along the lines of such advocacy or teaching would constitute..."

(Continued on page 2.)

organization, no man has had a wider influence in the shaping of the policy of the wage earners of the nation."

Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, whose imperialistic policies in foreign affairs were the guide line of Gompers' efforts in the international labor movement, wired, "I am shocked, for it is the loss of a great figure."

Bosses Express Their Sorrow.

John J. Mitchell, president of the Illinois Trust company, director of the Chicago and Alton railroad, the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago railway, the Pullman company, the Kansas City, Southern railway, the Chase National Bank of New York, the New York Trust company, the Illinois Trust company, the International Harvester company, the Illinois Bell Telephone company, and the Commonwealth Edison company, said, "Gompers was as conservative as a man could be to hold his position. Most of the time he exercised diplomacy. I am sorry to hear he is dead."

"The death of Mr. Gompers is a keen loss to the nation because he represented a conservative element," said David R. Forgan, president of the great open shop financial backer, the National City Bank of Chicago. And Forgan added, "It may be difficult to find some one as good and there is always the danger of getting some one more radical."

Samuel M. Felton, who is interested in a dozen railway corporations, who is now president of the western railroad association, one of the "dollar a year heroes" who received from the secretary of war the distinguished service medal "for especially meritorious and conspicuous service" as director general of the military railways, remarked that "Gompers' death is a great loss."

At San Antonio, Texas, appeared Col. (Continued on page 2.)

THIRD PARTY WILL SUCCEED SAYS C. P. P. A.

Calling Convention in February

(Special to The Daily Worker)
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 14.—That the C. P. P. A. (Conference for Progressive Political Action) which is the leading factor in the LaFollette movement, feel that an effort to form a new permanent political party will meet with success, is the expression of the C. P. P. A. executive committee, an expression which they are following up with a call for a national convention of the C. P. P. A. to meet in Chicago on February 21, 1925.

A Definite LaFollette Party.

This is the date decided upon by the executive committee in their secret sessions just ended here. The convention will, it is supposed, settle the matter of launching a definite third party on a permanent basis. The leaders of the executive committee feel confident that such will be done by the convention.

The special committee named to arrange for the convention has begun drafting the call which will be sent to the farm, labor and progressive organizations which endorsed the independent candidacy of LaFollette in the presidential election at Cleveland.

Socialist Party Leads Third Party. The special committee is composed of Mrs. Bertha Hale White, secretary of the socialist party; Parley Christensen, the farmer-labor candidate in 1920; Charles McGowan and John A. Lapp of the Illinois committee; and (Continued on next page.)

Labor Fakery's Pulses Bounce.

At that convention, there is sure to be great competition for the position of power. Every rat-hole in the federation is full of the sound of scurrying feet as the great family of labor fakery begins to stir. John L. Lewis, czar of the Miners' Union is mentioned as Gompers' successor, but he is supposedly in line for the job of secretary of the labor department in Coolidge's cabinet, and may not want the job.

Major George W. Berry, the great American Legionnaire, who managed to graft a few hundred thousand dollars from the Pressmen's Union and get away with it by aid of the capitalist courts, is also mentioned. Anything may happen.

But the mere selection of a new president is not the only question. War looms within the federation from many angles of competing groups which, always having been autonomous, now feels that they can go in and hog things for their craft, since Gompers who always kept a nice balance between these ravening jealousies is out of the way.

Did Gompers Die in Mexico?

It is reported here that the rumor of Gompers' death in Mexico was not without some currency. The news originated from a telephone message to the effect that he had died, sent to Mexico City from a railway employe at San Nicholas, Mexico, when Gompers' train passed thru that station.

After it left that station, the train could not be reached by wire, and it was late in the afternoon before connections were established again.

COOLIDGE RULE SEEKS HEAVIER GERMAN CLAIMS

Big Battle Is on with the British Government

(Special to The Daily Worker)
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 14.—The Coolidge government insists that America receives a larger share in the German reparations payments than England wants to allow, in a note sent by Secretary of State Hughes to England.

It was said here that the notes exchanged by America and Britain "admit of detailed discussion of the issue involved." No doubt much future wrangling will take place as to how far the United States is to share in the money extracted from the life blood of the German workers.

The United States also claims one billion gold marks (\$250,000,000) as the cost of the army of occupation in Coblenz. The German workers are expected to pay the upkeep of their oppressors.

England is now concerned over its debt payments, and will, it is announced, pay its debts to those countries which "offer the London government advantages in other directions." England will drive the hardest bargain possible, both in debts due the country, and debts owed other foreign nations. America, however, holds the whip hand thru its domination of the European governments' finances.

Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, the Open Forum.

SOVIET RUSSIA DOES RECORD FUR BUSINESS IN AMERICA THIS YEAR

(Special to The Daily Worker)
NEW YORK, Dec. 14.—Over six million dollars worth of furs have been imported from Russia during the current year by the Amtorg trading company. A record deal in furs was effected yesterday when the Amtorg company sold \$1,000,000 worth of Russian furs to the Eitingon Sehid company. The Amtorg Trading company was organized last April as a merger of the Arcos-America and the Products Exchange Corporation.

ASSASSINATION PLOT AGAINST KRASSIN FAILS

Woman Arrested Says She Planned Murder

(Special to The Daily Worker)
PARIS, Dec. 14.—An attempt to assassinate Leonid Krassin, Soviet Ambassador to France, was frustrated when a Mrs. Marie Dickson, a journalist in the employ of the counter-revolutionary emigres in Paris, was arrested by the Paris police detailed to watch the Russian embassy. The woman walked past the embassy door a dozen times and when challenged by a policeman, she attempted to get away. When searched, a loaded revolver was found up her sleeve and she confessed that her intention was to murder Krassin.

The assassin would not admit that she was acting under instructions from the czars.

This plot was partially suppressed by the French capitalist press which so luridly portrayed the imaginary "red" plots which existed in the imaginations of the bourgeoisie who are scared to death over Communism and the recognition of Soviet Russia by France. Russian monarchists hoped that Krassin's credentials would not be accepted by the French government owing to the red scare. They were disappointed, however, and Krassin was received cordially by the president of the French republic.

League Council Adjourns. ROME, Dec. 14.—The council of the league of nations has adjourned. Spain's request that the next council meeting be held in Madrid was denied because of the objection of the Swedish delegation. A plan for "intellectual co-operation" with a world center in Paris was adopted. It was not announced what the "intellectual co-operation" would consist of.

Plan One Big Transport Union. SYDNEY, New South Wales.—Street-car men, carters' and drivers' unions in the Australian states are proceeding with a plan to form one big union of transport workers of Australia.

CAPPELLINI'S PLAN FAILS TO FOOL STRIKERS

Renegade Radical Now on Defensive

By THOMAS MYERS COUGH.
(Special to The Daily Worker)
PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 14.—Evidently, the chance to sleep for a night on the proposition of Rinaldo Cappellini, whereby he would allow the committee of striking miners to select one of their number to be put on the payroll as organizer, was sufficient for the committee to regain its equilibrium, for at the meeting today they decided almost unanimously to continue the strike.

Yesterday, Cappellini was able to muster thirteen votes in support of his proposition, with 66 against, but at today's meeting only three were found who were still ready to support it. As soon as the meeting was opened today, the discussion was turned away from the Cappellini proposition, it being attacked as a ruse to get the men back in the mines, into questioning the motives of the men who voted in favor of the proposition.

John Martini of Hilldale, fellow townsman of Cappellini, quoted in yesterday's report as questioning the district president about his pretended radicalism of 1920 and his present-day attitude, attacked those who lacked the courage to talk while Cappellini was in the meeting.

On the Defensive.
He said "If some of you who had so much to say while he was away, had talked to his face as I did, things might have been different." Martini's remarks had the effect of putting those who voted yesterday to return to work without settlement on the defensive. One of them, Tony Brudigo of Old Forge, in defense of himself, stated that it was unwise to attack Cappellini like that, as he believed the district president was doing the best he could, and voted accordingly being one of the three to do so at the session today.

The other ten who voted to accept at yesterday's meeting, evidently saw the "pig-in-the-poke" and changed to their original position, voting to stay out at today's session. . . . Mediator Davis, of the department of labor, who has been present at most of the sessions, was rebuked at the meeting yesterday, when he pleaded with the men to accept the proposition of their president. When he said "I am telling you the 'Honest-to-God' truth when I say that the proposition made by your president is a good one," the delegates in chorus yelled "Go sit down some place."

Admitted Men Were Right.
Today he was back again, and, after admitting that the men were right and justified in their stand, he requested that they refrain from getting angry when he informed them that they are "making a mistake in refusing to accept Cappellini's offer, and that if the strike hangs on they will realize it more fully."

However, he aroused the ire of one of the delegates, who stated that the newspaper man present, would probably report that Davis had said the men were making a mistake, but would fail to report what he said about the strike being a justifiable one. He also took issue with a statement made by Davis about "abiding by contract" saying, "I am willing and want to be a United Mine Worker, but if the contract we work under gets us nothing what the hell is the use of belonging to it?"

Cappellini Did Not Answer.
Delegate Rossetti from the Underwood colliery, the place where most of the grievances are still awaiting adjustment, drew the attention of the delegates today, to the fact, that when he enumerated the many grievances at his mine yesterday for the benefit of Cappellini, that Cappellini had refused to answer to most of his claims, while others were admitted and some were denied. He surprised the committee with a statement that, after the session adjourned yesterday, he approached Cappellini and in a discussion with him, made the statement that "The Pennsylvania Coal company promises many things, but fails to give anything," to which Cappellini replied, in effect, that when the strike ended he (Rossetti) in the U. M. W. of A. a note was made of this charge and a sub-committee, chosen to meet with the district officials and the international commission to attempt a settlement of the grievances, was instructed to take up the matter along with other things.

The committee is determined that no discrimination will be tolerated. Five hundred miners, employed at the Maltby mine of the Lehigh Valley Coal company, went on strike yesterday, when they learned that the umpire of the conciliation board had made an adverse decision in a case from that mine. District officials are endeavoring to have them return to work.

MICHIGAN COURTS' RULING IN THE RUTHENBERG CASE PUNISHES IDEAS

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tute an entirely different crime punishable now by other laws of the state."

Dealing with the facts in regard to the convention, the court makes the following statement:
"Defendant, as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, by virtue of his office, attended the convention as a fraternal delegate with the right to address, and did address the convention. One duly elected delegate in attendance was a special employe of the United States department of justice, bureau of investigation. A delegate from the Comintern (Communist or Third International) Moscow, Russia, was present, and a delegate from the Hungarian federation and another from the Red Trade International at Moscow were presented and participated in the convention. Defendant reached the convention on Aug 15 and remained there until arrested on Aug. 22.

"Federal officers, investigating activities of Communists, traced down the convention place, recognized certain Communists in attendance, and laid the matter before the sheriff of Berrien county. The Communists in attendance recognized the federal officers and laid plans to disperse, with right to foreigners to go first, and many of the delegates hurriedly left. The sheriff, with a number of deputies and the federal officers, visited the convention place one morning and arrested defendant and sixteen others, without warrants for arrest or search, seized their baggage, and took them to the county jail. The sheriff then learned of the depository of the grounds committee and made search, found the barrels and seized their contents."

Discussing the question of Ruthenberg's participation in the convention at Bridgeman, the court says:

"That defendant voluntarily assembled with the other delegates at the Bridgeman convention as a Communist leader, factor and paid official is placed beyond question. Defendant, as a member of the Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International of Moscow, Russia, was re-elected a member of the Central Executive Committee at the Bridgeman convention. The national convention at Bridgeman was called by the Central Executive Committee, of which committee defendant was a member. He attended the Bridgeman convention as a fraternal delegate, by virtue of his office, with the right to address, and did address, the convention. He was a voluntary vassal of the Third International and, as such, was on the errand of carrying out its policies, furthering its doctrines, and advocating its tactics. So found, so bound, so working and assembling with others formed as a group or society to teach the doctrines and tactics of the Communist Party he is to be judged by the declared policies, fixed doctrines, and commanded tactics of the Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International."

The court took up at length the present program of the Workers Party which was written by Ruthenberg and which he had with him at the Bridgeman convention, and says in regard to this program:

"This proposed program as was intended, dovetailed with the illegal purposes of the Communist Party. It declared: 'The capitalist state, that is, the existing government, municipal, state and national is the organized power of the capitalist class for suppression of the demands of the exploited and oppressed workers.' It stated: 'The class struggle must take the form of a political struggle, a struggle for control of the government.' But this was so transparently unbecome as to mislead no one. It declared: 'The much talked of 'American democracy' is a fraud. Such formal democracy as is written into the constitution and laws of the country is camouflage to hide the real character of the rule of the capitalist.' It also declared the futility of accomplishing their ends thru political action and mapped the following scheme: 'The Workers Party will also nominate its candidates and enter into the election campaigns to expose the fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and carry on the propaganda for the Soviets.' It must be understood, in considering this program, that the authors thereof make no distinction between capitalist, capitalism, and the American form of government."

And further along in the opinion, it has this to say in regard to the program of the Workers Party:
"The unlawful intended purpose of such mass power was stated: 'If during the present strike of the coal miners, the railroad shopmen and textile workers, the whole working class had united in mass meeting and mass demonstration against the use of courts and soldiers in the strike, they could have thru such mass pressure compelled the government to withdraw the troops and recall the injunctions.'"
"It predicted: 'The miners and railroad shopmen are learning from the experience of their struggles

that the strongest weapon the capitalists use against them is the power of the government. The mass struggle of the workers will teach them the same lesson, and from these experiences the mass struggles of the workers will become struggles directed toward the end of wresting the governmental power from the hands of the capitalist and establishing the workers republic.'"
"It proposed to destroy the government: 'The Workers Party will carry on propaganda to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity of supplanting the existing capitalist government with a Soviet government. . . . The Soviet government of the workers, will, because of the same necessity—the necessity of suppressing the capitalist—be a dictatorship of the workers. . . . Capitalist Government and Religion.'"
The court went at length into the question of the relation of religion to the existing capitalist government and held that it was proper to introduce the religious issue into the trial, in view of the fact that religion is one of the bulwarks of government. The following quotation from the opinion states this view:
"Defendant claims great hurt because Buchrain's exegesis to Communists, pointing out the necessity of the destruction of religion, was read to the jury and insists it bore no relation to the charge of criminal syndicalism. While no law can be made in this country respecting religion, and none prohibiting the free exercise thereof, the great moral force of religion in its relation to good government and the happiness of mankind, as expressed in the great ordinance of 1787, for the government of the northwest territory, has ever been recognized and is clearly apparent to Communists; for this force stands as a bulwark against their machinations and nefarious schemes. Therefore, they attack religion, with resolve to absolutely destroy the same, because of its support of the state."
"The influence of christianity in diffusing moral conceptions of free contract, individual property and testamentary succession is well stated in Main's 'Early History of Institutions.'"
Rehearing Possible.
In view of the fact that the Michigan court failed in its opinion to meet the contentions of the defense in regard to the question of whether the ruling of the trial court that it was not necessary that either the Communist Party or Ruthenberg advocate ideas in violation of the criminal syndicalist law in the state of Michigan, it is possible that the defense may ask for a rehearing before the Michigan supreme court in order to press this question upon the court and get a definite opinion upon same. Under the court rules, the defense has forty days in which to ask for a rehearing. Frank P. Walsh and I. E. Ferguson, attorneys for Ruthenberg are considering this question and a decision as to whether to demand a rehearing in the Michigan court or appeal to the United States supreme court, will be made within a few days. In case it is decided to appeal to the supreme court without further action of the Michigan court, Ruthenberg will have to appear before Judge Wiest of the St. Joseph trial court and be sentenced by the judge before the case can go to the supreme court of the United States. The question whether Ruthenberg shall remain free on bail, pending the proceedings before the United States supreme court is up to Judge Wiest of the trial court. Should he refuse bail, an application can be made to the supreme court to allow bail pending the outcome of the case.

Capitalists in Mourning Over Gompers' Going

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one John C. McArthur, representing Major-General Charles P. Summerall, commanding Fort Sam Houston, to tender the respects and services of the United States army. "The army considers it has suffered a serious loss," said Col. McArthur, in recognition of the labor faker who led the American unions into class collaboration with American capital in the world war. And Col. McArthur added "He was a loyal American. He is a friend gone."

From the capitalist newspapers, even in foreign countries, come expressions of sorrow that the great lieutenant of capitalism in the army of labor, has died. The London Standard says that altho Gompers was an autocratic dictator, "it was a sane autocracy, for whenever his followers show the slightest sign of drifting into Bolshevism or even socialism, he put his foot down." The Evening News agrees, and the Sunday Observer says that Gompers was responsible for "the failure of the revolutionary element to gain ascendancy in the American labor world." French capitalist papers unite in praising as a friend of French imperialism.

Post-Mortem Class Collaboration.
Even in death Gompers desired to associate himself with the bitterest enemies of the workers. Five or six years ago, he bought a burial plot in the most aristocratic graveyard in the United States, in the Sleepy Hollow cemetery at Tarrytown, N. Y., where the most wealthy and prominent capitalists of the nation are buried.

The grave that Gompers selected for his final companionship with the capitalists, lies less than 200 feet from the grave of Andrew Carnegie the founder of the United States Steel corporation and about the same distance from the tomb of William Rockefeller, brother and co-conspirator, against the workers with old John D. Near by is the grave of John D. Archbold, president of the Standard Oil when its subsidiary corporation, the Colorado Fuel and Iron company massacred the striking miners, their women and their babies in the tent colony of Ludlow, Colorado. Gompers lived and died for capitalism. It is a fitting location for his grave.

C. P. P. A. Has Hopes That Its Proposed Party Will Succeed

(Continued from Page 1.)

Mrs. Glenn Plumb, widow of the author of the Plumb plan.

Bewildered as to "The Future."
The "progressive party of Illinois" will hold a convention immediately after the national convention of the conference for progressive political action, declared Charles J. McGowan, state chairman.

"We have not formulated any definite plans," McGowan said. "The national convention to be held in Chicago Feb. 21, will be made up of state delegations which supported the LaFollette campaign."

"All those who supported the LaFollette campaign in Illinois will be invited to the Illinois convention."

Doesn't Know Its Strength.
When asked if any large labor organizations of Illinois had indicated their intention of going along with the "progressive party," McGowan refused to make a statement with regard to affiliations in Illinois.

The Illinois "progressive" movement is uncertain of its strength, and is marking time to see what the national convention of LaFollette elements will bring forth.

It is not definitely known what labor organizations will line up with the "third party movement" in this state.

Eronx, Attention!
NEW YORK, Dec. 14.—If you want to have an instructive and enjoyable time come to the class in the A. B. C. of Communism, given at the Bronx headquarters, 1347 Boston Road, every Tuesday night. The students discuss the philosophy and desirability of Communism to their heart's content; the instructor, Dr. I. Stammer, merely listening in, and directing the discussion along certain channels. The class is free to all Workers Party members, and only a nominal fee is charged to outsiders.

Vote to Return Close.
Traction company officials spread the report that the men had agreed to return to work Saturday night, but this has not been confirmed by representatives of the union.

It was rumored in Springfield Saturday that the trainmen had rejected by a close vote the tentative agreement between the strikers' committee and the company officials. The committee then ordered a re-checking of the vote, it was reported.

J. J. McGuire, international vice president of the Trainmen's Union, declared that the strikers' committee would again meet with the traction officials Saturday afternoon.
A report from Danville stated that the trainmen had voted to reject the compromise agreement and that the stations of the lines east of Urban were being boarded up, preparatory to a long idleness.
According to the compromise on which the men voted, nine hours was to constitute a regular working day; for passenger service and ten hours for freight service work.

An Ex-Vice President Peddles More Hokum for His Capitalist Class

By J. LOUIS ENGDALH.

TODAY, the capitalist war upon the children gains another recruit in the person of Thomas R. Marshall, at one time a "progressive" governor of Indiana, and later vice-president of these United States. But his arguments, peddled thru a press syndicate to the most reactionary capitalist dailies, are as old as the most ancient.

Marshall is out to "preserve the family." He makes his hypocritical appeal to the fathers and mothers; presumably the fathers and mothers of the working class, since the children of the rich do not go into the mines, the mills and the factories of the nation.

The prize gem advanced by the Indiana democratic politician, who also raises the age-old plea of states rights always championed by his party, is:

"To my mind the first question for each citizen to determine is: Does he belong to the state or does the state belong to him? Or, in other words: Has he organized the state to do his will or is the state organized to make him do as he chooses regardless of his desires."

This is the usual hokum passed around by apologists for the capitalist order. The capitalist state does not belong to the 110,000,000 of the American people. The capitalist state, that is called "the American government," is a weapon in the hands of the most powerful capitalists for the oppression of the masses. The family relation, the rights of children to the enjoyment of their childhood, all human rights are ground into the mire of the most cruel exploitation by this Moloch of greed.

Marshall, who is a profit system lawyer as well as politician, resorts to this usual subterfuge of "democracy," trying to fool the masses into the comfortable belief that the state belongs to them. If the masses accept this belief, as they do in giving their support to capitalist institutions, then they foolishly blame themselves for all the wrongs they suffer.

To the illusion that the state belongs to the people, Marshall adds some more hokum about "God given rights." The erstwhile vice-president claims that, "Long before he reaches 18 years of age a normal child has begun to find his way in the world," and that he must have the "God given right" to go it alone, without being hampered by a constitutional amendment declaring that, "Congress shall have the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age."

Marshall says the boy and girl under 18 years of age must enjoy the "God given right" to go out in the world and battle with the cotton trust, the textile barons, mine owners and other employers of youth labor, for the right to live. Marshall goes to church and he must get considerable heavenly-inspired joy out of this uneven combat. Yet this is not the first time that the capitalist state has found an ally in God in the struggle to defend its institutions. The church throuout "The South," in the days before the Civil War, was almost unanimous in its defense of chattel slavery. Religion is but a reflection of the system of oppression under which it thrives.

Marshall fears that the protection of the children heralds the coming of socialism. He stands petrified in the grip of a fear that any government might concern itself with the welfare of growing boys and girls.

Marshall may rest easy, insofar as his capitalist state is concerned. It will never lift the burden of toil from the shoulders of the young. No cannibal was ever born who devoured his human meal with greater relish than the joy with which capitalism feeds upon its youth. Capitalism will always fight for the right to send children into the maw of the great industrial machine, as competitors with their fathers and mothers, their grown brothers and sisters, in the slave market of the wage workers.

The problem of child labor, like the problem of unemployment and other ills inherent in the present social system, will endure as long as capitalism lasts. The struggle against child labor, the struggle against unemployment, is fundamentally the struggle to end the capitalist system and all the evils it spawns.

That is the struggle of the Workers (Communist) Party and the Young Workers (Communist) League in their joint war against child labor. Labor must learn that the fight against child labor is a fight to abolish the capitalist state; an effort to establish Soviet Rule for the suppression of the last remnant of capitalism and the ushering in of the Communist social order under which children will become the heirs of their childhood for the first time since human history began.

'OUTLAW' STRIKE OF SWITCHMEN IS UP IN COURT

Buffalo Hearing Reveals Treason of Officials

By JOSEPH SIMINOFF.
(Special to The Daily Worker)

(BUFFALO, Dec. 14.)—The "outlaw" switchmen's strike of 1920 was up in the supreme court in Buffalo. The widow of Simon J. Mahoney, an alleged "outlaw" striker, is suing the Switchmen's Union for insurance due on the policy held by her husband while a member of the union.

During the proceedings in the case a number of facts have been brought out as to the part that the officials of the Switchmen's Union played in betraying two thousand railroad workers in that strike.

Morris Welsh, grand secretary and treasurer of the union who appeared in behalf of the union testified that the 2,000 workers who in 1920 took a fishing vacation, violated the constitution of the union and struck against the United States government.

Conditions Grow Worse.
Worker after worker who was called on the witness stand pointed out that the conditions on the railroads for the workers were becoming more unbearable from day to day. The wages paid to these workers were so low that it was hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together, let alone of getting the necessities of life.

The men who were then well organized in Buffalo appealed to the grand lodge officers for action to alleviate this situation. But the bureaucracy of the Switchmen's Union, instead of acting in this situation, have been feeding these workers on promises for a number of months.

They realized that they could not expect anything from these bureaucrats, and decided to take a vacation in April 1920. The officials of the union have enlisted the aid of the railroad managers and the United States government to drive these 2,000 workers back on the railroads. Sooner than go back to the slavery endured by them on the railroads, they have found other employment.

In private conversation with some of the former switchmen, they informed me that the former grand lodge president, Althering, the man responsible for the outlawing of the switchmen's strike, while president of the union, instead of looking after the interests of the workers, has been traveling around selling oil stock for some western concern. This henchman of the capitalist class and betrayer of thousands of railroad workers, at the national convention of the union following the "outlaw" strike refused to stand for re-election as president, knowing that the membership of the union were up in arms against his vicious betrayal of the workers to the capitalist class. He went west and became the president of a western mining company.

Thru the action of these leeches of the Switchmen's Union of North America, they have succeeded in smashing the organization in Buffalo, where today there is hardly any organizer left to speak of. These misleaders have served the interests of the railroad capitalist as well as could be expected.

AS WE SEE IT
By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

(Continued from page 1)
The socialist party leaders boasted that the four or five million votes cast for LaFollette were socialist votes and pointed with scorn to the showing made at the polls by the Workers Party. They said: "Where do you land with your sectarian tactics? A paltry twenty-five thousand votes against our five million." But now a section of the socialist party has summed up sufficient courage to come out with the unpleasant truth. The votes are counted but the S. P. is wrecked. Their few remaining papers are dying. They gambled on the formation of a farmer-labor party or a third party. Even the most optimistic do not expect a labor party and the formation of a "third party" is in the lap of the gods.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW pours ridicule on the Communist International and holds that H. G. Wells' "Outline of History" is a great advance on Das Kapital, the monumental work of Karl Marx. Somebody suggested that artists of all kinds, including poets, painters, cartoonists and fiction writers, should be conspired against, to the extent of preventing them from securing positions that would enable them to vote on policies affecting for good or ill the destiny of the workingclass movement. The idea back of the suggestion is that the type of mind necessary in order to excel in any of the above pursuits is entirely unfit for political activities. The suggestion is given here without comment.

ELEMENTARY MARXIAN ECONOMICS

CLASS in Elementary Marxian Economics meets Wednesday night, at 8:15 p. m., 2613 Hirsch Blvd. Earl R. Browder, instructor. All comrades entered in this class are required to be present this week; failure to appear or to present valid excuse will result in being dropped from the roll.

Text for this week's lesson is "The Peoples' Marx," 1921 edition, Chapters I, II, III, and IV. Answer the following questions with material from these four chapters but in your own words:

1. Show that it is impossible to find the determining factor of prices in the "cost of production."
 2. Explain how the existence of an average rate of profit creates the illusion for the capitalist that his income is the natural fruit of his capital.
 3. Show the contradictions that are involved in the theory that a commodity increases in value thru the process of purchase and sale.
 4. Show the contradictions that follow from the idea that commodities are sold above their value.
 5. What relation has the useful quality of a commodity to its rate of exchange with other commodities?
 6. Explain briefly why "labor-time" is the only possible basis of measurement of value, and how this "labor-time" must be understood as "socially necessary labor-time."
 7. Show that the surplus value realized in the form of profit during the process of circulation of commodities must necessarily have its origin in the process of production.
 8. Explain how the capitalist can follow the law of exchange of equal values for equal values, in the purchase of all things necessary for production, and yet, after employing these commodities in production, find himself with a greater value than he expended.
 9. Explain the vital difference for the capitalist between capital invested in raw material and means of production, on the one hand, and capital invested in labor-power on the other hand.
 10. Does the capitalist advance the wages to the worker, or is it the worker who advances credit to the capitalist? Explain.
- The review of "Value, Price and Profit," required from all students of the class, are not yet all turned into the instructor. Please send them in as soon as possible. One of the best submitted so far is that by William Edwards. It will be published tomorrow. Others will follow.

MILITARIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES IS PROGRAM FOR 1925

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 14.—The war department has issued instructions intensifying the militarization of the United States during 1925, and speeding up the work of training army units for the next year. "Principles learned in the battles of the world war" are to be taught in the regular army, the national guard, and the reserve organizations.
An all-year-round recruiting campaign is to be inaugurated, the war department announces, and emphasis is laid on the mobilizing of a larger army for 1925.

Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

HUNGARIAN CONVENTION CAPTURED BY FARMER-LABOR PARTY IDEA

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.
(A Report to the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party on the Convention of the Hungarian Section of the Party.)

If there was any additional proof needed of the menacing nature of the minority the convention of the Hungarian section of the Workers Party supplied this proof. For nearly four hours the convention debated the thesis of the C. E. C. and of the minority. Nearly everyone who spoke, with the exception of one delegate, seemed to be dominated by one idea—namely, that if we drop the farmer-labor party slogan we thereby sign the death warrant of the Communist movement in America. It seemed as if the farmer-labor party idea had become an obsession with the comrades who cannot imagine the further development of our movement without this slogan.

In one of the resolutions adopted by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern we find the following idea expressed: That our struggle against the petty bourgeois pacifist illusions dominating at present the minds of large sections of labor throughout the world, is bound to be successful provided the Communist parties themselves do not become contaminated with these very same illusions. The impression forced upon me by the debate at the Hungarian convention was that at least some sections of our party are becoming contaminated with such illusions. That this is a menace to our party everyone will admit.

Some Peculiar Arguments of the Minority.

There is no need here for going into detail of the report of the central executive committee as well as of the report made in the name of the minority by Comrade Gitlow. It is necessary, however, to relate some of the features of the arguments used by Comrade Gitlow. Comrade Gitlow resented very much the charge of opportunism directed by the central executive committee against the minority for its policy of emasculating the Workers Party and of building a substitute for it. In reply to this charge Comrade Gitlow advised the Hungarian convention to examine the personnel of the majority and minority of the central executive committee. To assist the convention in this examination of personal records, Comrade Gitlow volunteered a bit of information. He said the minority is composed of comrades of long standing in the labor movement, people who have sacrificed for the movement, have served prison terms for their ideas, and have thereby proven their fitness for leadership in the American Communist Party. I do not recall whether Comrade Gitlow volunteered any information on the record of the members of the majority. But the conclusion to be drawn from his statement was that the members of the majority of the central executive committee do not possess the virtues attributed by him to the minority, at least not in the same measure, and therefore the contentions of the central executive committee must not be taken seriously.

Another very peculiar argument used by Comrade Gitlow in the debate was the proposal of the minority to retain the slogan for a class farmer-labor party and carry on an intensive campaign for such a party also finds its justification from the experiences of the Russian Communist Party. He said, the Russian Communist Party initiated a movement for the organization of Soviets. Why did the Russian party do it? Why did the Russian party build non-Communist, non-partisan political bodies, such as Soviets? The answer is, because the Russian party knew that by means of these Soviets it will be able to mobilize large masses of workers and poor farmers, organize them around itself for revolutionary struggle against capitalism. The American party has the same duty to perform in the United States. It, therefore, must create non-partisan political bodies in order to achieve the above end. Consequently, the Workers Party of America must carry on a campaign for a farmer-labor party.

The above arguments were, of course, not the only ones used by Comrade Gitlow. There were many more of the stock arguments that are burdening the shelves of the minority archives. When, however, a representative of the minority finds it necessary to resort to such arguments as those related above it would prove that his cause is in a very bad way. And so it is. But the majority of the Hungarian convention was so obsessed with the farmer-labor idea and with many more fears and prejudices which I am going to touch upon later that it decided overwhelmingly to support the thesis of the minority. I might as well point out that there were at the convention quite a number of delegates (between 5 and 8) that abstained from voting altogether. The rest of the convention voted for the minority resolution except for one delegate who dared to raise his voice in favor of the position of the central executive committee. And in passing I wish to remark that it really required some courage to do so.

Resolution on Report of C. E. C. The resolution adopted by the convention is already published in the party press. The following is the resolution on the report of the central executive committee submitted to the Hungarian convention by the representative of the central executive committee:

"The convention of the Hungarian section accepts the report of the central executive committee submitted to it by Comrade A. Bittelman and pledges its full support to the program of Bolshevizing the party as outlined in the program of the central executive committee, particularly the section which calls for an ideological struggle against all opportunistic tendencies in the party.

"The convention of the Hungarian section is in full agreement with the central executive committee on the necessity of concentrating the efforts of the party and every section of it upon the upbuilding of the strength of the party in the basic industries thru the reorganization of the party on the shop nuclei basis.

"The convention is also in full agreement with the central executive committee on the necessity of each language section functioning in closest contact with and under the supervision of the general party organization.

"The convention recommends to the Hungarian branches of the party a thorough discussion of the theses of the central executive committee and of the minority in order to participate intelligently in the solution of the problems immediately confronting the party.

This resolution received only one vote at the convention, not because of its merits but because of the definite line-up effected by the minority even before the convention came into session. One of the Hungarian comrades remarked to me hours before the discussion on the report began that the central executive committee position will be defeated overwhelmingly at the convention.

Before proceeding to the other phases of the convention I wish to make one brief comment on one particular section of the minority resolution which was adopted by the convention. It is section 3, point c. It reads:

"The complete reorganization of the industrial department of the party in order that it may carry out the tasks laid down for it by the R. I. L. U. in its recent decision."

Now, as this thing stands, one would get the impression that the convention had before it a special report of the industrial department, that the convention discussed that report and found that there was something wrong with the department, and was, therefore, in favor of reorganizing it for more effective work. As a matter of fact the convention hardly touched upon the industrial department of the party. Very little if anything has been said about the industrial department. No proposals whatever were submitted for making the department a more effective instrument in the hands of the party. In other words, the convention neither said nor did anything to justify the insertion of such a paragraph in the resolution. And yet it is in there. And for no other reason, so it seems to me, than to insinuate something which no one had the courage openly to state. Such practices, whatever their intrinsic merits, will hardly contribute to make our party a better party.

Comrade Amter Raises Issue of Pepper.

Altho not officially delegated by the central executive committee, Comrade Amter appeared before the Hungarian convention and delivered a speech. This rather irregular procedure is explained by the "special invitation" extended to Comrade Amter by the convention. This however is not the main point. The important thing is what Comrade Amter told the convention. And what he told the convention in so many words was that since Comrade Pepper was no longer in our midst the Workers Party has been steadily going to the dogs, and that he hopes and is convinced that Comrade Pepper will some day again be in our ranks and will then lead us to the final victory over capitalism. There was, as the report goes, "Tremendous applause and great demonstration." The point that I wish to raise here is, on what ground will Comrade Amter and the minority justify the raising of this issue in the party? By what arguments will they prove that such speeches as Comrade Amter's are contributing to the welfare of the Workers Party? Factionalism as a rule is most rampant in pre-convention periods, but it would seem that there must be a limit to it somewhere.

Organization and Activities of Hungarian Section.

The field of Communist propaganda and organization among the Hungarian speaking workers of the United States is very large. There are tens of thousands of Hungarian workers employed in the basic industries, such as steel and coal. Yet the Hungarian section of our party (like many others) is still a very small organization. Its membership does not run above 600. The main strength of our Hungarian section does not yet lie

Regulations for Mass Membership Meetings

In accordance with the recent decision of the Central Executive Committee, mass membership meetings will be held upon the indicated dates in the following cities for the purpose of discussion of the proposed main political theses of the Workers Party:

CITY	DATE	SPEAKERS	C. E. C. MINORITY
New York	Sunday, Dec. 28	James P. Cannon	C. E. Ruthenberg
Chicago	Sunday, Dec. 28	William Z. Foster	Max Bedacht
Detroit	Sunday, Dec. 28	Earl R. Browder	J. Louis Engdahl
Cleveland	Sunday, Dec. 28	Alex. Bittelman	Jay Lovestone
Minneapolis	Sunday, Dec. 28	William F. Dunne	Benjamin Gitlow
New Haven	Thursday, Jan. 1	James P. Cannon	C. E. Ruthenberg
Boston	Sunday, Jan. 4	James P. Cannon	C. E. Ruthenberg
Philadelphia	Sunday, Jan. 4	William Z. Foster	Benjamin Gitlow
Buffalo	Sunday, Jan. 4	Earl R. Browder	Max Bedacht
Pittsburgh	Sunday, Jan. 4	Alex. Bittelman	Jay Lovestone

These meetings shall be held directly under the auspices of the Central Executive Committee and organized by the respective District Executive Committees. In each city the chairman of the meeting shall be the District Organizer of the Workers Party. In opening the meetings, the District organizers shall read these regulations.

In New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Pittsburgh and New Haven, the meetings shall begin at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon. They shall be opened by the representative of the Central Executive Committee with an hour's speech. This shall be followed by an hour's speech by the designated representative of the minority. Then the debate shall be opened to the membership. A recess shall be taken from 5:30 to 7:00 p. m., when the debate will be resumed. At not later than 10:00 p. m. the representative of the minority shall make his summing up speech, not to exceed 30 minutes in length. The C. E. C. representative shall then close the debate with a 30 minute speech. After this, without delay, a vote of the membership shall be taken upon the theses before the meetings.

In the debates every effort shall be exerted to give the rank and file the fullest opportunity for expression. Speeches from the floor shall not exceed 10 minutes in length unless extension of time is granted by the meeting. Speakers shall be alternated. No two speakers representing one point of view shall speak consecutively so long as there are speakers representing other points of view demanding the floor.

In organizing the meetings care shall be taken that no one be admitted except good standing members of the Workers Party and the Young Workers League. Members of the Young Workers League who are not members of the Workers Party shall be admitted to the meetings but shall not be permitted to vote.

At all the scheduled membership meetings there shall be a collection taken up to defray the expenses of the meetings, including speakers' railroad fare, hall rent, etc.

A letter shall be sent to all the branches of the Workers Party informing them of these regulations for the party discussion mass membership meetings.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
William Z. Foster, Chairman,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

in the basic industries of the country. The need for the reorganization on the shop nuclei basis as well as the conditions for the success of such reorganization are very strong in the Hungarian section.

There were present at the convention 24 delegates representing Hungarian-speaking branches of the party. 2 delegates from the National Hungarian Propaganda Committee of the Young Workers League, and 7 fraternal delegates representing the Hungarian Bureau and various benevolent and fraternal organizations among the Hungarian workers.

From the report of the bureau it could be seen that the Hungarian section participated in every political campaign of the party and in some places quite effectively. But the major activities of the section on the field of Hungarian work were the activities of the section among the benevolent and fraternal organizations among the Hungarian-speaking workers. In one of these organizations having a very large membership our Hungarian comrades were able to win the practical leadership which was of tremendous importance to the activities of our Hungarian section. The convention devoted a large portion of its time to outlining political and organizational means for the extension of the influence of the Hungarian section among other fraternal organizations, particularly among those which are dominated by petty bourgeois leadership.

The convention adopted an extensive plan of education designed to Bolshevize the Hungarian section. It is a good program so far as programs go. From the debate it was apparent that this was not the first program of the kind adopted by the Hungarian section, only it was not as yet put into effect. There is no reason why the incoming bureau should not be able to develop this program of education on a really large and effective scale, particularly since it has for its service a daily newspaper, the New Eloro. This Hungarian organ of the party enjoys a good reputation among large sections of Hungarian speaking workers. By proper organization measures the New Eloro should prove an excellent means not only for gaining influence among the masses but

also for Bolshevizing the Hungarian section itself.

Of the other problems discussed by the convention I must mention the problem of Communist work among working class women and among the working class youth. Programs have been adopted for each of these phases of our activity. We must, however, impress the Hungarian comrades as well as the other sections of the party that our work among working class women must be concentrated mainly on the women employed in shops. The usual practice is to devote most of the attention to housewives, which should not be the case. And inasmuch as Communist work is carried on among housewives it should be linked up with our Communist activities among the women employed in shops and factories.

The convention elected a bureau of nine workers to carry on the work of the organization. It might be well to point out in this connection that there was a strong sentiment at the convention to bar paid officials of the organization from being elected members of the bureau. This sentiment, whatever its basic reasons, is not a very healthy sign. The representative of the central executive committee explained to the delegates that to be a paid employe of the party in itself is no crime to be punished, but that if some paid officials do not deserve to be elected on the bureau they certainly are not fit to hold any responsible position in the organization. The convention accepted the point of view of the central executive committee as expressed in a special resolution. However, the leading comrades in the Hungarian section would do well to examine and remove the causes producing such a sentiment.

The Hungarian section of the party has before it a great field for work. By paying more attention to the basic industries, by assisting the party in the process of reorganization on the shop nuclei basis, by Bolshevizing the minds of its own membership, and by living in closer contact with the life of the general party organization, the next convention of the Hungarian section will undoubtedly register greater achievements for the Communist movement in America.

THREE INTERESTING ARTICLES.

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

THE December issue of the Workers Monthly can be read from cover to cover with benefit by the members of our party as well as by non-members, but there are three articles in this number that should prove of unusual interest during the period of intense party discussion.

The articles referred to are by Comrades Foster, Ruthenberg and Bittelman, and discuss the policies of the Workers Party. Foster and Bittelman treat the farmer-labor party very much like a nightmare while Ruthen-

berg appears to be still hugging a political fantasy. Foster and Bittelman figuratively scan the horizon for a glimpse of farmer-labor party sentiment and cannot even see a chin whisker, while according to Ruthenberg, embattled farmers "dirt" and otherwise form a black cloud on the landscape.

Enough could be written about the title of Comrade Ruthenberg's article to fill several columns of space on the DAILY WORKER: "Is the movement towards class political action dead?" This title immediately raises

the question in the mind of a Communist, "What is the Workers Party if not a class party?" Precisely! What have we been cuddling to our bosoms for so many years? The theme of Comrade Ruthenberg's article is that there is only one form of working class political action and that is thru a so-called farmer-labor united front in election campaigns. The minority can squirm and try to evade this indictment, but not even so clever a journalistic painter of images as Comrade Robert Minor can succeed in hiding this issue behind a fog bank of phrases.

Comrade Foster's article is entitled: "The significance of the elections." It explains the absorption of the farmer-labor party movement by the progressive movement or the LaFollette movement as it is popularly known, LaFollette being its principal standard bearer and ideological leader. It is pretty bourgeois minded and quite happy plugging along toward the swamp of illusions behind the petty bourgeois "Indian guide," LaFollette. Foster tells how the central executive committee decided to drop the dead farmer-labor party and the just as dead farmer-labor party slogan. He goes on to give a brief and lucid history of the reason why our party adopted the slogan of "For a mass-farmer-labor party" in 1922. When this slogan aroused the enthusiasm of the workers, when it was a fighting slogan, that enabled the Communists to make contact with large masses of workers and secure leadership over them it was a Communist slogan. When that slogan no longer arouses the interests of the workers, when "it leaves them cold," so to speak, it has no value for the Communist Party.

You will gather from Foster's article that slogans in themselves are not sacred things to be worshipped as an ignorant Russian peasant would worship an ikon, or an Irish catholic would prostrate himself before the statue of a saint. They are means to an end, not merely ends in themselves. Foster does not believe in setting up a cordon sanitaire of alleged progressives around the Workers Party in order to inveigle the workers into our red parlor as the clever spider would seduce the fly. While it is true that you can catch more flies with molasses than with vinegar, it is also true that the Workers Party is not in the fly-catching business. It is in the business of perfecting a political party for the overthrow of capitalist rule. To accomplish that purpose revolutionary workers and not human flies are needed. Our leaders must not be spiders. They must show their Communist faces to the working class.

Another article, which goes more completely into our whole labor party policy than any of the others, is one entitled, "In retrospect" by Alexander Bittelman. Comrades Bittelman and Foster take the same position, in the present controversy in the party. They agree that the farmer-labor party is dead and no longer serves the purpose of helping us to build up the Workers (Communist) Party. Bittelman, in brief, points out that we had a farmer-labor party policy when there was a farmer-labor party movement that is none of our business as Communists to create something out of nothing, to create two parties where one exists now, in other words to build a party dual to and in competition with the Workers Party. Aside from the financial drain on our party membership of maintaining a useless political vermin appendix, the effects on their morale would lead to disaster.

Bittelman quotes from the various theses and C. E. C. statements written on the subject since 1922. He analyzes our united front with Fitzpatrick and our orientation towards Mahoney, from Chicago to St. Paul, then towards reality and the waging of an election campaign under the banner of Communism. The last paragraph in Bittelman's article is herewith quoted to relieve the fears of those who believe with Comrade Ruthenberg and his minority faction that the central executive committee has dropped the united front tactic because it has spurned the illusion that an entente with Sidney Hillman, Mahoney, or Morris Hillquit is the kind of a united front that the Communist International has laid down as the basic tactic of its various sections.

Bittelman finishes his article with this paragraph: "We shall now have no labor policy because there is no farmer-labor party movement. We shall 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 Workers Party into a powerful mass Communist Party."

Of course, it is impossible to give anything except the barest sketch of

the contents of the December issue of the Workers Monthly in a brief review. To do justice to anyone of the articles would require at least two columns. The three articles referred to are selected because of the tremendous value to the party of the present discussion on the farmer-labor issue. This question is followed with keen interest by radical workers not yet in our party. Both sides are entitled to and are given unlimited freedom and opportunity for discussion within party bounds of discipline by the C. E. C. Ruthenberg's article should be read carefully and so should the articles of Comrades Foster and Bittelman. Our members will thus be able to form their own opinions as to which policy is the better for the Workers Party to adopt. The writer has not doubt but the overwhelming bulk of our membership will repudiate farmer-laborism.

Your Policy Must Be
—Buy a Policy—

WILL THE MINORITY EVER LEARN?

By JOSEPH R. BOOTH.

THE minority thesis is quite astonishing, judging it in the light of evidence staring at the face of our gross, expensive, experimental failure in the past, by wasting most of the party's energy in building the "farmer-labor party," which was inflicted body and soul with LaFolletteism.

What brand of a farmer-labor party is now possible? Without the LaFollette and Gompers it becomes numerically insignificant, and with them it forms a rotten, petty-bourgeois dump to dump the discontent of farmer-labor, and it is bad enough to contend with such an evil when it exists, without trying to create it, especially now when the working masses don't hit this trail. It is, then, not in the least a natural process, but only a mechanical absurdity.

Yes! It is high time to sober up and to state the exact truth that while our party is still weak our influence is not enough to bring about a farmer-labor party. On the other hand when we get powerful we may not need such a party.

Furthermore, to ripen the working masses politically does not require to play with the tragic-comical role of leading them step by step, first into a

No Disagreement Here!

We discuss the future tasks of the party preliminary to a decision. After a decision is rendered we march forward unitedly to carry it into effect.

In all this the DAILY WORKER lends a BIG hand. Today it constitutes our forum for discussion. Tomorrow it will help to carry the decision made into life.

We can not get along without our daily. And if you are sincere in your desire to keep it, you'll HELP INSURE IT FOR 1925. INSURANCE POLICIES ARE ISSUED. Denomination: \$10, \$5 and \$1. Make it your policy to BUY A POLICY.

THE WORKERS PARTY:
William Z. Foster,
Chairman
C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Secretary

farmer-labor party, then into the S. P. S. L. P., proletarian party and finally the Workers Party . . . so long as we possess a real effective method of bringing them under our leadership, by firmly participating in their everyday bitter political and economic struggles.

In political election campaign, we must come out with our own full program, under our own name; to do otherwise means misrepresentation to the workers, the losing of our identity, and bringing chaos in our own ranks.

All we have to do is to observe the supreme lessons in a comparison of our last splendid political campaign, carried on under our own revolutionary banner, and that of the farmer-labor party reformist agitation bunk.

Of our young party, a good many members had to be expelled for going wrong, over our experienced political policy, and many others got principally loose and demoralized. So for the sake of Communism let's stop the rainbow chasing for political side-kickers and instead, centralize all party activities into fruitful channels, that will raise the prestige of our cause, and in the meantime strengthen our own Workers Party!

"PROGRAMS" FOR ACTION— WORDS FOR DEEDS!

By MAX BEDACHT.

COMRADE CANNON in one of his recent contributions to the party discussion, digs down deep into mud to get epithets to hurl at the minority. All the veneer of gentleness he wears as a rule falls off him and instead of the Communist, discussing with other Communists, stands revealed the bullying brawler. There is little to be said about such "convincing" arguments. They answer themselves.

If the minority were convinced that their opponents are crooks it would meet them as accusers, not in a party discussion, but in a party trial. But since our opinion of the majority is that they are totally unfit for leadership over our party, we meet them in discussion before the membership and call upon the latter to judge not their political honesty but the political service of the majority.

The issue in the present discussion is action versus propaganda, campaigns versus "programs." The issue is whether the party shall continue to be a political party, or whether it should become an educational league. Labor Party Welcome as Long as We Only Talk About It.

The labor party issue was welcome as a basis for a campaign by all as long as this campaign confined itself to the introduction of resolutions in trades unions demanding the endorsement of the idea of a labor party. But when this educational campaign was to be turned into one of action, when the party was called upon to take lead not only in talking about the labor party but in actually forming it, then the trouble began.

The majority is at present engaged in proving that the labor party as such is a bad, a dangerous, a damnable thing. But in his report to the Profintern, made by Comrade Foster in May of this year, thought so much about the idea of a labor party that he even robbed the Workers (Communist) Party of the credit of having initiated a movement for it. He thought so much of it at that time, that he took full credit for the Trade Union Educational League for having initiated the labor party idea. Foster even takes credit for the July conference in Chicago in 1923 and maintains in that report that the T. U. E. L. succeeded in getting representatives of 700,000 workers to assemble on that memorable occasion. But the achievements of the T. U. E. L. in Moscow turn into crimes of the minority in the U. S. Why so? Because up to the conference the present majority could subscribe to all of the actions of the party. The present majority carried out these actions in some form of a united front move-

ment in Chicago, in which our party and its members took the initiative for all the measures propagated by our party, in the trade unions. But the credit for these activities fell as a ripe fruit into the pockets of the reactionary leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and earned for them the fame of extreme progressivism. Now, in this conference of July 3, 1923, the executive committee of the party demanded a change. It demanded that our party, the Workers, the Communist Party should take its rightful place as the leader of the movement. It demanded that the party come out from under its cover of Fitzpatrick's progressivism and operate as the Workers, the Communist Party. No one in the party closed his eyes to the fact that this step might lead to a conflict with Fitzpatrick. The ones that dreaded this conflict most were the comrades that were responsible for the united front in Chicago, and that knew that they had "won" the Chicago Federation of Labor thru Fitzpatrick, but that they had made no attempt to hold Fitzpatrick by winning the Chicago Federation of Labor, the rank and file unions. Foster condemned that conflict with Fitzpatrick and preferred a conflict with the executive committee of the Workers (Communist) Party.

From then on the present majority began its struggle for power in the party. And the outstanding reason for this struggle for power was, that the Foster group wanted to be sure that in a similar situation like that of July, 1923, there would be no Communist executive committee of our party that would force Foster to break faith with some Fitzpatrick.

Majority's Activities Consist In Passing of Resolutions.

As long as our Trade Union Educational League confined itself to the introduction and the passing of resolutions for this and that the league met comparatively little opposition. The outward acceptance of such resolutions even helped many an arch reactionary labor leader to get crowned with a halo of progressivism. The trouble only started when the Workers (Communist) Party did its duty and initiated action in the place of mere propaganda. Our majority is so stuck on the idyllic days of old, when we introduced resolutions galore but lived in peace, that they insist on killing the last remnant of any large scale activity that the party has initiated in the past.

To achieve this end the majority must discredit the minority. This they cannot do without trying to prove that the minority not only proposes a wrong policy, but that the

(Continued on page 4)

Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

"PROGRAMS" FOR ACTION— WORDS FOR DEEDS!

(Continued from page 3)

minority is an outright traitor to Communism. To accomplish this the majority is forced to set up a theory about labor parties. Labor parties are bad eo ipso, because they are reformist, because they compete with the Workers Party for leadership, etc. And after our majority has proven to its own satisfaction that any proposal of a labor party is a traitor to Communism they say that if the masses would demand a labor party, then, of course, the majority would be willing to work for it. Wonderful Communism, is it not? A damnable thing is the labor party. But if the masses want it, then we will raise the slogan and work for the formation of one. We ask the majority: Is it really the task of the Communists to oblige the workers by taking up and aiding all their whims and notions? Our answer is, No! It is one thing to be with the workers in all their mass movements, even if they go in the wrong direction, but for the purpose of changing the direction, with a view of righting the wrong. But to claim that the party must aid and support any, even a fundamentally wrong, movement of the workers, just because the workers want this movement, is surely anything but Communist. But it is the majority's view. It is the majority's desire to swim with the broad stream of the labor movement not only economically, but also politically, so that serious conflicts may be avoided, so that Comrade Foster may not be forced at some time or other to break faith with some Fitzpatrick or other.

All the activities of the majority give conclusive proof that this is not a campaign accusation but a statement of facts. All the campaigns of the Trades Union Educational League insisted on sticking to the surface. Two million organized workers declared themselves for amalgamation. That is at least half of the organized workers of the United States. What campaign was ever initiated, what plan was ever made to amalgamate? Nothing whatever. Two million had declared for thru conventions, etc. But now the same conventions declare against. Such declarations express sentiment. But what has ever been done to crystallize this sentiment into action. Nothing. And what is more, nothing will ever be done, because that might lead to serious conflicts with some Fitzpatrick or other.

The majority in all its proposals has always insisted to stick to the surface. I repeat here, and will repeat again and again, the majority solves all the problems of the party with resolutions.

Majority Had No Program For Pan-American Labor Convention.

A few days ago there took place a convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Mexico. As early as in April, 1924, eight to nine months ago the minority raised the question of preparing for this convention in advance. No action was taken. Again in May, 1924, the minority brought the question before the political committee. Nothing was done. In December, practically a few hours before the opening of the convention, when the representative of the T. U. E. L. was half way down in Mexico, the majority, at least, brought in resolutions and manifestos. The representative of the party had to receive the instructions by special delivery and had to be informed by wire to wait for them.

It is not obvious that the work of an organization as the T. U. E. L. for a gathering like the conference of the Pan-American Federation of Labor cannot begin on the eve of the conference? Is it not obvious, that it is totally inadequate for a revolutionary party to confine its activities to conventions? It is not clear that the occasion required months of preparation, in conjunction with the Communist parties of other Central and South American countries and among labor federations in these Central and South American states? Yes, that is obvious to all, except to our majority. I am sure that if this criticism does not spur the majority to some action, the passage of some resolution in the matter, then the Pan-American Federation is a closed incident for the majority until 24 hours before the opening of the next convention of that body.

Every problem under the sun is solved by the majority with a resolution. Some short while ago the executive secretary of the party sent instructions to all district organizers, pointing out the necessity of action in the field of unemployment. In the meantime some hobo organization in Chicago took up the organization of some sort of unemployed council (to boost its soup kitchen, it is claimed). Even this unemployed council may not be genuine—but it is safe to assume that the unemployed are genuine. Seeing that the party is inactive in the field of unemployment and leaves that field to others, the minority introduced the following resolution in the political committee of the party:

Unemployment.
WHEREAS: The DAILY WORKER of Dec. 8 reports that "Chicago's army of unemployed have formed a council";
WHEREAS: The central executive committee in its various programs of

action has declared itself in favor of organizing councils of the unemployed in order to enable the party to mobilize the masses for action in such a campaign;

THEREFORE: The central executive committee emphatically instructs the Chicago district executive committee and city central executive to take steps immediately to have the Communists, the Workers Party members, to put themselves at the head of this move towards organization of the unemployed begun spontaneously by the masses themselves;

THEREFORE: The central executive committee further instructs the district executive committee of Chicago to take steps to organize unemployed councils in industries where unemployment has already reached a mass character as, for example, in the bituminous coal mining industry.

THEREFORE: That the central executive committee write a letter to the Chicago district executive committee pointing out to it that it is the task of the Communists to hasten and to take the lead in action by the masses and not merely to fall in line with the masses. That we emphasize the need of the district executive committee taking effective steps to make the Workers Party the leader of this and any other unemployment councils, which may be found in the Chicago industrial area, particularly because we are now in the position of not having had the initiative in this organization of the unemployed;

THEREFORE: That the central executive committee draw up a statement for the whole party pointing out the need of the Communist, the Workers Party, avoiding the situation which occurred in Chicago where we lost the initiative in launching an unemployment council to a non-party, non-Communist organization and drawing the basic Communist lessons therefrom as to leadership of the masses.

Congratulate Chicago District Executive for Doing Nothing.

Our central executive committee majority was in a fix. Action was required. A thing that they dread at all times. But what is a majority good for if you do not use it. It is generally said that the powers of the English parliament are unlimited. That body can

do anything, except change the sex of man or woman. Well, our majority wants to prove that the English parliament is a piker when it comes to powers. A resolution was introduced by the majority, congratulating the Chicago district for its splendid work in the field of the unemployed. Here is the resolution:

"That the central executive committee takes note of the fact that the Chicago organization has participated in the organization of the unemployed and has put an organizer in the coal fields. And the central executive committee commends these comrades for that work."

What is wrong with this resolution? Oh, nothing, except that the district organizer of this same district that was to be congratulated for its splendid work, had sent into the national office of the party a letter just the day previous in which he says that he did do nothing. He reports: "In Chicago altho unemployment is marked in some instances, as, for example, the needle trades, it has not yet assumed mass character. The Hobo College of Chicago took the initiative to form a so-called unemployment council a few days ago. Altho, of course, little can be expected from it, we are keeping in touch with it, by a member on their advisory committee as a matter of having a connection. However we have not as yet taken actual steps towards formation of the councils due to the fact of the conditions already mentioned." (Our emphasis.)

For these steps "not as yet taken" the majority of the central executive committee insists on congratulating the district. The steps "not as yet taken" are touched by the magic rod of a central executive committee majority and, presto, they change into steps accomplished. Even old Jehovah has nothing on the central executive committee majority when it comes to create a universe—out of nothingness.

But the resolutions of the central executive committee do not make a Communist party out of our organization. The "programs" and resolutions of the central executive committee majority do not help to revolutionize the labor movement in America. The resolutions and "programs" of the central executive committee majority can at best satisfy a demand for propaganda, but are bound to result in a backward development of our party from a political party of action into a propaganda sect.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

By ISRAEL AMTER.

It might be called to the attention of all members of the Workers Party and especially of the majority of the C. E. C. and their followers who are loud in their claims that the Communist International supports their position, that the executive committee of the Communist International recently expressed itself on the question of the farmer-labor party.

A delegation expressing the three viewpoints on the LaFollette issue was in Moscow in the month of May. The executive committee of the Communist International, after hearing the three comrades, and entering into a close analytical discussion of the situation, decided as follows:

1. "The United States of America is at present going thru a great social and political crisis which is bound to become more and more aggravated. The agrarian crisis causing the bankruptcy of millions of farmers and, at the same time, causing many others to completely get into the clutches of the banks; the oil scandal which has accelerated the process of disintegration of both capitalist parties, all this is setting in motion tremendous masses of workers as well as of the urban and rural petty-bourgeois population. The efforts of these masses to establish a third party represent their endeavor to emancipate themselves from the domination by the trusts and their political machines. But the capitalist class will undoubtedly endeavor to retard the movement by establishing the leadership of petty-bourgeois politicians over the third party movement; it will make an ef-

fort to place it into the hands of old politicians bound by thousands of threads with the capitalist class. . . . The analysis further points out the necessity the Workers Party felt of entering into this movement to assist the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie in detaching themselves from the capitalist class and of organizing the most advanced elements of the workers in the ranks of the Workers Party.

The Communist International then proceeds: "The first task of the Workers Party is to become a mass Communist Party of workers. It can fulfill this task ONLY by most actively PARTICIPATING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT of a labor party which will embrace ALL ELEMENTS OF THE WORKING CLASS WILLING TO CONDUCT A POLICY INDEPENDENT OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS, and by establishing a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation. These two independent tasks—the task of building around the Communist Party a broad CLASS labor party and of establishing a bond between the labor party and the poorest elements of farmers—have developed in the United States, thanks to the peculiarities of historical evolution, as one problem, namely, the building of a common party of workers and exploited farmers. . . ." (Heavy type and caps, mine, I. A.)

Before entering into an analysis of this definition of the tasks of the Workers Party, it is necessary to insert a few remarks. A tendency was represented at the Comintern by

GERMAN SECTION CONVENTION APPROVES REPORT OF C. E. C.

Resolution on Report of the Central Executive Committee, Adopted by the Convention of the German Section, Workers (Communist) Party of America.

1. The National Convention of the German Section accepts the reports of the Central Executive Committee on the past activities of the party and its recommendations on the tasks of the German Section.
2. On the future policy of the party the convention recommends to the German branches a thoro discussion of the three points of views represented by the Central Executive Committee, by the minority and by Comrade Lore respectively.
3. The convention greets the declaration of Comrade Lore that he was mistaken in his views on Levi, Serratti, and on the possibilities of the labor government in England, as expressed in several editorials, and "that the Comintern was right on all these questions." It sees in it a determination on the part of Comrade Lore to solidify himself completely with the spirit, ideas, policies and leadership of the Communist International.
4. The convention accepts the conception of the Central Executive Committee on the Bolshevization of the party and its German section, and pledges all its support in carrying out the Bolshevization program of the Central Executive Committee. The convention will do all in its power to connect the German branches more completely with the general party organization and to provide all necessary means for the complete control and ownership of the German party press by the party.
5. The convention will provide all necessary means for the preparation of the German-speaking branches for the reorganization of the party on the shop-nuclei basis. Adopted by 8 against 3.

Comrade Olgin, who, because of the antagonism manifested toward Comrade Lore on account of his non-Communist position on various questions, quickly dissociated in Moscow himself from Lore. Olgin, however, represented the viewpoint of what had been termed the Lore group. He declares that he wrote the anti-LaFollette thesis—nevertheless it was approved by the group that has been termed the Lore group in the party—a charge that Comrade Olgin did not and does not deny. What did Comrade Radek, who was the reporter of the American commission to the presidium of the Comintern state? "Aside from the group which sees no political crisis in America and does not recognize the importance of the agrarian question, the differences between the other two groups represented by Comrades Foster and Pepper are . . . etc., etc." Radek made this statement because of the analysis made by Comrade Olgin, who tried to demonstrate that, as is natural in capitalist society, there are recurring crises, and that the period of 1920 to 1924 was a crisis of similar nature. An un-Marxian analysis, not taking into account the crisis that led to the world war, the Russian revolution, the chaos in Europe, the Dawes' plan, the revolt of the colonies, the agrarian crises, etc., etc. As a consequence, the point of view of the anti-LaFollette group of Olgin-Lore was given no support for the reasons that they gave—the Communist International adopting a Communist position on the matter. So much for the then Lore-Olgin group.

The Communist International states in so many words that the Workers Party can become a mass Communist Party "ONLY by most actively participating in the establishment of a labor party." The majority of the C. E. C. contends that the Comintern made this decision on the basis of the situation that existed in the United States up to the month of May. Does the majority pretend that the presidium of the Comintern believed that we should be able to develop the Workers Party into a MASS Communist Party during the few months of the election campaign? Does the majority of the C. E. C. believe that the leading Bolsheviks in the presidium of the Comintern have not a better understanding of Marxian-Leninistic methods as to suppose that this could be anything but a PROCESS OF YEARS?

The decision says, however, that ONLY by performing this task can the Workers Party become a mass Communist Party. In other words, the presidium after analyzing the situation together with the representative of the majority of the C. E. C.—WHO CLAIMS THAT HE WROTE THIS SECTION OF THE DECISION HIMSELF—declares that only the activity for the formation of a labor party will

develop the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party. Again, ask, did the presidium think this could be fulfilled during the course of the six months between May and Nov. 4? The supposition is ridiculous.

The decision says further that we must not alone participate in the labor movement, but must "actively participate in the establishment of a labor party." The Communist International is made up of parties that are supposed to represent the vanguard of the working class. Communists are supposed to be leaders, not trailers of the working class movement. They are supposed to study the development of the struggle, noting its tendencies, analyze conditions and thereupon base their policies. The presidium of the Communist International is made up of men of this character. With the assistance of the American comrades, they laid down a policy and tactics and declared not that we must wait for a movement for a farmer-labor party to arise in the United States—which the majority says may arise in the future—and then participate in it. No, the presidium states quite clearly that conditions are bound to lead to the masses of the workers as well as of the petty-bourgeoisie making endeavors to "emancipate themselves from the domination of the trusts and their political machines." As Communists we are interested in separating the workers and poor farmers from the petty-bourgeoisie and getting them under revolutionary leadership. The presidium, therefore, declared that we must actively participate in establishing a party of the workers and poor farmers—recognizing that thus we would be able to contend for the leadership of this party. By this activity and possible leadership, we will increase our prestige among the masses, influence them toward the Communist position and thus draw them into the Workers Party.

The Communist International does not believe that mere participation in a movement of this kind will make the Workers Party a mass Communist Party. If, as the presidium declares, the masses must make efforts to separate themselves from the domination of the capitalist parties, and the peculiarity of this movement in the United States is that it takes the form of a labor party establishing a bond with the poor farmers—in a word a farmer-labor party—then it is the duty of the Communists, as Marxians, to lead this movement, thus developing their party into a mass Communist Party.

It would appear that the majority agreed with analyses and policies in Moscow, but rejects particularly their application in America. There are many instances of such acceptances in the Communist International. The

Norwegian labor party under the leadership of Falk and Traenmel likewise agreed to proposals and decisions of the Comintern—when in Moscow. Hoeglund up to the Fifth Congress did the same—when in Moscow. Smeral of the Czechoslovakian party has done the same. Is the majority of the C. E. C. following the same course? The fate of these leaders was decided by drastic steps on the part of the Comintern. That should serve as a warning.

There is another point in the resolution of the presidium of the Communist International. The resolution states that this labor party shall be composed not of ALL labor, but of the elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class. From this statement it is clear that only the more radical elements will be willing to enter into a united front with the Communists for the formation of a labor party. Does the Comintern reject the formation of a party, which doesn't embrace the whole working class—say, a party like the British labor party? Most certainly not. The Comintern is interested in a labor party within which the Communists can work, for otherwise it would be an organized body under leadership closely linked up with the bourgeoisie. Hence the presidium prescribed the nature of the elements out of which the Communists must form a labor party.

This was the nature of the federated farmer-labor party, even the Comrade Manley calls it a "fake" farmer-labor party. It may have been—but if so, then Comrade Manley and the present majority of the C. E. C. sabotaged the organization of a real farmer-labor party. Even at that time, the present majority could not understand the nature of a real labor party, for, as they maintained, it would mean a split in the trade union movement, a split of the organized labor forces on the political field—and that they refused to support. And yet what did Comrade Zinoviev say in the presidium regarding the federated farmer-labor party—of course, not knowing that we had comrades in the American party who go about forming "fake" parties? After hearing the reports of all the American comrades, after listening to their analysis of the political conditions in the United States, after hearing Comrade Foster declare that there were between "500,000 and 1,000,000 workers represented at the convention of the federated farmer-labor party convention, he said: "We must not regret that we formed the federated farmer-labor party." Further he said, "I believe that if we study everything we will say that in the year 1924 things are not so elementary . . . that we cannot propagate the idea of an independent labor party. We must dare to put forth this idea and it must be realized, namely, a separate labor party. IT IS OUR MAIN DUTY TO SET THIS IN MOTION."

Comrade Zinoviev recognized that there might be a reaction to the policies that were laid down by the Comintern. He had a keen insight into the nature of comrades who, pursuing a dangerous course, are withheld from this course and lose heart. He said: "In America there is DANGER OF OUR FALLING INTO DE LEONISM. That we must state quite openly. We must hesitate about following in his footsteps. We are at the BEGINNING of a mass labor movement which will be independent. The idea of an independent labor party will be realized."

To these remarks Comrade Foster had nothing to say. They were based upon the analysis that Comrade Foster himself had given. That was very good in Moscow—but in America it seems that it no longer applies. There is one other point that was dealt with in the Comintern resolution. The resolution states that we must "build around the Communist Party a broad CLASS labor party." Undoubtedly the presidium of the Comintern is made up of Two-and-a-Half internationalists, who conceive as the function of the Communists the "building of a party of the Two-and-a-Half International in the United States. Undoubtedly, the presidium is made up of mensheviks who want to liquidate the Workers Party by proposing the idiotic idea that any

other but the Workers Party can be a CLASS party! Comrades Foster, Dunne, Cannon, Browder and Bittelman! You know very well what the meaning of this term is. You know very well that the presidium of the C. I. recognizes that such a labor party is in no way to REPLACE the Workers Party; that nonetheless it is a class labor party. It is made up of elements willing to fight against the domination of the capitalist parties, but are not clear-cut revolutionists conscious of their position. Were they such, they would be in the Workers Party. The presidium conceives of this party as a party of workers willing to co-operate with the Communists in the struggle, a party from which the Communists will recruit the best elements into the Workers Party for the purpose of converting the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party.

It is highest time, therefore, that this stupid, childish talk about the impossibility of a "class" party outside the Workers Party be stopped—unless the comrades of the majority, who no doubt, are better Marxists and Leninists than the leaders of the Communist International, prefer to take up the issue with these leaders. It is time to stop befuddling the minds of our membership and get down to an earnest discussion of REAL policies.

This, however, the majority dare not do. For the majority of the C. E. C. will have to answer the following two charges:

CHARGE 1. THE LAST CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY APPROVED THE SLOGAN OF A FARMER-LABOR PARTY AND INSTRUCTED THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT AN ENERGETIC CAMPAIGN FOR ITS REALIZATION.

CHARGE 2. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TWICE APPROVED THE FORMATION OF SUCH A PARTY—FIRST, IN THE LETTER TO THE LAST PARTY CONVENTION; SECOND, IN THE DECISION RENDERED IN THE MONTH OF MAY, WHEN YOUR REPRESENTATIVE WAS IN MOSCOW.

YOU ACCEPTED THE DECISION OF THE PARTY CONVENTION AND OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

You dropped this policy before November 4, when deciding what questions you would place before the convention of the American Federation of Labor. You corroborated the discontinuance of the use of the slogan in your "Election Statement."

YOU HAVE FAUNTED THE DECISION OF THE PARTY CONVENTION AND OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, WITHOUT EVEN CONSULTING THE MEMBERSHIP! WHO GAVE YOU THE RIGHT? YOU DECLARE THAT YOUR POSITION IS THAT OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. THIS IS ABSOLUTELY UNTRUE.

The presidium of the Communist International made its decision and you broke it. You will have to answer to the Communist International and the party convention.

We who accept the minority position abide by the decision of the Communist International and the party convention.

A CORRECTION.

In Comrade Foster's article on "Farmer-Labor Opportunism," which appeared in the issue of Dec. 13, the following sentence, dealing with a speech delivered by Comrade Foster at St. Paul, appeared: "But the speech was in harmony with the point of view of the whole C. E. C. majority." The words "and minority" should have appeared at the end of this sentence and were dropped owing to a typographical error.

Show Red Army Film In Waterbury, Conn., Success Everywhere

That Russia can produce anything but stark tragedy is a surprise to American movie-goers, and that the terrible Red Army could lay off its job long enough to make a boisterous romantic comedy is almost unbelievable to them.

Yet this is exactly what happens in the new Russian feature "Beauty and the Bolshevik" which played at the Rialto Theatre, East Main Street, Waterbury, Connecticut, on Sunday, Dec. 14, at 2 P. M. The Red Army commander, in the course of the courtship of a rich land-owner daughter, has a propaganda book "The A. B. C. of Communism, thrown at his head and goes out into the night in search of another boarding house. One of his private fares but little better. The picture ends happily.

The picture met with exceptional success in New York, Philadelphia and many other localities. Acting photography and scenic are praised by the National Board of Review.

The program is filled out with a highly educational picture of industrial life called "Russia in Overalls." The oil fields of Baku, clothing and shoe factories, steel mills, locomotive workers and many other enterprises are shown, especial emphasis being placed on those in which American labor is directly interested.

Look for your agent in this

Roll Call

If this is your local and you don't find your branch mentioned—

be sure to elect a DAILY WORKER Branch Agent at your very next meeting.

And be sure to send us his name and address.



Insure the Daily Worker for 1925 and Build On It!

Present!

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| Binghamton, N. Y.
Captain: Have none.
Bohemian Jos. Horvath
Lithuanian L. Simolunas | California
Berkeley V. V. Dart
Fresno Chas. Minsky
San Pedro S. J. Jackson |
| Rochester, N. Y.
Captain: Chas. Stolz, City Agent.
? C. Lipko
Italian Sam Marinini | Connecticut
Bridgeport F. Shamatovich
Collinsville H. Y. Ahlgren
Hartford (Jew. Br.) J. Arbitman |
| Cincinnati, Ohio
Captain: Goodman Block, City Agent.
English Goodman Block
? A. J. Feldhaus | Delaware
Wilmington (Engl. Br.) N. Bursler |
| Warren, Ohio
Captain: Chas. Williams, City Agent.
South-Slavic Chas. Tafia | Maryland
Takoma Park John Vaski |
| Portland, Ore.
Captain: Joe Ganopie, City Agent.
English Carl Gobbins
? Louis Berry
Bulgarian John Michailoff | Florida
Jacksonville Aaron Spivak |
| | Idaho
Falcon Dan Agalos
Pocatello Allen Blomquist |

The World of Labor • Industry & Agriculture

FINK BUSINESS FLOURISHES IN BADGER STATE

Militant Workers Are Weeded Out for Bosses

(Special to The Daily Worker)

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Dec. 14.—Detective agencies are active here preying upon the workers, earning big profits by manufacturing fake "red scares" and permeating the industries with spies who are paid to talk against unionism.

Some of the agencies have sent out letters to the employers, boasting about their methods of having employees who belong to unions uncovered and discharged.

The Howard W. Russell "secret service" agency, in the Caswell block here, has sent out letters begging to be allowed to infest the industries with stool pigeons in order to aid the employers in keeping down the standard of living by firing union men. "Careless, indifferent, disloyal, and dishonest employees may be preying on you and skillfully covering their tracks so it is difficult for you to detect them," says the letter sent out by the finks.

"When your employees seem to be satisfied and faithful, look out! Silent subtle forces may be undermining your business," the dispenser of stool pigeons writes. "Suddenly and unexpectedly something might happen that will eat a big hole in your profits. Successful conduct of your business may depend upon a more accurate knowledge of conditions prevailing among your workers."

The letter is signed by Walker C. Russell, secretary-treasurer of the specializers in scabs and stool pigeons.

Subscribe for the DAILY WORKER.

HELP! HELP! Give Us a Hand—

We are swamped again. There is just a load of work piling up in our office and our small force is struggling hard to get it done. If any comrades have a day, an hour or a minute to spare, COME ON OVER—GIVE US A HAND!

BLOODY PERSECUTION BY WHITE TERROR CONTINUES IN FINLAND

Bloody pages of history have been written in Finland since the heroic revolution of the workers in 1918 was crushed by Finnish whites and Germans. Fifteen thousand workers were executed without any legal trial and about 90,000 were sent to prison camps, where fifteen thousand starved.

And the white terror of Finland is not yet at an end. There are still several hundred workers who have not been given "amnesty." These facts are released by the Finnish newspaper, "Eteenpain."

When the horror of white terror became less severe, the workers started to reorganize. The white government wanted to prevent this, and with the aid of secret police, "ochrana," a drive against the "preparation of a new revolution" was started. All party organs were suspended and the printing plants confiscated. All the leading members of the newly organized party were sent to prison.

White Terror Continues. Even at the present time a huge drive against the revolutionary workers is going on. "Ochrasna" wants money for its maintenance, and wishing to show the "respected" people the importance of its existence, it has started a new drive against the reds under the pretext that a new, illegal, underground movement has been organized. The few party organs that succeeded in freeing themselves from the confiscation report many new persecutions.

This cannot discourage the workers of Finland. But their struggle is overwhelming—without the aid of fellow workers who are in a more fortunate position. Without the funds, the workers of Finland cannot defend their persecuted comrades and support the families of political prisoners. Twelve hundred workers are in prison today. And the need for funds is urgent.

Prison conditions in Finland are notorious. Many appeals have come from the jails and prison camps, where imprisoned workers slowly languish and die. The workers of the world cannot allow this to continue. Help the political prisoners of Finland! Help the victims of the capitalists in every country!

Send your contribution to International Workers' Aid, the American section of the International Red Aid, 19 South Lincoln street, Chicago, Illinois.

New York Workers' School. Register Now—208 E. 12th St.

CLEVELAND STATE HOSPITAL PATIENTS VICTIMS OF GRAFT

By GEO. PAPCUN. (Special to The Daily Worker)

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 14.—Insane patients at the State Hospital here are herded together under the most deplorable conditions. Jammed into an old worn out shack ready to tumble down, 1,930 of them are huddled together in a building that was built to hold not more than 1,200. They sleep in the hallways and in every conceivable nook and corner in the old shack. There are no facilities for cleanliness anywhere—even the laundry in the basement of this horrible place is inadequate to meet the most dire needs.

The employees around this living hell get \$30 a month without any days off and they work 12 hours daily. While they sleep in this damp hole, plaster drops upon them from the ceiling and walls. Death relieved 202 of the inmates of their misery during the year ended June, 1924, more than one out of every ten in the institution.

These are the conditions under capitalism as they exist today in the State Hospital of Cleveland.

ATTENTION! All friendly organizations are requested not to arrange any affairs on SATURDAY, DEC. 27, as the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia will give a performance on that date at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St. "Coal Miner Kurt," a revolutionary drama, will be presented in the Russian language.

Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, The Open Forum.

Personal. ISADORE. You were fond of your family. Mother is very ill. She believes you are dead. Answer. Your sister, Lillian.

How to Be Healthy

For many years people have been suffering from many sicknesses. Many have gone to doctors who give them medicine for a trial. After several trials and operations they failed to regain their health. MEN AND WOMEN if you are suffering from any ailment, come to my office and I will try to help you without the use of medicine or an operation.

DR. TAFT

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BAKING TRUSTS AMALGAMATE, SO MUST UNIONS

Machine Process Kills Craft Organizations

(By The Federated Press)

NEW YORK, Dec. 14.—"The change in baking has caused a change in unionizing," claims Secretary August Burkhardt of the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union in discussing the activities of the combined bakery locals in organizing counter to the rapidly forming bakery trust. The half billion dollar bakery consolidation announced under the name Continental Baking Corporation is expected to take in the two largest bakery concerns in the east, United Bakeries (11 factories) and Ward Baking company (14 factories).

The International Union of Confectionery and Bakery Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. has carried on a long consistent campaign against Ward's particularly. Every issue of their official journal bears the streamer declaring that this company is unfair to organized labor.

For United Drive.

Nine branches in New York and Brooklyn of the Amalgamated Union's bakers have won demands for 10 per cent wage increase and have secured full union regulation in shops controlled. The Combined Bakery Locals are now making a united drive on the large factories and will be joined by locals in Hudson county, N. J., which includes Jersey City.

Burkhardt points out problems facing union organization efforts today. "Before the war," he says, "baking was done largely in the small shop with three to eight hands. These were skilled workers, and consequently, it was easier to organize them. Outside of these and apprentices, or helpers, no other workers were organized."

Most of these small shops have disappeared or do only cake baking or specialties such as Jewish or Italian bread or cater to a small neighborhood, Burkhardt claims. He says 80 per cent of these shops are union now.

To Fight Big Trusts. "But the baking of bread today is done chiefly in the factory," he asserts, "where machinery is utilized." Unions have not made so much headway in these big companies, most of which will be included in the merger amounting to a bread trust. Against these union energies will be more than ever directed," he continues.

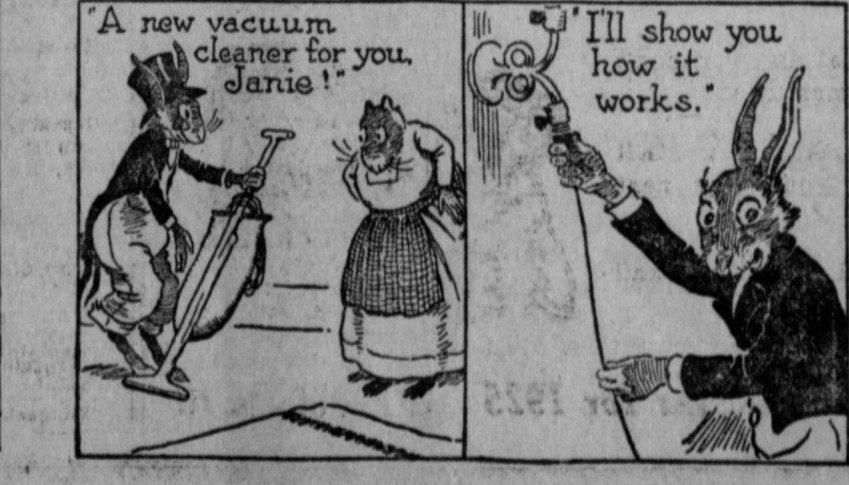
"Before machine baking the journeyman baker had to know every process and be able to do it by hand," Burkhardt states. "He had to mix, knead and bake. Today in a large factory which turns out several thousand loaves an hour, there may be only a dozen men who can be called bakers and their work is limited. A mixer supervises a machine which does the actual mixing. He must be skilled to do that but not so skilled as the first hand in a small shop."

The Machine Process. Because the organization of unskilled workers is made less effective by the machine process, mass organization, "mass unionism," Burkhardt says, must come. "We strive to organize every one connected with the work of baking and delivering of bread. Despite the introduction of machinery, there is much heavy work in the modern bakery and the 'speeding up' process has brought many evils. Hours are long, wages low, conditions bad." And so the union is renewing its fight for organization of all workers with greater energy than ever.

No Meeting or Other Affair Complete Unless—

NO meeting of the Workers Party, business or propaganda, no dance, social, study class, bazaar or forum is complete unless POLICIES find a place in the program of the evening. All committees of the party arranging affairs for the party must remember this, and party members attending party affairs must see to it that INSURANCE POLICIES take a front seat at all of them. Only by constantly insisting upon POLICY SALES will we secure the \$50,000 with which to INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925.

UNCLE WIGGILY'S TRICKS



RUSSIA IMPOVERISHES CINCINNATI

A likely story we heard the other day! Here it is. In 1919 the Russians could not buy tea. India, which raises it for them, as a consequence, could not buy textiles of England. England, great textile country, therefore, could not buy cotton from the South. Cotton dropped in price, wholesalers all along the Ohio river failed because the South had no money. Thus Cincinnati families suffered because the Russians quit drinking tea!

We have a better story than this. True, too. In 1914 the world war began. After three years of war the Russians decided to quit. Consequence, the Russian revolution of 1917. This inspired the workers of the whole world. It led to the organization of a real revolutionary party in the United States so determined in character that a few years after its formation it began the publication of the DAILY WORKER. Thus the world war which began in 1914 resulted in the birth of the DAILY WORKER on January 13, 1923.

And now that we've got it, let's keep it. There is only one way to keep it. That is to buy INSURANCE POLICIES and help

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

UNEMPLOYMENT TAKES BIG JUMP SINCE NOVEMBER

Cities in Illinois Are Hit Hard

Unemployment increased during November and now exists "in a substantial degree" in every Illinois city with the exception of Rockford, according to a report just issued by the Illinois department of labor. "The expected pickup in industry has not yet materialized to the extent of affecting the volume of employment in the factories of Illinois," the report declares.

Thousands Out of Work.

"September, October and November, the usually busy months, have passed without resulting in any substantial restoration of the jobs of those thrown out of work by the decision of business that set in more than one year ago. Illinois industries generally react in December and January and this period of pre-natal slowing down we now face, with many thousands already out of work."

The majority of the principal cities of Illinois did not expand during November, according to the department of labor report. At the Illinois free employment offices during November there were 140 persons registered for each 100 jobs as compared to 139 registered for each 100 jobs in October, and 131 registered for each 100 jobs in November 1923. The number of those placed in jobs available fell to 10,861, which is the smallest placement for November in five years with the exception of 1921, when only 8,724 were placed in jobs.

In Chicago, according to these figures there are 156 people to every 100 jobs.

Mining Operations Go Down.

Contrary to expectations of business men, the mining operations were reduced in November as compared to the month of October. The same number of employes at work in November as in October received 10.6 per cent less earnings in November than in October. This was a decline in average weekly earnings from \$36.17 to \$29.78.

Building permits issued in November increased in value two million dollars over those issued in November of last year. There was a sharp decline in building permits thru the country as a whole, both as compared to October of this year and November of last year.

November Shows Decided Slump.

During November, New York, the mainstay of the building activity this year, took a decided slump, and consequently the building for November is decidedly below building for November 1923 both in New York City and the country as a whole. Permits in November called for construction work to cost \$190,611,600 as compared to \$217,656,300 in November last year. In the central western states, including Chicago, the 1923 building figures were slightly surpassed, but not enough to compensate for the slump in other parts of the country. In November, 1924, building permits, issued in the central west were valued at \$63,485,800 while permits collected from the same cities in November 1923 were valued at \$62,092,000.

Building permits issued in the south fell off in value more than \$4,000,000 in November this year compared to the same month last year. Decreases also occurred on the Pacific coast usually a booming center and the middle-Atlantic section which includes New York. New England building permits were two million dollars higher this November than last.

In New York City this November the permits were valued at \$44,832,000 a startling drop from the \$70,541,400 registered last November.

PITTSBURGH, PA. DR. RASNICK DENTIST Rendering Expert Dental Service for 20 Years. 645 SMITHFIELD ST. Near 7th Ave. 47 CENTER AVE. Cor. Arthur St.

TEACHERS' UNION URGES SCHOOLS TRY NEW METHODS

Urges One Experimental School First

NEW YORK, Dec. 14.—A plan for an experimental school within the New York City school system has again been laid before the board of education by the Teachers' Union, Local 15, American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The proposal for the unusual new school was first sent to the board in May. The board replied upon recommendation of the superintendents that the proposed organization "would be contrary to law," because the director of the school would be chosen by an advisory board most of whose members would be outside the public school system.

Not Controlled by Old Officials. The proposed experimental school would do away with most of the conventional equipment of the public school, according to the outlined plan issued in pamphlet form by the Teachers' Union, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. The teachers would be specially trained or selected, and not supervised by the regular school officials.

The school would let children learn by living rather than by mastering formal texts and lessons. The children would teach themselves with a minimum of direction, the school furnishing adequate material for the children to work with. The Teachers' Union suggests that a "moderately crowded district where the children of more than one racial stock will attend the school" would be advisable. Children of four to six would first be taken, in classes of not more than 20 each, and each year additional young children taken into the school.

Present System Mechanical. President Linville of the teachers says teachers in the public school system are becoming interested in the experimental idea for education as the present system attempts to justify itself by becoming more mechanically perfect by burdening the teachers with still more activities, such as clubs. Parents also seem receptive. Because of the crowded conditions in schools, more parents have had to send their children to private schools and many have discovered experimental schools which are successfully operating.

St. Paul Aids Novy Mir.

ST. PAUL, Minn., Dec. 14.—The District Committee of the Russian Section of the Workers Party District No. 9, (St. Paul) will give its first entertainment of the winter in the form of a grand masquerade ball to be held on Sunday evening, Jan. 10, at Victoria Hall on Thomas and Arundel Sts. This affair is being offered for the benefit of the Russian daily, Novy Mir. It is the first time that an entertainment of any kind has been run by the District Committee for this purpose.

They ask that all party members reserve this date and not to arrange other things that will conflict with this one. A good time is assured, with good music and prizes for best costumes. All readers of the DAILY WORKER and the public are invited.

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A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN



OUR DAILY PATTERNS

A FROCK FOR THE WOMAN OF MATURE FIGURE



4954. The slenderizing lines of this attractive model will at once appeal to the woman of generous lines. This model is excellent for the new figured silks, for charmeuse, broadcloth or velvet. The pattern is cut in eight sizes: 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48 and 50 inches bust measure. A 38-inch size requires 4 1/2 yards of 40-inch material. The width at the foot is 2 1/2 yards, with plaits extended. If the collar is made as illustrated of contrasting material 3/4 yard will be required. Pattern mailed to any address on receipt of 12c in silver or stamps. IN ORDERING YOUR PATTERN BE SURE TO MENTION THE SIZE YOU WANT IT IN. Send 12c in silver or stamps for our UP-TO-DATE FALL & WINTER 1924. Address: The DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. NOTICE TO PATTERN BUYERS.—The patterns being sold thru the DAILY WORKER pattern department are furnished by a New York firm of pattern manufacturers. Orders are forwarded by the DAILY WORKER every day as received, and they are mailed by the manufacturer direct to the customer. The DAILY WORKER does not keep a stock of patterns on hand. Delivery of patterns ordinarily will take at least 10 days from the date of mailing the order. Do not become impatient if your pattern is

A "PRETTY" SCHOOL FROCK



4970. Plaid suiting will be good for this style. Collar, cuffs and pocket facing may be of flannel in a contrasting shade and bound with braid. This model is likewise attractive in velveteen or in gingham or other wash fabrics. The pattern is cut in four sizes: 6, 8, 10 and 12 years. A 10-year size requires 2 1/2 yards of 36-inch material. For collar, cuffs and pocket facings of contrasting material 3/4 yard 40 inches wide is required. Pattern mailed to any address on receipt of 12c in silver or stamps. IN ORDERING YOUR PATTERN BE SURE TO MENTION THE SIZE YOU WANT IT IN. Send 12c in silver or stamps for our UP-TO-DATE FALL & WINTER 1924. Address: The DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. NOTICE TO PATTERN BUYERS.—The patterns being sold thru the DAILY WORKER pattern department are furnished by a New York firm of pattern manufacturers. Orders are forwarded by the DAILY WORKER every day as received, and they are mailed by the manufacturer direct to the customer. The DAILY WORKER does not keep a stock of patterns on hand. Delivery of patterns ordinarily will take at least 10 days from the date of mailing the order. Do not become impatient if your pattern is

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In the Anthracite Region

Not the least encouraging feature of the battle now being waged by the coal diggers in the Scranton district, against the coal companies and the bureaucratic officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America, is the tendency displayed by the miners to rely on their own efforts and on their collective power rather than on the promises of class collaborating officials and capitalist mediators.

To date the main efforts of the agents of John L. Lewis seems to be in the direction of driving the miners back into the mines at all costs and regardless of conditions. The renegade Cappellini, who was elected to his present position under the illusion that he was a radical, is now between two fires. The Lewis gang whom he displaced has no love for him and the miners he betrayed have still less. That the miners have lost confidence in him is shown by the fact that despite the assistance of a government "mediator" the miners have refused to accept Cappellini's proposals and are acting on their own initiative.

The miners will win their immediate demands if they persist in their present policy of refusing to allow the bosses thru Lewis and his agents to pull the wool over their eyes. But unless the rebellion of which the Scranton affair is symptomatic is organized and linked up with the progressive movement in the U. M. W. A. on a national scale the present splendid fight will be futile to a great extent.

The Progressive Miners' International Committee is blamed by the Lewis stoopigeons for the strike in order to scare the miners. But that fright will not last long. The coal diggers will soon realize that they have nothing to fear from the radicals but that on the contrary their leadership is vitally needed if they are to get out of the bondage of the coal barons and their labor lackeys who dominate the miners' union.

There is a splendid opportunity and a vital need for the work of the Trade Union Educational League in the miners' union. That this work is bearing fruit is proved by the attacks of the Lewis henchmen.

William Randolph Hearst, in boosting for a large navy declares that he is a pacifist, but thinks that in order to have peace we must first have several wars. When the United States capitalists have the rest of the world under their heel, then we may be able to enjoy peace. But long before then the working class of the world will enforce peace by eliminating the capitalist system. The workers are not pacifists either, Mr. Hearst.

In the notoriety given by the capitalist press to the passing away of Samuel Gompers, the death of August Belmont, traction multi-millionaire, was slightly eclipsed. Since Sammy and August were bosom companions, however, in the pet organization of the class collaborationists, the national civic federation, they can even things up in the next world, in which they both so devoutly believed.

Count Leo Tolstol's niece is not as good a drawing card as the Duchess Cyril. Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the New York World, gave a dinner in honor of the latter. Joseph is a democrat. The Countess Tolstol declares that Cyril's stocks in Paris are far below those of Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaivitch. But the czar's are away below both.

There is an explosion in a loop garment factory and immediately the capitalist press circulates the report that it is the work of "labor agitators." The police are responsible for the yarn. The capitalist press is one of the most effective weapons in the hands of the employers. Another good reason why the workers should support their own organ, THE DAILY WORKER.

The Grand Duchess Cyril of Russia (that's what the lady calls herself) is mixing business with politics. She may not be able to convince many people that she has much of a chance to line up any support for her husband's ambitions, now that Gompers is dead, but she has half a million dollars' worth of gems that she wants to turn into cash.

The Italian government asked Harry F. Sinclair for information about the teapot dome scandal and Harry got sore and renounced his oil concessions in Italy. The man who could purchase the government of a mighty nation was not going to be insulted by a bandit chief like Mussolini.

Get a member for the Workers Party and a new subscription for the DAILY WORKER.

Liberating Education

The intense energy displayed by big business in combatting every attack on child labor finds its counterpart in the renewed efforts on the part of the big capitalists to control education.

If the brain-numbed children of the working class escape the factory prisons, and win an entrance into the much boasted American educational system, they find that "the dope" is there awaiting them, in proper quantities and qualities, to hold them in its power.

The "higher institutions" of learning set the pace for the public school system. It is in the colleges and the universities that big business sinks its gold as a contaminating influence over all education.

There is now a Tobacco University, added to the long list of subsidized seats of learning. J. B. Duke, the tobacco king, employer of child and woman labor, out of his swollen profits has set aside \$40,000,000 for Trinity College, at Durham, N. C., that will hereafter be known as Duke University. Thus another polluting stream of knowledge will be added to the many now gushing intellectual poison. To labor long hours under inhuman conditions in the tobacco fields and factories of "the south" will be heralded as god's decree, against which no one should rebel.

A group of trustees will see to it that the \$40,000,000 are properly spent. This group includes such notorious specimens of the enemy capitalist class as the president of the Garland Steamship Corp., the president of the Copper Plate and Tube Co., directors of the Southern Power Co., and the vice-president and secretary of the United Retail Stores Corp., the giant distributing organization of the tobacco trust.

The Tobacco University is the latest addition to a long list of similarly endowed outfits. Among the first on the list was the Chicago university of oil, backed by the Rockefeller millions. Then came the Pittsburgh university of steel, endowed by the multimillions of the United States Steel corporation; Harvard's university of power, supported by the New England public utility lords; Montana's university of copper, dominated by the Anaconda copper trust, the Kodak university at Rochester, N. Y., of the Eastman Kodak trust, and Columbia's university of Wall Street, under the influence of Morgan.

Some of the gifts that have brought educators, religious leaders and charity workers, completely under the thumb of the almighty dollar in recent years, are given as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes John D. Rockefeller (\$575,000,000), Andrew Carnegie (35,000,000), Henry C. Frick (85,000,000), Milton S. Hershhey (60,000,000), George Eastman (58,000,000), James B. Duke (41,500,000), Mrs. Russell Sage (40,000,000), Henry Phipps (31,650,000), Benjamin Altman (30,100,000), John Stewart Kennedy (30,000,000), John W. Sterling (20,000,000), George F. Baker (11,900,000).

All of this wealth has been stolen from labor. This surplus has been stolen from the workers to be used against them. Yet this well-nigh impregnable position of the capitalist class would crumble if labor would but unite its numbers in the revolutionary struggle for its emancipation. Education can only be liberated from the contaminating influence of capitalism, thru the destruction of capitalism itself. That work of liberation is the task of the working class itself.

Peruvian Workers Revolt

A revolt is on in Peru against the dictatorship of American capital and President Ligula, its lackey.

It will surprise most American workers to know that in this little state in the northwest portion of South America there is a semi-labor, semi-peasant organization of Indian workers numbering close to 2,000,000 and that it had a delegate at the Third Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions and is now a part of that revolutionary union body.

The agrarian problem is the major question in Peru. The bulk of the workers labor for the owners of large estates, but some thousands are employed in the silver and copper mines. Peru is rich in natural resources and long ago attracted the avaricious gaze of English and American capitalists.

The present revolt appears to be a joint effort on the part of the working class proper, and the intellectuals who want national independence. In this it is the forerunner of other revolts all over Latin-America that are bound to arise as the masses of the people come to understand that American capitalism in South America is synonymous with slavery.

The task of Gompers at the Pan-American Federation of Labor convention was to prevent the Mexican labor movement taking a leading part in launching a continent-wide movement against American imperialism, to halt the unity of Latin-America against aggression from the north.

This explains the Gompers-Morones attack on the Communist Party which initiates a drive for linking up the scattered protests and revolts into a gigantic organization that can and will act to prevent the crushing of mass movements like that now under way in Peru.

Two more universities sink deeper in oil. Rockefeller has just handed the University of Minnesota \$1,250,000 and given \$100,000 more to Skidmore College, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Chapel exercises at these two goosestep institutions will hereafter be opened daily with the singing of "Praise Oil from Which All Blessings Flow."

ANOTHER LABOR LEADER SELLS OUT TO BOSSES

"Labor" Senator Gets on Bosses Payroll

(Special to The Daily Worker) NEW HAVEN, Conn., Dec. 14.—Another "friend of labor" elected on the democratic ticket to the Connecticut legislature by the aid of the workers' votes has at last succumbed to the fleshpots of Egypt. He is Senator Joseph Tone, former organizer of the International Association of Machinists and prominent leader in the shopmen's strike against the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad, from which he now accepts a lucrative position.

Senator Tone was elected senator because of the popularity he enjoyed among the workers thru his activity in the strike that started in 1922. He traveled all over the New Haven system exhorting the strikers to hold out to the bitter end. He was one of the most aggressive in attacking the New Haven for its refusal to treat with the men. The strikers who now look upon him as a traitor are not so certain but he was then as now on the railroad payroll.

Workers Nominate Tons. The strike was four months old when the workers of the tenth district in New Haven decided to nominate Tone for the senate. After his election Tone displayed a strange apathy in carrying out his promises. The New Haven lobbyists had several bills saddling the cost of bridges on cities and towns, but instead of Tone being on his uppers attacking the New Haven bills he was off on a junketing trip over that company's lines on "business of state" as he explained.

Fought With His Mouth. The workers, confiding and gullible, accepted Tone's excuses. At this time he persisted in attacking the railroad but the fighting was all done with his mouth. He even put forward the deception that he was "boring from within" the magnate's ranks and getting "valuable information."

When the LaFollette movement swept the farmer-labor party before it and rallied millions of workers behind the Wisconsin senator, Tone, seeing a big thing as he thought, hopped on the bandwagon. But when he failed to secure the LaFollette endorsement, his enthusiasm for that gentleman's movement waned rapidly.

Strikers Were Deluded. In the last election Tone was the only democrat elected from New Haven, largely because of his popularity during the strike. The deluded strikers expected great things from him in the legislature, but this week he was appointed freight agent of the New York, Ontario and Western railroad which is one of the chief subsidiaries of the New Haven.

Hundreds of those who quit their jobs on the New Haven in 1922 are still on strike and facing a bitter winter. The Judas who drew his salary from the Machinists' Union during the strike is now in the open employ of the enemy.

Views of Our Readers

A Bulgarian Comrade Explains. To THE DAILY WORKER: The special correspondent of the Duluth Herald and the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service, A. R. Decker, spills alligator tears over the Bulgarian farmers who, he claims, just cannot help going over to Communism unless the capitalists of the United States hurry up and send them a Dawes plan.

That the bloody reign of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is crumbling and that the farmers are rapidly going over to the Communist Party is true but that Dawes plans or any capitalist schemes whereby it can save nations from the rightful leadership of workers will take with the Bulgarian workers is a false notion and the eloquent correspondent for the kept press may just as well save his breath.

Bulgaria Knows Better. It is too late. Tho the reactionaries who killed Stamboullitsky and brot on a reign of terror against all Communists, killing and imprisoning them, and starving their families, still reign over Bulgaria spilling the blood of the workers, the united front among the Bulgarian workers and farmers and the Macedonian revolutionists is deeprooted, and the days of the bourgeois kingdom are counted. Any day may see the final crash.—George Zalckoff.

Klan Weekly Runs Out of Kash. To THE DAILY WORKER: The Illinois Kourier, a Ku Klux Klan Nigger-baiting weekly, which has constantly played on the delicate strings of sex, in order to stir up anti-Negro prejudices, failed to appear on the news stands the last two weeks, and must have given up the ghost. Nigger baiting did not prove so successful to this Ku Klux weekly.

While alive, the Illinois Kourier, constantly attacked the DAILY WORKER, calling same an un-American newspaper. The DAILY WORKER is still thriving and flourishing, while the Klux rag is no more.—Gordon W. Owens.

MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

SEX AND RACE

Book Review. By MIRIAM ALLEN DeFORD.

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

Timas Wilfred, the inventor of the clavilux, an instrument for projecting light in abstract forms, gave a recital at the Blackstone theater last Sunday afternoon. The use of the principles of color, and design in abstract forms is, of course, nothing new. Painted on a canvass the result is a pattern, pretty to look at but simply a pattern.

With the introduction of rhythmic motion, a new art is produced. This is what Wilfred has done. His instrument looks like a group of four long, narrow and deep steel boxes set some twenty feet from an ordinary motion picture screen. From this instrument designs are thrown onto the screen. It is difficult and all but impossible to describe them in words. One of his studies consisted of a large triangle outlined in red at the start, widening out in white, changing to a green one, back to the red triangle, always in motion, always surrounded by the most gorgeous halo of orange and purple.

"The use of vertical design," said Wilfred, "tends to call up ideas of infinity, while horizontal motion suggests concrete ideas." As an example of the latter he played a work that looked like a formless mass of bars moving backward and forward before a sun whose rays were red and orange and green. The whole resembled some of the cubist impressions of machinery that used to be run occasionally in "The Liberator."

He played a short composition called "Grotesque." Shapeless forms of black and white flashed jerkily on the screen. They seemed to wiggle in a sort of jazz rhythm. It was distinctly funny, and yet there was no attempt at a picture. One laughed at an abstract pattern in black and white.

Wilfred also built up a picture of a seacoast. There was a motion of long waves in green up to a gray horizon. There were sunsets over the sea such as never occurred on this earth. The sun rose in five seconds to the zenith and its rays were blue, orange and violet.

But no amount of words can convey an impression of this wonderful new art. Its possibilities are limitless, and its value is beyond calculation.

The Dominant Sex. The thesis of the author of "The Dominant Sex" may be briefly stated thus: We are living in an era of masculine dominance. The qualities which we are pleased to call masculine and to consider as secondary or tertiary sexual characters are for the most part not masculine, but simply the normal qualities of the dominant sex, be that sex male or female.

Conversely, most of the qualities we call feminine are not feminine, but those of the subordinate sex. To illustrate and verify this principle, the Vaertings have devoted nearly 300 pages to examples from contemporary peoples now or recently under female dominance, and from the history of ancient peoples in the same phase of social development, most of all from Egypt, a civilized state for thousands of years under the regimen of women.

Historically the present male phase will end in an era of female dominance. The Vaertings hope that we have advanced sufficiently to arrest the movement at the equal rights stage, in every way the best for both sexes and for humanity in general. The Dominant Sex, by Mathilde and Mathias Vaerting (translated by Eden and Cedar Paul); George H. Doran, Co., New York, \$3.

Women As Rulers. Where women rule, the authors shows, women are the woovers. The man is given in marriage, and is expected to be chaste before and after, displaying the modesty and "innocence" that today are taken as feminine traits. The women on the other hand are sexually as well as politically and economically free.

It is the custom in women's states for men to marry wives older than themselves. Youthful marriage is incumbent on the men, who are disgraced if they do not obey it; it is of no moment as regards women. Birth control is legal as a matter of course, and female prostitution is unknown. There is even a tendency toward male prostitution.

Among the Kamchadales, of Kamchatka, the men are absolutely dependent on the women, the men attending the household affairs and the children, while the women do all outside work.

Inferior Physically Weak. But what about the inferior physical strength of women? The authors show that this too is a subordinate sex

characteristic. It is the sex which sits at home over the loom or the cook-stove which is physically weaker; it is the sex which goes about the world earning in living which is not only stronger, but larger. Under sex equality, the two sexes, are about even in strength and size, just as many animals are. Moreover, it is the subordinate sex which is plump and subtly curved, while the dominant sex is lean and hard muscled. This holds good whichever sex is dominant. In every state the dominant sex is considered to excel in intelligence the subordinate in beauty. Among the women soldiers of Dahomey in Africa the reproach for cowardice is "You are a man."

Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, the Open Forum.

A Dollar a Month. That charity worker, Bothers me to death, Telling me how to save A dollar a month.

I hire that flat So the sun can shine On my little girl that's sick. Ain't that worth A dollar a month?

I love my child, When I am out washing, I know that the sun is shining On my little girl that's sick. Ain't that worth A dollar a month?

I'd just like to tell That charity worker, Lots of things, As well as how to save A dollar a month. —Margaret Loring Thomas.



WHAT CAUSES OUR POORNESS?

money from our fathers' earnings because the capitalist system we live under helps them.

To get a clearer understanding of how the workers are being robbed in a capitalist government we will take a look into the sums of money made by the United States Steel corporation of which Elbert H. Gary is the owner. Capitalist Gary during the months of July, August, and September of this year made \$30,718,415. Do you see how much this is?

Now find out how much Capitalist Gary makes in one week, in one day. Ask your father how much he makes in one day and send a letter to the Children's Column so that we can all learn by these examples.

And bear this ever in mind. Capitalist Gary or any other capitalist does not work as hard as our fathers do. He only looks on while his riches pile up. The capitalists can pile up their

"ONE BANDIT TO ANOTHER!"



The "Christmas season" gives big department stores a chance to push the gunmen and thugs off the stage for a while.

GOVERNMENT!

But the workers of America are also beginning to understand and we little juniors as we learn more and more about the cause of our poorness will go out and tell other workers until we all together will destroy this capitalist government and put up in its place a workers' Soviet government. The End.

Review of "Orphans of the Storm" By A Junior Age 13

The capitalists cover up the naked truth with veils of lies in which they state they present her to the children in school. When the children grow into manhood and womanhood the capitalists fear the evils of lies will not be sufficient so they reinforce them in many ways. They tell you to look at truth how beautiful she is and when you want to remove the veils to see her you are prohibited thru different plots.

One of the new veils to cover up truth is the motion picture "Orphans of the Storm" written by that superb liar D. W. Griffith. The whole story is written to say "Bolshevism is terrible."

The program gives an introduction to the play. Any person who thinks for himself immediately see the wilful misrepresentation of facts. For instance, the inference is made that Bolshevism and anarchism is one and the same thing when everyone knows they are entirely opposed to each other.

In the play Griffith makes one character interpret what he wants us to believe is a noble capitalist soul. Vandrey, (I believe I got his name right) an aristocrat, after being served by his servants and after eating his fill, walks out of the house where he sees some starved workers crying for a crumb of bread, which he gives them.

But we juniors ask Mr. Griffith why should workers who make everything have to beg for bread? And we want to tell him that we, the workers don't want charity. We are the creators of all things and we want all in return.

Juniors, children of the working class, we will not listen trustingly to their lies. We will measure everything with a class conscious point of view, use our common sense and show such liars as Griffith and the rest of them that their days for fooling the workers are over.

Juniors, Send Pictures.

Look around on this page of today's paper. You will find a cartoon entitled "One Bandit to Another" by Abe Stolar. Abe Stolar is 12 years old and a member of the John Reed Junior Group in Chicago.

I am sure there must be many little juniors reading this column who love to draw pictures. Perhaps they often feel after reading the column that they too would like to send something but they can tell their story more effectively in pictures than in words. Fine! Send pictures! Your cartoon will express your idea, the idea that has been born in your mind. That is the kernel of every good cartoon. Send in pictures!