

## AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

THERE are 10,000 political prisoners in Hungarian jails under the rule of Horthy, the pet of the American capitalist class. Our rulers like Horthy so well that the innocuous Karolyi, who is no more radical than Morris Hillquit, was gagged while on a visit to this country recently. An American citizen with the Gaelic cognomen of Jerry Smith, is running Hungary's financial affairs. Our American pacifists have not organized a committee for the release of political prisoners in Hungary the fate of a few schoolboys and counter revolutionaries in Soviet Russia is causing them a great deal of uneasiness.

THERE are approximately 8,000 political prisoners in Germany's jails. They are all workers and mostly Communists or Communist sympathizers. No so long ago the papers were giving considerable space to the "Barmat scandal." The Barmat brothers with the aid of the socialist officials made a lot of money illegally during the war and after. They robbed the state banks in co-operation with the socialists. "Everybody was doing it," was the only defense the socialists made. The leader of the Barmats was arrested and jailed but he was released a few days ago. None of the socialist burglars are in confinement.

THE unforgivable crime in the eyes of the capitalists is a desire to abolish the present slave system, if this desire is actively demonstrated. The capitalists rob each other. The fellow who gets the worst of it is in no pleasant mood and if he has any influence in the government he gets the robber arrested. But those incidents are only family affairs and blow over. But it is a different matter to attempt the overthrow of the system on which these robbers thrive. This is the crime of the Communists. Because they have refused to compromise with sin, the heavy hand of the capitalist government comes down on them. They fill the jails while the socialist leaders are taken into the bourgeois parlor.

WE learn that one of the framers of French foreign policy is Paul Boncour, leading member of the socialist party. It is only necessary to look at the news made by France to realize what kind of policy Boncour is following. French troops are slaughtering the people of Morocco, so that French capital can exploit their country without let or hindrance. Boncour, the socialist and his co-workers are behind the generals who are directing the fight on the Rifian tribesmen. Nice brand of socialism!

THE value of clergymen to the capitalist class is stated quite plainly by Roger Babson, capitalist statistician, in a letter dated January 27, 1920. It is worth reprinting. Here goes:

"The value of our investments depends upon the strength of our churches. The underpaid preachers of the nation are the men upon whom we really are depending rather than the well-paid bankers, lawyers, and brokers. The religion of the community is really the bulwark of our investments."

AND when we consider that only 15 per cent of the people hold securities of any kind and less than (Continued on page 6.)

## AUSTRALIAN COAL MINERS STRIKE WHEN COMRADES ARE JAILED

(Special to The Daily Worker.)  
SYDNEY, Australia, May 18.—Twenty wheelers were fined at the Wollongong police court for absenting themselves from work. Thirteen of the number paid the fines, but seven others—lads whose ages ranged from 15 to 21 years—refused to pay. They were arrested and sent to jail for a month. Immediately after they were arrested the miners employed at the South Bulli Colliery (where the two wheelers had been employed) ceased work, and announced that they would not resume until the two wheelers were released from jail.

## CAPITALIST PRESS IS BILLBOARD FOR ADVERTISERS TO TANTALIZE CONSUMER INTO SPENDING MONEY

By LELAND OLDS  
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)  
Advertising is the whip of the modern taskmaster keeping workers enslaved to the power machine. The associated advertising clubs of the world at their convention in Houston, Tex., did not hear Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce, mention wage slavery but he enlarged on the two functions of advertising, creation of the torment of desires and subsidizing of the press, which help produce it. "Modern advertising," say Hoover, "is the handmaiden of mass production. The general knowledge and rapid distribution of an article which (Continued on page 5.)

## RUHR IN UPROAR AS 44 DIE IN A MINE EXPLOSION

### Luther Cancels Trip as Miners Protest

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
DORTMUND, Germany, May 18.—With forty-four known dead, twenty-seven seriously injured, and several more coal miners missing, as a result of the explosion in the Dorstfeld mine here Saturday, the entire district has broken out against the government.

Protest mass meetings called by the coal miners thruout the Rhenish district to protest against the lack of safety measures and the part the government is playing in allowing the coal operators to ruthlessly exploit the miners, were forbidden by the police. Communists were among the speakers scheduled to address the mass meetings.

Luther Afraid of Miners' Wrath.  
Widespread unrest thruout the district continues. Chancellor Luther, who announced he would visit Dortmund "as a gesture of official condolence," has cancelled his trip in fear of the wrath of the miners against the government.

Two tons of dynamite exploded Saturday, entombing 250 men. An explosion of coal dust in a room 3,000 feet from the dynamite blast and a fire which resulted, burned and asphyxiated more miners than did the actual explosion.

The miners point to the large number of accidents which have occurred in the Ruhr due to negligence of the mine owners to install safety devices. The mine operators have been paid huge sums by the government to "compensate" them for the shut down during the allied occupation, but the miners have received nothing.

T. S. miners resent the fact that the government is bowing and scraping before the allies, promising to uphold the Dawes plan, which adds to their wretched condition an intolerable burden.

## Kansas Ex-Governor on Stand in Trial for Pardon Sales

TOPEKA, Kans., May 18.—Possibility that former Governor Jonathan M. Davis might be prepared to spring a surprise when he resumed the stand on direct examination was seen as court opened this morning. The former governor, on trial for selling pardons, spent several hours yesterday searching his former office in the state house after long conferences with his attorneys Saturday.

With the defense virtually closed when this direct examination of Davis is over—probably before the noon recess—the high light of the trial was looked for this afternoon when the defendant's cross examination begins.

It is expected that the case will reach the jury by tomorrow night or Wednesday morning. Judge McClure intimated his charge will be brief and attorneys and the court have virtually agreed to limit arguments to three hours.

## Cal Promotes Poison Gas.

WASHINGTON, May 18.—Poison gas should not be sold, and the White House wants to have it barred from international trade. On the other hand, chemicals that are used to make poison gas are used for other things, and commerce in them must not be interfered with in any way. This clear view of the problem permits the administration to promote war preparation and protest at the same time, and to prove that any limitation is a difficult matter.

## Would Sell All Ships.

WASHINGTON, May 18.—President Coolidge permits it to be known that he favors operating the government's merchant ships only "until they can be sold." This is his answer to a question as to whether he proposes to hand them all over at any price he can get.

## NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA PROCEEDING SMOOTHLY, SAY FRENCH

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
PARIS, May 18.—Negotiations between France and Soviet Russia are proceeding satisfactorily according to an official statement issued by the French foreign office. It is reported that the British and American governments are placing every possible obstacle in the way of the success of the negotiations. The British, in particular are circulating rumors of violent disagreements and of alleged Soviet trickery.

The French are not particular whether or not Russia recognizes certain debts. All they are concerned with is saving something out of the wreckage. The French express themselves as confident that the matters at issue between themselves and Russia will be amicably adjusted.

## HINDENBURG NOW FAWNS BEFORE FOREIGN BANKS

### German Monarchists to Obey Dawes Plan

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BERLIN, Germany, May 18.—That the monarchist government of President von Hindenburg will bow before the international bankers, headed by J. P. Morgan, was shown in a speech made by foreign minister Stresemann before the reichstag today. Stresemann declared that the government will have as its "guiding line" the carrying out of the Dawes plan, which makes Germany a virtual colony ruled by the foreign bankers, and which burdens the workers of Germany with the "reparations" payments.

Stresemann pledged "to continue to fulfill, under all circumstances, Germany's obligations as provided by the Dawes plan."

Workers Shoulder Burden.  
"We shall fulfill the Dawes plan in the future as we have in the past," Stresemann said. "Parliamentary majorities, reichstags and the composition of the government may change, but I can imagine no constellation which would deviate from this guiding line of our policy."

That the workers would be forced by the new government to shoulder the entire burden of the Dawes plan was shown in the recent report of the minister of finance to the reichstag which advocated "lifting the burden from the industrialists and placing a high tax upon the workers."

Relations with Soviet Russia.  
The Dawes plan imposes heavy payments upon Germany, and provides that the international banking syndicate shall directly take over the industries. It is already predicted that it will be impossible for the impoverished workers to give enough money to supply these heavy payments.

Foreign Minister Stresemann in his speech today, also emphasized the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union. He urged that the French evacuate the (Continued on page 2)

## Moonshine Smugglers Agitate Strike on Coast Guard Boats

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
NEW YORK, May 18.—A group of bootleggers, using bribery and strike propaganda to further their efforts, are endeavoring to break down the morale of the enlisted men on the coast guard boats blockading rum row. It was stated today by Captain W. E. V. Jacobs, commandant of the New York area. Captain Jacobs, in admitting 16 coast guard boats were under arrest for liquor smuggling, extortion and desertion, said: "When a man getting \$125 or less a month from the government is offered \$250 a week by rum runners, the temptation is very great."

## STORM DEATH TOLL IS INCREASED WHEN WEST FRANKFORT MAN EXPIRES

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
WEST FRANKFORT, Ill., May 18.—Another death was credited to the tornado of March 18, when David Sanders, 60, died in the hospital here Sunday, from the result of injuries sustained when his home near this city was laid in ruins by the tornado. His wife was killed.

## HONOLULU TRADE UNIONS SUPPORT RED SOLDIERS

### Central Labor Council Head Visits Crouch

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
HONOLULU, Hawaii, May 18.—G. W. Wright, president of the Honolulu Central Labor Council, made a personal visit to the 27th Infantry Guard House at Schofield barracks and had a long talk with Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, the two soldiers who were given long terms by a military court martial last month for organizing the "Hawaiian Communist League."

Wright says of Paul Crouch, "He is a clean-cut, blue-eyed, level-headed idealist of a purely intellectual type. There is nothing furtive or sinister about him. He smiles a little as he talks. His voice is low and pleasant and he speaks rapidly and with perfect assurance, telling a straightforward story. There was not a word of self pity or regret and not even any bitterness against his accusers or the military authorities. He appeared to regard everything from an impartial and impersonal point of view."

Maximum Penalty 3 Months.  
Brother Wright has taken a genuine interest in the case. He took the case up personally in several interviews with John Albert Mathewman, former attorney general of the territory and for a number of years a judge in the local courts. This was after he had gone into every detail of the case with Crouch. Crouch had particularly pointed out that the specific statute he is accused of violating carries a maximum penalty of three months imprisonment.

Mathewman is a man of independent thought and a fearless advocate of free speech. He was quite recently forced out of office by the senate because of his stand against the policy of the governor and the big interests that control the territory. To Defend Crouch and Trumbull.  
Mathewman is of the opinion that there is a good chance to get the boys out of the hands of the military authorities by a proper analysis and presentation of the case. Mathewman declared his intention of undertaking the defense of Crouch and Trumbull.

The recent reductions in the sentences of Crouch and Trumbull from forty and twenty-six years to three and one, in no way alters the status of the case. There is no question but what it is only the great indignation, in the army itself and the storm of international protest raised in the labor movement thruout the world that caused the authorities to think twice about the extreme severity of the sentence imposed originally.

While the central labor council will probably not officially undertake the cause of the two soldiers, G. W. Wright expressed the sentiment that he personally will do all he can and that he is assured of support by practically all the local labor leaders.

## CHINESE FAMINE UNSEEN BY WALL STREET'S ENVOY

### Lets Millions Starve, Offers No Relief

WASHINGTON, May 18.—Famines kill the poor first. Ten million Chinese farmers and wage workers and their dependents are reported suffering from famine in a dozen provinces, because Chinese rivers became flooded last year and swept away crops, orchards, houses and even the soil on which new crops could be grown.

Minister Schurman, returning to Washington from Peking, replies to questions about this famine by saying that the wisdom of American aid for the sufferers is doubtful. China is prosperous, as a whole. If many are dying of hunger in one district, there is prosperity in other regions. You have no certainty that Chinese officials will honestly handle relief funds. And he distinctly leaves the impression that he has never worried if a few millions of Chinese poor were dying; his business as the American diplomatic spokesman at Peking was to see that American financial interests were not hurt. Schurman now goes to Berlin as ambassador. He may be counted upon to observe no more in Germany than in China—or than Ambassador Francis observed from his tea-table while the Russian revolution flamed about the streets of Petrograd.

## POWDER BUSINESS GOOD SO BIG TRUST BOOSTS ITS CAPITAL

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
NEW YORK, May 18.—Directors of the E. I. DuPont Nemours, at their meeting today, approved an increase in the capital stock of the company from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000. A special stockholders' meeting has been called for June 15, to vote on the increase, which is made necessary by the proposed expansion of the activities of the company. Directors declared the regular dividend of \$2.50 a share on the common stock and \$1.50 a share on the debentures, payable to stockholders of record June 5, and July 10, respectively.

## CAL SQUEEZES NATIONS TO GET FOREIGN TRADE

### Debt Settlement Talk to Help Wall Street

(Special to The Daily Worker.)  
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18.—President Coolidge has called upon Great Britain, France, Italy, and six other nations to take immediate steps toward settlement of their debts to the United States because he is anxious "to increase business and commerce as a result of such settlement," it was announced at the White House. Nineteen foreign nations are indebted to the United States government to the extent of over twelve billion dollars, and this club is now to be used by the Wall Street bankers and big business to secure juicy contracts abroad.

Coolidge admitted that the move to collect the debts is an attempt to increase foreign trade for America's capitalists. The United States is the banker of the world, and the American trusts who "follow the flag" are chasing dollars in foreign lands.

France is under the heaviest obligations to the United States government and to the Morgan banking syndicate. France has paid \$221,388,302.82 on interest alone, but still owes the United States \$4,210,556,938.27, in addition to the hundreds of millions of dollars directly borrowed from J. P. Morgan.

Great Britain's total indebtedness to the United States is 300 million dollars more than that of France, when the unpaid interest is included. Nations Indebted to U. S.  
The nine nations which have been called on to settle their debts with the United States are France, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Estonia, and Latvia. The settlements are to be arranged with the world war foreign debt commission, altho the French government has been asked to send a debt commission to Washington to deal directly with Coolidge.

Great Britain, Hungary, Finland, Lithuania and Poland have already made gestures toward settlement. Other countries owing large debts to the United States government include Austria, Cuba, Latvia, Liberia, and Nicaragua.

## Already on Job for the Next War, These "Advisory" Experts

LAKEHURST, N. J., May 18.—Millionaires of finance, transportation, industry and a group of educators and army officers were scheduled to enjoy a free joyride in the naval dirigible Los Angeles. The wealthy passengers include E. T. Stotesbury, Morgan partner; W. W. Atterbury, vice-president Pennsylvania R. R.; Samuel Vauclain, president Baldwin Locomotive Works; Irene du Pont, president E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co.; and Eugene G. Grace, president Bethlehem Steel. All are Eastern ordnance advisory board and are assisting the U. S. in preparing plans for immediate industrial mobilization upon the outbreak of the next war.

## Ten Scabs Scared by Supposed "Bomb"

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
MOUNDSVILLE, W. Va., May 18.—A nitro-glycerine bomb wrecked a bunkhouse inhabited by miners employed by the Ben Franklin Coal company near here, today. Ten miners narrowly escaped death. The miners, who had refused to join the West Virginia Coal strike, were thrown from their bunks, but none were injured.

## TOM PARRY EXPELLED WITHOUT TRIAL BY FARRINGTON MACHINE AND KLUXER ILLEGALLY PUT IN

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 18.—The latest turn in Frank Farrington's illegal attack on membership rule of the Illinois Miners' Union is the removal by expulsion of Tom Parry from the presidency of Sub-District 4 of District 12 and the installation of a Farrington-Klux Klan tool, Charlton Peacock, as president. This was followed by the re-instatement of Anthony Shymansky as sub-district secretary-treasurer, whom Farrington's previous "white hope," known as "Jackey" Walker, had illegally installed in place of the progressive John Watt.

The Rise and Fall of "Jackey" Walker.  
These are the present developments of the disruptive action begun by Farrington when he removed, without constitutional authority, the regularly elected sub-district president, Freeman Thompson, and appointed "Jackey" Walker, a Farrington henchman, in his place. Walker, a poor louse who had neglected to pay dues for a year or so, was promptly declared by his local union to be wholly ineligible as he was not even a member of the U. M. W. of A. under its rules. Farrington blustered at first, but finally was crafty enuf to observe the formal rules of the union and ordered Walker to get out. But he by no means intended the miners to get control of their own union.

The Frame-Up Proceeds.  
When Tom Parry, the regularly elected vice-president of the sub-district, took over the presidency with the vacancy left by Walker, and—as president—oust Shymansky from the sub-district secretary-treasurer's office, Farrington proceeded with the rest of the frame-up to make the Miners' Union an auxiliary to the operators' association. Farrington's tools persuaded some Kluxer members of Divernon Local 146 to prefer charges against Tom Parry under section 3, article 20 of the international constitution because Parry had, in his local meeting called Farrington a "crook."

Parry Proves Assertion.  
There isn't any doubt but that Farrington is a crook, and Parry had proceeded to prove it by citing instances where Farrington had padded his expense account. But if there could be any doubt as to Farrington's crookedness, his frame-up against Parry would remove it. Instead of giving Tom Parry a trial, which of course would have afforded him a chance to prove again his statement about Farrington, a farce was pulled off whereby he was shut out from making any defense.

A Rank Frame-Up.  
Parry was out at one of the mines fighting a "discharge case" on the morning of May 11, when at 9:30 a telegram was delivered to his house in Divernon, telling him that he must (Continued on page 2)

## Park City District Metal Mining Firms in Big Trust Move

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, May 18.—One of the largest mergers in the history of western mining involving 4,306 acres of mineral lands in the heart of the famous Park City district, the producer of over \$225,000,000 in gold, silver and lead, was announced here today. The corporations concerned are the Park, Utah Mining company, the Park City Mining & Smelting company, the Ontario Silver Mining company and the Daly Mining company.

Crops Hit by Frost.  
Temperatures ranging from freezing and below in the more northerly states to the low forties and upper thirties in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and parts of Missouri prevailed yesterday, withering early crops and leaving a thick frost in their wake.

## BOOZY POLICE CHIEFS AT NEW YORK CONFAB ACT AGAINST FOREIGN-BORN

NEW YORK, May 18.—Laws are made for the police not police for the law it would appear from the accusations which Police Chief Braden of Louisville, Ky., has leveled against his colleagues attending the sessions of the international police conference at the Waldorf-Astoria. Braden's verbal bomb at the conference was that delegates were boozing in defiance of the prohibition law and he feared their conduct would cast aspersions on the profession of law enforcement. Chief Enright of New York City, president of the conference, didn't like this talk at all and neglected to follow the usual custom at the international police sessions and ask the delegates what they thought of the speech. The police from all over the world assembled declared their faith in the fingerprint system of identification (recently shaken by the Wehde discovery that fingerprints can be easily forged) and a resolution urged by Secretary of Labor Davis favoring the registration and fingerprinting of all aliens was passed.

## ASK UNITY FOR OPEN SHOP IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

### To Attack the Building Unions First

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 18.—Following the victorious attack upon the Cleveland street car men's union and the decision for the open shop rendered in that case by the capitalist supreme court of the state of Ohio, Cleveland capitalists are following up with a drive against the building trades unions as a preliminary to attacking and, if possible, breaking up every union of all trades in the city of Cleveland.

Building Trades First Attacked.  
The scab "American plan association" has issued a statement to its members urging the setting up of a city-wide committee to open war on the building trades unions somewhat like the fight that has been carried on in Detroit.

In Detroit the unification of all capitalist interests included the Employers' Association, the Board of Commerce, Real Estate Board, Associated Building Employers, Engineering Society, Retail Merchants, and the Rotary, the Exchange, Kiwanis, Lions and Mercator clubs, and this unification of bosses took place in concurrence with an attempt by reactionary labor leaders to expel left wingers from the carpenters' union.

A United Front Against Unions.  
In the statement of the "American Plan Association," it says: "A great deal of interest was aroused when it was realized that the decision of the supreme court in the street railway case was sufficiently broad to justify the belief that it would be applied to other closed shop labor monopolies, such as that existing in the building industry of this city.

"Complete Co-operation" Demanded.  
"No one organization will be able to establish open shop conditions in our building industry. It is freedom of employment is to be secured in the building trades, there must be complete co-operation between all the civic organizations. Unless all the elements in the community are united back of whatever plan may be finally adopted that monopoly will resist every attack.

"Success will not crown our efforts in that direction unless the community backs us up morally and financially."

Woman's Claim is Challenged.  
LONDON, May 18.—Prof. Julian Huxley, Oxford scientist, has written to Mrs. Monteith. It was learned today, challenging the contention in her book that a woman can decide the sex of her child.

## T. U. E. L. SECTION TO APPEAR TOMORROW

Owing to the space used in today's issue for publication of special Workers Party material, the DAILY WORKER has arranged with the Trade Union Educational League for postponing publication of its regular section until tomorrow. The T. U. E. L. news will therefore, appear in Wednesday's paper.—Editors.

# KLAN TEACHES MEMBERS HOW TO EVADE THE LAW

## Kluxers Instructed to Lie to Courts

NEW YORK, May 18.—A representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports that he attended initiation ceremonies of the Ku Klux Klan in a neighboring state and that the klanmen present were given instructions for evading inquiries of judges, juries and officers of the law, when asked if they are members of the klan.

According to the investigator klanmen are instructed that when asked if they are "members" of the Ku Klux Klan they are to reply in the negative, even under oath, since no klanman is a member of the klan but all "citizens of the invisible empire."

# RIFFIAN TROOPS REINFORCE LINE AGAINST FRENCH

RABAT, French Morocco, May 18.—The offensive of the French troops against the native Riffian army has been temporarily halted. The French here declare they are awaiting the results of the mission of Louis Malvy former minister of the interior to Madrid. Malvy has been sent by the Poincaré government to attempt to induce the Spanish dictators to unite with the French imperialists in the invasion of Spanish as well as French Morocco.

The French imperialists wish to obtain the consent of the de Rivera dictatorship to cross the line dividing Spanish and French Morocco, and attack the Riffian army there.

Abd-el-Krim, the leader of the native North African forces, is bringing up reinforcements and the French are afraid he will attack before their negotiations with Spain are completed. The French airplanes are attempting to blockade the Riffians by preventing merchant ships from entering the port of Adjir, a Mediterranean port, where the Riffians have secured some of their supplies.

### Sentence Boy to Die

POTTSVILLE, Pa., May 18.—William Cavalier, 18-year-old slayer of his aged grandmother, was sentenced today to die in the electric chair by Judge R. H. Koch, in quarter sessions court here.

# British Postal Union Officials Give in to Tories

WASHINGTON, May 18.—C. G. Ammon, organizing secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers of Great Britain, has notified President Gairnor of the National Association of Letter Carriers, in Washington, that attacks on the position of his union by the tory postmaster general may prevent his promised trip to the United States in September. Ammon was to have addressed the three conventions of American postoffice employees.

It appears that Sir William Mitchell-Thompson, the tory cabinet minister in question, has given partial recognition to a reactionary secessionist organization in the British postal service, after the legitimate national union had removed from its constitution a clause permitting strikes.

# SOUTHERN COURT BARS CHINESE FROM SCHOOLS

## Ruling Puts Orientals on "Jim Crow" List

JACKSON, Miss., May 18.—Chinese have been placed on the "Jim Crow" list of the south, according to a ruling handed down by the Mississippi state supreme court which bars all Chinese children from white schools. The court decision stated that Chinese children are not a part of the white race, but are "colored," and therefore must attend the Negro schools.

The opinion of the court pointed out that as education in Mississippi is compulsory, Chinese residents must either attend the private schools or the institutions provided by the state for Negroes.

Several months ago G. P. Rice of Bolivar county brought suit against Martha Lum in the circuit court asking that the court oust her children from the white school. The case was watched with much interest, representatives of the Chinese government stationed in Washington requesting full rights for their countrymen, expressed the opinion that they would carry the fight to the U. S. supreme court.

More Discrimination Predicted Placing the Chinese on the "Jim Crow list" in the south is something new. Heretofore they have been permitted to enter theaters, public restaurants and exclusive hotels without molestation.

On the intermarriage question the south has permitted them a free course, allowing them to wed white women, but restricting them to use Negro women only as concubines. It is expected that a law annulling all marriages between whites and Chinese will follow.

# Did You Ever Go on a Truck Drive? If Not Here's Your Chance

NEW YORK CITY, May 18.—The second annual truck ride to Floral Hill Colony, Chatam, N. J., on Sunday, June 7, will be given by the Young Workers' League and Workers Party. Trucks leave from Broom St. and Springfield Ave., 9 a. m. sharp. Tickets \$1.00.

# TEACHERS' UNION FIGHTS COERCION OF N. Y. BOARD

## Effort Seen to Force More Overtime Work

NEW YORK, May 18.—The possibility of assignments not only to after school hours playground work but also to summer school work on the same yearly salary now paid them, lurks in the latest imposition of the New York board of education upon city elementary teachers.

Acting on the emotional appeal of Mayor John Hylan that school playgrounds be opened for after-school recreation to children under 14, the board of education announced that 60 such grounds would be kept open and asked teachers, janitors and the police to volunteer their supervision.

Edging Up on Conditions. The New York Teachers' Union immediately sent a protest to the board of education and warned teachers that they could easily be led into a trap by the volunteer proposition if they accepted it. The union pointed out that if the principle of extra work for the same pay were admitted by teachers in volunteering for playground work, members of the board who are always mindful of good political arguments would again suggest that teachers, since they are paid by the year, should do summer school teaching without extra pay and thus save the city so much money.

The union says that teachers are already tired after a day's school work and it is unfair to ask them to volunteer for playground work for which they are not trained.

Using Moral Coercion. There is a playground director receiving \$7,000 a year who has not yet spoken. He is part of the political system with the board of education. The Teachers' Union is not opposed to playgrounds but argues that overworked teachers are not the ones to supervise playgrounds. Specially trained workers should do this work.

Already in many of the schools meetings have been held for teachers to volunteer their services for the extra work and an indirect form of compulsion is used to influence them. In some cases the principal volunteers and the teachers think they must follow.

In others the teachers are asked to volunteer for work at other than their own schools which would be a greater hardship because the grounds are open before and after school as well as on Saturdays and teachers would have to run from the playground school to their own to teach and back again.

# Hindenburg Now Fawning Before Foreign Bankers

(Continued from page 1) Cologne area, where their troops are stationed at Germany's expense.

The extent to which the Hindenburg government has sold out the workers is shown in Stresemann's eulogy of the Coolidge government. "It is gratifying to be able to state that our relations with the United States are satisfactory in every respect," said Stresemann. "Our reparations policy bears the name of the vice-president of the United States."

"The extensive American credits to German industry have been of the greatest help." Stresemann sharply attacked the allies' disarmament policy.

Stresemann pointed out that as yet no nation has answered Germany's note regarding a "security pact."

"Germany, completely disarmed, is all around faced by heavily armed nations linked to each other by alliance," he said.

Get a sub for the DAILY WORKER from your shopmate and you will make another member for your branch.

Y. W. L. Branch No. 3 Meets Tonight. Area Branch No. 3 of the Young Workers' League will have an activity meeting tonight at 8 p. m., at 3201 S. Wabash Ave. Many important phases of the branch work such as the Negro campaign, increase of membership and the report of the city central will be taken up. Comrades not having other meetings tonight are urged to attend and help the comrades of Branch No. 3 in their work.

# FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

NEW YORK, May 18.—Great Britain, pound sterling, demand 4.85%; cable 4.85%. France, franc, demand 5.19; cable 5.19%. Belgium, franc, demand, 5.04; cable 5.04%. Italy, lira, demand, 4.07%; cable 4.08. Sweden, krone, demand 26.71; cable 26.74. Norway, krone, demand 16.78; cable 16.80. Denmark, krone, demand 18.76; cable 18.78. Germany, mark, unquoted. Shanghai, tael, demand 74.75; cable 75.25.

# CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, LOCAL CHICAGO, MEETS TOMORROW NIGHT

The next meeting of the City Central Committee of Local Chicago meets tomorrow night at 722 Blue Island Ave., at 8 p. m. Delegates from all branches are urged to be present.

# REDS ARE MURDERED, REDUCE ARMY, ENGLAND TELLS ZANKOV REGIME

(Special to The Daily Worker) LONDON, Eng., May 18.—The British foreign office will not agree, it said today, to an extension to Bulgaria of the allies' permission for Bulgaria to maintain an increased army. The foreign office viewed Balkan reports of trouble as exaggerated in order to back up the Bulgarian request.

The other Balkan fascist governments make no protest against the murder of Communists by the Bulgarian troops but see a danger to their own governments in Bulgarian's increased army.

# AMERICA BOTH IN AND OUT OF NATIONS' LEAGUE

## Nothing Accomplished by Arms Parley

(Special to The Daily Worker.) GENEVA, May 18.—The United States' refusal to co-operate with a league of nations bureau resulted in abandonment today of the proposed central bureau for arms traffic control.

The special committee of the arms conference created to find some compromise suitable to Congressman Theodore Burton of Ohio, head of the American delegation, decided to alter completely the arms traffic control plan, eliminating the projected central bureau. Its members would have been appointed by the league council.

The sub-committee's solution, which meets the approval of Burton and delegates from league member nations, provides that each nation signing the arms control agreement will periodically publish uniform statistics of its arms exports and imports, making these figures available to all other nations.

Each nation will pass its own laws, it was agreed, providing for the licensing of arms manufacturers and insuring the accuracy of the statistics. Thus the conference accomplished nothing.

Congressman Burton suggested that the statistics should be available every three months. He withdrew his amendment, providing for publicity, as no longer necessary and thanked the subcommittee for its efforts.

No Results Achieved. By this decision, the effect will be that the league of nations shall control the gathering of the statistics published by each nation separately, and the results are the same as if a central bureau had been created by the league.

However, the agreement as finally reached means that the parley has ended without steps being taken for the control of arms, for which the conference was called.

# Cal's Trade Board Ceases to Function, Protecting Trusts

WASHINGTON, May 18.—Dismissal of nearly 100 persons constituting the economic staff of the federal trade commission is the next move which the Coolidge majority in the commission is expected to take, to prevent further investigation of knockdown-and-drag out methods on the part of big business concerns. Commissioners Van Fleet, Hunt and Humphrey are reported to be preparing to wipe out the personnel on which the work of investigation of business scandals depends, in order to save the trusts from unfavorable publicity.

These economists and assistants have been employed, under civil service rules, for years in the special field assigned them by the federal trade act—the gathering of evidence of frauds and other means of "unfair competition" and the presenting of this evidence to the commission.

The investigation of the lawlessness banditry and wholesale crushings—out of small competitors by the big five meat packing companies of Chicago illustrates the work which they have been performing and which Coolidge now proposes to prevent them from further performing.

Red Baiter Aided by Court. WASHINGTON, May 18.—Trial of Gaston B. Means, former department of justice agent, on charges of forgery today was postponed until May 25, delay was asked by defense counsel.

Means was indicted for forging the name of Senator Brookhart, republican, of Iowa, chairman of the committee, which investigated the department of justice, to a letter. Means was one of Harry Daugherty's chief aids in persecuting radicals when Daugherty was attorney general.

# New York Times Tries to Push Away the War Clouds Over Europe

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

TODAY, nearly 11 years after the beginning of the last world war, the capitalist nations stand closer to a new international blood bath, than they did on the eve of the Sarajevo incident, in 1914, that started the last imperialist massacre of millions.

Paul Painleve, minister of war for France during the early stages of the last conflict, and now the successor of Herriot as French premier, frankly tells the world:

"I cannot say that militarism is no longer a menace to Europe. And I must add that France, thru her geographical situation, is exposed to militarist undertakings more than any other country in Europe."

In other words, the present French premier, instead of arguing for a continued capitalist truce, points out why France must be better prepared than ever for the next war.

It is none other than the New York Times, organ of the international bankers, that has taken up the task of spreading peace propaganda in this country. It assures its readers that Europe craves peace. Which is true. But it fails, even thru such an adept writer as Herman Bernstein, to make out even the semblance of a case for a possible peace of any duration, with even Lord Balfour, of Great Britain, declaring:

"I am not naive enough to believe that this was the last war."

The workers and peasants of Europe want peace but the contradictions within the capitalist system itself spell, "War!" without any cross-word puzzle complications. Rakovsky, the Soviet ambassador in Great Britain, clearly states that the workers and peasants of Europe will put the blame for the next war on the capitalist system under which they live, when he said:

"I do not know whether the statesmen of the capitalist countries realize the great risk involved in another war. It is likely that such a war would develop into civil war, because the horrors of the world war and its consequences are felt everywhere. The working masses do not want to suffer again the unspeakable hardships and privations, and they will not make the sacrifices they made during the recent war."

There is no capitalist diplomat in Europe that dares make such a direct confession of the present situation. Then there is Krassin, the Soviet ambassador in Paris, who declares:

"Soviet Russia is the most stable country in Europe. We have already done what no other government has dared to do. We have reduced our army from 5,000,000 which was its strength when we defended ourselves against General Wrangel and other invaders, to about 400,000 men. No other country has decreased its armaments to such an extent as this."

Not only Western European but world capitalism therefore stands before the menace of civil war at home and the rising power of workers' rule under the Soviet Union. This is bad enough in "peace" times, but becomes of greatest danger in case of another war.

The New York Times would have its readers believe that Europe opposes war. It will not tell them that another war is inevitable. In this the Times is doing the bidding of its masters, the Wall Street bankers, who are floating a stream of loans to decrepit European capitalism. Not many dollars would go abroad if American investors believed another war would wipe out all possibility of payment. But the more dollars that are invested in Europe the greater the demand for American participation in the next war. The bankers play safe either way. The workers lose both ways, unless the above declaration of the Soviet statesman, Rakovsky, can be made to apply to the United States as well as to Western Europe.

# BRANDS 'LABOR' BANK OF PHILLY COMPLETE FRAUD

## Airtight Trustee Rule Shut Out Workers

(Special to The Daily Worker) PHILADELPHIA, May 18.—The Producers and Consumers' Bank of Philadelphia, backed by the central labor union, was not a co-operative bank any respect, the co-operative league declares in reference to the failure of this so-called labor bank.

Two self-constituted trustees organized the institution and picked ten other trustees to run with them, the league says, in spite of the league's protests to the Central Labor Union that co-operative expert opinions were misquoted on the proposition.

The rank and file of stockholders the league says, had no opportunity to elect trustees until two years after the bank's organization.

The Central Labor Union has affirmed its support of the bank as expects to aid in the reorganization with greater labor control. This expectation is not shared by the 7,500 depositors, however.

# Trial of Alleged Millionaire Germ Killer Is Begun

Three jurors to hear the evidence against William D. Shepherd, charged with murder of the death of his ward, William Nelson McClintock, had been accepted by the state who court recessed for lunch today.

A score had been rejected for varying reasons, predominant among which were aversion to the death penalty, preconceived prejudices in the case as a result of the widespread publicity given it and unwillingness to convict on circumstantial evidence. Miss Isabelle Pope, the dead boy's fiancée arrived to act as witness for the state.

# Professor Thinks War Will "End Thinking"

NEW YORK, May 18.—"The real value of freedom of speech is not to the minority that wants to talk but to the majority that does not want to listen," says Professor Zecharia Chafee of Harvard University law school.

Gag rule is harmful after war more than during war, Chafee asserts, because "intolerance produces an uncritical public opinion and intense satisfaction with one's views." On the basis of national hysteria in the last war, the professor believes that critical thinking, after the next war will be impossible in this country.

### Grade Crossings Take Big Toll.

Grade crossings in the midwest reaped a week-end toll of 15 dead and 11 injured, three probably fatally. Four were killed at Oconomowoc, Wis.; two were killed and three injured at Milwaukee; one was killed at Racine, Wis.; three were killed and one hurt at Fort Wayne, Ind.; two were killed and one injured at Warsaw, Ind.; one was killed and two injured at Monroe, Ind.; one was killed at Hinckley, Minn., and one killed and four injured at Aitkin, Minn.

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# Parry Expelled Without Trial

(Continued from page 1) "appear for trial" at 8 a. m. that same morning—an hour and a half before the telegram was even delivered and several hours before he came back from the mine and received it.

No Chance to Defend Himself. The Farrington district machine held a mock trial in his absence and declared Tom Parry expelled from the U. M. W. of A. without allowing him the slightest chance for a defense.

In the afternoon the capitalist papers had already received and published the news of Parry's expulsion and the appointment by Farrington of

Charlton Peacock as sub-district president. In place of notifying the miners, Farrington notified first the capitalist papers and his friend, H. C. Adams, president of the Central Coal Operators' association.

The Klan-Operator-Farrington Combine.

Peacock was known as the "klan candidate" in the recent sub-district election, and ran against Tom Parry, but Parry beat him by 700 votes. There is a united front of the coal operators, Faker Farrington and the Ku Klux Klan in the disruption of the United Mine Workers' of Illinois and the prevention of membership rules.

# "Masters and Slaves" by John Lassen, Plumbs Depths of the Workers' Struggle Against Bosses

"MASTERS AND SLAVES," by John Lassen, a story of the working class, the second instalment of which appeared in last Saturday's magazine section of the DAILY WORKER, is a story of the struggles and problems of working men and working women.

John Lassen, the editor of the Communist newspaper "UJ Eilbre," knows the workingclass about which he writes. Comrade Lassen is now threatened with deportation because of his writings on behalf of the workingclass.

"Masters and Slaves" tells of the struggles of the workers who while jobless and without money, ride the rods from town to town seeking work. It tells of the slavish toil, the deadening routine which is the lot of the worker after he finds a job.

"Masters and Slaves" exposes the clash of interests between the workers and their employers. Furthermore it is real literature, written with the absorbing style of a true artist. The story was translated by Simon Fishkin.

Watch for the third instalment in next Saturday's magazine section.

# Decision of the Communist International on the American Question

## Unanimously Adopted by the Enlarged Executive Committee of the C. I.

The decision of the Communist International on the American Question, unanimously adopted by the Enlarged Executive Committee, is as follows:

**1. GENERAL SITUATION.** American capitalism has temporarily overcome its crisis. Masses of workers, who in the last few years took up the struggle against the arbitrary reduction of their standard of living, have been defeated in the tremendous labor struggles and have been subjected to the heaviest yoke. Masses of small farmers, who were in a state of ferment because of the agricultural crisis, have been expropriated. At last the wide open price "scissors" was able to be closed in conformity with all the laws of capital: only in so doing the scissors cut these farmers off from their property. The requirements for the expansion of industrial export could, it is true, not be complied with in an adequate degree, but instead of this, new paths for the export of capital to impoverished Europe were opened. American finance capital has thus not only reached its profit and its power at home, but has won the position of the biggest shareholders among the world capitalist powers. It now appears more powerful than ever before.

These victories of American capitalism have not been won without paying a big price. Even the Dawes plan, which from the standpoint of Wall Street, appears as a ladder to world monopoly is likely to draw American capitalism into a policy in which it stands to lose much more than merely its interest in German gold marks. It will involve it more and more deeply in the contradictions and crises of European capitalism and also in the imperialist world arena in conflicts and struggles for markets, for interest, for oil, colonies and power.

Furthermore, class relations in America are developing in a direction menacing to capitalism. The increased pressure of exploitation has forced large masses of workers to the point where class consciousness inevitably awakens even amongst the most politically backward wage slaves. The equality of exploitation which has been greatly extended, is changing more and more the former heterogeneity of the American working class. It is true that capitalism is still able to bribe millions of skilled American workers by positions of privilege, but the circle of this privileged class is growing smaller and smaller. Mass unemployment as a permanent social institution and the mass proletarianization of the small farmers, form a fruitful ground for the revolutionizing process germinating in the depths. On the whole, the situation of the American working class is at present far from pregnant with revolution; it is different, however, from what it was ten years ago.

The strengthening of the centralized government power, which interferes in the most brutal fashion in the everyday struggles of the working class is an important factor in the increasing acuteness of the class struggles and in the acceleration of the crystallization of the class consciousness of the working class. The cessation of immigration from Europe, the influx of hundreds of thousands of ruined proletarianized farmers (farmers of American origin who speak English, possess political rights and who will offer an energetic resistance to the exploitation and oppression of the trusts) as unskilled, badly paid workers, into the large towns and industrial centers, represent an important change in the structure of the American proletariat.

It is true that the majority of the American workers does not yet feel any fundamental change in its position. But the DEVELOPING TREND OF THIS POSITION has undergone a FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE. This change is only being very slowly and with difficulty understood by the masses.

**2. THE PROCESS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICAN WORKERS,** which commenced after the imperialist war and has continued under varying forms from year to year, is the political expression of the changed tendency of development of the class situation of the working class. This process is, however, still moving forward slowly, and hesitatingly. This may be explained by various specific American causes and also partly because the American workers have a privileged position in comparison with that of workers in other countries. In no other capitalist country have the workers to overcome such internal and external obstacles in the beginning on their way to political independence. It is true that the time is already past when the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. could sell the entire vote of the organized workers just as it pleased to the highest bidder of the two capitalist parties. The political position of leadership of the agents of capital at the head of the A. F. of L. is in part undermined; in part paralyzed by the anti-capitalist senti-

ments of the masses, but it is far from eliminated.

The opposition of masses of organized workers to the continuance of their political bondage to the capitalists originally became apparent in various indefinite forms (for instance in a section of the organizations affiliated to the C. P. P. A., here and there in the labor unions etc.). However, it was clearer and more definite in the farmer-labor movement, which led in 1923 to the foundation of farmer-labor parties in many states, and rallies considerable masses around its standard. The Workers (Communist) Party played, as we know, an effective part in this movement and for a certain period even set the pace in it.

Prior to the last presidential election, however, the petty bourgeois liberal opposition movement led by LaFollette came to the forefront and irresistibly captured the mass sentiment of the semi-conscious, anti-capitalistically inclined workers and farmers.

**3. THE LAFOLLETTE MOVEMENT** as a genuine petty bourgeois phenomenon was of a double nature; on the one hand, it was an objective symptom of the disorganization in the camp of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, in the prevailing crisis of American capitalism its objective purpose was the support of capital: to divert as a political safety valve the awakening class consciousness of the proletariat from consolidation of its independent class movement. Gompers understood this and allied himself with LaFollette. The semi-conscious laboring masses, however, saw in LaFollette a standard bearer against big business and followed him blindly, for the farmer-labor movement still lacked political independence to a certain degree. The majority of the workers in this movement desired the formation of a labor party, but they did not yet demand an independent proletarian class policy; they rather preferred to accept the guardianship of an opposition party of the petty bourgeoisie. The path of the proletariat can even lead thru such false roads in its first steps towards its constitution as a class.

**4. THE FIGHT OF THE WORKERS PARTY AGAINST LAFOLLETTE FOR THE LABOR PARTY MOVEMENT.** As was to have been expected at the beginning, LaFollette determinedly rejected any communization of interest with a farmer-labor party to be organized with the collaboration of the Workers Party, and he succeeded in isolating the Communists from the masses in the election campaign. For its part, the Workers Party opposed LaFollette just as unflinchingly even though without the prospects of much success. It must be recognized that in the elections LaFollette gained an important victory. That does not mean that the tactics of the Workers Party were not correct. They were correct. Our party only met with a defeat which was not to be avoided under the given circumstances.

After this defeat a certain confusion became apparent in the ranks of the Workers Party. It seemed to the majority of the C. E. C. and many comrades that the LaFollette movement had paralyzed any mass movement for a labor party for a long time to come. For a time after the elections it really appeared that even the masses which had previously supported the formation of an independent national farmer-labor party wanted no other party besides that of LaFollette. In this situation, the majority of the party leadership of the Workers Party drew the conclusion that the former chief slogan of the party, "For the Formation of a Farmer-Labor Party" had to be abandoned as useless, and the party for the time had to concentrate its attention on united front struggles for immediate, concrete demands and upon the immediate strengthening of its own ranks.

Important and very symptomatic phenomena in the LaFollette movement have already proved that this conclusion was incorrect. At the first opportunity in which a decision upon the formation of a LaFollette party was to be arrived at, at the conference of the C. P. P. A. (the most important organization in this movement) the adherents of the new party split on the question of the form of organization. Whether the party should be built up on an individual membership—as LaFollette demanded—or on a basis of collective affiliation. LaFollette feels a very comprehensive fear of the preponderance of powerful labor organizations in his party but these latter are not inclined to make a renunciation of their influence thru the by-laws. This struggle as to the form of the organization is of course an expression of the class differences and antagonisms in the LaFollette movement. Immediately after this split of the conference of the C. P. P. A., the executive of the socialist party came out into the open with the slogan "for the formation of a labor party" with collective affiliation. The socialist party was also

up to now one of the pillars of the LaFollette movement, and since now it is against the LaFollette party on this question, this is of much more significance than the former platonic play of the socialist party with the labor party slogan. Numerically this reformist party is now very small, but it has considerable ideological influence amongst the trade union officials.

In view of these facts there can scarcely be any doubt that in the near future the problem of the labor party will even more than before be an actual, even the most important political question on the agenda of many trade unions and other labor organizations. The minority of the central executive committee of the Workers Party was right in having confidence in the vitality and future of the labor party movement. The Workers Party must now do its utmost to further this movement.

**5. TACTICS IN THE FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY.** Not the rejection of a struggle for the labor party, but an adjustment and further development of our tactics in this struggle are called for, by the present situation in America. Our slogan itself should now be revised insofar that we no longer agitate for a "farmer-labor party" but only for a "labor party," since in the changed conditions the premises for the formation of a joint party of workers and small farmers are lacking.

The Communists need not demand nor even expect that the labor party will immediately be a revolutionary, radical party of workers, in which the Communists will have to take the lead. In this respect the slogan has been put somewhat too narrowly by the minority of the C. E. C. The Communists should clearly realize that the formation of a labor party signifies for the affiliated workers only the BEGINNING of their political emancipation and of the development of their class consciousness. It is very possible that in America, at first there will be for a time at the head of the labor party similar reformist labor traitors to those in England, or even worse. Nevertheless, the formation of such a party may for a time represent a definite step forward in the American labor movement, and the Communist Party is obliged to participate in this party, if only the latter permit in a sufficient degree freedom of criticism and agitation by the affiliated organizations.

Why must the Communists act thus? Because it is their task to remain in closest contact with the masses in order to influence the latter continually in a revolutionary sense. However, mere agitation and propaganda, even the best, is not sufficient for the revolutionary influence of the masses. For this purpose the masses require their own revolutionary EXPERIENCE. They can obtain essential elements of this experience in the labor party, even though the latter be directed by reformists. In that case the masses, after their disappointments will learn to know the reasonable role of the petty-bourgeois reformists, and that is very important. Furthermore, they will gain valuable experience in the independent political organizations of the working class.

The ideas of CLASS and CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS are to be inculcated as deeply as possible in the masses of the American working class by the preparatory campaign of the Communists for the formation of a labor party. This is not to be done abstractly, for it would not succeed in this manner, but in immediate connection with the most urgent everyday demands of the workers. The Communists are to induce the working masses to present these demands to the reformists and to the leaders of the LaFollette organizations and to call upon them for joint action with the Workers Party. Should they accept or reject such proposals—sooner or later the traitors will expose themselves. After every such instance, the masses of workers will, however, more and more clearly realize the necessity of an independent class party of their own. And if they do not yet recognize the Communist Party as this class party they will still feel that the slogan of a labor party is the consequence of all their everyday demands, and thus this slogan gains vital mass power.

This fight will require persevering energy and much patience. It would be a mistake for us to begin too prematurely with the ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES for the formation of the labor party. This could only give the LaFollette crowd a trump card in their fight against the labor party movement and aid them to reconsolidate their own ranks. We, however, should on the contrary drive an ever deeper wedge into the LaFollette movement. Of course, the entire organized mass of workers will not join upon the formation of such a party, but at best only a section.

But the conditions for the successful formation are not ripe as long as there is not a firm mass basis of trade union support. The majority of the central committee was absolutely

right in emphasizing this point. If the Workers Party were merely to be combined with the organizations sympathizing with it, no labor party could be formed from this combination.

It may be that the mass support for the idea of the labor party will reveal itself so strongly in some cities and even in some states, that organizational measures can be taken without further hesitation. The formation of the national labor party should be advised against until at least 500,000 organized workers are definitely won over to it.

After the formation of the labor party, what the executive emphasized a year ago should be kept in mind, that it is not advisable to endeavor to split off a left wing from the L. P. as soon as possible in order to transform this split off section into a mass Communist Party. We must rather endeavor to win increasing masses in the labor party for the revolutionary point of view and to let this left wing grow within the labor party and at the same time to take the most advanced and revolutionary elements into the Workers Party. This policy is to be observed both prior to the formation of the labor party and subsequently.

**6. STRENGTHENING AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE WORKERS PARTY.**

The fight for the formation of the labor party in no way excludes propaganda and recruiting activity for the winning and training of new members for the Workers Party. On the contrary, this work should be carried out simultaneously with the utmost intensity. The role of the Workers Party as the Communist Party of the country should neither be obscured nor minimized.

As the Workers Party is at present constituted, it is still altogether too weak to collaborate with sufficient effectiveness in the proletarian mass movement of this great country. This natural weakness was particularly evident in its election campaign. As long as the Workers Party does not at least double its membership, it cannot be said that it fulfills the requirements of an American Communist Party. Under no circumstances should it underestimate in any way the importance of such "minor" tasks, as the circulation of the DAILY WORKER and the establishment of new organs, the development of the Workers Monthly, the publication and distribution of good propaganda literature, the organization of Party schools, recruiting weeks, etc.

The organizational structure of the Party still lacks to a considerable extent the necessary cohesion. This is to be improved primarily by systematic, thorough concentration of the Party members of all the different nationalities in centralized organizations. The formation of international branches and factory nuclei is therefore on this account the most urgent organizational task of the Party.

**7. COMMUNIST TRADE UNION WORK.**

In America the regular work of Party members in the trade unions must be considered now, as the fundamental work on which depends the success of the Party in most of the other fields, and especially the struggle for a Labor Party. Therefore, any tendency to neglect or minimize the importance of this work must be energetically combated. In every single trade union organization Party members must be organized into the Communist fraction and must act unitedly on every question. These fractions get their instructions from the Party and work under its control. Communist fractions must take an active and energetic part in all mass economic struggles.

The Party must give energetic support to the Trade Union Educational League and do its utmost to develop and extend it. Efforts must be made to convert the T. U. E. L. into a great opposition movement of the Left bloc. All attempts of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy to isolate the T. U. E. L., to undermine its influence in the trade unions and to limit the membership to Communists and their most ardent sympathizers must be energetically resisted.

**8. PARTY WORK ON THE OTHER**

**FIELDS.** Although the Party is at this time not to propagate the formation of a common party for workers and farmers, it must not only work among the agricultural laborers, but must at the same time do its utmost to get into contact with and exercise control over the poorest tenant farmers and farmers who are in debt; for they are destined to play a very important role in the American revolution as future allies of the proletariat. Neither does this modification of the main political slogan of the Party mean that the Party is not to work in the already existing Farmer-Labor Parties. The task of the Communists in the existing Farmer-Labor Parties is as follows: they must organize the industrial elements as a special wing, which should be drawn at an opportune moment into a Labor Party and

form a bloc with the organizations of the poor farmers.

The Party must pay more attention and give more support to the work of the Communist Youth. It is moreover, of the utmost importance for the Party to make at last in good earnest a beginning with the work among working women. The women members of the Party and non-Party working women are to be drawn into revolutionary work which the Party must organize. The existing non-Party proletarian women organizations are not to be done away with, but should be made use of for revolutionary work.

**9. STRUGGLE AGAINST LORE'S OPPO-**

**TUNISM.** Lore represents a non-Communist tendency in the Workers Party. Already the decision of the E. C. C. I. in May, 1924, pointed out that Comrade Lore's ideology was the ideology of the Two and a Half International. Lore supported Levi against the C. I. He misinterpreted the policy of the C. I. in almost every question. He declared that the main task of the Communist Party of Germany in the revolutionary situation of 1923 should have been—to prevent the revolution by every possible means. Lore spread the most ridiculous illusions concerning the "mission to establish world peace" of Ramsay MacDonald. He warned the French Communists against the overthrow of Herriot. He fought against the necessary centralism of the Party in the name of the autonomy of the German Federation. The ideological struggle against Comrade Lore's tendency is essential for the Party.

The Executive proposes to the Workers Party to come to a definite decision on the Lore question at its next congress. In any case, the Executive is of the opinion that the Central Committee of the Party is not the place for such an opportunist.

**10. THE FIRM CONSOLIDATION OF**

**COMMUNIST FORCES.** The above platform is adopted by the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International and has also been approved by the representatives of both groups in the Workers Party.

The Executive Committee of the C. I. discovered errors in the attitudes of both groups which must be rectified.

The Executive Committee is of the definite opinion that fractional conflicts between the two groups must now absolutely cease. Although it may be true that this fractional conflict arose out of real differences, it has, nevertheless, been of too acute a character on both sides and at times assumed impermissible forms. The Executive Committee does not object to a concrete and calm discussion being carried on until the Party Congress, but, in the interests of Party unity, it demands the unconditional cessation of Party warfare.

In particular, the Executive Committee must point out that it regards a campaign conducted against Comrade Pepper as absolutely uncalled for, all the more since, firstly, Comrade Pepper himself has no intention of returning to work in the Workers Party, and secondly, the Executive Committee desires to use his energies for other important tasks. The Executive Committee knows that Comrade Pepper during his brief stay in America performed services for the Workers Party for which he deserves praise. The Executive Committee demands that all personal polemics between the two sides should cease.

The Executive Committee regards it as absolutely essential that the representatives of the Party majority and minority should henceforward conclude a fraternal peace and work in Communist co-operation. The leading comrades are primarily responsible for setting a good example to the other Party members in this respect.

The Party Congress will be held at an early date. All disputed questions which may arise between the two groups in the Party Central Committee in the interval, and which cannot be agreed upon, are to be settled in a parity commission under the chairmanship of a neutral comrade. This commission shall also control the actual conduct of the Party discussion.

The Executive Committee is of the opinion that the Party Congress, in a calm atmosphere, free from all fractional passions, should elect the Party Central Committee from among the comrades of both groups. The group which will be in the minority at the Party Congress must in any case be assured a large representation in the Central Committee.

Naturally, both the groups, having adopted this platform, must at the Party Congress actively resist any of the followers of Lore being elected to the Central Committee.

(Seal)

NOTE.—Statements of the Central Executive Committee and the C. E. C. minority on next page.

# Statement of the C. E. C. on Resolution of the E. C. C. I.

Proposed by ABERN, BROWDER, BURMAN, BITTELMAN, GANNON, DUNNE AND FOSTER.

The Central Executive Committee accepts and approves the resolution of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the American Question. It approves the declaration of the majority delegation made in the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International when the resolution was presented there by the American commission, and associates itself completely with this declaration.

The Central Executive Committee is of the opinion that the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International correctly decides the disputes over theory and tactics on the question of the labor party which have been the subject of a continuous factional controversy in the party for the past two years, and that it lays down the correct line for future work.

The resolution states that "the Executive of the Communist International discovered errors in the attitudes of both groups which must be rectified." In order that the whole issue may be clarified so that the party as a whole may be enabled to carry out the resolution consciously and sincerely it is necessary for the party to examine and discuss these errors in the light of the resolution and to eliminate them from our future work. This is all the more necessary since the minority, which had a false conception of the nature and role of the labor party, and consequently committed a number of serious and fundamental mistakes, did not acknowledge these mistakes, before the Executive Committee of the Communist International and has not given the party any assurance of its willingness and ability to correct them.

The resolution establishes the fact that the original conception of the party, prior to the formation of the abortive Federated Farmer Labor Party and the adoption of the "August Thesis", was substantially correct. It fully substantiates the fundamental conception which animated the present majority of the Central Executive Committee in the controversy over the Federated Farmer Labor Party and the August thesis and corrects the error which developed in the position of the majority after the national elections of 1924. At that time the majority of the Central Executive Committee, in-

fluenced in part by the tremendous sweep of the La Follette movement and in part by its determined opposition to further opportunistic adventures with "fake" labor parties, reacted to an extreme position which led it to underestimate the vitality of the labor party movement. The proposal to discontinue for the immediate future the agitation for a labor party was an error which was acknowledged before the Executive Committee of the Communist International and has been corrected.

The resolution substantiates all the main contentions of the present majority of the Central Executive Committee in the two years fight against the predominance and hegemony of the farmers, against the organization of caricature labor parties (the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, etc.) and against the false theories which were formulated by the present minority to justify them (the "August Thesis"). The resolution of the Communist International completely refutes all the principal theories of the August thesis (the theory of competing labor parties, the theory of "transforming" the labor party into a mass Communist Party, and the theory of caricature labor parties led and controlled by the Communists.) A sincere acceptance of the Communist International resolution is impossible without the open acknowledgement that the past attempts to prematurely organize labor parties when the mass support of the trade unions was yet lacking were serious mistakes which greatly tended to isolate the party. The whole party must be so educated and the party leadership must take so clear and unambiguous a position on this point that a repetition of these errors will be impossible.

The resolution of the Communist International sustains the position of the present majority of the Central Executive Committee on all the following disputed points which have arisen in the two-year controversy:

1. The conception that the Labor Party must be a mass organization based on the trade unions and not a mere combination of the Workers Party and its sympathetic organizations.

2. The opinion that the formation of such a mass labor party on a national scale was not possible in the immediate future after the 1924 elections.

3. The refusal to accept the existing farmer labor parties of the Northwestern states, dominated numerically and ideologically by farmers, as the basis for a national labor party.

4. The insistence that the organized industrial

workers in the industrial centers must be the basis of the labor party.

5. The discarding of the "National Farmer Labor Party" formed at St. Paul and the entry of presidential candidates in the last elections under the banner of the Workers Party.

6. The conclusion that the La Follette movement had captured the mass sentiment of the semi-conscious workers during the last election campaign.

7. Its determined opposition to any new attempts to organize a labor party merely on the basis of the Workers Party and its circle of sympathizing organizations.

On all these points of fundamental importance the Central Executive Committee minority, following the theories of the August thesis, took the wrong position. These questions are indissolubly bound up with the problem of our future campaign for the labor party. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the party, as a safeguard for the future, must repudiate these errors which have not been eliminated from the platform of the minority.

The task of the party, in carrying out the resolution of the Communist International is to develop a sincere and energetic campaign of agitation in the trade unions for the labor party, to be followed by organizational measures for the formation of the labor party when the necessary mass support in the trade unions is secured, which would give the labor party the possibility to live and function. Such a campaign can be successful only if it is conducted in direct connection with the campaign of the party for United Front struggles over concrete demands. The conception of an abstract campaign for the labor party, on the theory that the masses would be broken away from the La Follette movement by the slogan of "the labor party versus the La Follette party" without connecting this slogan with concrete demands, as well as the conception that the labor party is the only form of the United Front, are fundamentally erroneous and must be rejected. The party must proceed along the line already started to agitate for United Front struggles for concrete demands and bring forward the demand for the labor party in direct connection with them and as a consequence of them.

The Central Executive Committee greets the section of the Communist International resolution on trade union work. The whole party must be brought into line with this section of the thesis and made to realize that trade union work is fun-

damental Communist work and that a deeper penetration of the Communists into the trade unions and a better organization of their influence there are necessary prerequisites for any serious campaigns of the party, especially the campaign for the labor party. The effectiveness of the party has been, and still is greatly weakened by the tendency to neglect and minimize the trade union work; by the supercilious and superficial attitude toward it; and, in some cases, opposition to trade union work which has been carried out under the cloak of a struggle against "syndicalism". A resolute campaign for the liquidation of these tendencies and a manifold development and broadening of our trade union activity is a necessity for the party.

The Central Executive Committee agrees with the resolution of the Communist International on the question of Lore and Loreism and will lead the ideological fight, supplemented by organizational measures, for the complete liquidation of this non-Communist tendency. The Central Executive Committee regards this question as a political question relating to a tendency and a group, and not merely as a personal question affecting Comrade Lore. The attempts of the minority in the New York district to distort the question into a struggle merely against Comrade Lore personally, while shielding and defending Loreism and the Lore tendency in the needle trades, and making an alliance against the Central Executive Committee with such militant and characteristic representatives of the Lore tendency and ideology as Comrade Poyntz, must be condemned as a violation of the Communist International resolution and an act of disloyalty to the C. I. Comrade Lore must be called to order, and the Central Executive Committee is proposing definite motions to this effect. But proceedings against Comrade Lore alone cannot by any means be regarded as a settlement of the question. The Lore-Poyntz-Zimmerman group and tendency must be liquidated.

The Central Executive Committee will energetically resist any attempt to construe the campaign for the labor party as a return to the policy of adventurous "high politics", bluff and exaggeration, coupled with the neglect of fundamental daily work. The work of increasing the party membership, supporting and strengthening the DAILY WORKER, distributing propaganda literature, systematically developing and extending party educational work, etc., must not be neglected under any circumstances. Work amongst tenant

and mortgaged farmers must be energetically developed in the sense of the C. I. resolution.

In particular, the question of improving and strengthening the party organizational structure must be brought to the foreground. The present organizational form of the party is incompatible with Bolshevik organizational principles, and, consequently, with the proper execution of Bolshevik policies. The party membership must be educated and prepared, by an energetic campaign of enlightenment, based on the organizational principles laid down by the Communist International, to the necessity of the complete reorganization of the party on the basis of Shop Nuclei and international branches. The language Federation branches, however, must not be disrupted, but maintained as propaganda and recruiting centers. A complete thesis on the organizational question prepared by the Organization Department of the Communist International, in collaboration with the American delegation, will soon be published.

In connection with the question of Shop Nuclei, the Central Executive Committee wishes to draw attention to the false position adopted by the District Executive Committee of the Boston district. The contention of the resolution of the District Executive Committee that the reorganization of the party on the Shop Nuclei basis must wait for a large increase of English speaking membership and the implication that the members of the language federations are exempted is absolutely incorrect and must be resolutely combated. Party members of all nationalities who work in the same shop must be organized into Shop Nuclei.

The Central Executive Committee, basing its platform on the resolution of the Communist International, will make it its aim to lead the party to a conscious and sincere support of the resolution and to unite the party ranks on the basis of the resolution. The liquidation of the factional fight and the unification of the party is an absolute necessity. Further attempts to continue the factional fight, to undermine discipline, and to discredit the proletarian leadership which is striving to lead the party according to the political line laid down by the Communist International, must and will be resisted and rejected by the party.

The fraternal unity of the party membership on the basis of the resolution of the Comintern! This is the slogan of the Central Executive Committee and must become the slogan of the entire party.

# Statement of Minority of Central Executive Committee

Submitted by C. E. RUTHENBERG, JAY LOVE-STONE, MAX BEDACHT, J. LOUIS ENGDALH AND BENJAMIN GITLOW

The delegates of the minority of the Central Executive Committee who participated in the enlarged executive committee of the Communist International declared their hearty acceptance on the decision of the Communist International. This decision upheld the viewpoint of the minority on both the major questions, the issue of the labor party and the question of Loreism. We endorse the action of the representatives of the minority, and state our full agreement with the decision of the Communist International.

In June, 1922, the Central Executive Committee of our party adopted its first declaration in favor of the organization of a labor party and during the fall of that year launched its first great campaign for the formation of a labor party. This policy was approved by the 1922 national convention of our party and by the Communist International in its letter to the 1923 national convention. During 1923, under the pressure of the objective conditions the slogan of the party was changed, to include the farmers and the party advocated the formation of a farmer labor party. The farmer labor party slogan was approved by the national convention held at the end of 1923 and by the Communist International in its decision on the American question in May, 1924.

After the election of November, 1924, the majority of the Central Executive Committee of our party issued a statement of the results of the election, in which it declared:

"The demonstrated weakness of the La Follette movement, as compared to the pre-election estimates of all sides, not only seriously retards the development of the so-called 'third party' but also completely eliminates the immediate possibility of the growth of a mass farmer labor party of industrial workers and poor farmers, distinct from the Workers Party. A general agitation campaign by the Workers Party under the slogan for a mass farmer labor party would not be profitable nor successful."

In its thesis on the immediate tasks of the party the majority of the Central Executive Committee went even further. In the section of the thesis attacking the minority of the Central Executive Committee because it demanded the continuance of the campaign for a labor party, it denounced the views of the minority as a "right deviation" and declared: "Their theory is that the Workers Party can at present appeal only to a small section of the theoretically convinced Communists and that in order to approach with Communist propaganda larger masses of workers, our party must form new special political organizations such as women's councils, and a farmer labor party. This non-Communist conception of the role of the role of our party manifests itself particularly in the tendency to resort to all kinds of new political organizations, substitutes for the Workers Party, whenever opportunity presents itself to appeal to larger masses of workers on concrete issues of every-day life."

In this quotation the idea that it was no longer "profitable" to carry on a campaign under the slogan for "A Mass Farmer Labor Party" was extended by the Central Executive Committee majority to a declaration that it was wrong in principle for our party to advocate the organization of other political organizations holding an intermediate position between it and the masses.

In its thesis, the majority states further as to the immediate possibility of carrying on a campaign for a labor party, the following:

"The formation of a labor party becomes inevitable and possible only inasmuch as the economic mass organizations of labor are compelled to join hands for independent political action but when the leaders of these organizations enter into a permanent alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, and when such an alliance with the La Follette movement receives the recognition and support of almost the entire organized labor movement, then the question of forming a labor party loses its basic foundation and ceases to be a fighting issue for the immediate practical use."

It is this conclusion of the majority of the Central Executive Committee which has been definitely repudiated in the decision of the Communist International. Both as to the permanency of the alliance with the petty bourgeoisie and as to the statement that the Workers Party in place of being the leader in the development of a labor party can only support such a proposal when "The economic mass organizations of labor are compelled to join hands for independent political action."

The attitude of the majority of the Central Executive Committee towards that section of the La Follette movement organized as the Committee for Progressive Political Action has also been repudiated by the Communist International. The majority of the Central Executive Committee called upon the workers to boycott the Committee for Progressive Political Action convention. The minority on the other hand urged that we must send delegates into the Committee for Progressive Political Action, penetrate this organization and organize a left wing for the formation of a labor party. The position of the minority is the position of the Communist International.

Against the sectarianism manifested in the thesis of the majority the minority maintains that the class-consciousness of the working masses of the United States could not be awakened by abstract propaganda of the Communists but that we must lead the workers into immediate struggles on the political as well as the economic field and that it would be thru their own immediate struggles against the capitalist government that these workers would learn the need of a party of their own. The majority branded this view as rank opportunism and accused the minority of lack of faith in the Workers Party. On this question the Communist International declares: "Mere agitation and propaganda, even the best, is not sufficient for the revolutionary influencing of the masses. For this purpose the masses require their own revolutionary experience. They can obtain essential elements of this experience in the labor party even tho the latter be directed by reformists."

The majority maintains that the past activities of the Workers Party in the field of the labor party campaign was a tactic of splitting, inflation and self-deception. The Communist International has the following to say in regard to these past activities: "The Communist Workers Party played an effective part in this (labor party) movement, and for a certain period even set the pace in it."

## THE POLICY OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MINORITY.

The minority of the Central Executive Committee, whose names are appended to this statement, energetically resisted the abandonment of the campaign for a labor party. It declared, that the movement toward independent political action by the workers was not a chance phenomena but sprang from new developments in the life of the working class since the end of the war; that this movement would go further; that it expressed the developing class consciousness of the American workers; and that our party can only become a mass party by maintaining contact with this movement, struggling for leadership in it and driving the workers forward.

The minority of the Central Executive Committee considered the abandonment of the campaign for a labor party by the majority of the Central Executive Committee such a fundamental error and so dangerous to the future of our party that it was compelled to resist this wrong policy with all its strength. It proposed at the beginning of the discussion of the issue that the question be referred to the Communist International for decision. The majority of the Central Executive Committee opposed this course until the Communist International itself intervened and postponed the party convention until the question could be considered and decided.

The Communist International has established the fact that the minority represented the correct Leninist policy and thus repudiated the claim of the majority in this respect. The Communist International has declared as correct Communist premises those very arguments of the minority which the Central Executive Committee majority attacked and upon which is based its systematic campaign of calling the minority members as "Farmer Labor Communists," "Reformists," "Opportunists," and "Brandlites" and "Liquidators." In calling the attention of the membership to these facts we do not only point out with Communist pride that the minority, even under the most unprecedented attacks against its revolutionary integrity stood fast in defense of a Marxian Leninist analysis of the existing situation and a Communist orientation but also, and most important of all, we point to these facts in order to help that part of the membership of our party which was swayed by the incorrect analysis and conclusions of the majority to reorientate itself on the basis of the decision of the Communist International.

## THE DECISION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

This decision is now before the membership of our party. On the main question which was the issue between the majority and the minority of the

Central Executive Committee, whether the Workers Party should continue to advocate the formation of "special political organizations such as women's councils and a farmer labor party" which the majority called a "Non-Communist Conception," the decision is a sweeping victory for the party and the leadership of the minority of the Central Executive Committee.

We call attention to the following basic points in the decision of the Communist International in regard to this issue.

1. The Communist International does not base its decision on chance circumstances in relation to the development of a movement for independent political action but upon a fundamental Marxian analysis of the new conditions which have developed in the United States since the end of the war. The sharpened class conflict; the use of the centralized state power against the workers in their struggles; the leveling process between skilled and unskilled and the homogeneity resulting from cessation of immigration—these have created a fundamental change in the direction in which the working class is moving, that is, they have created a movement toward the development of class consciousness.

2. The movement for a labor party expresses this tendency of the American workers and the slogan "For a Labor Party," in appealing to the class pride and expressing a further stage in the development of class consciousness is a powerful weapon for the crystallization of class consciousness.

3. The conclusion of the majority of the Central Executive Committee that the labor party slogan had no further value was "incorrect" and "the minority of the Central Executive Committee was right." Objective conditions—the blow-up of the La Follette convention on the issue of trade union affiliation, as against individual membership, expressing fundamental class conflict—had already proven this.

4. Therefore the Workers Party must not abandon the campaign for a labor party but carry forward this campaign more energetically than ever.

These were the arguments which we presented during the discussion in the party papers, arguments which the majority of the Central Executive Committee sneered at because of their lack of a fundamental Marxian viewpoint they could not understand them.

## CRITICISM OF THE MINORITY.

The Communist International declares that it found errors in the position of both groups. The error of the majority of the Central Executive Committee was its throwing upon the junk pile, and abandoning, the campaign for a labor party. The criticism of the minority is that it formulated the slogan "For a Labor Party" somewhat too narrowly in its thesis. We admit the correctness of this criticism. In energetically defending the labor party slogan against the attack of the majority we formulated the slogan somewhat too narrowly. Also, it must be taken into consideration that the minority thesis was written in November, just after the La Follette-Progressive group had polled nearly five million votes and that group was calling its convention to organize a party while the Communist International decision was written in April after the blow-up at the Chicago convention of the La Follette Committee for Progressive Political Action alliance.

## LABOR PARTY VERSUS FARMER LABOR PARTY.

The issue in our party was not labor party vs. farmer-labor party. Not a single line was written on the basis of such an issue during the party discussion. The majority of the Central Executive Committee was equally opposed to a campaign for a labor party as it was opposed to a campaign for a farmer labor party. Any attempt to throw sand into the eyes of the members of our party by attempting to substitute this as the issue which our party discussed would be political chicanery of the worst type. Scores of articles in the party press give the lie to any such claim.

The Communist International declares that "At this time" it is advisable to change its previous decision and make our slogan "For a Labor Party," while sanctioning our continued work in existing farmer labor parties. In this respect the Communist International has revised the slogan but not the basic arguments upon which the demand of the minority for the continuance of the campaign of the party were based.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LABOR PARTY.

The Communist International declares that we shall organize the labor party on the local and state scale immediately where sufficient mass support can be secured. On a national scale we are

advised to proceed with the organization when the support of 500,000 organized workers has been secured. This is a very vital and important part of the decision of the Communist International which is decisive on an issue which existed between the minority and the majority of the Central Executive Committee.

Prior to the convention of July 3, 1923, when the Central Executive Committee of the party was considering its policy in that convention, the present minority, then the majority of the Central Executive Committee, adopted a resolution that we would proceed with the organization of a party in the July 3, 1923 convention only if we had the support of 500,000 organized workers. Primarily as a result of political development and also because of our failure to take the necessary organization step this mass support did not develop in reality.

The Communist International declares that it would be a mistake to organize the Workers Party and its close sympathizers into a labor party and that the present majority of the Central Executive Committee was right in emphasizing the need of mass support before forming a labor party. The issue between the majority and the minority was not whether we should have mass support but what was to be considered mass support. The Communist International in setting the figure of 500,000 adopted as the basis for the organization of a national labor party the same mass support which the present minority set in 1923. The Communist International further declares, "of course, the entire organized such a party but at best only a section."

We have now had three years of experience with the labor party policy. In our future labor party campaigns we must adopt such tactics as will avoid the organizational errors which were committed in the past. We must particularly be on guard against organizing labor parties prematurely or on a too narrow basis and insist on predominant trade union support. We are proposing a special program to guide our labor party campaign in harmony with the Communist International decision.

## OUR TRADE UNION WORK.

In sending a report to the Red International of Labor Unions, Comrade Foster stated in regard to our present position in the trade unions, "We are now very much isolated." The same sectarianism which was responsible for the abandonment of the labor party slogan and our isolation on the political field is responsible for our situation in the trade unions. In place of building up a broad left wing movement in the trade unions, the policies of the majority of the Central Executive Committee have resulted in reducing our strength in the unions to practically only the members of our party. While during the leadership of the party by the present minority of the Central Executive Committee our trade union work was being built up and our strength in the unions on the increase, the actions of the present majority in identifying this trade union work with our party has brot us to our present situation in the unions. The Communist International now directs that the concrete actions of the present majority which brot this detrimental result be reversed. It must be our policy to organize Communist fractions made up of party members and in addition thereto to support the organization of a broad left wing movement. The decision of the Communist International is in effect a declaration that the leadership of the present majority has not only been a failure on the political field but also on its chosen field of industrial work of the party.

## WORK AMONG WOMEN.

The majority of the Central Executive Committee was found to be wrong on the question of the method of conducting our work among women. The Central Executive Committee majority passed a motion to abolish the United Council of Working Class Women organized in New York City as one of the "fake" organizations which it opposed. The Communist International endorsed the organization of united front organizations consisting of delegates from women's organizations in the form in which the United Council of Working Class Women was organized which was the position which the minority supported against the decision of the Central Executive Committee majority.

## THE TWO AND A HALF INTERNATIONAL TENDENCY.

The decision of the Communist International supports the minority not only on the big political issue of the labor party question which confronted our party but also on the inner party situation. The minority demanded of the Central Executive Committee of the party an uncompromising campaign, both ideologically and organizationally against the

Two and a Half International tendency represented by the Lore group in our party. In place of carrying on this campaign the majority of the Central Executive Committee maintained an alliance with the Lore group against the minority. The decision outlaws the Foster alliance with Lore. The Communist International supports the position of the minority in that it decided that there shall not only be an ideological campaign against the Lore tendency but that neither Lore nor any supporter of the Lore group can be elected a member of the next Central Executive Committee of the party.

One of the primary tasks of the party is to end the Foster-Lore alliance which has served to paralyze the development of the party. The Communist International has declared that an alliance with Lore by either group will be a betrayal of the Communist International. We hope that the Foster group will not violate the latest decision of the Communist International on Loreism as it has totally disregarded the decision against the Two and a Half International tendency led by Lore which was made by the Communist International last May.

For our part, we will continue the energetic fight ideologically and organizationally which we have been waging against the right wing group headed by Lore, and against opportunist sectarian tendencies no matter where they manifest themselves in the party. We will wholeheartedly and vigorously carry out the present Communist International decision against Lore tendency as we have carried out the first decision. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly to liquidate the Lore opportunist group completely and to save the party from its dangerous influences. We call upon the Foster group to carry out the Communist International decision and unite with us in the struggle.

## SHOP NUCLEI AND PARTY RE-ORGANIZATION.

We strongly endorse the re-organization of the party and the basis of shop nuclei and international branches as recommended by the Communist International. This re-organization is a prerequisite to making our party a Communist organization. The transformation of the language sections into language fractions for conduct of their special work will preserve what is needed for our party to teach the millions of foreign-born workers of this country.

## THE ISSUE NOW BEFORE THE PARTY.

We have made this analysis of the decision of the Communist International endorsing the position of the minority of the Central Executive Committee in order to clarify the issue now before our party. The question which the next convention of the party will have to decide is the revitalizing and adjustment of the party to carry out the Communist International decision—hence that of the character of leadership of the party.

The question of leadership is not a question of personality for our party. It is not merely a question of correctness in regard to theoretical problems. Every decision of the Central Executive Committee on major political questions can result either in the strengthening and up-building of our party or in its weakening and disintegration.

The results of the leadership of the present Central Executive Committee majority are now before the party. Thru its error on the labor party issue, which the minority was obliged to fight against for the preservation and future of our party, the party was thrown into a bitter factional struggle which has all but paralyzed the work of the party for the past six months. The majority of the Central Executive Committee must assume responsibility for this condition. It was its lack of fundamental Communist understanding, its inability to make a Marxian analysis and its consequent error in shaping the policy of the party which created this condition. The party cannot continue leadership which has made the fundamental errors on the labor party issue, the issue on work among women and the trade union work as established by the Communist International.

Our party has suffered not only organizationally because of the errors of the majority of the Central Executive Committee, but it has lost a great opportunity to establish its influence and leadership among the masses of the American workers. If our party had followed the correct policy as now laid down by the Communist International in relation to the C. P. U. A. convention on February 1 in Chicago, it would have had party members elected from trade unions in that convention to take the leadership in the fight for a labor party and thru such a maneuver we could have regained the position of leadership which we held in the labor party movement up to June 17 convention. The Central

# Statement of the Minority of the Central Executive Committee.

(Continued from page 4)

Executive Committee must assume the responsibility for our failure to follow this policy and the consequent loss to our party in relation to the establishment of its influence and leadership among the masses.

The Central Executive Committee must assume the responsibility for isolation in the trade unions, which Comrade Foster admitted in his letter to the Profintern. The same fundamental lack of understanding of Communist policy which paralyzed the party organizationally and resulted in the political failure is responsible for the situation in regard to our trade union work.

The continuance of the leadership responsible for these errors will seriously endanger the future of our party. We, who have formulated and fought for the correct policies, believe that the decisive influence in leadership of the party should and must be in the hands of those who succeeded in carrying on the work of the party on correct principles with the resulting strengthening and upbuilding of the party. We believe that a majority of the membership of the party will support this viewpoint.

The establishment of the decisive influence of the present minority in leadership in the party is not only demanded by the situation of the party in the United States, but by the international situation. In this period of the temporary and partial stabilization of capitalism, as established by the enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, the danger to the Communist International is in the development of a right wing opportunist sectarianism which the policies of the Foster group expressed and which has also developed in Communist parties in other countries. The continued leadership of the present Central Executive Committee majority in our party will strengthen this right wing opportunist sectarianism in the Communist International, and we must fight against the situation in which our party leads aid and comfort to this group in the Communist International.

## THE CONVENTION STRUGGLE.

The Communist International has demanded of our party "that all personal polemics between the two sides should cease." It has particularly declared against a campaign against Comrade Pepper and established that Comrade Pepper rendered valuable service to the American movement.

We declare that during the discussion in our party until the convention, we will discuss only questions of policy in order to help to clarify the membership of our party in regard to the fundamental issues which are before the party. We declare that we will not permit personal attacks, whispering campaigns, and collateral issues to divert us from the main issue before the party. We, despite the provocation that may be used, will carry out the instructions of the Communist International in this respect. As Bolsheviks, we will be merciless in our criticism of wrong policies because such criticism is necessary for the strengthening of our party, but we will not permit the substitution of questions of personality and personal issues for the political questions which are before our party.

We declare further that our struggle for the leadership of the party is not a struggle to annihilate or thrust out of the work of the party any individuals or group. We are of the opinion that the future growth and development of our party can best be served thru the co-operation of both the leading groups. Our effort will be to achieve the firm consolidation of the Communist elements in the party; the cessation of factional warfare; the abandonment of the policy of factional extermination so that the party may have an opportunity for a normal healthy internal development.

Our group has succeeded, with the aid of the Communist International in establishing a correct Communist program for our party. We ask the entire membership to re-establish a Communist leadership and thus create the condition for the unification of our party and a common, more energetic struggle against our enemy, the capitalist class and the capitalist government.

Signed: C. E. Ruthenberg, Jay Lovestone, Max Bedacht, Benjamin Gitlow and J. Louis Engdahl.

# PHILADELPHIA BARBERS WIN 5-DAY STRIKE

## Beat Wage Cut and Open Shop Drive

By LENA ROSENBERG. (Special to The Daily Worker) PHILADELPHIA, Pa., May 18.—After a strike of five days, the strike of the Barbers' Union against the Master Barbers' Association was settled with all the demands of the barbers granted including a raise in wages of \$2.50 a week.

The association also demanded that the union force all independent bosses to join the association. The workers refused to grant these demands and went out on strike. They were determined not to give up any of the conditions that they already have succeeded in getting and put up such a militant fight that the association was forced to settle and give into all conditions that the barbers demanded.

There are still a few independent shops that have not settled but they are small shops and the union officials expect an early settlement with them.

## Branch No. 3 of the Y.W.L. Active in Work Among Negro Labor

With Comrade H. V. Phillips, the Negro organizer of the Young Workers' League elected also as the branch organizer, and with a complete program of work laid out by the branch executive committee, Branch 3 is setting out to establish its claim as the liveliest branch in the Chicago league.

A leaflet addressed to the young Negro workers is being issued and will be distributed in front of concerns employing young Negro workers. A special drive is being planned against a large hat company on the south side which employs hundreds of Negro girls. Every Negro member of the branch will be enlisted in this work. A check-up of places using young Negroes is being carried on, and will when completed, provide a basis for future campaigns.

The campaign at the Chicago Mail Order House, where the league has met determined opposition from the bosses, and is as a result a general topic of discussion among the young workers, also will be continued.

A full program of educational, street meeting, union and industrial activity has been laid out. Unquestionably, the branch has great opportunities for constructive work and the B. E. C. program is calculated to take full advantage of them. The branch holds an important meeting next Tuesday.

## Speaks Tonight on Savinkov.

A news cable in the press states that Boris Savinkov, formerly of the socialist-revolutionary party and lately of the counter-revolutionary white guard armies of the world imperialists had committed suicide in his prison at Moscow. Who was Savinkov? Why was he tried by the workers' and peasants' government? Comrade Chramov, national organizer of the Russian section of the Workers Party will speak in Chicago on the interesting subject tonight, May 19, at 1902 W. Division St. Admission is free. All who understand the Russian language are welcome.

## The Poor Old Kink.

WEMBLY, Eng., May 18.—So many people have tried to shake hands with King Edward since John Cowie, of Des Moines, Iowa, performed that feat, that police today said the king would be closely guarded hereafter when he visits the Wembley exposition.

# BAKERY BOSSES IN SURRENDER TO BAKERS' UNION

## Employers Are Forced to Sign Agreement

(Special to The Daily Worker) NEWARK, N. J., May 18.—Fourteen bakery bosses have signed the new agreement demanded by the Italian Bakery Workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union. A strike is against bosses refusing to sign. The new agreement forbids night and Sunday work, the work day to start at 4 a. m. Eighteen barrels of flour is fixed as the minimum for two men to work up, with \$3.00 additional pay for every barrel.

## PITTSBURGH, PA.

To those who work hard for their money, I will save 50 per cent on all their dental work. DR. RASNICK DENTIST 645 Smithfield Street.

# OUR DAILY PATTERNS

## HOUSE DRESS FOR STOUT WOMEN WITH SLENDER HIPS.



5104. Striped flannel, gingham or percale may be used for this model. It is made with the popular "bosom" front, and has comfortable slenderizing lines. The pattern is cut in 8 sizes: 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52 and 54 inches bust measure. A 42 inch size requires 4 1/2 yards of one material 36 inches wide. The width at the foot is 1 1/2 ards. If made as illustrated the dress will require 3/4 yard of plain material 36 inches wide and 4 yards of striped material.

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 not received immediately.

# Your Union Meeting

Third Tuesday, May 19.

- Name of Local and Place of Meeting: 21 Bricklayers, 912 W. Monroe St. 56 Carpenters, Diversey and Sheffield. 141 Carpenters, 1023 E. 75th St. 272 Carpenters, Moose Hall, Chicago Heights. 1788 Carpenters, Springfield and 26th. 402 Engineers, 180 W. Washington St. 535 Firemen and Enginemen, 5438 S. Halsted St. 542 Federal Employees, Great Northern Hotel. Glove Workers' Joint Council, 1710 N. Winchester Ave., 8:30 p. m. 5 Hod Carriers, 225 E. 15th St., Chicago Heights, Ill. 6 Hod Carriers, 814 W. Harrison St. 81 Ladies' Garment Workers, 328 W. Van Buren St. Marine Fire and Oilers, 357 N. N. Clark. 147 Painters, 20 W. Randolph St. 180 Painters, N. E. cor. California and Madison. 184 Painters, 6414 S. Halsted St. and 55th. 275 Painters, 220 W. Oak St. 521 Painters, Trumbull and Ogden Ave. 502 Plasterers, Monroe and Perio St. 4 Printers and Die Stammers, 19 W. Adams St. 724 Railway Carmen, 75th and Drexel Ave. 1047 Railway Clerks, 9 S. Clinton St. 2319 Railway Clerks, 508 W. Washington. 703 Teamsters, 159 N. State St. 7 Waiters, 234 W. Randolph St. 111 Upholsterers Union, 180 W. Washington St. 39 Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Kedzie and Ogden. 182 Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 1534 N. Robey St. (Note: Unless otherwise stated, all meetings are at 8 p. m.)

Get A Sub And Give One!

## SCHOOL FROCK.



5116. Plaid or checked gingham or flannel would be both serviceable and pleasing for this style. The pattern is cut in 4 sizes: 6, 8, 10 and 12 years. A 10 year size requires 2 1/2 yards of 36 inch material, with 1/4 yard of contrasting material for collar, cuffs, belt and pocket facings. Pattern mailed to any address on receipt of 12c in silver or stamps.

FASHION BOOK NOTICE! Send 15c in silver or stamps for our up-to-date Spring and Summer 1925 Book of Fashions, showing color plates and containing 500 designs of ladies', misses', and children's patterns, a complete and comprehensive article on dress-making, also some points for the needle illustrating 30 of the various simple stitches; all valuable hints to the home dressmaker. Address: THE DAILY WORKER, 1118 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Eat at the GLOBE CAFETERIA Best Foods at Moderate Prices. 14th STREET, COR. IRVING PLACE (Opposite New York Party Headquarters)

# PHOTO WORKERS CALL MEETING TO ORGANIZE

## Union Will Fight All Bad Conditions

NEW YORK CITY, May 18.—The Photographic Workers' Union of America, which has offices at 443 St. Anne's avenue in the Bronx, has issued the following organizing call over the signature of Louis A. Baum, its secretary organizer: "Fellow Photographers:—Do you know that wages have been steadily going down towards the \$20.00 a week mark? Do you know that the government turns out over 300 photographers yearly? Do you know that the photographic schools turn out hundreds more of us year in and year out? Do you know that from various other sources still hundreds more are constantly being added?"

"What are you going to do about it? "Are you just going to let things slide? If so, you are heading towards further lower wages, longer hours and intolerable working conditions; or are you willing to come together with your fellow craftsmen, and join in a mighty effort to gain material advancement?"

"These are big questions that await your answer and upon their solution depends your future livelihood. "A union of men and women engaged in the photographic trade can increase wages, shorten hours, better working conditions, increase our knowledge and efficiency—and add greatly to the fraternal spirit. "A mass meeting of the Photographic Workers' Union of America has been called for Friday evening, May 22, 1925 o'clock at Bryant Hall, 723 6th Ave., near 42nd street. "Bear in mind that 'in union there is strength.' Come, attend this meeting and join us."

# Capitalist Press Advertising Billboard

(Continued from page 1.) can only be accomplished thru advertising creates large production and thus lowers costs and prices. The most serious purpose of advertising is the job of creating desire. In economics the torments of desire in turn create demand, and from demand you create production, and thence around the cycle we land with increased standards of living."

An Order Getter Hoover gets the order of events wrong. Advertising is truly the hand-maiden of mass production in the sense that it came into being produce consumers for the enormous surplus production potentially available thru power machinery. The machine issued orders that it fed with millions of consumers and advertising proceeded to execute the orders. Thus advertising has produced consumers for over 70,000,000,000 cigarettes and for enough chewing gum to make Wrigley an outstanding multimillionaire. It can hardly be argued that the invention of machinery to satisfy such desires followed by the creation of the desires which produce a demand for the products necessarily represents an improved standard of living.

A Sort of Bait for Suckers Advertising, by keeping the desires of the working class constantly in advance of their wages, renders them wage slaves, that is, slaves to the masters who can grant them slight increases in the amount of satisfac-

tion. Hoover also stresses "the impulse advertising has given to the distribution of news, information, good cheer and educational material to our people. Obviously," he says, "were it not for the vast extension of national advertising we should never have had the fine development of our periodical magazines; and were it not for the growth of local newspaper advertising our publishers would not be able to produce the great journals which are of such incalculable value."

Capitalist Press Only A Billboard The press has become little more than a vehicle for advertising while auditors and contributors have been prostituted to providing the bait for advertisers to hook the public. Carl C. Magee, who as editor of the Albuquerque State Tribune knows what he is talking about, told the advertising club of New York that freedom of the press was menaced by the threats of modern business to withhold advertising from papers which print news unfavorable to its interests. This hits nearer the truth than Hoover's eulogy.

Ask Coal Rate Readjustment. WASHINGTON, May 18.—The Ohio Public Utilities commission today asked the interstate commerce commission to readjust freight rates on coal between the mines in southern Ohio and those in the "inner and outer crescents of West Virginia and Kentucky."



# MILWAUKEE, WIS. LEADS LOCALS HAVING QUOTA OF 100 SUBS OR OVER



## HOW MUCH OF ITS QUOTA HAS YOUR LOCAL FILLED?

# MILWAUKEE LEADS THE BIG ONES

PHILADELPHIA AND MINNEAPOLIS GAIN Both Philadelphia and Minneapolis made gains during the past week while local Milwaukee stood still for the first time during this campaign. Detroit also made slight gains while Cleveland pulled itself out of last place among the "Big Ones" and warns other locals to step lively or get stepped on. With only one more month left to the campaign ending June 15, here is the standing of the big locals having a quota of 100 subs or over in

Local	Subs Sent	Quota	Pct. Filled
Milwaukee, Wis.	54	125	43
Philadelphia, Pa.	102	250	41
Minneapolis, Minn.	67	200	34
Detroit, Mich.	140	500	28
Buffalo, N. Y.	25	400	25
Los Angeles, Calif.	33	150	22
St. Paul, Minn.	29	135	21
Boston, Mass.	36	200	18
New York, N. Y.	226	1500	15
Kansas City, Mo.	15	100	15
St. Louis, Mo.	15	100	15
San Francisco, Calif.	23	170	13
Toledo, Ohio	24	200	12
Cleveland, Ohio	41	450	11
Chicago, Ill.	138	1500	11
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	250	10

# MONESSEN STILL LEADS ALL LOCALS

## POTTSVILLE, NEW ORLEANS AND OMAHA CLIMB

While Monessen still retains the lead over all locals in the country (City Agent Leo Kauppila insists they will continue to do it) Pottsville, New Orleans and Omaha are climbing to the top due to the splendid efforts of Comrade J. Das and Comrades Matthews and Dave Courts. This is the standing of all locals having quotas of less than one hundred subscribers:

Local	Subs Sent	Quota	Pct. Filled
Monessen, Pa.	11	10	110
Pottsville, Pa.	9	10	90
West Allis, Wis.	7	10	70
New Orleans, La.	7	10	70
Pittsburg, Kan.	7	10	70
Eureka, Calif.	6	10	60
Omaha, Neb.	28	50	56
Pocatello, Ida.	5	10	50
Jamestown, N. Y.	5	10	50
Kincaid, Ill.	4	10	40
Providence, R. I.	12	30	39
Revere, Mass.	11	30	37
Springfield, Ill.	16	50	32
Worcester, Mass.	12	40	27
Pontiac, Mich.	6	24	25
Canton, Ohio	8	30	24
Lawrence, Mass.	2	10	20
Superior, Wis.	12	60	20
Schenectady, N. Y.	2	10	20
Rochester, Minn.	2	10	20
Tacoma, Wash.	2	10	20
Blair Sta., Pa.	2	10	20
Chisholm, Minn.	2	10	20
Cateret, N. J.	2	10	20
Pottsville, Pa.	2	10	20
Springwell, Mich.	2	10	20
Coseob, Conn.	2	10	20
Portland, Ore.	12	60	20
Hartford, Conn.	4	30	18
Superior, Wis.	10	60	17
Christopher, Ill.	6	40	16
Hannah, Wyo.	7	50	14
Denver, Colo.	6	50	12
South Bend, Ind.	5	40	12
Muskegon, Mich.	3	25	12
Elizabeth, N. J.	3	30	10
West New York, N. J.	2	20	10
Kansas City, Kan.	2	20	10
Washington, D. C.	4	40	10
The following Cities Have	1	10	10
Johnston, Pa., New Brunswick, N. J., Coverdale, Pa., Madison, Ill., Kincaid, Ill., Brule, Wis., Zalto, Md., Sunrise, Wyo., Woodlawn, Pa., Miami Fla., Siletville, W. Va., Port Vule, Pa., Salt Lake City, Utah, Cheswick, Pa., Hibbing, Minn., Alliance, O., Hancock, Mich., Utica, N. Y., Bentleyville, Pa., Tuolumne, Calif., San Antonio, Tex., Passaic, N. J., Dayton, O., Indianapolis, Ind., Red Granite, Wis., Wilmington, Del., Dillies Bottom, O., Kenosha, Wis., Faribault, Minn., Taylorville, Ill., Seymour, Conn., El Paso, Tex., Decatur, Ill., Roseburg, Ore., Des Moines, Ia., McDonald, Pa., Frederick, S. D., Max, N. D., Mt. Vernon, Wash., Frankfort Heights, Ill., Gary, Ind., Hollidays Cove, W. Va., Colchester, Conn., Rochester, N. Y.	4	50	8
Cincinnati, Ohio	4	50	8
Youngstown, Ohio	2	25	8
Rockford, Ill.	4	50	8
Newark, N. J.	4	50	8
Astoria, Ore.	2	30	6
New Haven, Conn.	2	30	6
Richmond, W. Va.	1	15	6
Stamford, Conn.	1	15	6
Sioux City, Ia.	1	15	6
Baltimore, Md.	4	75	6
Neffs, Ohio	1	20	5
Warren, Ohio	1	30	3
McKeesport, Pa.	1	40	2
West Frankfort, Ill.	1	35	2
Zeigler, Ill.	1	40	2
Seattle, Wash.	1	60	1

# PLAN TO CRUSH RADICALISM VIA EMPLOYES' WIVES

## Railroads Organize New "Company Union"

(Special to The Daily Worker) MILES CITY, Montana, May 18.—The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway company aims to use the wives, mothers and daughters of their employes to snuff out the life of any radical that manifests itself among the men on the job. Mrs. H. E. Byram, wife of the former president of the Milwaukee railroad system, and Mrs. Carpenter Kendall, editor of the Milwaukee Magazine, both from Chicago, have been entrusted with the job of organizing these women's clubs.

Traveling in a special private car they arrived in Miles City for a meeting to organize the 24th chapter of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Women's club. All the officers chosen are the wives of officials with the exception of the two secretaries who are stenographers in the employ of the company and of course controlled by the company.

This "company union" for the wives ostensibly aims to relieve poverty and distress among Milwaukee employes (caused by low wages) but in reality it is for the purpose of bringing social pressure in times of danger. The officials' wives' duties will be to be sweet and patronizing to the wives of employes and occasionally throw them a crust so that they may be propagandized to use their influence with their husbands and keep them away from radicals.

In speaking of the aims of the Women's Club, Mrs. Byram said, "the work has brot together a great family of railroad women and the acquaintanceship resulting has not been only of personal benefit but of value to the railroad system itself."

Mrs. Byram and Mrs. Kendall immediately left for Lewistown where the twenty-fifth chapter of the club will be organized. The parent club is located in Chicago where general headquarters are maintained and where the next convention will be held in July of this year.

# Flivver King to Grab Government Boats at Junk Price from U. S.

(Special to The Daily Worker) WASHINGTON, May 18.—Chairman T. V. (Finger) O'Connor of the United States Shipping Board today went into a series of conferences with other members of the board on the subject of the disposition of surplus government ships.

O'Connor returned Sunday from Detroit, where he discussed the government's shipping problem with Henry Ford, and prevailed on the automobile manufacturer to put in a bid for at least 400 of the ships, most of which would have to be scrapped by the purchaser. Commissioner Thompson is opposing the sale of the ships to private interests on the ground that the maintenance of the vessels is not costly and that they could be used by the government at some future time.

Of the 1,200 ships owned by the government, Chairman O'Connor wishes to sell 400 for scrapping, keep 400 in reserve and the remaining 400 in operation for freight and passenger service.

# Our Readers' Views

Daily Every Day at Ford Plant. To the DAILY WORKER: Another attempt was made yesterday to drive the DAILY WORKER newsie from the Ford Motor company plant. This despite the fact that the justice in Highland Park court ruled in our favor in the prosecution of our comrades for selling and distributing the Daily on May Day. A policeman approached Comrade D. P. Babich and told him he must get off the street. After telling him politely to "go to hell" the newsie succeeded in cooling him off, for he finally went off muttering that the DAILY WORKER was no damn good. Our comrade's parting shot which pleased the crowd was, "maybe not for policeman but for workers very good."

Shop Nucleus No. 1 has pledged itself to raise funds to keep this comrade on the job selling our paper at the Ford plant. Up to the present results have been very encouraging and the paper is becoming known to the workers. We believe the sales will show a big jump. If the Ford company sends its puppets on our track again our nucleus will find other ways for reaching the Ford slaves. D. M., Detroit, Michigan.

A Correction. W. A. Warren of Kemerovo, Siberia, send us the following correction to an article entitled "The Inquiry of the Russian Intervention," recently published in the DAILY WORKER. The item should read: He has been in Russia three years and is a member of the class of 1879, Lehigh University.

Does your friend subscribe to the DAILY WORKER? Ask him!

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**A. LOUIS BROADBENT** Editor  
**WILLIAM F. DUNNE** Business Manager  
**MORTIS J. LOSS** Business Manager

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Advertising rates on application

**Two Presidents to Get Raise**

It is not surprising that the greatness of two presidents should be recognized at one and the same time, even the thousands of miles of land and water separate the twain.

While the ways and means committee of the Reichstag was passing a motion to increase the annual salary and expense account of President Hindenburg from \$27,000 to \$45,000, the grateful delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor were boosting the salary of President Fitzpatrick from \$75.00 a week to an even hundred.

Undoubtedly both men are worth the money. Both are sturdy exponents of the strenuous life. Both are stout of frame and stern of visage. Both are early risers and the sun never sets on their labors!

We know that 'Hind' worked hard during the war to bring home the bacon for the kaiser and the German capitalists. That he failed is no fault of his. He almost lost his neck, but fortune is a fickle dame and is now smilingly ensconced in the old war dog's arms.

President Fitzpatrick is local leader of the trade union movement. One of the duties is to see that the ranks of the unions are increased, not decreased. He is at least expected to make an attempt to organize the unorganized. But while von Hindenburg risked his neck to save the kaiser's bacon and his throne, about the only function Fitzpatrick performs that is worth a nickel to the labor movement is filling a capacious armchair in his office.

Von Hindenburg is worth every gold mark of the \$10,000 he will receive for bluffing the German working class. He is on his toes for the bosses. If the servants of the capitalists wasted their time as the labor fakers do, they would soon find tin cans tied to their coat tails.

Not only are the highly paid labor officials wasting their time and the funds of the unions, but they are tacit allies of the capitalists in their refusal to render any real service to the labor movement. In fact most of them are open servants of the bosses, and glory in the fact.

Every day get a "sub" for the DAILY WORKER and a member for the Workers Party.

**Arrant Nonsense**

It is arrant nonsense for the Washington correspondent of the Federated Press to write that the action of the White House in sending a warning to the delinquent debtor nations of Europe, to pay up what they owe to the United States or at least begin the process, was a victory for the policy of Senator Borah. It is true that Borah wields some influence at the White House, but not as much as the House of Morgan. If Wall Street does not have its way in Washington, what is the use of electing Calvin Coolidge president?

Borah makes the plea that European countries which owe money to the United States are hotbeds of militarism and that they are able to maintain their excessive military establishments thru the use of the money they owe the United States. In the interest of peace this money should be paid back. But what about the United States militarism?

Europe owes about ten billion dollars to the United States. England, France and Italy owe the greater part of this. Other small nations like Belgium, Greece, Estonia, Latvia, Roumania, Checho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia owe lesser amounts.

Wall Street never had any intention of letting those European nations get away with the idea that the debts must not be paid. It was simply waiting for the right time. If those countries suddenly discovered ten billion dollars in some cave and shipped it to Wall Street, Morgan would throw a fit and might ask the navy department to bombard the vessel bearing the gold and sink her "spurlas versenkt." Money is alright unless you have too much of it. Like too much food, it raises Cain with the circulation.

Our rulers are gradually getting a stranglehold on Europe. They do not need money. Europe does. This debt is a handy thing to have. It makes a first class club. Not to curb militarism. Oh, no. The European capitalists will be allowed enough armed forces to keep the working class in subjection, or as much as the capitalists think is sufficient. Wall Street does not like the idea of her debtors fighting each other. That's the kind of "militarism" Wall Street does not like.

The Federated Press correspondent declares that "it is the people of the United States who are supporting the armies of Europe." The "people" have no kick coming. They seem to like it. They might as well support the predatory armies of France in Morocco as the armies of Wall Street in Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba, or the Philippines. What's the difference?

Some naive labor correspondents see in Senator Borah an enemy of Wall Street. But Wall Street is not afraid of Borah and should the tinsel so laboriously plastered on Coolidge during the past few years, wear off before the year 1928, it is quite possible Wall Street would be quite satisfied to see the famous wind-jammer from Idaho make the race for the White House, particularly if the workers showed any inclination to kick over the traces.

When the policies of Senator Borah win in Washington, they are sure to be the policies of Wall Street.

It is reported that Caillaux, French finance minister, made his peace with the pope before he returned to public life. The pope is an accommodating fellow, almost as accommodating as his American financial agent, J. P. Morgan.

**International Prospects and Bolshevization**

By G. ZINQVIEV.  
 (Continued from last issue.)

**II. Partial Stabilization of Capitalist Economy.**

What is Needed is a Calm, Truly Bolshevik Objective Appreciation of the Situation

LET us now turn our attention to the world economic situation. It has not materially changed during the last eight or nine months. One meets frequently two types of view in Communist ranks and round about them: the representatives of one of these tendencies could be designated as it were, as the prophets of an immediate, "inevitable" catastrophe of capitalism. They are always seeing signs of an "immediate" collapse of capitalism, and when they have recognized their mistake, they go to the other extreme, to talk about the erroneousness of the whole line of conduct.

The representatives of the second "tendency" are people who believe with the certainty of fatalists in the 100 per cent stabilization of capitalism which is supposed to have already taken place. According to them, this stabilization is making strides forward almost at express speed, to such a degree are they blinded by some of the outward features of the stabilization which they find so welcome. The Communist International has no use for either of these extremes. Neither the prophets of imminent catastrophe, nor the fatalists of capitalist stabilization are right. It is the Fifth Congress which is right, its lines have remained unshaken.

YES, it is true that the bourgeoisie has been given breathing space. We can see now that this breathing space is proving longer than we expected, altho from the viewpoint of history, two or three years, or five or ten years are a mere trifle. It is true that the economic position of the bourgeoisie has improved in some European countries and elsewhere. In many countries the bourgeoisie has been able to stabilize its valuta. In Germany we do not witness now in this respect what we witnessed in 1923, at the time of inflation. And yet there are considerable exceptions to this rule. Let us take, for instance, France, Italy, Roumania and Japan, where the valuta question is still very acute. In other bourgeois

countries it has been possible to re-establish valuta equilibrium. This is of course of the greatest importance for capitalism.

And what do we see? Our "stabilization fanatics" are beginning to say: look, the bourgeoisie has again had cash in its hands, the valuta has been stabilized—consequently the policy of the Communist International was not correct, consequently capitalism has been more or less reestablished. But a real Communist will ask himself first of all by what means the bourgeoisie has been able to stabilize the valuta, and at the expense of what sections of the population has this stabilization taken place. A true Communist sees for instance that in Germany and France two-thirds of the burden of taxation have been cast entirely on the shoulders of the workers, and that consequently the valuta has been stabilized at the expense of the working class.

But nevertheless Marxists must take into account the fact of the stabilization of valuta and the temporary consolidation of the capitalist order.

Side by Side with Stabilization are Undoubted Signs of the Instability of the Situation

WE also witness a certain revival of international credit. There is a tendency to revive international credit to establish world prices and generally speaking, to reestablish the so-called unity of the world capitalist economy. America has abandoned its position of financial self-isolation. In some countries there are signs of improvement in the industrial situation. All these are undoubted facts and due to no fault of Varga.\* For several years Europe has

\*Comrade S. Varga studied the economic position in the capitalist countries and described in his works the temporary stabilization of capitalism in some of them.

not been in a state of war. In some countries capitalism has partly recovered. As Comrade Varga rightly said, in the autumn of 1924 there was, after many years, a decided and simultaneous change for the better in the conditions of the most important states, such as Great Britain, the U. S. A., France and Germany, whilst in other countries—Poland, Hungary and others the economic crisis continued.

But how little stability there is in the present conditions is shown by the events which happened quite recently, during the last few weeks when we saw again that the position of the bourgeoisie had become worse. In the U. S. A. there are already the first symptoms of a new depression. A slump is looming in some branches of industry. The British economic press is full of statements concerning the instability of stabilization in Central Europe and a short life is predicted. In France considerable unemployment is becoming noticeable for the first time in the past ten years. In the other countries there is also more unemployment than last year. In short, there are a number of symptoms which show that stabilization is going thru a series of serious fluctuations.

The Position of the Working Class Under Capitalist "Stabilization."

WE as the vanguard of the working class should be first of all interested to know what the economic position of the working class is in the period of this "provisional" stabilization. Unemployment is growing. In Great Britain there are already almost two million unemployed, there is the same number in America, whilst in Germany there are nearly one million. Unemployment reigns supreme also in Italy, Checho-Slovakia, Poland and other countries, and as I already said before it has made its appearance for the first time in France after many years. The decline of real wages has become an incontrovertible fact in almost all the European countries.

WE know that in almost every country, the war and its consequences have raised the price of all the necessities of life. This effects workers more than anyone else, as workers wages do not keep pace with the rise in prices. In Great Britain the existence minimum in July 1924 amounted to 170 per cent of the pre-war minimum, and in December of the same year 181 per cent. At the same time all official sources, which in such cases are not inclined to minimize, indicate that the wages of British workers in the same period (July-November 1924) decreased.

In the January—June 1924 period the total weekly wages paid to workers in Great Britain amounted to 560,900 pounds sterling, whilst in the period July-November it amounted only to 518,350 pounds sterling. This shows that in addition to their former

profits, the employers pocketed another 42,000 pounds sterling weekly. And we must remember that during this period prices of all products were rising.

In France, in Paris the cost of living minimum in July 1924 was 360 per cent over the pre-war level, in November—396 per cent, whilst the workers' wages remained the same.

THE same is happening in every European country. In the U. S. A., the country of "capitalist prosperity," the cost of living minimum was in June, 1924, 171 per cent, in November of the same year 180 per cent and in January 1925, according to latest statistics about 185 per cent over the pre-war level. There was no rise in wages during the last six months in the U. S. A., with the exception of an insignificant rise in railroadmen's wages. But in many cases (especially in the textile industry) wages decreased from 10 to 15 per cent. Thruout Europe and even in America, the real wage is decreasing. Russia is the only exception; there wages in some branches of industry are already beginning to exceed the pre-war level. This is how matters stand today.

Germany presents now a clearer picture than any other country of the so-called stabilization. The Dawes plan has up to now been showing only its favourable side. But there is no doubt whatever that differences will soon become more acute in Germany on a new basis. Class struggles will again break out.

WORLD credit is being revived, the valuta is becoming stabilized and trade is developing. But at the same time another process is beginning which is inevitable in the imperialist epoch of capitalism; the struggle for markets. This struggle is already raging. The time is not far distant when we will be able to see the growing acuteness of differences on a new basis. There is no occasion for us to ignore or to minimize the fact that a certain stabilization of capitalism has taken place. But nevertheless we are as before confronted by the question: has the world war and the first Bolshevik revolution dealt capitalism a death blow, a very heavy blow, or has it only injured it slightly? We are as before of opinion, that the first Bolshevik revolution and the world war have dealt a very severe blow to capitalism, and that its "recovery" is only temporary and fictitious. But we must nevertheless look the fact of the temporary "revival" of capitalist economy straight in the face. (To be continued.)

**Within the Law**

The ruling class of this country is strong for law enforcement—against the working class. The capitalists make the laws, for others to obey. For the workers, like the soldier in battle: "Their's not to reason why; their's but to do and die."

Samuel M. Vauclain, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, delivered a speech about one year ago in which he said that he would have no labor organizers interfere with his business. If any such organizer came around, he would have him thrown into jail regardless of law. This open expression of contempt for the law did not bring Vauclain into jail. No, because Vauclain is the law.

Our Vauclain does not take the law seriously. Just now the United States government is spending millions of dollars in the enforcement of the Volstead law. But not one capitalist in ten thousand obeys that law. Sometime ago Vauclain bet with some pals of his that prohibition was not a hardship on the people, as they could get along without liquor.

Vauclain entered into an agreement one year ago that he would forfeit \$10,000 if he took a drink in the United States within one year. The year is up and the steel magnate claims that he will not have to give up the ten thousand dollars. Being a wealthy man, the newspapers are after Vauclain for interviews. The year was up. Vauclain was going to New York to celebrate the end of the self-enforced drought. "With a twinkle in his eye he commented on the fact that 'New York has good liquor, they say.' 'Are you going to get some?' he was asked. 'I might get it in the neck,' he replied."

This is one of the lords of creation talking, so prohibition agents keep quiet. While an admiral of the proud United States navy is chasing rum-runners off the coast, the president of a big corporation goes to New York where the liquor is good. Vauclain is within the law. The workers are outside of it. And by the way, how does it happen that Vauclain is wealthy even tho he does not hide the fact that he likes his booze? We are told that the workers are poor, not because they are exploited by the employers, but because they are thrifless, smoke tobacco, wear silk shirts and drink liquor. Vauclain is excellent proof to the contrary.

**The Yellow Chorus**

Ramsay MacDonald does not like the "Red Flag" that anthem of revolt that has been sung by millions of workers since it was composed by the Irish rebel, Jim Connell. It grates on the sensitive ears that have wagged pleasantly to the strains of "God Save the King" and "Britannia Rules the Waves." The mouth that so willingly osculated the royal anatomy did not open to chant the verses of revolt against royalty, the fading handmaiden of modern capitalism.

Ramsay MacDonald does not like the "Red Flag" because it is not yellow. Neither does the *Mitau-kee Leader*. In the editorial column of that sheet, which is presided over by John M. Work, that senile dotard in an article entitled "Down With the Bunk," belongs all those who cherish the red flag and the song inspired by it. Work does not like the red. "Alienists say a man who writes letters in red ink is likely to show signs of insanity," says Berger's hired scribbler.

MacDonald says that labor ought to have a better song, "one more tuneful and soul-stirring." The *Leader* hastens to add, "one less calculated to arouse the brute passion for slaughter." And furthermore writes Work: "The use of the word 'revolution' and 'revolutionary' in socialist writings is also foolish. Tho they mean peaceful revolution, most non-socialists do not know it, except the few who lie about it. Why court misapprehension?"

To the yellow socialists everything that emphasizes the class struggle is foolish. Berger long ago dropped the word revolution from his scanty vocabulary. Now the "Red Flag" is verboten. Why not muzzle Eugene V. Debs? He uses the word revolution occasionally, tho we presume he means nothing wicked by it. He also talks about the red flag, but perhaps only in a figurative sense. Morris Hillquit is less blunt than Berger, so he will allow the socialist party's only visible means of support—Debs—babble the "old jargon for another while.

The socialists may drop the "Red Flag"—indeed its use is sacrilege on their lips. But the workers will drop the socialist party and carry the red flag to victory under the leadership of the Communist International, which is heir to the struggle waged by the oppressed masses of all ages.

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

**Tools of American Imperialism in Hawaii**

By PAUL CROUCH.

THE Bolsheviks were our best friends.

This remark did not come from a foreign propagandist. It was the reply of a typical American soldier to my question about conflicts with the red army. He was sent to Siberia to make the world safe for Wall Street. But when he and other soldiers came in contact with free and thinking soldiers they understood the class nature of the government that forced them to murder fellow workers. The soldier-workers who were sent to Siberia discovered the character of capitalist imperialism and those who still remain in the service are prevented from telling the truth to their comrades only by fear of persecution.

With its usual stupidity, American

militarism subjects its tools in Hawaii to such brutality and injustice that the rank and file of the army is on the verge of open revolt. Prison cells of transports returning to the mainland are filled with those who have tasted the bitterest kind of injustice and maliciousness. The primary reason for the unusually cruel treatment of soldiers in the Hawaiian department is that it is very difficult for them to desert. Officers realize that the worker-soldier is at their "mercy" and so satiate their desire for power. If soldiers on the mainland were subjected to the same injustices that their comrades in Hawaii are forced to endure, the army would not exist for a week.

Ignorance is the first line in the defenses of class rule, and America is following in the footsteps of the czar by endeavoring to keep her soldier tools ignorant of all vital problems.

Nothing would be of greater value to the enlisted men than lectures and courses in geography, civics, economics, and other studies. There are a few educational courses but, as in civilian life, they are for the individual—not the masses. Few soldiers learn anything while in the service of value in civilian life. The government does nothing for the intellectual development of the average enlisted man. A company commander seeing a copy of the National Geographic Magazine in the possession of a soldier, gave order that it should be destroyed.

The fear that knowledge might reach the dormant minds of ignorant and abused tools of Wall Street who hold the masses of Hawaii in economic slavery, caused what amounts to life sentences for Walter M. Trumbull and the writer.

Our weapon was education. But in

the eyes of the military autocracy, soldiers who try to persuade their comrades to think for themselves and question orthodox dogmas, are guilty of the greatest of all crimes. As a brutal agent of Wall Street put it: "The dirtiest job you've got is too good for them" (in reference to us). The czar failed to save capitalism by fighting education. And America will not succeed in keeping her soldier tools and colonial slaves in everlasting ignorance. The dawn of truth and economic freedom will come despite the efforts of militarism, and free soldier workers will unite with their comrades of other lands and shout:

Long live the international brotherhood of workers!  
 Long live the world Communist Party!  
 Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

**MAY DAY IN DUBLIN**

By ROBERT STEWART.

THE disunity in the Irish labor movement made a general holiday on May Day impossible, nevertheless the Dublin workers did not let the day pass without a demonstration.

On the evening of May Day the workers assembled in Parnell Square but altho invitations had been sent to every trade union branch there were few officially represented. The Workers' Union, the Irish Workers' League, the Grocers' Assistants, the Workers' International Relief, the unemployed, etc., made up the parade which led by the Workers' Union No. 1 band marched thru O'Connell street to Beresford Place where a meeting of five thousand workers gave a rousing welcome to the platform party, consisting of Mrs. Despard, Workers' International Relief, delegates from the Grocers' Assistants, Trade Council, Woodworkers', Councillor Lawlor presided, and the speakers were J. Farrelly, R. Stewart, and Jim Larkin. The meeting lasted for three hours, and the audience carried with acclamation this resolution viz:

That this meeting of Dublin workers deplores the lack of real unity and solidarity in the ranks of the Irish working class and pledges itself to work for national trade union unity.

It welcomes the efforts put forth to establish one trade union international for the whole world, and supports the Anglo-Russian trade union unity committee in their actions for such unity.

This meeting further declares its solidarity with, and loyalty to the workers' republics of the Soviet Union.

capitalism, it sends fraternal greetings.

It calls upon all the workers thru their trade unions, co-operative and political organizations, to unite for their common defense against capitalist attacks and to carry the war into the enemy's camp, by their demands for reduced hours, higher wages, decent housing conditions, and work, or full maintenance at trade union rates for all unemployed workers.

CHILDRENS COLUMN.  
 Religion and Its Ways.

By STANLEY BALCHAUS, Age 14.

Did you ever stop to reason out about this God religion teaches us about. For instance, religion teaches us that there is hell. I asked a church going kid "Why is there hell?" His answer was that those who disobey God go there. Why does this so-called Almighty God create bad people? It seems that he himself does not "love his neighbors" as he would have others do.

There is more profit in religion than there is any other kind of business. A new church springs up every time a new minister or priest finishes college and he knows there are enuf "suckers" around to furnish the money for him and his church. The poor pay their hard earned money for the lies they are told.

When you start to reason out the God whom the church teaches about, you will find that he is not so good at all. If he really were good and almighty, then he would never have created hell and made people bad or given them weaknesses to commit sins so that he could send them to hell.

**AS WE SEE IT -- By T. J. O'Flaherty**

(Continued from page 1)

3 per cent hold enough to pay an income tax, the importance of the churches becomes even more evident."

For our own sakes, for our children's sakes, for the nation's sake, let us business men get behind the churches and their preachers!

NEVER mind if they are not perfect! Never mind if their theology is out of date. This only means that if they were efficient they would do very much more. The safety of all we have is due to the churches, even in their present inefficient and inactive state. By all that we hold dear, let us from this very day give more time, money and thought to the churches of our city, for upon these the value of all we own ultimately depends."

JAMES M. LYNCH, president of the International Typographical Union, has a scheme for perpetual prosperity. It is, that everybody should spend everything they earn, provided it is not spent before it is earned. Workers who are accustomed to being suddenly thrown out of employment when the boss finds that he cannot make any more profit out of their labor will wonder how does Lynch get this way. It has been shown by no less an authority than a United States government commission, that 83 cents out of every dollar goes into the pockets of the employer, the workers getting the balance. Yes, let the plut wage slave spend his seventeen cents and keep the wheels of industry revolving!

YOU are probably aware that the capitalist powers are holding a conference in Geneva to regulate the

sale and traffic in arms. Soviet Russia refused to have anything to do with this conference. This collection of capitalist robbers, are, as usual, trying to slip things over on each other. Nothing will come out of it but more arms. You might as well expect those fellows to do something in the interests of peace as to expect a gang of bootleggers to observe the Volstead act.

THE Chinese delegate, however, threw a bombshell into the conference as those peaceful Chinese are in the habit of doing. This is the way a newspaper reporter condenses the Chinaman's speech: "The Chinese delegate after praising the United States' proposal (that producing states publish statistics) said his country had a very long frontier with the nation which the other delegates did not wish to name. It appeared to him there was fear of a white bear; she regarded it pacifically. The Roumanian said there had been a mistake in the color!"

THE long frontier to which the Chinese delegate referred is that of Soviet Russia. The Chinese people have no reason to fear Russia and they realize it. Their enemies are the capitalist powers who have helped to keep China disunited. It was against those robber powers that the great liberator, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, fought until the end. And it is those powers who today are trying to undo the life work of Dr. Sun by causing dissension inside his organization and setting rival military leaders against each other. The only power that favors Chinese national unity is Soviet Russia.