



Paris Commune Celebration, New Star Casino, 107th Street and Park Avenue

THE WORKER

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SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1923

Pick Jury in Foster Trial

Michigan Prosecutor Challenges Right of American People to Revolution

The Issue in the Michigan Trial—Slaves or Freeman!



In this cartoon, Robert Minor, the famous Communist cartoonist, among those facing trial in Michigan, shows what the bosses of America would like to do to the workers. "Slavery" or "Freedom" is the big issue raised by the Michigan indictments, and is a challenge to every worker in America to get behind the Michigan defense and join in the fight for his emancipation.

Outline Plan of Michigan Trial Defense

The Workers Party has issued a statement outlining the defense planned for the Communists who will go to trial in Michigan. This statement is issued to set at rest misleading and false speculations indulged in from day to day by the kept press. It is as follows:

The Workers Party of America strongly protests against the newspapers' persistent, gross misrepresentation of the policy of the defense in the trial of the Communist workers in Michigan for violation of the State anti-Syndicalist law.

The press has been spreading the utterly false report that the defense will contend that the "proceedings, meetings, and program were largely planned by the Burns Detective Agency and that the delegates were tricked into following them."

This is positively untrue. Nothing of the sort happened at Bridgman, Michigan. The defense will not contend anything of the kind. In view of the fact that several of our active members are involved in this case, the Workers Party completely repudiates the charge that private detectives or Government agents had anything to do with the proceedings, program, or meetings at Bridgman.

Every resolution, every decision, every document, every statement that was adopted at Bridgman was written and adopted by the Communists present. It is true that a Government stooge was present at the Convention as a delegate. This spy, a Mr. Morrow, alias Ashworth, did not write a word of any document, was on no sub-committee and did not even utter a word or participate in the proceedings of the Convention.

It must be made plain, however, that it is not a special privilege of the Communist organizations to have a spy in their midst. Government and private spies and stool pigeons infest the labor unions and labor organizations. The Communists are fully aware of the plans of the capitalists and their Government to plant spies in all labor organizations. The Communists take far greater precaution than the average labor organization does to keep out such dastardly agents of the employing class and its Government. The Communist organizations are, therefore, far less infested with spies, provocateurs, and stool pigeons than most workers' organizations are.

The Communist workers on trial will wage only one kind of defense. The Communists will take full responsibility for everything that was done at the Bridgman Convention. Throughout the trials the defendants will maintain that they had a full right to assemble and to discuss the problems and struggles of the working class. The defendants will fight for the right of all workers, Communists included, to the freedom of speech and assembly. The militant workers on trial will not shrink one inch from the defense of their right to believe in and propagate their Communist principles.

This and this only will be the defense policy of the Communists. The Workers Party of America urgently requests that the press give the fullest possible publicity to the above statement and once for all discontinue the campaign of misrepresentation in the trials of the workers now going on in Michigan.

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Secretary, Workers Party.

COURT HOUSE, St. Joseph, Mich.—The right of the American people to revolution as a method of changing their government and achieving social changes is on trial in the court room here where William Z. Foster is on trial as the representative of the Communist movement in the United States. This was clearly brought out in the clash between Attorney Humphreys Gray, the colleague of Frank P. Walsh in the defense, and Assistant Attorney General O. L. Smith, representing the state of Michigan, in the examination of jurors.

"Would you be prejudiced against the defendant," Gray asked of a prospective juror, "if it appeared in the evidence that he believed that no great social changes have been achieved in past history without a resort to force, and that it was his belief that when a majority of the workers and farmers of the United States demand a change which will abolish the private ownership of the industries of the nation by the capitalists, even though they are in the majority, this change will not be achieved without a resort to force, because the capitalists will not give up their privileges without a struggle, also the defendant does not advocate any act of force or violence now."

The juror thought that such a view might prejudice him, and Attorney Gray flashed back, "Then you believe that the Declaration of Independence should be suppressed because it advocates the fundamental right of the people to revolution, if necessary by force."

Attorney Smith was on his feet at once objecting to such an interpretation of the Declaration of Independence. Gray offered to read a letter written by Thomas Jefferson on the subject in answer to which Smith shouted, "We object to getting the influence of Thomas Jefferson on the minds of this jury." Gray proceeded with examination of the juror along a new line asking:

"You know that in Hungary the Communists gained power without any violence, the Karoly Government surrendering to the Soviets there in 1919, but later the aristocracy and the capitalists, with the help of the Roumanian army, made war on the Soviets and overthrew them, and in Finland the Socialists elected a clear majority of parliament but their government was later overthrown by the capitalists by force of arms, and in this country the Socialists elected members of the New York Legislature who were excluded by their political opponents. Knowing these things, would you be prejudiced against William Z. Foster if it appeared that he and the Communists generally said that the struggle of the workers and farmers against the capitalist system could not be won without force, although they did not advocate any acts of force or violence at this time, but merely made the historical forecast that force would be necessary?"

The prosecution again objected to the form of the question claiming that Mr. Gray was asking if the juror would be prejudiced if the defendant had done the very thing that he was charged with. In answer, Gray drew a clear distinction between the advocacy of the use of force now or in the immediate future and stating an opinion of what was likely to happen at the end of a period of time thru historical developments.

It appeared during the examination of jurors that the Prosecution had grown uneasy about the withdrawal of all the counts except that of "assembling with" and was trying to bring in a charge of advocacy in the state of Michigan by some intricate interpretation of the "Assembling with" clause of the indictment. This issue was not, however, deduced as the issue was not clearly drawn.

Minor Writes on Court Duel

(Special Wire from Robert Minor to "The Worker")

COURT ROOM, ST. JOSEPH, Mich.—As the duel develops between Frank P. Walsh, attorney for William Z. Foster, and Prosecutor Charles W. Gore, backed by a big corps of Burns men from Chicago and New York, onlookers are beginning to realize that a national political battle of deep significance is being fought here.

The jury that is being selected must express itself on the issue of whether the United States is to be a land of certain political liberties or whether those liberties are to be abolished permanently.

This fact begins to dawn upon the more acute, while the dullest begin to scent that at least some strangely fundamental question touching all men's lives is being dealt with.

Already crowds have begun to desert another trial downstairs of the court house where world interest appeals to come to listen with peculiar wondering attentiveness.

"Do you know proletariat means people who work?"

"If evidence shows Foster to have been leader and spokesman of 280,000 steel workers during the great steel strike of 1919, would that prejudice you against him?"

"If Foster is shown spokesman against the beef packers in Chicago, would that prejudice you against him?"

These questions asked by Walsh cause workmen and women, small merchants and farmers to sit forward in their seats and strain their ears.

"If evidence shows that provocateurs deliberately provoked violation of law in order to convict another for it, would you give credence to that man's word?" was a question which electrified the courtroom and effected visible change of atmosphere among an array of nationally famous strikebreakers, who sit in a long row behind the prosecutor.

Thus, little by little, the cloud of technical verbiage raises and shows that there is being fought out the question of whether a revolutionary workers political party shall be allowed to exist in the open, or whether

such parties must exist underground.

"Do you believe the Criminal Syndicalist law a good one and should it be enforced?" Prosecutor Gore categorically asks each venireman. All must answer "yes" or "no," and leave the jury box.

Meanwhile the community is being flooded with printers ink paid for by big business interests that know what they want. Burns propaganda caters to the news papers, radio, writing editorials into news to displace facts not yet distorted.

"Fascist" in Lawrence, Mass.

(Special to The Worker)

LAWRENCE, Mass.—A meeting in Italian to protest against the infamous acts of Mussolini and his black-shirt hordes in Italy, and addressed by C. Presi, editor of the New York Communist organ, Alba Nuova, was attacked by bands of hoodlums, calling themselves American fascists. All of the gangsters were Italians and were under the leadership of rowdies and suspicious elements of the Italian population who support a local publication which espouses the cause of Fascism in America.

When the crowd was shouting, "Down with Fascism, down with Mussolini!" armed ruffians invaded the hall. There was a free for all fight in which chairs, knives and even pistols were freely used. A riot call was sent in, but when the police came the hall was deserted.

Next day, as usual, the kept press of the city, instead of stating the facts, published screeching headlines to the effect that "Red Orator Provokes Riot By Attack Upon U. S. Government."

Sacco Near Death

By KARL PRETSHOLD (Special to "The Worker")

DEDHAM JAIL, DEDHAM, MASS.—The condition of "Nick" Sacco is very serious on this the 27th day (March 13) of his hunger strike. The prison physician doubts that Sacco will be able to attend the hearing on motion for a new trial, for himself and Vanzetti, on Friday.

Sacco spent most of yesterday and today in bed, getting up only to see his wife who visits him every day. For 27 days both Sacco's wife and his many friends have urged him to eat, but he has refused to listen to their pleas, and seems as determined today to continue his hunger strike as he was when he began Feb. 15.

The jail physician reports his pulse, respiration and temperature as sub-normal. Since he began his hunger-strike his weight has dropped from 147 pounds to 127 pounds.

\$10,000 Wanted for Bail!

THE WORKER has received a telegram from Moritz J. Loeb, secretary, Labor Defense Council, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill., in part as follows:

"TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS NEEDED FOR BAIL!" The bail is needed for those who surrendered to the court at St. Joseph, Mich., last Saturday. All those able to help furnish bail should get in touch with Loeb, at the Chicago office, or with Bert Miller, secretary, New York office, Room 434, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, AT ONCE!

For the United Front of Labor

A Call to Action by the Workers Party

To All Labor Unions, All Organizations of the Working Farmers, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party, the Proletarian Party, the Socialist-Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World

A new offensive is being organized against the workers. The employing class is preparing a new Open Shop drive, more intense and more widespread. Everywhere we see the employers solidifying their ranks, reforming their lines, and reorganizing their army for the new onslaught on the laboring masses.

Capitalists Are Amalgamating.

This is the golden age of business mergers. Billions of dollars of capital are amalgamating. The railway capitalists are uniting; witness the plan for dividing the country into 19 great railway systems, and the proposal to merge the western railways into four great systems. The copper capitalists are uniting; witness the Anaconda-Chile and the Calumet-Hocla mergers. The oil capitalists are closing their ranks; witness the Mutual-Merritt oil merger. The bankers are getting together; witness the \$65,000,000 consolidation of the Industrial Bank and the Manufacturers'

Trust Co. of New York. The textile capitalists are amalgamating; witness the \$250,000,000 alliance of the Wool Trust with the Consolidated Textile Co. The packers are uniting; witness the \$600,000,000 merger of the Armour and Morris Cos. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. is organizing a billion dollar corporation, the largest in the world.

The objects of these mergers are obvious. The more concentrated the ownership and the more centralized the control of capital is, the more

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easily can wages be lowered, the longer can the employers hold out in strikes, the better equipped are the bosses to control the press and the government, and the more ruthless they can be towards the workers. Having amalgamated, the giant trusts will be more easily able to manipulate and raise the cost of living. Because of increased prices the workers and working farmers will find it much harder to make ends meet.

And the great flood of stock dividends totalling over \$2,000,000,000 in the last year is only an advance notice to the workers that the capitalists are preparing for huge profits. In the words of the National City Bank: "A stock dividend is usually a preparatory step to a larger distribution of earnings in the future." The employers are preparing to force the industrial workers and working farmers to grind out more profits for them. The working masses are to

(Continued on Page Four.)

Program Distribution Close to 300,000 Mark

The orders for the program of the Workers Party, adopted at the Second National Convention, are rolling into the party headquarters faster than ever. Total orders received at the time of going to press run close to the 300,000 mark.

The program of the Workers Party, adopted by the second convention has been called the clearest statement of the Communist principles made in the United States. One of its strongest recommendations is

that it deals with the experiences of the workers of the United States, illustrating the principles presented with facts from the recent labor history of this country.

THE PARTY HAS SET OUT TO DISTRIBUTE AT LEAST A MILLION PROGRAMS. There should be ten millions distributed. Every worker in the United States should know the facts of the life of the workers as set forth in this program, which is called, in the pamphlet form "The United States Today." It is a picture of the United States—a picture in which is delineated in clear cut lines the facts about the oppression and exploitation of the workers.

The program is printed in four pages half the size of this paper and is illustrated by four cartoons. The price is \$5.00 per thousand, or 50c per hundred! Party branches and members who have not ordered their supply should do so at once.

Workers! Join Throngs Going to Madison Square Garden this Sunday Night U. S. Senator Borah Will Urge That Recognize Russia!

Railroaders Hit Again by 'Labor' Board

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Editor, The Labor Herald.

The U. S. Railroad Labor Board has just handed down a decision restoring the eight hour day, with time and one-half pay for overtime, to 15,000 members of the Signalmen's Union.

The workers demanded increases in wages but these were denied by the Board. The three railroad representatives voted against the decision.

One labor member, A. O. Wharton, did not vote for it, but filed a dissenting opinion in which he maintained increased living costs called for higher wages.

How the capitalist interests generally look upon this decision is shown by the notorious Chicago Tribune, valiant champion of reaction. This paper says frankly that the restoration of the eight hour day was as "a reward to the Signalmen for their refusal to join the shopmen's strike last summer."

It expresses the hope that similar action will be taken in the case of the Maintenance of Way and the Clerks. All over the country at the present time substantial bonuses are being handed out by the railroad companies to those individuals who betrayed their fellow workers by refusing to strike.

Can it be that they are going to pass around a few of these bonuses to the organizations whose officials betrayed the shopmen much more dastardly than did the men who actually scabbed?

For many years past William G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has been a curse to the organized railroad workers. Movement after movement among them for better conditions he has wrecked with his reactionary conduct. To tell the story of his treason would be to recite the principal causes of all these defeats of railroad men. He has been a faithful representative of the companies.

But at last it seems that we are to be rid of him. Among those who know what's going on, it has long been an open secret that Lee was slated for a good job by the companies when his period of usefulness to them in the union had passed. That point is just about reached. He has nearly run his course.

At the last convention of the B. of R. T. he was elected by only four votes, and opposition against him is constantly growing. He dare not face another convention, so it is up to his masters to give him his reward now.

Hence, the timely announcement that he has accepted the presidency of the Steigelmeyer Manufacturing Company, a \$10,000,000 corporation to manufacture automatic train control devices. (No doubt Mr. Lee will prosper well in his new venture, with the support of the companies. Like his predecessor, Morrissey, he will get his Judas' silver. Good riddance to him, say we.

Young Communists Stiffen Morale of Russia's Red Fleet

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG, Staff Correspondent Federated Press and "The Worker."

MOSCOW.—Six hundred young communists of military age have gone to the Baltic fleet as volunteers, to stiffen the morale of that organization. The fleet was the one question which Russia refused to settle in the recent disarmament congress in Moscow, stating that it was a question in which larger powers were involved than the little border republics. Russia wishes to protect her own ports and territorial waters, in which even at the present time she is having difficulties with Great Britain.

In 1920, Russia passed a law declaring a 12-mile territorial zone on the waters surrounding her, in order to protect her northern fisheries and the port of Petrograd. Britain refuses to recognize Russia's rights any farther than three miles out, according to an old custom which has never been definitely fixed by international law, but which has been assumed for several decades by Great Britain and not much contested by other states.

British ships fishing off Murmansk within the 12-mile zone were arrested by Russian authorities. Great Britain promptly sent a warship to protect those ships, and they fish now continually under her armed protection within sight of the Russian coast. The Russian foreign office has repeatedly warned Britain to take her ships away, but without result. The Russians feel that the presence of even one submarine in their harbor in Murmansk would give them the power to tell foreign vessels to keep off.

Norway, whose interests in the northern fisheries and seal is greater than that of Britain, has agreed to negotiate the question with Russia, but Britain refuses.

Communists Throw Challenge in Face of Michigan Authorities

(Special to "The Worker")

ST. JOSEPH, MICH.—On the eve of the beginning of the trial here, Monday, of William Z. Foster for participation in the Communist Party at Bridgman, ten of the Communists named in the indictment whom the authorities had been unable to arrest previously, walked into the court room and surrendered.

The ten Communists who came into court to challenge the prosecution in the Bridgman case were Jay Lovestone, Robert Minor, Rose Pastor Stokes, Ella Reeves Bloor, William W. Weinstein, Max Bedacht, G. A. Schulenberg, Rebecca Sacharow, Edgar Owens and John Ballam, all of whom have taken a prominent part in the work of the Communist movement in the United States during recent years.

Commenting on the surrender of the Communists, C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, Workers Party, issued the following statement in the name of the Workers Party (Communist) of America:

"The surrender of ten leading Communist workers to the Michigan authorities at St. Joseph has the full approval of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America. Others named in the indictment charged with participation in the Bridgman convention will undoubtedly follow the same course if they can be assured that bail will not be fixed at the savage figure of \$10,000 for each defendant.

"The Communists are not surrendering themselves to the Michigan authorities because they have any faith in the justice of the capitalist courts and prosecuting authorities. They have had too many experiences with these institutions showing the willingness of judges and prosecutors to ignore their own laws and rules in order to put Communists in prison.

"The Communists do, however, have faith in the working people of

this country. The time has passed when governmental authorities can put Communists in prison on trumped-up charges. The working masses of this country have learned by bitter experience in the strikes of the past few years that the government which persecutes Communists is the same government which attacks the workers on strike and these workers are ready to fight with the Communists against such persecution.

"The surrender of the ten leading Communist workers in addition to the 22 others already under bond in the Bridgman case is part of the Communist defense in this case. The Communists are not running away from the Michigan persecution. They do not intend to play the part of defendants but to put their prosecutors on the defensive. Burns and his gang of private detective crooks are already running for cover because of the exposure of their methods in this case.

"The Communists will uphold their right to openly and publicly advocate the political principles which they support during the St. Joseph trial. The Communists have nothing to hide. They desire nothing more than the opportunity to submit their principles and proposals for a change in the existing social system, to the judgement of the working people of the United States."

Prospective Jurors Bewildered by "Rights of Revolution" and "Soviet Government"

(Special to "The Worker")

ST. JOSEPH, MICH.—The first day of examination of jurors called in the trial of William Z. Foster for participation in the Communist Convention at Bridgman, Michigan, indicated both the character of the prosecution and the line which the defense would take. Prosecutor Charles W. Gore examined the jurors on the question whether they believed that the accumulated surpluses of private property should be defended by the government; and Frank P. Walsh, counsel for the defense, demanded of each juror whether he or she believed in the fundamental right of revolution as set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

Prosecutor Gore took about an hour to examine the ten men and two women who were called to the jury box. One of the jurors expressed such definite prejudices that the prosecutor was obliged to ask that he be excused. His place was taken by another woman, so that there are now three women and nine men in the jury box who have been tentatively accepted by the prosecution. The jurors are farmers, small business men and housewives.

Prosecutor Gore carefully examined each juror on the question, "Are you a member of a union?" "Do you believe in the soviet form of government?" "Do you believe in the principle of private property and do you believe that the government should protect the accumulated surpluses of private property?" "Do you favor violence and armed insurrection to change our government?"

All the jurors, of course, believed in private property, altho one or two advocates of municipal ownership appeared. All were opposed to the soviet form of government and none confessed to membership in a union. None of them favored violence and armed insurrection.

Attorney Walsh electrified the courtroom by meeting the challenge of the right of revolution by his first question to the jurors, "Do you believe in the fundamental right of revolution," he asked, "as set forth in the following words, 'every human

being has been endowed by the creator with certain inalienable rights,' to their right to alter or abolish it, 'Do you believe that this fundamental right of revolution stated in the Declaration of Independence is the right of the people who carrying it out might involve the use of force?'"

The jurors thus far questioned by the defense all avowed their firm belief in this fundamental right to revolution. Thus contradicting what they had answered when questioned by the prosecutor.

Something of the same character happened in regard to the soviet form of government. All the jurors were opposed to it when questioned by the counsel for the defense, none of them seemed to know what the soviet form of government was.

Only two of the panel questioned by Attorney Walsh up to the close of court Monday had been tentatively accepted by the Defense. Three others confessed to prejudice under the skillful questioning and were excused by Judge Charles E. White. Three of the defendants who surrendered on Saturday gave bail to-day making four out of the ten who have been released on bail. The other six are free on their own recognizance for a few days more until bail can be secured.

Win Opening Clash in Michigan Trial

(Special to "The Worker")

ST. JOSEPH, MICH.—The Defense in the Communist case, in which William Z. Foster went to trial, Monday, won a sweeping victory on Saturday when the prosecution withdrew three of the four counts in the indictment against the seventy-five men and women who attended the Bridgman Convention.

Evidently this action on the part of the prosecution was the result of information that if these counts were not withdrawn the motion of the Defense to quash the indictment would have been upheld.

The indictment as originally drawn charged the defendant with advocating, teaching and circulating publications advocating and teaching the doctrine of criminal syndicalism, and with voluntary assembling with an organization which advocated the doctrine of criminal syndicalism.

The first three counts were withdrawn and the only charge which now remains is that for voluntary assembling. Attorneys for the defense look upon the withdrawal of the three counts as an admission by the prosecution that it has no evidence to prove that the defendants did anything to violate the criminal syndicalist law of the state of Michigan in that state. From all appearances the Prosecution intends to endeavor to prove that in some other state, or in some other country the Communists advocated or taught certain ideas, and then to endeavor to send them to prison because persons who held these beliefs met in the state of Michigan, altho they did nothing to violate the law of the state except to meet in the state.

Women Denounce War. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the new imperialist war at a conference of the Lithuanian Women's Progressive Alliance of America, District No. 6, held at Mahoney City, Pa. The resolutions concluded with, "Long live Free Humanity thru the abolition of classes by means of the Dictatorship of the Workers."

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

All Workers Ballotting on Labor Party

The Trade Union Educational League has launched a campaign unique in the history of Labor. It is a national referendum of the whole trade union movement on the subject of a Labor Party.

Every local union in the United States is being sent letters and circulars outlining the arguments in favor of a Labor Party and requesting a definite expression regarding the same.

All told, fully 35,000 local unions will be circulated. It is the biggest single stroke of educational work yet undertaken by the League.

Not to speak of the political necessity for a militant independent party of the working class, the Trade Union Educational League holds that it is impossible to have a successful trade union movement in this country until Labor has declared definitely for a Labor Party.

The Gompers' political policy of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies is fatal to the labor unions. In the first place it has demoralized the workers, scattering them among the old parties and making of them a political zero.

The whole governmental machine, local, state, and national is in the hands of the capitalist enemy, that uses it without scruple to crush labor ruthlessly. Whatever the workers are able to gain by their strength industrially is taken away from them by their weakness politically.

Worse yet, the Gompers' policy opens wide the union doors to all sorts of capitalist political crooks, who poison the organizations with corruption and master-class economics.

The workers will never be able to think or act intelligently as proletarians so long as their trade unions are linked up with capitalist political parties. This is a fundamental of unionism. A Labor Party is one of the most vital needs of the American labor movement.

Our bankrupt labor leadership refuses to recognize this patent fact. The arch-reactionary, Gompers, is content to go along from year to year with the working class almost totally disfranchised by his stupid political policy.

And the alleged progressive leader, Johnson, is little, if any, better. His Cleveland conference was a stench in the nostrils of all honest unionists.

For spinelessness, lack of vision, and betrayal of the mandates of the rank and file, it was without parallel. All it could do was to reaffirm the utterly discredited Gompers' policy.

The Trade Union Educational League scorns such pitiful leadership. It knows that it does not represent the wishes or aspirations of the organized workers. Hence the present national referendum.

Leisman Memorial at Parkview Palace on Wednesday, March 28

March 28, at Parkview Palace, 110th Street and 5th Avenue, a memorial meeting will be held in memory of Anna Leisman, who died on March 1, ten days after her release from Auburn Prison.

Anna Leisman died on the fighting lines of the Class War. There is no question but that her death was the direct result of her incarceration. Lack of clothing, exposure to cold, insufficient air, vermin and germs, and miserly food undermined her health to such a degree that she could not muster enough resistance to fight pneumonia contracted shortly after her release.

For 20 years Anna Leisman was active in the Revolutionary movement of Latvia and America. Her work in the union as well as on the political field was of a quiet and constructive nature. She does not stand out as a prominent figure in the role of speaker or organizer, but as a true and tried comrade who was ready to give her life in the fight of the workers with the capitalist class for the establishment of a Workers Republic.

Comrades and friends! Anna Leisman is a martyr of the Class War, and in tribute to her you are duty bound to attend the Memorial Meeting on Wednesday, March 28, at Parkview Palace.

Jeanette Kean, Winitsky will sing. Addresses by prominent speakers will be made. The Lettish Orchestra and chorus will follow. Come en masse. Admission 25 cents. Auspices: National Defense Committee, New York Division.

KUM IN RAGS KUM IN TAGS but not in Velvet Gowns to the HARD TIMES PARTY Given by YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE Bronx Branches, 1347 Boston Rd. on St. Patrick's Day MARCH 17th, 1923, 8 P.M. Admission 35c.

He Has Made Many Big Enemies Among the Bosses in His Fight for Labor



The big bosses have their eyes on St. Joseph, Mich. They are watching the courtroom where William Z. Foster is on trial. They are doing this because they hate Foster. They know him thru his efforts to organize the workers in the industries they now own. They would like to see him sent to prison for a long term. What do you workers say? Give your answer by responding heroically to every appeal addressed to you by the organization that is conducting Foster's defense, the Labor Defense Council, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, with its New York office, Room 434, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

Marx Dead 40 Years; but His Ideas Live On!

KARL MARX May 5, 1818.....March 14, 1883

By MAX SHACHTMAN.

Karl Heinrich Marx was born in Treves, May 5, 1818, the son of a German-Jewish rabbi, who in 1842, embraced Christianity. Karl, the only child of the rabbi, who showed any genius, finished grammar school, spent a year of revelry in the University of Berlin (1836). He threw himself in his studies, made the acquaintance of Hegel's works, and of Bruno, Bauer, and Friedrich Koppen. In 1841, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on him at Jena.

He hoped to obtain a professorship, but the Prussian universities were not tolerant of free opinions, and what remained was Journalism, his first venture into which was made by articles in the liberal Rheinische Zeitung. His essays attracted very much attention, and on the retirement in October 1842 of Dr. Rutenberg, the editor of the Zeitung, he assumed the chair, after having joined with the Left Wing Hegelians: Feuerbach, Arnold Ruge, Bauer, Strauss and Moses Hess.

After giving up the editorship, he moved to Paris, where he issued (1844) the first and only one of the Franco-German Year Books founded by Ruge. He was beginning to criticize the Utopianism of Cabot, Weitling, Proudhon, and Dezhay. Engels was rescued by him from Owenism, and then formed a friendship which lasted with but few interruptions until Marx's death. The latter now began an exhaustive study of political economy, history and Socialism, with the result that in "The Holy Family" he definitely broke with the Hegelian mysticism, demolished Bruno Bauer's "idealism" and, later, Arnold Ruge's "disbelief in a proletarian revolution."

The activities of Marx were cut short by his expulsion from Paris, in January 1845, by the French Government at the instigation of Prussia. He left for Brussels, where, in 1847, he published his great criticism of Proudhon's shop-keeper's economies, "The Poverty of Philosophy," which resulted in a break with the historicist reactionary philosophy of the "theoretician" of Anarchism. Marx's damning criticism was the preliminary to the Communist Manifesto.

The revolutionary wave of the '40s resulted in the transformation of the League of the Just, an organization of German workers with headquarters in London, to the League of Communists, at whose second congress (London, November-December, 1847) Marx and Engels commissioned to formulate a program. A comparison of Engel's draft of the Communist Manifesto (edited by Eduard Bernstein in his "Grundsätze des Kommunismus") with the actual manifesto, shows the immense intellectual superiority of Marx over Engels. The program was adopted, and soon after the French Revolution of

'48 broke out. Marx, on the invitation of Ferdinand Fodder, left for Paris, but did not remain, for he took Engels and the members of the League of Communists into the Rhineland, and there established (June 1, 1848) the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. The articles he wrote in it have, as Max Beer says, supplied the Bolsheviks in their tactics. The financial strain and government persecution forced Marx to return to Paris in time to see the triumph of the counter-revolution and be banished to Brittany; he left, instead, for London where he remained to his last day.

The '50s were hard for Marx. His only source of regular income was a sovereign per article to Horace Greeley's New York Tribune. (Can you imagine Lenin as Moscow correspondent for the New York Times?) His happiest years were the '50s. He was eased by a legacy from Wilhelm Wolff, to whom he inscribed the first volume of "Das Kapital," and by Engels' generous support.

The International Working Men's Association was formed in London, September 1862, Marx delivering the Inaugural Address. He expected much from the International, writing to Engels that "in the next revolution, which is perhaps nearer than it seems, we (Marx and Engels) have this powerful machinery in our hands." The International, however, after passing from the hands of Proudhon to those of Marx, was split by the former's forces, and Marx exiled it to New York where it died meekly. Its back-bone had been broken by a dual organization formed by the Bakunists, who denounced Marx as a Pan-German, and were in turn called Pan-Slav. Neither side, of course, had any justification for that.

It is a sign of Marx's revolutionary spirit, altho he had described the idea of the establishment of the Paris Commune after Sedan, and strongly advised against such a step, when the Commune was declared, he became its most energetic supporter; and when it fell in its own blood, he wrote his magnificent "The Civil War in France, 1871" and, later, "Class Struggles in France," the epic of the Commune and the First International.

His last twelve years were filled with struggles against bodily disease. Even Kautsky did not help. As he saw his principles taken up by Guesde, Hyndman, Liebknecht, Plechanov and the other pioneers, he became worse. Added to his bronchial Catarrh, inflammation of the lungs, liver troubles and spasmodic asthma, came the death of his wife and of his eldest daughter, Mme. Charles Longuet.

He died March 14, 1883, in the presence of his weeping friends, Engels and Liebknecht, who both spoke at his funeral three days later. Engels edited the two remaining volumes of "Das Kapital," and Kautsky the three volumes (not yet translated into English) of his historical studies on surplus value.

There is really no adequate biography of Marx in English. For a man who had and is still having such a gigantic influence on his times, they all seem insufficient. Spargo is a joke; Loria's misrepresentations of his economic theories, as is Beer's, who is, however, much better informed; Liebknecht's is merely re-

Borah Is Kept Busy on Eve of Russian Trip

By ROSA LADDON, Staff Correspondent, Federated Press and "The Worker"

WASHINGTON.—Senator Borah's office is now the busiest establishment on Capitol Hill. Since the announcement Feb. 17, that the Idaho Senator was contemplating a trip to Russia to study at first hand conditions in the new republic for whose recognition he has often pleaded in congress, he has been besieged with inquiries from every quarter.

There is much talk and study in Washington about the invitation recently officially extended to Borah by the Russian government to visit that country, which, if he should go, would afford him unrestricted opportunities for investigation.

It is stated, upon good authority here, that the Russian government will welcome any individual or group of senators and representatives who desire to visit Russia for an impartial investigation of present political and economic conditions there.

Those who believe it is time for the United States to recognize Russia, holding that a government which has endured for more than five years must have the support of its people, find great encouragement in Senator Borah's statement—published in the Washington Post, said to be semi-official organ of the administration—that he believed "recognition by all the leading powers would be an accomplished fact before December."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

miniscences, while Lafargue's is still untranslated.

Marx has the misfortune of all great revolutionaries. His "followers" have grown respectable and are uneasy at some of the more bold words of the master. The Critique of the Gotha Program, though printed in the United States ten or twenty years ago, is ignored; his remarkable address to the League of Communists on revolutionary tactics, is comparatively unknown, his numerous articles, pamphlets, correspondence and essays are known only to Germans, in the Franz Mehring collection.

Yet, despite the renegade disciples, despite the innumerable professors from Bernstein to Tugan-Baranovsky, who have "disproved and demolished" Marxism, despite the fact that his grave at Highgate Cemetery is overgrown with weeds, the ideas of Marx manifest themselves in the irresistible, inevitable march of the proletariat towards Communism. The entire philosophical system of Karl Marx belongs to the last oppressed class of History. It is their key to the future.

What Books Do You Read?

WHAT SHALL I READ—is a question which perplexes the man and woman whose reading time is limited. The average worker has little time to devote to study, even the study of his own union and class problems. All the more reason that such time should be devoted to the best literature on the labor question. The books listed below fill the needs of the busy worker who knows the value of correct theory and knowledge of labor's problems.

- The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels..... 10
- Dictatorship vs. Democracy, Leon Trotsky..... 50
- Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement, Wm. Z. Foster..... 25
- Class Struggles in America, A. M. Simons..... 10
- For a Labor Party..... 10
- Program of the Communists, Bucharin..... 25
- The Railroaders Next Step, Amalgamation, Wm. Z. Foster..... 25
- The Revolutionary Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France, Wm. Z. Foster..... 25
- The State and Revolution, Lenin..... 25
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels..... 25
- Cloth Bound at 50c each.

Collapse of Capitalism, The, Hermann Kahn
End of the World, Meyer
Evolution of Man, Boelche
Evolution of Property, The, P. Lafargue
Evolution, Social and Organic, A. M. Simons
Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy, Frederick Engels
Law of Biogenesis, The, J. H. Moore
Making of the World, Meyer
Militant Proletariat, The, Austin Lewis
Memories of Karl Marx, Wm. Liebknecht
Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, The, Frederick Engels
Positive School of Criminology, Enrico Ferri
Revolution and Social Revolution, Karl Marx and Philosophical Studies, Paul Lafargue
Triumph of Life, The, Boelche
Value, Price and Profit, Karl Marx
Vital Problems of the World Revolution, A. M. Simons
World's Revolution, The, Untermyer

ADDRESS: Workers Party 719 Broadway New York City

Debs Urged to State His Unity Stand

Eugene V. Debs, who is now campaigning for the Socialist Party in Chicago, is called upon to make a declaration on the question of a united working class political front, in a letter addressed to him by J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker".

In his Chicago speeches Debs claims he is for the united political front. Yet it was the Cook County (Chicago) Socialist Party that deliberately broke unity with all other working class elements, and brought demoralization into the present electoral struggle.

In the words of "The Voice of Labor", official organ of the Workers Party in Chicago:

"Eugene V. Debs talked very optimistically of the unity of all radical elements. He appeared to speak for the Socialist Party. Yet all the actions of the Socialist Party are against unity of any sort."

In the present municipal campaign they spoiled any possibility of united action by springing a surprise candidate on the politically conscious workers of Chicago, with the result that in the aldermanic contests neither the Workers Party, the Socialist Party nor the Farmer-Labor Party elected a candidate. There was a division of working class political action with a vengeance."

The letter addressed to Debs by "The Worker" is as follows:

Letter to Debs

Eugene V. Debs
c/o. Local Cook County
Socialist Party,
1501 Warren Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade Debs:—I have just received the Saturday, March 10th, issue of "The Chicago Socialist", and have just completed reading, with great interest, your speech on the second page. Under the sub-head, "Co-operate with other Parties", I find the following statement of yours: "I am in favor of co-operation with other parties that represent the workers, but the Socialist Party must preserve its identity as the uncompromising working class party."

The facts show that the Socialist Party position is in direct conflict with yours. The Socialist Party delegates at the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action spoke and voted for the exclusion of delegates of the Workers Party. The same situation developed in the recent New York Conference of the American Labor Party, which is reported on the first issue of the "Chicago Socialist" that I have before me. The closing statement is as follows: "The application of the Workers Party was denied by a vote of 330 to 85. This follows on the action of the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, which also rejected the application of the Workers Party, which seems to have as few friends as it has members."

Let me make just two corrections in this report: The vote was not 330 to 85, but 152 to 58, showing that more than 25 per cent of the trade union delegates were in favor of seating the Workers Party delegates;—the official figures of both, the Socialist Party and the Workers Party, will show that the Workers Party has by far the larger membership.

May I also add that the tactics adopted at Cleveland and New York have been carried out at St. Louis, Mo., and Washington, D. C., the only exception to the general rule being a special Congressional election in San Francisco, where all working class political forces were able to get together and work together.

I, therefore, put the question to you, "Are you in favor of the Socialist Party position at Cleveland and in New York, St. Louis and Washington, D. C., especially in New York where the Workers Party was excluded, and such a non-working class element as the Single Tax Party admitted?" I feel that in justice to yourself you should make a public declaration on this question at the present time.

J. Louis Engdahl,

Editor, The Worker.

Communist Polls Big Vote

In the recent primary election in Chicago, the Workers party was only able to put forth one candidate, Comrade Louis A. Cejka, for Alderman in the 22nd Ward. The Socialist Party, with its usual disruptive tactics also put up a candidate, Morris Siskind, of the Chicago "Forwards". In spite of the latter's endorsement by the Municipal Voters League, which was daily featured in The Daily News and the Tribune, the Communist candidate polled over 22 per cent of the vote cast, while Siskind, representing a party which has been in the field for over 20 years, failed to poll more than 15 per cent of the vote. Comrade Cejka received over 1200 votes in the Ward; a sign of the progress being made in Chicago by the ideas of the Workers Party.

Howat Describes Treachery of "International" Machine

BULLETIN

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Alexander Howat can be secured for immediate dates in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania, for benefit of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, Miners. For terms and dates, address: J. A. Hamilton, Secretary, Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

(SPECIAL TO THE WORKER)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Alexander Howat, speaking to a large audience at the Labor Lyceum here at a mass meeting of the Progressive Miners of District No. 5, graphically described the vicious tactics of President John L. Lewis and the machine in control of the United Mine Workers of America, in its assault upon the Kansas miners.

His narrative of the crucifixion of the 12,000 members in the Kansas district revealed this dastardly deed of the Lewis machine in all its cruelty.

After the passage of the Kansas Industrial Court Law, which declared strikes illegal, Howat and the other officials reported to the Convention of the Kansas District that in their opinion this law should be fought with all the means available. The Kansas miners agreed with this proposal, and while they were determined to fight this law in the courts and at the ballot-box, they were unwilling to admit that what they considered the inalienable right to strike could be taken away by any law. The convention therefore pledged the support of the entire membership to Howat and the other officials in a fight to the finish to show that this law could not be enforced and that it could not prevent strikes.

In accordance with this policy, the administration of the Kansas District proceeded to call strikes the same as if the Law did not exist. As a result, Howat and other officials were arrested and jailed Sept. 30, 1921. This was followed by a protest strike of 12,000 Kansas miners which, after continuing over four months, was abandoned by the men upon the advice of Howat and the other former district officials, who still retained the entire confidence of the men even though they had been expelled from their official positions by the International twelve days after being sent to jail. Howat stated that by this strike the Industrial Court Law was so thoroughly discredited that it is a dead letter even though still on the statute books.

The Kansas miners feel that by this action they have performed an invaluable service to the entire Labor Movement. They feel that had the Industrial Court Law in Kansas been successful it would have been taken as a model by other states and the shackles of industrial slavery firmly riveted on the whole working class of the United States. As a result of the failure of the Kansas law to prevent strikes, the movement for anti-strike laws has been stopped. Therefore the Kansas miners believed that they were entitled to the full moral and financial support of the International Union in their struggle, and Howat stated that he wrote to President Lewis requesting such backing. To this request Lewis returned an evasive answer and in the September, 1921 International Convention denied ever having been appealed to. The expulsion from office of Howat and the other officials was followed by their expulsion from the United Mine Workers for life, and the revocation of the charter of the Kansas District, which left the 12,000 miners outside the pale of the Organization, to fight unsupported against one of the most iniquitous laws ever placed on the statute books.

The International then began a campaign to break down the miners' resistance to the Industrial Court Law. The notorious Van Bitter, who had been driven from the Presidency of District No. 5, in Western Pennsylvania by the outraged membership, was sent to Kansas as the special representative of John L. Lewis and, so Howat stated, soon became the virtual General Manager of the Kansas mines. Men were imported, and a few mines got into operation. Van Bitter allowed the operators to abolish the conditions for which the Kansas miners had fought for years, and the operators agreed that the Provisional District which was set up was a fine organization.

After the calling off of the successful four-month strike, the Van Bitter policy became that of punishing the friends of Howat. In this Howat stated that no coal operator was ever more cruel, brutal or oppressive than was Van Bitter.

The strikers had been expelled and to get back into the unions had to join as new members. The operators told them that they could not get their jobs until they were members of the union, and then when they applied for membership, Van Bitter

U. S. Negroes Refuse to Dig Coal for Imperialist France

By HARRY GODFREY

George S. Daugherty is a former deputy police commissioner of New York City. Now he, with his brother, Harry V. Daugherty, runs a detective agency which maintains a private uniformed police and which advertises to do "industrial plant observations."

Several weeks ago Harry V. went to Europe. When he came back he brought with him a money-making scheme, the biggest strike breaking project ever essayed by a member of the gentry which has coined millions in that gentle trade; nothing less, in fact, than a plan, all worked out and agreed upon with a Paris "labor agency," to send thousands of Amer-

ican Negroes as strike breakers to dig coal under the protection of French bayonets in the Ruhr.

For this, Daugherty, or the Daugherty agency, was to receive 50 cents a day for each Negro provided. It was a gorgeous plan. The only trouble was that it struck several snags immediately after the jubilant announcement was made by the gentlemen who would have profited.

According to Daugherty, it was found that not more than a handful of Negro miners could be found who was willing to dig German coal for France, even at wages equivalent to \$7 a day and with board and lodging thrown in.

Word was received here from Washington just about the time Daugherty gave out that statement to the effect that the government would

Crowds Cheer Cannon's Talk on Revolution

The tour of James P. Cannon, chairman of the Workers Party, is proving a gratifying success. Even the small towns show an enthusiasm that is convincing evidence that interest in the revolutionary movement is reviving.

In Philadelphia, Pa., last Saturday, Cannon lectured on "Russia Today: After Five Years of Revolution." To over 500 people at the Labor Lyceum, and the Philadelphia comrades are unanimous in proclaiming it the most inspiring and informative lecture they have yet heard on Soviet Russia.

He showed that in spite of the lies of the metropolitan press and the network of fabrication that has been woven by the yellow Socialist Party and other servants of capitalism in this country concerning the Soviet government that Russia is definitely on the upward path toward economic reconstruction.

"The position of Russia is steadily improving, while all other European countries are descending into complete disorganization," said Comrade Cannon. "While the condition of the masses of Russian workers and peasants is constantly improving, the condition of the workers in all other European countries is rapidly becoming worse."

The influence of the Communists in the trade union movement was also described. Facts and figures were presented to prove that over 90 per cent of the delegates to the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions were members of the Communist Party, which is convincing evidence that the vast majority of workers today as in November, 1917, staunchly support the policy of the Bolsheviks.

Counter Revolution Is Dead

"The fact that the counter revolution is dead was clearly demonstrated at the world famous trials of the Social Revolutionaries," declared Cannon. This trial was held while he was in Soviet Russia. He witnessed the tremendous demonstrations in Petrograd when the entire population rose as one man in mass denunciation of the Social Revolutionaries on the anniversary of the murder of Volodarsky.

The description of the valiant Red Army, which has defended the Revolution against the external enemy, thrilled the audience and gave them a true perspective of the indomitable will of the masses of Russian workers to support the Bolshevik government to the last drop of blood in their bodies. This is the first army in all the history of the world where the rank and file knew precisely what they were fighting for.

Questions Very Interesting

The period for questions at the close of the meeting brought out some illuminating facts. One person in the audience asked if persons were shot for their political opinions in Russia. Cannon replied that no one was molested for his opinions, but that a few had been shot for attempted assassination of government officials.

Another individual declared he heard that the Soviet government depended entirely upon violence to maintain its power. It developed that the questioner had been reading some tirades against Russia by Ben Schlesinger, tool of Abraham Cahan, of the notorious apostle of reaction, the Jewish Daily Forward, and former president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Cannon denied the assertion and then added that, "Ben Schlesinger should be the last person to talk of violence, for he does not even know how to run a labor union or preside at a convention without resorting to violence against representatives of the rank and file of the membership." Evidently there were some garment workers present who remembered Schlesinger's performance at Cleveland for this thrust evoked thunderous applause.

The Philadelphia meeting certainly showed a rejuvenation of the movement in that sleepy city and the comrades there are enthusiastic about prospects for future activity upon the basis of the interest aroused by the Cannon meeting.

Police Brutality Exposed at the Gary, Ind., Wreck Trial!

THE USESIS JURY DISAGREES!

By Jack Carney, Specially to "The Worker"

GARY, Ind.—The jury in the Usseli case, after being out 48 hours, reported it could not agree. It stood nine to three for acquittal. Trainmaster Usseli confessed he pushed rail out then took car at two o'clock in the morning. Trainmaster said no cars running at that hour. Ralph Smith, Attorney for Michigan Central Railroad, leading the prosecution, opened up with an attack on Attorney Paul Glazer, for the defense, charging he was a Bolshevik. The prosecution made no attempt to refute Usseli's alibi backed by six defense witnesses.

By DANIEL MILDER

(Special to "The Worker")

GARY, Ind.—In this town, dominated by the United States Steel Corporation, there have been many brutal assaults upon labor, but the recital by witnesses of the frame-up against Charles Usseli, now on trial for the alleged wrecking of the Michigan Central train near Gary last August, surpasses in viciousness anything of a like nature occurring here.

Captain Quinn, of the Michigan Central Railroad, admitted on the stand that his company would pay \$5,000 for the conviction of those responsible for the wreck. Meaning that there was the sum of \$5,000 on hand for anyone who could concoct a plausible story of perjury that would enable the prosecution to convict Usseli, and thereby exonerate the Railroad Company of responsibility for the wreck.

It is a well established fact that the wreck was caused by defective equipment and was not the work of wreckers.

Worker Beaten By Police

The Gary police were aiding the Michigan Central against the strikers and arrested Usseli and after a series of most inhuman beatings claimed he had confessed to complicity in the wreck.

Dr. H. M. Hosmer, major in the medical corps during the war, testified that he examined Usseli on August 30, 1922, and that the man was so terrified that he cried like a child when he asked him to strip so he could be examined. He had been beaten so inhumanly by the police that his mind was shattered and he thought the doctors were going to administer more beatings. Finally a union man showed Usseli his card and the victim submitted to examination. The doctors testified that his eye was blackened, his legs, neck, ribs, arms and head fearfully beaten and bearing great welts. There was a recital of fiendish cruelties that beggar description, exposing the police as the vilest of vile degenerates. He could not take a full breath due to the pain. A hemorrhage resulted in a great clot of dried blood in his ear. Dr. Hosmer testified that these injuries could have been received by blows either from a hose, black jack or from fists or kicks.

Complete Alibi To Be Established

A complete alibi will be established for Usseli by the defense who view the whole trial as merely an effort of the Michigan Central detectives and the Gary police to save their faces by arresting, assaulting and beating into a stupor union men they picked for victims during the strike.

This city is the backbone of the great steel trust and Gary & Co. boast that within their feudal domains there can never be any unionism.

It is up to the shop men of the nation to watch this case and to defend Usseli against this frame-up, and endeavor to establish the right of workers to organize into unions in every part of the United States in spite of Garyism combined with the Michigan Central aggregation of private thugs.

Attorney Paul Glazer, who long ago earned the execration of the Steel trust because of his determination to support the interests of the working class, is defending the case and is bringing to light facts that are seldom known outside the immediate circle of those affected.

Engdahl Speaks for the Rochester "Amalgamated"

(Special to "The Worker")

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—More than a thousand members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers heard J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker" tell the story of "The Burns Detectives and the Spy System" at the regular Friday night "open forum" here. Engdahl congratulated the members of the "Amalgamated" in Rochester on their good fortune in having Paul Blanshard as their educational director, stating that his work rivalled even the educational efforts in New York or Chicago.

The Rochester educational meetings are held in the union's own building. There is a musical program before the evening's address. The children brought along by fathers and mothers have a separate program in a separate hall, that is, until the final number of the evening, which is usually a movie comedy.

"The Amalgamated" in Rochester, therefore, has made a real community center of its educational meetings, with the result that standing room is at a premium. The band music is furnished by "The Amalgamated's" own musicians.

Wants Others to Read, Too

"Just a few lines to let you know that I would like to get THE WORKER, one of the best papers labor can read these days. Please send me a couple of extra copies so I can give them to these miners up around here to read."

M. K., Indiana, Pa.

Sees German Communists Full of Hope

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER

(Staff Correspondent Federated Press and "The Worker")

LEIPZIG, Germany.—The Communists of Germany have held their national convention. The Augsburg congress of the Majority Socialist was the congress of the Satisfied, the Gera final gathering of the Independent Socialists was the congress of the Sad; the Leipzig meeting of the Communists Jan. 28 to Feb. 3 was the congress of the Hopeful. There was hope because of what has taken place in Russia. There was hope because of the international solidarity shown by the French communists in connection with the Ruhr action of French imperialism. There was hope because the downfall of the capitalist system in Germany becomes more apparent every day.

The outstanding figure of the congress was Clara Zetkin, who used to form the "holy trinity" of German Communism with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg before the latter two were murdered. There is a fire in the eyes of this white-haired working class leader which kindles enthusiasm in the hearers. There is a youthfulness and energy that is remarkable.

A touch of the dramatic was lent by the appearance of a French delegate, Adly, who addressed the gathering after having come across the frontier under considerable difficulties and who may have to pay for his "treasonable" action with imprisonment upon his return to France. Adly charged the French imperialists with quietly mobilizing the whole nation for war.

Delegations from Russia, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Switzerland, and Sweden were also present.

Kolaro representing the Communist International of Moscow, stated that the Russian Red Army was ready to spring to the aid of the German and the French workers in case they should revolt.

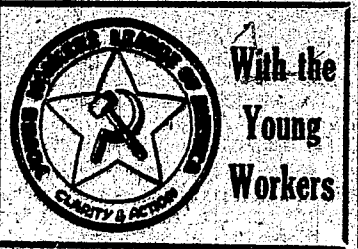
Concerning the Ruhr situation the congress held that the only way to avoid situations of this kind is to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat everywhere and to erect a series of federated soviet republics of Europe. Resolutions were adopted expressing the sympathy of the German communists with the French comrades for the fight they are making against the imperialists; calling upon the workers of the world to protest against the invasion of the Ruhr; sending enthusiastic greetings to the Russian soviets; demanding liberation of political prisoners; urging party members everywhere to work for the prohibition of whiskey and liquor; calling upon Communists in the workers' athletic associations to see to it that the class character of these institutions be rigidly maintained; calling attention to the importance of educative work along Communist lines among the youth of the land, making it mandatory upon Communists to join workers' cooperatives and to win these for Communism; and providing for an intensive program of organization.

Two topics which commanded exhaustive attention were the questions of the united front and of working class governments. It was held that the Communists must stand for the united front within the trade unions at all costs.

The question of working class governments is an actual one in a number of German states, such as Saxony. Attempts to form such governments have thus far failed because the Socialists and Communists could not get together. It was the sense of the overwhelming majority—against the protests of the Lefts—that such governments should be formed wherever possible, not because the Communists believe in the present democratic state, but because they see in the capture of political power propaganda for Communist ideas.

Volunteers Wanted for Borah "Garden" Meeting

The National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with and Recognition of Soviet Russia requests the services of young men and women at the Madison Square Garden Borah meeting. All volunteers should report at the Main Entrance on Madison Avenue, near 27th Street at 6 P. M., March 18.



The Young Workers League in New York has instituted a campaign for the welfare of the many exploited young workers. It is on the road to establish a united front on the issue of Child Labor, rallying the support of trade unions and all young peoples fraternal organizations.

Al Schaap, Executive Committee member, in conference with the representative of the Young People's Socialist League, was told that the YPSL could not keep out of this proposed campaign against the enslavement of young children. The League is proceeding with the campaign and the organization of a Child Labor Council will mark the carrying out of the tasks set to it by the recent convention.

Yowls Active in Knitters Strike

The Young Workers League of New York has issued a leaflet called "Your First Strike" addressed to young working men and women. It is a clear summary of the issues involved in the vast majority of strikes in which young workers participate, and sets forth the class nature of their position in society. It is written in simple language and it has proved so effective that in the strike of the Knit Goods workers of New York, in which many young workers have come out, that the officials of the union have eagerly volunteered to distribute the leaflets to the strikers, and they are being received well.

This marks the first step in the direction of industrial activity which has yet been undertaken by the New York League, and it is to be hoped that it will not be the last one. All those who are interested in the work of the League will communicate with H. Zam, Sec'y., 80 East 11th St., Room 405, N. Y. C.

"Garden" Throng Will Hear Borah Demand Recognition of Russia

The crowd that filled Lexington Theatre to overflowing last Sunday, when Senator William E. Borah spoke, is but the prelude to a great mass gathering scheduled for next Sunday evening, March 18, at Madison Square Garden.

The National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with and Recognition of Soviet Russia, under whose auspices the big meeting is being held, is intent upon making the meeting a distinctively labor gathering. The organized workers of Greater New York are being asked by the Alliance to attend not only in order to hear the Senator's views on Russian recognition, but as a testimonial that his views have their support.

The projected trip of Senator Borah to Soviet Russia adds special significance to the Madison Square Garden meeting. It is expected that he will refer to the trip and to the objects which he seeks to accomplish. Admission to the Garden meeting will be free. Although the hall holds 15,000, such a large crowd is being expected that the Arrangements Committee urges the audience to come in time.

All Working Class Organizations
Workers Party Branches
and Fraternal and Relief Societies
Keep April 28th Open
Something New in Radical Circles

Oil Kings Plan Fight on Radicalism

By CARL HAESSLER

CHICAGO.—Oil men are spoiling for a fight against what they term radicalism, but they haven't decided just where to start the attack or what weapons to use.

"We have organized to fight radical foes of a soundly conducted oil industry," said George D. Locke, Chicago, treasurer of the new American Oil Men's Association, which elected officers recently in the gold room of the Congress Hotel. "Our directors will meet soon and determine on our mode of attack and defense. They will decide whether we shall go into politics, how to employ publicity and what other measures may be necessary to protect our business."

Workers Party Issues Call to All Radical Labor for United Front Against New Open Shop Offensive

(Continued from Page One)

be compelled to increase by many millions of dollars the already gigantic tribute they pay to the owning class for the chance to eke out a mere existence.

Misleading the Working Farmers

On Oct. 24, 1922, the agents of the Packing Trust, the International Harvester Trust, the railway kings and the United States Chamber of Commerce met in Chicago to organize a campaign to win the working farmers over to the side of Big Business.

These exploiters of the rural toiling masses are trying to separate the working farmers from the industrial workers. Having themselves forced the farming masses into bankruptcy these powerful employers are now trying to hide their guilt by blaming the city workers.

These greedy employers are howling for lower wages in order to "equalize"—lower—the purchasing power of all the working masses—agricultural as well as industrial. They are attempting to deceive the working farmers with the hackneyed fraud that their salvation depends on the further reduction of wages and the continued deterioration of the working conditions of the industrial masses.

The Government is Preparing.

What is more, the Government is becoming evermore absolutistic—

evermore a dictatorship of the owning class. The history of the American government, especially since the war, is only a history of the growing powers of the President and the Courts, and the growing impotence of Congress.

The great national strikes of 1922—the textile, mine and railway strikes—have shown beyond all doubts that the Government fights the battles of the exploiters against the workers. The Government is a gigantic strike-breaking agency in the hands of the employing class.

On Dec. 8, 1922, Harding proposed that the Government rob the railway workers of the right to strike. The President's appointment of Pierce Butler, a tool and loyal defender of powerful railway interests, to the Supreme Court is only indicative of the effrontery and brazenness of the brutal frankness with which the Government is preparing to crush the workers.

Despite of all the prating of peace by Hughes and Harding the military and naval preparations of the Government are going on apace. Hundreds of millions are still being poured into the organization of giant armies and navies to break strikes at home and fight the battles of the employing class abroad.

In its foreign policy the Government is bending every effort to carry out the plans of the powerful bank-

ers and industrial magnates. The United States is becoming evermore deeply involved in the European embroglio. At the Lausanne Conference there were American Government "observers" to protect the interests of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Trust in the looting of the Mosul Oil Fields. Ambassador Harvey is openly playing Morgan's game of Lombard Street, the Wall Street of Europe. Harding, elected on a platform of opposition to the League of Nations, has made a complete right-about-face and is now advocating that the United States "participate" in European "affairs." For the working masses of America such a policy can mean only one thing—a greater army and a more powerful navy—the iron heel of a militarist dictatorship, and war with its high cost of living, and millions of maimed and killed.

Dividing the Workers

Just as the Democratic Wilson Government prepared the ground for the great Open Shop drive of 1920-1921 by a ferocious onslaught on the foreign-born workers, resulting in unbridled brutality and hundreds of arrests and deportations of innocent men and women, so today, the Republican government is preparing the new attack on the whole working class by a preliminary drive against the foreign-born workers. Secretary of Labor Davis, and Senator Colt,

speaking for the powerful employing interests, are talking of re-establishing the infamous contract labor system for immigrant workers and revoking their citizenship. The Department of Justice is energetically advocating that all foreign-born workers be registered like criminals, photographed and fingerprinted. The aims of this capitalist drive against the great mass of foreign-born workers are plain. First, the exploiters want to lower the standard of living and the conditions of employment of millions of our workers who happen to be foreign-born. Then they will blame and attack these worse oppressed and more ruthlessly exploited foreign-born workmen to the native workers for the degrading conditions they themselves have forced upon these laborers. The capitalists are thus hoping to sow dissension in and divide the ranks of the working masses in order to crush more easily all the workers—native and foreign-born alike.

Dangers of 1924 Election

Both dominant parties are actively preparing for the coming 1924 Presidential elections—preparing to foist another reactionary administration on the workers. There is talk of the Republican Party renominating the strikebreaker, Harding. In the Democratic Party there are plans afoot to nominate for the presidency, the reactionary Underwood, who applauded the notorious strikebreak-

ing Daugherty injunction. Both are avowed enemies of the workers and untiring servants of the employers.

Workers Must Defend Themselves

The present situation is fraught with untold dangers to the working class. The workers must defend themselves and defend themselves successfully. But in order to resist the capitalist onslaught successfully the workers must remove several obstacles which make a successful defense impossible today.

First of all, most of the workers who are unionized today are organized into inefficient, backward, impotent craft unions which are entirely out of date and unfit for fighting organizations under the conditions of the highly trusted modern capitalist industry.

Also, the workers are divided amongst themselves into foreign-born and native. The multitude of languages, the Babel of Tongues further tends to foster differences among the workers.

Finally the workers are not organized politically to meet their enemy. We do not have a powerful mass party of the workers—an independent working class political party, unreservedly committed to the protection of the interests of the industrial workers and working farmers.

The Workers Party knows that the complete liberation of the working class can come only thru the revolution; that is, thru the setting up of a Soviet Government of the workers and working farmers based on their mass organizations. Only thru such a government—the dictatorship of the working class—will the workers be able to abolish wage slavery and build up a Communist society.

But the Workers Party is aware of the fact that today the overwhelming majority of the working class is not yet sufficiently class-conscious or convinced of the necessity of Communism. As militants we cannot sit idly by and wait for the final conflict. The workers must immediately organize a vigorous campaign of defense against the increasingly menacing attacks of their employers.

A Program of Action

The Workers Party therefore proposes that all working class organizations, labor unions, workers' benefit organizations, working class political parties and working farmers' political and economic organizations get together to present a united, common front against the common enemy—the employing class. To achieve this united front of labor, the Workers Party proposes that all working class organizations, regardless of political differences, get together and marshal their forces on the basis of the following immediate program:

1. Amalgamation.
Immediate concrete steps should be taken to amalgamate the present craft unions into fighting industrial unions.

2. For the Protection of the Foreign Born Workers.

All workers in America, native and foreign-born, have but one enemy—the employing class. The separation of the American workers into English and foreign-language speaking is one of the greatest obstacles to unity of action and class consciousness in the ranks of the working class. The employers capitalize this condition to advance their own ends of exploitation and oppression. All the workers must get together against their com-

mon enemy and repeal the attack of the capitalists against the foreign-born workers—an attack which is only preliminary to and an integral part of the onslaught against the whole working class in America.

3. The International Labor Movement.

The struggle of the working class is international. The workers of America cannot wage a successful struggle against their own exploiting class and at the same time put their trust in organizations that have been and are hampering and betraying the struggles of their brothers in other countries. The American workers must therefore repudiate the Second, Two and One-Half, and Amsterdam Internationals.

4. Recognition of Soviet Russia.

The workers of Russia have won their strike against their Czarist oppressors, capitalist exploiters, and the foreign imperialist invaders. The workers of Soviet Russia have succeeded in ending the rule of the landed and moneyed tyrants. They have established a Government of the city workers and poor farmers. And this Government is growing ever stronger despite the blockade and wars of the French and British imperialist lords of finance and industry.

The American workers must help the Russian workers maintain their victory and in this way help themselves. We must fight for the full recognition of the Soviet Government. The workers of America must aid their Russian brothers in their efforts to rebuild their country and resist the attacks of the foreign capitalist plunders.

5. For the Removal of Governmental Obstacles.

The organization of the American Government is replete with the most clever and effective devices to block the development of a powerful, militant working class movement. We propose the removal of all such Governmental obstacles now hindering the workers in their struggle against the exploiting class. The united workers should fight to abolish:

a) The Supreme Court and the veto power of courts over legislation.
b) The United States Senate.
c) The veto power of the President.
d) The present Committee system in Congress stifling even the faintest voice of protest that a workers' representative might raise.
e) The present 48-States system of

law serving as a fig leaf for the centralized dictatorship of the employing class, the Federal Government, confusing and making more difficult the struggles of the workers for remedial legislation and further buttressing the whole notorious system of checks and balances on which the American Government is based.

6. For a Labor Party.

In the struggle of the workers against the employers the government fights the battles of the exploiting class. The class struggle is therefore a political struggle. The workers must organize an independent working class mass political party consisting of all workers and working farmers' organizations, regardless of political differences, and unreservedly committed to the protection of the interests of the industrial and agricultural working masses. The organization of such a mass labor party is indispensable to the establishment of a Government of, by and for the city and rural working masses—a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

A CALL TO ACTION!

New and most serious dangers are confronting the workers. Unless the workers organize to meet the new offensive of the employing class they will lose every vestige of their hard-won gains of many years of bitter struggle. They will be completely enslaved by the victorious employing class dictatorship.

The Workers Party calls on the workers of America to unite for their common defense. We must pit the unity of the laboring masses against the unity of the exploiters and oppressors! We must match the solidarity of the working class, whose ideal is freedom, with the solidarity of the employing class whose aim is exploitation and tyranny! The workers must marshal their forces and close their ranks in defense of their unions, their ideals and their lives!

The Workers Party calls upon all the organizations of the workers and the working farmers, to join into one mighty army, to present one common front—a united front—against the one common enemy—the employing class!

Engdahl Speaks in Philadelphia

J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker", will speak at the Commune celebration of the Philadelphia Workers Party, Sunday, 3 p. m., March 18, Machinists' Temple, 1239 Spring Garden St.

Attempt to Terrorize in Knit Strike

Faced with defeat, their ranks breaking under the magnificent solidarity of the knit goods strikers, the employers group is resorting to the use of armed gangsters who rove the strike districts assaulting and slugging workers on the picket lines.

The strike is now in its third week and the workers organization, the Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers Union, under the leadership of J. Laderman, has increased the effectiveness of the strike from day to day, while the ranks of the employers have been depleted by many of the individual employers deserting and accepting in full the demands of the union.

This desertion of their ranks has infuriated the "open shop" employers who have resorted to the employment of hordes of gangsters, who in automobiles and on foot assault individual strikers. In one instance a meeting of strikers in Williamsburg was attacked by armed thugs and a number of strikers near the door violently assaulted, the sluggers making their escape before the other members realized what had happened. Joseph Sachs, one of the prominent "open shop" employers is charged with having personally led an assault upon strikers at 76 Throop Ave., Brooklyn, and a warrant for his arrest has been secured by the union, so far he has not been apprehended.

The left elements, mostly young workers, are taking the lead in maintaining the morale of the strikers and their agitation has been so effective that none in the ranks has yielded to the rosy promises of the individual bosses, who have tried to break the ranks of the strikers.

A stirring leaflet entitled "Your First Strike" was issued by the members of the Young Workers League, and has been widely distributed among the strikers and has had a tendency to keep the younger elements, who are in reality experiencing their first struggle against the employers, solidly in line.

Fur Union Officials Desperate in Court Fight Against Freiheit

In a desperate effort to stop the avalanche of criticism heaped upon them by the representatives of the militant members of the Furriers Union, the officials of the New York Joint Board of Furriers are frantically appealing to a capitalist court to come to their assistance.

After declining to defend themselves in "labor courts" against the exposure of their use of thugs by the Jewish Daily Freiheit, the officers of the Furriers' Union are acting the part of agents provocateurs by appearing in court and declaring before the District Attorney that the Freiheit contemptuously refers to the court as "capitalistic." The District Attorney declares he will "investigate" the article in question. Evidently Morris Kaufman, international president of the Furriers, imagines the courts of law in the United States are not capitalist, but that they exist for the purpose of assisting the gallant leaders of labor in their valiant efforts to keep reaction enthroned against the rank and file of labor.

At a meeting of over 100 members of the Waist and Dress Makers' Union, the action of the officials of the Furriers Union was condemned in a sharp resolution.

A Dogma of History

By H. M. WICKS

Almost three quarters of a century ago Marx and Engels proclaimed a new theory for the interpretation of history. Altho no bourgeois apologist has ever been able to refute the doctrine of these originators of the scientific basis of the modern Communist movement—altho it has weathered all storms of criticism from every source, capitalist or reformist labor—still it has not been applied or understood by any appreciable number of those who claim to speak in the interest of the proletariat.

It is not at all difficult to understand why the reformist Socialists have not embraced this mighty weapon and turned it upon the capitalist class; for historical materialism is a weapon—not merely a means of interpreting history better than before, but of making history. The Socialism that dominated the movement in the United States was essentially of a petty bourgeois character. Historical materialism with its devastating implications would have wrecked the bourgeois conceptions of the Socialist leaders, so they ignored it for many years.

When, at last, as the result of the World War and the Russian revolution vindicating the predictions of historical materialism, it became the fashion to embrace this doctrine, a whole crop of pseudo-Marxists sprang up. Those who had carelessly dabbled in Marxism suddenly became oracles. Quoting a few phrases from the historical writings of Marx was a favorite pastime. There being but few who understood the fundamentals of this theory, there were few to dispute the shabby pretenses of these who professed an understanding of Marxism.

Even James O'neal, editorial writer of the New York Call, began to speak learnedly about the modus operandi of history. Tho he had long before demonstrated his total incapacity to deal with even the simplest facts of history in the American labor movement, he endeavored to apply his scant knowledge to those derived and complex factors that produced the catastrophic action of the World War.

History is not a simple thing, but simpletons and those of a primitive type of mind, constantly endeavor to reduce every effect to one simple cause. Just as primitive man in the dim past translated his ignorance into one word and called it God, so the pseudo-revolutionists of our day, endeavor to reduce history to one factor—but today they call it OIL.

Around the question of oil a new dogma of history is being formulated. The new "historians" account for every political movement since the discovery of naphta as a conflict over the question of oil supremacy. Important as the question of control of the world's oil supply has come to be, since the close of the War, it certainly played no part in the gathering storm of the crisis that culminated in that titanic struggle. Had the war been fought over the question of oil the United States would not have fought on the side of Britain, but against her, for it is these two nations today that are engaged in the struggle for control of the oil supply of the world.

A plain historical fact, however, does not deter the editorial writer of the Call from proclaiming on Friday, March 9, that the late War was a war for petroleum.

Surely no one with even the faintest perception of history could make such an abysmal blunder with the exception of the spurious historian, O'neal. This is quite typical of the low degree of understanding possessed by those who furnish the intellectual fare dealt out by the Call.

To intelligently explain the origin of the world war involves an understanding of the social and economic forces at work thruout the world, covering the entire epoch since the close of the Napoleonic wars. It was capitalist imperialism with its myriad of economic interests, generating conflicts between nations in every part of the world that caused the War, and among all the economic factors leading up to the final clash of arms, the question of oil played no part whatsoever.

The importance of oil in warfare became general knowledge only during the latter days of the world war. Before the war Britain had realized the importance of oil in naval warfare because of the invention of the Diesel oil burning engine and since supremacy on the sea is necessary for the continued existence of Britain as a world power, certain capitalists of England were secretly contriving to control the world's oil supply. This move was against the Standard Oil Company of the United States, which had been supreme and unchallenged in the world. Very subtly this monopoly of oil lands was proceeding when the war broke out as the result of a complex of economic factors designated in their totality under the general term capitalist imperialism.

Had the United States been aware of the sinister plans of Britain it is quite probable that the question of the partition of the world's oil supply would have been settled before this government would have consented to enter the war, even to protect the billions of Morgan.

It was only after the War, when Standard Oil began to search for new fields of exploitation that it discovered that Britain had succeeded in getting control of most of the oil supply. From first place in the business of oil monopoly the American Standard Oil Company then found itself a very poor second. The British combination, the Royal Dutch Shell and its subsidiaries, had successfully blocked the expansion of the Standard in every part of the world.

In the immediate future the question of oil will play a dominant part. It was the material factor in the struggle of the Turks and Greeks, respectively tools of France and Britain. It was on the order of the day at Lausanne. It will be a dominant factor in the struggle that is now developing between Britain and the United States. It is responsible for the United States viewing with approval the occupation of the Ruhr by France, while Britain gnashes her teeth and tries to neutralize America by agreeing to a debt funding proposition.

But in spite of the importance of the question of oil, historical materialism cannot be reduced to a dogma wherein one simply investigates the potentialities of petroleum and immediately proceeds to write a brochure on current history. Petroleum must be considered in relation to the sum total of economic factors involved in modern imperialism and certainly the mere memorizing of a few Marxian phrases and distorting them to apply to the oil question will not suffice for an explanation of the complexities beneath the surface of national antagonisms today.

The dogmatist may console himself with his vain imaginings of profundity as he preaches the gospel of oil in place of the original sin of the Bible, but the Marxist trained in the school of historical materialism knows that those explosive forces inherent in modern imperialism would exist just the same if there were no Standard Oil and no Royal Dutch Shell, or even if petroleum had never been discovered.

If, on the other hand, petroleum became as free as the air, these antagonisms would continue because the basis of imperialism, as of every other stage of capitalism, is not a question of any one economic factor such as oil, coal or other fuel, but is based upon the exploitation of wage labor, and as long as that exploitation exists we will have terrific conflicts between nations over the appropriation of the surplus created by the working class.

In the near future we will face a war that in form will be over the question of petroleum, but in substance will be a continuation of the imperialist struggle that produced the world war. Then we can speak of a war for petroleum, but surely one who visualizes the late war as such belongs in the category of intellectual encephalitis, who might function as a perverter of history in the Rand School of Social Science, but who surely has no business endeavoring to enter the realms of historical materialism.

Peer Gynt

With Joseph Schildkraut

Reviewed by Nancy Markoff

Go to see Joseph Schildkraut in "Peer Gynt," Henrik Ibsen's masterpiece, being given at the Shubert Theatre by the Theatre Guild. From the first scene in the play where we meet him, a carefree dreamer in rags, revolted against all responsibility, and as we follow him thruout his career, right up to his return home a broken old man tortured with the ever existing problem "What is this we call life," we feel the grip of this wonderful drama and the masterful interpretation of it. For Joseph Schildkraut's interpretation of Peer Gynt is real.

Louise Closser Hale as Peer's mother will live a long time in my memory. The scene in which she welcomes her wayward boy home, and in which they play a game at make believe, is equal to anything done by the best of the players of the Moscow Art Theatre.

The Theatre Guild is to be complimented on this great achievement in artistic setting and production. Peer Gynt surpasses all the other plays they have put on this season and is a worthwhile contribution to the American theatre.

Germans Don't Appreciate Selves

The Germans must learn from the Russians how to appreciate themselves sufficiently to make America anxious to make their acquaintance. In other words the German managers should sit at the feet of the Russians and learn the gentle art of publicity. If the Russians had as good an offering to give to the American lovers of music as the Berliner Opern-Gesellschaft, now at the Lexington Opera House, the American public would have felt their presence in this country.

All lovers of music should avail themselves of this opportunity to hear Wagner's operas by this able cast of German singers.

Moscow Players Go on Tour

The Moscow Art Theatre, upon completion of its engagement at Jolson's Theatre, New York, March 31, will play in Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia. According to revised plans the Moscow Players will open at the Great Northern Theatre, Chicago, April 2, for an engagement of three weeks; to be followed by two weeks at the Lyric Theatre, Philadelphia, and then two weeks at the Majestic Theatre, Boston. Next week there will be a repetition here of "Tsar Feodor Ivanovitch."

It is announced that the Theatre Guild is planning a theatre of its own on Broadway at the cost of \$500,000. One of the first plays that will probably be offered in the new home will be "Masse Mensch" by Ernest Toller, the German Communist, still confined in Niederschönfeld, a fortress-prison for politicals. It was planned to offer this play this year, but the time was too limited to give it a fitting production. The present offering of the Guild, Hendrick Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," having moved to the Shubert Theatre, "The Adding Machine" opens at Garrick, March 19.

"Roger Bloomer" Gets the Hook

"Roger Bloomer" was given the hook by the Equity Players, at the 48th St. Theatre, for some inexplicable reason, and departed for the Greenwich Village Theatre. "The Chastening" is now being produced in 48th St. with "Why Not?" promised to return next Monday.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

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Here are a few comments, chosen from many scores of them:

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Fig. 1 shows a set of three toys. Figs. 2, 3 and 4 show each of these separately. The toys are a Russian novelty. When the cover is taken off a smaller duplicate of the objects is revealed. When that is peeled off, a third still smaller duplicate appears, etc. etc. The set runs on LITHIUM and OIL.

Unions Join United Front for May Day

Many unions are responding to the Second Conference for a United May Day Demonstration, among them being Locals 1 and 9 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. The proposition will also be taken up by the Joint Board of the Waist and Dress Makers.

The militants in New York are leaving no stone unturned to make this the greatest May Day demonstration ever held in America.

An executive has been elected and has sent communications to other unions and labor groups asking them to attend; a second conference that will be held March 25 at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.

It is appropriate that such a demonstration should be held in view of the ever increasing sentiment for amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions and the general tendency of labor to close its ranks to meet the assault of the capitalist class. The slogan of the demonstration on May Day will be the questions of amalgamation, a labor party and a workers' government.

The Harlem (N. Y.) English Branch, Workers' Party, announces its second contribution to the Day's Pay Campaign, amounting to \$31.

Don't miss the March "LIBERATOR"

FLOYD DELL, author of The Briary Bush, begins a special series entitled, "The Outline of Marriage."

Max Bedacht, treats of Communist tactics in "Are the Communists Ready?"

"An Imperial War," by R. W. Postgate, reviews the successes and failures of capitalism in Great Britain.

Ella Reeve Bloor writes a biographical sketch of Martin Anderson Nexo whom she met in Moscow recently.

Mary Heaton Vorse, writes of the Kansas miners in "Courage," "An Open Challenge," by C. E. Ruthenberg, reviews the Michigan Communist cases.

Oscar Cesare, just back from Moscow, draws the cover.

Robert Minor furnishes a double-page cartoon on the Ruhr situation. Gropper a full-page front-piece.

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AMERICANISM A World Menace

by W. T. COLYER

Preface by TOM MANN
W. T. Colyer, formerly a member of the Communist Party of America, was deported to England. He has written a daring book upon America and its boasted "democracy." The New York Times in a recent review gave it more than one page. We have imported only a small shipment and orders should be sent at once.

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FREE SACCO and VANZETTI SAVE SACCO WHO IS ON HUNGER STRIKE MASS MEETING

To protest against the continued incarceration of the Class-War Prisoners will be held

Tuesday, March 20, 7:30 p. m.

at

BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 5th Street (near 3rd Ave.)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman

Speakers: Norman Thomas, J. Louis Engdahl (in English), Frank Belanca and G. Innuso (in Italian), Alexander Chramoff (in Russian), Auspices: National Defense Committee, Workers' Defense Committee, Italian Defense Committee, Workers' Party, Local Gr. New York.

As to Labor Banks

From The Labor Herald, Official Organ of the Trade Union Educational League

The failure of cooperation, in a movement of its own, is almost complete in the United States when compared to the great and flourishing cooperative movement of other countries. Incompetence, graft and a general lack of solidarity on the part of the workers has made it practically impossible for the cooperatives to grow. The situation has reached such a stage, apparently—if we are to have cooperative institutions the trade unions themselves must take the matter in hand and bring the cooperatives into existence.

The tendency for the unions to do this is one of the most pronounced features of our present-day movement. The recent rapid growth of labor banks is the most striking example. Every friend of cooperation welcomes these banks and helps to establish them. But a note of warning must be sounded. In the hands of progressive officials such banks will be constructive and helpful institutions, but in the hands of reactionaries they will do great harm.

We view with alarm the founding of banks in various industrial centers by A. F. of L. hide-bound reactionaries. Any one who thinks that such banks will be used in the interests of the workers has his economic A. B. C's still to learn. On the contrary, we can expect such reactionaries, strengthened by great financial power, to use this power in every possible way to prevent the growth of progressive sentiment in their organizations.

A move which is bound to cause much unfavorable sentiment is the recent affiliation of Warren S. Stone to the Empire Trust Co., as a director of that body. No good can possibly come from such an alliance, which, in a crisis, will inevitably be turned against Labor. Such class-collaboration must be fatal to the workers' interest. Labor banks, yes, but in the hands of progressives, not reactionaries.

Two New Jersey Conferences For Protection Of The Foreign Born

Friday, March 23, 7:30 p. m., at 41 Bridge St., Paterson, N. J., there will be held a conference, delegated from all progressive organizations and unions in the city of Paterson.

A similar conference will be held in Passaic, N. J., Sunday, March 25, at 3 p. m., at 162 Madison St. The purpose of these two conferences will be to formulate plans for an intensive campaign against the bills now awaiting the next session of Congress for the enslavement of the foreign-born workers.

Farmer-Labor Party Convention

CHICAGO.—The national executive committee, Farmer-Labor party, is basing on holding a national convention of the party in Chicago, July 3. If the motion carries, Jay G. Brown, national secretary, will be authorized to invite all labor, farm and political groups to send representatives to this convention with authority to take necessary steps toward complete unity of the political forces of the entire working class.

Johnston Wants to Settle

NEW YORK.—The unions are willing to negotiate at once with the railroads which have not settled the shop strike, and which were censured in President Harding's recent letter to a Jersey Central shopman, according to William H. Johnston, president, International Association of Machinists.

Labor Can't Beat Bankers at Own Game

Sixth Article

By H. M. WICKS

We challenged the assertions of Dr. Walter F. McCaleb to the effect that labor could control the banking power of the United States in ten years, at a meeting held for Union printers in the city of New York, and mildly suggested that he had better study the simple fundamentals of economics before he appears before other audiences of working people with his insane claims.

The eminent doctor became exceedingly hostile and after finding himself unable to reply to the questions hurled at him, began reciting the story of his life.

His autobiography was interesting inasmuch as it exposed this expert for the labor banks as a typical petty capitalist. At college he obtained the degree of doctor of philosophy, which accounts for his learned ignorance of everything worth knowing. When one emerges from an American college saturated with the hallucinations of speculative philosophy he may be able to feign intelligence among the cultured imbeciles of the educated bourgeoisie, but he is totally unfit to enter into controversies with working people who possess a knowledge of Marxian economics.

The absurd proposition of McCaleb, Stone and the other half-wits and charlatans trying to impose labor banks upon the trade union movement of America, can be easily exploded by considering for a moment the fact that it takes the average worker less than two hours to produce commodities equal in value to his daily wage and that the extra six hours he works constitutes surplus-labor time, for which he receives no compensation whatever. This surplus-labor time produces surplus value, which is the amount the capitalist class takes from the working class without rendering any service whatsoever to society in return.

By way of illustration, let us imagine that the average wage is \$5 per day. Two hours' labor time is required to produce commodities equal in value to the \$5. The first two hours is what Marx calls necessary labor time. Instead of stopping work at the end of two hours, the worker continues on the job an average of six hours more. The six hours constitute unnecessary labor time, or surplus-labor time, and it is during these six hours that the exploitation of labor takes place. Every worker, under the condition described, would therefore produce commodities equal in value to \$15 per day in addition to his wage. Now the absurd proposition of the apostles of labor banks is that the workers, after paying their living expenses out of their \$5 will still have enough left over to go into the banking business and in 10 years' time put the fellows obtaining the \$15 of the labor of every worker in industry out of business.

There is another phase of the question of savings accounts of workers that has been conveniently overlooked by the labor bankers and the eminent doctor of philosophy who is their chief adviser. That is the commodity nature of labor-power and the fact that it is subject to all the laws of other commodities. If labor receives sufficient wages to enable it to save a portion of this wage that is proof that the price of labor-power is greater than its value, and since the inexorable tendency of commodities of every kind is to exchange at their value, it follows as day follows the night that the price of labor-power will eventually sink to the level of its value, which is the equivalent of the food, clothing and shelter necessary to enable the slave to live from day to day and to support a family in order that there may be another generation of wage-slaves to replace him when he goes to the scrapheap. If all the workers were to practice that capitalist virtue of thrift by voluntarily reducing their standard of living in order to place money in the banks, it simply means that wages would sink to the level of the actual amount necessary to live during the first period of unemployment that followed such "thrift."

When a worker is unemployed and his family are facing the horrors of privation he does not stop to consider whether he can save money out of his wages, he only wants a chance to work so that he can live and support his family, therefore he takes the first job that will guarantee him a so-called living wage, which is the value of his labor-power. Not all the beguiling windjamming of all the apostles of labor banking can ever change that fundamental feature of capitalist production nor can all the doctors of philosophy on earth successfully refute this fundamental law of capitalist production.

(Continued Next Week)

Amnesty Day, April 29

CHICAGO.—Selection of April 29 as General Amnesty Day is announced by Harry Feinberg, secretary, General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St.



To the Members of the Party—Have you the badge of merit represented by the above fac-simile of the "Make the Party Grow" stamp in your dues book?

We call the stamp a badge of merit because the money derived from the sale of the stamp will help us to get results like this:

On Wednesday, March 7th, we received from our field organizer in Pennsylvania an application for a charter for an English branch of the party. The signers of the application were the president of the Central Labor Council, the secretary of that body, the president of the miners locals and half a dozen of the delegates of the central labor body of the city.

On the day before the National Office received a letter from the vice-president of a central labor body in another city of the same state, who is also president of a local union, asking for information about how to organize a branch of the party.

There are hundreds of such opportunities in existence to strengthen the party, to sink its roots deep into the organized labor movement, and make it a powerful influence among the working masses.

The party needs organizers and workers to reach these workers who are ready to join our party and work with us. The "Make the Party Grow" stamp will provide the money for the work.

PUT ONE IN YOUR BOOK WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY AND JOIN THOSE WHO HAVE DONE THEIR SHARE TO REALLY MAKE THE PARTY GROW—NOT ONLY IN NUMBERS BUT IN STRENGTH AND INFLUENCE—C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary.

CANNON MEETINGS

J. P. Cannon, Chairman of the Workers' Party, who returned from Russia recently, after a six-month study of Russian conditions, is making a four or five months tour to tell the workers of this country about the life of their Russian comrades. Comrade Cannon will speak on "Russia Today" and "The Fourth Congress of the Communist International". In the following list of meetings thus far arranged he will speak on "Russia Today" unless otherwise indicated:

New Haven, Conn.: Sat., Mar. 17, 7:30 P. M. Machinists' Hall, Temple St. Subject: "The Fourth Congress of the Communist International."
Boston, Mass.: Sun., Mar. 18, 2 P. M. Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St., 2:30 P. M. "Russia Today."
Salem, Mass.: Mon., Mar. 19, 7:30 P. M. 65 Main St.
Chelsea, Mass.: Tues., Mar. 20, Hall announced later.
New Bedford, Mass.: Wed., Mar. 21, 7:30 p. m. Labor Temple.
Quincy, Mass.: Thurs., Mar. 22, Malnatis Hall, Liberty St. So. Quincy, 8 p. m.
West Adams, Ill.: Fri., Mar. 23, 8 P. M. Malnatis Hall, Liberty St. So. Quincy, Subject: "The Fourth Congress of the Communist International."

Lawrence, Mass.: Sat., Mar. 25, 7:30 P. M. Needham Hall, 180 Essex St.
Westford, Mass.: Sun., Mar. 26, Hall announced later.
Worcester, Mass.: Tues., Mar. 27, A. O. H. Hall, Trumbull St.
Everett, Mass.: Wed., Mar. 28, 8 P. M. Millstone Club, 217 Belmont St. Subject: "The Fourth Congress of the Communist International."

Providence, R. I.: Thurs., Mar. 29, 8 P. M. 65 Main St., 1753 Westminster St.
New York City: Fri., Mar. 30, 8 P. M. Central Opera House.
Elizabeth, N. J.: Tues., Apr. 3, "The Fourth Congress of the Communist International."
Washington, D. C.: Wed., Apr. 4, Liberty Hall, 5th and E St., N. W., 8 P. M.
Trenton, N. J.: Thurs., Apr. 5, 8 P. M.
Reading, Pa.: Fri., Apr. 6.
Reading, Pa.: Sat., Apr. 7.
Syracuse, N. Y.: Sun., Apr. 8.
Rochester, N. Y.: Mon., Apr. 9.
Buffalo, N. Y.: Tues., Apr. 10.
Jamestown, N. Y.: Wed., Apr. 11.
Concord, N. H.: Thurs., Apr. 12.
Ashburnham, O.: Sat., Apr. 14.
Pittsburgh, O.: Sun., Apr. 15. Two meetings.
Monroeville, Pa.: Mon., Apr. 16.
Youngstown, Pa.: Tues., Apr. 17.
Warren, Pa.: Wed., Apr. 18.
Canton, O.: Thurs., Apr. 19.
Canton, O.: Fri., Apr. 20.
Cleveland, O.: Sat., Apr. 21.
Cleveland, O.: Sun., Apr. 22.
Cleveland, O.: Sun., Apr. 23.

Destitute Amid Their Orchards YAKIMA, Wash.—Hundreds of farmers are leaving the fertile Yakima valley, nationally known for its orchards and apples. Household goods are being sold to buy food, and ranches are selling for just enough to get families out of the district.

This was revealed recently by Y. C. Mansfield, of the Farmers' League, who has proposed that the farmers be paid \$3 a day for their labor by the government.

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Another Anti-Soviet Lie Nailed

AUSTIN, Tex.—Russian scientists are not starving creatures in rags clinging despairingly to their microscopes in obscure attics, according to the observations of Prof. H. J. Muller, department of zoology, University of Texas, who visited Russia by airplane from Berlin last year.

"I found the reality different," Muller declares. "The Russian scientist I saw was busily engaged in his laboratory, actively interested in his scientific work and getting results and desirous above all of getting into touch with the work that the west is producing."

Famines Have Always Happened in Russia

Why Does the World Know About This Famine? In Russia

famines have been a common occurrence since the year 1891.

During the Czar's regime Cossacks were always sent to the afflicted area with instructions to force the peasants not to leave their villages.

In this manner thousands died but the world knew nothing about it.

To-Day

the Soviet Government has thrown open the best buildings to the sufferers. It has attempted in every possible manner to save the unfortunates.

It has appealed to the workers of the world for assistance in this gigantic undertaking.

That is why the whole world knows about THIS famine. That is why we know that.

There Are Two Million Orphans

a large number of whom are a direct result of the famine.

The greater portion are the toll paid for the capitalist war and blockade waged against the First Workers' Republic.

ADOPT AN ORPHAN: \$5 for equipment, \$2 a month for upkeep.

Fill in blank below and mail to

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 West 13th Street, New York.

OPEN THE GATES TO NEW HOMES

The undersigned pledges to provide for a Russian child for One Year, paying \$5 for equipment and \$2 a month for care.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

Do you want us to send you name and photo of child you adopt?

SAVE RUSSIA'S CHILDREN

I cannot pledge to adopt a Russian Orphan but I wish to contribute to the General Orphan Fund.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

AMOUNT \$

The Farmer and the Labor Party

By ALFRED KNUTSON

The conditions under which the American farmer has been forced to work and earn his living in the past, has made it rather difficult to get him the idea of socialization.

For decades he has been taught diligently by the capitalists that his prosperity depended largely upon getting a deed to and "owning" a piece of land. As long as there was plenty of cheap land to be had and before the rise of the mortgage system to its present tremendous proportions, the banker and the mortgage company were able to fool the farmer into believing that what they said about land and land ownership was true.

As a consequence his mind became saturated with the idea of capitalist property rights, and the Socialist who ventured to warn him of the insecurity and futility of such "rights" was called a dangerous dreamer. His debate with the Socialist came to an abrupt end because he knew, in a concrete way, that he had so many acres of land worth so much per acre, which might be disposed of for cash whenever he wished.

Today, however, all this is changed. It is quite possible now to talk to some farmers about a different system of landownership, such as one, for example, as proposes to make the occupancy and use the sole title of the land. Today, also, a discussion of having the national government take over and operate banks, railroads, coal mines, flour mills, terminal elevators and warehouses, etc., will get a respectful and even enthusiastic reception at almost any bona-fide farmers' meeting.

What is the reason for this change? The truth is that the farmers of America today—nearly 75 per cent of them—are absolutely bankrupt, and this fact of bankruptcy coupled with low prices of farm products and the inability of the poorer class of farmers (at the present time these constitute the majority) to borrow any more money from the banks, cause them to lose respect for capitalist property rights and to lose faith in the present system of marketing agricultural produce. Large masses of farmers cannot earn enough to pay taxes and interest on their land, and it is an utter impossibility for them to pay anything off on the principal. Nor can the farmer sell his land because very few can

The Technical Aid

Statement by the Workers' Party.

During the past weeks two groups have been fighting each other within the Technical Aid Society.

This conflict has not merely been fought inside the organization but has been carried outside of the organization.

We believe that this conflict hinders the constructive work which the Technical Aid Society should be doing.

For this reason—we—in harmony with the Communist International are opposed to mass emigration to Soviet Russia, and are at the same time strong in our support of the activities of the Technical Aid in behalf of Soviet Russia.

We Call upon all Comrades:

1. All Party comrades who are members of the Technical Aid shall cease carrying on this conflict.

2. The new and old bureaus of the Technical Aid shall unite in comradesly spirit.

3. The convention of the Technical Aid shall be postponed pending the final decision of the Communist International.

Since it is an impossible condition that in one party two disciplines shall rule, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party of America emphatically demands that all comrades cease carrying on this conflict.

All comrades who are active in the Technical Aid shall not forget for one instant that first of all they are party members, and first of all they must therefore obey party discipline.

(Signed) C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

The Worker in "the South"

Dear Comrades:—Enclosed find check for \$5 for five subs to "The Worker." Among the subs I have sent in, a few are Negroes and for every one, I know 25 read it, if it is not worn out, it can't be too old, but cannot afford to get it for they are the worst off of any of the wage slaves.

The bosses here pay from 83 Cents to \$1.25 per day for their labor. Most of the workers get less than \$1.25 and have families to keep, and living is just as high here as any place.

These same slaves pay taxes and as they constitute 60 per cent in South Carolina and North Carolina they are not allowed to vote. Comrade Stokes' article made a hit with them.—F. W. Dietrich, Laurens, S. C.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

THE WORKER

Published by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America, C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

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ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
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Workers' Victories in Peace

The London Correspondent of the New York Times is shedding tears because E. F. Wise, rated as one of the leading economic experts of the British government, has quit his job and thrown in his lot with the Russian Soviet Republic. In the language of the Times' man, Mr. Wise gives up a "good position, excellent prospects and a pension," when he can find no information as to the stability of the Russian Workers Republic "to render such a sacrifice justifiable."

We judge that Mr. Wise knows exactly what he is doing. He has been sitting in at international conferences for the last four years and he knows the economic outlook for Europe and the world. He believes that Europe cannot recover until Russia recovers. So he is now the economic adviser of the Central Union of Russian Co-operative Societies.

Mr. Wise points out that last year Soviet Russia exported a million tons of goods valued at \$60,000,000 and this is just the beginning. He declares that if American agricultural implement firms would extend one or two years' credit to the peasants of Russia, now, as they did before the war, there would be an immense demand for the products of the American farm implement industry.

The stand taken and the declarations made by Mr. Wise are merely an indication of which way the wind is blowing in Eastern Europe and in Red Siberia. The Soviet Republic is rapidly getting on its feet; the wheels of industry are moving ever faster and faster. What Mr. Wise admits, and what the great capitalists know, deep down in the bottom of their black hearts, all the imperialist world must soon admit—that workers' rule in Russia is victorious in peace, even as in war.

"Down with the King!"

We have been assured by the labor lieutenants of British capitalism that the King can do no wrong to labor. They say that labor is oppressed under America's industrial czars, as well as under British royalty.

This is all very true, but at least America's workers are saved the spectacle of their yellow officials donning silken knee breeches to wait upon a puppet king, under the guidance of a Lady Astor, warning them, "Pull up your stockings."

There was James Henry Thomas, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen; John Robert Clynes, president of the National Union of General Workers, and Philip Snowden, all staunch supporters of the Second (Socialist) International.

In fact, the New York Socialist daily, The Call, tells us that, "The king has interpreted the handwriting on the wall as meaning that the day may not be far distant when Britain may have a labor government and that he thus desires to become personally acquainted with his possible future ministers."

No doubt the Second Internationalist "Call" expects some Judas labor leader in England to play the role that Branting now finds himself in before the Swedish king, altho we have not yet heard that Branting has donned silken knee breeches and stockings. The Call even professes that, "It fell to the lot of Lady Astor to burn the bridges between capital and labor."

We have not noticed that British Communists have been invited to meet the king. They will not be invited because they will stand faithfully by their slogans, "Down with the king! Down with capitalism!" until there shall be no more kings, until capitalism shall have been swept away, and all human beings stand erect as equals.

Isadora Duncan Loses Her Citizenship

There is a breath of relief sighing thru the departments of government in Washington, D. C.—Isadora Duncan is no longer a citizen of these United States.

The department of labor, headed by the Pittsburgh millionaire, Mr. Davis, has ruled that Miss Duncan made the mistake of marrying the Russian poet, Serge Essenine, on April 1, 1922, instead of after September 22, 1922, the date of the passage of the Cable Women's Separate Citizenship Bill.

This, of course, saved the department from ruling upon the important question of whether Miss Duncan's remarks while in this country could be made the basis for the withdrawal of citizenship. The government has played the role of a coward as usual. Yet this same government will, no doubt, use this indefinite ruling as the basis for further attacks on the citizenship of native-born Americans.

It will be interesting to watch the antics of America's capitalist officialdom when next Miss Duncan seeks to come to these shores. A big effort will, no doubt, be made to keep her out. If she is kept out, America will be the loser, a heavy loser, and not Isadora Duncan.

We have not, as yet, heard any protests from Emil Vandervelde, former "Socialist" minister of justice against the imprisonment of 40 Belgian Communists who opposed the imperialist ambitions of Belgium in the Ruhr. Vandervelde again confesses himself merely a friend of counter-revolutionists.

The War Veterans and Amnesty

The World-War Veterans are to be congratulated on the success of their amnesty meeting held at the Lexington Opera House Sunday. It was a great throng, and Sam Scarlett, deportee after five years at Leavenworth Prison, put the spirit into the gathering that could not be expected from U. S. Senator Borah.

We would be remiss, however, if we did not urge the World-War Veterans to broaden their amnesty demand. We had understood that the Lexington meeting was to be for all the class-war prisoners. We came away with the feeling that attention had only been given to the cases of the war prisoners of the Industrial Workers of the World, leaving out even the Wobblly victims of the state criminal syndicalism laws. No word was uttered about Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr, Sacco and Vanzetti, Dolla and Bental, not to mention the Communist prisoners.

The World-War Veterans should be something more than an organization of soldiers of the late conflict who discovered that it was not "a war for democracy." If this organization is to live as part of the labor movement, it must take an active part in the daily class conflict, taking a stand for all the prisoners, and declaring its position in definite terms on all working-class issues. It blazed the path in this direction when it issued its declaration warning the workers of this country against the development of an American Fascist. It must not follow the rather lukewarm declarations of even a U. S. Senator Borah, the prosecutor of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, in the war of the western mine owners on the Western Federation of Miners; also one of the few members of congress who fought the woman suffrage militants to the last, even showing them the door of his senatorial office. It is easy to talk about amnesty for the war prisoners now, more than four years after the armistice. Even Borah talks for it.

But the World-War Veterans must broaden their fight, and put the militancy of the present into their struggles. Then their organization will grow and become a power. Otherwise it will disintegrate and decay.

Armour and Co. has swallowed Morris and Co., and the new food trust is capitalized at \$500,000,000. With a few more swallows the Armour monopoly ought soon to rival the billion dollar capitalization of the phone trust.

Free Speech in Logan County

The Civil Liberties Union is again to be commended on the performance of another real service rendered the labor movement. It has sent speakers into the "closed" territory of Logan County, West Virginia, and held a meeting on the steps of the county court house under the nose of the mine owners' sheriff, Don Chafin, sworn enemy of the miners' union.

We hope that the miners' officials will take every advantage of this offensive against the anti-union coal barons, and use this opportunity to the utmost to carry on the work of organization.

Some years ago, in the heat of the miners' strike along Paint and Cabin Creeks, we were told by the international executive board member of the United Mine Workers, in charge of the strike, that all West Virginia could be organized by flooding the state with organization literature, by carrying on a real propaganda campaign. It was such a campaign that made the strike possible. We wondered why such a campaign was never launched in West Virginia, but could never find an explanation until we learned that this executive board member had later turned mine owner.

The Civil Liberties Union has shown the miners' union what is possible, not only in West Virginia, but in every other mine field in the land. The way can be opened, if the miners' officials wish, for reaching every unorganized mine worker in the land. Surely every oppressed coal miner can see the necessity of organization. It is now the turn of the Lewis administration in the United Mine Workers' international organization to make the next move. It is organization or destruction for the coal miners' union. The international officialdom that will not carry on the work of organization to the utmost should and must be driven into the discard.

Alexander Schreider, one of the spokesmen of the Left Social Revolutionary Party of Russia, fears that the so-called unity conference of the Second and Two and One-Half Internationals, at Hamburg, is going to be too much of a love feast. He protests against the exclusion of delegates from Communist Parties. Schreider no doubt sees the Second (London) Internationalists feasting upon the remains of the Two and One-Half (Vienna) Internationalists, who are bidding farewell to any radical pretensions they might have had in the dim past.

Belasco Ibanez, from his beautiful villa, on the shores of the Mediterranean, declares that his "Four Horsemen" will again ride over Europe because "literature is international, science is international, trade is international, but politics is not international, but narrow and nationalistic." Ibanez ought to study up on the Communist International, that is teaching international politics to the workers of the world, the International that will send his horsemen on a vacation forever.

We are not surprised at the charge of treason launched by the Italian Fascist government against our comrade, Menotti Serrati, communist member of the Italian chamber of deputies and editor of the Communist daily, Avanti. Conviction means a sentence to prison for life. But we would say that the Mussolini dictatorship is merely turning on the gas and taking its own life. It has its own way of committing suicide, not uncommon to capitalist tyrants.

"There is not the slightest chance of the government being overthrown," declares Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy, member of the British Parliament, who is returning to London from Moscow to urge British recognition of the Soviet Republic. American congressmen will reach the same conclusion when they go to Russia, if they can study conditions there without prejudice.

French imperialists have not been able to silence the Paris Communist daily, L'Humanite, by sending its editor, Cachin, to prison. They are now foot-rotting it after the business manager, alleging the paper is trying to destroy the morale of the country. No doubt Poincaré and his gang feel they are losing the confidence of the country, something that anyone with a little common sense could have told them before the French army advanced into the Ruhr.



THE REBEL GIRL

(Poetic license applied for—Ed.)
I've scolded with babies from Bernard,
I've waited with the vamps from Vassar,
I've put on the swell with the girls from Cornell,
And I've kissed every co-ed at Dart.
But lately I've changed my opinion—
No longer these happen I adore,
I'm then with the belles of Wesley,
And I've parted for life with Bryn Mawr.
Take a tip from a man of experience:
Among the bourgeois there isn't a jewel
For the only real kind of a sweetheart,
Is the brave, defiant Rebel Girl.

Overwhelming Generosity

We clip the following from a metropolitan newspaper:

"George Bemis, Indianapolis engineer, made his last trip yesterday, before being retired. Bemis piloted his engine 53 years without one accident. The railway company has granted him a pension for the rest of his life, equivalent to half his present salary."

"Dja get that? Half his present salary. Yes! Three cheers for capitalism!"

LABOR PROVOCATEURS

We have often wondered what became of all the monsters and dragons that have preyed upon our ancestors in the prehistoric days. What became of them after they had severed terrestrial connections with this sublimar sphere of ours? We have taken a great deal of delight in supposing that in all probability they are burning in purgatory for thousands of years; but the head of our research department seems to differ with us. He claims that their souls have transmigrated and are now inhabiting the bodies of our labor spies. What say ye?

Due to an Overabundance of Space

we're compelled to print this:
Editor of the BOLCOMS: We wish to speak over your head to the members of your worthy party. We stolidly maintain that the admission of the bolshevized W. P. to the Labor Party will frighten the timid away.

Proof? Read the truth in the Sunday Times.

There's a write-up about the Board of Managers of the Cooperato Home of Small Salaried Girls. This board includes a Berwind, a Brokaw, a Burhard, also, a Drexel or two, a Du Pont, a Gold, an Iselin, besides, a Kountze, a Lewisohn, a Porter and a Scott. All multimillionaires, but it's not their fault—it's ours.

To quote: "The Cooperato had its humble beginning in 1893. A young girl earning \$4 a week could find no decent lodgings in N. Y. C. She applied to the Rev. J. A. B. Wilson, and he, after a long search, found a single room in a house on 14th St., where this girl could live on her meagre pay."

"Discovering, as he further studied the situation, that the need was great, he gathered a few people together and they opened a house on 14th St. for the small salaried girl."

"This was almost 30 years ago."

"The Cooperato now provides a pleasant, comfortable and cozy home for 60 girls, who pay from \$6 to \$9 a week."

This sane record of evolutionary accomplishment compares very favorably with our own, even the way we say it ourselves. We maintain that we must do nothing, i. e., to scare off this Society party of intelligent reformers.

The time will come when the Workers' Party will be admitted by us; but that time has not arrived yet. Yours for a 100 percent American Revolution,

Slaves Kneel and Berekovits,
Per M.C.X.

RATHER SERIOUS

With your kind permission, we will step out of our factious character for a moment and endeavor to register real honest-to-gods pathetic, worlument for the safety of our contributors. We haven't received from them more than three or four contributions for the past fortnight.

TITLELESS

We dreamed a dream last night. Sleep wrapped her magic cloak around us—carried us far away into space and dropped us "point blank" into the planet Mars.

"And what do you think we saw?"
"Dear old Woodrow peddling his '14 points' among the Marsians."

What a silly dream! . . .

Bolcomsly, IRV.

P.S.—Just saw in the paper that a New York physician brought back to life a child that was dead four days. S. P., rejoice! There may still be hope for you.

Proclamations in The Ruhr

The unity between the Communist workers of France and Germany in the joint struggle against the imperialist ventures in the Ruhr, is best shown in the accompanying proclamations that have appeared in the Communist publications of both countries.

TIME FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION

Paris, February 14, 1923.

To our Comrades, the Miners of the Ruhr:

The conflict between German and French imperialism has increased our misery. Since we are the ones who must suffer the consequences of this evil logic demands that we show solidarity in action. Soon the war between the capitalists of both countries will come to an end, and they will then unite to continue the offensive against the working class.

The hour has struck when we can no longer observe national boundaries. Now is the time for international action. The day is at hand when we must clearly see that capitalism is our only foe.

The fight that the French miners are preparing may pave the way to international action, exactly in the same way in which the entrepreneurs organization acts internationally. In the coming conflict there must be mutual faith and reliability between the workers of both lands. You establish these by acting unitedly with your French comrades.

We are conducting no political fight in spite of the impression which the bourgeois press seeks to give, but a struggle to improve our living conditions. Conscious of the needs of the present hour, you will understand that we must eliminate national prejudices, just as capitalism recognizes no boundaries. Our trust deserves your trust—our solidarity deserves your solidarity.

As much as cooperative organization will come of itself, your successful action will establish an insoluble Franco-German bloc.

The victory of the French miners will be your victory! May international solidarity triumph!

For the Executive Committee of the Miners' Unity League,

General Secretary: H. Delfosse.

APPEAL TO FRENCH RAILROADERS

Berlin, February 18, 1923.

To the Railroad Workers of Germany:

Comrades! For a long time the miners of the Saar district have been waging a battle for their bare existence. The French coal barons have forced likewise the French miners into the strike. About 300,000 miners of France the Saar and Lorraine, are prepared at heavy costs to carry on the struggle against their exploiters to a victorious outcome.

The French miners call upon the international proletariat for solidarity. French capitalists and their governments are attempting thru the import of coal from the occupied German area to strangle the strike and force the militant miners to their knees.

Railroad workers! You cannot and dare not permit this! The onslaught of French capitalists must crumble before the united front of the workers. We ask you, therefore, to heed the call of the French miners.

Not one carload of coal shall reach the strike district.

No scab coal shall be transported by you railroad workers.

The demand of the hour is:

Union of the French and German miners! Union of the German and French railroad workers for a combined struggle against international capitalism and its governments. Hail to solidarity! Long live the struggle of the international proletariat against the internationally organized exploiters!

National Committee of German Industrial Councils, Transportation Division.

The French Communist Party is carrying on a brave struggle against its imperialism. Marcel Cachin and other prominent party spokesmen are in prison. The Communist papers and headquarters are being regularly raided and great quantities of literature seized. But the fight goes on.

Palestine?—Sure!

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

If you were a little boy and a great big feller in a fine uniform (maybe a policeman) had come up to you and said "Kid, you go catch that little feller over there, and give him the licking of his life; knock his teeth out close up an eye, break his nose, swell his jaw, or finish him up one hundred percent if you like, and I'll give you this gold piece and put you in a uniform just like me!" and if you went and did all those things and more, and when you came back for your reward, this same promise-maker caught you by the collar, spit in your eye, and had a lot of fellows like himself come by to take a shot at you also, as if you were a public spittoon, say—How would you feel? We think you know exactly how.

Well—that's the way a lot of those Jewish super-Palestinian patriots and Socialist-Zionists must feel today, after reading Ronald Storrs' remarks in praise of Henry Ford.

Ronald Storrs—no Jewish name that—no. And he's Governor of Jerusalem. Sure! But we thought that was all right during the war as a promise when Britain needed soldiers and there were plenty of Jewish workmen to fall for it. Sure—Jerusalem will belong to the Jews! Come on, help us lick the Huns, and you'll see. . . .

Well, if they've eyes to see, they're seeing. And to add insult to injury, Brigadier General Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem under the British Mandate, winds up his visit to America with words of highest praise for Henry Ford—the Jew-hating, Jew-baiting, Henry Ford—whose vicious, virulent attacks, based upon lies and libels that not even one decent gentile of his own class could stomach, has made him one of the most hated men in America!

Governor Ronald Storrs of the Holy City came on a holy mission to America. He came to found the Pro-Jerusalem Society, and promptly interested in his holy project such unholly gentlemen as Henry Ford. You see, the project appeals to all who desire that Jerusalem should not be "vulgarized" or "modernized," who prefer not to have a trolley-line up the Mount of Olives, or destroy the "antique beauty and character" of the City. It must be maintained as a source of revenue. There is no surer means of raking in the shakels of hundreds of thousands of tourists, between Tut-an-kh-amen and a restored ancient Jerusalem great Britain need not do so badly in the Tourist business!

Are Jews members of the Pro-Jerusalem Society? Yes, oh yes. So are all other religions represented. You see, the idea is to make it non-sectarian. It wouldn't be fair to the others, would it? to leave it all to the Jews? . . . A sort of inter-allied con-

trol of Jerusalem which will give the Jews as much of a "look-in" as the inter-allied control of the Straits would give the Turks "freedom" in Turkey. The Jewish workers who entered the World War lured by British promises in the hope of establishing a workers' government in Palestine, have about the same chance of establishing such a government, as the Negroes a free Africa under Garvey's plan of putting Liberia in back for a few million American dollars.

Do the Zionists appreciate Storrs the Holy Governor, and all that he has done for them? On Tuesday, Feb. 20, when Storrs sailed, among those reported on the pier to see him off were "members of the Zion Committee in New York." Of course the "courteous farewell-wavers" didn't know that the departing guest they were speeding with all honor had sent the reporters ashore with a last interview in high praise of Henry Ford. . . . In other words, when he came to the pier they did not know that he would spit in their faces as they raised their eyes from the pier to the departing vessel which bore away beloved Britain's sacred, Holy City. But a Zionist leadership with any vision, understanding and self-respect would from the start have refrained from doing this tool of British Imperialism honor. It would not have to wait till it got an "eye-full" before getting a little vision.

If there are any radical members among the Zionists who have learned anything since 1918, they will force out of office these lickspittle officials who place their hopes for a free Palestine not in the power of an organized working class, but in the khaki clad charlatans tools of Imperialism who, when the promise falls due, spit in their faces, for payment.

Not only in Name, But in Actual Life, the International of the World's Working Class

By ARNE SWABECK

Delegate of the Trade Union Educational League to the Second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions

It is not only in name but in actual life that the Red Trade Union International has become an international of the working class in the full sense of the word. Its adherents are growing in numbers thruout Europe and the oriental countries as well as the American continent, and, whether organized in distinct revolutionary unions or combined as militant minorities within the old unions, these adherents are gradually being welded solidly together into one centralized compact body, all acting according to one definite policy. This was most forcefully demonstrated at the Second World Congress, held at Moscow

last year, where 125 delegates representing 42 countries has responded to the call and gathered to review the past activities and to lay the practical plans for future work.

This gathering reflected the variety of tendencies prevailing even within the militant revolutionary trade union movement, due to different conditions and traditions. But it was real proletarian in character; the drawing, spiritless, mentally bankrupt type of trade union bureaucracy being conspicuously absent. Yet the great fundamental principle of relentless struggle against capitalist exploitation has become the unifying factor which makes a cohesive movement possible. The terrible plight of the trade unions at present under the capitalist offensive and the traitorous conduct of their reactionary leaders, further aggravating the difficulties in order to play into the hands of their

capitalist benefactors and defeat the very purpose of unionism, has proven the correctness of the united front tactic and brought the delegates to unanimous agreement as to its future application.

From the report of the past activities of the Executive Bureau to the congress it became clear that it had not only accepted this united front tactic in theory but on several occasions seriously proposed to the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam to unite with them in an effective defensive struggle to protect the interests of the working class. The first time in September, 1921, when it called upon that body to organize a joint boycott against the Spanish white terror. Later, at the time of the impending split in the trade unions of France, it again called for a joint conference based upon proportional representa-

tion, to attempt to prevent the split. And again at the time of the lock-out of the metal workers of Great Britain it proposed a united front, pointing to the capitalist offensive and stating its serious desire to fight together with all workers regardless of political conceptions to resist this offensive, making definite proposals for the organization of joint action; and further declared its willingness to accept any proposals by the Amsterdam International which would prove an aid in the struggles of the workers. However, in each case the congress were in the negative. The congress decided to continue the policy of willingness to make common struggle in every fight with other working class organizations against capitalism.

The period since the first congress which had been characterized by the capitalist offensive had brought ter-

rible consequences to the organized workers.

In face of this serious situation the assembled delegates, despite their diversity of tendencies, quickly realized that trade union unity had to be restored even at the point of sacrifice or concessions on the part of the militants. It had to be carried further to its ultimate expression of a completely united front for defensive and offensive purposes. How could this united front be established capable of leading the working class onward to a full realization of all of its demands? This was one of the questions to which the congress had to find a practical solution and it set about its task diligently and earnestly.

The policy of secession formerly pursued by the rebels in the trade unions was drastically repudiated, as it would only result in isolation from

the masses. It was made a supreme duty of the militants to remain with the unions. They must carry on the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers who day by day will be driven by the capitalist oppression toward the position of the revolutionists and ready to accept their leadership. Only in this manner will it be possible to weld the labor union movement into a single fighting unit, capable of carrying on revolutionary struggle. But it must be equally as important for the militants to point out the partial nature of remedies based upon the immediate demands.

In countries where parallel unions exist, if adhering to the Red International they were instructed to unite, if only one adhered to the Red International, it was instructed to work jointly with the militant minor-

ities in the conservative unions for a complete realization of its program and for a speedy establishment of united front in all actions to defend the workers as a preliminary to obtaining organizational unity.

Not only were slogans proposed, issues upon which the united front proposed, such as active union struggle for the eight-hour day, increase of wages, defense of union rights, an union conditions, against the press, heavy taxation of the workers; but practical measures were proposed, such as organization and development of shop councils, organization and preparations for effective resistance against the onslaughts of employers and their organized strike-breaking agencies, organizations of special commissions, establishment of workers control of production, and seizure of factories to prevent the growing economic chaos.