



THE WORKER

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Bosses Plan New Attacks

Unite Labor's Forces in the Labor Party

Manifesto of the Workers Party of America

Workers and farmers of the United States! The workers—the producers—of this country stand before a great decision.

Shall the industrial workers and farmers unite their forces? Shall they form one great political organization of industrial workers and farmers to fight the political battles of these producers?

Shall a Labor Party be formed to carry on the struggle in the political arena to secure for the industrial workers and farmers more of what they produce than their labor—a higher standard of life, not only in the necessities of life food, clothing and homes to live in, but the opportunity for better education, for recreation, for enjoyment of all the good things of life.

The Farmer-Labor Party of the United States has called a great convention of labor to be held on July 3rd. To this convention it has invited all trade unions, all organizations of farmers, all labor political groups to send delegates in order to UNITE IN ONE GREAT POLITICAL PARTY OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND FARMERS THE FORCES OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Workers and the Government

Political parties exist to advance the interests of the groups they represent. Every struggle between economic groups becomes a political struggle. The power of the government is used by the group in power to strengthen its position and the competing group endeavors to wrest the governmental power from it.

The struggle of the industrial worker for better wages and working conditions is not only a struggle against the employers in the form of great capitalist organizations which own the industries. It is also a struggle against the government, for the capitalists have unchallenged control of the government whether the Republican or Democratic party is in power.

What happened when the coal miners went on strike to maintain their wages and to protect their organizations against the open shoppers? The government stepped in. The government in control of the capitalists, employers and serving the capitalist employers tried thru government commissions, injunctions, courts and soldiers to make the miners accept the terms of the bosses.

What happened when the railroad shopmen tried to prevent a reduction in their standard of living? They found that they had to fight the Railway Labor Board appointed by the government. They found a Daugherty injunction issued by a court of that government taking from them all rights of free speech, free press, freedom of assemblage and the right to organize to advance their common interests.

SURELY NO WORKER WHO THINKS CAN ANY LONGER BE IN DOUBT ABOUT THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES EXISTS. IT IS A STRIKE-BREAKING AGENCY FOR THE BOSSES. IT'S JOB IS TO MAKE THE WORKERS ACCEPT THE WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS WHICH THE BOSSES ARE READY TO GIVE THEM—AND TO USE INJUNCTIONS, COURTS AND EVEN SOLDIERS TO COMPEL THE WORKERS TO ACCEPT.

The Farmer and the Government

The government under control of the capitalists is just as definitely the enemy of the farmers.

The capitalists rob the industrial workers thru paying them low wages and compelling them to work under bad working conditions.

The capitalists rob the farmers thru exorbitant freight charges, thru heavy charges for storing and marketing goods, thru paying them low prices for what they produce and charging robber prices for what they must buy.

The capitalist bankers rob the farmers thru mortgages, thru the loans which they must have in order to get thru the bad part of the year.

Again it is the capitalist controlled government which is the greatest weapon of the capitalists in taking from the farmers what they produce. The government fixes freight rates in the interest of the railroads. Thru laws passed by Congress it gives the railroads great subsidies, such as the 6 per cent guarantee of earnings when the railroads were returned to private ownership. Thru farm credit laws and similar banking measures the government aids the capitalist bankers in robbing the farmers.

Workers in the factory and mine and workers on the land alike suffer thru the exploitation of the capitalists—exploitation in which they are assisted and which is upheld by the government.

Labor Divided

In the face of these conditions the forces of labor are divided. Some workers and farmers have supported the Republican Party and some the Democratic Party, to find that both parties served the capitalists. Other groups of workers and farmers have been divided into small, ineffective labor political groups.

Labor has no United Political Front—no organization uniting industrial workers and farmers into one solid, powerful, political organization to meet the parties of the capitalists and fight for the political interests of labor.

Workers and Farmers of the United States! THE TIME HAS COME TO UNITE LABOR'S FORCES IN A LABOR PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The experiences of the industrial workers and farmers have taught millions of these workers and farmers that they must unite politically in a party of labor, if their organizations are not to be crushed and their standard of living forced down.

As a result of these experiences there has grown up a great demand for the organization of a labor party. Trade unions representing nearly two million workers have endorsed the idea of independent political action by labor thru a labor party. The United Mine Workers of America, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, many of the railroad unions, are for the labor party.

Just recently the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, the West Virginia Federation of Labor, the California Building Trades Council, and the Buffalo Central Labor Council have endorsed the formation of a labor party. The convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party for July 3rd presents the opportunity to realize the demand of these millions of workers for the organization of the Labor Party.

Every trade union, every farmers organization, every political organization of labor, every fraternal and benefit organization made up of workers and farmers should send delegates to the July 3rd convention.

LABOR MUST UNITE POLITICALLY. The workers and farmers must challenge the rule of the great capitalists of Wall Street and make of the government an instrument to insure their well-being and a higher standard of life rather than an instrument to help the Wall Street capitalists amass greater and greater fortunes for themselves.

FORWARD TO THE LABOR PARTY! FORWARD TO THE RULE OF LABOR AND THE WORKERS REPUBLIC IN THE UNITED STATES.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary.

Socialists Desert United Front

Reject Plan to Build for Labor Party

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Two acts of its 11th Convention in New York City definitely fix the status of the Socialist Party in the American labor movement.

FIRST.—It rejected the invitation to the Labor Party Conference to be held in Chicago, July 3, at the same time renewing its allegiance to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, that last December took a stand against a "Labor Party".

SECOND.—It refused to repudiate any part of, or censure Abraham Cahan, of the Jewish (Socialist) Daily Forward, for making the most vile attack on Soviet Russia yet heard in this country.

The Socialist declaration on the "Labor Party" was a complete surrender to the most reactionary elements in the American labor movement, who dominated the Cleveland Conference, shut out the Workers Party delegates, and adopted a policy of boring from within the old parties. This position of the Cleveland Conference was recently re-stated by Arthur E. Holder, its new secretary, a Johnston man in the International Association of Machinists, who declared no effort would be made to organize a "Labor Party".

The Socialists thus take a stand against the militants in the American trade unions, who demand a "Labor Party", conclusively shown by the recent Trade Union Educational League referendum of 32,000 local unions.

Gag Censure of Cahan

James O'Neal, editor of "The Call" and Daniel W. Hoan, the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, assisted by a parliamentary ruling of Chairman Cameron King, of California, were able to gag the attempted censure of Cahan.

It isn't a spirited gathering this 11th National Socialist Convention. There isn't a delegate left, as there was not in Cleveland, Ohio, one year ago, among the many who fought in the years 1919, 1920 and 1921, to win the party for the Communist International. The result is that most actions are unanimous, with hardly a whisper from any radically minded delegate. Thus, the Workers Party appeal for a United Front was rejected by Delegate O'Neal, of the resolutions committee, without a word in opposition, not even from delegates like King, of California, who had participated in such a united

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Howat Likes "The Worker"

Alexander Howat, the militant spokesman of the Kansas coal miners, says:

"I feel lost when I do not get my copy each week of 'The Worker.' It is one of the best labor papers I have ever seen. It certainly has a great bunch of fine and able writers. Every line of it is interesting, giving just the sort of reading matter that the workers of this country ought to have. Workers everywhere ought to read 'The Worker.'"

Set June 4th for Sentence of Ruthenberg

(By Federated Press)

CHICAGO.—"There is only one fixed date on the court calendar in the Michigan Communist cases," announces the Labor Defense Council in setting at rest rumors circulating thru the labor press regarding the next move at St. Joseph, Mich. "C. E. Ruthenberg, convicted of criminal syndicalism, has been notified to appear before Judge C. E. White for sentence June 4." At that time, under Michigan practice, the defense will be permitted to move for leave to carry the case direct to the state supreme court on a bill of exceptions. If Judge White grants this motion sentence on Ruthenberg may be postponed until the higher court has heard the case.

"No other case arising out of the department of justice raid on the convention in August, 1922, has been fixed for trial." The Labor Defense Council is pushing the defense campaign with energy, and will be ready for the next attack by the Michigan prosecution.

Rumors printed in some of the eastern labor papers had quoted Asst. Atty. Gen. O. L. Smith of Michigan to the effect that Robert Minor will go to trial June 4 and that Wm. Z. Foster, freed by a hung jury, would be retried. Another rumor spoke of an intention by the U. S. government to take over prosecution of the cases.

Speaking of "poison pens," the worst yet is the editorial poison poured forth by the prostituted pen pushers on the kept newspapers of the country, not only against the Russian Soviet Republic, but against the militant labor movement everywhere. A strong Communist press will provide the antidote.

Johnston Hits Gompers Defy to Militants

(By Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—The action taken by the executive council, American Federation of Labor, to compel central labor unions and local bodies affiliated with the Federation to boycott the Russian government is receiving criticism in labor circles here.

"I do not know what Seattle did to arouse the council to take action against it but the council's pronouncement would seem to place the Federation in the position of establishing a sort of censorship over central labor unions and local unions. I would not say it was wise action," said William H. Johnston, president, international machinists' union, which has gone on record favoring recognition of Russia.

"I do not approve of the council's statement that the Russian government is trying to destroy the American trade union movement. Mr. Gompers has many views with which I do not agree.

"The executive council's action will not affect the machinists. It cannot be applied to our organization or any of the international bodies."

Seattle Labor Is Hopeful

SEATTLE.—The officers of the Seattle Central Labor Council are confident that a satisfactory adjustment with the A. F. of L. can be arrived at," says Sec'y. James A. Duncan. "This will remove any chance of the revoking of the charter and without any sacrifice of any principles or convictions on the part of affiliated unions regarding questions not strictly trade union in their nature."

The central body's charter which is threatened by the A. F. of L. executive council for alleged radical attitudes was revoked about ten years ago in a dispute over the affiliation of a local union but was re-issued. Three local unions are now affiliated that are not in the A. F. of L. Complaint against this is enumerated among the other causes of displeasure at Washington.

Duncan indicates that attempts to dictate the thoughts of local Seattle unionists will meet a warm resistance.

Barbusse Joins Communists

The Soviet Russian Group of Proletarian Writers some time ago sent a message of greeting to M. Henri Barbusse, of France, in connection with the announcement of his entry into the Communist Party, and invited him to contribute regularly to Russian literary and artistic journals.

Had sent me one at the same time I took it up at the next meeting. We had quite a time, but after all the discussion not a soul voted against it. Before it was put to a vote, the secretary said: 'I have orders from — that no resolution should be read if it does not bear the endorsement of the A. F. of L.' One of the members replied: 'If we wait for Gompers we will wait from now on.' Let me know if you received the ballot for we want to check up on our officers."

If every local union had a few militants to "check up on" the officials like this one had, there is little doubt that a few thousand more or

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Big Business Rallies Forces for Action Against Workers

By JAY LOVESTONE
Author of "The Government—Strikebreaker"

Close to 7,000 representatives of every phase of finance, industry and commerce have just adjourned their gatherings in the spacious Hippodrome and the gorgeous Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. They assembled at the conventions of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

The delegates to the Convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce represented 1,480 trade and local commercial organizations; 14,500 persons, firms, and corporations holding individual membership and a general membership of 750,000.

In the Manufacturers' Convention there were represented 312 of the most powerful manufacturers' associations in this country.

The delegates to these conventions did not gather to talk. They were the elite of our capitalist class and they attended to their business in excellent fashion. Their business was to devise ways and means of increasing profits, intensifying the exploitation of the workers and crushing Labor beyond any recovery. The speakers hit straight from the shoulder.

In both Conventions the spokesmen of the employing class consciously and otherwise behaved as if their organizations constituted the bridge between the general mass of people and the regularly constituted Governmental authorities. The atmosphere in both gatherings was surcharged with a spirit of insatiable hatred of and arrogant hostility to Labor.

Bless Apostles of Exploitation

Lewis E. Pierson, President of the Merchants' Association of New York bemoaned the fact that "the nation as a whole is divided into groups and classes, each seeking to perpetuate its own prosperity."

It was left to President Julius H. Barnes, just returned from the World Chamber of Commerce Convention at Rome and had been sprinkled

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Capitalists on Offensive

By JAY LOVESTONE

In the mother-tongue of American Big Business, there are no such words as "watchful waiting" and delay. Our capitalists are pursuing a strategy which is based on the principle that the best defense is a smashing offensive.

This is the outstanding impression I received as an observer of our captains of finance and industry at work in their national conventions.

with the holy water of Fascism by Mussolini to strike the keynote of the proceedings. Barnes extolled the "enterprising spirit" of American individualism. He attributed to this spirit the development of America's giant industries. A vicious attack on Soviet Russia took a good deal of time from Barnes.

Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, followed Barnes. Hoover waxed even more eloquent over American individualism and the menace of Government ownership.

J. E. Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, sworn enemy of the workers

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Peaceful Meeting of Amalgamated Clothing Workers Attacked in 100 per cent Kansas City

(Special to "The Worker")

KANSAS CITY, MO.—The American Legion has begun an extensive campaign to have the American Flag displayed daily on buildings and homes. It was suggestively hinted that all not complying with this dictum would be branded as "Reds."

It is surmised, should the American Legion USE THIS METHOD OF CANVASSING the patriots of Kansas City, it may result in something of a shock, as the homes and buildings not displaying the flag daily will far outnumber those displaying it. Their ingenuity in devising this ORIGINAL SURVEY is to be complimented as it far excels Kaiser Burns' clumsy efforts of the past and present.

The dealers evidently have an over-abundant supply of American flags on hand, hence the "patriotic" interest in the disposal and distribution of the flags by the American Legion—Secret Service Organization, and those it represents.

It has become apparent that this patriotic Secret Organization is stimulating the activities of the local police department and is in close cooperation with them in their "war" on alleged "Reds."

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers on strike here were holding a peaceful meeting of membership only, when they were suddenly interrupted by the police and agents of this Secret Organization. Three large patrol buses were parked down stairs and obviously many arrests were anticipated in this "framed raid." The Clothing Workers, having felt the iron heel of the bosses ever since the beginning of their strike, and having six fellow-workers to defend because of arrest while lawfully picketing, were infuriated by this insufferable invasion of their rights and demanded explanation for this high-handed police activity.

The fascists, finding that it would be somewhat embarrassing to explain wholesale arrests of "Simple Trade Unionists" in legal and lawful meeting, (no Trotskyes nor Lenins being present, and no other local radical celebrity at hand on whom to pounce) departed in disappointment.

As it now stands, sheer desperation may drive this American Legion Secret Service Organization out of business unless it justifies its existence by the manufacture of "dangerous prominent radicals" whom it can arrest and thereby coddle the Employing Public's Fancy and thus maintain its right to that paternal support in its "notoriously patriotic" activities.

THIS ISSUE IS No. 277

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Farewell Rally for Ruthenberg! Awaiting Sentence at St. Joseph, Mich. Attend! Wednesday, May 30, 8 p. m. WEBSTER HALL, 119 East 11th St.

Iron Heel of Master Class in Ohio Valley

(Special to "The Worker")

By H. E. KEAS

WHEELING, W. Va. — John Buksa, a member of Yorkville, O., local union of United Mine Workers and secretary of the South Slavic branch of the Workers Party in the same locality, has been convicted here under the West Virginia "Red Flag" law, of "distributing seditious literature."

This vicious statute was passed by the West Virginia state legislature in 1919, and Comrade Buksa's case is the first to be tried under it. It almost, tho not quite, prohibits the working class from even thinking about any change in the forms of government.

Judge Alan H. Robinson presided. With the exception of one or two rulings, his attitude was fair during the course of the trial. But the prosecuting attorney, Carl G. Bachman, and his assistant, Austin V. Wood, were a real treat during the course of the trial, and the writer suggests that they be placed in the private zoo of Ole Hanson, of Seattle fame.

Buksa's arrest occurred March 9th, as he was alighting from a street car, on which he had come from the Ohio side of the river. While on the street

Socialists Desert United Front and Back Cahan's Stand Against Soviets

(Continued from page One.)

front in his own state. The Chicago Labor Party Conference followed a like course.

The vote for maintaining affiliation with the Cleveland Conference was 38 to 12. Those dozen votes represent the efforts of a few organizers, speakers and Jimmy Higgins of the Socialist Party to maintain its "purity." They didn't worry about the ostracism of the Workers Party, about Berger's trading with La Follette, of the attacks on Soviet Russia, they could overlook all these things if they could only maintain the isolation of the Socialist Party.

"They ask us to organize a Labor Party," said Delegate Leo M. Harkins, of Camden, New Jersey. "If we want to organize something, let us organize the Socialist Party."

"We are going to be the left wing, the steering committee of this new movement," pledged Delegate William Karlin, of New York. "When the big sweep comes, we want to be in on the stampede."

This stampede, of course, was to be led by the Cleveland Conference. Delegate William A. Toole, of Maryland, held forth the startling view that the Socialist Party was stronger today than in 1912, when the party had a million votes and more than 100,000 members.

Delegate Otto Branstetter, of Illinois, the party's secretary, assured the delegates that there is no wide-

spread demand today for a Labor Party.

"There will be no demand for a Labor Party until the treasuries of the great unions and their official journals are opened to and at the disposal of a Labor Party," he said. "Altho there is no doubt that we will ultimately succeed in the organization of a Labor Party."

He declared the proposed Farmer-Labor Party Conference in Chicago, in July, to be only a "two-by-four half-baked effort at starting a Labor Party."

Branstetter then made the humorous claim that the Socialist Party was the only political organization that had the support of the labor unions. Pat Quinlan, a New York Socialist emigre to Buffalo, announced that he had a talk with Johnston, presumably William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists, with the result that he was for the Cleveland Conference. Not one of the delegates stressed the need of united political action of the workers in the present industrial crisis confronting America's workers. The question was merely one of "purity" versus "contamination," and the convention voted to subject the Socialist Party to any contamination with the old parties that the Johnstons and the Keatings might demand, at the same time sabotaging efforts to start a real Labor Party. The Socialist Party is out to capture the reactionary labor leaders by surrendering to them.

Lee to the Front

It was Delegate Algernon Lee, of New York City, who successfully engineered the fight against sending delegates to the Chicago Farmer-Labor Party Conference. It was proposed to send three delegates. Instead Lee brought in a motion to have a commission of three draw up a rejection to the Farmer-Labor Party invitation. He outlived what such a rejection should contain.

Delegate Lee said the statement would claim that the Socialist Party shares with the Farmer-Labor Party the recognition of the importance of uniting in a Labor Party. But that it believes, in order to realize this goal, the support of the principal unions of the country is needed. Lee said that candor compels the Socialists to admit that the time when this support may be expected has not arrived. He claimed that state conferences urged by the Cleveland Conference can be made the real basis for a Labor Party. The Farmer-Labor Party invitation was thereupon rejected without a dissenting vote.

The effort to ensure Cahan manifested itself in Oneal's report for the resolutions committee. An attack on Communist activities in the United States was also tagged onto the same resolution. In opening his tirade against the attempt to ensure Cahan, Oneal claimed he was in disagreement with the editor of the Forward. But, he claimed, Cahan had been provoked into making his attack by the activities of the Communists during the past two years in New York City. Then, to show his disagreement with Cahan, Oneal went him almost one better in his own anti-Communist slanders. In one of his oratorical flights this So-

cialist intellectual fixed the number of theses coming out of the Soviet Republic at 246,000. This had all caused Cahan to allow his emotions to get the better of his judgment, even as it worked out in Oneal's case. Evidently the emotions of the delegates were also touched and the apologetic resolution demanding recognition of Soviet Russia went thru without the clause censuring Cahan attached. The vote was unanimous.

But along toward the end of the day's session, Delegate Livermore, of Massachusetts, got the floor, stated he knew nothing about parliamentary procedure, and asked Chairman King if he could put in a resolution. King allowed Livermore to read his resolution which was as follows:

"Whereas, That part of Abraham Cahan's address denouncing the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is not in accord with the stand of the Socialist Party.

"Whereas, The Socialist Party aims to unite all the working class forces of the world for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth,

"Be It Resolved, That the Convention go on record as repudiating that part of Cahan's address attacking the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic."

The resolution was signed by Delegate Donovan of Massachusetts with Livermore. Delegate Donovan moved the adoption of the censure of Cahan and then made a speech in behalf of the resolution. She pointed out that she had picked up the papers of the poison press attacking the Workers Republic, on the basis of Cahan's declarations, and claimed she did not think this was the position of the Socialist Party.

Delegate May Harris Mainland offered an amendment that would tend to promote peaceful relations between Communists and Socialists. Delegate Abraham Shipiloff, challenged the amendment as not in order. But Chairman King held it was in order.

At this point Delegate Algernon Lee, one of prospective candidates for editor of the New York Call, moved to proceed with the regular order, which was the report of the constitution committee. But the rebellion was getting under way and this effort to squelch censure of Cahan was defeated.

But the outbreak soon spent its force. It lacked leadership. When Delegate Hoan, Milwaukee's Socialist mayor, moved to table the entire matter, and the vote was taken, Chairman King seized the opportunity to declare the motion tabled. There were a few calls for a division, but Chairman King ignored these, and the 11th National Socialist Convention was on record endorsing the views of Cahan in attacking the Russian Soviet Republic.

The plea of Delegate Donovan, that "we do all in our power to aid the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia," had been ground into the mire of Socialist reaction.

It is rather peculiar that the effort of Delegate Donovan and Livermore to secure a repudiation of the Cahan speech, was completely ignored in the New York Call's news of the convention. Cahan endorsed his sentiments about the weakness of the Socialist Party by failing to have any news of the Saturday's proceedings appear in the Sunday issue of his paper.

It was Delegate Albert Weisbrod, Boston, Mass., fraternal representative from the Young People's Socialist League, who told the delegates that they were greatly mistaken if they thought that Debs' tour of the country would rebuild the Socialist Party. He declared any new members secured would be scared away by their first attendance at a Socialist Party branch meeting. Another delegate from Massachusetts confessed that all the young people had gone into the Communist movement.

While these discussions were going on in the convention hall, Eugene V. Debs arrived in New York City from Rochester, and went to the Breslin Hotel, where he was interviewed by a score of newspapermen from the capitalist press.

"I don't know what the future has in store for the Workers Party," he told them. "Perhaps the Workers Party is right. If it is, and time will tell, then I will be glad to join it and give it my whole-hearted support."

Stop! Look! Listen! Come!

Be sure to attend our glorious

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on SATURDAY

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Don't fail to come!

Bring your friends along!

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Only 25c admission.

Abolish Child Labor, Young Workers Urge

(By Federated Press.)

CHICAGO.—Amnesty, abolition of child labor, opposition to American fascism and to mob rule by the more violent American Legion posts—were among the demands of the Young Workers League in second annual convention here. Greetings to Russia were sent and the present fraternal affiliation with the Young Communist International renewed. Fifty delegates from both coasts and intermediate points assembled for the opening of the three-day convention, Seattle, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Chicago, Gary, South Bend, Ind., Bellaire, O., New York, and New England industrial towns were represented.

A NEW COMRADE

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

Six weeks ago, somewhere in Massachusetts, Comrade James P. Cannon got hold of Comrade Florence Barnes and three other comrades unorganized like herself and helped them form an English Branch of the Workers Party. She became the secretary, for the other three, which have since grown to eight.

In this short period the Branch has given a ball which helped to raise money for the work, and has held two successful mass meetings. It



FLORENCE BARNES

has also organized a Trade Union Educational League group, and has sent a representative to the New York TUEL Conference.

Comrade Barnes says, "I don't know much about theory yet, or party tactics, but I believe in learning thru doing. Some day I hope to be able to get up in meeting and introduce a speaker, or even learn to make a little speech myself."

Comrade Barnes is the daughter of Mrs. Harriet D'Orsay, who was a member of the S. P. in pre-Communist days, and never yellow. Today, when S. P.-ites meet our new member and upbraid her for not joining the "party your mother stood by" (Mrs. D'Orsay died two years ago) Comrade Barnes replies that she joined the only party that stands by the principles her mother stood for.

Comrade Barnes is a proletarian mother who has raised and supported a son and a daughter from boyhood by her own labor. The young daughter is a member of the Branch, and the son, only sixteen, will shortly succeed in getting himself and several other youngsters organized into a Branch of the Young Workers' League. The children have a step father, Mrs. Barnes, Comrade, hopes that some day Mr. Barnes will also join the Branch. "I've made a start," she confided to me, "I've started him reading the Liberator. He thinks it's Great!"

Farmers for Labor Party

Editor, The Worker:—I am very much interested in your Labor Party discussion in "The Worker," and also in other papers. It certainly will be a success because there is necessity for it. Even some of the farmers would join a movement of this kind.

The Nonpartisan League is dead, of course. Having spent six years in several states as an organizer for the Nonpartisan League, I am convinced that the farmer must be organized together with the city worker along class lines. Times are advantageous for this because 90 per cent of the farmers are bankrupt and many of them are losing respect for property (capitalistic) rights.

We should be able to get 4000 farmers in North Dakota to definitely join a Labor Party before the next presidential election. If this proportion can be secured in the other states, we will have for the whole country 340,000 farmers to support the industrial workers in their political struggles against capitalism.—A. K. Fargo, N. D.

The Great American Shell Game

By LUDWIG LORE

In spite of the intense excitement that accompanied the last day of its session, the New York State Legislature accomplished nothing that was worthy of serious comment. It went into office with an extra good measure of liberal promises. Its record has been the usual one of clever maneuvering to avoid putting these promises into actual fulfillment, nipping every attempt at progressive legislation in the bud.

The exciting show that was staged over the recall of the Mullan-Gage law had only one significance—it gave the more discerning an opportunity to view the motives and the influences that dominate all activity in Albany a little more closely, to see a little more clearly the personal interests that dominate so much of our state legislation.

It is a well known fact that Smith and his followers in the legislature were elected into office in the last election on a strictly anti-prohibition platform. The repeal of the Mullan-Gage act became, therefore, the dominant question before the legislature during the past session. Miller, Smith's opponent, the personally a "wet," subordinated his personal views to his party platform, the more willingly, perhaps, because his chief hope of success lay with the farmer element up-state, which is notoriously in favor of the strict enforcement of the prohibition measure.

Nevertheless, Smith and his colleagues showed a marked reluctance to approach this exceedingly troublesome problem. On the contrary, they were so obviously inclined to shirk their duty to their electorate, that their republican opponents felt called upon to bring them to terms.

Not that the latter have had occasion to change their position. But they were astute enough to appreciate the difficult position into which the Democrats, and particularly Governor Smith, had placed themselves. Smith has conscientious scruples against an extended term in the gubernatorial chair. He is most emphatically in the field for a presidential nomination. This fact, however, makes him very reluctant to take a position that may cost him the support of the South, which, because of its disfranchised negroes, is still practically wholly democratic. Mr. Smith is therefore playing his game with the utmost care, for he realizes that one false move may easily end his usefulness as presidential candidate.

Let us see what happened. The democratic Senate presented a clean bill of health by adopting the repeal motion, relying upon the Republicans to defeat it in the Assembly, thus saving the democratic administration from the stigma of having refused to support the national prohibition amendment. But the Republicans were equally eager to establish an alibi. They, too, are looking forward to the presidential campaign, and desire nothing more ardently than to discredit Governor Smith, who is undoubtedly a redoubtable opponent. For this reason they are

Growing Poverty in Germany

By ISRAEL AMTER

(Our European Staff Correspondent)

Germany's workers are steadily being impoverished. Despite the fact that the mark was stabilized at about 22,500 to the dollar, the cost of living continued to mount, while wages hardly crept forward. Profits increase, while children grow paler. Dividends grow and twenty-five more men and women, hungry and desperate, commit suicide!

The workers complain and the Social-Democratic coalition government admits its impotence to change value, but the "Vorwaerts" merely shudders and requests the capitalists to be more temperate.

Only one body has been able to aid the German workers, at least to some degree. The Betriebsraete—the Factory Councils—which are greatly under Communist influence, have taken the matter in hand, and have forced the dealers to lower their prices.

That the impoverishment of the German worker is not due to the "villainy" of the Entente and particularly to France, may be seen in the following facts. There has been a steady diminution in the area devoted to the cultivation of the principal grains. The meadows have increased from 15.9 per cent of the total area to 17.9 per cent. According to official statistics, the decrease in the cultivated territory is greatest in those parts of Germany in which large farms predominate. The cultivation of wheat, rye, barley and oats has steadily diminished since 1919.

This has enabled the peasants and landowners to obtain high prices for food, altho the scarcity has been most harmful at a time when the German worker is hardest pressed. The coal production per man has diminished. Despite the employment of a larger number of men (150,000), despite a large amount of overtime, the efficiency per man has decreased from 972 kilos in 1913 to 580 in 1922. In the meantime, by raising the prices sky-high, the coal barons have earned fortunes.

The production of iron and steel has improved; transportation and navigation are on the upgrade, despite the many impediments Germany has to contend with. Building is in a serious plight, owing to very little being done, and not even repair work being undertaken. Savings dropped from a value of 930 millions gold marks in 1919 to about 100 millions in 1922.

German capital is unable to feed its workers. Hunger and misery are giving great impetus to the rebellious spirit of the workers. The greed of the German capitalists, the indifference and treachery of the Social-Democrats, and the cowardice and unwillingness of the trade union leaders to make a fight, are opening the eyes of the workers. Bolshevism is no longer a bugaboo. While the condition of the German worker is steadily deteriorating, that of the

T.U.E.L. Hits Bitter Strife of the Bakers

The bitter strife existing between the Baker's American Federation of Labor and Independent locals, is typical of the senseless struggle afflicting the workers in modern American industry.

The basic cause of these differences is the existence of rival organizations, each of which naturally seeks to survive, sometimes at the expense of the other.

The situation is further complicated by the typical old style leader, continually playing on the prejudices of the rank and file, stirring their worst passions so that any rebellion aimed at them would be diverted to the rival union. This is being carried to an unbearable extreme. The disgraceful name calling and destructive abuse taking place at some of the "Bakers' meetings, is destroying the morale of the rank and file.

While this continues the Bosses laugh in their sleeves and the industry remains very much unorganized.

Our old style reactionary leaders have done nothing and will do nothing, to remedy this intolerable condition.

The actual situation must be made clear to the rank and file. A leaflet has already been issued by the T. U. E. L. Bakers' Section; which sets forth:

1. TEMPORARY ADJUSTMENT: A local settlement of an agreement between our warring locals. This temporary agreement should have its roots in a thorough understanding of the rank and file.

2. FINAL ADJUSTMENT: A national amalgamation of the International Unions involved in this dispute. Any local settlement arrived at is only temporary in character, and is little more than a first aid measure. The sole practical solution, and the only way that the Bakers can secure an united front and put an end to this ruinous jurisdictional war, is by amalgamating their respective International Unions.

On the basis of this program a continual barrage of publicity must be trained on this situation, every member of the various organizations involved, must become aware of the condition prevailing. Every office in the unions should be filled, not by those who seek to sabotage a settlement, but by progressives who really represent the rank and file and who accept this basis of settlement.

The militants must play a leading part in forcing a settlement, they should carry on a ceaseless agitation in the locals, district councils, etc. At the same time they should not lose sight of the national settlement.

One of the unions involved is committed by resolutions passed in its convention, to the principle of amalgamation. The other organizations should also be committed to amalgamation, and in line with the recent action of many international conventions, the officers should be instructed to immediately get in conference, to bring about real amalgamation in this great basic industry. The militants in the Bakers Union must express the desires and aspirations of the rank and file, and with the aid of our press lead this internal warfare into constructive channels.

The Government-STRIKEBREAKER

By JAY LOVESTONE

AN ARSENAL OF STARTLING FACTS ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S STRIKE-BREAKING ACTIVITIES

AN INTRIGUING STORY OF THE GREAT TEXTILE, MINE, AND RAILWAY STRIKES

Every worker, every trade unionist, every member of every labor organization must get this book in order to be able to fight effectively in the great struggle against the employers!

This book travels on the hard road of cold, authoritative economic, political, and industrial facts, it is a live, thrilling story, of the heroic battles for freedom fought by the American workers.

THIS BOOK TELLS:

HOW the Government engineered and organized the last great Open-Shop Drive to smash the unions and force intolerable working and living conditions on Labor.

HOW the farming masses and ex-soldiers were defrauded by the powerful bankers and the Government.

HOW the textile workers were evicted, jailed, and shot down.

HOW the miners waged their heroic battles against their exploiters. The true Story of Herrin.

HOW the Government broke the Railway Shopmen's Strike.

HOW the Courts protected the Rich and prosecuted the Poor.

HOW the Supreme Court has put itself at the helm of all strike-breaking agencies in the country.

HOW the bosses use the army to crush the workers fighting for even the barest necessities of life.

HOW an "Invisible Government" has been built up against the workers and farmers by the Employer's Association, the Ku Klux Klan, etc.

HOW the Press aids the employers attacking the workers and farmers.

HOW martial law is being fastened on the workers thru "Government by Injunction."

HOW new chains are being forged against the workers so as to rob them of every vestige of the right to organize and to freedom of speech and press.

READ THESE ASTOUNDING FACTS

All workers who want to be equipped with the most recent authoritative facts of the class struggle in America, who want the knowledge that will enable them to take their place in the struggle against employing-class tyranny and exploitation, must secure a copy of THE GOVERNMENT-STRIKEBREAKER—a stirring study of the class war in America.

Cloth-bound, 368 pages, \$1.50; wholesale, \$1.10 per copy.

WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, New York City.

THE LABOR HERALD

Call at Book Shop or Industrial Department, 208 E. 12th St., for your May issue of the

LABOR HERALD

Hardy Writes on Strike of the Seamen

By GEORGE HARDY

The seamen's strike called by the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union is still on, notwithstanding that every agency has been used to break the strike from bootleg whisky to shanghaiing. However, many ships swing leisurely at their anchors in New York harbor, while the strikers hold their mass-meetings daily.

The strikers are demanding, more seriously, the release of all political prisoners. It is unfortunate that this demand could not be executed by a united action of all mariners. The M. T. W. has already been responsible for the increased wages offered which are from \$80 to \$100 in place of \$40 to \$65. But the strikers regard these as scab wages, intended ultimately to defeat the strikers, by refusal of recognition of the union. They know the shipowner would return to the old scale as soon as conditions warrant, if it is not won by organization.

The International Seamen's Union continues, with a skeleton of a union, to allow its members to work. The uneducated members are also signing in ships at increased wages. Thus no united effort is in evidence. Further, Andrew Furuseth, under date of May 4th, where he states he has written the President of the United States asking the American Secret Service "be employed to make a sweeping investigation" into American Marine services, and that American vessels now are manned by radicals.

This, at a time, when all the energies of organized labor should be used in organizing the unorganized and getting unity of conflicting groups, with solidarity, ashore and afloat.

The political phase of this strike is emphasized by a demand in California for the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalist Law that has, and is sending many militant workers to prison for 14 years. The strike bulletins show 95 per cent out on strike in San Pedro, Cal., with the port delegate and several strikers under arrest for daring to revolt against acceptance of insufferably low wages.

Internationally, the seamen are restless. The Belgian strike of railwaymen, telegraphers and freight-handlers has spread to the seamen. Red Star Liners are held up, and the British sailors are deserting their ships because the traitorous Havelock Wilson has again accepted arbitrarily a cut of \$5 a month, without submitting it to the membership of the union. The Red International transport committees are now holding mass meetings in Great Britain protesting against the reduction and calling on the sailors to join the rank and file councils to gain control of the union.

The latest adherent to the International Seamen's Section of the Red International Transport Workers' is the formation in Great Britain of the International Oriental Seafarers' Union. Their aims are political and economic. They have taken a great step forward, for their demands are (first) "equal wages and conditions as applies to Europeans," (second) "full economic, political and social freedom"; (third) "an ultimate aim of One International Union for all seafarers, with affiliation to the R. L. U."

Responding to the law of natural development the International Marine Workers' Amalgamation Committee which will aim at uniting all the existing marine unions in the United States into one Industrial Union, will co-operate internationally, with all militant organizations and minorities. When the present strike is over we are hoping that all will have learned a lesson for more solidarity, and that the I. W. W. marine workers will join the Transport Section of the Red International.

HELP!

America is going to the dogs. The favorite daughter of a prominent Detroit millionaire has married her father's gardener, and the wife of a Canadian Pacific railroad official has been fined \$50 for simple larceny in department store.

"To us our daughter is dead," the millionaire's wife proclaims to the press.

"This is a thunderbolt out of a clear sky!" the railroad official exclaimed as he paid his wife's fine. There is some consolation in those utterances. But what are we coming to when our best people will act like that?

"UNDERGROUND RADICALISM"

AN OPEN LETTER TO EUGENE V. DEBS

By JOHN PEPPER

Debs has been an opponent of the Workers Party upon some tactical problems. Yet he is nearer to an agreement with its revolutionary principles than he is with the policies and tactics of the Socialist Party in which he holds membership and for which he is now speaking and writing. The whole question of underground parties, tactics, and the putting into effect of revolutionary principles is discussed in this little pamphlet which is addressed in a friendly spirit to Debs; the great warrior.

10c per copy In lots of ten or more 6c.

Order from: The Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, N. Y. C.

Labor Press Aids Exposure of Burns Detective Agency

The labor press is taking up the fight of "The Worker" in exposing the William J. Burns International Detective Agency. Prominent among these publications are the Butte, Mont. Bulletin and the Terre Haute, Ind. Advocate.

The Butte Bulletin, edited by William F. Dunne, is the official organ of the Montana State Federation of Labor, the Metal Trades Council of Butte, the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, the State Metal Trades Council and the Montana World War Veterans. It announces these exposures as the "most sensational in years."

The Terre Haute Advocate is owned and published by the Vigo County, Ind., Central Labor Union, which declares, "The facts are known to the government authorities, but this spy is allowed his liberty while he frames dozens of workers for alleged crimes against the government."

This week's installment shows how the Burns Agency was not above using false passports when the occasion required, proving that Mr. Burns himself knew of this feature of his Agency's work.

The Burns Agency Uses False Passports

By ROBERT MINOR

False passports were used by the William J. Burns International Detective Agency to carry on the spying activities of the German Imperial Government in this country. This was the subject of additional exposures in the investigation carried on incidentally to the effort to revoke the license of the Burns Agency in New York City.

It was in this investigation that Norman T. Bailey, who had been the London manager for the Burns Detective Agency, testified on July 12, 1917, in part as follows:

"I conferred with Mr. Burns in his office in the Woolworth Building the first time I came over and we discussed the matters, and as I was leaving the office, Mr. Burns called me back and he said, 'When are you going back, Bailey?' 'Well,' I said, 'now.' I said, 'I want to go back on Saturday.' He says, 'We are trying hard to get a German over the other side, and we are having considerable difficulty getting a passport.' He says, 'You see Smith, the assistant manager, and he will tell you all about it.' I saw Smith.

Q. Who was Smith?

A. Irving Smith. He is a detective in New York City.

Q. And Smith at that time was what in Burns' office?

A. He was an assistant manager.

Q. And Mr. Burns referred you to him and told you that he would tell you all about it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see him, following Mr. Burns' instructions?

A. Yes, sir. Mr. Smith told me that he was trying to get a fictitious passport to a German over on the other side, and that they thought I could possibly take this man over with me, that I would sort of allay suspicion and I could get him thru without any trouble. I had this conversation with Mr. Burns. Mr. Burns

also asked me the same questions, if this man could go back with me that it would sort of allay suspicion in getting him thru into England.

Q. Was your business in New York terminated before the fictitious passport was obtained?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you return to England?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you subsequently learn thru the press some months later the occurrence in connection with the name of Captain Boy-Ed?

A. I read an account in the paper where some man had been persuaded by his fiancée to make a confession to the United States Government that he had been mixed up in getting fictitious passports, passports to get Germans into England. This was in all the London papers, and it started me thinking, and I figured out as a British subject what sort of a chance I would have stood if I had taken this man over. They would have stood me up against the wall of the Tower and I would have gone just the same as those other—

Q. And what did you thereupon do?

A. I made up my mind to leave the Burns agency.

Q. Did you leave it?

A. Yes, sir.

Help "The Worker" Find the Worst Boss in the U. S. A.

Editor, Worst Boss Stories: I am now working for the worst boss I ever had. The father was bad, but his heir, the son, is worse.

The firm is one of the biggest wholesale egg houses in the city. I am an egg-candler. The business makes money hand over fist, but the conditions under which we candlers work are awful. The candling room is stuck away behind everything. A breath of fresh air has never got into this room since it was built. There is not a window in the place. Pitch ranker poison. The stink couldn't be smelled up by a million men. These cans, all moldy and maggoty, are sent to the freezers. They are sold when frozen—no smell then.

Of course there are health inspectors. But our salesman, who sells these cans to the baking trade, is an ex-inspector himself. He has made all arrangements between the health inspectors and the boss. I see the inspectors coming in. They get no further than the office on their way to the candling room.

"Well, how are your eggs today?" "Aw, all right," answers the boss, and then the conversation is lost in low tones.

What beast exploits us working, and robs and poisons us eating? The Boss!—M. C.

Sinclair Writes About "Hell"

Upton Sinclair is publishing this week an unusual literary production, which he describes as a blank verse drama and photoplay in four acts. It is entitled "Hell," and its subject is modern war as viewed from the infernal regions. The story describes how Satan's jester gets into heaven, steals the golden key, and locks all the heavenly hosts inside. Then Satan and his demons, having earth at their mercy, proceed to make the last nine years of human history. The play was published serially in the "Haldeman-Julius Weekly," whose editor, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, wrote of it as follows:

"An amazingly brilliant four-act drama, which is without equal in all literature; an original work that will create a vast sensation; a picture of Hell, that makes, Sinclair the Dante of his age; humor, satire, irony, revolutionary criticism, merciless dissection of modern social life. 'Hell' will shake the critics from their slumbers; 'Hell' will raise hell wherever literature is read."

The play is published in a paper edition only, 128 pages, price 25 cents. The publisher is Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California.

It can also be had by ordering from the Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Howat at Bafrackville, W. Va.

Alexander Howat will be the speaker at the grand ball and entertainment to be given by the Bafrackville, W. Va., Workers Party co-operating with the Slovenian Benefit Society, on Wednesday, May 30, starting at 2 p. m., at the U. M. W. Hall. An effort is also being made to get Fred Merrick, of Pittsburgh, as a second speaker.

Labor Wants Party of Its Own-Browder

(Continued from Page One)

organizations would be lined up for a Labor Party.

Accompanying hundreds of the ballots have been letters, many of great interest. They voice the rank and file. Brief, and sometimes illegible, they express Organized Labor better than all the official journals. Here, for example, is one from Oklahoma:

"I therewith enclose the resolution adopted by Local ——. Maintenance of Way, at our regular meeting today. We long for the time when Organized Labor will control our country."

From a central body in West Virginia, near the scene of the bitter struggle of the miners, comes this: "I have been instructed to convey to you that the trade union men in this valley are practically unanimous in favor of a Labor Party; the few opposed only question as to whether we are ready. God knows that the time is here and passed, and the sooner something is done the better. More power to your movement."

Of all the unions voting, only one wished to change the resolution proposed. That one was the Bakery Wagon Drivers of San Francisco, who were in favor of a Labor Party but did not wish to provide in the resolution for the inclusion of "all existing working class parties."

After discussion, the next step is action. As a sample of the manner in which the League Referendum stimulated this process, we quote a letter from Local No. 81, of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union, of Chicago:

"It has been unanimously adopted and was forwarded as a recommendation to the Joint Board. We have received information that it has been adopted by the Joint Board and is now in the hands of the locals for approval. Also it was decided to send a communication to the General Executive Board of the International urging them to participate in the July 3rd Conference called by the Farmer-Labor Party and act along the lines of our recommendation."

In cities where the Farmer-Labor Party is established, the interest in the referendum was not so strong because the unions already feel that a beginning has been made. Many resolutions, however, were received from such centers, emphasizing the need for bringing all other political parties of the workers into an inclusive Labor Party.

Many unions, after discussing the resolution in one meeting, postponed action until the following meeting in order to send out a special call for all members to be present. Most of these also ordered from 100 to 500 copies of the League leaflet, "A Political Party for Labor," to place in the members' hands before voting. The attitude of these unions is well stated by the letter from the Machinists of San Francisco, who write: "Kindly send by return mail 200 copies of the leaflet, as the Lodge has deferred action on the Referendum until they can be put in the hands of the membership so they will better understand what they are voting for."

Accompanying a unanimous "Yes" from Ohio is a note which says: "An A. F. of L. organizer was present and objected to the vote. He said he was for a Labor Party, but wanted the A. F. of L. to take the vote, and not a 'bunch of wildcats.' He was told that Gompers has waited too long, and is too busy worrying about beer."

As interesting as the voices from the rank and file, is the fact that many officials in the Labor movement, long trusted lieutenants of Gompers, are feeling the new current stirring the air of the trade unions. Thus J. P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, for years a cog in the Gompers machine, speaking on April 16 before the Convention of the Hatters' Union, came out squarely for a Labor Party.

Several central labor bodies have taken up the issue and called upon their local unions affiliated to vote upon the question of a Labor Party. This is being done in Salt Lake City and Ogden, while in West Virginia a central labor union is circulating the entire State. Wherever the central bodies have taken hold, action has been forthcoming. The educational aspect is not neglected, as is shown by the Ogden Trades and Labor Assembly ordering copies of the League leaflet sufficient to send one to each local union. But positive action to begin organizational work is being rapidly started.

One of the most energetic beginnings was that made in Toledo. On April 5th, 150 delegates from 39 unions and political groups gathered to form the Workers' Political Congress. On April 17th this had grown to 245 delegates, representing 49 organizations. The Labor Party of Los Angeles, formed by 161 delegates from 47 organizations, got away to a flying start. On March 25th, a few days after its formation, the plan was endorsed by the Convention of the State Building Trades Council of California, which sent out a resolution to every affiliated union in the State. On April 4th the Cen-

Big Business Rallies to Action!

(Continued from Page One)

and an indefatigable "Open Shopper," called the labor leaders a "ravenous band of pretenders."

He thundered against the employers who frequent the golf links too often and thus permit the development of dangerous discontent amongst their workers. Edgerton denounced the idea of giving the slightest consideration to the needs of the workers in fixing their wages as "sophistical and wholly un-American." In attacking the advocates of a Bonus for the ex-soldiers Edgerton was especially bitter. He jumped the American soldiers whom he once called "the saviors of civilization," with the barbarian Boches. He told his ear-prieked listeners not to forget that "the ultimate goal of the German soldiery itself was the Treasury at Washington," which was "the rendezvous of the Kaiser's fondest thoughts." Edgerton went on to tell: "When the enemy was fighting to reach it, our soldiers said: 'They shall not pass.' And they didn't. Now let them exercise the same restraint upon themselves."

The Manufacturers also received by cable the benediction of President Poincare, lickspittle of the French imperialists. Warren Gamaliel, the Guardian Angel of our own exploiters, telegraphed regrets over his inability to drink in the holy atmosphere and characterized the profiteers as "deserving of most emphatic and unqualified recognition."

More Profits, Bigger Dividends

The delegates were dividend-hungry. Their attitude and approach towards the problems confronting them in their exploitation of the workers showed this very clearly. Addressing the Manufacturers, Acheson Smith, Vice-President of the Acheson Graphite Co., told them that they were "entirely dependent upon alien labor to do most of the manual work," and that because of the present immigration conditions they are "facing one of the most serious problems." In order to afford the employers a superabundance of cheap labor power, John C. Haswell, Chairman of the Immigration Committee of the Manufacturers proposed "that a thoughtful modification of the contract labor law would be in the public interest."

Both conventions declared themselves unequivocally for the complete repeal of the excess profits tax, the surtax and all such other "nuisance taxes." The idea of a sales tax which hit even the poorest workers and farmers was particularly popular amongst the delegates.

Special attention was given to the transportation problem. The Manufacturers minced no words. They came out four-square for robbing the railway workers of the right to strike. The National Chamber brought to light part of its "careful study" of the railway problem in the Astor Gallery when the delegates were introduced to W. N. Doak, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Doak mouthed the very sentiments expressed by his predecessor W. G. Lee at the Western Railway Club last February. Sitting and speaking alongside of W. W. Head, Vice-President of the

American Bankers' Association, Doak could never be mistaken for a labor leader. He surely did look like a well-fed, smug, complacent banker. Doak whined: "Our railroads and their employees in the opinion are being mistreated in the manner of public muddling which certainly should cease."

He went on to shed tears over the awkward position in which his workers were placed and spoke of the vital interests of the workers in the railway corporations making plenty of profits.

"That's a real friend of labor," said a delegate to the writer. Another delegate characterized Doak to me as "a good fellow who could teach the flannel-mouthed agitators a whole lot." Doak's address greatly pleased the delegates. It was the consensus of opinion that the bankers could count on Doak and his ilk to solve the vexing railway dividend and railway labor problems.

Seek To Divide Working Masses

The capitalist experts also considered ways and means of dividing the workers. Speaking before the manufacturers, Prof. David Friday, President of the Michigan Agricultural College, delivered the typical employing class propaganda aiming at dividing the city from the rural working masses. He said that the real grievance of the farmer was that the railroad worker, the public utility workers and other workers were getting a better opportunity for leisure and were improving their standards of living while the farmers could not do this.

General Frank T. Hines, of the Veterans' Bureau, told the Chamber to give preference to ex-soldiers in employment because they will thus "not only be rendering a patriotic service, but they will find it to be beneficially profitable."

Foresee New Depression

There was much blatant boasting about the terrific prosperity that has overwhelmed the country. But beneath all this empty talk there were frank admissions that Mr. Prosperity had already turned the corner and was perhaps deserting us in great hurry.

Benjamin M. Anderson, economist of the Chase National Bank, told the Manufacturers that the reaction had begun five or six weeks ago and that "the business situation today does not seem to have the unlimited possibilities of expansion and profits which short-sighted optimists thought they saw in it two or three months ago. We really have no valid ground for intense, uninterrupted prosperity with the present situation in Europe and with the lack of equilibrium throughout the world which results from this."

And Colonel M. Rorty, President of the International Telephone Security Corporation, and President of the National Bureau of Economic Research told the Manufacturers: "If we consider only the lessons of past business cycles, we should say that most of the signs were today favorable to the beginning of a period of business depression."

Planning Another Open Shop Drive

Anticipating this "readjustment" period during which wages would be

readjusted downwards, the Manufacturers proceeded to a vigorous discussion of a new Open Shop onslaught on the workers.

Mr. S. W. Utley, President of the Employers' Association of Detroit, presided at the debate. Edgerton swore that he would rather see his factory go up in smoke than sacrifice the Open Shop principle. The automobile manufacturer, Mr. Leland, also dedicated himself to the new crusade against Labor. Then spoke the old Captain Robert Dollar, notorious union-smasher from San Francisco. He gave a picturesque description of how he broke the strike of the marine engineers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and how he has established peace with these engineers thru a system of monthly luncheons with the shipping owners.

Next followed Captain William Porter White of the Lowell Paper Tube Corporation who threw down the gauntlet to Labor. He foamed at the mouth saying: "Labor conditions are getting worse in this city every day. New York will not be so easy to clean up as was San Francisco. In San Francisco they had men of courage. In New York, I regret to say, they have not."

The Manufacturers crowned their efforts by adopting a United Front Program against the workers. This program, dealing with law and order in industry, taxation, immigration, foreign trade, the Bonus, and so forth, will be presented to the coming Conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties. Its final form will be left to the National Committee consisting of three members from each of the 15 industrial states.

These Conventions brought out the unity of the Stock Exchange with the Government in all its naked ugliness.

High Government officials and representatives of the army and navy were the chief figures in these conclaves of the most powerful financiers and industrialists. Secretary of Commerce Hoover pledged the support of the Government to the perpetuation of the private ownership of the means of production and exchange. Strikebreaker Ben Hooper, Chairman of the Railway Labor, denounced Socialism, and praised Gompers to the Manufacturers.

Finally, the Manufacturers adjourned with an entertainment and luncheon tendered them by Vice-Admiral J. B. McDowell aboard the battleship Wyoming. The National Chamber adjourned "with a daylight sail to the Military Academy, at West Point."

Workers Must Act At Once

The workers must take a leaf out of the book of their bosses. The workers must get ready to meet this new drive prepared against them at these conventions. A campaign of intensive working class organization must be launched. No time must be lost in these preparations.

In the class war, as in all other wars, the best defensive strategy is the mighty offensive. The workers must organize to take the offensive in their own self-defense.

A Radical Irish Magazine

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

Many attempts have been made to reach the Irish workers in America with the kind of propaganda that produces the maximum results with the minimum expenditure of energy and they have all been successful. This may sound queer, but it is nevertheless true.

Some people believe that any revolutionary effort that does not present an impatient public with a full fledged revolution after the five o'clock whistle blows is a flat failure. They seem to think that the business of bringing about the downfall of capitalism is subject to the laws that govern the business of exchanging watches for pawn tickets.

If at the end of the year the pawn broker is nearer being broke than when he started, he is justified in considering the advisability of adding the profession of bootlegging to his other accomplishments.

Not so the revolutionist. Every time he opens his mouth and says something—sensible of course—in condemnation of the existing robber system and in favor of the establishment of a Communist society he makes progress and is therefore successful.

If that is clear we shall proceed. In 1908 James Connolly published a Socialist paper called the Harp. It rendered good service. Harps are no longer as popular as of yore so the next effort to reach the Irish workers thru the medium of a paper called the Irish Worker was made by Jim Larkin in 1918. After a few issues that paper gave up the ghost but its spirit still lived until 1921 when the Irish American League published the Irish People and continued it as a weekly for six months. The latter was the most ambitious and successful so far made.

It has often been said that the Irish never begin to fight until they are licked and if it can be said of any group it is true of the few comrades in Chicago who decided to bring forth a monthly magazine called "The Irish People," that will tell the

Ahead of Pre-War Times

MOSCOW.—The turnover of the Kiev Fair has surpassed that of the pre-war time and is equal now to eight million gold roubles. Thirty-five per cent of the purchases were made by the representatives of sixty-three foreign firms present at the fair.

Needle Trades in Cleveland

The Needle Trades Section of the Cleveland Trade Union Educational League meets every 2nd and 4th Monday night, at 8:00 P. M., at Hanna Hall, 5311 Woodland Ave., Esther Schweitzer, Secretary.

"FOR A LABOR PARTY"

(Re-issued and enlarged)

By JOHN PEPPER

The second printing of this pamphlet on the most pressing problem confronting American workers consists of 64 pages and is brought up to date. Ten thousand of this pamphlet have been sold. It strikes at the heart of the problem of the formation of a labor party by the workers, backed by the organized unions. It keenly analyzes the problem and shows the vital necessity of the workers taking this step.

15c per copy In lots of ten or more 11c.

Order from: The Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, N. Y. C.

Socialist Party Convention Rejects the United Front

By JOHN PEPPER

THE UNIQUE SOCIALIST PARTY—AN OPPORTUNIST SECT

The Socialist Party convention was a debacle without equal. The Socialist Party collapsed ideologically even before the war. The Socialist Party collapsed as an organization after the war. It lives to-day only as an invalid. Its convention is like the hand-organ of an invalid. This hand-organ can play only a few melodies, for it is itself an invalid. At times it plays the Red Flag, at times the Star Spangled Banner, at times the Marseillaise. And all the melodies and organ-grinding are but a pretext for the old crip to beg his nickels and dimes as dues.

The whole history of the Socialist Party in recent years has shown every thinking worker that the Socialist Party has no program, no organization, no campaigns. This last convention has shown that the Socialist Party hasn't even leaders. It was a pitiful spectacle to see the few delegates without initiative, without thought.

The leaders of the Socialist Party—both the right wing and the left wing simply deserted the convention. Hillquit and Berger sailed to Europe. Debs confined himself to a banquet speech outside of the Convention. Scott Nearing did not participate at all. Only Onal and Branstetter were present as the representatives of the petty Tammany Hall of the Socialist Party officialdom. It was like a small-town show without stars, with second raters, and even with amateurish superiors.

There was not one speech in this convention which attempted to analyze the political and industrial situation in this country. Not a single resolution which attempted to point out the tasks of the working class in the present situation, or at least the role of the Socialist Party. The emptiest Convention of the smallest trade union is more instructive and richer in content than this so-called National Convention of a so-called political workers' party. This Convention has definitely shown that the Socialist Party is a sect which is out of contact with the real political life of the United States, and with the real needs of the working class. It may sound paradoxical, but it is true nevertheless, that in spite of its opportunism, the Socialist Party is nothing but a sect. We are accustomed to consider opportunism and reformism as maladies of mass parties. But the Socialist Party is a freak—an opportunist sect. In this respect it is a real American product, suitable for Barnum, like the Bearded Lady, the Missing Link, or the tiniest of America. The Socialist Party of America is the midget among the opportunist parties.

The Socialist Party is an Appendix of the Lower Middle Class. What has this Convention done? What was its biggest achievement? The screaming headline in the New York Call gives the answer: "Socialists Reject Workers' Party United Front." The biggest achievement therefore of this Convention is negative. That is no mere accident. The Socialist Party has not a single positive answer to the needs of the working class. The Socialist Party has no answer to the challenge of the capitalist offensive for the open shop. The recent big mergers in industry are no problem for the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is not interested in the sufferings of the farmers. The Socialist Party does not dare to notice the great preparedness of the army and navy for the next war. The Socialist Party has no answer, whatsoever, to all these flaming and burning questions. These questions did not even exist for the Socialist Party Convention. The only important thing for the Socialist Party was to reject the call of the Workers' Party for a United Front in the interest of the working class, and as an answer to the challenge of the capitalists and the preparedness of the government.

But we do not wish to be unjust. The Socialist Party has in fact noticed one question in the rich industrial and political life of America. One single campaign has indeed been launched by the Socialist Party Convention—a campaign for the impeachment of Chief Justice Taft for receiving an annuity of \$10,000 from the Carnegie Foundation. Indeed, a big issue. The capitalists are seeking to prolong the hours of work! The Republicans intend to choose the open-shop as the issue for the campaign of 1924! Unscrupulous speculation is raising the cost of living for the workers from day to day! The trade unions will be smashed without amalgamation! In scores of states we have anti-syndicalist and anti-union laws! Free speech is nowhere guaranteed for the working-class! The United States government is preparing new intervention in China! And yet the only serious campaign of the Socialist Party is the impeachment of Chief Justice Taft. It is characteristic in the highest degree that the Socialist Party has stolen even this slogan. The campaign against Taft is the possession of the Hearst papers. It was created by the N. Y. American and by other typical yellow expressions of the lower middle class. The S. P. has degraded itself to an ideological appendix of the lower middle class.

The Russian Chief-Command
Why does the Socialist Party re-

ject the United Front with the Workers' Party? The Russian chief-command, the Socialist Party says that the Workers' Party is being commanded from Moscow by the Russian Communists. That is, of course, ridiculous and untrue. The Communist International is a world-party with a centralized leadership, and has an international discipline. The Workers' Party recognizes that discipline. The Russian Party is only one of those 56 parties which compose the Communist International. Of course, it is the greatest and most influential. It has so far been the only Party which has been able to lead the working class to a permanent victory. It sounds especially comical when the Socialist Party of America makes this accusation against us. The S. P. is almost entirely led by Russians—Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Meyer London, Shipiloff, Jacob Panken, etc., are all Russian Jews. And if we had to choose between the Russian leadership of New York or the Russian leadership from Moscow, we would rather choose Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek and Bucharin.

Who Is Un-American
The second pretext of the Socialist Party against the United Front with the Workers' Party is that the Workers' Party is not good enough, respectable company. The Workers' Party is mainly composed of "damned foreigners," while the Socialist Party is a party of real Americans. The membership figures of the S. P. show that almost half of it consists of foreign language federations, and when we examine more closely, the so-called English-speaking elements in the S. P., we see that even these are mainly foreignborn, principally Jewish elements. It is a well-known fact that Jewish workers and small Jewish business men, even more so, assimilate, the language much more quickly than the Polish, Italian or South Slavic workers of the basic industries. We would advise the Socialist Party to try, and ask the Ku Klux Klan or the Daughters of the American Revolution whether they believe the Socialist Party to be a genuine American Party. A few months ago at the Cleveland Conference, even the Socialist Party was still ashamed to use the mean accusation of un-Americanism. A statement of the S. P. delegation at Cleveland says the following: "Nor can we agree with the sentiment that the Workers' Party or any other organization should be excluded because it is alleged to be un-American. It will become any member of a labor organization to resort to phrases used by the most reactionary interests in creating prejudice against organized labor." With this statement the Socialist Party directs the strongest criticism against its own degradation.

Against Amalgamation
Those were merely pretexts. Now we should like to speak of the real reasons.

The first real reason against the United Front is the stand of the Socialist Party towards amalgamation. The S. P. is an ally of the Gompers bureaucracy, and is therefore an enemy of amalgamation. The craft unions are no longer sufficiently effective as weapons against the bosses. Even Eugene V. Debs writes in connection with the great strikes of last summer: "The only reason that the brave soldiers who fought these heroic battles against starvation went down to ignominious defeat, thousands of them having been rewarded with the blacklist in addition to their lost jobs, is that they fought under a craft union instead of industrial union standard, and consequently became the prey either of their misleaders or of the designs of their masters and exploiters."

The S. P. Convention has not a word for amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, and still less any word against the misleaders of organized labor. The Socialist Party is an ally of the treacherous trade union bureaucracy against the working class, and it must therefore reject the United Front with the Workers' Party against the treacherous bureaucracy, in the interest of the working class.

For Cleveland, Against Chicago
The second real reason for the Socialist Party's rejection of the United Front with the Workers' Party is the stand of the Socialist Party towards the Labor Party. The So-

cialist Party is today an ally of the Johnston-Stone clique which had the machine of the Cleveland Conference in its power, and therefore it has to be against the creation of a Labor Party. Two decisions of the Convention show with crystal clearness the position of the S. P. One decision, to continue with the participation in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and the other to reject the invitation to the July 3rd Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party. What do these decisions mean? It is an open betrayal to continue the affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and at the same time to boycott the Chicago Convention of July 3rd. The Conference for Progressive Political Action is today abandoned by all militant elements, is nothing but an attempt to hinder the creation of an Independent Labor Party, in favor of the attempts of the La Follette Group to create a lower middle class third party. The July 3rd Convention will mean the first step on a mass-scale to the formation of a real Labor Party. The Conference for Progressive Political Action means the systematic obstruction against a Labor Party. Participation in the July 3rd Chicago Convention means an alliance with all militant elements of the American labor movement. Continuation of affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action means today nothing but an alliance with one part of the reactionary officialdom of the labor movement. The Socialist Party has betrayed the idea of a Labor Party, and for that reason it rejects the United Front with the Workers' Party, which conducts a hard struggle for the Labor Party.

An Agent of the Capitalists

The Socialist Party rejects the United Front with the Workers' Party because it has degraded itself to an accomplice of the agents of the capitalists. The S. P. is the ally of Gompers who is the worst and most open agent of the capitalists within the labor movement. The S. P. is against amalgamation, that is, it is for the weakening of the trade unions, for the defeat of strikes, for the victory of the bosses. The S. P. is the ally of Johnston and Keating, who in turn are the allies of La Follette. The S. P. is therefore an agent of the lower middle class progressives within the ranks of the working class. In Wisconsin, Victor Berger and the entire Socialist Party dwell quite openly in one camp with the middle-class politicians. At the St. Joseph trial against the Communists, the Socialist Party solidized itself not only with the political agents of the capitalists, but directly with the agents of the Department of Justice. The Socialist Party adopts a resolution for the recognition of Soviet Russia, and solidarizes itself with Abe Cahan's Jewish lies, as much as with the anti-Semitic lies of the N. Y. Herald. The S. P. has no religious or racial prejudices against lies if they are suitable as slander against Soviet Russia. In obstructing the United Front the Socialist Party becomes an agent of the capitalists, because it thereby splits the forces of militant workers, prevents the development of the trade unions, checks the defensive of organized labor against the open shop.

And the Socialist Party is an agent of the capitalists not only on a national, but also on an international scale. The S. P. Convention has adopted a resolution which makes possible the union with Scheideemann, Noske, Vandervelde, and Branting, with the Hungarian Social Democracy, with the Polish Socialist Party, and with all other betrayers of the proletarian revolution and bloody executioners of rebelling workers. We believe we have the right to demand a reckoning from all those elements in the Socialist Party who do not belong to the petty Tammany Hall of Hillquit and Berger. Why has Eugene V. Debs not spoken for amalgamation, and for the United Front? Why hasn't Debs defended the shameless Cahan? Why did not Scott Nearing lift his voice against the betrayal of the Labor Party? Why did not James Maurer defend the resolution for participation in the Chicago July 3rd Convention, when the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor of which he is president agreed to participate in that Convention? How could those who favored an International without social peace, in the end vote for unity with war-time ministers, lackeys of royalty and blood-hounds?

The United Front For All That!

But notwithstanding the betrayal on the part of the Socialist Party leaders and the Socialist Party Convention, the Workers' Party still seeks to establish the United Front with the workers in and around the Socialist Party. In spite of all efforts of S. P. leaders, we already have the United Front with parts of the rank and file of the S. P. We have the United Front with the Italian Federation of the S. P. in the struggle against Fascism. We have the United Front with Socialist Party workers in California within the Labor Party. We have the United Front with S. P. workers in Pittsburgh in the defense of persecuted Communists. We had the United Front with S. P. workers of Philadelphia in the May Day celebration.

We still seek the United Front because it is indispensable in the defense-struggle of the workers against capitalists.

Two Falsifications
The answer of the S. P. Convention to the Workers' Party states an

The Soviet Government and the Third International

By H. M. WICKS

The New York Times and other organs of World Imperialism have volunteered the role of spokesmen for the jingoes of Great Britain in its diplomatic misunderstanding with Soviet Russia. These American publications brand the Soviet diplomats liars for asserting that the Soviet government has not done anything in the Far East, except to endeavor to maintain friendly relations with the governments there. The Soviet note to Britain categorically denies that the government works thru the Third International for the purpose of utilizing the unrest for Communist purposes.

"It is inconceivable," says the Times, "that the Third International should attempt to inspire insurrection against British rule in the Far East without the connivance, or at least the silent consent, of the Soviet Government."

The Times must get its information regarding the relation of the Soviet Government to the Third International from the stool pigeons on the Jewish Daily Forward and the New York Call, who sabotaged famine relief because they feared they might be inadvertently aiding the Communist International. As a matter of fact the Communist International is in no sense an adjunct of the Soviet Government of Russia. The Executive of the Communist International is composed of representatives of every Communist Party in the world, and it is concerned with the preservation and perpetuation of the Soviet Government only to the extent that every class-conscious worker recognizes that Government as the outpost of the World Revolution. But if the Soviet Government should cease to exist tomorrow, the Communist International would still exist and carry on revolutionary propaganda in every part of the earth where capitalism has extended its power.

The Soviet Government has no power to either give or withhold consent for the Third International to propagate Communism anywhere. Nor would the Russian Communists who represent their Party in the Councils of the Third International ever propose such an absurdity, to please the diplomats of old Europe or of America, anymore than they would request the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions to cease agitation against the Second, the Vienna 2½ or the Amsterdam Internationals because it displeases the yellow servants of Imperialism masquerading as leaders of labor.

Soviet Russia can offer concessions to capitalist Britain and to other capitalist countries that will be mutually advantageous, but the Communist International stands for the one purpose of waging unceasing warfare against every capitalist government on the face of the earth, and utilizing every form of discontent for the purpose of furthering the interests of the World Revolution.

Untruth when it says that Communists want the United Front only as a maneuver to show up the Socialist Party leaders. And it is a deliberate falsification when James Onal, chairman of the resolutions committee, attempts to array Communist documents against us. He claims that the December 1921 theses of the Executive Committee of the Communist International state that "In the creation of the United Front, not for the purpose of making it effective, but for the purpose of strengthening the Communists." That is a fraud. This phrase is not contained in the December 1921 theses of the Executive of the Communist International. We demand of James Onal to quote this phrase or even a similar thought in the text. He will not succeed. This thought has been falsely put into the theses of the Communist International by him or by his friends. The second falsification concerns a letter by Karl Radek. The reply of the resolutions Committee of the S. P. Convention to the Workers' Party says: "It is also a matter of common knowledge" that Radek has written a letter in which he says that the United Front "was only a tactical maneuver." That is also a fraud. Radek has never written such a letter. It is incumbent upon James Onal to make public the text of this letter. If not, he and his committee will appear as miserable forgers in the eyes of every honest worker.

The very contrary is the truth. The Comintern has always declared that the tactic of the United Front is no stratagem for us, but is the mightiest weapon against the capitalists, and the only rescue for the unity of the trade unions. Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, said at the Fourth Congress: "Therefore, comrades, our tactic of the United Front is not presented only as a strategy against our enemies. Of course, we have the full right and the duty to evolve strategic plans against our enemies; but the United Front is presented because of the whole historical situation, because of the whole situation of capitalism, because of its economic world political situation, and because of the situation within the labor movement. If what I have told you concerning the policy of the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals is correct, if it is true that for the future they are preparing a deliberate systematic splitting of the trade unions and the working class, our tactic of the United Front results unavoidably therefrom. It follows that for these reasons and for many other reasons we must begin a counter-effort against this plan of the Second International. And that is the tactic of the United Front." (The speech from which this quotation is taken appeared in the German book, "The Communist International on the Advance," by G. Zinoviev, Karl Hoym, Hamburg, 1923. The excerpt is on page 62.)

And we in America can add: We want amalgamation, we want to resist the open-shop, we want the Labor Party, and therefore we will continue to struggle for the United Front of all the workers.

Newark, N. J., for Labor Party.
Newark, N. J., members of the Workers Party should attend a general membership meeting to be held May 28, at the Labor Lyceum, 704 So. 14th St., at 8 p. m., to work out plans of sending a delegate to Chicago to the Farmer-Labor Convention for the formation of a National Labor Party, July 3.

Metal Workers Out in L. I. C.
Another progressive and militant organization, the Amalgamated Metal Workers, has begun to utilize its drive for the organization of the unorganized for the improvement of working conditions in the Metal Industry.

They started this movement at the Ford Instrument Company in Long Island City, where they demand the 44-hour week with the 48-hour pay. Every single employee of this factory joined the strike, and the Company has not been able to find scabs to replace the 300 workers who walked out. A general organization campaign directed from the Headquarters of the A. M. W., at 51 E. 10th St., is utilizing all the strikers who are distributing literature and help in every way to materialize the slogan: The 44-hour Week and a Living Wage.

"RUSSIA TO-DAY, 1923"
By JAMES P. CANNON

Russia To-day, 1923! is just the sort of a little propaganda pamphlet to give to the hard-boiled opponent of Soviet Russia. It is more than this; it is a convincing propaganda pamphlet for Communism. Comrade Cannon, Chairman of the Workers Party and for seven months a fraternal delegate of the Workers Party to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, gives authentic information as an eye-witness of conditions in Russia and the strength of the Soviet Government. Subjects dealt with are: "Labor Unions in Soviet Russia," "Reconstruction," "The Red Army," etc.

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MISSING!

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We will appreciate it if comrades will send us copies of these missing issues.—Business Manager.

"Fifth Year" Movie Should Make Big Hit

By JOHN DALE

Another "movie" has come out of Soviet Russia. It is called "The Fifth Year" and ought to bid big for all the unbounded enthusiasm that greeted the showing of "Russia Thru the Shadows."

The first exhibition was given "The Fifth Year" film in a studio near Times Square, with numerous press representatives present. These extended their whole-hearted praise, as well as a few suggestions to William F. Kruse, of the Friends of Soviet Russia, who is arranging the film for showing in this country.

"Russia Thru the Shadows" grips hardest upon the emotions when it shows the first long train of tractors from the United States turning over the soil in the valley of the Volga for the new harvest, not only after the civil war and intervention, but after the great suffering of the famine.

"The Fifth Year," the crucial year in the life of the Soviet Republic, as it is reviewed in this essentially news film, also has its great emotional climax. It comes when we see the children, the millions of children; as one visualizes them, the hungry, orphaned children being cared for under Soviet rule. They are fed, clothed and housed, given medical care, educated. At first the starving children hunting food by the wayside; then at last healthy, well-fed, dancing children, boys and girls in the homes that have been made for them out of the castles of the nobles; and the mansions of the former czarist bankers and landlords.

This ability to care for its children is the big test, one feels on viewing this film, that proves the stability of the Soviet regime. The Workers' Republic that feeds its children can not be crushed. We are sure that all our readers will anxiously await the first public showing of "The Fifth Year."

Jane Cowl Typifies the New Woman in "Juliet"

It is easy to understand why "Juliet" has eclipsed any other production of Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet" by its long run at the Henry Miller Theatre.

Miss Jane Cowl is truly a great artist. As Juliet she achieves the greatest bit of acting I have ever seen her do. There is such rare beauty and richness that one is transfixed by the dream like wonder of her voice and person.

But it is not only her person and capable rendering of the part that makes this play stand out. It is a new tone that she injects into this play. Juliet thru Miss Cowl typifies the new woman, the girl of courage and action. She knows what she wants and goes out to get it. We admire her strength of character and we love her for her sweetness and beauty. Thus Juliet strikes a responsive chord in us as never before.

The rest of the cast are all good. Rollo Peters makes a very romantic, impatient, tempestuous Romeo. Dennis King as Mercutio, kinsman to the Prince of Verona is excellent. Although his part is a small one, nevertheless it goes far towards making the play. The scenery adds tremendously to the artistic beauty of this production. It is one of the plays this season that one should not miss.

Final Week of Moscow Players

For its second and final week, the repertory of the Moscow Art Theatre at Jolson's 59th St. Theatre will be: Monday and Tuesday evenings, May 28 and 29, "Tsar Ryodor Ivanovich"; Wednesday and Thursday evenings, May 30 and 31, "The Cherry Orchard"; Friday matinee and evening, June 1, "The Lower Depths"; and Saturday matinee and evening, June 2, "The Three Sisters."

The entire company of the Moscow Art Theatre, Mr. Gest announces, will sail for home in the course of the week after the completion of this Farewell engagement, Saturday evening, June 2.

Gest in Contract with Reinhardt

After spending four weeks in New York at the invitation of Morris Gest, Professor Max Reinhardt, foremost European stage director, signed a contract with the firm of F. Ray Ginstock and Morris Gest to make several spectacular productions here next season. He sailed last Saturday on the Olympic for his home, Leopoldsdorf, in Salzburg, Austria, accompanied by his manager, Rudolf Kommer, to proceed with plans not only for his summer seasons in Salzburg and Vienna but also for his first American season.

Back Labor Party Drive Urges Howat

By WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE

Alexander Howat, militant trade union leader of the Kansas miners, whose opposition to the Industrial Court law caused his imprisonment by the authorities of Kansas, and his expulsion from the United Mine Workers by the reactionary President John L. Lewis machine, addressed the New York workers on the conditions of the American worker, at the New Star Casino.

Howat forcefully portrayed the pitiful condition in which the American workers find themselves since the war. "During the war the representatives of the government promised a new day for Labor when the war was over. We were fed on all kinds of promises. But what happened? On Armistice Day in 1918, we were told that the war was over. But in 1919 when the miners demanded an increase in wages to realize some of those promises and to meet the high cost of living, we were told by the employers and the representatives of the government that the war was not yet over. These exploiters of the miners and of the people, for they had charged excessive prices for their coal, insisted that the war was not yet over. Nor is the war yet over, but the war that is on today is the war of the working class against the exploiters and against their representatives that make the oppressive laws of this country in their interests."

In 1919 the miners went on strike the government took the part of the coal operators against the workers," said Howat. "Every striker in Kansas would have kept away from the mines had not Lewis called of the strike with the declaration 'we can't fight the government.'"

After relating the experiences of Labor since the war, Howat drew the conclusion that "Labor must no longer rely upon promises of the officials of the government, but must depend on their own power to right their wrongs. 'The time has come for the great working class of this country to consolidate their forces and form one mighty political party of Labor.' The time is here when the policy of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies must be thrown overboard by the American workers. Let us punish the whole damn bunch of them! The July 3rd Convention of the Labor Party must be made the turning point in the history of the American worker, and the beginning of the new period. It is the duty of every worker to have his Union attend the Convention so that there be gathered at this Convention the representatives of the organized workers to establish the unity of the workers on the political field."

The other speakers at the meeting were Joseph Manley, of the Trade Union Educational League, and T. S. Myerscough, secretary of the Progressive Miners League. An appeal on behalf of the locked-out Fayette County, Pa., miners brought in over \$350 at the meeting.

Russia Now!

"The Fifth Year of the Russian Revolution," by James P. Cannon. Five cents per copy. Pub. Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York.

Reviewed by E. T. ALLISON

The most refreshing pamphlet that has been issued on Russia within the blue moon is "The Fifth Year of the Russian Revolution," by Comrade James P. Cannon.

The simple, narrative style of the brochure which is in fact a report of the speech Comrade Cannon is now making at scores of points throughout the country, combines interest with information in the most satisfactory degree. The author has given a digest of great and heroic facts boiled down to meet the demands of the inquiring but hurried reader and has done it admirably.

In the five chapters of the book the most vital questions of "Russia" are taken up. The accomplishment of the New Economic Policy in the reconstruction of the country are succinctly and adequately stated. The trade unions are also discussed and one learns what part they play in the government of the country and how they function. Of the Red Army of the workers, its homogenous character with the common people, the workers and peasants, it long but winning battle against the forces of the capitalist world are related, as is also the educational work of the Soviet Government in its ranks.

The expropriation of private property is brought vividly, so vividly to one's mind, that one realizes what it means to the Russian workers, it is an amusing anecdote between the author and a worker riding on the Moscow street railways, formerly owned by Belgian capitalists and for which the Conference at Genoa was then seeking to recover.

In reading the final chapter on Internationalism one feels the strength of the forces working for an International of workers and the necessity of cooperation to attain it. This little pamphlet deserves a wide circulation especially among the opponents of Soviet Russia.

"THE AMERICAN FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS"

By C. S. WARE

Who are the Americans? From what countries have they come? What percentage take an active part in American politics? What relation do they hold to the native-born American workers? What part have they played in the development of American industries and the enrichment of their owners? These questions and many others are answered in this pamphlet. Facts are interestingly supplemented with statistics and colored charts.

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Socialist Party National Convention Delegates Remain Silent in Face of Attack on Soviet Russia

Cahan Rages in Attack on Soviet Rule

By H. M. WICKS

A compilation of the most loathsome back stairs gossip against Soviet Russia, emanating from the journalistic house of prostitution of the entire capitalist world, combined with the vapid ravings of his own distraught mind, constituted the keynote speech at the opening of the 11th National Convention of the Socialist Party in New York City, Saturday, May 10.

Abraham Cahan, notorious Bolshevik baiter and editor of the Jewish (Socialist) Daily Forward, delivered this opening address in place of Morris Hillquit who is now in Europe.

Cahan, also not a delegate, was introduced by Algernon Lee as "that old, loved and trusted fighting Socialist comrade," and immediately launched in a tirade that was so acrimonious, intemperate and obviously false that the majority of the delegates were stunned.

Only the immediate satellites of Cahan—the scoundrels of the New York Call and others who owe their existence as ornaments of the Socialist Party to the Hillquit machine—appeared pleased.

Otto Branstetter, the national secretary of the Socialist Party, smirked in the most cringing and servile manner, while Lee, as chairman, grimaced like a trained baboon at each barrage of billingsgate hurled at the leaders of the World Revolution.

Defames Lenin and Trotsky

Prefacing his attack with the declaration that the Bolshevik revolution was at first an experiment and that he was anxious to see it carried out, even though it was under the leadership of Communists, Cahan first asserted that most of the leaders of the Russian Revolution were sincere and then proceeded to contradict himself in the most flagrant manner.

Stooping to the gutter for epithets of degradation to hurl at Communism, Cahan declared that Trotsky is a "bombastic windbag" and that Lenin is a "physical wreck," and that his present physical condition "is undoubtedly due to his earlier complete moral collapse." Then, in order that no one could mistake his cowardly attack upon Lenin, the mountebank, Cahan, screamed deliriously that the great leader of the Bolshevik revolution was a "muddlehead lunatic."

In almost any gathering of workmen on earth this vile assault would have been the signal for vigorous protests from at least a part of the audience, but in this Socialist Party convention the few workers sat aghast, scarcely believing that one professing to speak for the working class could sink so low, while the petty bourgeois elements remained motionless, refusing to respond to Cahan's obvious pause for applause.

"Did you see in the papers about that \$13,000,000 fund sent out by the Bolshevik Government to corrupt the world?" asked Cahan. Then he recited the latest piece of capitalist propaganda going the rounds against Soviet Russia. Bukharin, who is said to have asked for a report on expenditures, was denounced as a "simple minded fellow—a mere baby in intelligence."

Karl Radek, according to Cahan, is an adventurer who has a shady past in various European Parties and cannot be considered an honest man in any sense of the word.

Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, is the "rotten egg" of the whole Communist movement. "He shot \$100 in Petrograd and some say he has deposited



normous sums in a bank in Switzerland for future use."

In dealing with the Communist movement in America he again repeated the infamous lie to the effect that the Friends of Soviet Russia, the only working class organization in the United States effectively fighting the famine in Russia, are a gang of thieves and that the treasurer has now "scooped" and that hundreds of thousands of dollars were stolen outright. Cahan shamelessly boasted that his activity was responsible for the failure of the tool drive of the Friends of Soviet Russia, an admission that, if true, brands him as more contemptible than any other capitalist hireling on earth. The creature not only deliberately conspired to enforce perpetual starvation upon the helpless children of the famine region in Russia, but has the audacity to boast of it before a conference professing to represent a part of the labor movement in this country.

Admits "S. P." Failure

As Cahan raved on, he began to perceive that his remarks were making but little impression, so he glared at the delegates, few in number and scattered about the hall, and shouted that the Socialist Party has failed. "The fact that so few comrades are present is proof that we are a failure." But, in spite of the present failure there is hope for Socialism in the United States today "the same as there was in England 30 years ago." Ignorant of the vast difference in the economic life of Britain of 30 years ago and the highly developed industrialism of the United States today, this chalanon endeavored to explain his weird notion of the creation of political parties. About the only intelligible thing he said was that "we have got to go about it in an Anglo-Saxon manner."

Like the balance of the ignoramuses at the head of the Socialist Party this fakir imagines that capitalism here must be overcome in a different manner than elsewhere in the world. Cahan then defended the British parliamentary leaders, J. Ramsay MacDonald & Co., for dining with the king of England and said that he would welcome the day when the same performance could be repeated in this country. As there are no hereditary kings here in the British sense, Cahan would have to content himself with the spectacle of Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit prouetting before Warren G. Harding and the First Lady of the Land.

After this digression his disordered mind soon wandered back to his pet aversion, Soviet Russia, and he concluded by asserting that a group in Russia had got hold of a good thing and did not want to give it up, as most of them were grafters.

"In dealing with the Communists we must always fight them. Never show them any favors, but knock them on the head." This advice seems to have been followed by the yellow leaders of some of the needle trades unions who employ sluggers

and gangsters against the "left" opposition in their own unions.

When he left the platform six of the delegates applauded, the others looking at one another in bewilderment. Especially was the effect upon the out-of-town delegates noticeable. They had never heard anything to equal Cahan's assault upon Soviet Russia even from the most rabid capitalist propagandists.

This outburst, obviously official, coming from one of the foremost figures in the Socialist Party, brands them potential assassins of the working class of the United States. Just as Scheidemann and Ebert in Germany perpetrated outrages against the revolutionary workers that even the Kaiser and his minions shrank from contemplating, so the Hillquits, Bergers, Cahan, Oneals, Lees and others of their ilk in this country "crawl beneath the vilest of capitalist hirelings" in their verbal assaults upon the vanguard of the revolutionary workers, but not possessing the power to indulge their aspirations, these scoundrels at the head of the Socialist Party content themselves with repeating and amplifying the propaganda of the British government spy and newspaper correspondent, Frances McCullagh, and the American detective and union smasher, William J. Burns.

Afraid of W. P. Communication

Secretary Otto Branstetter announced that he had a communication from C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, calling for a united front of labor. Instead of reading it he waited for action from the floor. Evidently the machinery was not in good working order, for after a painful pause, Branstetter announced that the document was rather lengthy. Finally Oneal came to the rescue with a motion to refer it to the resolutions committee. Then came a discussion on International relations. Under this head were two propositions submitted on the agenda. "One that the delegates to the International Congress at Hamburg be instructed to vote in favor of unity of Socialist and Trade Union forces of the world. The second that the delegates be instructed to support the reunion of Socialist forces in one International on the condition (1) that no party be admitted unless it specifically repudiates "Burgfrieden" or Social Peace, and (2) that no other condition be imposed.

William Karlin, a lawyer of New York, declared that the amendment to the second proposition to refuse to admit parties unless they repudiate Social Peace would exclude most of the leaders of the Internationals and therefore it was not advisable to adopt it, thereby eliminating these "comrades."

Mayor Hoan Makes Blunder

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee, Victor Berger's man "Friday," asserted that both motions should be voted down, because Berger and Hillquit are now in Europe and can be trusted to act in the interest of the party at the Hamburg conference without instructions. "We have decided to hold aloof from all Internationals until one has been created that we can honestly join." The eminent mayor, whose historical achievement was his leading of the jingo Preparedness Parade in Milwaukee in 1916, is so ignorant of the party to which he belongs that he did not know that the Socialist Party affiliated with the Vienna 2 1/2 International last year.

Oneal declared that "no Socialist could oppose either of the propositions." Since resolutions adopted by the Social Patriots, masquerading as Socialists, in Europe, become meaningless "scraps of paper," the same as the treaties of their various capitalist governments in time of war, Oneal could safely advocate adoption of both propositions on the agenda, thereby trying to save the face of the Socialist Party before the workers of the United States.

Then came Cameron King of California, with a plea to vote down both propositions. "Why should we, who have less than 12,000 members, presume to tell J. Ramsey MacDonald, and the leaders of the German party what attitude they should take toward their own government. We should not try to dictate to these

great men. Why, this proposition would exclude Hjalmar Branting of Sweden, and in case comrade MacDonald entered the British cabinet he would be excluded. I tell you comrades it is unthinkable. We must go in with these men and help them rebuild the International which was so badly shattered during the war."

Cameron King, himself, was a jingo during the late war, and an enemy of the "Huns." Now that the capitalist governments of Germany and the United States are at peace, King, like all other yellow socialists, can again establish diplomatic relations.

Pat Quinlan, of Buffalo, arose and declared that he was quite positive that some of our International Delegates would vote to affiliate with the identical people who murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

William H. Henry, the Indiana henchman of the Berger-Hillquit combination, informed Mayor Hoan that the Socialist Party was a member of the Vienna 2 1/2 International, which came as a distinct shock to the poo-bah of Milwaukee.

Finally, Algernon Lee moved to refer the whole question to the committee on resolutions. It was apparent that the discussion was reaching the danger point. Lee assured the delegates that in his opinion unity between the Second International, with headquarters in London, and the Vienna 2 1/2 International, was a foregone conclusion. This motion carried and disposed of this troublesome question for the time being.

When the resolutions committee reported on the question of International relations, it rejoiced, in a carefully worded statement, at the prospect of unity of the Second International and the Vienna 2 1/2 International. It declared that such unity should be based upon the principles of the class struggle, carefully avoiding reference to the question of "Burgfrieden" or Social Peace, that aroused so much discussion on the first day. Thus with the adoption of a meaningless and ambiguous demand for recognition of the principle of the "class struggle" the question of affiliation with Vandervelde, War Minister to the King of Belgium, and with Scheidemann, Ebert and other assassins of the working class, the way is paved for the Socialist Party to again enter the ranks of the International of the Great Betrayal.

Russian "Political Prisoners"

William M. Feigenbaum, one of the writers on the New York Call, introduced a resolution demanding "freedom of political prisoners in Soviet Russia." Feigenbaum declared that the Socialists of America must demand freedom of speech, press and assembly in Soviet Russia and protest emphatically against the "merciless persecution of our comrades" of the Social Revolutionary Party. He buttressed his remarks with quotations from the lying statistics furnished by the Berlin propaganda bureau of the Allied White Guards, which is under the management of Victor Tchernoff, formerly a member of the Kerensky cabinet in Russia.

O'Toole, of Maryland, in a plea against the adoption of the resolution, said that in case it was adopted the Workers Party would take away the rest of the membership of the Socialist Party in Baltimore, his home town. He referred to the fact that the convention had declared in a previous session that the enemies of Russia "were our enemies," but that if that resolution were adopted, as a matter of decency and to keep the record clear, the convention would have to repudiate its earlier declaration. "Can we afford to place ourselves in the same class with the capitalist press in its attacks upon Russia?" asked O'Toole.

Finally, James Oneal again came to the rescue with a motion that it be referred back to the resolutions committee for redrafting, so that the language of Feigenbaum could be moderated, while maintaining the counter-revolutionary sense of the thing.

The Young Workers' League collected \$10.50 for the Labor Defense Council at a dance held recently at the Hungarian Home, 37 Sixteenth Ave., Newark.

Cannon Tells Twin Cities About Russia

By NORMAN H. TALLENTIRE
Organizer, District No. 9

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — The visit of James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Workers Party, to Minneapolis and Saint Paul, brought out three of the best meetings that have been held in the Twin Cities for many months.

The tense and close interest given the speaker during his talk gave evidence of the fact that the interest of the Workers of America in the struggles of the Workers Republic is not abated. The clear and logical explanation which Comrade Cannon gave of the workings of the New Economic Policy was listened to with close attention, thriltingly punctuated by bursts of applause, and approval as the speaker drew a picture of the steady and sure advance of the proletarian state in the world, as well as in internal affairs.

Cannon made no attempt to gloss over or evade the suffering and privations of the Russian masses during five years of Revolution, but explained clearly the fact that Russia after her period of travail is now emerging from the shadows and is on the road to still greater power and strength.

The listeners were eager to hear the details of the "NEP," and after the conclusion of the lecture kept the speaker answering question after question in respect to the new development. The impression left by the speaker was one of renewed hope and confidence in the final success of the Russian workers in their struggle with World Capitalism, and also instilled new enthusiasm into the local comrades who are carrying on the work of organization in the Twin Cities.

The lecture on the Third (Communist) Internationale was also followed closely by an interested audience, seeking first-hand information as to the workings of the organization which at present time is leading the world proletarians in their struggle against wage slavery.

The Workers Party organizations will undoubtedly benefit materially as they have already benefitted spiritually, as a result of the visit of their National Chairman to the Twin Cities.

Cities, for on all hands the efforts of the speaker met with approval and the meetings were voted a success by common consent.

Tallentire and Cannon in Duluth

DULUTH, Minn. — The Workers Party units of Superior and Duluth have arranged an entertainment with Norman H. Tallentire, at present organizer for District 9, as speaker. His subject will be: Why a Labor Party in the United States? The first meeting will be held at the Workers Hall, Duluth, June 5, 8 p. m., and the second in Superior, Workers Hall, June 10, also 8 p. m.

James P. Cannon gave a lecture here on "Russia Today," to an eager audience of 250 people. People among themselves after the meeting were talking like this: He is the best speaker that has been in this territory and that the Workers Party will surely gain prestige among the masses of the workers with men of his types.

The trade union movement here is disgusted, due to the inability of the unions to protect the workers against the open shop attacks. The well known blacklisting system has been operating efficiently and the militant workers have been torn from the ranks, either to leave the place or else become submissive. What else can you expect in a steel town?

United Front at Boston

A United Front May Day Celebration was held under the auspices of the C. C. C. of Boston, Tuesday, May 1, 1923, at Lorimer Hall, Tremont Temple, Boston. Robert Minor was the principal speaker. Other speakers included: A. Konikow, Russian; I. Friedman, in Jewish, and C. Samprici in Italian. The hall was crowded to capacity. The collection amounted to \$345.22. When expenses were deducted there remained a net profit of \$236.87. That sum was divided equally among the four defense committees, namely, Labor Defense Council, National Defense Committee, Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee and the Merrick Defense Committee, Haverhill, Mass.

CANNON MEETINGS

James P. Cannon speaks at:

Monday, May 28, 8 P. M., Springfield, Ill., Hall to be designated later.
Wednesday, May 30, 2 P. M., Christopher, Ill., Opera House.
Wednesday, May 30, 8 P. M., Ziegler, Ill., Park Pavilion.
Thursday, May 31, 8 P. M., St. Louis, Labor Lyceum, 1243 N. Garrison St.

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

New Attacks Show Russia's Need of Help

(By F. S. R. Press Service)

The trend of the Russian news during the last month has emphasized powerfully the necessity for Russia's economic rebuilding. In terms of actual bloodshed and threats of war the enemies of Russia have demonstrated recently that they are sharpening their fangs to swoop down once more upon the first Workers Republic in the world. To withstand their attacks it is essential that Russia's industries be rehabilitated, especially her agriculture. The establishment of Russia's farming on a modern basis, the abundance of bread that it will mean, would make the country comparatively independent of its neighbors and certainly better prepared to meet intervention should it be forced.

What is more, with Russia's agriculture on a firm basis, the capitalist countries will be less likely to initiate wars.

This is the gist of the appeal that is advanced by the Friends of Soviet Russia, in the present nationwide campaign for tractors to be sent to the Soviet Republic. In the latest developments of world affairs it points out the complete justification of the alternative which it places before the American workers: "Cannons or Tractors?" Specifically, it calls attention to certain events as an index to the entire situation.

"England is ready to break trade relations with Russia and has sent ships to support her threat."

"At Lausanne a member of the Fascist murdered Vorovsky, the Soviet representative."

"The Swiss government expels Ahrens, Soviet delegation attaché."

"In America some reactionary forces pass resolutions condemning Russia and others forbid the urging of trade relations with and recognition of Soviet Russia."

"The Friends of Soviet Russia justly asks in face of these developments—Which shall we send to Russia: cannons or tractors?"

"We propose to send twenty tractors as our immediate answer."

Contributions to the tractors drive should be sent to the national office of the organization, 201 West 13th Street, New York.

Have You Read the News

WORLD WAR

England is ready to break trade relations with Russia and has sent ships to support her threat.

At Lausanne a member of the Fascisti murdered Vorovsky, the Soviet representative.

The Swiss government expels Ahrens, attaché to the Soviet delegation.

In America some reactionary forces pass resolutions condemning Russia and others forbid the urging of trade relations with and recognition of Soviet Russia.

HOW WILL THE AMERICAN FARMERS AND WORKERS ANSWER THIS CRY FOR WAR?

?

RECONSTRUCTION

The Friends of Soviet Russia justly asks in face of these developments—Which shall we send to Russia

CANNONS OR TRACTORS?

We propose to send twenty tractors as our immediate answer. With these tractors we want to send a LIVING MESSAGE. That is why we are offering a

FREE TRIP TO RUSSIA

in connection with this drive. We want this LIVING MESSAGE to go from the farmers and workers of America to the farmers and workers of Russia.

GIVE! GIVE ONE DOLLAR

and as many times One Dollar as you possibly can. Help the Russians NOW so that they may be prepared for possible emergencies. It is not enough to give. Enter the contest. Get your organization to nominate a candidate and work for his election.

SIGN ONE OF THE BLANKS BELOW. DO IT NOW! DON'T WAIT!

THE ONE DOLLAR ARMY

Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St.

I want to help buy tractors to help the agricultural reconstruction of Russia.

Enclosed find \$.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

THE ONE DOLLAR ARMY

Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St.

I want to enter the contest for a free trip to Russia, to help buy the tractors and serve as a living message to the workers and farmers of Russia. Send me..... collection blanks.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

REFERENCE.....

ANALBAMATION

COME TO THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE PICNIC

SATURDAY, JUNE 2ND.

PUMPER'S ELMHURST PARK

TICKETS ONLY \$2

ADMISSION 50c

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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While Fascism crumbles in Italy, the Grand Army of the Republic in this country repudiates the American Legion attempt to have Mussolini's followers in New York City march in the Memorial Day Parade, May 30. More gloom for Rome and the White Guards of all countries.

The Internationalism of Mr. Gompers

Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, has again shown his brand of internationalism by his statement in reply to the plea of the International Federation (Amsterdam) of Trade Unions for a general strike against war.

This is the same Gompers who urges affiliation by the United States government with Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations and supports President Harding in his campaign to lure this country into the so-called World Court of Justice, an offshoot of "The League."

Gompers is for internationalism for the capitalist ruling class. Any international action that will help the world banking cliques gets the approval of the present head of the A. F. of L.

But for even the gesture against war, proposed by the Yellow Amsterdamers, Gompers has nothing but rebuffs and denunciations. He declares that:

"Those who think that it is possible to make effective a general and all-inclusive declaration that in the event of any war, no matter how defensive, there should be an immediate general strike of workers in all nations are living in an unreal world, and, furthermore, are seeking to promote a doctrine that it is neither possible nor desirable to promote successfully."

These sound like the words of a big capitalist fighting labor not those of an official of labor. Discussion is permissible as to the extent and possibilities of world labor action. To say that such action is not possible is to confess belief in the complete failure of the working class struggle. To say that such action is not desirable is to plead guilty to the charge of being a "Labor Lieutenant" of the capitalist class. Thus, when Gompers says that world solidarity of labor is "neither possible nor desirable," he reads himself completely out of the labor movement and takes his place as a faithful tool in the ranks of the "open shop," anti-labor bosses.

We are certain that large sections of the American labor movement are conscious of Gompers' active hostility to labor's real interests. Additional numbers of workers are waking up to the ever more hostile anti-labor role Gompers is playing. And in this awakening is born the strength being aroused in support of the campaigns for Amalgamation, for a Labor Party, for the Organization of the Unorganized, and for world labor solidarity under the standards of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Gompers is himself dealing in unrealities if he fails to take notice of this rising tide.

Bryan's attendance at the Presbyterian General Assembly at Indianapolis, Ind., has been just one defeat after another. The churchmen even refused to endorse his anti-evolution campaign. But "Bill" Bryan can be depended on to discover another issue, albeit not a winning one.

A Victory for British Labor

The most militant section of the British labor movement has won an important victory in the King's appointment of Stanley Baldwin, rather than Lord Curzon, as premier to succeed Bonar Law, resigned.

It was only the powerful threat of labor, politically and industrially, that halted the decision to put Curzon, the King's foreign secretary, a die-hard foe of Soviet Russia, into power.

Curzon's attack on the Workers' Republic, in his 10-day ultimatum, bolstered with fabrications of falsehood such as only the British foreign ministry is capable of, was to be only the beginning. Curzon, if called to the head of the government, planned new aggressions against Soviet Russia.

The London Herald, the labor daily, had exposed warlike preparations, consisting of the dispatch of light cruisers and mine sweepers to Russian waters. The Daily Herald had been active in revealing the plots of British militarists ever since the manufactured protest of church and state dignitaries, on behalf of Butchkavitch, was sent to Moscow.

The Daily Herald showed that Great Britain was preparing for something more than a mere diplomatic rupture with Soviet Russia. When it made that charge it spoke for the 143 Labor Party members of the British House of Commons and for the 6,000,000 organized working men and women of Great Britain.

Soviet Russia can get along without British recognition. The Workers' Republic can even forego trade and financial relations with London. Soviet Rule can even stand against British imperialism and all its Paris allies. But it will mean another tremendous sacrifice for the workers and peasants of Russia.

But Curzon has been rejected. The selection of Stanley Baldwin indicates that the King's government is on the defensive. We can depend on the British workers to maintain their offensive. The Curzon 10-day ultimatum will be jammed down the throats of British reaction. Krassin will stay in London. All of which should be an inspiration for the workers of the United States to push Washington into recognition of the Soviet Republic, that must be given every possible opportunity to breathe and live and grow to new strength.

Now it is 57,000 German marks to the dollar, and still there are German "Socialists," and some in other lands, who have hopes for the German capitalist republic.

Do you agree with us? Then join the Workers Party!

Join the Workers Party! Subscribe for "THE WORKER"

A Defeat for Nonpartisanism

The nonpartisan policy of dilly-dallying between the two old parties is an invitation to defeat and disaster. This has been amply proven once more thru the appointment by the alleged radical Gov. William E. Sweet, democrat of Colorado, of Alva B. Adams, conservative corporation lawyer, as U. S. Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the republican, Samuel D. Nicholson.

Gov. Sweet was elected as a result of the "protest" wave that swept the country at the 1922 elections. His election was heralded as one of the great achievements of the Gompers-La Follette-Keating "non-partisan" policy that fights the creation of a real Labor Party of the workers and farmers.

Even as late as its current issue, the Locomotive Engineers Journal, May, 1923, proclaims "Governor Sweet, a progressive Democrat, who is one of the most independent and liberal men elected last November," who will "doubtless appoint a progressive Democrat to the senatorial office."

Edward Keating, democrat, former congressman from Colorado, now editor of "Labor," the railroad organ published at Washington, D. C., ran all the way home to Denver, in the hopes of having the senatorial mantle fall on him. It was Keating who led the fight at the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, against the admission of the Workers Party delegates, and against the building of an all-inclusive Labor Party.

But Keating's ambitions have fallen by the wayside. Gov. Sweet has not only remained true to the democratic party, but to the reaction within that party that controls its every action.

Keating's Gov. Sweet appointed the lawyer of the Santa Fe Railroad, Adams, who is in favor of the anti-labor Esch-Cummins law, who urges American participation in the Black Capitalist International, the League of Nations, and takes a stand for an increased militarism and navalism. Thus the much-heralded "balance of power" in the U. S. Senate swings in favor of Wall Street and the "open shoppers."

It is hoped that the workers and farmers of Minnesota will take these things into consideration as they prepare for the special election to choose a successor for the late Knute Nelson. There will be a primary on June 18, an election July 16. A start was made in the right direction last November when Henrik Shipstead was elected Senator on the Farmer-Labor ticket. It would be a criminal betrayal of their own class interests for the exploited in the cities and on the land in Minnesota, to allow La Follette, Keating and their like to persuade them to run a "respectable" candidate on one of the two old party tickets. There must be nothing short of a workers' and farmers' candidate on a class ticket.

The Lowest Level Yet Reached

The declarations of the 11th National Convention of the Socialist Party mark a new and lower level reached by this anti-revolutionary organization in its downward plunge into the black pit of reaction.

The developing tendencies within the Socialist Party were clearly revealed by the decision to trail with the Gompers-La Follette-Keating-Johnston brand of old party politics and to sabotage the organization of a real Labor Party.

But the lowest level in the descension of the Socialist Party was also registered by the convention's approval of the speech of Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish (Socialist) Daily Forward. Cahan's position is now well known. His endorsement and publication of the Frances McCullough articles dropped him into the secret conspiratorial midst of the Russian counter-revolutionary emigres in this and other countries.

Even Boris Brasol, head of Russian (counter-revolutionary) National Society, in this country, charged by Norman Hapgood in the International Magazine, with furnishing Henry Ford with his forged and manufactured propaganda against the Jews, will applaud Cahan's speech before the Socialist National Convention. Thus Cahan again, even as in the publication of the articles of the Jew-baiting McCullough, becomes the enemy of the workers of his own race. And his views are endorsed by the Socialist Party.

It is inconceivable that the organized "Socialists" should find any lower depths into which to descend. But, no doubt, they will even discover these. Hillquit and Berger are in Hamburg getting lessons from the reactionists of the Second (Socialist) International. They will in turn transmit these lessons to those who are still content to linger in an organization that conducts its major attack against the first Workers' Republic, the Russian Soviet Government; against the Communist International, and against its American section, the Workers Party.

That was and is the policy of Cahan's Forward. It has been accepted as the editorial policy of the New York Call. It has been endorsed by the Socialist Party in National Convention. Scheidemann himself could ask for nothing more.

A Vesuvius Shakes Fascism

Our American Fascisti of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers will be very sorry to learn of the troubles confronting their friend, Mussolini, and his dictatorship in Italy.

Black gloom will seize upon Judge Elbert H. Gary, of the Steel Trust, as he hears of the "heavy defections," in the words of the New York Times, suffered by the Mussolini terror, that Gary claims ought to be copied in the United States.

For the Mussolini ship is sinking. This was shown by the recent rebellions within his own cabinet. It has been made very apparent again by wholesale desertions from the Fascisti ranks in the Neapolitan district. Even the censored reports from Rome indicate that a Vesuvius eruption has lit the White Guard ranks of modern capitalism's anti-labor Napoleon.

The premier is greatly grieved, announces the N. Y. Times, in recording the feelings of Mussolini. In such terms did Marc Antony speak at the bier of the dead Julius Caesar.

We cannot yet say that the Fascisti Dictatorship is dead. But it is dying. It was and is a dictatorship of the minority, of the capitalist few over the many, who even imported bull-fights from Spain to amuse the discontented multitudes, even as Nero and others tried in the centuries gone. But the promises of Mussolini have not been kept. The Italian lire, only in lesser degree, like the German mark, keeps falling in value. The demands of the Italian workers are not met.

The crumbling of the Italian terror will proceed, slowly perhaps, but surely. The Fascisti dictatorship will be supplanted by the rule of the workers; the rule of the majority, that will triumph because it will be supported by the many.

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

"The Labor strength and Labor's arm alone can labor free."

Harding Makes a Speech

It is difficult for our hardworking president to speak of new things, so he reached down into his oratorical barrel the other day and drew out the manuscript of a speech on "Alexander Hamilton," that he had often delivered before going to the White House, and read it off at the unveiling of a statue in Washington, dedicated to the aristocratic and conservative colonist, Alexander Hamilton. This champion of the colonial aristocracy must have turned in his grave as Harding denounced "factions" and deplored "class rule." Hamilton was the mouthpiece of the money class and gloried in it. Harding's denunciation of class rule now is a confession that the dictatorship of dollars is slipping, and that there is real danger that the class rule of the bankers and landlords will be wiped out forever thru the rule of the workers, otherwise, why does Harding worry so much about it?

Gompers Investigates Radical Press

Sam Gompers and his executive council of the American Federation of Labor have no funds to organize the workers of the country. But additional funds of the federation have been spent to work upon another attack on the militant press of the American working class.

This dirty job has been carried out by Chester M. Wright, renegade Socialist, who graduated thru the New York Call and New York Tribune, to the head of Gompers private propaganda service.

This Gompers' sleuth declares, "There is employer propaganda; but this is of comparatively small importance and small volume."

The brain that reached that conclusion feels itself qualified to declare that Communist publicity is hurting the labor movement. That viewpoint does not go farther than the Gompers' offices in the A. F. of L. Building at Washington, D. C. The workers generally know that their worst enemy is the bosses' daily press, and that their most powerful ally is the press of the Communist movement. Let Gompers take a straw vote of the workers and find out.

Frayne Gets a Medal

Hugh Frayne, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and osom friend of Sam Gompers, is wearing a "distinguished service medal" as a result of his services in the late war. He didn't go to France. He just remained at home, "forgot all about organizing the workers," and "rendered distinguished service" on the War Industries Board, thus aiding nobly in Wall Street's bloody slaughter.

The same newspapers that tell of Frayne's heroic sacrifice and its reward, report an address by Dr. W. F. Lorenz, director of the Wisconsin Psychiatric Institute, before the National Conference of Social Work, at Washington, D. C., to the effect that 20,000 ex-soldiers are now serving terms in American prisons, "largely as the result of unemployment and physical and mental injuries due to the war."

Hugh Frayne is very proud of his medal. His self-admiration no doubt compels him to display it at every opportunity. He is conveniently deaf to the execrations of the worker ex-soldiers in prison because he, with labor's reactionary officialdom, betrayed America's working class during the war.

He Gave Bread Away

Clarence Saunders, head of the Piggly Wiggly stores thought he could fight the great chain of Atlantic and Pacific Tea Stores. In a price competition he gave bread away free, in Chicago, for a day, being compelled to withdraw his offer because the hungry throngs nearly tore down the buildings housing his stores.

Now the financial pages report that Saunders is disposing of his 97 Piggly Wiggly stores to the National Tea Co., and the consolidation of "tea and coffee stores" advances another step. Saunders was compelled to sell or face bankruptcy. Capitalist competition is a game of the big fish eating the smaller fry. The organized workers and farmers must become the biggest fish of all, conquering the whole capitalist system and converting it to their uses. Not until then will bread be really within the reach of all.

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



Ambassador Harvey gives the Administration all the news that it fit to whisper. All mention of singing of "Red Flag" in the British House of Commons is strictly censored.

"Hideous Crime", "Miscarriage of Justice"
Two Views of the Conviction of Ruthenberg

Edmund R. Brumbaugh, in an editorial, "Ruthenberg Is Ready," in the Mid-west Labor News, Official Organ of the Nebraska Federation of Labor, Omaha Central Labor Union and the Women's Union Labor League, writes:

Charles E. Ruthenberg is guilty, says a jury in Michigan—guilty of that strange, new crime that came out of the war and post-war hysteria—"criminal syndicalism." And so he becomes liable to a heavy fine and long imprisonment.

An apostle of violence, an advocate of anarchy, a promoter of chaos, stands Charles E. Ruthenberg before a stupid world.

Yet no one who has seen and heard the man, who has watched him in action, who has a little sympathetic insight into his purposes, can view such a verdict favorably. Cool, capable, earnest, logical, he is anything but a menace to society. He talks like a professor, he argues like a master of debate, and his communications to his comrades are models of restraint and remarkable exhibitions of knowledge and of confidence.

Then why such a verdict? Back of the first cause, a jury with the minds of fretful, frightened children, are other causes, close to the heart of things, intimately joined with the fundamental wrongs of the social order.

For one thing, "Ruthenberg has both education and guts," as someone has expressed it more truthfully than elegantly. He knows, and knowledge is power. He fears nothing—another aspect of power. Such a man is dangerous to his enemies. The enemies of Ruthenberg are afraid to meet him in fair, open encounter. They cannot hope to argue him down. They invoke the law, law made largely for the selfish designs of a small ruling class, and all the forces of the law, judges and juries and jailors and policemen, are enlisted to drive him into a living death. For Ruthenberg represents a principle, and that principle is odious to the exploiters of labor and the enemies of liberty.

One does not need to be a Communist to be aroused at this miscarriage of justice. One does not need to look toward Moscow as a Mohammedan toward Mecca, in order to demand that the impending appeal to higher courts shall be heard, and that justice be given which the lower court denied. One does not need to be a pessimist, either, in order to be doubtful of the outcome. Appealing to higher courts is simply ascending to a higher realm in the ruling class.

The Government-Strikebreaker

By JAY LOVESTONE

Published by the Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City. Cloth-bound, 368 pages, \$1.50.

"Too long have the militants in the American labor movement turned to other countries for their lessons and inspiration."

This sentence, from the foreword to Jay Lovestone's new book, expresses one of the most serious handicaps under which the American Labor Movement has long suffered. To date there have been few complete studies of the functioning of the American capitalist state power against the American working class based upon the actual facts of the workers' struggles in these United States. Lovestone's book is that variety of TNT which the American workers have long waited for.

The official documents, utterances, and even secret correspondence of the employers and government officials are presented. To read this book is to follow the unfolding of the great drama of the class struggle as it is today being acted on the stage of life. One sees the troops—fixed bayonets—lined up against the workers in the great steel strike of 1919; the entire government marshalled threateningly behind President Wilson, when in 1919 he made his famous statement to the mineworkers: "A strike under these circumstances is not only unjustifiable; it is unlawful," and in 1920, the Palmer raid attacks, when thousands of American workers were jailed. The last scene, of what might well be termed the first act, the Open Shop with its American Plans, Welfare Clubs, and Company Unions, lays bare in all their ugliness the very vitals of the Employers Associations.

The drama then progresses with a rapidity of action up to the present moment. Scene after scene of ever intensified oppression and murderous brutality. Unemployment and the spectre of starvation, the "textile workers in revolt," the miners on strike, an army at war, "Herrin, lesson in American class war," the tragedy of the strike of the railroad workers, a working class divided against itself cannot stand. The drama of the class struggle moves forward powerful, immense, inevitable—the stark naked, ugly truths of the use and again of the force of the entire capitalist state against the working class unfold themselves. Lovestone has no time, no space, need for theorizing. The facts, dripping with blood and dirt, these are presented quite simply and at time even a bit defiantly.

Lovestone has done a splendid piece of work. One realizes the colossal task which the collective and correlation of so much hitherto unavailable material represents. Furthermore, the direct and masterful method of presentation evokes in one the hope that this is but the first of many books by this author. The American worker needs such facts. The American Labor Movement needs such books.—Clarissa S. Ward

Let the Autocrat, Gompers, Be Taught He Is the Servant, Not the Master, of the Labor Movement

A Statement by the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League

In his ultimatum to the Seattle Central Labor Council, Samuel Gompers gives one more illustration of his autocratic methods and reactionary policies. For a long time this central body has been an eyesore to Gompers. Time and again, exercising its rights within the A. F. of L. constitution, it has dared to break with the 19th Century policies of Gompers and to think and act in accordance with our modern needs. It has endorsed amalgamation of

the craft unions, recognition of Soviet Russia, the Red International of Labor Unions, independent working class political action, and a host of other progressive policies.

Because of this the Seattle central body has been marked for the slaughter. Gompers died intellectually 40 years ago, and his constant effort, all too successful, has been to cramp the labor movement into a narrow cell of his own restricted outlook. Throwing aside the A. F. of L. constitution and trampling underfoot the elementary principles of free speech, he proposes to force

Seattle to abandon its progressive attitude. He demands that it turn back the hands of time, by giving up its advanced policies, and by re-adopting his antiquated viewpoint, which it threw overboard 15 years ago. And if it refuses, its charter shall be revoked and the local movement demoralized and broken up.

This organized work of reaction has gone on for many years. But a short while ago Gompers illegally and violently reorganized the New York Central Labor Unions because of their progressive tendencies, and more recently still he attacked the

Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly for similar reasons. But his assault upon the Seattle Central Labor Council is the most outrageous of all. The whole campaign is as ineffective as it is stupid and tyrannical. The progressive forces are not intimidated by it. In New York, Gompers did not diminish, but increased the Labor Party sentiment; in Minneapolis he has strengthened the radicals and given them a better understanding of the task before them. And just as he brandishes his pop-gun of charter revocation at Seattle, the convention of the Penn-

sylvanian Federation of Labor shows how little it is terrified by adopting almost unanimously exactly the three measures for which Gompers condemns Seattle—amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, and the Labor Party. Gompers is a modern Mrs. Partington, vainly trying to sweep back the irresistible rising tide of progress.

It is high time that Gompers' illegal and unconstitutional campaign of reaction in the unions be stopped. The rights of the progressives and revolutionaries have been violated all too long. It is sincerely to be

hoped that the Seattle Central Labor Council, responding to its best traditions of militancy, will stand its ground and refuse to be terrorized by the arch-reactionary Gompers. It should stoutly defend its incontestable constitutional rights as an affiliate of the A. F. of L. to pass its opinion on all issues confronting the labor movement. The demands of Gompers should be flatly rejected, and if he dares to revoke the charter, the right should be carried not only to the A. F. of L. convention, but also to the thousands of local unions and central bodies throughout the whole

labor movement. Seattle, you have an urgent duty and a great opportunity confronting you. On the one hand, on pain of treason to progress, you must not weaken before the reactionary; and on the other, if you will but take up the gauntlet for free speech in the unions you will spread a great victory. In such a fight against bureaucratic reaction an autocracy, the powerful and rapid organizing forces of progress will be behind you to a man. Let the autocrat Gompers be taught that he is the servant, not the master, of the labor movement.