



THE WORKER

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Big Hopes for Labor Party

Progressives at Anthracite Meet Strong

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT (Special to "The Worker")

SCRANTON, Pa.—A speech by Bishop Michael J. Hoban, head of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Scranton, and the reply of Rinaldo Cappellini, Progressive, recently elected President of District No. 1, filled the first day of the Anthracite Tri-District Convention here with dense interest, showing that there is a powerful progressive sentiment in the gathering.

"I am a radical Catholic," said Bishop Hoban. "The church is socialistic. But the world cannot be changed in 24 hours. Look out for those advocating un-American, un-Christian doctrines. There is bad Socialism and good Socialism. I warn you against the bad sort emanating from New York and Chicago. Extreme radicalism nearly wrecked Italy. I was in Italy when Mussolini captured the government, saved Italy and gave it prosperity and peace."

During the morning session Cappellini had been denied the floor. At the afternoon session the question was raised as to why others were granted the floor, and not Cappellini. The motion to give Cappellini the floor was carried without a dissenting vote.

"I don't want to talk long," said Cappellini, "for there will be much to say later on. But I want to tell Bishop Hoban that we want no Mussolini dictatorship here. Mussolini has ruined the organized labor movement in Italy. The labor movement in Italy has been shot to pieces after 30 years' effort to build it up. Nor do we need orphanages if we do our duty as union men to make the mines safe and to get the shorter workday."

"There is a lot of talk these days about radicals," he continued, "and the cheers of the delegates. It seems that those who are bad radicals are the best ditch diggers. These are bad radicals who are against the mine bosses, those who want to give more food to the miners' children. Those who are 100 per cent Americans, and who accept low wages, never protest. It has been reported in the Scranton papers that I favor affiliation with the Chamber of Commerce. This is a lie. I fought these gentlemen from the beginning, and will fight them to the end."

This convention is distinguished from past gatherings by the large number of youthful delegates. This is taken to indicate that the progressive element has gained during the past year.

The daily capitalist press, especially of New York City, is devoting much space to this important convention of the Anthracite coal miners. This is due to the double reason that the progressives are strong, and because the new agreement will be up for discussion. The New York Times, June 27, carried the headline, "Radicals in Power as Miners Convene—Cappellini Gains the First Move at Meeting of the United Mine Workers." There will be a complete story of the convention in next week's issue of "The Worker." Look for it.



Minor in the July "Liberator" "For God's Sake, Sam, Can't You Hold Him?"

The Communist International Greet the Workers Party

The Workers Party has received the following communication from Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

To the Workers Party of America and All Its Language Federations. Dear Comrades—It is with great pleasure that the Communist International has learned of the progress that the Workers Party has made in the past few months. We are especially gratified at the militant spirit that has manifested itself in the Party since the Second Convention in December, 1922. The unity of spirit, the determination to work and the understanding of the path to be trodden and the general tactics to be applied, augur that, in the near future, the Workers Party will mature to one of the truly Communist mass parties of the world.

With Communist Greetings, J. Zinoviev

Bosses' Use of Government Against Labor Is Best Argument for the Labor Party

By JAY LOVESTONE

George Washington once said: "Government is not reason, it is not eloquence, it is force . . . Never for a moment should it be left to irresponsible action."

The American workers and farmers have not heeded Washington's advice. They have let the government fall into the hands of the irresponsible, unscrupulous capitalists exploiting the city and rural masses. The close unity between the Stock Exchange and the White House is known to hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers. Thru their outright

White Terror Is Beaten at Kansas City

(Special to "The Worker.")

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—C. R. Kalble, Frederick Simmons, Elmer Peterson and George McLaughlin who were arrested early in April while attending a meeting of the Kansas City branch of the Labor Defense Council addressed by Ella Reeve Bloor, were discharged by the Circuit Court judge.

The men were taken into custody by the Kansas City police and the Kansas City Post of the American Legion when they protested against the breaking up of the Bloor meeting. They were charged with vagrancy, disturbing the peace and condemnation of government. The police court judge found the four guilty and fined them \$200 each, at the same time making the now notorious statement: "That free speech as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States did not include free speech for Communists and I. W. W." The men were released on bail and an appeal from the decision of the police court judge was taken. (Continued on Page Five)

Delegates Going to Chicago for July 3rd Conference Urge Class Action for Exploited

(By Staff Correspondent of "The Worker.")

CHICAGO.—Delegates are now on their way to Chicago, from all sections of the nation, with hopes pinned to the belief that the July 3d Conference called by the Farmer-Labor Party will lay the foundation for a class Labor Party of America's exploited industrial workers and farmers.

This Conference is recognized as the first sincere attempt to launch a coalition, thru an independent Labor Party, of all the workers' political forces in the United States.

It was expected that the Conference for Progressive Political Action would make this effort toward a Labor Party. But the expectation was doomed to disappointment long before the meeting in Cleveland, last December. The Cleveland program, in fact, became apparent during the LaFollette Conference in Washington, late in November, where the railroad unions, the Non-partisan Leaguers and other conservative labor elements, including the Gompers officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, showed their determination to stick to the old parties.

It was inevitable that a new attempt toward a Labor Party should be made following the Cleveland Conference fiasco. This attempt is now scheduled for Chicago, July 3rd.

The organizers of the Chicago Conference are very much amused here over the frantic efforts of the Conference for Progressive Political Action to draw attention to itself. The long statement sent forth from Washington, reiterating the post election claims of last autumn, carries nothing new, except perhaps the statement that this organization is at work "in the interests of Magnus Johnson, the Farmer-Labor candidate for senator from Minnesota to succeed the late Senator Knute Nelson."

No mention, of course, is made of (Continued on Page Two)

Gompers Is Silent on Need for Labor Party

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was silent on the question of the Labor Party during his recent appearance here before the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Gompers' talk followed a report of the Legislative Committee. This report showed the failure of labor in getting any of the laws it favored passed by the last Illinois Assembly. After this report was made a general discussion took place in which many delegates joined, all pointing out the need for independent working-class political action—a Labor Party. Gompers listened to all this and when he took the floor carefully avoided the question of political action. He never said a word on any of the great problems confronting the labor movement today.

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

Strike—or Putsch?—in the Ruhr

By LUDWIG LORE

When the French took possession of the Ruhr district at the beginning of the year a rapid movement, both socially and politically seemed inevitable. Yet it did not occur, because the French authorities as well as the Cuno government and the German bourgeoisie gave the working class of the occupied district its bitter medicine with a sugared coating. The French tried desperately to pacify the Ruhr population, in order to win it away from the sabotage problem of the German bourgeoisie. Their occupation therefore at first assumed an exceptionally mild aspect. Only railroad workers and officials directly implicated in active sabotage and Prussian and Federal authorities were accorded a treatment similar to that meted out to the Ruhr workers by Noske in 1919.

The German officials and manufacturers, to offset the allurements of the French, immediately granted a one hundred per cent wage increase. (Continued on Page Six)

The Important Tasks of the Workers Party at the Historical July 3rd Convention in Chicago

By JOHN PEPPER

The July 3d Farmer-Labor Party Convention is an historical event, and the Workers Party has historical tasks to accomplish there.

Two main viewpoints must motivate our Party. First, the Workers Party is going to Chicago as a PART OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Second, the Workers Party participates in the July 3d Convention as a PARTY INDEPENDENT in every respect.

Two tasks result therefrom. First, keeping up and deepening the relations of the Party with the general labor movement. Second, keeping intact the integrity and independence of the Workers Party.

There still are dogmatists who believe that the Workers Party should not enter at all into a Labor Party because it will lose thereby its political virginity. Then there are other dogmatists who are so fearful lest our Party remain isolated within the labor movement, that out of pure caution, they endanger the independence of the Party's tactics. The Central Executive Committee of our Party must solve the problems in such a way as not to sacrifice the INDEPENDENCE of the Party, and yet, NOT TO ISOLATE the Party hopelessly in the July 3d Convention and the Central Executive Committee will solve this problem with the support of the entire Party.

How can we CONCRETELY solve our tasks in the July 3d Convention?

First of all, we must not permit the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party to be postponed at the July 3d Convention. It would be the greatest deception for the laboring masses if the Chicago Conference should ape the example of the Cleveland Conference.

In speaking of the Cleveland Conference at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, on December 17, 1922, John Fitzpatrick said with bitter sarcasm: "They become scab and dual to Sam Gompers, and the Chicago Federation of Labor will have nothing to do with such a policy. If we have to go along that reactionary path, we will be regular and go with the American Federation of Labor, but we are not weakening

in our position that there must be a definitely workers' party. We are going right ahead." We must not permit the Chicago Conference to become scab and dual to the Cleveland Conference. IT IS THE DUTY OF THE WORKERS PARTY TO CONDUCT THE MOST ZEALOUS FIGHT FOR THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF A FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY. Of course, we must not be blind to the facts. Without masses it is impossible to form the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party. But it is an actual fact today, and no longer an optimistic hypothesis, that the Chicago Convention will have a sufficiently large mass basis.

HOW should the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party be built up? The new Federated Farmer-Labor Party cannot be a closed political party, but a BLOC of the various organizations, trade unions, farmer

groups and political parties. It should have as members only ORGANIZATIONS, and not INDIVIDUALS.

The new party should exercise no direct DISCIPLINE over individual members of the various labor organizations and political parties which belong to it, but only discipline of action over these organizations and political parties AS A WHOLE.

The new Party must have a PROGRAM in some form. This program cannot and should not be a COMMUNIST program. The program should go only as far as the LEFT WING of the American labor movement which will be represented in Chicago can accept as its common political expression. Even less than that would suffice. The program should not be a hindrance which will keep NEW masses, not as yet class-conscious, from joining the Feder-

ated Farmer-Labor Party. One step forward of the real mass-movement is worth more than a hundred programs.

It is a vital necessity for the new Party as well as for the Workers Party that every adhering group or political party retain its complete FREEDOM FOR PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION. Communists can accept no form of united front where they can have no guarantee for absolute possibility to propagate their ideas.

Notwithstanding the freedom of propaganda and agitation for all participating groups, the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party should be CENTRALIZED to such an extent that it will be capable of action. The National Executive Committee of the new party must therefore be elected at the Convention. Only thus can it possess sufficient authority on a national scale.

The new Party should not be only an ELECTION COMBINATION. Its activity must not be confined to nomination conventions and election campaigns. It must also take a stand, during the time between elections, on every important question concerning workers and farmers, and must conduct POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND ACTIONS in the interest of the masses.

The new Party must be a CLASS PARTY of the laboring masses. It would be harmful to the whole future of the Party if LOWER MIDDLE-CLASS POLITICIANS of the LaFollette group would be allowed entrance. Of course, this does not mean that the Party does not wish to attract the farmers. On the contrary, the ALLIANCE BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND EXPLOITED FARMERS is a vital question; it is the greatest guarantee that the new Party will be a suc-

cess and that the struggle of the laboring masses in the factory and on the farm will end in victory in the United States.

To solve all these questions is the historical task of the July 3d Convention. To be the forward-driving element in the solution of these questions is the historical task of the Workers Party at the July 3d Convention.

Our Party is going to the July 3d Convention in order to fight.

We will fight there against the capitalists and the capitalist government who exploit and oppress the workers.

We will fight there against Gompers and his clique who sell out the labor movement to the old capitalist parties.

We will fight there against the Johnston clique and the Socialist Party which sabotaged the formation of a Labor Party at the Cleveland Conference.

And we will fight against all those who, at the July 3d Convention, will postpone or prevent, thru indecision and hesitation, the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party. CHICAGO WILL BE A FIELD OF BATTLE FOR US.

JOIN the Free Speech Drive

JULY 1 to 8

For the Defense of:

Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg, Ben Gitlow, Robert Minor, Harry Winitzky, Wm. F. Dunne, Rose Pastor Stokes, Max Lerner, Paul Mankio, Caleb Harrison, Joseph Zack, Jay Lovestone, Joseph Kowalski, Edgar Owens, Ig. Misher, and others

Report at the Following Headquarters FROM JUNE 29 To JULY 8

MANHATTAN: 143 E. 103rd St., 350 E. 81st St., 208 E. 12th St., 47 Chrystie St., 80 E. 11th St. (Room 434)

BROOKLYN: 715 Broadway, 46 Ten Eyck St., 76 Throop Avenue, 764 40th St., 1844 Pitkin Avenue

BRONX: 1347 Boston Road, Coney Island: 2858 W. 29th St.

ROCKAWAY: Mrs. N. London, 414 Beach 44th St., Edgemere

Drive Headquarters: 80 East 11th St., Room 434, N. Y.—Tel., Stuyves. 6616

AUSPICES OF National Defense Committee, LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL and Affiliated Organizations

Call West Va. Labor Party Meet July 19

Chicago July 3d Conference to See the First Real Effort Toward U. S. Labor Party

(By Federated Press)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—A farmer and labor conference "to begin independent political action" in this state has been called by the executive committee of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor to meet in Clarksburg, July 19. The twofold purpose of the conference is to adopt a political program and decide whether in the approaching campaign a separate and independent state and national ticket shall be nominated.

The official call, which has been sent out to "farmers, school teachers, and organized workers," follows in part:

"Pursuant to an insistent demand of more than 30,000 workers engaged in the industries and upon the farms of West Virginia, among them being teachers and others engaged in educational pursuits, who have sent in petitions and written demands during recent weeks, we do hereby issue a call . . . to meet . . . for the purpose of formulating and organizing a political movement for the advancement and protection of the interests of the producing and educational masses."

"From one end of the nation to the other the producing and educational masses are in revolt against the political tyranny of the old parties. Year after year, and campaign after campaign, they have listened to their specious pleas and promises of relief in vain. To their cry for relief responds only the political hammer, always in the hands of the financial brigands, riveting the chains of economic slavery ever more firmly upon the limbs of the farmers and industrial workers of the state.

"The farmer, with the prices he is to receive for his product fixed in the secret conclaves of the bandits of big business, and with the prices which he has to pay for his machinery and other implements and necessities fixed by the same interests, is absolutely at the mercy of his enemies. Work as he may and strive with all the power at his command, the farmer is a victim of ceaseless toil and hardship, while the product of his labor ever flows in increasing volume into the coffers of Wall street.

"The industrial worker, whether in the mine or the factory, is even more at the mercy of the same powers. His reward for a life of toil and labor is an old age of poverty and dependency. His children are driven by the same sinister forces to follow in his footsteps. They in turn become the wage slaves of the industrial masters, and out of their blood is built the colossal fortunes of the money kings of America.

"The forces arrayed against the workers of the farms and factories are organized. It is thru organization that they are able to tyrannize over the wealth producers. It is only thru disorganization that the producers are the victims. Organization of the money kings must be met with organization of the wealth producers. Only in this way can we protect ourselves.

"The basis of representation is for labor unions with 100 members or less, one delegate and one delegate for each 100 members or majority fraction thereof. Farmers, school teachers and unorganized workers may send delegates bearing credentials endorsed by five or more voters of any of these groups or by a combination of five or more voters of these groups."

Hits Cleveland Conference

(By Federated Press)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—General Organizer Henry Ohl, Jr., of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, in a supplementary report to the convention which meets in Superior, Wis., July 17, discussing the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action deplores the action of the conference in refusing to seat representatives of the Workers Party and in erecting a dual organization to the A. F. of L. nonpartisan political committee, instead of coming out for independent political action by united labor.

Special Announcement!

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, called by the Farmer-Labor Party, takes place in Chicago, Ill., beginning July 3d. It is quite safe to say that it is going to be the birth day of a FEDERATED LABOR PARTY in the United States. It is going to be a history making gathering. The militant and wide awake workers of the country will follow it with the greatest concern.

THE VOICE OF LABOR, of Chicago, Ill., a militant working class paper, will publish DAILY EDITIONS during the convention, not less than five, covering the conference as completely as possible. It will be not less than four pages, illustrated with cartoons, sketches, pictures, etc. It will convey the true message and information about this conference, by our best writers and reporters. It will contain timely and appropriate articles.

YOU SHOULD READ THESE DAILY EDITIONS! SEND 25 cents in money order or postage stamps for individual subscriptions. BETTER STILL, order a bundle for free distribution or sale among the workers.

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(Continued from Page One)

the fact that the Stone-Johnston-Keating Cleveland Conference sought to have the workers and farmers of Minnesota, last fall, run their candidate on an old party ticket. This advice was rejected and Hendrik Shipstead was elected U. S. Senator from Minnesota on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket, the first United States Senator chosen independent of the old parties.

The Stone-Johnston "Conference" also holds out the usual glowing promises for the 1924 presidential campaign, if the workers will only follow its Gompers' policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" in the Wall Street democratic and republican parties.

William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists, and chairman of the Cleveland Conference, who has resigned as a member of the Farmer-Labor Party executive, has also seized upon the present occasion to attack the organization of a Labor Party. He did this in a speech at the closing session of the League for Industrial Democracy.

It is felt here that these utterances, at this time, are a confession of the fear aroused among these reactionaries by the growing sentiment in support of the July 3rd Conference.

Credentials from 20 States

Credentials have already been sent in from 20 different states, according to Jay G. Brown, National Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party. And it is confidently expected that there will be several hundred delegates in attendance upon this convention.

Intention to send delegates has already been recorded by the following international labor organizations, with approximate membership as noted:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 200,000; Railroad Maintenance of Way, 250,000; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 75,000; Brick and Clay Workers, 10,000; Broom Makers, 1,000.

Three district organizations of the United Mine Workers, with combined membership of 75,000, Districts Nos. 2, 10 and 25, are also on record for the sending of delegates; as well as more than a hundred local labor organizations. Among these latter is the miners' organization of Ziegler, Ills., a strong union of several thousand members.

The City Central labor bodies of Buffalo, Detroit, Butte, Los Angeles, San Diego and Long Beach, Cal., will also send delegates.

Spokesmen of Farmers Coming

And farmers' organizations from the following states will be represented: Idaho, Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota, Washington and Wisconsin. From the State of Wisconsin alone there will be representatives from the following organizations: the Equity Society, the United Farmers, the United Society of Agriculture, the Farm Bureaus, and the Women's Progressive Association. Three other national organizations of women have notified that they will send delegates to this convention. And from Wisconsin also is sent word that the Non-Partisan League of that state will send a delegation of twenty-three, headed by Lieutenant-Governor George Comings and Congressman James O. Beck.

This is probably only the beginning of response to the call for Farmer-Labor Party Convention.

Representatives of the 200,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will attend the Labor Party Conference at Chicago, starting July 3rd. This was made certain when the General Executive Board here voted to have the organization participate. The Chicago organization, which has 40,000 members, will select the delegates. It is not certain whether President Sidney Hillman or Secretary Joseph Schlossberg will be able to attend.

President Hillman and other delegates represented the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, but were not satisfied with the results of that gathering. This viewpoint was echoed thru the edi-

British Miners Plan to Force Parliament to Act

By EVELYN SHARP

(Special to "The Worker")

LONDON.—The present tendency of British labor to rely on political rather than industrial action, has been demonstrated by the miners' action in waiting for the debate on the Labor party's bill to amend the Coal Mines Minimum Wage act, which comes up before parliament. Conscious of their strength, for they are the biggest and best organized union in Britain, they will not attempt industrial action until parliamentary power has been tried to the utmost.

torial expressions of the various trade unions. That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will give its full support to the drive for the organization of a real Labor Party is shown in the action to go to the Chicago Conference.

Detroit Endorses Labor Party

By an unanimous vote of the delegates to the Detroit Federation of Labor at its regular meeting, June 13, a decision was made to send two delegates to the convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party to be held in Chicago, July 3, for the purpose of uniting Labor's forces in a political party of the workers.

John Taylor and Frank Martel, president and secretary, respectively, of the Federation, were chosen; by the Detroit central body to represent them at the convention.

Many delegates took the floor and voiced their opinion that the time had passed to look to the financial and employing interests for political guidance.

"Workers' votes elected Mr. Wilson president in 1916," said Delegate Mullenbauer in making the motion to send delegates, "and he gave us war and Mitchell Palmer. They reversed themselves in 1920 and elected Mr. Harding by the biggest majority in the history of political elections, and they got Injunction Bill Taft for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and an administration openly espousing the employers' program to smash the unions, and a Daugherty injunction. Bitter experience should have taught us to expect nothing else from political parties organized and financed by Big Business. For both defensive and offensive purposes Labor must form its own political party."

"The Detroit Federation of Labor has a reputation for being progressive," said President Taylor in supporting the motion, "and we cannot afford to stand by while a Labor Party is being formed. At the Chicago convention the workers will build a political party of their own, a Party thru which they can give expression to their own political needs. The organized workers of Detroit must participate in the formation of such a Party."

A number of delegates reported that their local unions had elected delegates to the Chicago convention. Others reported that the matter was yet to come up and predicted favorable action. Organized labor of Detroit will be well represented July 3.

Workers Hit at Navalism

SYDNEY, New South Wales.—The Australian Labor party contends that the decision of Britain to build a large naval base at Singapore is contrary to the terms of the Washington Disarmament treaty.

Labor Party in New Zealand

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand.—The New Zealand Labor party intends to devote a year to solid organization work.

July 4th Picnic in Chicago

Dazzling exercises in pyramid-building and hair-raising stunts by a troupe of lithe and athletic young Finnish gymnasts will make of the July Fourth Picnic of the Chicago Workers Party, at Chernanakas Grove, something truly unique in the history of local labor outings.

The speaker of the day will be Robert Minor, editor of the Liberator, who is just as good a speaker as he is a cartoonist. Minor is one of the men involved in the Michigan case, but as he is out on bail, he is free to spend the fourth of July with us in Chicago. Moisseye Olgin has been invited to come and probably will be one of the speakers. William F. Dunne, fresh from Butte, Mont., will also speak.

To get to the picnic grounds, take any car to 22nd St. and Cicero Ave., and from there take the Lyons-Berwyn car to Desplains River.

Coming Events in Chicago

July 21, Scandinavian Workers' Picnic, 29th Annual Y. W. L. Picnic.
Aug. 26, International Press Picnic, River-view Park.
Sept. 2 and 3 are reserved for a Y. W. L. Picnic and International Youth Day.
Sept. 29 is set aside for a T. U. E. L. Needle Trades Dance.

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

Party C. E. C. Renews Labor Party Policy

By C. E. RUTHENBERG,

Secretary, Workers Party.

The full Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party held its monthly session on Thursday, June 21st. The questions on the agenda of the committee were the policy of the Party in relation to the July 3rd Labor Party Convention, the question of the location of the national headquarters, the establishment of a daily newspaper, and the reorganization of the work of the C. E. C.

Labor Party Policy

The committee discussed at length the policy which the Party has pursued thus far in regard to the organization of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party and after thorough consideration of all the phases of this campaign reiterated its previously established policy of carrying on an aggressive struggle to bring about the culmination of the sentiment now existing among the workers of this country for a political party to represent the interests of industrial workers and farmers in an organized Farmer-Labor Party.

The policy which the Party pursued in the Cleveland Conference and which has been its consistent policy in all labor organizations since, of an uncompromising stand for an independent political party to represent the interests of industrial workers and farmers will be pursued in the July 3rd conference.

The National Headquarters

The question of the location of the national headquarters had been considered in a previous meeting of the Executive Council of the Party and was presented to the full Central Executive Committee for final settlement. The relative advantages of the location of the headquarters in New York or Chicago was discussed at length.

In this connection the resolutions passed by various district committees urging the removal to Chicago were considered. The committee, after going into the matter in detail and considering every aspect of the situation decided that the headquarters shall remain in New York City.

The Daily Paper

On the question of establishing a daily newspaper to represent the Communist movement of this country, it was decided to instruct the Organization and Political committees of the Party to prepare a survey of the situation and the possibilities of raising a sufficient fund to establish a daily paper, with the view of beginning the campaign some time during the month of July and beginning publication of the daily by November 7th, the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet government in Russia. The two committees charged with the investigation will report at the July meeting of the C. E. C., when the matter will be finally decided.

Reorganization of the C. E. C.

The question of reorganizing the committees of the C. E. C. so as to facilitate the work was taken up and numerous suggestions considered, among them a report from the Organization Committee. After some discussion the matter was referred back to the Organization Committee for further study and report.

At the present time there exist the following committees of the full C. E. C.: a Secretariat of three, a Political Committee, Organization Committee, Editorial Committee, Industrial Committee, and an Executive Council composed of the members of all these committees.

The proposal before the Committee which seemed to have greatest support was to create two committees, an Organization Committee and a Political Committee, which shall report to full meetings of the C. E. C. monthly, thus eliminating a number of intermediate bodies.

Relief Activities

The question of relief and reconstruction work for Soviet Russia was discussed, it being brought to the attention of the committee that many Party members were taking the position that there was no further need for such relief.

A resolution was adopted pointing out that there was still need for this work. This resolution stated that trained Party workers should not be drawn out of Party work for relief work, but that the Party organizations as such should give support to the work of relief and reconstruction, particularly those phases of this work which were bringing knowledge of conditions in Russia to great masses of workers and building up a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the workers to the workers and peasants of Russia.

MISSING!

To make up complete files of THE WORKER we need the following numbers—212-219-222-241-244-271.

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



An Ellis Cartoon in the July "Labor Herald"

Workers of Akron, Ohio, Send Delegate to Chicago; Fight Reaction at Home

(Special to "The Worker")

AKRON, Ohio.—A Labor Party conference composed of delegates representing five Akron organizations, the Bakery Workers' Union, the Machinists' Union, the Rubber Workers' Union, the Workers' Council and the Workers Party, elected Ben Murphy, President of the Rubber Workers' Union as joint delegate to represent the above organizations at the national conference to organize a powerful Labor Party, called by the Farmer-Labor Party to convene in Chicago, July 3rd.

These five organizations are among the most militant in Akron and have been carrying on progressive work in the Rubber City under severe handicaps imposed by the machine in control of the Akron Central Labor Union.

Quite recently, the Machinists' Union pulled away from the Central Labor Union because of the reactionary and high-handed way in which the affairs of organized labor in Akron are being handled by these misleaders of labor. The two chief henchmen of the Gompers' machine in Akron are one Sheppard, an oily-tongued labor faker who lets

no opportunity slip by to vilify everything which promises effective organization of the Akron workers, and his right-hand bower, one Brady, an electrical contractor and member of the Electrical Workers' union, who parrot-like, echoes everything that Sheppard tells him. The rawness of the tactics pursued by these two gentry have even caused A. F. of L. Organizer Conboy, specially placed at Akron by the Gompers' machine to "watch the radicals," to express a desire to leave Akron, but it is reported that he was instructed by Gompers to stay on the job.

Akron workers are asking among themselves how it is possible that Brady is allowed to act in the capacity of President of the central body, when he is an employer in business as an electrical contractor, with the prerogative of hiring and discharging workers.

If this is the policy of the Gompers' machine, they aver, the sooner there is a house-cleaning in Akron of all such rotten timber in the central labor union structure, the better. Progressive unionists all over the country will watch the developments in the Rubber City with keen interest. It is common gossip in Akron that the failure to efficiently organize the rubber workers, who compose about 40,000 of the city's 49,000 workers, is directly due to the betrayals engineered by the Gompers' machine.

Socialists in N. Y. Running True to Form

Tammany politics is dominating the affairs of the trade union movement of New York, while machine politicians of the Socialist-reformist stripe dominate the affairs of the portion of the labor movement which dears to build up an independent labor party.

This domination of the Socialist Party machine has now resulted in the virtual dissolution of the American Labor Party. This being a off-year in politics, the Socialist Party does not consider the cooperation of the numerically small Farmer-Labor element and the trade union essential. No Smith nor La Guardia will be in the field, and the Socialist Party considers it unnecessary to keep the American Labor Party Ticket on the ballot.

The dissolution took place at the meeting of the Executive Council of the A. L. P. Monday night, when the Farmer-Labor delegates joined hands in killing the party which they professed to represent. There were no A. L. P. on the ballot next fall nor will there be a state conference as ordered by the convention. In our era of pure democracy such little things as convention decisions count just as much as similar "scraps of paper" counted in former years. But what do any resolutions or constitutions mean among friends?

The "S. P." machine had little difficulty in having its sabotage on the Chicago Farmer-Labor Convention endorsed. The Farmer-Labor delegates unanimously voted against participation. Jerome T. DeHunt, a Ben Howe explained their action saying they considered it inconsistent to participate at the national convention, called by their own party, as long as the A. L. P. maintains its connection with the Cleveland "Conference for Progressive Political Action," whose leaders have definitely repudiated every attempt to organize an independent political party.

Detroit Has July 1st Picnic

Sunday, July 1, will be a gala day for radicals of Detroit, Mich. On this day will be held the Big International Picnic under the auspices of the Workers Party, Defense Committee and the Friends of Soviet Russia. The picnic grounds at Walnut Lake have been secured, which is an added reason for a record attendance.

Help the Free Speech Drive! New York City, July 1-8.

For a Labor Party!



The Workers Party, as the vanguard of the working class in this country, must continue in the lead in organizing the forces for a Labor Party. The implication that we have in the past taken the lead in this movement is deliberate, for altho we have not issued the official call for the organization of a Labor Party, it is our agitation that has consolidated the sentiment for such a Party.

It is distinctly the province of the revolutionist to be able to analyze the social forces in all their movements and to clearly point the road the class for which it speaks—the working class—must follow.

When it was apparent that the basis for a Labor Party movement existed in this country the Workers Party made the unity of labor's forces on the political field one of its major campaigns. The call of the Farmer-Labor Party for a conference in Chicago is partly the result of our agitation. It is our agitation that has aroused the interest of large sections of the rank and file of labor. Many local unions have been reached thru our agitation that would never have been reached otherwise. It is our demand for a united front that they are responding to and the call of the F. L. P. is simply the opportunity for them to respond in action to what we have long ago convinced them was a historical necessity in labor's struggles in the United States.

Now that the progressive forces of labor are meeting in Chicago for the July 3rd Conference, it does not

mean that our work in this direction is ended. It means we have only begun to fight for a Labor Party with more definite and precise weapons than heretofore. It is a point from which we must begin the real, systematic work of building such a Party.

In order to fulfill our function as a Communist Party within the ranks of a federated Labor Party it is imperative that we exert all our energy toward uniting all labor's forces under the banner of the new Party, and at the same time keep clear and distinct the fundamental principles of our own Party. We must convince the masses that are attracted to the Labor Party that their ultimate emancipation can be achieved only

thru our program of action. It is not by trickery, or pulling political wires that the cause of Communism within a federated Labor Party advances, but by careful, thorough, educational work. To do this cost money and energy. Therefore it is necessary that the members and sympathizers of the Workers Party contribute both.

To lay out our future work on broad basis, compatible with the party we must play in such a movement we must have \$10,000 immediately for a Labor Party Fund. Let every branch forward its allotted amount. If the amount is not in the treasury take up voluntary donations or arrange some sort of entertainment or other affair to realize the amount assigned to you by the Central Executive Committee.

And—prepare to take the part in the active work that will be assigned you in order to carry on this work for Communism in America, in the realization of which the Labor Party is an important step.

For a Labor Party Fund!

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA,

Room 405—799 Broadway, New York City.

Enclosed you will find \$..... my contribution to the "For a Labor Party" Fund.

Name _____ Address _____

Huge Profits of Steel Trust Prove It Can Easily Afford to Abolish the 12-Hour Day

When Elbert H. Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation, says that the steel profiteers cannot afford to abolish the 12-Hour Day in their steel mills, he lies. In this week's installment of our campaign against the 12-Hour Day we show why he lies. Here are the facts:

By JAY LOVESTONE
Author of "The Government—Strike-Breaker"

Andrew Carnegie once said: "There are more ways of figuring cost than there are of killing a cat. It is simply a matter of bookkeeping." Apparently this was the principle by which the American Iron and Steel Institute was guided when it reported that the abolition of the 12-Hour Shift "would increase the cost of production on the average about 15 per cent."

The history of the notorious Steel Trust is replete with exploitation and theft of the vilest order. An examination of the Steel Shylocks' financial juggling and manipulations reveals that in Gary's statistics lies figure and figures lie. Unbiased authoritative investigators have proven, and proven beyond a doubt that the Steel Masters' contention as to the 8-Hour-Day entailing an increase of 15 per cent in the cost of production is simply another case of the Steel Trust stretching the truth to death.

Experts Show that Two-Shift System Is More Economical

In the investigation of the Federated American Engineering Society on the "12-Hour Shift in Industry" we find overwhelming proof to shatter the case of King Steel against the 8-Hour-Day. Says this report:

"Robert A. Bull, in a paper before the American Foundrymen's Association, published the results of a change from two shifts on the open-hearth furnaces of the Commonwealth Steel Co., which," he says, "indicates fully a more economical and efficient manipulation of both open-hearth and boiler furnaces. Major Bull is an acknowledged expert and authority on open-hearth steel manufacture; twice President of the American Foundrymen's Association. He has been instrumental in changing other open-hearth plants from two to three shifts, even in the center of America's competitive steel industry, the Pittsburgh District. He is still of the opinion that the savings in cost of operation, quality of product and uniformity of operation and output, fully compensate for the expense of working the 'continuous operation' laborers on three shifts instead of two shifts."

Enumerating the advantages of the 8-Hour-Day which more than compensate for whatever apparent increase there might be in the cost of production the Engineers go on to say:

"Increased efficiency, due in part to better physical and mental conditions of the men, and in part (after the industry has been working the shorter day for several months or years) to a better class of men attracted by better working conditions. This increased efficiency has manifested itself in increased production per man per hour and per machine per day, thus decreasing overhead expense. It has also appeared in better conduct of the operations, greater uniformity and regularity of operation and of quality of product, less fuel used, less waste, less need of repairs to equipment, and better life of apparatus."

"As a matter of actual experience, it is known that some plants, or departments of plants, have changed from the 12-Hour to the 8-Hour shift and reduced their labor costs. Others are operating on the 8-Hour shift with satisfaction to their management and stockholders. Others have changed and reduced their total manufacturing cost. Finally, there are other plants which have had experience with the 8-Hour shift, the exact economic result of which is not known, but as to which there seems to be reason to believe that the total manufacturing cost is, at most, not much greater with the 8-Hour than with the 12-Hour Shift."

"In this connection it is permissible to quote the management of the Ford Co. and say that although the blast furnace operates on the basis of eight hours per day and 48 hours per week per man, and labor is paid 75 cents and upwards per hour, as compared with 27 and 30 cents per hour and upwards at other plants visited, nevertheless they make pig iron cheaper than they can buy it. They attribute this to greater efficiency of labor and of operation."

And in his recent letter to the Federal Council of Churches, Mr. J.

Replies to Capitalist Lies

EDITOR, "THE WORKER."—The capitalists say that the people want to work twelve hours.

This is a lie.

The workers want to work eight hours, but the pay should be higher because if we work only eight hours and get the present pay we will not be able to support not only our families, but ourselves.

When all work twelve hours, no one can work less. The need compels you to work the full twelve hours. First, you have to provide food for your children and you have to think of a rainy day. All of a sudden, Mr. Gary may stop the work and the worker, not having anything saved up, will have to go out and beg—as it did happen many times.

We earned more before we paid more for our food and clothes and when they closed the factories many were starving and are doing so until now.

And so the workers became ex-

hausted and bloodless from this hold-up by the capitalists. The more millions the capitalists will make, the more people will be sent to the grave. Having filled themselves with human blood, they don't know what to do from idleness. If they were compelled to work not twelve, but only two hours in gas and heat, then Mr. Gary would convince himself that in such a fume and hell not only eight, but six hours of work is sufficient and for such work the worker should get paid not forty or fifty cents, but a dollar or a dollar and a half an hour.

Steel Worker, Du Quesne, Pa.

THE LABOR HERALD
Call at Book Shop or Industrial Department, 208 E. 12th St., for your July issue of the LABOR HERALD

F. Welborn, President of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., thus clinches this point against Gary's Committee:

"The change, as you know, was made Nov. 1, 1918, the hourly tonnage and piece rate being increased ten per cent when the working shift was reduced from twelve to eight hours. Our rates prior to Nov. 1, 1918, had always been on the same basis as the steel industry generally paid in the East."

"The immediate results from the standpoint of production per man-hour and of labor-cost per unit of output were satisfactory, and where conditions have been comparable it has been evident that we have lost nothing either in producing cost or output by reason of the change."

Right after the Great Steel Strike of 1919, twenty plants introduced the Three-Shift System. Speaking on the results of this change, Prof. Drury said in an address before a joint meeting of the Taylor Society and other scientific bodies on Dec. 3, 1920:

"Taking it all in all, the manufacturers now operating on the shorter day are practically a unit in saying that it means more satisfactory operations and is, better business. The experience of these 20 plants has revealed no real obstacles to putting the steel industry on a three-shift day."

If all the departments were to be changed from two to three shifts the increase in total cost for the finished rail, bar or sheet, could not on the average be more than three per cent. But the increase need not be nearly as great."

The technical why and wherefore of the falsity of the position taken by Gary's Committee is brought home in the investigation made for the U. S. Government by such noted experts as Josephine Goldmark and Mary D. Hopkins. In Public Health Bulletin No. 106, a study of the relative efficiency of plants operating on an eight and ten hour basis we find the following terrific blast at the "science" of the American Iron and Steel Institute:

"The contrast between the two plants is shown most strikingly in the figures for the final hour. At the Eight-Hour plant 90 per cent of average power was maintained until six minutes on the average before the close of work; at the 10-Hour Plant more than 21.5 before the close of work, the percentage of average power had dropped below 90. In other words, work continued at the 8-Hour Plant practically under full power until 6 minutes before the end of the shift; at the other factory power began to decline three and a half times as long before closing time—at exactly 5.30 p. m. when the investigators began afternoon readings, only 87 per cent average power was in use in the entire building."

Steel Trust Can Well Afford the Three-Shift Working-Day

But even if the 8-Hour Day were not more efficient and more productive and thus more economical, the Steel Trust could then very well afford any increased cost, that a shorter working-day might entail.

The Steel-Trust is perhaps the biggest employer in the world. It operates 144 works, 24 blast furnaces, and 327 open hearth furnaces. The U. S. Steel Corporation is the richest concern in America. If heads the list of the country's 29 largest companies with \$318,633,205 in cash and investment securities. Its actual working capital is \$536,271,248.

The Steel Trust owns outright 30 railroads operating a mileage of 3,759

miles or enough to span the continent. These railways own 61,319 freight cars and 172 passenger cars. But the Steel Empire sways a far greater dominion over the arteries of American industry. Amongst the 25 men who control 82 per cent, or 211,280 miles of the country's steam railways, the owners of steel stock are pre-eminent. For instance, Mr. George F. Baker, a member of the Finance Committee and of the Board of Directors of the U. S. Steel Corporation is one of the leaders of these 25 "chosen people" of the God Mammon.

Gary and Co. also own a fleet of 35 steamers engaged in overseas trade, 76 in Great Lakes' trade, and 269 steel barges. Besides, thru J. P. Morgan and Co., American Steel magnates dominate a large number of American and even British shipping concerns.

But the Barons of Steel are not content with holding sway over the land and the sea. They also own 75 per cent of America's bituminous coal fields. Some of these properties are: 415,587 acres of coking coal; 337,733 acres of steam and gas coal; 302,481 acres of surface. The U. S. Steel Corporation further owns outright 20,236 bee-hive coke-ovens, 2,992 by-product ovens, and 193,818 acres of gas and oil territory.

This is the mighty Empire of Steel, the most gigantic scab industry in the world, that has been reared on the brutalizing 12-Hour Day, starvation wages, infamous working conditions and wretched living conditions.

The history of the U. S. Steel Corporation is a history of fabulous profits becoming ever more fabulous. In 1901 it was organized with \$400,000,000 of tangible property covered by bonds and other paper, and about \$1,000,000,000 of watered stock, common and preferred.

In the ten year period, 1912-1921, its aggregate net-profits available for dividends were \$1,097,177,135. In the last 10 years the Steel Trust has stored up a surplus of \$500,000,000, has cut down its bonded debt by \$103,000,000 and has spent \$685,000,000 on construction and acquisitions. All of this expansion came from the profits created by the workers.

For the period 1913-1919 alone the Steel Corporation piled up a total undivided surplus of \$2,239,986,569.84. In the years 1917-1922, its average margin of safety, that is, the proportion of available surplus or net revenue left over after fixed charges have been provided for, was almost 73 per cent. During this period it earned on preferred stock an average of 28.89 per cent and on common an average of 15.51 per cent. On Dec. 31, 1922, the Steel Corporation was christened the giant of supertrusts with a property account of \$1,631,579,260. There was some depression during this year, the gross sales and earnings of the company reached the huge sum of \$1,092,697,772.

This pace of growth is being excelled in 1923. In the first six months of the year the Steel Corporation has piled up a net profit close to \$85,000,000 and production is breaking all previous records.

How easily the Steel Trust can pay the added cost incurred by the 3-Shift System, even if there were an added cost, is borne out by the following from the findings of the Interchurch World Movement Investigation:

"Concerning the financial ability of the Corporation to pay higher wages the following must be noted, (with the understanding that the Commission's investigation did not include analysis of the Corporation's financial organization): the Corporation vastly increased its undistributed financial reserves during the Great War. In 1914 the Corporation's total undivided surplus was \$135,204,417.90. In 1919 this total undivided surplus had been increased to \$493,048,201.93. Compared with the wage budgets, in 1918, the Corporation's final surplus after paying dividends of \$96,382,027 and setting aside \$274,277,835 for Federal taxes payable in 1919 was \$466,888,421—a sum large enough to have a second time the

total wage and salary budget for 1918 (\$452,663,524) and to have left a surplus of over \$14,000,000. In 1919 the undivided surplus was \$493,048,201.93 or \$13,000,000 more than the total wage and salary expenditures."

Steel Trust Hides Gigantic Profits

But in fact the profits of the Steel Trust have been even more gigantic than the records would show. In a letter to Gary, John Skelton Williams, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller of the Currency, pointed out how the Steel Masters juggled and manipulated their books in order to hide their real profits. On the basis of the Corporation's own reports Mr. Williams showed that: (1) In one year the Steel Trust charged \$100,000,000 to operating expenses, maintenance and repairs. (2) Besides disposing of these profits by such juggling of accounts the Steel Trust, on Dec. 31, 1919, carried on its books \$200,000,000 to the credit of depletion, depreciation, and replacement of funds. This huge sum was unexpended and available for use by the Corporation whenever it felt that it needed it. (3) From March 31, 1915, to Dec. 31, 1919, the Trust's net surplus, after payment of interest, dividends, and excess profits tax, and after putting aside enormous reserve funds for possible future contingencies, was increased by more than \$400,000,000. (4) The Steel Trust has made a practice of hiding millions of profits in depreciation and similar funds. (5) The Steel Trust would be able even to double wages, lower prices, and still pay handsome dividends.

What is more, according to Dr. Harrison E. Howe, Chairman of the Committee on Work Periods of the Federated American Engineering Societies, "The United States has the most profitable iron and steel industry in the world, making more money and yielding more output than all the rest of the world put together, and exporting its product in successful competition with foreign countries."

To this heart-breaking poverty of the Steel Trust add the petty sum of \$50,000,000 annually taken by it from the farmers thru the vicious Pittsburg Plus system.

Thru its last outburst of charity alone the Steel Corporation will pocket additional scores of millions of dollars. The last wage increase from 36 to 40 cents an hour will cost the Steel Corporation \$25,000,000. But on the heels of this magnificent wage increase came an increase in the price of steel of \$1.75 per ton. At the rate of April and May production the Steel Corporation will produce at least 50,000,000 tons during the year. Thus the Steel Trust will, thru its generosity, gain an addition to its net profit, after the last wage increase, of \$88,472,222.

Now, for the sake of argument, despite all of our incontrovertible evidence, let us grant that the American Iron Steel Committee is right in its assertion as to a 15 per cent average increase in the cost of production. Even on this basis the added cost of labor that the 8-Hour Day might entail would at most be only from 35 to 40 million dollars a year. Actually the sum would be \$34,090,905 a year.

Steel Trust Heavily Subsidized by the Government

Yet, let us go even further than we have gone—hypothetically, at least, since it is impossible to do so arithmetically. Suppose that the Steel Trust is still too poor to pay the assumed increase in the cost of production. Then, let us turn to another corner and we find another source of fabulous income flowing into the bottomless coffers of the Steel Trust's deposit vault.

Pursuing its policy of subsidizing the powerful bankers and manufacturers, the United States Government, thru the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act, is donating to the makers of heavy steel products outright gifts running into hundreds of millions of dollars. Analyzing these huge bonuses granted to the Steel Magnates, the latest Report of the Fair Tariff League shows that:

"The duties given in the Fordney law embargoes importations. They carelessly offer to the makers of heavy steel products, pig iron, cast and wrought iron pipe, structural iron, tinplate and ternaplate, bar steel, steel rails, wire and wire work, \$351,000,000, which sum will be doubled to consumers, making about \$702,000,000 to be paid partly in the direct cost of highly finished products like automobiles and machinery, and the balance in amortization charges."

"To the above \$702,000,000 of protection on heavy steel products would be added a possible \$1,580,000,000 on only 21 of the many highly finished steel products upon which the Government would collect only \$5,603,907 or \$1 against \$282 it made the public liable for."

Our Conclusions

Under all of these circumstances analyzed it is obvious even to the most dimwitted that the assertion of Gary and his Committee that the Steel Trust cannot afford to pay for an 8-Hour Day is as fraudulent as the contention that a labor-shortage precludes the possibility of inaugurating the Three Shift system.

First of all, an 8-Hour Day will not increase the cost of production by 15 per cent.

Secondly, the Steel Trust can very well afford to pay a much larger increase, if it were necessary.

Thirdly, the gigantic Government subsidy granted the Steel Trust entirely disposes of its ridiculous cry of poverty.

Lozowsky Compares Berlin United Front of Transport Workers with the Hamburg Drawing Room Coalition of Ministers

By ARNOLD LOZOWSKY
Secretary, Red International of Labor Unions

BERLIN, Germany.—While the Socialist Congress was proceeding in Hamburg, accompanied by the wildest agitation against Communism and social revolution, in Berlin, there met the conference of Transport Workers, participated in by representatives of the Red International of Labor Unions and of organizations affiliated to the Amsterdam International.

Hamburg was the rendezvous for the drawing room coalition ministers of yesterday, today, and tomorrow, whose greatest anxiety was the concealment of their national and imperialist antagonism.

Berlin was the meeting place of the leaders of the transport workers of all countries, convened with the sincere and honorable intention of finding a common basis of understanding among the workers of different parties.

In Hamburg, all participants were permeated with the idea of supporting to their utmost that which has been happily termed by that unhappy child of Menshevism, Abramovich, "democratic capitalism."

Here in Berlin "democratic capitalism" was not talked about. The question dealt with was how best to gather together the scattered masses, for self-defense against the growing capitalist and democratic reaction.

On one side a congress where Left and Right combine on the basis of co-operation of the classes, and on the other side, a conference resulting in an understanding for the purpose of united revolutionary class war.

And although many hundreds of people took part in the Hamburg congress, including many ministers, while in Berlin it was but a modest gathering, attended by 9 persons in all, not one of whom was a bourgeois minister, still the Berlin conference was of much greater significance for the working class than the empty cackling of the Hamburg geese.

What is the real import of the Hamburg congress? The strengthening of the coalition policy, the sanctioning of working unity among the classes, and thus the widening of the chasm within the labor movement.

And what is the import of the Berlin consultation? The extension of the anti-capitalist front, the consolidation of proletarian positions, and a stride forward towards the restoration of unity in the labor movement, on the basis of revolutionary class war.

And thus the Hamburg congress will be recorded in the history of the working class as a stage of that organizational process which confirms the influence of the bourgeoisie over one part of the proletariat, while the Berlin conference, on the other hand, will be recorded as a stage on the road to the emancipation of ever enlarging sections of the working class from reformist ideology and reformist practice.

The antagonists of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions have often, in speech and writing, declared that the United Front slogan issued by us is nothing more than an empty pretext, as the Communists do not sincerely want a united front.

Various French hole-and-corner journalists have been particularly active in spreading themselves over this theme. In many countries we have replied to this demagogic by deeds. Now we can reply with a new international proof. If anyone asks what our United Front signifies, we reply: Read with attention the resolutions passed by the Transport Workers' Conference and you will find the answer to this question.

But now we put a few questions, to our opponents: Can you find in these resolutions, passed by us, anything with which any workman can disagree? Perhaps the war against war? The struggle against Fascism? The defense of Soviet Russia? The creation of organs intended to carry on the struggle against militarist reaction on international lines? Or perhaps the desire of the conference, to overcome the trade union split as rapidly as possible, is unacceptable? We are fully convinced that no worker can contest any one of the points of our resolutions. But now the reformist leaders are doubtless expressing themselves as opposed to these resolutions, for they prefer coalition with the bourgeoisie against the Communists than with the Communists against the bourgeoisie! The International Transport Workers' Federation rejected this formula, and declared: Rather with the Communists against the bourgeoisie, than with the bourgeoisie against the Communists! And here lies the historical import of the unity conference of the transport workers.

Neither of the two parties to the agreement is a victim to any delusion: both parties are fully aware of the difficulty of maintaining unity of action in the present disunited state of the labor movement. Both parties grasped that the fundamental and political differences of opinion existing within the trade union movement are not to be overcome by the joint signing of some few resolutions, but that various opinions and ideas will continue to combat one another. The united front does not wipe out differences of opinion, but it paves the way for bringing the scattered trade unions together, and creates—on the basis of the common action—that mutual confidence which is indispensable in a struggle against a common enemy.

We, the followers of the Red International of Labor Unions, take our obligations very seriously. We

shall fulfill them loyally and energetically, and naturally we expect the same from the International Transport Workers' Federation, which signed the agreement with us. All trade unions belonging to the Red International of Labor Unions, especially the Russian trade unions, have frequently mooted the question of their admittance into the international craft unions. They have invariably been refused. When international capital blockaded Soviet Russia, international reformism carried on a blockade against the revolutionary trade unions of Russia. The goal aimed at by international reformism has not been attained, the working masses of Europe have proved themselves to possess so much class feeling and comprehension of their own interests that they have taken up the defense of Soviet Russia, and of the trade unions created by the Russian proletariat.

Where will this understanding among the transport workers lead us? We should like to see it spread as rapidly as possible to every branch of production. We shall work systematically and thoroughly for the amalgamation of the parallel trade unions in all countries. We shall continue repeatedly to propose joint action of the Amsterdam International and to all international secretariats. The interests of the international proletariat demand this. And we to those leaders of the labor movement who do not grasp this!

Slowly and painfully the united front of the working class is born. As the roots of the schism in the working class lie in the policy of working unity with the bourgeoisie, the schism is overcome in proportion as the broad masses of the workers, and the organizations created by them, throw over this policy. One thing is beyond all doubt: the unity of the working class can only originate in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and as the conference held by the transport workers set itself the task of combatting the bourgeoisie, it thus at the same time created the premises for the unity of the transport workers of all countries. This conference proved the vitality of the united front and hence I close my remarks by repeating the declaration which I made at the Hague International Conference: "Whether you want it or not—the united front will come about. It will come about with you if you like, without you if you stand aside, and against you if you offer resistance."

CANNON WILL SPEAK AT:

Tacoma, Wash., Sun. July 1, at 8 p. m.
Labor Temple, 1512 Broadway
Tacoma, Wash., Mon. July 2, at 8 p. m.
Portland on Fourth Congress
Portland, Ore., Tue. July 3, at 8 p. m.
Portland Women's Club, Taylor St.
Portland, Ore., Wed., July 4, at 2 p. m.
Gosess Park (Pleasant), Lecture on Fourth Congress
Seattle, Wash., Fri. July 6, at 8 p. m.
Labor Temple, Sixth Ave. and University Pl.
Seattle, Wash., Sat. July 7, at 8 p. m.
Labor Temple, Sixth Ave. and University Pl.
Vancouver, B. C., Sun. July 8, at 8 p. m.
Columbia Theater
Spokane, Wash., Tuesday, July 10, at 8 p. m.
Corner Hall, 25 W. Third Ave.
Butte, Mont., Wed. July 11, at 8 p. m.
Carpenters' Union Hall, Granite St.
Winnipeg, Man., Canada, Sat. July 14, at 8 p. m., Labor Temple, James St.

Comrades at Portland, Ore., write that James P. Cannon is scheduled to speak in that town on July 4, the same day that President Harding will stop here for a speech. "But," they write, "we feel that the President will not be able to draw the crowds away from a really proletarian picnic."

Help the Free Speech Drive!

New York City, July 1-8.

PICNIC IN PENNSYLVANIA

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Address: WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, New York City

N. Y. Labor Shuns Mooney Aids "Guard"

By SELMAR SCHOCKEN

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York is usually very liberal in issuing credentials to representatives of a worthy cause. Take for instance the granting of credentials to Major Ross of the Citizens Training Camp of the U. S. Coast Guard, with the privilege to visit all affiliated unions to inform them about the wonderful benefits of military training for the youth of the working class.

The Central Trades and Labor Council is also extremely solicitous in the cause of people who have been wronged by the courts unjustly. Take for instance the case of a Polish priest in Russia, convicted of counter-revolutionary activity and of dealing with and turning over secrets to the enemy—Poland—while Russia was at war with that country. Remember the solicitous appeals sent by Lucy Robbins and others of the so-called Amnesty Committee, endorsed by a majority of the Trades Council.

With this attitude of the Central Trades and Labor Council in mind, let us analyze their attitude toward the continued incarceration of Thomas Mooney, Warren K. Billings and other victims of the class-hatred of the bourgeoisie in this country. At the same time, when Major Ross was introduced to the delegates as a benefactor to society, Leonard Craig of San Francisco appeared before a committee to ask for the floor.

Major Ross was given a great reception, Leonard Craig, a representative of the Mooney Defense Committee, who showed credentials not only from this committee but also from numerous unions and central bodies, was refused the floor. Craig then went before the Executive Committee of the Council to ask for credentials which would introduce him to the various unions. These credentials were refused him, according to Craig, with the explanation that too many credentials were in the hands of representatives of different organizations—among them, of course, Major Ross of the Citizens Training Camp—and the unions cannot be bothered with requests for Tom Mooney.

The Executive Committee explained its action to the delegates with the allegation that money collected for the aid of Tom Mooney was used for other purposes. It must, however, be remembered that all money funds are sent directly to Mrs. Rena Mooney, wife of Tom, who manages the financial side of the efforts to free the man who is in prison for many years because of his loyalty to labor and the unlimited power of the capitalists of the Pacific Coast.

Fight Initiation Fees in Campaign to Organize Unorganized in Mexico

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE
(Special to "The Worker")

MEXICO CITY.—A novel idea in making easy the organization of the unorganized was put into practice here when the newly formed Union of Teachers of the Federal District voted unanimously to insert as a permanent clause in their constitution the provision that "No initiation fee whatsoever shall ever be charged any applicant for admission to this organization."

"The curse of labor unions," declared the proponent of the constitutional provision, "has been the discouragement of the entry of new members thru high initiation fees. We should at all times encourage our fellow workers to organize. If we are in need of funds, I for one should always prefer a raise in dues rather than taking it out on new members."

Help the Free Speech Drive!
New York City, July 1-8.

PICNIC IN PENNSYLVANIA

Bethlehem Easton Allentown

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ATTENTION! PICNIC

Buttstown Park, July 8th,

On the Bethlehem and Easton

Electric Line.

Militant Coal Miners Plan Illinois Drive

By J. W. JOHNSTONE
(Special to "The Worker.")

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill.—Forty-two delegates, representing 38 of the largest local unions of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, District 12, have met in East St. Louis and laid plans to smash the Farrington-Lewis corrupt machine and put in its place capable, militant officials, who will lead the miners to victory instead of to compromise and defeat.

The spirit of the conference was fully apparent when one of the delegates announced, "I did not come here to waste time in fooling," and asked the Chairman for this point of information: "Is the purpose of this conference to clean house, from the local unions to the national office?" When assured that this was the main reason for the calling of the conference, this militant then said, "All right—shoot! Let's get down to business."

And the work of the conference showed that cleaning house, from top to bottom, meant not only removal of the reactionary officialdom, but also the adoption of a real, class-conscious program, calling for a united front of labor on the industrial and political fields.

Twenty-four resolutions were endorsed, dealing with all phases of the class struggle, as well as with the internal affairs of the U. M. W. of A. No one in the conference was deceived by the pretended antagonism that appeared to exist between Farrington and Lewis. The consensus of opinion was that both of them would be in the same camp, fighting the Progressive Committee, long before the next convention takes place.

The delegates roundly condemned Lewis for his treachery toward Howat and the Kansas miners, for his base betrayal of the Fayette and Somerset County miners in Pennsylvania, for his lack of interest in the prosecution of the murderers of Fanny Sellins, and for the signing of agreements with coal companies in other fields, running non-union mines. In fact, almost the entire administration policy was condemned as being inimical to the interests of the union miners. Lewis was accused of deliberately keeping certain coal fields unorganized, so as to be able to flood the international convention with hand-picked delegates; and the delegates demanded that these fields be thoroughly organized.

The conference went on record for all these things: Nationalization of the mines; the six-hour day and the five-day week; affiliation with the coal miners of other countries; closer relations and a working agreement with the railroad workers; and national agreements.

Resolutions were passed urging the formation of a Federated Labor Party, trade relations with Soviet Russia, a boycott on the Ward Bakery Company (Bread Trust), support of the Russian famine relief, and a demand for the release of Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, Ford and Suhr, J. B. McNamara, the I. W. W. and all other political prisoners. Also for the support of the Communists on trial in Michigan, and of Organizer Fred Merrick and his colleagues in Pittsburgh.

The Amalgamation Resolution, as sent out by the Chicago Federation of Labor, was endorsed; and locals were urged to send delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor conference, pledged to fight for the adoption of this resolution.

The program issued by the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, and the minutes of their First National Conference, were endorsed unanimously.

A committee was elected and is now engaged in putting the work of the conference into operation. This committee is also to draw up proposals for long-needed changes in the constitution of the union, and to draft a program of action around which the militant rank and file of District 12 will rally.

The second Sunday in August is the date set for the next conference, when everything will be placed before the delegates in a definite form. This will be the real conference, as all local unions in the district will be asked to send delegates. For the first time in the history of the mine workers in this district the progressives will enter the field, thoroughly organized, with a fighting program that should sweep the reactionaries into oblivion.

In the meantime, progressive committees are springing up, over night, in all the mining camps in the district. Disgusted with the Farrington-Lewis machine tactics, they have heard the call of the Pittsburgh conference, and enthusiastically they are rallying to it. This time they are determined to make the U. M. W. of A. not only in name but in fact the most militant and progressive workers' organization on the American continent. The rank and file of the miners are in that position now, while their officials rank with the most reactionary leadership within the A. F. of L. official family.

Reaction Forgets Personal Wars and Unites to Fight Militants' Growing Power

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Perhaps the greatest tribute paid the militant elements in the American labor movement is the confession of Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, that the reactionaries have been compelled to put aside their personal differences and unite their forces in order to put up any kind of a struggle against the rising waves of progressivism.

Gompers announces, following his recent visit to Chicago, that John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Frank Farrington, president of the Illinois Mine Workers, have agreed to bury their war clubs, smoke the pipe of peace, forget their differences and end the long personal feud between them. The overtures are said to have come from Farrington, who has been in constant opposition to Lewis, especially thru his support of Alexander Howat, and the expelled Kansas miners.

Lewis is from Illinois, where he fought Farrington before going to Indianapolis, to become the miners' international president. So powerful forces must have been at work to bring these ancient enemies together.

It will be remembered that it was Lewis who ran for president of the A. F. of L. against Gompers at the 1921 Denver Convention, Lewis then being hailed as a "progressive" in opposition to Gompers' reactionary ideas. Now, altho Gompers, Lewis and Farrington may not be "sleeping in the same bed," in the words of William J. Burns, nevertheless, they are working together, and to no good for progress in the American labor movement.

One of the results of this new alliance is that Lewis has adopted Gompers' tactics towards the militants, threatening to expel from the organization all those who take a stand with the International Progressive Miners' Conference recently organized at Pittsburgh.

Lewis has managed to get this threat to the militants issued by the Miners' International Executive Board, meeting at Indianapolis. His indictment repeats the old and worn-out charge that the Progressive Miners' Conference is building a dual organization, comparing it to the "Working Class Union," the "One Big Union" that flourished for a time in Canada, and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Thus Lewis is merely seeking to beguile the issue. He knows that the Progressive Conference is not a dual organization, that it has taken a definite stand against dualism, and that it has already stopped several dual movements. Lewis also attacks William Z. Foster and the Trade Union Educational League, Howat and Fred H. Merrick, who have suffered under the tyranny of the black reaction of the coal and steel barons of Western Pennsylvania. Now Lewis joins forces with this terror, making the customary charge that the Progressive Conference is getting its funds from the "Communist Party," which does not exist, the Workers Party being the only recognized Communist organization in this country.

Gompers has found his terror in the American Federation of Labor challenged by the determined stand of the Seattle Central Labor Council. Lewis will, no doubt, find that it is easier to establish a Mussolini dictatorship in the miners' union than it is to maintain it. The Progressive Miners' Conference certainly expected that reaction would quickly become fearful of its power. But it did not expect that this fear would get into action so soon. The developments will be interesting to follow.

Daugherty Busy Again

It must have been more than a coincidence that Attorney General Daugherty, at Washington, should issue a "warning" to the coal miners at the same time that Lewis was broadcasting his threats from Indianapolis.

"Strike Breaker" Daugherty promulgated his edict in a letter to John Hays Hammond, the mine-owner chairman of the Federal Coal Commission. Harding's "open shop" attorney-general declared it illegal for American coal miners to enter into agreements with miners of foreign countries for mutual aid during strikes. Daugherty knows that Lewis would not develop this international cooperation. He knows that it was Lewis who stood aside while American coal was being sent to England and Wales in 1921 to break the strike of the British coal miners. This resulted in British coal being sent to these shores crippling the American coal strike last year. The administration of John L. Lewis in the mine workers' union has been obstinately opposed to developing international aid, and Daugherty and Hammond know this. They know that it is the militants in the miners' union, on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, that are trying to create a united front against the mine barons of all countries. They use this subtle method of attack, thinking someone may be fooled by it. Yet Daugherty with Hammond are proposing to go "fishing" for militants who urge "illegal" international action. Lewis has not shown himself opposed to this "fishing expedition," but rather very much in favor of it. No doubt this double attack, from Indianapolis

Ind. and Washington, D. C., was intended to intimidate radical sentiment at the Scranton, Pa. Tri-District Anthracite Convention, now being held. We venture to predict, however, that coal miners, capable of electing a Rinaldo Cappellini in District No. 1, Pennsylvania, will not be frightened by hysterical newspaper propaganda.

While the coal miners have been digging black diamonds down in the bowels of the earth, this past week, their bosses, organized into the National Coal Association, have been having the time of their lives in convention on the seashore at Atlantic City, N. J. Even here no opportunity to attack the militants was lost. Colonel Guy D. Goff, former general counsel for the Shipping Board, and until recently one of Daugherty's assistant attorney generals, spent considerable time attacking Communism and the amalgamation idea.

It was Goff's Shipping Board that lined up with all other government departments last year to help break the miners' strike. It chartered 13 ships in foreign waters to help bring 500,000 tons of scab coal to these shores. Later it marshalled a fleet of 170 ships and announced it could arrange for the delivery of two million tons of English scab coal per month.

When Lewis and Farrington and Bitner attack the militants in the miners' union, they are taking a stand with the mine bosses. The International Progressive Miners' Conference is for nationalization, the organization of the unorganized, international agreements, and cooperative action not only with the railroad, steel and other workers of this country, but also for the united action with the workers, especially the coal miners of other lands. The miners' union officialdom that takes a stand on the opposite side of these issues is doomed to be swept into oblivion.

Even the unholy alliance of Gompers with Lewis and Farrington will not save reaction, neither in the American Federation of Labor, nor in the United Mine Workers of America.

Progressives Win Big Victory over Reaction at Charleroi, Pa., Poll

By WILLIAM A. GUILER

Chairman, International Progressive Miners' Conference
(Special to "The Worker.")

CHARLEROI, Pa.—The Progressives in District 5, United Mine Workers of America (Western Pennsylvania), are beginning to reap the fruits of organized action and sound working class principles.

At a meeting of Local Union, No. 593, one of the first battles between the gang and the Progressives was staged. It will be remembered that Charleroi, Pa., was the place where Alexander Howat was prevented from speaking by the "gang." About four weeks later Howat made a come-back, addressing 5,000 miners, proving to the "machine" that they cannot get away with it all the time.

The regular election for checkweighman and other officers was unanimously carried by the Progressives, fighting for election on the principles of the Progressive Movement. The lines were tightly drawn between the candidates favorable to the District officials and those standing firmly behind the Progressive Miners. We are very proud of the fact that every one of the reactionary candidates from checkweighman down was defeated and snowed under so deeply that it would require a U. S. Corporation searchlight to find them. Charleroi has been the battle ground for many years of District 5, but the Progressives have been on the job and are still there.

New Members in Unions

Over 50 percent of the new members that came into the Workers Party during May in Chicago, are in the unions. Of the 60 new members in that month about 1/4 are in English branches. Another English branch has been organized in Burnside. Our Lithuanian comrades helped the Y. W. L. from two new English branches, one in Bridgeport and one in Brighton Park.

Thirty-five thousand leaflets on a Labor Party have been distributed in Chicago. Much interest has been taken in the Labor Party Mass Meeting and the United Front Conference is to be commended for arranging for Earl Browder and Jay Brown to state the issues involved. Since last week many more unions are reported by our comrades, to have acted favorably on the invitation to the July 3rd, Labor Party Conference.

Help the Free Speech Drive!
New York City, July 1-8.

Mine Reaction Stops Howat's Ohio Meetings

(Special to "The Worker.")

BELLAIRE, O.—A great crowd of Ohio miners, many of whom had come for many miles were prevented from hearing Alexander Howat speak at Taylor's Grove, near Lansing, in the heart of the Eastern coal fields. Ordered by Sheriff Dunfee, of Belmont County, noted for having broken up the May-Day celebration in Bellaire, the owner of the grounds withdrew permission for the meeting.

An evening meeting, arranged at the urgent request of the miners of Yorkville, where Howat spoke during his short visit here, early last year, was likewise stopped, the progress of the town refusing the miners' permission to hold the meeting in their own union hall.

Preceding these outrageous actions on the part of the authorities, the Lewis machine of this section had carried on a campaign aimed at the complete discrediting of Howat in this region. They openly lined up with the coal operators, the kept press, and the authorities in this devilish piece of business. The very day that Howat arrived in this section from Western Pennsylvania, one of the Wheeling papers featured a story from which the following extracts are taken.

"Sub-district No. 5, District 6, is to be the scene of a carnival of extreme radicalism... John Alfred, alleged I. W. W. organizer, is expected to perform with some new threats and denunciations of existent conditions... A much bigger gun is primed for firing however."

Alexander Howat, deposed leader of the Kansas miners, will be on hand with the typical brand of violent talk that has made his name notorious... Speaking to a reporter, a prominent official of the United Mine Workers, deplored the situation. He said, "The present situation is a very bad one, it demands the public's most careful thought. All their interests are in jeopardy. If they do not insist that the officers of the law live up to their oath of office and control this extreme radicalism which finds vent in violence and destruction they will help create a monster, the uncontrolled purpose of which is for their death."

This disgraceful and libelous attack was followed by others, morning and evening, in all the papers of this section, and then the Sub-District 5 officials issued a long circular to their membership, which concluded: "Stay away from the meetings called by the 'disruptionists,' whether they are 'I. W. W.'s or some 'progressives' known to no one but themselves."

Encouraged by this action of the union officials, the coal operators and the authorities were not backward in going the limit. At Adena the only place which could be secured for the meeting was on top of a hill hundreds of feet high, in the presence of the Sheriff of Jefferson County and nine deputies. But nearly a thousand miners were in the audience.

So panic-stricken were the Lewis gang by the advent of Howat that they lost their wits entirely. They have yet to learn that an open alliance with the coal operators, the kept press and the authorities, to prevent Howat even from presenting his case to the rank and file, will do far more good for his cause than many speeches. The miners are outraged at the actions of their officers and the prominent Howat supporters say that Howat's short visit here, will, because of the three speeches he was successful in delivering, and more especially because of the tremendous and unscrupulous efforts made to discredit him, result in practically a 100 percent line-up of the Eastern Ohio miners for Howat.

Howat as usual in his talks emphasized his strict opposition to a dual union or disruptionist movement, contrary to the efforts of the Lewis gang to brand his activities as in favor of such.

MINERS STAND BY HOWAT

(Special to "The Worker.")

CALIFORNIA, Pa.—The miners here have adopted resolutions expressing confidence in Alexander Howat as follows:

Whereas, for about 25 years, Alex Howat of Kansas, has engaged himself with the task of removing all obstacles from the path of progress for the working class in general and for the miners in particular, and

Whereas, During the course of that time numerous attempts have been made to remove him from the fight, but he is now at the very threshold of victory in his struggle to regain membership in our Union, and

Whereas, Other attempts having failed, new methods are tried to discredit him in the latest frame-up in Pittsburgh, Pa., wherein he was arrested and held under \$2,000 bail; Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the miners of California, Pa., in District No. 5, this 12th day of June, 1923, hereby extend to Alexander Howat our fullest measure of confidence and support in this, his hour of need—and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Press of this Country.

The Meiklejohn Case - By H. M. WICKS

Amherst College and its former president, Alexander Meiklejohn, have occupied front pages in the newspapers for the past two weeks. It is a case of an insignificant college dealing with an insignificant individual. The fact that for years Meiklejohn had the unanimous support of the Board of Trustees, of which Calvin M. Coolidge is a prominent member, is sufficient evidence of his mediocrity.

Situated in a pitiful New England town, surrounded by church spires—the most viciously stupid and contemptibly hypocritical environment imaginable—Amherst, vegetated in its own filth, until this two-by-four professor quarreled with his trustees, the faculty and the alumni. Many half-baked liberals, and pseudo-revolutionists tried to magnify this petty quarrel into a horrible example of "goose-stepping" in American colleges, in spite of the fact that Meiklejohn, himself, had declared that his radicalism extended only to keeping "intelligence pure and true and clean and free" where students would float in a rarified Socratic atmosphere and become so superior to the common herd that they could choose their own methods of study and in other ways assert their independence of fixed formulas—an Anarchist notion pure and simple.

Meiklejohn surrounded himself with puny professors who reflected his obsolete superstitions. This was repugnant to certain of the older professors. They resented the younger element gaining control of the ancient institution. The result was a feud. The President was a spendthrift and as irresponsible in financial matters as in educational matters... The Board of Trustees had to pay his debts and then instruct him to live within his means and not try to outdo or outrage the citizens of Amherst who practiced those supreme capitalist virtues of industry, thrift and frugality. They emboiled the alumni in the quarrel on their side. Finally this apostle of the "good, the true and the beautiful" was summarily kicked out. In order to maintain that hypocrisy that characterizes all institutions of "higher learning" he was graciously permitted to resign.

Six professors, his "own creatures," also resigned. Students refused to accept their diplomas after they had taken a four years' course in ignorance that they might graduate with high honors. This is supposed to be symptomatic of a revolutionary tendency among the students. But it is merely a sentimental jig of the type that always afflicts hero worshippers and other numbskulls when something they worship crumbles before their eyes. As to the alumni, those former graduates of this temple of ignorance, fear and superstition, their opinion on anything except fast women and rotten booze is worthless. By some fantastic arrangement these products of American universities are supposed to have a voice in deciding the destiny of their particular school. The present writer saw an example of the influence of the alumni upon colleges at Yale during the commencement exercises last week, when booze flowed in the hotels and frat houses like water and two thousand whores were imported into New Haven, Conn., to accommodate our leading citizens from all over the United States who renewed old acquaintances with their college chums.

The idea of faculty control is also a delusion and will not change colleges an iota. It makes no difference whether these institutions are controlled directly by the financial and industrial magnates of the country or by professors whose ideas of economics have been obtained from capitalist sources. In either event they are plain prostitutes and their fate is of no concern to the revolutionist, who can give them all lessons in history and economics.

WOLL IS THRU WITH LAW AND ORDER

Matthew Woll, president of the Photo Engravers' Union and crown prince of the Gompers' Dynasty is becoming anarchistic in his utterances. We will not charge him with being a Bolshevik because to become a Bolshevik requires a degree of education that is incompatible with the mental development of Woll. In the Horseshoers' Magazine, for May, the crown prince asserts:

"It all sounds very well and pleasing to say that all wrongs should be righted by law and order. However, the Magna Charter was never obtained in that fashion. * * * The Bill of Rights that followed, was an equally violent demand for a further adjustment of a compromise character between the ruling authorities. If it had not been for the Watt Tyler insurrection, the Statute of Laborers, which made industrial slaves and serfs of English workmen, would not have been repealed for many years."

We have had altogether too much talk of law and order and too little talk of right and justice! Surely Matthew would not demand such desperate measures as armed revolt and insurrection! It is unlikely that one who supports the insane policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" of labor in the old parties would advocate such methods today. If Matthew believes that power is the one thing that counts in a labor struggle, why does he not embrace the propaganda of amalgamation? That would immeasurably strengthen the labor movement of the country and at the same time avoid such doubtful ventures as "Wat Tyler insurrections" against the well equipped military machine of the federal government.

But then we must not take this bombast of the crown prince too seriously. We remember the time that Victor Berger, in a fine frenzy of righteous indignation, said "If we are denied ballots we will use bullets."

"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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Convention of Technical Aid Sees New Era

By ABRAHAM JAKIRA

The Second National Convention of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia just held in New York City, marks the beginning of a new era in the history of that organization. Most of the 32 delegates representing various parts of the United States and Canada showed a clear understanding of the problems confronting them.

It was pointed out that the Russian Government is anxious to get back the hundreds of thousands of workers who were compelled to leave their country under the Czarist regime, only to find themselves completely enslaved by the Morgans and Gargys of America. The existing economic conditions, as a result of the bloody world war, the blockade, the numerous destructive campaigns of the various counter-revolutionists aided by the various capitalist governments of the world, supplemented by the most horrible famine,—do not, however, permit Russia to widely open its gates to all the workers desiring to return to their native country. Russia is compelled for the time being to limit immigration to agricultural communes well organized, with sufficient funds and machinery necessary for the successful operation of the land assigned to them by the Government. The newly elected Bureau of the Society was, therefore, instructed to be guided in its activities by the needs of Russia and organize its communes accordingly.

At the same time the Convention fully realized that emigration of workers from America, has in the past in many cases led to the undermining of many organizations sympathetic to Soviet Russia, thus weakening the struggle against the enemies of Russia here in America. This has in the past resulted in conflicts between the Society and the affected organizations. The Convention therefore decided to attempt to regulate the emigration in such a way as to best serve the interests of Soviet Russia and at the same time not to undermine completely the various organizations fighting Russia's cause in this country.

The Convention also went on record in favor of amalgamating the various organizations now engaged in work similar to that of the Technical Aid Society. With this in view the Convention decided to have its present name changed to that of "Society for Technical Aid to the Russian Soviet Republics."

Official communications from Soviet Russia read to the Convention showed the close co-operation existing between the Soviet Government and the Trade Unions of Russia. Whenever workers now outside of Russia apply for permission to be allowed to return to the opinion of the Trade Unions is asked before any action on these applications is taken by the Soviet Government.

Organizations, Workers Party Branches, Unions, Societies!

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Wicks Hurls Challenge At John W. Hays

H. M. Wicks, labor editor of "The Worker," has challenged John W. Hays, secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, to defend his attacks upon the radicals in the labor movement and those workers who support Soviet Russia in its struggle against International capitalism.

Hays has been using the columns of the Typographical Journal, of which he is the editor, to publish the reshaped, boiler plate dope of the propaganda factories of the white guard servants of Imperialism.

In a published statement in the United Mine Workers Journal, Hays is quoted as declaring in favor of an educational program to familiarize the rank and file of the labor movement with the principles of Communism. Wicks, a prominent member of the International Typographical Union, gives Hays a chance to assist in some real educational work in the following letter:

New York City, June 27, 1933
Mr. John W. Hays,
Rooms 611-650 Bankers Trust Bldg.,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Mr. Hays:

Implicitly believing in the value of educational work in the trade union movement with the object of building up ever more effective forms of unionism and believing that the most effective way to settle a disputed question is thru open and free discussion, I must take issue with you in your recent attacks upon the militants in the labor movement in this country who sympathize with the aims and aspirations of Soviet Russia—the first genuine working class government on the face of the earth.

That you may thoroughly understand me I hereby take this opportunity of challenging you to a series of debates to be held in New York City, Chicago and before the delegates to the Atlanta Convention of the International Typographical Union, on the question, "Resolved, that the American supporters of Soviet Russia in their Trade Union Activity are Rendering Valuable Assistance to the Labor Movement of America." I take the affirmative, you the negative.

I will bear half the expenses of such a series of debates, if any expenses are incurred that are not covered by the proceeds. If there is a balance left over after expenses are paid, it shall go into the defense fund of the International Typographical Union.

Now, I do not want you to feel that I bear any personal animosity toward you for the articles you have thus far published. I take the stand that you have been deceived by the cunning propaganda of the renegade Socialist and adventurer, Mr. William English Walling, who is doing some publicity work for Mr. Samuel Gompers. I am prepared to prove that Walling is an unscrupulous scoundrel and liar, and that his so-called "information" regarding Soviet Russia is as unreliable as the famous "Sisson Documents" published by the United States Government in the early days of the Bolshevik revolution, containing that weird tale of "nationalization of women in Russia."

I would challenge Walling to debate were it not for the fact that he is a miserable poltroon who would not dare expose himself before the public with an informed opponent. By this I do not imply, sir, that you should take up the cudgels in defense of Mr. Walling. I do not consider you in that category at all, but I do feel that you, like myself, are earnestly desirous of establishing the facts in relation to this so-called "nefarious propaganda," the term you used in the June number of the Typographical Journal.

In case you are not able to meet me either in Chicago or New York, we could arrange for but one debate at Atlanta during the convention.

As you know, I never have sought political advantage for myself in the union, nor do I seek such advantage. My activity has been along the lines of educational work and I intend that it shall continue in that channel. It is with the object in view of educating our membership as to the real character of this much-discussed question, "Soviet Russia," that I desire this debate, or series of debates.

Awaiting an early reply, I am, sir, Yours very truly,

H. M. Wicks.

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PICNIC

of THE WORKERS PARTY

on the FOURTH OF JULY

at Heinz Grove, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Take West View Car No. 10 Sports—Union Music

Get off at Hawthorne Ave. ADMISSION—35 CENTS

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The Young Workers League Meets with Samuel Gompers

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, met here with a committee of the Young Workers League and discussed the problems confronting the youth of the American working class. The meeting was the result of an open letter, published in "The Worker," addressed to Gompers and setting forth the problems confronting the young workers of the country today.

Gompers replied to the letter and during the recent visit of the A. F. of L. president here, the conference was held at the Hotel Morrison.

The committee of the Young Workers League consisted of Martin Abern, Alfred Albright and Natalie Gomez, with Charles Krumboltz of the Workers Party. Besides Gompers and his secretaries there was present a large part of the Executive Board of the Cigarmakers' International Union, whose Executive sessions Gompers was in the city to attend. John Fitzpatrick and Edward Nockels, president and secretary respectively of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The introductions were hardly slipped over, than Mr. Gompers asked for the names and addresses of the delegation, the industries they were employed in and if they were in the unions. The questions were answered to "apparent" satisfaction, and the letter of concrete proposals, which had been drawn up by the League, was then handed Gompers.

But not so easily Mr. Gompers made to act upon something. He put it aside for the time and asked his secretary to read the "Open Letter." Then began a long series of questions, the barrage behind which Mr. Gompers secluded himself from the necessity to consider or answer the league proposals.

"Where was the data obtained? Where was the Convention held? Which organizations were represented there?" And when his requests for a copy of our new constitution had been complied with, and Section 2 of Article 1 (dealing with the purpose of the League) had been read—"Aha!—Dictatorship of the proletariat! Establishment of Soviets! Of Communism!" He interrupted his secretary by saying that there was no need to read further.

Then there began another volley of questions, interrupting of Abern's answers, splitting of the thinnest hairs, quibbling and beating about the bush. Gompers told of the great work that the A. F. of L. had done in the direction of the abolition of Child Labor. It had been the Federation which had placed the Anti-Child Labor Law on the statute books; and now that the Supreme Court had ruled adversely on the law, he, Samuel Gompers himself, was calling a conference, in the most approved style of our President, of all International Unions, voters' organizations, women's leagues, and numerous other organizations, for the purpose of initiating a movement for the adoption of a constitutional amendment for the abolition of Child Labor.

At this point came the argument, which was obvious supposed to wither us with a fine scorn, to show the absurdity of our proposals. "If," said he, in effect, "you are against the principle of Child Labor, why do you want the International Unions to lower the barriers against the admission of these youthful workers into their ranks. Is it not enough that the A. F. of L. is doing all it can, has been doing, in fact, all you propose, for the last decades? It is because the labor unions do not believe in having children employed in industry, that they have clauses against their admission to membership. We recognize the fact that the conditions of the young wage earners are bad, and therefore we are working for a constitutional amendment to abolish that work. With 28 millions of wage earners in this country and only about 5½ millions of them organized, all the efforts of the 90 paid and 2,290 voluntary organizers of the Federation are being expended to unionize them; and while the organization of the young workers is important, it is secondary in relation to the necessity of organizing that 22½ million. As an example of our work, in spite of these handicaps (?) we point to the fact that the United Mine Workers of America caused the elimination of six to eight year old breaker boys working 12 and more hours a day, and the United Textile Workers helped the children in their industry, and the campaign for the organization of the steel workers in 1919 accomplished similar wonders."

This sort of logic is rather astounding. Of course, the fact that the subject which was being dealt with was not that of Child Labor, but of Youth Labor, was apparently a thing of unimportance in Mr. Gompers' eyes. And even though the question were that of the child slaves—does it settle the problem by calling a conference which may initiate a movement whose end may be achieved in the hazy, dubious future? And incidentally, does the tremendous pre-occupation of Mr. Gompers' 2,290 organizers excuse their ignoring the unionization of the young, when

it is considered that in this period of comparative "prosperity" the membership of the Federation is by no means increasing as it should, and when it is considered that we must add to Mr. Gompers' 2,290, the organizers of each individual international union, whose members are in some instances 40 to 50 per cent unemployed, is his excuse convincing?

One of the things which it does indicate is that Mr. Gompers' mind still substitutes century old situations for present day ones. When, in 1830, the earliest trades unions, such as the New York Typographical Association, protested against their displacement by young apprentices, roller boys, who took their places and caused a depression in the trade, they may be said to have had some justification for their later action in putting up barriers against these young workers. But at this period in the development of industry, with its breaking down not only of the differences between craft, but at the same time, also the difference of ages, to talk of barriers is absurd.

Finally the League's letter of proposals was read to the assemblage. Here was a program which was a trades union document, something upon which the organization of the young workers, the Young Workers League, and the organized labor movement, the American Federation of Labor, could find a common ground for a tremendous piece of work. Here were suggestions which involved no complicated machinery, no great expenditures, but which, if carried out thoroughly and in the right spirit of co-operation, would be of incalculable value to both the young and adult workers of this country, a permanent contribution to the strength of the labor movement. But it seemed that Mr. Gompers was not concerned primarily with any such thing. When the letter had been read, he began to ask more of the usual questions.

"You speak of the goal of the trade union movement. You mean, do you not, that the goal is to be that mentioned in the constitution we read before?" And Comrade Abern answered, "Yes." But Gompers immediately took it up and began expatiating on the question of goals. Labor had no goal but that of the daily work, how to make the morrow better than today, and so on and so forth.

"Why is it necessary to create a special bureau for the young workers?" To which Comrade Abern replied that the particular psychology of the youth necessitated a different method of approach. He indicated the Women's Trade Union League as an example, calling it a sort of a Woman's Bureau of the Federation, and Gompers shot back, "The most remarkable thing about that statement is its untruth!" The quibbling went to such a stage that when Gompers had begun a long discussion as to whether the Central Board affiliated to the A. F. of L. paid this much or that much to the parent organization and had rebuked Abern severely for his "misstatements," the latter was obliged to say, "Let's not split hairs. We have come here with a definite program for work."

And so, after a long disquisition by Gompers on the already existing Press Service of the Federation, and by implication, the needlessness of a special Young Workers Bureau with all of its functions, the conference was brought to an end. Gompers was asked whether our proposals would receive further attention. Of course, he responded indignantly: that was why the conference had been called. It would be given the closest consideration by the Executive Committee of the Federation, but he would give no promise as to the results; he could give no promise because he was not the one to decide.

Comrade Abern then made a statement for the League, in which he hoped for the whole-hearted co-operation of the Federation in this matter, and promising the same co-operation from the League.

The delegation left the room, and the affair was over.

The Young Workers League does not intend to rest there. We have taken this matter seriously, and carried it on as far as we have gone, with sincerity and energy. The conference with Mr. Gompers is not our final goal. We want to bring this most important question before the rank and file of Organized Labor in this country. We want to impress them with the necessity of organizing these viciously exploited youths. We want them to accomplish this task with the help of their "leaders" if the latter will work with us; without these "leaders," if necessary, if they are as evasive and so desirous of belittling or belittling an issue as has been Mr. Gompers.

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

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of THE WORKERS PARTY

on the FOURTH OF JULY

at Heinz Grove, Pittsburgh, Pa.

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THE WORKER

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Help the Free Speech Drive, New York City, July 1-8.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party

The July 3d Conference called for Chicago by the Farmer-Labor Party is hailed, in an article by John Pepper in this issue, as "an historical event." But it has yet to make real history thru the creation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party to voice the aspirations politically of all America's workers, in the cities and on the land.

The Chicago Conference will gather in the midst of fitting surroundings to perform this historic task. The Ashland Auditorium, the home of the Chicago Street Carmen's Union, has been the scene of many strivings upward on the part of labor. Here the Farmer-Labor Party itself was born and here it has held its national conventions. Great masses of workers, in this hall, have listened to all the returned travelers of note from Soviet Russia, to John Reed, Sidney Hillman, Albert Rhys Williams, Robert Minor and Isaac McBride. Here the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in convention launched their Russian-American Industrial Corporation. Here Ludwig Martens, Soviet Representative to this country, spoke before his deportation. Many other unions, including the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have been inspired here to intelligent working-class action. In this hall the great membership of the Chicago Street Carmen's Union has planned its tremendous struggles against powerful traction interests. Here the campaign for medical relief for Soviet Russia was launched in the days before the famine. Here the newly organized forces of the Communist movement in 1919 held their first great mass meetings, and here the first voice of protest was raised against the Palmer Red Raids, in 1920. Conventions of the cooperative movement have also been held here, as well as noted debates on the big problems confronting labor.

There is no doubt that the July 3d Conference will add to the traditions of this noted working-class center. It can blazon big on the pages of American working-class history by writing "Federated Farmer-Labor Party" across the skies illumined by the dawn of new struggles, and calling all who toil to rally to the standards of this effort toward real labor unity.

Help the Free Speech Drive, New York City, July 1-8.

Some Thoughts on July Fourth

In the Revolutionary War of 1776 against the tyranny of the British ruling class, it was the working masses that suffered most.

How valiantly the American working masses fought against oppression is thus pictured by the noted historian John Fiske describing the plight of the army at Valley Forge: "As the soldiers marched, Dec. 17, to their winter quarters, their route could be traced on the snow by the blood that oozed from bare, frost-bitten feet."

This dreadful suffering of the working masses was largely due to the sabotage and counter-revolutionary activities of the loyalists consisting of commercial, capitalistic, and professional elements. Despite all their heroism and unlimited sacrifices, the working masses were cheated out of most of what they fought for in the Revolutionary War.

Then, in the Civil War, in the struggle against chattel slavery, the workers again bore the brunt of the suffering.

Yet today, July 4th, 1923, the working masses are in the grip of a far more tyrannical ruling class than they were in the Colonial days. The Declaration of Independence is dead. Civil liberties for the workers are buried. American democracy, as the working class knows it and lives it, is an employing class dictatorship. Strikes are broken; strikers are jailed; armies of gunmen, detectives, soldiers, and deputy marshals are hurled against the workers struggling for the most elementary rights and bare necessities of life.

The mass of farmers are worse off than ever. They are in the throes of bankruptcy.

The American masses are today in the grip of a brutal tyranny.

The industries and natural resources have been monopolized by the most powerful capitalist class in the world.

The American workers and farmers, thru their heroic exploits in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, and their great strikes, have shown how valiantly they can fight against oppression. For far less dastardly crimes American workers fought to overthrow the tyranny of the British ruling class.

It is high time that our working masses got together, industrially and politically, to rid themselves of their capitalist exploiters and oppressors.

Help the Free Speech Drive, New York City, July 1-8.

Harding Is Poor Salesman

President Harding, despite all his protestations, is on the road trying to sell the Republican Party to the masses. As a salesman, Harding is a regular drummer.

When Harding got to the Kansas wheat fields he stepped on the gas, ran a binder, shocked the wheat, and was "just folks" with the farmers.

Speaking on the international situation in St. Louis, the President said: "The issue of the League of Nations is as dead as slavery." In making this statement and advocating a self-perpetuating court, Harding merely let it be known that he and the Republican National Chairman, Adams, have come to an understanding on the International Court of Justice. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, the financiers and industrial magnates, are already agreed to commit the country to some form of the International Court. In so far as the people are concerned, then, it is all over but the whistling on this question.

Then turning to the more pressing question of the railroad problem, the President advocated the consolidation of American railroads. While the President was talking the big capitalists were acting. Harding was voicing their sentiments and plans. The President's proposal was forthwith indorsed by the Association of Railway Security Owners. President Rea of the Pennsylvania also applauded Harding's railway solution. And the Interstate Commerce Commission sanctioned the Van Sweringen interests absorbing four more railroads.

Harding tried to throw a sop to the workers by pretending opposition to anti-strike legislation.

To-date the President's trip has been a political failure. His speeches have evoked little enthusiasm. His smiles have not helped the farmers an iota. Their conditions are growing worse from day to day. What is more, they know it and are grumbling about it. How well Harding is not doing on his Alaskan expedition is shown by the Minnesota situation. It is reported from reliable sources that the reactionary Governor Preus, running for the United States Senate, has wired the President that help from his quarters would today turn Republican failure into disaster in Minnesota.

Join the Workers Party! Subscribe for "THE WORKER"

Slipping Toward Communism

There are indications that Sam Gompers has adopted a slogan of, "Let no day pass without attacking Communism." So the head of the American Federation of Labor has found new cause for keeping the labor movement of this country isolated from European labor in the United Front established by the Transport Workers at Berlin. He charges that European labor is "slipping towards Communism."

Yet this does not prevent American "Socialists" from getting some degree of comfort out of the fact that the British Labor Party has again, for the third time, denied affiliation to the British Communist Party. In the best style of the kept press, the New York Call proclaims, "British Laborites Reject Communism."

The whole truth is: that the first time 50,000 votes were cast for Communist affiliation, in 1921; 200,000 votes in 1922, and 366,000 votes this year. Communist affiliation is accepted by local Labor Party organizations, and the Communist, Saktvala, was elected to Parliament on the Labor Party ticket from one of the London districts. This is making good progress in view of the fact that silk-stocking, knee breeches "Socialists" in control of the Labor Party are trying to ride into power with a J. Ramsay MacDonald government, and therefore fear for their respectability thru direct association with Communists.

We would suggest a consolation party at which Gompers and the "Socialists" could get together to jointly lament the drift toward Communism on the other side of the Atlantic, contrary to the reports of Hillquit and Cahane.

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

Just when Gompers, Lewis and Farrington signed their treaty of peace among themselves, agreeing to joint war on the radicals, the Tri-District Anthracite Convention got under way at Scranton, Pa., showing radical sentiment to be stronger than ever among the rank and file of the mine workers. The officials will not be able to get very far unless they can keep the membership with them. And the rank and file of labor, to paraphrase Gompers, is "slipping towards Radicalism."

Help "Organize the Unorganized."

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

He Defies the Heat

"Smith Defies the Heat" announces a startling newspaper headline. But we learn, on reading further, that the New York governor, mentioned as a presidential candidate, only played nine holes of golf at the democratic hangout, "French Lick Springs, Indiana." The steel workers at Gary, in the same state, do not even get passing mention.

Getting Hot in Minnesota

In addition to the hot weather, the special senatorial campaign in Minnesota is warming up in great shape. The battle is between the republican standpat governor, Preus, and the Farmer-Labor Party candidate, Magnus Johnson. It is hoped that out of this fight there will come a greater sentiment than ever for a class political party of the industrial workers and farmers.

Ford and Publicity

Ford declares he is too busy to be a candidate for president. But the kept press will keep on giving him acres of space just the same. No doubt the capitalist sheets have their eyes on the advertising contract. It's the money that puts over the publicity.

The Race Toward War

Premier Baldwin, of England, promises 34 new squadrons of airships for the British war forces. This is an answer to the growing air strength of French militarism, that ranks first in the world today. France and England, having fought to end war in the last war, are in the race stronger than ever for the next war.

WHY?

Will Felipe Carrillo, Governor of the "Socialist" State of Yucatan, tell us why, in the liberal divorce laws recently enacted, a divorced man is eligible for remarriage immediately after obtaining a divorce, while a divorced woman is not permitted to re-marry for 300 days, except to the former husband? We are curious to know.

Help the Free Speech Drive!

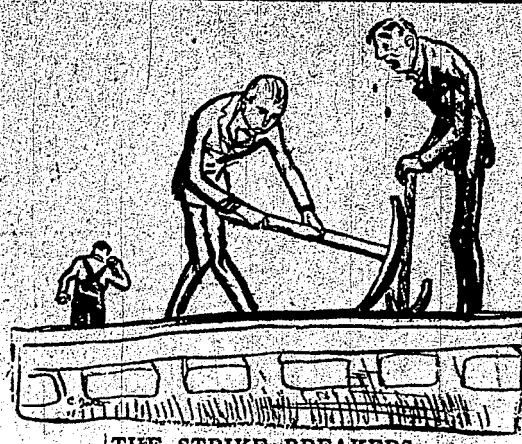
New York City, July 1-8.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish says that strikes would be all right, if the boss would keep on paying your wages.



"And to think, ol' top, that it is tea time at the Astoria!"

Slaves—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow

By CLARISSA S. WARE

Toting their few belongings, often live chickens and pigs, in sack thrown over their shoulders, a race is moving out of bondage to the south into the industrial bondage of the North.

During the last six months a stream of over 100,000 Negroes has flowed from the old plantation lands into the industrial centres, into the mills and factories.

South Carolina reports that over 50,000 have migrated from 41 counties alone, that each county has lost an average of over 1,000 farm workers and that over 400 farms on an average have been abandoned.

From Alabama and the South comes the wall of the cotton, sugar, rice, corn, and tobacco growers, who have counted on the Negro to stick to his hoe.

Two or three months ago labor recruiting agents coming from the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Ohio appeared and signed up the Negro farm hands for free rides to the 12-hour day and the industrial slavery of the non-union mines and mills.

Today Alabama has lost 3 1/2 per cent of its total Negro farm population. In Georgia the conditions are even more extreme. More than 32,000 farm hands or over 13 per cent of the total Negro farm labor of the State have "moved north."

They have left their crops planted in the ground, their shack doors idly hanging to and fro, to seek freedom, high wages and a steady job in the promised land of the North.

They are passing thru Chattanooga, Tennessee, in gangs of 500 each in charge of the Northern Industrial Labor Agents. In Jackson, Mississippi, groups of three and four hundred are starting on the same journey.

The Exodus from Egypt

The Exodus from Egypt is on. The whole vicious system of peonage, share cropping and tenantry, which have enslaved the Negro to the field boss, landlord and plantation owner—the white man's law courts and mob rule—the lynchings—the utter mockery of all legal and political rights, these coupled with the short cotton crop of the last two years have prepared a fertile field for the labor recruiting agents. Except for the war-time exodus of 500,000, nothing like the present migration has occurred. Today the Negro migrant is answering the call of the Steel mills for cheap labor. Some time ago Babson advised northern employers to go South and bring Negro laborers. Emmett J. Scott of Howard University is reported to have sent a telegram to Gary advising him that there were 8,000,000 Negroes in the South furnishing a reservoir of potential mill labor.

The Negro farmer of the South has never been beyond the limits of the nearby village. The woods, mine, mill or factory mean little or nothing to him. He does not know what a union is and he has never heard the word scab. Because of his illiteracy, because of his utter ignorance of the conditions of modern industry he offers a source of unorganized labor, which is being exploited to an extent comparable only to the extent to which the foreign born workers are

exploited and oppressed. Labor Agents are travelling thru the Southern States offering free rides to a easy job, with high wages, and short hours and a people so long in bondage to cotton are throwing off the yoke of serfdom and taking the free rides to enter bondage to Steel. And from Atlanta comes the definite statement by Connors of the Negro Welfare Association:

"They are leaving Atlanta for the North by the car load and are going to the steel mills of Pennsylvania and Ohio."

Cotton Is No Longer King

Cotton is King no longer. It has abdicated to Steel. The development of American Imperialism has reached the stage where the investment of capital in other lands, calling for the production of steel and ever more steel. And the Negro laborer is laying aside his hoe and answering the call of the Steel King for new recruits to his army of twelve-hour-day slaves.

Many times the Negro Worker has been misunderstood by his white brother. Many times Negroes have been blamed for scabbing when the very union on strike had refused membership to Negro Workers. The race riots, engineered by the employers in their efforts to keep the ranks of labor divided, have often left bitterness and antagonism between the Negro and white workers. But as in the United Mine Workers of America, the Negroes have been organized and have proven themselves staunch union men, so in other unions, the realization of the need for solidarity of labor and the unity of interest of all workers is developing apace.

Inciting To Violence

Editor, The Worker:—Here is what I saw (under the heading "Herrin—A Call For Justice") published in the O. S. A., a monthly magazine issued by the Open Shop Association of Washington, D. C. Wilkins Building:

"Cabinet officials, clergymen, judges, farmers, the rank and file of the American people, the free workmen and the women in the home are finding a common voice in the demand that the guilty shall be punished and the good name of civilized America again be unsullied before the world."

"Justice is the issue. Illinois has not acted, the Federal Government under our laws cannot act. THE PEOPLE CAN."—Edward J. Irvine.

No one sees thru these machinations more clearly than the Communists of Germany. Their position from beginning to end, has been one of helplessness in this strike for mere existence, but one of earnest warning against political uprising that would deliver the working class of Germany into the hands of their merciless enemies at the present time

Lore Interprets Developments in "The Ruhr" from Communist Viewpoint and Answers "Socialist" Attacks

(Continued from Page One)

and unemployment compensation equivalent to two-thirds of the regular wage, and encouraged the men in the mines to reduce production to the lowest possible minimum.

These studied advances to the Ruhr workers did not augment, but rather released the tension. Certainly there was nothing remotely resembling a fighting mood in the Ruhr at that time. Partly this was due, as well, to the fact that the German iron and coal barons had no desire for a military rencontre with imperialistic France, and was striving to secure better terms for itself by striking a bargain with the French bourgeoisie at the expense of the German people.

Undoubtedly the German bourgeoisie is preparing to capitulate. It cannot fight and will not pay. There is only one other possibility—to unload the burden of a new capitulation to Entente capitalism on top of the fulfillment expenditures and sabotage costs upon the producing masses of Germany. Furthermore German capital has earned enough to satisfy even its rapacity. It has plundered the treasury of the nation to exhaustion. In the last five months the national debt of Germany was increased from 1 1/2 thousand to 10 thousand billions, the gold reserve of the Reichsbank, however, fell from 900 to 600 million goldmark. Furthermore the French have managed to solve the difficulties of coal and coke transportation, despite the statements of the German press to the contrary, and are already preparing to carry off the reparation coal that has been the

bone of contention during all these sorry months.

In view of these facts the German bourgeoisie has lost interest in passive resistance. The means by which the change of front is being accomplished is characteristically capitalistic. The Mark is falling from hour to hour, until it has become practically valueless. Prices have risen almost 250 per cent, but wage increases are bluntly refused. The workers of the Ruhr district—the heroes and the saviors of Germany only a few weeks ago—have turned into traitors overnight in the eyes of the rulers. High prices and low wages drive them to desperation. And then, when disturbances break out, when hunger revolts arise, when hot tempered individuals follow the lead of capitalist and fascist provocateurs, German capital disowns them and with a theatrical appeal to the world it disavows all responsibility for the "communist putsch."

The capitalist press took up the news with varying emphasis. A number of newspapers were honest enough to admit that the uprising in the Ruhr was inevitable in view of occurrences there. Others suspected, and even openly accused the communist movement of Germany of inciting the revolt. Here in America the latter version—being the most sensational—was generally given credence. But we must confess that we have nowhere seen a more brazen and more rotten piece of editorialism than that which appeared in the N. Y. Call on June 12th.

This is the article—

"Failure of the Ruhr Commune"

"We have several times discussed

Ruhr as an imperialistic and economic battleground between the French and German capitalists, with the British standing close to the sidelines, if not supporting the Stines group. Few would ever think that

owing to the huge military forces scattered thru the Rhineland there would be a Communist uprising in the Ruhr. Yet it happened, altho all the cards were stacked against them. Here we cannot help asserting that audacity ceases to be a virtue and becomes positively criminal.

"All lines of communication were in the hands of the French. The union movement was divided between the regular organizations and the Catholic unions, while the most powerful group in the Rhineland, the Socialist party, withheld its approval, knowing well that all the so-called revolutionists could do would be to prepare a butchery for a Franco-German capitalist holiday. This made the Communists a mob without leadership, purpose, direction or goal, unless general demoralization of the labor movement can be called goal.

When they got partial control in one place they were compelled to organize a police force to put down the very mobs their own incapacity and wildness created.

"Certain leaders are now disclaiming all responsibility for the madmen's work. The Putsch again with fortunately less slaughter. Yet by a freak the crazy enterprise only for a day succeeded there would be loud boasting about the brilliant tactics of the 'proletarian battalions' and the 'proletarian dictators.'"

What has actually happened in Germany?

On the 25th day of May the general strike movement of the Ruhr miners began. The "Rote Fahne" (Berlin), of May 25th, commented on the strike on its first page in a two column heavy typed article entitled "Agents Provocateurs at Work."

The occurrences at Dortmund should command the serious attention of the communist movement. The German working class and the Communist Party are in great danger. If we do not succeed in making the workers realize the significance of what is going on, we will run headlong into a decisive defeat.

"The capitalist papers admit that large masses are engaged in the Dortmund movement. That, in itself, shows that the uprising is not being fomented from without, that it is the outgrowth of a situation that has been created in the Ruhr thru its occupation by the French and the attitude of the German bourgeoisie.

"The bourgeoisie is crying for national defense and national resistance. It pays for this resistance with billions out of the national treasury, billions that the working class must be bled white to replace. At the same time it is exploiting the workers shamelessly. In the Ruhr prices are even higher than in the rest of Germany. Wage increases are in no relation to the increase in prices. In this situation what is more natural than that the workers should rise in self-defense? It is a crime on the part of the Social Democracy and the labor union movement that they do not stand, to a man, behind these utterly justifiable demands of the work-

ers. It is a crime not only against the life of these workers, against the national existence of Germany as well, that national existence at whose altar the Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie do lip service! . . .

"By its so-called protective organizations the German bourgeoisie has been provoking proletarian resistance in order to club it down relentlessly. The bourgeois press shamelessly accuses the desperate workmen of taking weapons from the French. It is not entirely impossible that French agents are working hand in hand with German Fascists, and that serious attempts are being made to draw headless elements among the workers, into open opposition with promises of French support."

"The Communist Party stands firmly behind every struggle of the working class and will help in this struggle too, with every weapon at its command. But at the same time it is its duty to warn the working class that it is madness to go into the conflict without arms. It is the duty of every Communist to join in this mass movement to persuade the workers to evade every show of force, and to make use, only, of the powerful weapons of strike and political demonstrations. It is to be feared that these spontaneous demonstrations of the working class will sooner or later take on an aspect that will make it easy for the bourgeoisie to choke them in blood unless the workers keep their heads. It is up to the workers to refute by their actions, the accusation that they have capitulated before French imperialism. The provocative intention of the French and German bourgeoisie

must be frustrated. The Party must proceed with iron energy and force."

Who dares to speak of Communist Putschism in the face of this determined declaration?

Is this the language of men who would drive a whole people into almost certain annihilation in order to win political power for themselves?

The following brief excerpts from various sources underscore the above statement from the Rote Fahne:

On May 27th the representative of the Prussian government declared at the press conference:

"It must be said in the interest of truth, that the Communists are not implicated in the occurrences in the Ruhr. It is simply a strike movement born of bitter need and low wages."

Concerning the alleged terror by Communist Hundertschaften (defensive squads), the bourgeois democratic "Frankfurter Zeitung" on May 27 writes:

"It must be reiterated, that, in the opinion of experienced labor leaders, the sentiment among German workers has become extraordinarily acute during the last few weeks. The opposition of manufacturers to a wage increase commensurate to the depreciation of German currency has aroused extreme dissatisfaction."

On the 26th of May the "Vorwarts" (Berlin), the spiritual brother of the N. Y. Call, wrote concerning the "communist" uprising:

"That will, we hope, put an end to sensational headlines in the Berlin press about 'communist rebellions' and 'red rule,' that have been chas-

ing bleak shivers up and down the backs of our honest bourgeois.

"In reality this is not a communist strike, but an explosion (of the Ruhr workmen).

"This constant harping on the Communists cannot do away with the fact that other elements, much more closely related to the German Nationalists, have played a significant role in the uprising, and that, when all is said and done, the root of this evil lies in the shameless exploitation of the masses and in the economic and unsocial policies of both our government and our industrial chiefs."

No one can foretell the outcome at the present time. The breakneck tumble of the Mark has created conditions that force even the most conservative labor leaders to favor a general strike of all workers as the only possible protection against the torments of capitalist price boosts."

It is not the "terror" of the Communists that drives these men out of their minds, but the terror of their bosses, who are tightening the screws until their workmen, out of sheer desperation, are turning upon their oppressors, giving them the opportunity for which they have been longing, to close the deal with their "enemy," the French bourgeoisie.

No one sees thru these machinations more clearly than the Communists of Germany. Their position from beginning to end, has been one of helplessness in this strike for mere existence, but one of earnest warning against political uprising that would deliver the working class of Germany into the hands of their merciless enemies at the present time