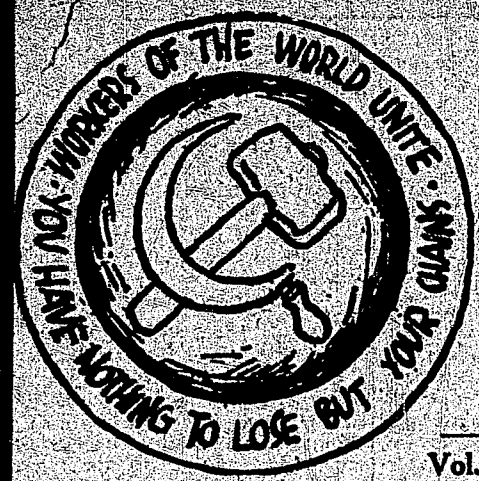




Great Gathering of Workers and Farmers Decides for United Political Action

THE WORKER

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Labor Party Is Organized

Independence Day Witnesses New Declaration of Political Freedom by Industrialists and Farmers

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO, ILL., July 4.—Thru the holiday hours of Independence Day, the irresistible demand for a class Federated Farmer-Labor Party took definite shape here, so that by nightfall representative committees on organization, resolutions and program and finance were at work planning the structure and the immediate future activities of the new giant enterprise of American labor.

It was inevitable that there should be clashes as this tremendous effort moved forward to complete achievement, giving new meaning to the Nation's Birthday, the Fourth of July, the day that will, no doubt, also mark the national day of united political action of the industrial workers and working farmers in these United States.

But the flood of debate finally poured into the same channel so that the instructions to the Organization Committee to go ahead "for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party," received the unanimous support, practically of all the delegates, numbered approximately at one thousand.

It was with a "we want action" spirit that the delegates gathered in the Labor Party Conference on its second day. With William Bough, spokesman of the Washington farmers of the Far West who have ranged themselves in a class fight against their exploiters on the Pacific Coast, as a chairman he urged the delegates to be short on parliamentary tricks and long on action, and the days big battle, the crucial struggle of the conference was on.

The Wisconsin delegation urged that the gathering declare itself as the Conference for Independent Political Action, that the conference accept the report of the credentials committee to the Farmer-Labor Party Conference of the previous day, and that the chairman be authorized to appoint committee on committees constituted of representatives of the recognized groups, this committee to select the committees on organization, resolutions, program and finance.

Delegate Joseph Manley, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers of New York City, moved an amendment consisting of five propositions. First: This conference declares itself in favor of the immediate formation of an all-inclusive Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Second:

The convention shall elect an organization committee, the personnel of which was provided for in detail. Third:

The organization committee shall formulate and report to the convention a plan of organization for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party—using the existing Farmer-Labor Party structure as the basis for this organization. Fourth:

The organization committee shall prepare registration blanks for all delegates present which shall show their names, addresses, the organizations they represent, and the membership of these organizations, and have these filled out by the delegates. Fifth:

The organization committee shall include in its report a plan for the election of a National Executive Committee in which the groups named above shall be represented. It was this proposition that took the conference by storm. Waves of applause greeted practically every word spoken in its favor, while opposition was practically greeted with complete silence.

When one delegate protested the conference was not ready to move that fast. Delegate Kruse, New Jersey, asked: "If not how when will the conference get down to business. That is what we would like to know. Will we fail again, or will we make an effort to succeed?"

Delegate Gorman, California, told how the Los Angeles Labor Party had been formed with the hope that a national organization would be built at the earliest possible moment. "If this convention adjourns without forming the Labor Party, then there will be an end to our Labor Party movement. I notice that there are quite a number of people here who are speaking in favor of the Labor Party but who are sabotaging its realization."

Julius Hochman, representing the Joint Board of the New York Dress and Waist Makers' Union and also the conference correspondent of the Socialist daily, the New York Call, was one of those most outspoken against the Manley amendment. He thought the Manley proposition had been worked out too much in detail and was the expression of a group that had received too much preparation. He referred of course to the Workers Party.

Delegate Wicks replied that the amendment did not prevent the conference from expressing its views on the organization of the Labor Party. Amid cheers, he claimed that the delegates were in a hurry to get down to business. He reviewed the Chicago and Cleveland conferences of the committee for progressive political action and asked, "will you finish in the same way?"

The conference was roused to its highest pitch of enthusiasm, however, by a dirt farmer from North Dakota, R. H. Walker, also a member of the state legislature.

Walker declared he had no part in framing the amendment, but that he was for it. He told how the farmers of the West were going into bankruptcy, that these were demanding a united front, and not the big business bandits, even if the bourgeois, politicians, and political opportunities felt that the time was not ripe for it.

"We want action," said Walker. "We farmers are with you industrialists." He said he was a small farmer and was in debt five thousand dollars. That he had the eight-hour day on the farms, eight hours before dinner and eight hours after dinner, and still we don't get enough to eat.

Rose Wolkowitz, also delegate of the New York Joint Board, Dress and Waist Makers' Union, replied to delegate Hochman, declaring: "the rank and file of the clothing workers are impatient for real independent political action."

Several delegates of the Proletarian Party spoke, but they trailed the Socialist attitude voiced by Hochman, fearing that the Workers Party delegation was trying to railroad something thru the conference.

It was at this point that delegate McDonald, Illinois, urged that matters pertaining to rules be segregated from questions of organization and policy.

Manley agreed to this, and the rules were unanimously adopted. But when Manley again urged his proposition it was ruled out of order. A motion was made to proceed with the selection of the organization committee.

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Sam Guesses the Pea Is Under One—or the Other, but the Son Has Learned a Thing or Two

Great Gathering Starts Early to Show Desire for "Federated Labor Party"

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL

(Special to "The Worker")

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO.—The great gathering called together at the Ashland Auditorium in Chicago, by the Farmer-Labor Party, wants a "Federated Farmer-Labor Party," embracing all workers in industry and on the land who are ready to take their stand against the two old Wall Street parties.

This dynamic demand was felt as the hundreds of delegates cheered speaker after speaker at the opening sessions of the gathering, on Tuesday. It came to the front especially when, for a time, it seemed as if the preliminary convention of the Farmer-Labor Party would delay getting down to the real work of discussing the unity of all labor's political forces. Then it was voted unanimously late Tuesday afternoon, to adjourn and reconvene ten o'clock Wednesday morning, July 4th, as the "Labor Party Conference," that had drawn most of the delegates to Chicago from every section of the country.

John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, struck the note of aspiration that pervaded the entire conference, when he called for the unity of all the political forces of labor.

"We are divided now into nine or ten different groups," said Fitzpatrick, "all striving in a dozen different directions. How foolish and ridiculous it is for the workers to be divided, when the bosses of big business are united everywhere. We are here to discuss and get a solution of the problem confronting us. We are going to come out of this conference with some sort of an arrangement, some kind of solution, some sort of a working agreement that will centralize our efforts, and cause all our difficulties to vanish."

R. F. Pettigrew, of Sioux Falls, So. Dakota, drew repeated applause from the delegates as he urged a workers' government, a government giving all power to the workers.

Then came "Mother" Mary Jones, more than 82 years of age, veteran of all labor's battles for the past half century and more, who urged industrial as well as political amalgamation for the workers.

There was also Lieutenant Governor George F. Comings, of Wisconsin, and Chairman White, of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, ending hours of oratory that whetted the delegates' desires to get down to real business. The delegates, saw their

opportunity when the report of the credentials committee was read and a motion made to seat all the hundreds of delegates whose names had been turned in, as delegates of national political organizations, international labor unions, state, city central and local labor unions, labor fraternal organizations and labor publications.

All Delegates Demand Seats. Evidently some delegates of the Farmer-Labor Party thought their convention was being completely lost sight of in the stampede for "the Labor Party Conference." It was urged that the duly authorized Farmer-Labor Party delegates be segregated from the general delegation so that the Farmer-Labor Party could proceed with its preliminary business. It was urged that only regular Farmer-Labor Party delegates, or

delegates of organizations regularly affiliated with the Farmer-Labor Party sit in at this preliminary gathering. This stirred considerable discussion among large numbers of the delegates, even some Farmer-Laborites who were delegates of local unions that did not pay dues to the Farmer-Labor Party. An attempt to seat all delegates in the Farmer-Labor Party convention, except the delegates of national industrial and political organizations, was only a weak dam that held back the final unanimous demand for the immediate seating of all delegates, a recommendation that had been originally made by the credentials committee.

Even after the chairman of the credentials committee had announced that credentials had been reported for all delegates contemplating participation in the "Labor Party Conference," and these had actually been seated, Chairman Toscan, Bennett still held, on a point of order, that the gathering was still the convention of the Farmer-Labor Party.

It was finally on the motion of C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, that the tangle was finally straightened out by the adjournment until Wednesday morning, when the "Labor Party Conference" will get under way.

Determination to Organize Politically Shown. Chairman Bennett opened the gathering, which will go down in American history as the birth of the Federated Labor Party.

(Continued on Page Three)

John Farmer at the Convention

By JOHN FARMER

(Special to "The Worker")

A hurried census of farmers taken just at the opening session indicates that the city workers will hear from the soil. There are representatives from the Wisconsin Nonpartisan League 25 strong.

Other State League organizations are there and the delegates from several other organizations. Among these there are The Western Progressive Farmers, The United Farmers Educational League and The Progressive Farmers of Idaho.

The following conversation overheard between Brother Bouck of Washington State Grange fame and now of the Western Progressive Farmers with "Dad" Walker of the United Farmers Educational League and a member of the State Legislature of North Dakota. These "dirt" farmers were wondering what could be done at this convention. "Well," Dad remarked, "there is one thing we've got to shoot straight on, and

that's the land." Brother Bouck came back with the statement that "Use and occupancy of Land" was going to be the title to the land.

This little snatch of conversation may be taken merely as one of the straws that indicate which way the cyclone will blow unless this convention comes thru with a fundamental remedy for the bankruptcy of the American farmers. The farmers want the Land and they realize that they will get it only by joint political action with the City workers.

Delegate Engdahl at this point again showed that only a small minority of the Farmer-Labor delegates were for the substitute, and urged Fitzpatrick, Buck, Brown and other Farmer-Laborites to join with the ninety-nine per cent of the delegates to put over the Federated Farmer-Labor Party by unanimous decision.

After several more speeches, delegate Long, Wisconsin, again urged his amendment that the whole matter before the convention be referred to a committee for consideration by a conference next year. This amendment was again defeated, and then the original proposals of the organization committee were adopted following a speech by Secretary Manley, for the committee.

Workers Party Struggles for Unity. The real convention floor struggle for the creation of political unity among America's workers started when Manley made the report for the organization committee. It was this committee that had battled long to iron out all differences and reach a unanimous agreement in harmony with the overwhelming sentiment of the delegates.

Then John Brown, Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party, whose name was given to the call for the Convention, declared, "I very much regret the necessity that compels me to disagree with the report of the committee. I am in agreement with the platform. I have no regrets for the calling of this gathering," and then in a rather pessimistic mood, "I am glad that we at least tried to make it succeed. The adoption of the constitution proposed would defeat the object for which this gathering was called together. The constitution would compel the Farmer-Labor Party to commit suicide, and our party will not do that." He concluded by declaring that the calling of the Conference was the supreme effort of the career of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Then John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and one of the Founders of the Farmer-Labor Party, came to the platform amid considerable applause. But he was more pessimistic than Brown, stating at the beginning that he subscribed to everything that Brown had said.

Fitzpatrick made the first open criticism of the Workers Party, when he declared that "other" political groups have injected themselves into this situation," adding that the Farmer Labor Party is not a party to proceedings here.

"If we can't get the Farmer-Labor Party convention into session after this conference, then the Farmer-Labor Party is dead," continued Fitzpatrick, adding, "then let her go."

He said that another political party, the Workers Party, had injected itself into the picture, he charged that the Workers Party could not reach the rank and file of American labor, and if it could not do that then it had killed this thing, meaning the movement for unity.

"If they want to do a real job of killing independent political action, then let them jam their program down our throats. The minute the Workers Party is identified with this thing, then this movement is not only running up a blind alley, but against a stone wall. You will put the cudgel, the gun and the ammunition in the hands of the Workers Party."

Delegate Kruse made an appeal to the Farmer-Labor Delegates not to be carried away by the action of some of their officials.

This was followed by a motion to table the substitute which was carried.

Federated Farmer-Labor Party Is Launched Amid Tremendous Enthusiasm at Chicago Conference

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO.—The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been organized. It came into existence here late Thursday night, July 5th, by practically the unanimous vote of the spirited gathering brought together in the "Labor Party Conference." The conquering spirit of the forward-looking delegates who stuck together thru the three-days' gathering in spite of every difference, augurs well for the future of united political action of the workers and farmers of the United States.

The threatened walkout of small elements of the Farmer-Labor Party did not materialize. The forces remained intact until Chairman Bouck adjourned the conference sine die amid three rousing cheers for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, cheers that shook the great building of the Chicago Street Carmen's Union.

Adjournment came with the selection of the National Executive committee and the adoption of the report of the Resolutions Committee. A meeting of the Farmer-Labor Party delegates for Friday was set almost simultaneously with the first meeting of the executive of the Federated Party. Even if the Farmer-Labor Party does not come into the Federated Party as a national organization, it is assured that all of its important State organizations and worthwhile membership will come in.

There was a small group within the Farmer-Labor Party that kept up to the last its opposition to the proposal of the organization committee of the conference, providing for the organization of the Federated Party and proposing a program for it.

It was this group that was allowed to caucus before the evening session. The caucus selected a committee that drew up a substitute to the committee's report that was nearly laughed out of the convention hall.

The substitute was offered by Robert M. Buck, editor of The New Majority, and urged that the conference accept the platform and constitution of the Farmer-Labor Party, give control of the Federated Party into its hands thru the new National Executive Committee, and then pledged all affiliated organizations against drawing any inspiration from the Communist International.

In presenting his substitute Buck misinterpreted a proposal of delegate Ruthenberg, during the afternoon session, that the Farmer-Labor Party structure alone be accepted as the skeleton around which to build the Federated Party. The discussion on the Buck substitute was another revelation of the determination of the conference to go ahead with the organization of the Federated Party.

Doesn't Want "Bolsheviks" Outlawed. Delegate James Walker, North Dakota, pointed out that the Farmer-Laborites were evidently trying to write a new Declaration of Independence, to write a Declaration of Independence from the Bolsheviks.

"We farmers out West are not afraid of the Bolsheviks," he said. "We have been called everything imaginable and that does not bother us. We are sticklers."

Delegate Jensen, Machinists, Chicago, urged the cause of the striking shopmen and declared it was a shame for a few Farmer-Laborite politicians of Cook County, Chicago, to try to kill an inspiration of workers and farmers.

Delegate Kruse made an appeal to the given floor and charged that the effort to discriminate against the Workers Party today, because of its international relations, could easily be used against any other organization, might even be used against the Socialist Party that is now affiliated with the new Hamburg Socialist International.

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Workers Party

Members of District No. 2 and Local New York

Will meet their Comrades and Friends and will have a jolly time at the

Midnight Sail on Return Trip

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"Organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party," Urged by Workers Party at July 3d Convention in Chicago

(Special to The Worker)

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO.—The statement of the Workers Party calling upon the delegates to the Convention here to organize the "Federated Farmer-Labor Party" was as follows:

Organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party

A great Convention of the representatives of many workers' and farmers' organizations has been called to unite the working and farming masses into a Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

There are, today, gathered for this purpose delegates speaking for hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers. We already have a sufficiently strong and adequate representation of the masses to launch forthwith the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Under no circumstances must we permit a repetition of the Cleveland Conference which turned its back on the workers and farmers by refusing to organize a party uniting the working and farming classes politically. Thus the Workers Party is in thorough agreement with John Fitzpatrick when, speaking on the Cleveland Conference before the Chicago Federation of Labor, he said: "They became 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 A. F. of L., but WE ARE NOT WEAKENING IN OUR POSITION THAT THERE MUST BE A DEFINITE

ELY WORKERS' PARTY. WE ARE GOING RIGHT AHEAD.

In view of the ever-increasing dangers besetting the Labor and Farmers' movements, there is a pressing need for "a definitely workers' party." The Chicago Convention should never become scab and dual to the Cleveland Conference. Farmer-Labor Party Calls for Organization of a new, Federated

Farmer-Labor Party
The Workers Party looks with great favor upon the plan to have the present Farmer-Labor Party serve as the basis for the organization of a united political party of the workers and farmers. But we are unreservedly committed to the original call of the Farmer-Labor Party declaring for the creation of a new, big united organization of the laboring and farming masses.

The Workers Party unqualifiedly indorses this call when it says: "Monster Political Convention of the Workers of America, Chicago, July 3, 1923. Every local union, Central Body, Farm Organization, State, National and International Body and Political Group Invited. A Chance At Last for Bringing About United Action of the Workers of Hand and Brain on the Political Field."

Indeed, the July 3d Convention is much more than an ordinary, regular convention of the existing Farmer-Labor Party. It is really a monster convention of the workers of America.

The Workers Party is prepared gladly to devote all its energies and render its greatest services to the upbuilding of a virile Federated Farmer-Labor Party. To this end



No Party—No Vote—Labor Has Organized Its Own Party At Chicago Convention

we are ready to make every sacrifice. But we are unalterably opposed to anybody so degrading and discarding this great idea of the united action of all workers and farmers as to limit it to the old narrow channels.

The New Federated Farmer-Labor Party

Every organization of the workers and farmers regardless of the existing differences of political opinion, should have its place in the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Thus the Workers Party is in wholehearted accord with Jay C. Brown, National Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party when he says: "The general affiliation of labor, farm and political groups with a central organization committed to such general principles as can be agreed upon should be effected at the coming convention. This should not interfere with the autonomy of any of the affiliated bodies. Each should be free after the convention to continue its work of propaganda and education in its own way along lines acceptable to itself."

We further agree with Jay C. Brown that the new Party should be: "A federation of organizations."

The new Federated Farmer-Labor Party should exercise discipline over its affiliated organizations only as integral units. At the same time the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party should be so organized as not merely to limit itself to the annual election campaigns but as to be able to participate actively in and unify the struggles of the workers and farmers.

The Workers Party believes that the new Federated Farmer-Labor

Party should be a Party of the workers and farming classes and not a haven for middle class politicians. The Constitution and platform should permit the full and equal affiliation of all workers' and farmers' organizations which may desire to join later.

A Call to All Delegates

We call upon all delegates who have come to the monster July 3d Convention to be guided solely by the great fundamental interests of the working and farming classes as a whole. All local all group interest must be secondary to these vital needs of the working and farming masses.

No delegate should tolerate an attempt to postpone or evade the organization of the new mighty Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Every delegate should emphatically make it clear that he has come solely for the purpose of participating in the monster political convention of the workers of America to create a new Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the basis of which will be the existing Farmer-Labor Party.

All delegates must keep in mind that they are responsible to their organizations which have instructed them to build a body for the united action of the workers and farmers.

Workers and farmers! It is not only the eyes of your own organization that are on you. The eyes of the whole American working and farming classes are on you.

ORGANIZE THE FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY!

LONG LIVE THE FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY!

Must Create Party Uniting All Labor, Says Jay G. Brown in Secretary's Report

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO.—"Since it could see no promise thru the Conference for Progressive Political Action," said Jay G. Brown, in his report to the National Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, "the Farmer-Labor Party did feel duty bound to itself to point out a means which might result in knitting together the many warring and divided groups into some measure of political unity."

Brown, who is national secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party, reviewed the history of the Conference for Progressive Political Action from its inception in Chicago in February, 1922, to its act of treachery to the working class in its Cleveland conference last December.

He showed that this conference was called for the first time on the eve of the great industrial upheavals that shook the nation in the coal and rail strikes, and that out of that struggle it was to be expected a definite political movement of labor would evolve. But when the Farmer-Labor Party endeavored to commit the Cleveland conference to independent political action of the workers thru a party of their own that would bring the workers of hand and brain together for the purpose of waging the conquest of government, the motion was crushed under the steam roller of the machine that controlled the organization.

In face of this rebuke to the working class the Farmer-Labor Party was in duty bound to withdraw from the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and decided to issue the call for the creation of a real unity of labor on the political field.

Civil Liberty At Lowest Ebb

One of the reasons for the failure of various minority parties to achieve success in the United States has been because many groups and parties are striving to benefit the workers but all of them mutually struggle against each other. In the 1920 election in Illinois there were ten candidates for governor.

This condition must stop, said Brown. "Civil liberty is at a lower ebb today than ever before. Rights, long cherished, are slipping away. Great combinations of wealth are becoming more and more ruthless. Farmers are losing their farms."

"The rich may freely advocate any form of open violence and lawlessness while the prison doors close upon the poor for the mere expression of opinion. The time, the place and the opportunity for correcting these conditions are here today," said Secretary Brown, in closing his plea for the unity of labor's forces—the unions, the farmers' organizations and the several minority political parties must unite into one group for action against the old parties of capitalism.

The Coal Miners Help

We have sent \$52 to the Labor Defense Council at Chicago, Illinois. After taking the matter up in our Local Union, No. 655 of the United Mine Workers of America, at Weaver, Illinois. — Committee David Greener, Eli Petroff George.

Federated Party Is Launched

(Continued from Page One)

hands of our enemies, to blow us off the face of the earth."

Fitzpatrick had made several references to Foster and Manley, and the Chairman recognized Foster as the next speaker, the delegates arose en masse cheering the secretary of the Trade Union Educational League.

"Every delegate here can adopt the Organization Committee's proposition with a full, free will, and report back to their various organizations," said Foster. "Our duty here is to go right ahead and adopt the report of the Organization Committee."

He then compared the developments in Great Britain for the Labor Party and the situation in this country. He said that the Labor Union officials in England had favored independent political action, whereas here in the United States the leading officials of labor, headed by Sam Gompers, were opposed to the Labor Party idea. Amid groans Foster declared that, "the main obstacle to an American Labor Party is Sam Gompers."

Must Not Repeat Failures

Then Foster analyzed the Conference for Progressive Political Action that first met at Chicago and later in Cleveland. He said he did not have much faith in it because he knew "Bill" Johnston, its chairman, president of the International Association of Machinists.

"Nothing came of the Chicago Conference, he said, and nothing happened at Cleveland. The Farmer-Labor Party broke with this conference at Cleveland, and Fitzpatrick dubbed it a scab organization."

"Then what did the Farmer-Labor Party do?" asked Foster. "It went out and appealed to the rank and file. This conference here is the result. There is no one here who was not invited. The sentiment here is that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party be formed. The Farmer-Labor Party should go along with this movement. Our only chance now is to appeal to the rank and file. If the Farmer-Labor Party did not want to do this, why did it call this conference? We must unite and carry on a militant struggle in all the unions for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party idea, to win the rank and file for this idea. Dan Bous, a sage brush farmer from Washington, delegate of Washington Farmer-Labor Party, said he had come two thousand miles for the accomplishment of some practical work."

"It would be an impractical thing for both sides to leave this convention conference divided. I want to see all groups united. I want to tell the people back home that we had a great convention and that we adjourned united." Other speakers spoke along the same line until a spokesman of the Wisconsin non-Partisan League asked, "are we Communists? That is the question that must be answered here, and we must make the answer a loud 'No.'"

"We urge unity in the right direction," He complimented the Workers Party delegates on the excellent and intellectual literature with which they had flooded the convention, admitting that the Communists employed "tactics supreme."

"If you can't suit radical Wisconsin," he concluded, "then you can't suit any other state," winding up with what was intended to be a eulogy of Senator LaFollette. Mention of LaFollette brought the bare ripple of applause.

One of the most effective talks was made by Delegate A. J. Feldhaus, Machinists' Lodge No. 162, Cincinnati, Ohio, a member of the Farmer-

Labor Party, who declared he had come to this convention to get real united political action.

"We want a clearing house," he said, "that will bring order. They say we will be called Communists, Bolsheviks and Reds. I want to say, that irrespective of who or what we are, when we go out on strike, or carry on any other struggle for the most moderate demands, the public press always gives us that kind of a label. There is no sense whatever in getting frightened. Why didn't Buck bring in a minority report here telling us what he wanted," with the delegates adding "that's right, that's right."

Constitution for New Party Offered

Secretary Manley first read a proposed Constitution for the "Federated Farmer-Labor Party." When he finished reading the delegates waited in breathless earnest for the storm to break, as it was instinctively felt that there was opposition. Then there came the motion from the Farmer-Labor group that consideration of the proposed Constitution be postponed until the question of policy had been decided. With the feeling of "anything to satisfy the Farmer-Laborites" the delegates voted for the motion. When the committee announced that the proposed statement of principles and policy was not yet ready, a recess was taken. Upon reconvening Secretary Manley, for the committee, read a rather lengthy document setting forth the evils confronting the workers and farmers, and proposing a program for immediate action. The debate then started on the motion to adopt the statement, but ranged all up and down the whole question of political unity.

Buck was the first to be recognized by the chairman. Buck said he spoke as a minority member of the organization committee, and as a representative of his party. He said that the plan of organization proposed provided for a duplication, of with certain extensions, of the Farmer-Labor Party.

"The Farmer-Labor Party cannot agree to the report of the organization committee," said Buck. "The committee was notified of that fact

and I am now notifying the convention."

He then argued that the Farmer-Labor Party is a self-governing organization, that it had invited guests to its convention to confer on the question of united political action, that it had wanted a free and open conference, that it did not want to program the conference. He charged that the program offered was the program of a group and as such it was not acceptable.

"The main thing to remember is that the Farmer-Labor Party is an entity of its own, and that will have a convention of its own to consider these matters."

Buck ceased talking having offered no alternate proposition to that of the committee, suggesting no plan thru which to secure political unity.

Delegate L. G. Scott, a Minneapolis, Minn., Socialist Alderman, the only Socialist Party delegate here, said he thought that Buck had developed a case of cold feet. He urged the proposals of the committee, stating that that was what was needed to get united political action.

Opposes Chicago Officialdom

It was delegate Joseph C. Hearing, however, representing a Cincinnati Machinists' Lodge, who started the revolt in the ranks of the Farmer-Labor Party itself. He said he was a member of the Party in Cincinnati and claimed that the Ohio Farmer-Labor Party was not in accord with the statement Buck had made.

"We are not satisfied with the tactics of certain Farmer-Laborites here," he said. "We feel that the efforts made here are honest efforts to bring together the workers and farmers on the political field."

J. Edmunds Bird, of Oklahoma, read from the call for the gathering, showing that it had been convened by the Farmer-Laborites to "knit the workers and farmers together politically."

Arne Swaback, of the Chicago Painters Union, then got the floor and said that was what his organization was for, the knitting together of labor forces, and declared that was what the committee report pro-

vided for. Charles Wills, business manager of The New Majority, and Farmer-Labor Party delegate, urged his party have an opportunity to express itself thru its own convention.

Delegate William F. Dunne, of the Butte, Montana, Bulletin, said the officials of the Farmer-Labor Party in sending out their call for this conference, had met with a response that they little dreamed of, and that they were now scared.

Convention Is Victory of Rank and File

"The success of this gathering is not the victory of the Farmer-Labor Party," said Dunne. "It is the victory of the American Workers and Farmers. I hope that the leaders of the Farmer-Labor Party are big enough to submerge themselves in this mass movement."

He urged that the Farmer-Labor Party become a component part of this movement, asking Fitzpatrick, "Do you want to leave the Workers and Farmers now, that they are about to make an important decision?" In referring to an amendment that had been offered by Delegate J. Weller Long, of Wisconsin, to refer the Constitution and Program back to the various organizations represented and to call another conference next year, Dunne said "Conversations and conferences are well enough for diplomats, but the Workers and Farmers want action on this problem. It was the yearning of the Working Class for unity that brought this gathering together. I hope that we will achieve the results necessary to bring a little light and a little hope into the American labor movement that needs it very badly indeed."

Stormy Applause swept the conference when C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Workers Party, was recognized and came to the platform to speak. He started by saying that the statements made by Fitzpatrick were not justified. He showed that it was the Farmer-Labor Party's own credential committee that was responsible for the organization of the conference. He went on to show that twenty-six out of the twenty-nine members of the Organization Committee had favored the committee report then before the conference,

so that the report could be referred to as a Workers Party proposition. All groups in the convention favored it with the exception of Farmer-Laborites. He showed that the members of the Farmer-Labor Party of the committee had offered no substitute resolutions or alternate propositions.

"They won't tell us what they want," said Ruthenberg. "We have tried to get them to tell us. They are afraid that we are trying to swallow up or destroy the Farmer-Labor Party."

Ruthenberg then pointed out that the resolution offered and adopted towards the close of the first day's session provided for making the Farmer-Labor Party the basis of the structure of the proposed Federated Party. We are giving the Farmer-Labor Party five members on the National Legislative Committee instead of three on the Organization Committee. We are willing to do all we can to bring the masses into this Federated Farmer-Labor Party that will then respond to the demand of the life of the people.

"But this one group, the Farmer-Labor Party group, is afraid of the great opportunity that confronts it. It hesitates and refuses to go forward."

Ruthenberg then told how the Workers Party had exerted itself to the utmost to make the conference a success. He said the Workers Party, nevertheless, was agreeable to letting the Farmer-Labor Party go ahead and be the foremost of the new party, but that the Workers Party drew the line at failure to secure united action in this gathering.

"We cannot concede that the unifying organization shall not be formed here," he concluded.

Kennedy Supports Committee's Report

Delegate John C. Kennedy, State Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party for Washington, also took the officials of his own organization to task and came out boldly for the Organization Committee's report.

"We cannot go back home and say that we talked a lot and did nothing,"

(Continued on Page Three)



WORKERS OF CITIES AND FARMS GET TOGETHER TO ESTABLISH LABOR'S OWN PARTY—General view of national convention of Federated Farmer-Labor Party at first day's session in Carmen's Hall, Chicago, at which American workers at last realized their hopes for an independent political party.

Sinclair Is After Burns' Scalp

When Upton Sinclair heard a rumor that William J. Burns said that he considered Sinclair one of the most dangerous enemies of the United States government at this time, Sinclair set out to run it down. Apologists for Mr. Burns said that he had not spoken officially, but as a private citizen. Sinclair then put it up to Burns, receiving what he considered an evasive reply. He tried again and got a denial. Sinclair then got in touch with the newspaper whose reporter had interviewed Burns, and says that he was shown the notes, O.K.'d by Burns, containing the statement as rumored. Sinclair then paid his respects to Mr. Burns in a speech in which he said among other things: "Every man has only one head, and every man has only one tongue, and when a man thinks, he uses that one head, and when he speaks, he speaks with that tongue, and Mr. Burns cannot be two men at once. When his private detective agency goes out to smash strikes by means of intimidations and provocateurs, as the William Burns detective agency does, then what do you think about the possibility that Mr. Burns may be tempted to use some of his power which he holds in the other hand as head of the United States Secret Service department?"

Obtaining U. S. Army Uniform for Spies

By ROBERT MINOR

Detectives of the William J. Burns International Detective Agency, ferreting out information for the use of the German Imperial Government, were placed in munition plants in this country, wearing the United States uniform.

This information was brought out in the testimony of Detective Harry J. Connor, former member of the Burns Agency, in the proceedings to revoke Burns' license in New York state. Detective Connor was asked if he had heard William Garvan, Burns' New York manager, give Thomas O'Brien any instruction with reference to his clothing, whether he was to wear a uniform or not? A No, I understand that the officials of the Crucible Steel— (After interruption by attorneys, the witness continues.)

A. O'Brien informed me that the men at Harrison were going to be uniformed. O'Brien informed me one of the boys, meaning one of the guards over there, told them that they could buy army uniforms for six dollars. O'Brien in turn took it up with Mr. Garvan (Burns' manager) and Mr. Cosgrove.

Q. Who is he? A. I don't know what his title is. He is one of the Burns men in the office.

Q. You had seen Cosgrove there often? A. Know him personally. He was sent down to Fort Hamilton where he saw a quartermaster sergeant whose name began with the letter "N". O'Brien himself went down and bought those uniforms.

Q. Who sent him? A. William Garvan.

Q. The manager of the New York office? A. Yes sir.

Q. By Comptroller, O'Brien told you that he sent him down? A. O'Brien told me.

(During interchanges between attorneys the witness is asked, "Where is O'Brien now?" and replies "I guess he is employed by William J. Burns.")

Q. At the time that O'Brien is supposed or alleged to have made a purchase of uniforms was he in Burns' employ? A. He was.

Q. Now, from whom did you learn the alleged facts concerning the purchase of those uniforms? (Burns' attorney, Hedges: "I object.")

Q. From whom did you learn the alleged facts concerning the purchase of uniforms? (Mr. Hedges: "I object to that as incompetent, immaterial and irrelevant and having no bearing on these charges in any way, shape or manner.")

(The Comptroller: "Can't we have O'Brien here?")

(Mr. Steinbrink: "I would be delighted if Mr. Burns will produce him.")

(Mr. Hedges: "We will produce every man whose name is mentioned here that we can find on earth.")

The Comptroller: "I think O'Brien will be the best, if we can have O'Brien."

Mr. Hedges: "On this matter they are trying to prove an employment on two sides because somebody bought a uniform, because he heard somebody else say he did."

Mr. Steinbrink: "At that time the statement appeared generally. The proof is that at the very time the Burns Agency was in the line light on the theory that they were aiding Governmental work on that thing, and these disclosures would hurt the Government, they were on the other side purchasing from subterranean channels from Army officers Government uniforms."

(The question, from whom he had learned the alleged facts concerning the purchase of uniforms, is read to the witness, who replies:)

A. Thomas O'Brien.

The witness further testified that he had later seen several of the Burns men whom he knew, and who had been placed by the Burns detective agency in a munition plant at Providence, wearing United States uniforms. According to this witness, a Mr. and Mrs. Sloan subsequently communicated some of this information to Superintendent Baker of the U. S. Secret Service, and that an effort was made to find O'Brien, who could be traced no further than some of the Burns operatives.



With the Young Workers

International Youth Day

Sept. 3rd has been set aside by the Young Communist International as International Day of Youth. This year the day falls on Labor Day in the United States.

The Young Workers League, which is carrying on work in harmony with the principles of the Young Communist International, in the United States, has decided to observe the International Day of Youth on Sunday, Sept. 2nd, in the United States.

On that day, meetings will be arranged by the Young Workers League in all parts of the country to arouse interest in the youth movement, and to carry on educational work as to the part the youth of the nation must play in the Communist movement.

The Young Workers League requests that all Party branches co-operate that day in the celebration of International Day of Youth. It particularly requests that no Party organizations arrange celebrations for the day in question, which shall conflict with the celebration of the International Day of Youth.

The National Office endorses this request of the Young Workers League and urges all Party units to cooperate with the Young Workers League and to refrain from holding other celebrations.

International Hike

A grand international hike and outing is the next big thing that the YOWLS in New York City will arrange. On Sunday, July 8th, the members of the YWL and their friends will meet at 208 East 12th Street at 8 A. M., ready for their journey to Silver Lake, White Plains. Amongst other features the Finnish Athletic Club will stage an exhibition, which the Hungarian Football Club will endeavor to excel. Besides all this, potato races, snake dances and other entertainments will make a good time for all. Members of the W.P., T.U.E.L. and F.S.R. are welcome, and should bring their friends.

Newark YOWL Go Jitney Riding

On Sunday, July 15th, the Newark Yowls will ride to Lake Hopatcong, the beauty spot of New Jersey. Buses leave at Broome Street and Springfield Avenue at 8:30 A. M. Everybody is invited. Bring bathing suits for there will be swimming, canoeing, hiking and all kinds of games. All for a jolly good time!

The Saltzman Meetings

Max Saltzman Minnesota meetings are as follows: Ely, 9-10; Palo, 11-12; Markham, 13-14; Zim, 15-16; Chery, 16-17-18-19; Gilbert, 20; Eveleth, 21-23; Virginia, 24-25.

For any further information concerning the tour of Max Saltzman, address the Young Workers League, 2517 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill.

When It's All Over

Now that the war is over, Harding announces he is in favor of conscripting wealth as well as man power for war. Now that no great strike is being waged in the land, Harding declares he is opposed to war on the labor unions. Yet in the next war, Harding will be found against conscripting wealth. And in the next strike he will be found joining in the war on organized labor. That is the stuff that capitalist political swindlers are made of.

The Crumbling Walls

Said the Fort to the Sea:
"I shall stand forever.
Your waters are weak
and my walls stand fast."

Said the Sea to the fort:
"I surrender never.
And, stone by stone,
you shall fall at last."



Hard Coal Diggers Refuse to Back-water in New Wage Demands

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

The tri-district convention of an anthracite miners, which has just adjourned at Scranton, made Harding the National Coal Commission, the operators and Lewis sweat blood for several weeks. And now that the wage scale and demands adopted at Shamokin last year, the refusal to grant which by the operators caused the big anthracite strike, has again been adopted by this tri-district convention, there comes an interim during which the negotiations with the operators and their outcome will tell whether Lewis and his official supporters in the anthracite region are more intent upon throwing millions of dollars into the mine owners' banks than into the pay envelopes of mine workers.

Lewis must feel rather queer at this point. With tears in his eyes he pleaded with the delegates last year to forsake the Shamokin demands and return to work at the old scale. Yet, at the convention, he was forced to become a party to these same demands. Secretary Green, before the arrival of Lewis lauded his leadership, and told the delegates that the Lewis heart was with them. When Lewis arrived the next day he talked about his "heart of hearts."

What the rank-and-file delegates desire to know is: whether he has heart enough and backbone enough to battle until the demands of a 20 percent increase in wages on contracts, the two dollar a day increase for day men, full recognition of the union, the general application to all mine-workers of the eight hour day, a ninety-cent minimum for carpenters and other skilled labor, etc., have been won. We say, however, let him alone and he will do exactly what he promised the delegates he would—contribute all within his power to assist the miners, with due consideration to the rights of others. These last eight words are defeating Lewis as a leader, for the rank and file are learning to know what he means by "due consideration to the rights of others."

Is Lewis for Harding or Miners?

Harding wrote the National Coal Commission requesting it to please do all possible to avoid a strike. The Coal Commission wrote the operators and United Mine Workers officials to please do all possible to avoid a strike. Lewis praised Harding's concern in the matter at the convention. That is a vicious circle, indeed, and the miners will have to learn to face the fight. And as we saw Lewis sitting there upon the stage as convention chairman, three quarters of his back turned to the delegates speaking, the ceiling in his mouth pointing to the ceiling, overbearing, unconcerned in what the delegates said, out of touch with the mine and miner, above them, bourgeois in appearance, constantly addressing the delegates as gentlemen as if he were in a meeting with operators or Washington folks, well—we said that this is the beginning of the end of another fake leader, who finds more joy in shaking Harding's hand than a miner's. Against him the fight has begun.

Lewis knows this, too. The operators know it. Harding knows it. The radical wave gains in height and force as it washes everything before it. The "Coal Age," the paper of the operators gave a page to the forefront of the progressive movement. Pittsburgh has its militants, as has Ohio, Illinois and Kansas. Everywhere they are organizing progressive committees. The "Coal Age" reports that the feud between Farrington of Illinois and Lewis is being patched up. Both desire an agreement so that a united front may

be had against the inroads of the "reds." There will be other united fronts against the radicals in the United Mine Workers, but there will be none that will defeat the united rank and file once it understands the program of the Progressive Miner's Committee.

Nor can the New York Call play Cappellini against the real progressives. The progressives know their duty. Cappellini may for the time be overruled by the strong arm tactics of Lewis' strong arm squad. He may have been intimidated by the threat made by the Lewis machine, and the daily papers, that his election as president of District One was to be contested on the grounds that he was illegally a candidate, neither working in the mines nor for the union when he was nominated. He could and should have assumed the leadership of the vast majority of the delegates at the convention who believed in him. He could have made it impossible for Lewis to instigate the riot.

Cappellini sat strangely quiet during the convention. Radical miners will hear of this. Radicals believe in action; radical leaders must perform. Is Cappellini, today, at the crossroads? Is he laying the cornerstone of his defeat at the next election, or will he remain with the rank and file, carry out their mandates, battle for their demands?

Cappellini has been added to the negotiations committee. The result of the negotiations will be placed before the miners by referendum or another tri-district convention will be called. Leaders are softened or hardened in temper by the struggle. Lewis has softened to the operators and Harding. He's about worn out. Will Cappellini harden for the workers and thereby last as a leader?

Whether or not the movement of the progressive miners is above individuals, leaders will rise and fall, but the 500,000 miners will win in the end, against all Lewises and Hardings.

WALT WHITMAN'S WISDOM

"The American Revolution of 1776 was simply a great strike, successful for its immediate object—but whether a real success judged by the scale of the centuries, and the long-striking balance of Time, yet remains to be settled. The French Revolution was absolutely a strike, and a very terrible and relentless one, against ages of bad pay, unjust division of wealth products, and the hogish monopoly of a few rolling in superfluity, against the vast bulk of the work-people, living in squalor."

With what clarity the old bard saw! Is it any wonder that reactionary Hungary has banned every line that old Walt EVER WROTE?

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

First Showing in New York
"THE FIFTH Year"
A New Nine-Reel Motion Picture of Soviet Russia in 1922-1923
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Proceeds for Russian Orphans' School Houses

Parliamentary Democracy - By H. M. WICK

The oldest parliamentary body in the world, the prototype of parliaments, sitting on the banks of the Thames in London, has since four more laborites by "suspending" them. These laborites were summarily ousted because they attacked one Captain Elliot's report on the Scott's Board of Health. The report demanded the reduction of the appropriation for child welfare and the labor member, James Maxton, denounced the Board, declaring it was guilty of the murder of infants in Scotland.

Sir Frederick Banbury, a court lackey, indignantly asked, "Is it order for the Honorable member to call other Honorable members murderers?" and demanded Maxton apologize for his audacious remarks. Being class conscious workmen, other laborites from Scotland shout that their colleague spoke the truth. Then Maxton arose and hurled defiance at the whole aggregation of bourgeois political shysters, refusing to withdraw his remarks and adding that they also applied Sir Frederick, himself.

"Bring back the lives of the Scottish infants," he cried, "and I withdraw the expression."

Three other Scottish labor members supported Maxton in his refusal to withdraw the objectionable remarks. By a vote of 258 to 70 they were suspended, just as the Communist member, J. T. Walton Newbold was suspended a few weeks before.

Here are real representatives of the working class applying revolutionary tactics to bourgeois parliament. How different are the actions of these men from the tactics of the yellow socialists in capitalist class legislative bodies? How different from the pathetic spectacle of the American socialist congressman, Meyer London, who, in the congress of the United States, crawled before his capitalist accusers with the most abject apology after he had declared that oppressed colonial would react to force in case they were deprived of the use of the ballot! Instead, standing erect and denouncing the hypocrisy of the bloodsuckers representing American Imperialism, this socialist congressman stammered out miserable apology and forever afterward held his tongue.

In spite of the exclusion of the labor members in the British House of Commons, these members will still carry on political action against the government. Temporarily the parliamentary struggle will give way to the agitation to arouse mass demonstrations and possibly mass strike on the part of the working class, thereby bringing another form of political pressure to bear upon the British ruling class and its government.

It was Frederick Engels who said, "Our reactionaries are our most effective revolutionists," meaning that the reactionaries make conditions so intolerable that they expose themselves and lay bare the vulnerable points in their own system of slavery. In Britain the reactionaries are forced to take action against the elected representatives of the working class, which exposes the insufficiency of bourgeois parliamentarism. The objective factor, supplemented by the Communist agitation that will prepare the subjective factor in the minds of the working class, is the storm which will spring the revolution in England that will write "fin" to capitalist parliamentarism and establish upon its ruins the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet Government of Great Britain.

GARY-BOWLBY CORRESPONDENCE

Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, accepts the abolition of the 12-Hour Day and 7-Day Week in his steel mills in theory, but evidently not in practice. This laudable stand of Gary was revealed in the publication of a letter written by him to the Rev. H. L. Bowlby of the Lord's D. Alliance.

It appears that Rev. Bowlby is a publicity-seeking pulpit pound who desires to shine in the reflected glory of Mr. Gary, for he speaks in laudatory terms of the steel baron. A most deplorable incident occurred recently that threatened to upset the amicable relations that existed between Mr. Gary and the clergyman. It seems a newspaper reporter occupied with the task of confirming the letter to Bowlby, telephoned to Gary, that Gary misunderstood the reporter and denied writing such a letter. The denial was published and the clergyman bore the stigma of a liar for a day, until he could convince Mr. Gary and the reporter of the letter had actually been written. In a communication to the New York Times, the preacher chides the reporter for not exercising more care in quoting "so eminent a gentleman as Mr. Gary."

The Rev. Mr. Bowlby is not concerned about the sweated and furnace baked bodies of the steel slaves, nor the fate of their wives and children doomed to live and die in the stifling industrial hells in order that Gary and his associates may live in idleness. He is only concerned about the souls. He does not want them to work seven days a week, so that they may observe "the Lord's Day," by attending the spook places when they are taught to be contented with their lot upon this earth, which is only a desert drear while heaven is their happy home. Mr. Gary, in manner befitting an eminent Christian gentleman, apologized to Rev. Bowlby for his mistake and also made the reporter the goat.

Religion and capitalism works hand in hand. The industrial despots drives his slaves to premature graves, while the sky-pilots solemnly assure them that the more miserable they are here the happier they are going to be after they are dead.

Gary and Bowlby are inseparable—the modern slave driver and his religious reflex.

Enjoy Yourself to Death!

And here is how Will Rogers, one of America's leading humorists, laughed Gary out of court. Commenting on the Judge's defense of the blessings of the 12-Hour Day, Will Rogers said in a recent issue of the New York Times:

"We can always depend on Judge Gary for a weekly laugh in his speeches. But last week he had the prize wheeze of his career."

"He had his accomplices make an investigation of the steel industry and they turned in a report that it was much more beneficial to man to work 12 hours a day than 8. They made this report so alluring that it is apt to make people who read it decide to stay the extra four hours on their jobs, just thru the health and enjoyment they get out of it."

"I never knew steel work was so easy till I read that report. Why the advantages they enumerate in this report would almost make a bootlegger trade jobs with a steel worker."

"But here is the kick. Judge Gary got up to read his report before the stockholders, who had made it out. He read for one hour in favor of a 12-Hour Day. Then he was so exhausted they had to carry him out, and Charley Schwab had to go on reading the sheet."

"Now, if the Judge couldn't work an hour, how did he expect his workers to do 12 every day?"

"After Schwab read for two hours the audience was carried out."

"It was the greatest boost for the 12-Hour Day I ever heard of. I am thinking of going out there and working for them, but if it is such a pleasure to work 12 hours I am going to try and get them to let me work 18, at least, for I don't believe I would get enough pleasure out of just 12."

"So if you don't hear of me next week you will know I just enjoyed myself to death in Judge Gary's steel mills in Pittsburgh."

"THE GOOSE-STEP" Upton Sinclair's Latest and Greatest Work. What One Critic Says:

H. L. MENCKEN on "The Goose-Step":
"The Goose-Step" came in yesterday afternoon, and I fell on it last night. My sincere congratulations. I have read on and on with constant joy in the adept marshaling of facts, the shrewd presentation of personalities, the lively and incessant humor. It is not only a fine piece of writing; it is also a sound piece of research. It presents a devastating, but I believe, thoroughly fair and accurate picture of the American universities today. The faults of "The Brass Check" and "The Profits of Religion" are not in it. It is enormously more judicial and convincing than either of those books. You are here complaining of nothing. You simply offer the bald and horrible facts—but with liveliness, shrewdness, good humor. An appalling picture of moral and mental debasement. Let every American read it and ponder it!

Books by Upton Sinclair
"The Goose-Step", cloth bound, \$2.00
Paper bound, 1.00
"They Call Me Carpenter", cloth, 1.50
Paper bound, .75
"The Cry for Justice: An Anthology of the Literature of Social Protest", cloth, 1.50
Paper bound, 1.00
"The Book of Life", cloth, 2.00
The following at \$1.20 in cloth, and 60 cents in paper:
"The Brass Check", "The Profits of Religion", "King Coal", "The Jungle", "100 Per Cent"
Address, Literary Department, Workers Party,
799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

"AMALGAMATION"

By JAY FOX

15 cents per copy

"Amalgamation," by Jay Fox, is a most timely pamphlet in the list of labor political and economic subjects. It is such a pamphlet as every union man and woman should read and take to work and discuss with their fellows on the job.

The chapter headings give an idea of the contents, yet cannot show the force of the argument for AMALGAMATION that is sweeping thru the labor unions. Chapter headings are: The Growing Power of Capitalism; The Incapacity of Craft Unionism; Amalgamation, the way to Progress; The Amalgamation Movement; Departmentalized Industrial Unionism; The Trade Union Educational League.

Order of WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Reorganization Plans Will Be Discussed at City and District Meet

The following call was sent out to all Branches in Greater New York, Eastern New Jersey and Yonkers, Hastings-on-Hudson, New Rochelle, N. Y.:

Comrades: By a recent decision of the Executive Council of the Workers Party of America, District Two has been divided into three parts of which your branch is in the new District Two.

The District Executive Committee has accordingly decided to call a Special District Convention to include all the above branches for reorganizing the new District Two.

All branches to whom this CALL is addressed will immediately proceed to carry out the following instructions:

1. Elections in the branches shall begin upon receipt of the Convention call.

2. Elections shall be from the branches to the City Convention and from City Conventions to the District Convention.

3. Unattached branches shall elect delegates directly to the District Convention.

4. The basis of representation in the City Convention of Greater New York shall be one delegate for each branch and one additional delegate for every 50 members and major fraction.

5. The representation to the City Conventions in C. C. C.s of Eastern New Jersey shall be one delegate for each branch and one additional for every 25 members or major fraction.

6. The representation from the City Convention to the District Convention shall be upon the basis of one delegate for each 50 members represented or major fraction thereof.

7. City Central Committees in Eastern New Jersey shall set the time for holding their City Conventions before the 22nd day of July, 1923.

8. The City Convention of Greater New York will be held Saturday, July 21, 1923, at 2:30 P. M., at Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St.

9. The District Convention will be held in New York City Sunday, July 22, 1923, at 11 A. M., at 243 E. 84th St. (Labor Temple).

10. A Convention Assessment of 15 cents is levied upon all members in the new District Two. Only those members paying this assessment will be permitted to participate in the elections. Delegates from branches will bring the proceeds of this assessment to the City Conventions and from there to the District Convention. Expenses of City Convention may be deducted from the assessment.

Similar CALLS went to the new Districts Four and Fifteen.

The new District No. 4 will comprise all of the cities in New York State north of New Rochelle, including Erie, Pa., with headquarters in Buffalo, N. Y. The District Convention for District No. 4 will be held in Buffalo, July 22, 1923.

The new District No. 15 will comprise all cities in the State of Connecticut, including Springfield, Chicopee Falls and Holyoke, Mass., with headquarters in New Haven, Conn. The District convention will be held in New Haven, Conn., Sunday, July 22, 1923.

Agenda for City Conventions and District Conventions

The following agenda for the Conventions was adopted by the District Executive Committee, and is hereby submitted to all branches for discussion:

1. The Special District Convention is to elect a District Executive Committee of 11 members which shall meet at least once every two weeks.

2. A District Council shall be created to be composed of all Section Secretaries of Greater New York; the secretaries of the City Central Committees, the members of the District Executive Committee, the District Organizer and Department Heads. The District Council to meet once every two months.

3. The City Conventions of Greater New York and of Eastern New Jersey to bring in plans for the reorganization of their respective territories in conformity with the creation of the new District Two.

Ballam at Gardner, Mass.

Gardner, Mass., had a very successful Labor Party meeting, addressed by District Organizer John J. Ballam.

N. Y. C. and District 2 Comrades, Attention!

Party Mass Meeting
A MASS MEETING of Workers Party members will be held at Stuyvesant Casino, 142-2nd Ave., N. Y. C., on July 11th, 8 P. M.

This meeting is for the purpose of hearing the report of Workers Party delegates to the Labor Party Convention at Chicago. The speakers will be: C. E. Ruthenberg, Jay Lovestone and A. Bittelman. All Party members are requested to be present.

Will We Get Together?

By H. M. WICKS
(Special to "The Worker")

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO.—The Milwaukee Leader, organ of the Socialists in Wisconsin, on the eve of the Farmer-Labor Party conference, asked the question concerning the various groups represented in this convention: "Will they get together?"

From the day the call for this conference was issued the Socialist Party of America, thru all its channels of publicity, has opposed the materialization of this conference. When it was apparent that its opposition

had been in vain, when the delegates from labor union bodies, political organizations, fraternal benefit societies of labor and many farm groups began to pour into Chicago, the organ of Victor Berger came out with a belated yelp to the effect that the Socialist Party did not participate in the conference it is "in sympathy with the object."

Its objection to participating is because the Communists (the Workers Party) were invited.

The Socialists do all they can to destroy the political unity of the working class of this country by using every underhand trick known to shyster politicians, and then when this unity is about to be achieved they come forth with the charge that it is the Communists who oppose the united front of labor on the political and industrial field.

Not only is the Workers Party not a disruptive force in this conference,

but it will unhesitatingly throw all its power against any attempt on the part of any element to disrupt the deliberations of the delegates assembled.

The Socialist Party continues its affiliation with the so-called Conference for Progressive Political Action, an organization that plays the dunkey to Sam Gompers' reactionary policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies," because some of its shining lights control a faction of this abortive aggregation. It unites with this reactionary group and thereby with the political parties of capitalism, but remains from participation in a conference called by the Farmer-Labor group—a group that withdrew from the Conference for Progressive Political Action, after the base betrayal of the rank and file of labor at the Cleveland conference last fall.

Delegates went to their lunches ravenously hungry but happy.

The declaration for the immediate organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was in the minutes of the Convention. The Conference was going ahead on the right track. When the Convention reconvened the various committees were selected. Thirty delegates, representing every point of view in the gathering, were put on the organization committee that has the principal task before it.

Then Alex. Howat, the Kansas miner, was called on for a speech. He was received with a surprising display of enthusiasm. He made a plea for unity.

"When you go out of here, go out united," he said, "I have always been for a Labor Party. I am for one now."

Applause greeted the charge that, "one of the things that is keeping the workers backward is the opposition of the officials of the International Unions. They stick with the old parties to satisfy some reactionary ideas of their own. We must show that they are not the masters but the servants of the labor movement. He showed how the officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America had repeatedly sabotaged the rank and file demand of the miners for the Labor Party."

"This is a working class country," he concluded, "let us make the government a working class government."

Ukrainian Federation Doubles Membership

By ABRAHAM JAKIRA

The Convention of the Ukrainian Federation of the Workers Party held recently in New York showed that the Federation is making rapid progress. 24 delegates represented 49 branches with a membership of over one thousand. The report of the secretary showed that only three months ago the average membership of the Federation was not more than 500. The rapid increase in membership was partly due to the fact that over 100 Ukrainian members have recently joined the Party in the anthracite coal district.

The Convention paid special attention to the Industrial Programme of the Party. To the Ukrainian comrades the industrial activities of the Party are of paramount significance. A large portion of the membership is engaged in the coal and steel industries, the two industries in which the Party will in the future play an important part. The fact that the Ukrainian comrades have realized the importance of their active participation in the industrial work, the fact that they have made this problem the keynote of the Convention is undoubtedly the most healthy sign of progress the language comrades have made since the second convention of the Party.

The convention proved to be in full harmony with the Party policies and manifested a readiness to cooperate with the Party in every way possible. This they have expressed in the following resolution sent to the Central Executive Committee:

"The Conference of the Ukrainian Federation of the Workers Party of America sends you fraternal greetings. We are fully aware of the tasks before us and of the difficulties facing our Party. We are convinced that the Party will overcome all the difficulties and will lead the masses on the road of the class struggle. We declare that we are in full agreement with the policies of the Central Executive Committee and pledge our fullhearted support to and co-operation with the C. E. C. in carrying out the plans before it. Long live the Workers Party. Long live the Communist International."

During the sessions of the Convention many problems of vital importance to the American labor movement were discussed and action taken upon them.

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

Among the Magazines

By BEN ABBOTT

The Labor Herald for July

Between speech-making, organizing and conferencing, William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, also finds some time to write, and as a result we have two articles from him in the July issue of the League's official organ, The Labor Herald.

He not only reports the International Progressive Miners' Conference at Pittsburgh, Pa., which is giving such great concern to reactionary labor officialdom, but also has an article entitled, "Organize the Unorganized." Foster shows how little organization work is really being done by conservative union officials, charging that union organizers are being used mostly to "play politics."

Jack Burton has something to say about the electrical workers. Scott Nearing writes on "A United Economic Front." William Ross Knudsen on "Metal Trades Amalgamation in Great Britain." Erskine Thompson on "Unemployment and the Coal Miners." M. E. Bates on "Another Red Plot Exposed." George Hardy on "Lessons of the Marine Strike." Rose Wortis on "Thru the Russian Clothing Factories." H. E. Keas on "What About Rubber?" D. E. Early on "Amalgamation in the Food Industry." Clarissa S. Ware on "The Anti-Labor Courts," and Jay Fox on "Striking Miners and Craft Unionism," which should be enough meat to satisfy even those hungry for real labor literature. There are the usually excellent editorials, while "The International" department keeps abreast of the latest developments in other lands. Send your bundle order to The Labor Herald, 106 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois.

The Liberator

Perhaps the most difficult problem facing an editor of a monthly revolutionary magazine which purports to deal with today's industrial and economic problems while at the same time renders homage to Art and Letters, is that of finding a proper balance between the two.

A perusal of the July number of the American proletariat's only literary magazine, "The Liberator," shows a commendatory balance of politics and literature in "The Declaration of Independence of the American Workingclass," by Comrade John Pepper, and "The Outline of Marriage," by Floyd Dell; while the "Role of the Workers Party," by C. E. Ruthenberg is nicely countered by "Ten Light, Fourteen Night," a story by Mary Heaton Vorse. Balances like these are maintained throughout in this issue which must meet with hearty approval on the part of the magazine's readers.

The present political activity of the American workers in the organization of the Labor Party, its insurgency against the established order, the decay of the old parties and the social significance of the movement for a third party, petit-bourgeoisie in nature, receives keen analysis in the above named article by Comrade Pepper. The role which the Workers Party is destined to play, because it is THE Communist Party in America, is ably portrayed by the Party's National Secretary.

Upton Sinclair has been getting arrested again out in sunny California and writes all about it in a most humorous and interesting fashion. After reading his narrative one wonders where the stupidity of the governing capitalist class will or can stop in the repression of "free speech."

Hal Ware, the chap who took twenty tractors, a group of North Dakota farmers and the concomitant ploughs and harrows to Russia and established a tremendous farm commune last year, writes about the American farmer, East, West and Southern, and the forces which are driving him to make common cause with the industrial workers in trying to break the chains which bind them both to the exploiters' chariot.

Max Eastman greets his many friends in "Moscow's Answer," a thrilling story of the Russian worker's reception of Curzon's ultimatum. Besides these features there are drawings which make one glad. A wonderful Sunrise, by Frank Watts graces the cover, while incomparable Bob Minor draws a two page cartoon of Gompers being dragged willy nilly toward progress much against his and his master's will. There are also splendid poems and book reviews, not to mention a frontispiece by Art Young, one of Art's best.

July Young Worker—Another Corking Issue

Among the magazines which are produced by the working class, the Young Worker, publication of the Young Workers League, remains in the forefront.

The July issue is another corking good issue. This issue has many features. The conference with Sam Gompers takes precedence, and gives to the reader a better insight into the actual struggles of the youth than any program yet written.

Sigi Bammater, a member of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, gives his impression of the Second National Convention of the Working Youth of this country. The article is written in a vivid and frank manner. Letters from shops and mines deal

The Generous U. S. Supreme Court

Now that Alex. Howat and his militant miners have kicked the bottom out of the Kansas Industrial Court Law, the Supreme Court has made a feeble effort to throw the last spadeful of earth on the carcass.

In the midst of the wage-slashing campaign of two years ago the Wolf Packing Co. cut wages in order to compete more effectively with the Big Packers. Fearing that a strike to raise the wage-cut might ensue and that then strikes would spread to the big packing plants and thus affect "public interest," Governor Allen, loyal lackey of the Beef Trust, had his Court order the small Wolf Packing Co. to restore the old wage level. The State Supreme Court upheld this order and the Wolf Co. took the case to the highest court of the land.

On June 12, the Supreme Court decided in favor of the Wolf Packing Co. Tho the Supreme Tribunal did not pass upon the constitutionality of the Industrial Law, it unanimously ruled that the company's business was not endowed with a sufficiently public interest to warrant the regulation of its wages by the Allen Law.

Chief Justice Taft, delivering the opinion, emphasized the sanctity of the "freedom of contract." He declared that, in view of there being no "exceptional circumstances" at hand, the State Court's order to restore the old wage level was "in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment and deprived it of its property and liberty of contract without due process of law."

On the heels of this decision Gompers and Hillquit have joined the chorus of applause greeting this generosity of the Supreme Court. These two worthy gentlemen would have the workers believe that "Injunction Bill" Taft and his aristocracy of the Robe have done the working class a good turn. Gompers and Hillquit have once more turned truth on its head. They are simply pursuing their time-honored criminal policy of fostering amongst the working masses faith in the capitalist governmental organs.

The workers, like all others, must beware of the Greeks when they bear gifts. In this decision there is nothing favorable and lots of danger to the workers.

First of all, the Industrial Court had been dead for months due to the untiring, heroic fight waged by Howat and his followers. In the last gubernatorial elections the advocates of the Allen Law were snowed under. At best, then, the Supreme Court was perhaps dotting an i or crossing a t in the Industrial Court's death certificate.

Secondly, the decision handed down does not at all take away from the Industrial Court even an iota of its anti-picketing powers, of its powers to cripple an effective strike, and of its powers to force lower wages on

the young workers, indicating that the magazine is living up to its function of expressing the struggle of the young worker in industry.

Martin Abern, Secretary of the Young Workers League, again gives a review of the league activities which shows that despite the fact that summer is here with its many diversions, the League is humming with activity.

A cartoon and an article, respectively by Gropper and Stanley Boone, both contributors to the Liberator, lend themselves to making the magazine a real, live-wire expression of the rebellious young workers of this country.

A Grand Get-together of New York and New Jersey Comrades

Are you romantic? Do you want a trip on the Hudson to one of the loveliest spots on the river—to Bear Mountain? And a return home in the moonlight? Do you want to meet old friends and comrades? Are you ready for a corking good time?

Here is your chance! The Workers Party, District 2 and Local New York will hold a Mid-Summer Excursion to Bear Mountain on the large and comfortable steamship Grand Republic on Saturday, July 14, 1923.

All the militants in New York and vicinity will be there. Come and get acquainted. Meet your old friends again and talk things over.

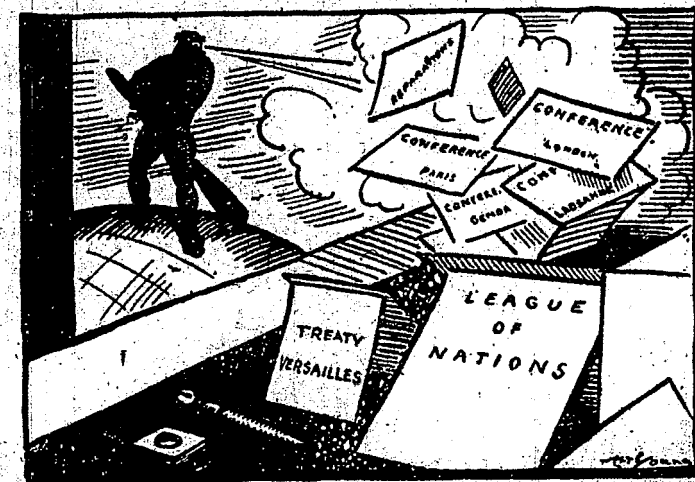
When you are tired of gossiping and of watching the Palisades or the moon, you can dance to good music—oh, yes, we're going to have a fine orchestra. Or you can have an inexpensive bite—our refreshments will be sold at city prices.

Everything is being arranged to give you lots of fun and no regrets.

Get your tickets in advance at the Local Office, 208 E. 12th St., the National Headquarters, 799 Broadway, and at all Party daily newspaper offices and branch headquarters. They cost \$1.10 when obtained in advance, and \$1.50 at the boat.

Don't forget! A grand get-together of all Party members and militants on the Grand Republic at the Midsummer EXCURSION to Bear Mountain.

The Date—Saturday, July 14, 1923. The Time—2:30 p. m. SHARP. The Place—PIER A, BATTERY PARK.



The statesmen build their card-houses and the old giant, Economic Necessity, blows them over.

Hoch! Amerika über Alles!

Laws of Ohio, Senate Bill No. 134, passed April 16, 1919, approved June 5th, 1919, in part contains a "teacher's oath," which must be sworn to or affirmed by every teacher in both public and parochial schools of the State of Ohio.

Oath

"I solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will support the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of Ohio and the laws enacted thereunder and that I will teach, by precept and example, respect for the flag, reverence for law and order and undivided allegiance to the government of one country, the United States of America."



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THE WORKER

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

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The Harding-Daugherty Letters

When President Harding and Attorney General Daugherty write letters for publication in the kept press, there is some good reason prompting them to this action. They are not letter writers for the love of it.

"Coal Age," one of the official publications of the mine barons, in its June 28th issue, endorses the accepted version that it was the election of Rinaldo Cappellini, as president in District 1, Pennsylvania, that caused Harding and Daugherty to issue their recent threats, by correspondence to the Coal Commission, against the Miners' Union.

The coal barons' mouthpiece, however, stresses the declaration that there is no fear of President John L. Lewis and his policies. No significance is attached to Lewis' recent trip to Europe, in so far as it might have developed solidarity between the coal miners on both sides of the Atlantic. It states that:

"The report on Mr. Lewis' return that he had reached some understanding with the British was not taken seriously by those really acquainted with the coal industry. . . . The real facts probably are that Mr. Lewis went to Europe on a much-deserved vacation. Naturally he saw the leaders of the British coal miners' organization. It would have been a discourtesy to them had he not done so. They may have talked a little shop, but the chances are that the curtailing of coal shipments during strikes was not mentioned."

"Coal Age" therefore dismisses the attorney general's "fantastic suggestion" that Lewis might have developed some sort of international action, and says the thing the mine owners fear is the rising wave of radicalism, as shown in Cappellini's election. It says:

"This victory for the radicals among the workers in the anthracite region reaffirms the presence of a dangerous unrest among them, which had its first outbreak in the demand for nationalization."

The general impression that there would be no strike this year in the anthracite region was based on the knowledge of the conservative policies of such men as Brennan and Kennedy. With the control wrested from their hands, there is no doubt as to what the rabble in the union may demand."

How considerate the mine barons are of Lewis! He is over-worked and needs a vacation to Europe. But the coal miners who seek a little more leisure, more pay and better conditions, immediately become "the rabble in the union," the "dangerous radicals."

Thus is the significance of the Harding-Daugherty letters exposed. The strikebreakers in the White House and in the Attorney General's office fawn on Lewis while they attack the progressives of the rank and file in the miners' union. Small wonder that the membership of the miners' union is rapidly uniting and mobilizing its forces in a more militant position.

Crush the Thieves!

Ex-United States Senator Pettigrew of North Dakota, speaking before the convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, declared that the more thievery involved in acquiring private property, the more sacred it is in the minds of the politicians, jay-bird lawyers and other servants of the ruling class in the United States Senate and Congress.

Both the Republican and Democratic Parties uphold the sacredness of private property in the means of production and distribution. Property is placed above everything else. As between property and the life of the workers, the old parties choose property. This they must do in order to exist. To the extent that there is any conflict between these two parties it is a quarrel over the supremacy of different groups of exploiters of labor.

Between the robber barons of capitalism and the exploited masses there stands the capitalist government—the administrative group, the army, the police, the courts. It is this government, in the hands of the lackeys of the ruling class that guarantees the preservation and perpetuation of this system. In order to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution we must conquer the political power for the working class.

The creation of a strong "Federated Farmer-Labor Party" embracing all the minority political groups as well as the militant trade unions will be the first step toward a policy on the part of the American working class that will eventually result in smashing the power of the thieves, big and little, who live off the misery, poverty and degradation of the working class.

Harding Talks About Russia

It was inevitable that President Harding should get off a wheeze about Russia somewhere on his speaking tour. But he chose a bad time and a poor place to display his ignorance when he referred to "the colossal failure" of the workers and peasants' government in his address at Helena, Mont.

It was on this same day that the kept press was eating its lies about the alleged poisoning of the former patriarch, Tikhon, in a Soviet prison. The Associated Press "discovered" that Tikhon is at liberty, that he lives in a monastery at Moscow, and that he has recanted in his position against workers' rule. All of which causes the New York World to editorialize as follows:

"The news direct from Moscow by the Associated Press that 'Dr.

Tikhon, former patriarch of all Russia, is free and at ease in the Donasky Monastery is important and should be noted by all who took at face value the report that he had been tortured and killed."

"Once again important and highly inflammatory news about Russia has proved to be unreliable. Once again we are reminded how skeptical we ought to be about any news from Russia which does not come from perfectly well-known, first-hand witnesses. Nothing second-hand out of Russia is worth reading, much less believing."

Yet it is the second-hand, warmed-over dope from Stockholm, Helsinki, Berlin, Paris and London that the American political politruons, from Harding-Hughes and Hoover down, feed on, that result in such silly statements as the Daugherty-Burns informed president made in his Helena speech.

His malicious falsehoods will have little effect on the workers and farmers in the West who have been getting first-hand information from the United States Senators, Borah, of Idaho, and Wheeler, of Montana. And the workers of the remainder of the country will not be deluded by his clownish nonsense.

"The Call" Goes to Scranton, Pa.

We were startled to learn that the New York Call (Socialist) had suddenly sent its labor editor to the Tri-District Convention of the Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal Miners at Scranton. Surely this Socialist daily, that had completely ignored the recent important convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, that took a stand for amalgamation and the Labor Party, was getting a little more enterprising.

But we learn that "The Call" didn't go to Scranton to be of any real aid to the coal miners. The chief object, in news article and editorial, seems to have been to learn whether Rinaldo Cappellini, president-elect in District No. 1, was a member of the Workers Party. It was trying to discover something that might help cheer up the downcast reaction.

We do not remember that we have anywhere claimed Cappellini as a party member. But Cappellini, as a progressive, was being fought not only by the mine owners and their press, but also by the Lewis reactionary machine. "THE WORKER" threw all its strength into the fight to elect Cappellini over the Mine Owners-Lewis candidate. Where was "The Call"? It was silent. It had no position in this important struggle.

"The Call" now confesses, "What has happened in District One is that a more progressive administration has been elected." That is all that "THE WORKER" has claimed. But the point is that "THE WORKER" helped elect it. "The Call", thru its silence, helped the mine owners and the Lewis reaction muster what little support could be rallied in support of their lost cause.

The left movement is growing in all the labor unions, not among the miners alone. "The Call" is opposed to this progressive movement, subjecting it to every conceivable underhanded attack. "THE WORKER" stands pledged to support progress in the organized ranks of the American labor movement. If we can send "The Call," a daily, to Scranton, Pa., with "THE WORKER," a weekly, how far can we send it with "THE WORKER," a daily? We wonder.

A Saintly Vanderbilt Speaks

Seldom does there pass a day without the kept press discovering or uncovering a saintly employer. The latest addition to the Angels from Hell is William K. Vanderbilt, living progeny of a grandfather by the same name and of "damn the public" fame.

At a hearing on the Schenectady street car strike before the New York State Industrial Commissioner, Mr. Vanderbilt, grandson of the late Commodore, confessed that he was in favor of dealing with labor unions and that he did not believe in disregarding the public. This confession inspired the metropolitan dailies to prominent stories painting the marked contrast between grandfather and grandson.

But scratch an employing class "Saint" and you have a capitalist devil. All in all, Vanderbilt's pro-union ditty was sweet perfidy. The young Vanderbilt is one of the Directors of the New York Central which, jointly with the Delaware and Hudson, controls the Schenectady Railway Company. Since May 16, the workers have been on strike for the right to organize. The directors of the company have persistently refused to deal with the men.

When the Industrial Commissioner tried to get Vanderbilt down to brass tacks and asked him for suggestions as to settling the strike, it became evident that the brother of the Dutchess of Marlborough was merely beating about the bush and talking for effect. His Capitalist Highness then said that he was not in a position to give advice about the situation since he was absent at the last meeting of the Board of Directors. Besides, he said that the strike is nearly over, and that the settlement is a matter for the officers of the road to handle and not for the directors.

"It is an operating detail," said the "pro-union" employer. As Mr. Shientag went on to protest that he was not getting action, Vanderbilt replied, "You can get me at any time to discuss it."

That is just it. The employers of today, as a rule, use more advanced methods of class warfare. They are not as crude and blunt as their forefathers. They employ camouflage and gas screens. They try to hide their dastardly crimes against the workers behind clouds of misleading phrases. While they engage in shooting their mouths off with sweet words for their employees, they are committing the most hideous outrages against the workers.

The glaring contrast between the talking and doing of Mr. Vanderbilt is a classic example of such capitalist strategy. Vanderbilt is a close ally of the Delaware and Hudson and one of the leading spirits of the New York Central. Both of these railways were in the hard-boiled group that fought the striking shopmen tooth and nail. The notorious L. F. Loree, a sworn enemy of the working class, is the big chief of the former Road. The Michigan Central, a subsidiary of the New York Central, is the Road that attempted the infamous "Gary Frame-up" of innocent workers and engineered the raid on the Trade Union Educational League in Chicago. It was this company, whose guardian angel Mr. Vanderbilt now swears by the public, that was guilty of numerous violations of the Safety Acts and was using faulty equipment endangering the lives of their passengers.

The acts of these hypocritical employing class champions of the rights of Labor, give the lie to their words of "friendship." Not even the powerful capitalist press can effectively glove the mailed fist of the exploiters in the eyes of the workingmen.

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

The Crops in Russia Are Good

Workers thruout all the world will be enthused to learn that the crops nearly everywhere in Soviet Russia are promising above the average. They are reported by "Rosta" to be especially good in the Ukraine, in the so-called "black earth" provinces, and in the Caucasus. The Russian workers and peasants may even realize this fall their ambition of feeding the starving of Europe.

The Russian Revolution

There are many indications showing the Russian workers and peasants have no thought as to the failure of the revolution. They are going right ahead with their planning on the basis that revolution is here to stay. Thus the Congress on the Abolition of Illiteracy has elaborated a final plan to achieve its purpose on the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, Nov. 7, 1927. That will be some tenth anniversary celebration.

No Reprisals against Swiss

"Rosta," the Soviet news agency, denounces as lies the reports that the Soviet Government has been arresting Swiss citizens as a reprisal against the brutal assassination of Vorovsky. It declares that the Soviet Government has never thought of making any reprisals against Swiss citizens who are not responsible for the actions of their government. The kept press in this country will not, of course, publish this correction of their falsehoods.

Gary, the Propagandist

Judge Elbert H. Gary, head of the Steel Trust, is trying to quiet popular resentment against the 12-Hour Day in the steel mills by sending his speech and the report of the American Iron and Steel Institute on this question to everyone whose address he can get hold of. Professional men, including doctors, are receiving this literature, but we have yet to hear that it is being sent to the steel workers. They know it is a lie, and Gary knows they know it.

The Steel Workers Help

A Farrell, Pa., steel worker, on his way to visit friends at Donora collected \$11.50 for the Tractor Drive of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Even the exploited in the steel mills respond to the call to help the Russian workers and peasants rebuild their agriculture.

Hungry for "The Worker"

"Please see to it that I get my copy of 'The Worker' each week. I would rather miss my meals than go without my copy of 'The Worker' each week."—T. K., New York City. We'll make it hot in the business office if this subscriber misses another issue.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish Says: Progress is all right, but it ought to stop sometime.



Drawn by ART YOUNG
"Law is like a cobweb: it's made for flies and the smaller kind of insects, but lets the big bumblebees break thru."
From "The Book of Daniel Drew."

Daugherty Aid Says Sleuths So Many They Can't Be Counted

(By Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—There are so many thousands of federal detectives "that the task of managing them is one that would have made the founder of the republic shudder," according to John W. H. Crim, assistant attorney general of the United States. Crim is about to retire. Perhaps, that account for his amazing frankness in a speech that has visibly agitated the department of justice.

He was addressing the alumni association of the Williams and Mary College of Virginia when he declared:

"Take the department of justice out of politics."
He left the inference that the only way to get justice into the department was to remove it from the hands of politicians.

There are so many federal detectives, he said in the course of his speech, that it is doubtful if any one knows "within any fair degree of approximation" just how many. He added:

"Their classification on the pay-rolls of the several departments and bureaus precludes their identification without detailed study of their duties. It will suffice to say there are thousands of them."

Speaking of his seventeen years' connection with the department of justice, he said:

"I can count on my fingers the professional politicians in my experience who at any time rendered substantial aid in law enforcement."

The crooked politician with the machine is always arrayed with the other side. It is impossible to bring an important criminal case without a

fight with them at every point where a process of government is exposed. The federal arm of the law does not bother the rich and influential criminal, according to Daugherty's assistant.

"In the fall of 1921 we found in a national banking situation that the average bank defaulter was in no way being molested by the prosecuting arm of the government until more than two years had transpired subsequent to notice to it of the default," he said.

"This crime of bank defalcation has increased more than 200 per cent above the normal line. The prosecution of such offenses so long after commission is unduly expensive."

The defender is rich, he builds up political offense beginning with the local district leader and ending with a more prominent statesman of national reputation."

"Underground with the Reds"

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Another wave of hysterical propaganda against the militants in the labor movement has been started over the land. The antics of the Boston Transcript and its followers, immediately following the Michigan raid, and later the New York Herald, and its supporters are now being duplicated by a string of kept publications headed by the New York Commercial in the East and tailed by the Berkeley (Calif.) Daily Gazette in the Far West.

Considerable stress is laid on the source of this latest vomit, one Fred R. Marvin, editor of the Mountain States' Banker. One of our readers out in the California city writes in as follows:

"I started to check up on this bird by underlining important breaks as I went along, but after the second underline, I discovered at once he was just a plum fool and I gave up the check."

Yet the publication of this malicious network of fabrications, carrying the official endorsement of Attorney General O. L. Smith, of Michigan, one of the prosecutors of William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg, may have some good results. It will turn large numbers of intellectually hungry newspaper readers to the literature of the Communist movement. Here they will find some really worth while information on "Underground Radicalism," in the pamphlet by that name, written by John Pepper as "An Open Letter to Eugene V. Debs and to All Honest Workers Within the Socialist Party."

In this 48-page pamphlet there is enough antidote to eliminate all the mental poison to be found in the daily anti-Communist campaign of the "Brass-Check" press. Here we have facts instead of fiction. There is a rich field for live thinking in the chapter on "Political Developments from 1920 to 1923." The chapter on "Underground Radicalism" will help open the minds and stimulate the thoughts of those who have looked on Communism as something alien. Other interesting chapters deal with such subjects as "The Labor Spy," "The Socialist Party—Two Wings Without a Body," "United Front, But Separate Organization."

A million copies of Pepper's "Underground Radicalism" carefully distributed where the deluge of newsprint containing Marvin's "Underground with the Reds" series is hitting the hardest, will have excellent results. The attack on the Communist movement will then return as a boomerang to plague the villages of the thinking elements among the working class. Order a bundle: 50 cents per copy; in lots of ten or more 6 cents per copy. Address: The Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City.

The Foreign-Born Workers

There is no need now for not getting acquainted with the foreign-born. The question of "The American Foreign-Born Workers" is fully discussed in the pamphlet by that title just off the press. It is by Clariss S. Ware, and is published by the Workers Party, 799 Broadway, N. Y. City. Price: 15 cents per copy. It will be reviewed in these columns next week.

The Communist International

Since the Communist International is more than an issue now than ever before, due to heroic efforts of the reactionaries in the labor movement many workers will be glad to know that the Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Nov. 7 to Dec. 1922, are now available in book form. The publication is by the British Communist Party for the Communist International and will be sold in this country by the Workers Party. The contents will be reviewed in next week's issue.

Warren Wanders into the Farm Problem; or, Hutchinson Farmers Hear Harding on Hard Times

Editor's Note:—When President Harding began soft-soaping the western farmers on his trip to the Pacific Coast, we sent off a wire to Hal Ware, one of the best informed writers on agricultural conditions in the country, and asked him to tell our readers what the farmers thought of Harding.

Ware was at the time at Minneapolis, Minn., the world's greatest primary wheat market and home of the grain gamblers. Ware responded as follows:

By HAL WARE

(Special to "The Worker")

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—What does John Farmer think of Harding's farm speech? I asked a dirt farmer. He replied, "Hell, he must be a Christian Scientist."

Gamaliel got the farmers' goat

when he said: "The losses to American agriculture are universally admitted and deplored but it is not an experience peculiar to American agriculture alone. It came to railroads, bankers, to manufacturers and to the mercantile world" (Seems to me I noticed a 7 per cent dividend on N. Y. C. R. stock and reports of other profits lately NOT on the farms.)

After this the bulk of his speech was devoted to the Administration's "Crowning achievement," the 1923 Credit legislation. (You have heard the expression, "I'll crown you one!" Well, this should be interpreted in that sense.) Harding says, "I have reserved till the last what we may well appraise the crowning achievement on the entire list." Then he outlines the new banking plan. The Federal Farm Loan Banks that loan only on real estate. The new Federal Intermediate Credit

Banks that may rediscount farmer's notes held by local banks as well as loaning on personal and chattel credit. Then comes the National Agricultural Credit Corporations. These are to be in private hands, but "supervised" (You know me Al). They may also loan on personal and chattel credit up to nine months. To facilitate the marketing of debentures issued by these banks a class of Rediscount Banks is provided. Harding sums up, "It is simply another application of the revolving fund or endless credit chain idea, which we found illustrated in the case of the Intermediate Credit Banks."

"It's an endless chain all right, and it goes right about John's neck. The facts are: that this credit system is devised to bolster up the banks staggering with farm paper. The experience of the old Federal Farm Loan Banks was largely transferring

of mortgages from private or local banks to the government. The new Intermediate Bank will also transfer debts by rediscounting farm paper for local banks. The privately run Credit corporations will get the new business; issue debentures against the paper given by the farmer and sell these thru the Rediscount banks, get more money and so on. Simple, is it not? Yes, it is not. "You borrow from Peter to pay Paul" and each little transaction adds a little more of that unholy interest. This is Harding's "Crowning achievement."

He absolutely ignored high interest rates. He missed the actual bankruptcy of the American farm by a thousand miles and only grazed the tremendous mortgage debt of eight billions by referring to mortgages in the same breath with Railroad bonds. Same type of "paper," you know,

pays dividends or interest to the same people. Not the farmer, or the worker. He did not touch upon the figures which were called to his attention, showing that the very wheat that he played with there for publicity purposes in Hutchinson returned only a net of ten cents to the farmer. And he never even suggested the fundamental question that faces all farmers—their rapidly shrinking equity in the LAND. Mr. Harding's method of solving the Agricultural problem is to apply a combination of Coue's "Better and Better" with Einstein's Theory of Relativity. For instance: We are getting Better and Better because no matter how bad things are, in relation to some dark past, they are better now.

"We used to be slaves!" The slave became a villain, the villain became a peasant," finally, "the man of the land had won his first battle, battle for a place in the political

system." He then orates thru the "covered wagon" stage and remarks "there were no motor cars, no electric lights." No, Mr. Harding, and neither are there motor cars and electric lights in the vast majority of farm homes to-day.

He continues: "The farm emancipation in this country has been apace with other advancements, there are inevitable periods of unbalanced price relationships—the reflexes of supply and demand, which have vexed and discouraged. There is no escaping the relativity (Einstein again) of outlay and income. The sane practice is to make sure that the outlay is less than the income." How simple and profound. Just follow that advice and you will never be broke!

This is our President! A mouthpiece for big business! At a time when thousands and tens of thou-

sands are being driven from the land by the banks. When the farmers have their backs to the wall and are rallying to the slogan, "WORK THE LAND AND WANT IT!" he prates of "Credit" as a solution and covertly insinuates that the farmers must oppose the demands of the workers. Harding should know that it is no "ephemeral whim" that brought workers and farmers together politically in the last elections. The tillers of the soil and the tillers in the cities have a common bond—their enemies are the same. Everywhere one senses a determined consciousness of that bond. Mr. Harding will soon face its concrete manifestation—A UNITED LABOR PARTY.