



Coal Miners and Railroaders Must Help Unionize Steel Industry—See Page Three

# THE WORKER

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## Feel Gary's Promises Empty

### U. S. Senator Given Facts About Terror

B JAY LOVESTONE  
(Special to "The Worker")

PHILADELPHIA.—All the facts in the outrageous persecution of the Workers Party and its membership in Pennsylvania, especially in the Pittsburgh district, have been placed before United States Senator George Wharton Pepper. The immediate results of the conference held here are:

FIRST: Senator Pepper agreed to take up the Pittsburgh situation with Acting Attorney General Seymour at Washington.

SECOND: He will also confer with Governor Gifford Pinchot, at Harrisburg, on the steel and coal industry that dominates in Western Pennsylvania.

THIRD: He agreed that a free speech test case should be made by holding a mass meeting under Workers Party auspices in Pittsburgh.

The conference was held in Senator Pepper's offices here. The case for the workers of Western Pennsylvania was presented to Senator Pepper by Robert W. Dunn, Acting Head of the Civil Liberties Union, and the writer, as an official representative of the Workers Party.

Mr. Dunn told the Senator that we came to lay before him the whole Pittsburgh situation and that I, as a spokesman of the Party concerned, would give him the facts of the case. Senator Pepper told us that he hoped we were fully aware of the fact that he could not effectively interest himself in too many propositions. He reminded us that last year he had turned down a request to sign a blanket amnesty resolution. Since then, he has made a detailed legal examination of all the evidence in the Chicago, Wichita, and Sacramento I. W. W. cases. The Senator expressed a tremendous, genuine interest in the cases.

#### Pittsburgh Outrages Described

Then the writer told, in brief, the wanton outrages committed against the Workers Party by agents of the Federal Department of Justice and the Assistant District Attorney Meyers. The arrest of George Kowalski, a worker who had been honorably discharged from the 302nd Infantry and had seen service on three fronts in the World War; the arrest of Mrs. Budnick, not a member of the Workers Party, and her consequent separation from her four-year-old daughter for ten days; and the case of the worker, Jakubauski, whose six-year old child was struck and killed by an automobile while his wife was out looking for bail, were cited as typical of the present condition in Pittsburgh.

The Senator asked why all this persecution was organized against the Workers Party and who was behind these attacks. I told him that the Department of Justice was engineering all these arrests. The big

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### "OPEN SHOP" GARY'S MAN-KILLING CLOCK



### World Events Cossack Brutality Marks the Brockton, Mass., Shoe Strike Reviewed by International

NOTE.—Reports have been received of the opening sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International held at Moscow, Soviet Russia, during the latter part of June. Great interest centered in the opening address of Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the International, who spoke in part as follows:

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV  
Six months have passed since our last Congress. We see things much clearer today.

New political questions have sprung up. We must now examine to what extent the decisions of the Fourth Congress were correct and in what manner they were carried out. In many countries the political situation has altered in favor of the capitalists. America is experiencing a boom; the situation in England and France has improved. In Central Europe the former disorganization prevails; Japan is on the eve of a crisis.

The International situation is for

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### Cossack Brutality Marks the Brockton, Mass., Shoe Strike

By WILLIAM SIMONS  
(Special to "The Worker")

BROCKTON, Mass.—The strike of the Brockton shoe workers, which had gone along more or less peacefully for eight weeks, assumed a different aspect beginning Monday, July 9th. Hitherto, the strikers on the picket line in the main had been unmolested by the police. They had been allowed to hold large mass meetings on Sunday with a permit from the city authorities. Recently a permit was denied.

The lasters and vampers were still out practically en masse; the shoes turned out by the scabs were not fit for the market, cases being returned to the manufacturers from their customers. The number of cases shipped in June was only 40 per cent of the production last June, according to the figures of a Shoe and Leather trade journal; and a large part of this was

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### Election of Johnson in Minnesota Shows Sentiment for Real Farmer-Labor Unity

By JOSEPH MANLEY  
National Secretary Federated Farmer-Labor Party

CHICAGO.—The overwhelming victory of Magnus Johnson on the Farmer-Labor ticket in Minnesota clearly indicates a tremendous sentiment amongst rank and file of farmers and workers for a real Labor Party. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is not at present affiliated to any national organization, due to the fact that until the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party there was no national coordinating center in existence.

The victory in Minnesota will add strength to the great campaign which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is launching, and will help link up the various isolated Farmer-Labor Movements and thus create a real national party for the farmers and workers.

### Steel Workers Raise Slogan of "The Eight-Hour Day" as Bosses Weaken Before Attack

#### "THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY!"

That is the slogan that must be heard, coming like thunder claps, wherever workers go down into the steel mills in these United States.

To arouse all steel workers in support of this slogan is the next step in the fight of "THE WORKER" against the barbarous 12-Hour Day of "Czar" Gary and his United States Steel Corporation.

Ever since Judge Elbert Henry Gary made his infamous plea for the 12-Hour Day, at the Hotel Commodore, New York, May 25th, "THE WORKER" has kept up its anti-Gary campaign. It published the facts. It showed how the 12-Hour Day was wrecking the men, women and children of the steel mills, mentally, physically, morally. It showed how the long day was destroying all social and family life in the steel czerdom.

"THE WORKER" beat down all of "Czar" Gary's arguments, that the Steel Empire needed the 12-Hour Day because of the labor shortage, because it couldn't afford the 8-Hour Day, because the steel workers want the 12-Hour Day.

"THE WORKER" exposed the tyrannical intents of the Steel Trust with the capitalist government at Washington. This week we shatter the hypocritical pretenses of Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, that he is really desirous of organizing the steel workers.

It was not until this bombardment continued for more than a month, that various forces began to move as a result of the rising ferment among the workers in the steel mills. When "THE WORKER" reported, in its issue of June 30th, that the steel serfs, in various mills, were writing on the walls of their slave pens, in chalk, in the dead of night, "We want the 8-Hour Day!" then the politicians, even in the old parties, began to whisper protests against the long day, holy men in their pulpits began to sputter warnings against the seven-day week, experts began to proclaim that the 8-Hour Day was feasible, even Gompers of the American Federation of Labor began to move, last of all, declaring an organization campaign would be started.

Fearful of the rising storm, the steel interests, thru the New York Evening Post, Saturday, July 14, let it be made known that the 12-Hour Day would be abandoned in six weeks.

But this was immediately qualified in the New York Times, Sunday, July 15, by a prominent director of the American Iron and Steel Institute, who stated that a start to abolish the 12-Hour Day might be made in six weeks, but "how long it will take to finish it no one can tell at this time."

Against this duplicity of the bosses the steel workers everywhere must thunder their demand for "THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY!"

It is said that there will soon be a conference of all the mill foremen of the United States Steel Corporation from plants in which 12-Hour shifts are in force. This conference will be held in New York City, 71 Broadway, in the office of James A. Farrell, president of the Steel Trust. Concerning this proposed conference the New York Times says:

"At this conference the elimination of the longer workday will be discussed. Ways and means of installing labor saving machinery also will be discussed, in line with E. H. Gary's statement a short time ago that machinery would be used to displace men wherever possible."

If you, the workers in the steel mills, raise your voices high enough for "THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY" those mill foremen will have but one thing to report to Gary and Farrell. That report will be that a great crisis has arisen in the steel industry, a crisis that these slave drivers of the master class will sum up in the

### Lewis Again with Bosses, Fights Labor

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, has again thrown his influence on the side of the mine owners and the "open shop" interests.

This is the only interpretation that can be put on his imperial edict, issued from his luxurious retreat at Atlantic City, N. J., revoking the charter of District 26, Nova Scotia, Canada, bituminous coal fields.

The Nova Scotia coal miners are out on strike to protect their own wages, and in support of the striking steel workers of the same district. They have waged a brilliant struggle as has already been pointed out in these columns. The Canadian government has sent troops into the district to wage bloody war against the men, women and children of labor. The district is also under the guns of a British battleship.

Under these circumstances, President Lewis expels the district, without trial, just as he expelled the Kansas district, when Alex. Howat and the Kansas miners' officials were fighting the Allen Anti-Strike Law.

The Lewis threat of expulsion is one of long standing. In order to lay the basis for his present attack, Lewis sent the wrecker, Van H. Bitter, into the district, followed by a special committee of investigation.

Lewis is bending all his energies to rid himself of the progressives in District 26. He appointed the defeated International Board member as an organizer in a district which is 100 per cent organized! He sent a commission to investigate the situation in the district and not having any charge to make against the leaders of the district he urged the convention to get rid of them. The miners of Nova Scotia will refuse to allow Lewis to order them what to think, they will elect whoever they please to the District offices, and will fight to the bitter end to prevent Lewis smashing the ranks of the District organization as he did in other districts.

The Lewis declaration of war on the progressives will sharpen the struggle in the United Mine Workers. To defeat the militants of District 26, Lewis will have to line up with the British Empire Steel Corporation and the Federal and Provincial governments against the miners getting an increase in wages. Any man who opposes the miners getting the 1921 rates in District 26 will meet with such an opposition as will stagger him. The Federal government kept Alexander Howat out of this Province in the interests of Lewis and the corporation.

The District Convention just finished struck a pitch towards which all workers must strive to reach. The miners of Nova Scotia are leading the way with greater battles on their hands against their exploiters, against the governments of exploiters, and (to the shame and disgrace of the Lewis administration) against the reactionary leadership of the United Mine Workers itself. And they shall win!

### The Farrington-Lewis Mix-Up

By J. W. JOHNSTONE

The success of the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, in lining up the militants within that organization, has been so great that the two leading figures in the United Mine Workers, Lewis and Farrington, who for years have been bitter enemies, have buried the hatchet, and from now on will stand united as against that growing young giant, The Militant Minority.

This uniting of forces by two of the shadiest and reactionary officials that ever held office in the U. M. W. of A. was to be expected. The only difference that ever existed between Lewis and Farrington was the struggle

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A NEW NINE-REEL MOTION PICTURE  
SHOWING ACTUAL CONDITIONS IN  
RUSSIA DURING 1922-1923  
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Orphans' School Homes

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# Are the Farmers and Workers the Victors in Minnesota?

By JOHN PEPPER

Magnus Johnson, the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party, was elected in Minnesota with a big majority against Governor Preus, who was the official candidate of the Republican Party and the Harding administration.

It is a tremendous defeat for the Republican Party, the party in power. It is a tremendous defeat for the entire Harding Administration. This side of the problem is clear to everybody. But the problem has another side to it. The Farmer-Labor Party candidate has been elected. The victory is won. But we must bring up most emphatically the question: are the farmers and workers the real victors in Minnesota?

We answer the question immediately. First of all, there is no doubt that the powerful Republican Party of the most powerful capitalists and the mightiest capitalist government of the world, has received a slap in the face which could be heard thruout the United States.

Second, it is clear that the masses of the farmers and workers made up the forces which have defeated the government.

Third, it is nevertheless just as true that the real victors on the political battlefield of Minnesota were not the masses of exploited farmers and workers, but the confused, half-baked politicians of the lower middle class and of the well-to-do farmers.

A short analysis of the Minnesota elections will provide ample proof of this statement.

## Class Divisions and Conflicts in Minnesota

The election campaign of Minnesota was carried on under the name of the Farmer-Labor Party. But in reality, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is not the party of the workers and exploited farmers. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is not a part of any national organization. It is only a state party. It was never affiliated with the old Farmer-Labor Party that died pub-

licly at the July 3rd Convention in Chicago, and it protested that it had nothing to do with the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party that was born at the July 3rd Convention of Chicago. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is a bloc of two organizations—the Nonpartisan League of Farmers and the Nonpartisan League of Workers. Minnesota does not belong to the industrial centers of the United States, so that the workers in this alliance play second fiddle to the farmers. The political victory in Minnesota does not depend on big cities and big factories, but on the tens of thousands living in isolated farms, small towns and villages. Furthermore, the masses in the only big centers, the twin cities St. Paul-Minneapolis, unlike Chicago or Pittsburgh, are dominated by a lower middle class psychology, rather than by a proletarian psychology. The Democratic illusion, the absolute belief in the cure-all patent medicine of democracy is still unbroken in Minnesota. The class-conflicts had not developed sharply up to recently in Minnesota.

The after-war period has brought about a great change. The gigantic economic crisis of 1920 means the turning point. The overwhelming power of the trusts, railroads and banks had driven all classes into rebellion against the capitalists. The workers revolted at first against unemployment, then against the Daugherty injunction (the railroad workers are especially strong in Minnesota). The wheat-growing farmers were driven at first into despair and then into revolt by the growing prices of industrial products, the rising freight rates, by mortgage and tenantry, and by falling wheat prices. The small business men who had for a long time suffered from the trusts, were driven into rebellion because the bankruptcy of the farmers meant the bankruptcy of their customers. And finally, even the small-town bankers and small manufacturers joined the camp of discontented elements because the pressure upon them of the great trusts and finance-

capital of Chicago and New York became more unbearable from day to day.

## Not a Class-Movement, but a People's Revolt

The play which has been enacted before our eyes in Minnesota proves to be a very interesting spectacle. It is not only the movement of exploited farmers and workers, but it is a general, all-inclusive movement against a handful of capitalists and trust magnates of all classes of society—the worker and small manufacturer, the consumer and small business man, the poor tenant farmer, as well as the well-to-do farmer, make up this movement. It is a real people's movement against capitalism. It is not a movement of one class against another, but of a number of classes against financial capital.

The Minnesota upheaval is a general people's movement. That is its strong side, and also its weak side. It is its strong side because that is the very reason that it could win so quickly against the powerful Republican Party, and the still more powerful government. But it is its weak side because, not being a real class movement, it is dominated by the ideology of a narrow-minded lower middle class and its program is a mixture of say-nothing commonplaces and quack remedies. It is self-evident that Magnus Johnson was the suitable candidate for this movement—this farmer politician with a strong voice and weak political outlook. He has declared that his program is a bloc of workers, farmers and legitimate business against trusts, railroad companies, and big banks. He declared further that in the question of internal politics he will follow La Follette, and in questions of foreign policy he will follow Brookhart.

## Classes and Political Parties

And Magnus Johnson has performed the miracle of uniting on July 15 the masses of workers, small business men and farmers against the capitalists. The alliance of work-

er, lower middle class and farmer was so powerful that it broke thru all old party-lines. Senator La Follette, the radical Republican, supported Johnson as much as did Senator Wheeler, the radical Democrat; and on the other hand, Governor Preus was supported not only by all conservative Republicans and by the Harding administration, but quite openly by all conservative Democrats. The class-situation is truly mirrored in the political situation in this way: First, the Democratic Party has disappeared entirely. Its candidate received only a few thousand votes. The radical Democrats voted for Johnson, the conservative Democrats for Preus. The Republican Party was also split. Its lower middle class adherents organized the Progressive Republican League and agitated for Johnson. The most remarkable thing in the elections was that Governor Preus and his campaign workers did not support with a single word President Harding and his administration, that the local Republican leaders directly begged Harding for God's sake not to support them. Not a single national figure of the Republican Party dared to speak during the entire election campaign in Minnesota. The campaign workers of Preus were either silent on the political issues of the government, or spoke against them. Governor Preus did not choose to mention the World Court and he had to speak against the high tariff of the Republicans. The Republican Harding administration was at first defeated by the Republican Party of Minnesota before it was defeated by the masses of Minnesota, thru the defeat of the Republicans of Minnesota.

## Farmer-Labor Party, But Not a Party of Farmers and Workers

We repeat, the defeat of the Republican Harding administration is complete. The Minnesota Republicans could only enter into the battle by not identifying themselves openly with the Republican Party on a national scale. Magnus Johnson won under the name of Farmer-Labor

Party, but the program which won is an alliance between workers, farmers and legitimate business interests. It is a still-born program. The workers and exploited tenant and mortgage farmers have no interests in common with small manufacturers, petty business men and well-to-do farmers. The interest of the workers and exploited farmers has not won the victory in the election of July 15. The workers and exploited farmers went with the greatest enthusiasm into the struggle and did not realize that the official program of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is made only in the interest of the small businessmen and well-to-do farmers, and not in the interest of the workers and exploited farmers. The workers have an interest in nationalization of factories, mines and railroads; but the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota fought for the regulation of big business, which means making competition with the trusts possible for the small businessmen. The exploited, bankrupt farmers need, immediately, at least a five years' moratorium of all their debts, and legislation which puts an end to tenantry and decides that the land belongs to the users. But the so-called Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota fought for more credit for the farmers already suffocating with too much credit, for more credit which makes it possible for the well-to-do-farmers to industrialize their farming and bring final ruin for the poor farmers.

The masses of workers and exploited farmers of Minnesota have fought a remarkable fight against their arch-enemy, against capital, and have defeated the capitalists and their organization, their enthusiasm; but they are not the victors. Their victory was confiscated by their leaders, by the politicians of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota who represent only the interests of the small businessmen and well-to-do farmers.

## The Workers Party and the Minnesota Elections

The Workers Party supported

Magnus Johnson at the elections. They instructed their members to vote for him. Why? Have we perhaps shared the illusions of the laboring masses of Minnesota as regards the real character of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota? Did the Central Executive of the Workers Party not know one day before the elections, that which we now write about it, one day after the elections? Of course, we had no illusions as to the lower middle class character of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, and the shilly-shally program of Magnus Johnson and Shipstead. But in spite of all that, and consciously, we gave the instructions to our party members to vote for the Farmer-Labor Party ticket.

Why? What were our motives? We had two deciding motives. First, the whole working class and the whole mass of exploited farmers in Minnesota had arisen as one man for Magnus Johnson and for the so-called Farmer-Labor Party. And not only in Minnesota, but in the whole of the United States, this election was considered as the cause of the working class. Not only the official American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods and the Socialist Party, but the whole rank and file of the trade union movement had endorsed Johnson.

Second, the masses felt with rare clarity that the enemy who must be defeated in these elections is capital and the capitalist government.

The Workers Party could not stay away from a fight in which the whole working class participated; even if these masses had lower middle class illusions; and even if they stood under petty bourgeois leadership. And the Workers Party could stay away still less from a fight where the struggle was clearly directed against the capitalist government.

The Farmer-Labor ticket won. The workers and poor farmers think that they have won. Now begins the important task for the Workers Party. The members of the Workers Party in Minnesota must go to the workers and exploited farmers and

tell them that we have voted for Magnus Johnson because he was candidate of the laboring masses. And we have voted for him because we wanted to strike a powerful blow upon the head of the Harding government. But Magnus Johnson is not the man of the workers and exploited farmers. He will never represent the interests of the laboring masses and with his program it is impossible to help the workers and exploited farmers. It was right to vote against the Republicans and Democrats because these two parties are dominated by the interest of big business. But the so-called Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota is also a party of workers and exploited farmers. It was dominated by the interests of small business. We must capture the trade unions and farmer organizations to join the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party which is really a class-party of workers and exploited farmers.

The Communists must understand that the Minnesota elections are of very great national importance. First, the elections show that in spite of the so-called prosperity, the dissatisfaction of the farmers and workers is continually growing. Second, the show that the old parties are in disintegration. Third, the "people's movement" of third party against capitalist parties is growing in significance. Fourth, and most important, we must set up against the watered people's movement of third party, the class party of workers and exploited farmers—the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The development in the immediate future will go much more quickly than in the past. Years were needed before the workers and farmers became convinced that the Republicans and Democrats did not wish to help them. Month will suffice to show them that La Follette and Johnson cannot help them. They know today that Harding is their enemy. Experience will show them that La Follette and Johnson are not their friends.

## Pennsylvania Senator Gets Terror Facts

(Continued from Page One)

coal and steel interests were out to crush the Workers Party because of its growing influence amongst the miners. I let the Senator know that the Workers Party was unreservedly opposed to the 12-Hour Day and that we would do our all to help the Progressives in their struggle against the reactionary Lewis machine in the United Mine Workers of America.

The writer further pointed out that the arrest of Thomas Meyerscough, when he called at the District Attorney's office for the files of the Progressive Miners' Committee, shows clearly the connection between the Department of Justice and the coal interests. I told him of the complaint of the Assistant District Attorney Meyers that the trouble with the Workers Party is that the miners are joining it. Mr. Meyers is also reported to have gloated over the fact that, as he saw things, five of the indicted were as good as in jail, although he has not presented a shred of evidence showing an overt act committed by any of these men.

## Asks About the Workers Party

As the discussion went on, the Senator showed a growing interest. He said to me: "Now tell me, man to man, what is the worst thing you can say about yourself, your Party?"

I forthwith told him that we were uncompromisingly committed to the complete abolition of the present capitalist system of production and exchange and that we wanted to build in its place a Communist system, a system of social production and exchange. The present main activities of the Party are the campaign to organize a Farmer-Labor Party and to amalgamate the backward craft unions into fighting, efficient industrial unions. Senator Pepper asked whether we were a part of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and whether we had a local in Philadelphia. When I informed him that we were a part of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party he hinted about the hard campaign confronting his own Party next year. I went on to let him know that the Workers Party had thriving locals in Philadelphia and most every large city in the state and nation.

The Senator manifested and expressed a great interest in the case from the point of view of guaranteeing the Constitutional rights to all groups. He proceeded to say that he does not, of course, agree with the tenets of a Party working for a complete change, because he believes that the main change needed today was the individual, and his use of the existing political machinery, in his heart and his mind, rather than in the institutions themselves.

Speaking of his attitude towards the seating of the Socialist Assemblymen, Senator Pepper said: "The Legislature is a cross-section of the opinions of the population." He

## Gompers Welcomes Socialist Turncoats with Open Arms

(Special to "The Worker")

WASHINGTON, D. C.—With the victorious announcement that "The Socialist Party has finally accepted what has long been apparent to observing citizens," Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, greets and welcomes the Socialist turncoats who have accepted his "nonpartisan" political policy.

The welcome is contained in the July 14th A. F. of L. Weekly News Service. It is sent out under the heading, "Opponents of A. F. of L. Political Policy Change Front." It says in part:

"The Socialist party has made a complete about-face from its attacks on the A. F. of L. non-partisan political policy.

"It now acknowledges that the trade unions are not interested in a national labor party.

"For years the Socialist party has condemned the A. F. of L. and its officials because of the trade union political non-partisan policy."

The greeting then goes on and glorifies in the Judas act of the Socialist Party in refusing the invitation to the "Labor Party Conference" in Chicago. The Gompers' press service quotes extensively from the Socialist reply, which declares that "few of the great trade unions are ready to take the decisive step of launching a working-class party on a national scale."

To which Gompers applies this verbal salve:

"The Socialist Party now indicates that it is at last awake to public opinion and changed public policy. Their own party—or what is left of it—is now adopting the A. F. of L. policy in certain localities. The tendency of the times vindicates the 'non-partisan' political policy of the A. F. of L."

Perhaps Gompers and the Socialists may get some comfort out of this brotherly embrace. They need it. And they'll need a lot more of mutual comforting with the continued growth of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, that will wreck all of Gompers' dreams about "non-partisan" action within the old parties.

The Gompers-Socialist front against united independent political action of the workers and farmers showed itself afflicted with cold shivers from the hour of its creation. Even the warmth of a Gompers-Hillquitian embrace cannot liquidate the frigid chills that haunt the mutual spine of this uncouth political alliance.

This Gompers' pronouncement should clear the minds of all workers. Labor must now realize that the only unity of the workers' and farmers' fight against the twin Wall Street parties is to be found beneath the standards of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, with which every local labor union and farmers' organization should be affiliated.

he heard from us he was greatly impressed with the need for the consideration of the Pittsburgh conditions. But, of course, he said he would have to hear the case of the Department of Justice also. The Senator told us that he did not know but that the Department of Justice might paint a terrible picture of us.

Senator Pepper promised to confer with Acting Attorney General Seymour on the Pittsburgh matter and to take up with him our memorandum in a few days. The Senator will also take up the whole case with Governor Pinchot. To my request for his opinion as to the advisability and practicability of the Workers Party of Pittsburgh holding a mass meeting in the near future with the writer as one of the speakers on a public, political question, the Senator replied that he agreed that such a test case was the logical next step in securing full civil rights to the Workers Party. When I told Senator Pepper of the likelihood of the speaker being arrested and the audience intimidated he said that he would consider this concrete case with the Acting United States Attorney General and Governor Pinchot.

Pepper Greatly Impressed  
At the close of the conference Senator Pepper said that from what

## Push Demand for Release of Politicals

Unconditional release of the remaining 44 political prisoners still held in federal penitentiaries will be demanded at the Amnesty Mass Meeting to be held in Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Ave., New York City on July 20th, 8 P. M., at which Roger Edwards, Mike Sapper, C. W. Davis, political prisoners recently released on order of executive clemency are scheduled to speak.

The men will tell the facts about the remaining prisoners, their attitude on the conditions of commutation imposed by the government and the plans for continuing the amnesty agitation.

The meeting is under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union co-operating with the Joint Amnesty Committee, the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, the General Defense Committee, the World War Veterans and the Committee of Forty-Eight. Roger Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Union, Abraham Lefkowitz of the Farmer-Labor Party, C. E. Ruthenberg of the Workers Party, Jack Leavitt of the World War Veterans, J. A. H. Hopkins of the Committee of 48, and Joseph D. Cannon of the Socialist Party will address the meeting.

The President's recent act of executive clemency did very little to clear up the issue of political prisoners. Roger Baldwin stated today, "Only eight of them are out as a result. The others have refused to accept the conditions. The campaign must be directed to removing the monstrous conditions imposed by the government as well as to the actual release of the men. We are standing for a clean-cut and unconditional amnesty just as we have stood all along. This meeting must voice the sentiment of those here in New York who will not give up until the last man is out."

## Lectures in Polish

BOSTON.—Comrade Anna Sokoliz, who has recently arrived from Poland, has completed a tour in District One. Between June 22 and July 2, meetings were held in Massachusetts: Boston, Salem, Lynn, Chelsea, Maynard, Boston, Lawrence; Rhode Island: Providence and Central Falls. Two meetings were held in Providence. The subjects discussed were "Old and New Poland" and "The Polish Peasant."

## E. Pittsburgh, Pa., Picnic

EAST PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Sunday, July 29, the City Central Committee, Workers Party, East Pittsburgh, will hold a picnic at Stephentown Farm, Wilmerding, Pa. Take Trafford Express, No. 63, get off at Bridge St. walk to Patton St. and then on Patton St. to farm, 15 minutes walk. Union music, games for children and sports for adults. Speakers in different languages. Proceeds benefit of Western Pennsylvania Defense.

## Mobilizing the New Wage Slaves

By CLARISSA S. WARE

During the quota year ending June 30th, 95.3 percent of the total number of immigrants admissible under the existing law, entered the United States. Germany and Poland were the only two countries which did not exhaust their quotas. The six countries sending the largest number of immigrants were The United Kingdom, 77,342; Germany about 50,000 with a quota limit of 67,607; Italy, 42,057; Poland over 30,000; Russia, 24,405; and Sweden 20,042.

The annual quota for the year from July 1, 1923, to July 1, 1924, stands at 357,803. According to the law not more than 20 percent of the annual quota for any nationality can enter during one month. Over 13,000 have entered already in July and by the end of the first week 13 countries had exhausted their monthly quota allowance.

The next session of congress will see the introduction of many bills aimed to change the immigration law. The present tendency among all employers is in favor of a law which will permit of the introduction of contract labor, selected at its source to fit the needs of the employers, and with all class conscious workers eliminated. There will be presented a demand for the registration and distribution of such contract labor, and, on the plea of preventing "bootlegging" of immigrants and protection of the American labor movement, the ANNUAL CATALOGING OF ALL FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS. These policies openly advocated by the employers, make clear the danger confronting the American Workers—Native and Foreign-Born.

## Coast Conference on Railroad Amalgamation Proves Great Success

(By Federated Press)  
TACOMA, Wash.—The Northwest District for Amalgamation of the 16 railroad craft unions held its first convention in the Labor temple, Tacoma, July 7-8, with delegates from every state and organization in the Northwest district present. The delegation from the Maintenance of Way men was especially strong and active.

Resolutions were adopted pledging support to the entire amalgamation program and the keynote of the convention was "amalgamate and organize the unorganized."

Emphasis was laid on the fact that the shopcraft strike on the roads had shown the necessity for amalgamation both to save the unions from extinction and to acquire solidarity to win victories on the economic field. The old political policy of rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies in politics was denounced. The Labor Party idea was endorsed. Another resolution endorsed the Labor Defense Council and the necessity of defending labor's militant hosts. All unions were urged to support the defense council financially.

Support for the Railroad Amalgamation Advocate, published in St. Paul, was also urged. The release of imprisoned union brothers was demanded, dual unionism denounced and secession warned against.

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

Curious that he had time to be student of so many languages while at work in the steel mills. This should be another argument for the 12-hour day. In carrying out his orders to arrange for the importation of contract slave labor he will only need to speak one language, that of the capitalists.

The New York Herald states the policy of the capitalists in quoting approvingly Senator Copeland's view of "recognizing that a common sense immigration policy service should be constructive as well as preventative. Its overseas staff should encourage worthy, desirable, and needed persons to settle here."

Mr. Gary will write the specifications and Mr. Musolini will fill the order—all arrangements to be made officially under the sign and seal of the United States Government, thru Mr. Davis—the so-called SECRETARY OF LABOR.

Labor can count on one thing whatever the immigration law that the present government passes, it will not be one based on the interest of the working class. Industry, to day, is taking its orders from the Capitalists, who have made the deal—"give us slave labor and we'll let Harding in his campaign speeches take the credit for eliminating the 12 Hour Day from the steel industry."

## "Clears the Mists Away"

A Review of "The Government—Strikebreaker" in The Locomotive Engineers' Journal, for July.

"For the people who still believe 'the public' controls the government of these 'United States' there is stored up for them in this admirably written book the coldest plunge of their lives. In cold, frank, almost brutal fashion, Mr. Lovestone scientifically dissects the myth until the bare truth stands out as baldly as a skeleton. Before his close scrutiny, the mists clear away and we see the devious workings of a government which all too often betrays by its official acts its real antagonism toward the cause of organized workers and farmers."

"It is a terrific indictment. Wholesale raids on radicals during the wave of reaction that overtook the country after the war; the noble struggles of the textile workers, exploited by the closest corporation tyranny outside of the steel industry; President Harding's ignominious interference in the coal strike; the criminal negligence of the United States officials in the face of gunman rule in Herrin, Illinois; and the strong-lunged chorus of hate sung by the Chamber of Commerce against the helpless, tyrannized workers of that little coal town; the crowning infamy of a hostile government in the Daugherty injunction against the striking shipmen; these are but the first items drawn up on the liability sheet of the government. Mr. Lovestone does not stop there. He goes on with the cruel story, reciting the unbroken line of reactionary, labor-baiting decisions of the United States Supreme Court; he recounts the wholesale mania for injunctions against organized workers. He enumerates the number of times the army and militia have been called out to resist the legitimate efforts of trade unions to win better conditions for their suffering workers. The press does its 'bit' too, in working against labor's interests. In a final summary of the indictment searching questions are asked, which challenge the complacency of those who are still not disillusioned."

"Mr. Lovestone has done a unique service to all the citizens of the country. He has massed together here, from official documents, well authenticated sources, thousands of evidences of the partiality and anti-labor policy of the government. He has written the indictment in clear, succinct style. He never dodges the inevitable conclusions to be drawn from the evidence adduced. The sum total of his arraignment brings to the front the very serious question of the necessity for independent political action. Should we organize a labor party, he asks, and then answers his own question with a 'Yes.' While every reader will not follow Mr. Lovestone to this conclusion, it is impossible to escape the conviction that something radical must be done to clear house in Washington. If that fails to get labor anywhere, it would seem there is only one other thing to do—organize a labor party."

Aren't there some mists in YOUR mind that need clearing away? Order a copy of this book and begin the operation.

\$1.50 per copy, 368 pages.  
THE WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY.

INTERNATIONAL  
YOUTH DAY  
Friday, Sept. 14, 1923  
at WEBSTER HALL

# Use Cossacks in Strike of Shoe Workers

(Continued from Page One)

taken from stock. The professional cabs are being paid out about twice the average wage the strikers obtained when they were on the job. A fearful loss of potential profit. Something must be done. All the power of the manufacturers and the manufacturers' men was to be applied to smash the strike. So on Saturday, July 7, City Solicitor Hendrhan issued his order against picketing on the ground that the strike was unlawful. At the mass meeting held the next day, attended by thousands of strikers, the strikers declared their intention to go on the picket line, notwithstanding the ruling against picketing.

It was an inspiring and courageous act to defy the public officials who acted in the interests of the shoe manufacturers. The battle had begun again, with renewed determination on the part of the strikers. They crowded onto the picket line, in greater numbers than ever before during the long weeks of the industrial strife.

"Schrecklichkeit"

The manufacturers had hoped to intimidate the strikers. When picketing still continued, the arrests began. In the first day 139 men and women were arrested, the total to date being one hundred and seventy-five.

When the strikers marched to the court house after a meeting, the mounted police rode roughly into the crowd of strikers. This drew a protest even from one of the Brockton Councilmen, Mr. Hughes.

Two women crushed between an automobile and the horses, a blow on the head from the club of Mounted Officer Connolly which required four stitches to bring the wound together, and blows dealt other strikers bore eloquent testimony to the schrecklichkeit of the mounted "finest." Not only did they pick up strikers, but others not connected with the strike were also arrested.

A visitor from Worcester is in a serious condition, suffering from concussion of the brain after three blows from a police club, two of them after he had already been knocked unconscious. He was walking along a quarter of a mile from any factory, still believing in the power of petition; the Lithuanians presented the mayor with 400 signatures in protest against "law and order" brutality, in dispersing strikers in Montello. A committee of five elected at a protest meeting called by the Lithuanians made their emphatic protest to the mayor.

## The Despised Foreigner

It is the despised foreigner who is displaying the best sticking power, who is in the thick of the fight. The glorious example of devotion and courage set by the foreign workers in the great Steel Strike is being followed by the foreigners, especially the Lithuanians. Their loyalty, their energy, their daring will long be remembered in Brockton. Let those who first went out, the English speaking elements, men of whom have slunk back, let them hang their heads in shame. The lowly foreigner can stand with his head high; he was true to his fellow worker. Rather than pay the \$2.00 fee to the Bail Commissioner, several strikers remained in jail over night saying "Give that money to our brothers on the firing line."

## Blind Justice

Those arrested were fined \$10 and their appeals are to come up on August 8th at a special session of the District Court, the first in the history of the Court.

The strikers asked that their cases be tried in another court, because both Judges Thorndike and William C. Rowe were connected directly or indirectly with the shoe manufacturers.

The brother of Rowe is a member of the Shoe Manufacturers' Association and manager of the C. A. Eaton Shoe Co. Rowe decided that there was no ground for the change. The strikers are now circulating a petition for the removal from the bench of the manufacturers' representative, Judge William G. Rowe.

## The Outcome

The mayor has called on the strikers to return to the factories. This they refused to do. The strike leaders have left to the strikers themselves to decide as to whether they should resume picketing. It had been decided to call off the pickets pending a conference to be arranged by the mayor. The conference proved a fizzle, and many strikers are of the opinion that the picketing should not have been stopped last week.

The determination of the manufacturers is to smash the strike by all available means. The strikers feel that they are engaged in a winning struggle. They contend that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with its no-strike clause, and compulsory arbitration before a State Board, does not respond to the needs of the shoe workers.

Even if the present strike should fail, and the men be forced back into the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union by the manufacturers, they will always fight for the rule of the organization from below, and not as it is at present, from above.

# Miners and Railroaders Must Help Organize Steel Mills and Wipe Out the 12-Hour Day

By JAY LOVESTONE

In the face of the most powerfully organized corporation in the world, supported by the strongest government on earth, the American steel workers have been helpless. Against the serried ranks of this unscrupulous band of exploiters and oppressors the steel workers have presented a miserably organized and wretchedly led army.

But much as the strength of the Steel Trust and the help given it by the Government may be responsible for the degrading conditions, low pay and inhuman working hours in the industry, most of the blame for the intolerable situation must be placed on the heads of the labor bureaucracy. One need but examine the outstanding evils of the Steel Industry to be convinced that here more than in any other American industry there is a pressing demand for organization. Yet the record of inactivity in unionizing the steel workers is about as black as any achieved by our reactionary labor leaders.

## Plight of the Workers

Appearing before the Interchurch Commission, a Pittsburgh Professor of Economics described the organization of the Steel Industry as "highly militarized." He said in part: "The general staff of the Carnegie Company is one of the most efficient in the world of business. The superintendents, department managers and foremen are splendidly loyal efficient officers with high morale. Bound to them, are the non-commissioned officers, such as gang leaders as rollers, blowers, melters and other top-skilled Americans, who are part bosses, part workmen. Altogether this administrative group, almost a third of the force, has a really military efficiency, bound to the company by stock participation, bonuses, loans, house-rentals and pensions."

The rank and file of the army consists of the great mass of low-paid overworked unskilled foreign-born workers. Thru this splendid organization the Steel Magnates have been able to pursue their "Catch 'em young, treat 'em rough, tell 'em nothing" labor policy. A friendly critic of Mr. Gary, quoted by the Interchurch investigators, has thus characterized this policy: "The trouble is that the Corporation is still in the stage of detectives and tolls." The workers dare not discuss their jobs even in normal times for fear of being discharged or transferred to a worse job.

The Strike Committee, in answer to President Wilson's request for a postponement of the strike, pictured this condition of the workers in the following: "Men have been discharged in increasingly large numbers day by day. Threats and intimidation are resorted to for the purpose of putting the men in fear and preventing them from the exercise of their own free will. They are coerced into signing statements that they are not members nor will become members of any labor organization and threatened with eviction, black-list, denial of credit, and starvation."

Citing a typical instance of this condition the Interchurch Commission reported: "Joseph Yart, 216 Woodville Ave., Johnstown, was employed by the Cambria Steel Company for forty years in the car works and was never discharged before. He became a member of the union on Feb. 3rd and was discharged on May 12th, by Superintendent Hill. . . . Mr. Yart protested that he had worked there for forty years, that he is now 54 years of age and can't work very well on the outside and the only reply he got was: 'You can't work here any more. You are an agitator and a disturber in the car department.'"

"One of Mr. Yart's sons was in the army of occupation, and Mr. Yart now complains: 'My son went to fight for democracy and I am thrown out on the street without any means of livelihood.'"

Part and parcel of Gary's policy of "not dealing with labor unions" is the best financed and most widespread system of professional strike-breaking and detective agencies in the world making profits out of clubbing and jailing workers.

Gompers and the 1919 Steel Strike

In the light of the above failure of Gompers and his henchmen to give adequate support to the striking steel workers in 1919 is an irrefragable crime against the whole American working class.

Speaking of the Great Strike, the Interchurch Commission said: "Causes of defeat, second in importance only to the fight waged by the Steel Corporation, lay in the organization and leadership, not so much of the strike itself, as of the American labor movement."

Gompers did not address a single meeting of steel workers during the strike. He did not attend a single meeting of the National Committee meeting in Pittsburgh. The case of Gompers attending meetings of the National Committee for organizing the steel workers was a case of the mountain really coming to Mahomet because Mahomet would not come to the mountain. The only meetings of the National Committee that Gompers attended were those held in Washington. The National Committee had to move its meetings to Gompers, to the city where he

GENERAL MEETING OF ALL NEW YORK LEAGUES of the Trade Union Educational League to be held MONDAY, JULY 23rd, 8 P. M. At Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 210 E. 5th St. Speakers: WILLIAM Z. FOSTER JOSEPH MANLEY Admission 10 cents

sued by all the enemies of labor. These are the very words used by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers in their attacks on Labor. A pint jar cannot hold a quart. With an insufficient number of organizers and the best organizers kept out of the campaign Gompers can do very little for the steel workers.

## Our Conclusions

The only way the steel workers can hope to abolish the 12-Hour Day is thru building a powerful union able to settle the score with the United States Steel Corporation and its allies. All workers, particularly the miners and railroaders, must aid in this effort to unionize the steel mills.

It is an irreparable disgrace to the whole American Labor Movement that the 12-Hour Day is still in force in the steel industry. Labor stands helpless, its leaders asleep at the switch and refusing to do anything, while forces outside the Labor Movement, like the Federal Council of Churches, are agitating for the 8-Hour Day.

The steel workers in particular and the other organized workers in general must bring to bear the greatest pressure possible on the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor to get into a unionization campaign heart and soul. This only can the 12-Hour Day be ended. No half-way measures will do in a fight with the Steel Trust. The workers must organize for a fight to the finish in order to free themselves from their present slave conditions.

# Farm-Labor Unity to be Told New York

A mass meeting to hear the report of the historic gathering held at Chicago, where the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was formed, is being arranged for Tuesday, July 24, 8 p. m., at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th Street, between 3d and 4th Aves.

C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary, Workers Party; William Z. Foster, secretary, Trade Union Educational League, and J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker," conspicuous figures at the Chicago Convention, will tell the inspiring story of how 600,000 workers and farmers united in Chicago to build a party of Labor.

Every union man in New York City, who believes in independent working class political action, should attend this meeting.

Already the reactionary daily press, bewildered over the strength and power developed by the gathering at Chicago, are spreading their usual lying propaganda against the newly formed party of the industrial and farm workers.

Come and show your solidarity with the farmers and workers who met in Chicago to organize united resistance against the capitalists and landowners thru united political action. Rally to the mass meeting at Webster Hall on Tuesday, July 24. John J. Ballam, also delegate to the convention, will preside.

## Lithuanians for United Action

Five thousand Lithuanians in Greater New York, members of 19 organizations affiliated with the Alliance of Lithuanian Workers' Organizations, at their recent meeting wholeheartedly endorsed the Federated Farmer-Labor Party formed at the recent Chicago Conference. All the local organizations of the alliance are urged to affiliate with the Federated Party. The resolutions adopted declare that:

"We greet this unity between the city workers and the working farmers in their common political struggle against the bourgeoisie."

"We pledge ourselves to do all in our power to support the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and to work unceasingly in our organizations and in the general working masses for the development and extension of the F. F. L. P."

"Long live the unity between the workers and farmers!"

(Signed) Chairman, M. Pauksiene, and Secretary, L. Endziulis.

CLEVELAND, O.—There will be a picnic of Cleveland's youth, under the auspices of the Young Workers' League, at Lee's Grove, Sunday, July 29, with speaking, races, singing and athletics. Take W. 25th St. car to barns, then take Pearl Road car to Brook Park Road.

# Gompers' Attack on Organized Labor

By C. E. RUTHENBERG  
Executive Secretary, Workers Party

When the arch-enemy of the labor movement, the NEW YORK TIMES, declares its approval of the actions of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, it is time for the organized workers of this country to watch out. This has happened in the case of Gompers' attack on Soviet Russia, set forth in the open letter he addressed to Senators King and Ladd, who are on their way to visit Russia. The labor-hating NEW YORK TIMES, in an editorial published July 17th, gives a hundred per cent approval to Mr. Gompers' attack on the government of the workers and peasants of Russia.

Russia today is governed by the workers and peasants. No one who knows Russia, who has seen the workers from factories and workers from the land gather from the four corners of this great country to meet in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets will deny that it is a shameful enough thing for Mr. Gompers to attack the government of a country which is in the hands of and conducted in the interest of that group in society which he is supposed to represent, but Mr. Gompers does worse than that.

In Russia today the labor unions are recognized and honored. There is no "open-shop" movement which seeks to destroy them. They have not had to fight a life and death struggle for their very existence. The government is not on the side of the employers. Russian trade unionists should they have to use their power and go on strike need not fear injunctions, courts and soldiers which the United States Government uses against striking union men.

The trade unions of Russia have reached the greatest heights in serving the workers. They are recognized as part of the machinery for the management of industry. The trade unions fix the hours of labor and wages of the workers. Not merely because they have the power but because that is one of their recognized functions in the industrial order which the workers of Russia are building.

It is the government of this country which recognizes the labor unions, honors and respects them and gives them important social functions to perform, a government which urges the organization of the workers and helps to organize them in labor unions. This government, Samuel Gompers attacks and lines up with all the enemies of organized labor in seeking to destroy it. It is a shameful thing for Samuel Gompers to attack a government of workers and peasants but it is a still more shameful thing for him to attack a government which stands before the world as the strongest support of trade unionism which Gompers represents.

One of the counts which Mr. Gompers seeks to make against Soviet Russia is on the question of freedom of expression. Is Mr. Gompers' own record such that he dares cast a stone at the government of the workers and peasants of Russia? What has the Seattle Central Labor Council to say about Mr. Gompers' attitude on the question of freedom of expression? Has not Mr. Gompers threatened the Seattle central body with expulsion because it dared express different views in regard to Russia, in regard to independent political action by the workers and farmers, than those held by Mr. Gompers?

What has the Minneapolis Trade and Labor Assembly to say? Was it not threatened with excommunication if it did not adopt a resolution of recantation framed by a Gompers lieutenant? Are not Mr. Gompers' trusted lieutenants even now in the field making similar threats against labor organizations which have dared go beyond the reactionary policies thru which Mr. Gompers keeps the unions of this country from making real headway in the fight against the bosses?

Before Mr. Gompers hurls epithets at the government of the workers and peasants of Russia, which for five years fought a desperate struggle against the whole capitalist world and a civil war against the Russian counterparts of the Garies of the United States, he had better examine his own suppression of freedom of expression in the American labor movement.

Mr. Gompers' chief complaint against the government of Soviet Russia is that it is trying to destroy the American Federation of Labor. This is a dastardly lie. Mr. Gompers knows that neither the government of Soviet Russia, the Communist International, nor the Communists of this country are trying to destroy the American Federation of Labor. The hope and desire of the Communist International and the Communists of this country is that the American labor movement will grow as strong and powerful as the labor movement of Russia.

The Communists are advocating certain changes in the policy of organized labor in this country. They are for amalgamation of the trade unions into industrial unions. They want better fighting organizations, to win better wages and working conditions for the workers here. If, because they favor amalgamation the Communists seek to destroy the American Federation of Labor—as Mr. Gompers says—then the score of state federations of labor, the international unions and local unions which have declared themselves in favor of amalgamation must also be seeking to destroy the American Federation of Labor—which is such

nonsense that even Mr. Gompers dare not charge it.

If it is true the Communists support the Red Labor Union International. The Red Labor Union International is an organization of fifteen million labor unionists of which the Russian unions are a part. Its policy is stronger organizations for the workers and more militant tactics. These policies are determined by representatives of labor unions from all over the world gathered in its congresses, not by the Soviet Government of Russia.

Mr. Gompers is afraid of the Communists of this country who support the Red Labor Union International, not because he believes they are seeking to destroy the American Federation of Labor, but because these Communists are endeavoring to educate the organized workers of this country to an understanding of the need of more powerful labor unions to fight the great capitalist trusts of this country. Mr. Gompers would rather align himself with the New York Times which hates everything that smacks of labor unions than support progressive measures. He fears that when the labor movement marches forward he will be dropped off and therefore he fears and attacks the Communists.

At the convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party the delegates representing three-quarters of a million organized workers, most of them in the American Federation of Labor, declared themselves in favor of recognition of Soviet Russia. If the whole rank and file of the American Federation of Labor could express themselves they would repudiate Mr. Gompers' alliance with the New York Times, with Wall Street, with the labor haters everywhere, just as decisively and declare themselves for the workers' and peasants' government of Russia.

It is time that the rank and file of organized labor found the means of repudiating Gompers' shameful action. The opportunity will come at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, if not before.

# United Party Heads Reply to Attacks

By JOSEPH MANLEY,  
(National Secretary, Federated Farmer-Labor Party)

CHICAGO.—The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has opened up its headquarters at 800 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill. Requests for charters, applications for affiliation, endorsements of its program, letters of congratulation and interested inquiry are pouring in from all over the country.

The newspapers in their treatment of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party have behaved outrageously. Never in the history of the Labor movement has there been such a flood of vituperation, character assassination and misrepresentation coming from the kept press. The N. Y. Herald and Call, vying with the N. Y. Herald and other papers of a like caliber, for the prize, which will no doubt be awarded the New Age of Buffalo, a "Socialist" publication.

Under this barrage of misrepresentation the members of the National Committee are standing up in fine shape. Many of them have issued statements to the press on returning to their homes. "It would be impossible to quote from all of them. However, let me quote two of our 'dirty' farmer representatives."

W. H. Green, First Vice-Chairman, writing in the Omaha World-Herald, says: "Your editorial, 'Split among the New Party Advocates,' is written entirely from the outside of the situation."

"Mr. Fitzpatrick's indictment" of Foster, Ruthenberg and Manley would have more standing in the court of public opinion were it not for the fact that Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Buck, Brown and others of the national committee had issued written invitations to those gentlemen they now designate as "Reds," to attend the convention. Those same gentlemen (Fitzpatrick, Buck, Brown, etc.) agreed to a written stipulation about the personnel and representation at the convention and then had to renege when some outside influence had rammed it back down their throats.

"I heard Mr. Fitzpatrick speak in the very highest terms of the personal lives of the men the kept press wishes to politically assassinate in the interest of the exploiters of human toil."

In a similar tone writes W. E. Zeuch who represented the Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin and who is a member of our National Committee, "In a two column article in the Madison, Wis., Capital Times: 'The attempt of the Cook County (Chicago) delegation to disrupt the conference began in earnest after reading of the reports of the organization committee. Strange as it may seem, no fight was made up to the Plan of Federation, the Declaration of Principles, or the Platform. They met with the approval of practically all the delegates.'

"The attempt to disrupt the conference began when the Cook county delegation lost control of the conference to the dirt farmers and industrial workers. Being unable to find anything to criticize in the Plan of Federation, the Statement of Principles or the Platform, Fitzpatrick and Buck of the Cook County delegation, aided by one or two isolated delegates from other delegations, attempted to stampede and destroy the unity of the conference by dragging the Red Herring of Communism across the trail that led to federation. The dirt farmers and industrial workers did not fall for such old stuff but continued the work of federation to a successful issue."

"When the leaders lost control to the rank and file they hunted about for some excuse to justify their attempt to disrupt. They made their stand on the charge that the Workers Party advocated violence and was affiliated with the Third International. The position of Fitzpatrick was highly amusing when one realizes that they were instrumental in inviting the Workers Party to the conference."

"These expressions of rank and file sentiment coming from farm representatives, will be fully equalled by city worker delegates. The response from them is already being felt in the shape of donations and affiliations of their organizations."

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party will immediately launch a nationwide campaign, the peak of which will be reached next January at the monster UNITY CONVENTION to be held in Chicago. This coming convention will mark the greatest gathering of rank and file farmers and workers ever held.

TUEL SUMMER FROLIC

New York's Summer Frolic and Dance of the Trade Union Educational League will be held Sunday, August 12, at Fuhler's Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, Long Island. There will be games, dancing and other attractive features. Directions: Take 2nd Ave. "L" to 57th St., change for Corona Line and get off at 25th St. Station, or Queensboro Subway at Grand Central Station to Jackson Ave. and 25th St.

Hear the Report of the HISTORIC GATHERING in Chicago

Tuesday, July 24th, 8 P. M. Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St. John J. Ballam will preside

Will Tell the Story of the Organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party

WM. Z. FOSTER C. E. RUTHENBERG J. LOUIS ENGDahl

# Soviet Rule Is Stronger Workers Told

(Continued from Page One)

the moment characterized by the Anglo-Russian complication. The new tendency has begun in England not because Russia has grown weaker. On the contrary, it is because it has been growing stronger.

The capitalists were deceived by the new economic policy. They thought it was the beginning of our capitulation. They thought that the communists would bring about their own ruin. But our situation improved. Russian grain appeared on the world market; we have never before enjoyed such undivided support of the workers as we do today. Therefore perhaps, a new chapter in the attitude of the capitalist States towards us is beginning.

## Fascism Is Marching Onward

We are witnessing events in Bulgaria. The King is giving the putsch the form of legality. That may happen in any revolution which does not set the King aside. We must test Fascism on its economic side. We cannot place all phenomena under one hat. In Italy Fascism is undergoing a change.

The danger of war has increased; the situation may become critical at any moment.

In Hamburg the fusion of the second and the 2 1/2 Internationals took place. Is it necessary to speak at length of these gentlemen here? Even from the reformist standpoint the new International has no objective; it contains only two parties of any significance at all: the German Socialist Party, and the British-Labor Party. Kautsky, at one time, was against the acceptance of the Labor Party into the Second International. Has this party become better since that period? No! But the Second International has become worse. Therefore the Labor Party is able to play first fiddle.

The Russian Mensheviks, who were formerly the left wing of the 2 1/2 International, are now the right wing of the new International. Its statutes say: Ministers cannot be members of the Executive Committee.

In other words, it says to the minister: when you become a thief, you cannot be a member of our honorable society, but when you come out of prison, you may join us again. These gentlemen need no International. What they want is an international parade. Will it make any impression? A temporary one perhaps, such as was made by the fusion of the German Social-Democratic with the Independent Socialist Party.

The German Social-Democratic Party was weakened by its union with the Independent Socialist Party; it became a thing without a soul. The union of the Second International with the 2 1/2 International will accelerate the process of its decay.

## Only One Real International

That has now been made obvious. We have not yet got the majority of the proletariat behind us, but such forces as we have we have consolidated for the purposes of international action.

Two great parties of our International, the German and the French, in a decisive and momentous hour, carried on a joint campaign sponsored by Soviet Russia. They have practically demonstrated that they know how to work together when two bourgeoisies are at loggerheads. This was a step towards a great end, the creation of a truly United Communist World Party.

The bourgeoisie as a class is united. The German Lutterbeck, appeals for armed aid to the French General Degoutte.

## The United Front

On the question of the united front we have overcome many difficulties during this period, especially in France where even the Syndicalists have learned to apply this weapon. The question may perhaps be put: Is the United Front a strategic manoeuvre or do we really desire to work side by side with the social democratic proletariat? This method of putting the question is incorrect. Of course, we are in favor of approaching the social democratic and the non-party workers. We always were. But formerly we wished to achieve this end over the heads of the leaders. We have convinced ourselves that it would not work. We must again appeal to the leaders until the masses understand that our outlook is the correct one.

But I have not a spark of belief that Scheidemann and Renaudel will fight in common with us. But why perpetually repeat this? In order not to bring confusion into our own ranks. We must show the masses the whole road. If we had neglected to do this in France, the Syndicalists would never have marched with us.

The tactic of the United Front contains a danger for our party, as Trotsky has rightly pointed out, namely, the danger of demoralization and deterioration. Nevertheless, our tactic is a correct one. Many have called me an obstinate opponent of the tactic of the United Front. That is not true. Formerly I had doubts, but now I am a convinced partisan of the tactic of the United Front.

# Workers Must Fight Reactionary Officials and also the Bosses to Win Higher Wages

By SELMAR SCHOCKEN

"Wages will continue to move upward," reads a recent news letter issued by the Labor Bureau, Inc., which makes it a specialty to handle publicity for labor organizations. The workers in those trades and industries which have not regained the wage level they held during the war and immediately thereafter, which had to submit to wage slashing, will be glad to hear the tidings. They will, however, have to struggle hard to make up for lost time. For, with the exception of the building trades, wages so far have been very slow in moving upward.

Strikes are fought galore, to improve working conditions, and we shall merely cite the Iron Workers' strike in New York, the Shoe Workers' strike in Brooklyn, the strike of the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers, the strike of the Telephone Employees in New England, the strike of the Plumbers Helpers in Greater New York, to illustrate the hard struggle of the workers to maintain their standard of living. It is noteworthy that in many of these fights, the workers have to fight on two fronts, against the employers and against the reactionary labor "leaders," jealous of their power.

This is the case with the Iron Workers, the Shoe Workers, the Telephone Employees, who have to combat a yellow dual "Union," the Plumbers Helpers and, of course, the Miners and Steel Workers in Nova Scotia. Three Local Unions of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the Inside Iron and Bronze Workers' Union No. 273, 274 and 275 struck, to maintain the closed shop, union recognition, which was denied them for many years. They have been working under miserable conditions, because they lacked unity and were divided against themselves. At last unity was achieved. They formed a Joint Board, joined the District Council of Housemiths, Bridge-men, Ornamental Iron Workers, Shop Men and Riggers, and in due time they asked for the strike sanction, which was granted.

The Inside Iron Workers went on strike, while the Outside Iron Workers, still working for the same firms who exactly the same jobs, went merrily on working. The shops were idle, but the finished products were properly installed wherever the bosses wanted them installed. Here we find a first class example of many unions, belonging to the same International Union and the same District Council, scabbing on a small craft union, trying to win the right to organize. The International Union ordered the District Council to support the strike of the Inside Workers, the District Council solemnly resolved to comply, and yet the Outside Workers are still working for the same firms who deny recognition to the Inside Iron Workers. It is commonly known among those who are in a position to know, that the whole gang of business agents, having agreements for their own unions, are passively and actively sabotaging the strike.

The kind of agreement these unions accepted from the employers, is another story. With the active support of the old Brindell controlled Board of Business Agents, also known as Building Trades Council, the "representatives" signed all rights.

## He Sings His "Hymn of Hate"

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

James Oneal, official Communist baiter of the Socialist Party, sings again his "Hymn of Hate" against the Workers Party, in the New York Call, Sunday, July 15.

The word "official" is used not invidiously. For the heavy burden of editorially warring on the American Communist movement seems to rest on Oneal's unhappy shoulders.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party Conference in Chicago has roused the "Socialist" historian to his latest verbose assault. He has read "the New York and Chicago papers" and so he claims to know all that happened in Carmen's Hall, Chicago, July 3-5.

Having obliterated the American Communist Movement on occasions too numerous to mention, Oneal confesses himself startled, nay, shocked, at the number of Communists in attendance at the Chicago Conference. They had no right to be there, he argues. They "packed" the conference, he claims.

Thus Oneal, no doubt unwittingly, gives testimony to the truth of the statement by Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, that the new organized assault on Soviet Russia was begun, "in England, not because Russia has grown weaker. On the contrary, it is because it has grown stronger."

So Oneal's attack on the Workers Party. It is not because any death bells are tolling for the American Communist movement. It is because, as Gompers says of Europe, "the workers are drifting toward Communism" even in this country.

Oneal forgets that the Chicago Conference was called by the Fitzpatrick-Brown Farmer-Labor Party. Every credential was passed on by Jay G. Brown, secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party, and by the credentials committee of the Farmer-Labor Party. It was this committee, with not a single Communist on it, that made the recommendation, unanimously adopted, that all those whose credentials were in be seated. Yet, even with every member of the Workers Party seated, from all organizations including local labor unions, the Communists at no time numbered more than 25 per cent of the gathering.

Since he professes himself to be such an expert on "packing" and "capturing," Oneal should know that 75 per cent can always outvote 25 per cent.

What Oneal tries to hide is that practically 100 per cent of the sentiment at the Chicago Conference was not only for independent political action, but for "United Action."

not get a place on the ballot in hardly a single state. But, mark you, "Should it do so in one state, all that would be necessary to blast it would be to tell the story of the fraudulent origin and advertise it as a cheap imitation of Moscow." Thus Oneal is at his old game of "informing" and "provocateur." But that is old stuff.

It was the farmers of the north-west, and the delegates of the miners and railroad men, in the Chicago Conference, who anticipated Oneal's bugaboo with the assurance that they were calloused against the promised attack. The farmers of the Non-partisan League, the strikers of the railroad and miners' union, said they had been called "Bolsheviks," "Communists," "Reds," "Muscovites," and had said that they were financed by Moscow, too often to be troubled or frightened by such cheap attempts to belabor the real issue.

Oneal's promised anti-Communist campaign is to be welcomed by all sincere workers. Oneal will only further himself and his party still further as agents of reaction. "The Call" and the kept press have been together before in attacking Communism. Oneal only promises the workers that that alliance will be continued. Very good! The workers will learn how to carry out the old adage and "Kill two birds with the same stone."

Instead of using the multitudes of words that he employs in his broadside, Oneal should merely restate the words that Burns used in speaking of Gompers. They apply as well to Oneal's anti-Communist program. Addressing himself to Daugherty and Burns, Oneal might well say, "Daugherty Burns and I do not sleep together, but we are with them strong."

We ask Oneal how far he expects to get with his anti-Communist campaign. The Socialist Party of Minnesota has put its representative on the executive committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Victor Berger, in Wisconsin, is too busy flirting with La Follette to mind very much what takes place elsewhere. The Chicago Socialists have completely isolated themselves from the organized labor movement. They reject co-operation with Fitzpatrick and the Farmer-Labor Party. This leaves Oneal alone crying in the wilderness in New York City.

Oneal not only proposes to smash the United Front of the workers, if he can, thru attacking the Workers Party and seeking to ostracize it; but also thru warring upon the Trade Union Educational League and the Friends of Soviet Russia. In fact, Oneal gives us the clearest statement of the Socialists' anti-Communist policy since The Call's unfortunate support of the New York Herald-Francis McCullough attack on Soviet Russia incidental to the Butchkevitch affair. Thus "The Call" and the Socialist Party, officially adopts the Jewish Daily Forward policy so ably stated by its editor, Abraham Cahan, in his speech on the opening day of the National Socialist Convention, in New York City, in May, when he called for a Socialist holy war against all Communists.

The open alliance of "The Call" and the Socialists with Gompers and Lewis against the Trade Union Educational League may win for them a few more reactionary leaders of labor, but it will lose for them any small working class support they may still retain. The Friends of Soviet Russia has survived too many attacks to be troubled now by any of Oneal's whines and whimpers.

Oneal rehearses Cahan's exploded charge that F. S. R. funds are being used for Communist propaganda in this country. How depleted his armory must be of weapons to carry on his white guard attacks! Soon Oneal will be joining with Gompers in the ridiculous claim that the Communist International is flooding the United States with Bolshevik agents direct from the Kremlin, Moscow.

Gompers has said that, "If there is to be a Labor Party in the United States, it will organize it." Oneal and the Socialists have said that the Labor Party, as is the case with the American Labor Party in New York, must be a side line in the political business of the Socialist Party.

The workers and farmers have wrecked both these dreams by building the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The greatest endorsements of its strength are the many attacks, like those of Oneal, directed against it.

## MOSCOW

—In the course of the present navigation season over 2,000 vessels are expected to enter the Petrograd port. It will be possible to unload eighty vessels simultaneously, and the work of the port in general will be brought up to pre-war level. The general condition of the port is considerably better than it was last year.

# Lewis, Miners' Head, Just Like Juggler in Vaudeville; But He Can't Keep It Up

Monday, July 16, saw the gathering of the important convention of District One, Pennsylvania anthracite held, at Wilkes-Barre, Pa. This convention is not only important because of the anthracite wage negotiations now on at Atlantic City, but also because it will consider the recent election in District One, as a result of which Rinaldo Cappellini, an anti-Lewis candidate, was elected. Alfred Wagenknecht writes about developments in the miners' union as follows:

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT  
(Written Specially for "The Worker")

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—In the days past, when juggling acts were still headlines on vaudeville stages, I once saw a hoop artist, who as an effective climax to his stunts, sent one hoop circling around one wrist, one around the other wrist, one around his left ankle and one around his neck. There he stood, on one foot, keeping all these hoops going around and around—but in 30 seconds he was done for. No one in the audience expected him to keep up the trick for any length of time.

This recalls the antics of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers. He is in the midst of the biggest juggling act he has ever staged. And no one expects him to keep up the trick for any length of time. What miscarriages and collisions of thought may have already occurred under that head of hair of his, only he knows, but we guess.

A labor leader, so-called, who tries to steer a middle course between the demands of the miners and the mine owners, making a lunge at the Nova Scotia miners with one fist, balancing the anthracite wage negotiations upon his nose, giving a vicious thrust with his other hand at the progressives in the miners' union, at the same time lifting one foot to give the boot to the anti-Lewis slate elected in District One, Pennsylvania—such a leader is really an actor, say we.

However, stuff like that cannot last. It is amusing for a minute or two. That is all. And the coal diggers have about decided that fooling days are over. They now demand straight goods. Where do our leaders stand, for the mine workers or for the mine owners? That is the question they ask. They permit performance to answer.

It is because of this that the Lewis attack upon the progressive miners at the tri-district anthracite convention made no impression upon the rank and file. We have reports from many locals now. Delegates to the convention report back to their locals. The rank and file listens and wonders what kind of an insane stunt Lewis has again pulled off.

Why is he trying to scare them with bogeys at home? What is he doing at Atlantic City? These two questions are uppermost in the minds of the miners.

Get this setting. It will come in handy to you some day should you ever want to win the good will of an opposition.

Atlantic City—that breezy, refreshing, summer resort, which treats American Federation of Labor officials and the bourgeoisie just alike, all you need is the money. It was to this city by the sea, to the Ambassador Hotel, to which Lewis took his committee to negotiate with the mine owners. Here, away from the hard knocks the hard coal miner has to put up with; here, away from one-eyed, fingerless, immaturely old coal diggers; here, away from the mines and the life of the miner, Lewis took the negotiation committee, and they are going to stay a month or more.

Cool ocean breezes may constitute an antidote for that hot-under-the-collar-fighting attitude of any miners' committee, should there be such an one upon the negotiations' committee. Big eats and drinks softens the opposition to the mine owners. Evenings filled with entertainment are inducive to compromise.

In this environment, Atlantic City, the Ambassador Hotel, the mine owners will play the winning hand, for Lewis has led his committee out of their territory, where they know the lay of the land, into the enemy country. We foretell, that there they will be captured. The radical demands for wage increases will be shaved down to the bone and the bone, as usual, the miner will get.

Lewis has done two things at Atlantic City, which paint him a bit blacker than he already is. He said: "We recognize the big issues involved (in the demands of the anthracite miners) and are hopeful that they can be adjusted to the satisfaction of ourselves, the operators and most of all, the public." He sent a telegram to Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, ordering the striking miners there back to work.

You see, Lewis thinks he must satisfy three interested parties. He did not go to Atlantic City to fight tooth and nail for the coal diggers. He also feels called upon to satisfy the mine owners and that elusive dear public. The public, what there is of it, follows the mine owners' Lewis too one to lose. All of this bears out our prophecy: The demand for a 20-per cent wage increase for contract miners and a \$2.00

makes him cross, makes him seething. For, today the newspaper reports that three Communists have been spied in Atlantic City and that their business was to interfere with Lewis and his negotiations with the mine owners. The newspaper said that these three lone Communists were being chased up by the Lewis operatives so that they could be chased out.

In the meantime, the "stand still" watchword of the Lewis machine—no backward step—is being changed by the progressives to read "Step Forward." This the progressives are doing. The momentum of the rank and file machine will sweep everything reactionary before it.

**Hear Convention Report**  
CHICAGO—All Workers Party members and all militant trade unionists of Chicago are invited to attend the next General Group meeting of the Trade Union Educational League to be held at Wicker Park Hall (large hall) Wednesday, July 25, at 8 P. M. The hall is located at 204 W. North Ave.

A total of 2,000 pamphlets on current issues have been sold by District No. 8, membership during the past three months. It means so much propaganda brought into the hands of many workers. Yet if every member would do his share we could easily double or treble this amount for the coming months and we should always remember that this is one of the essential functions of an active Party. All the current pamphlets are on stock in the District Office and do not be afraid of ordering too many, more can be had where they came from.

**Convention Report in Boston**  
BOSTON, Mass.—The City Central Committee, Local Boston, Workers Party, has called a general membership meeting for Sunday, July 22, 7:30 p. m., Dudley St. Opera House, 113 Dudley St., Roxbury, Mass., to hear the report on and discuss the decisions of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention in Chicago. Robert Zelms, Secretary, Local Boston, announces that the Central Executive Committee, Workers Party, is sending a representative to speak for the party at this gathering. Efforts are also being made to secure either William Z. Foster, Secretary Trade Union Educational League or Joseph Manley, Secretary of the Federated Party.

**Action in Three States**  
The recent conference that resulted in the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, at Chicago, and the success of the Farmer-Labor Party campaign in Minnesota, give increasing importance to the workers' political action conferences soon to be held in the three states of New York, Massachusetts and West Virginia. These are as follows:  
New York—Union Hall, corner Hudson Ave. and Eagle St., Albany on Sunday, July 29.  
Massachusetts—Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Sunday, July 22, at 1 p. m.  
West Virginia—Moose Hall, Clarksburg, Thursday, July 19, at 8 a. m.  
All local unions in New York State are entitled to representation at the July 29th Albany Conference.

# Great Western Pennsylvania Defense Picnic HEINZ GROVE SUNDAY, AUGUST 5th,

C. E. RUTHENBERG of New York will deliver address of the day on right of free speech, press and assemblage

Dancing with Union Music—Athletic Contest with Prizes to Winners. Amusements for the Children—Refreshments.

Take West View Car No. 10—Get off at Hawthorne Ave. Admission by Invitation Only—Get your Invitation at Office of LABOR DEFENSE AND FREE SPEECH COUNCIL OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, 805 James Street, N. S., PITTSBURGH, PA.

On April 27th, 23 workers active in the labor movement were arrested, their property confiscated, their families terrorized and themselves thrown into jail and held under criminally exorbitant bonds and their civic rights denied. Their only crime was the advocacy of more effective forms of labor organization. In June nine of these workers were indicted. Their trials will be in September. Later Thomas Myerscough the secretary for the International Committee of the Progressive Miners was arrested. The arrest cannot be justified because this worker committed no crime. The proceeds of this picnic will be for the defense of these workers. Come to this picnic and help save these workers from prison. You also are assured a good time.

## Who Said Amnesty?

THERE'S BEEN NO GENERAL AMNESTY  
Only 8 I. W. W.'s Have Accepted the President's Commutation

THERE'S LOTS TO HEAR AND LOTS TO DO—Then Come to the

# AMNESTY MASS MEETING

FRIDAY NIGHT, JULY 20th, 8 o'clock, STUYVESANT CASINO, 142 SECOND AVE., NEW YORK CITY  
Hear Three I. W. W. Political Prisoners: Just Out of Leavenworth—and ROGER BALDWIN, JACK LEAVITT, ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ  
C. E. RUTHENBERG, J. A. H. HOPKINS  
DR. OSCAR MADDOUS—Chairman

Meeting to Aid in Release of Remaining 44 Political Prisoners  
Auspices of AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION  
in co-operation with  
JOINT AMNESTY COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY  
GENERAL DEFENCE COMMITTEE FARMER-LABOR PARTY  
WORKERS PARTY WORLD WAR VETERANS  
COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT  
Admission Free

## Where Were You Born?

However, it does not matter. You LIVE HERE. You work here. You live under American laws. You work in American factories. You are exploited by American capitalists.

Whether you were born in one country or another YOU SHOULD READ  
"THE AMERICAN FOREIGN-BORN WORKER"

By CLARISSA S. WARE

The foreign-born workers are the most exploited and discriminated against of all workers. This pamphlet states the case of these workers in this country. It shows the geographical and industrial distribution of the foreign-born and gives many other vital statistics, illustrated with colored charts.

15 cents per copy—In lots of 10 or more 11 cents per copy.  
THE WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

## Children of Russia Ask You to Help

Much talk has been going on recently regarding the relief work for Russia.

Friends (well intentioned), influenced by publicity in the capitalist press that Russia is exporting wheat, have been lagging in their work. Some have even gone as far as saying that Russia can take care of itself.

ENEMIES of Russia have been saying that moneys raised by the relief organization here have been used for communist propaganda in this country and when they found that this bugaboo did not frighten the friends of Russia, they began to state that this money was being used in Russia to feed the Red Army.

The following are only several samples of about twenty cables received by the Friends of Soviet Russia from all parts of the Workers' Republic, both thanking us and asking us to continue our help. They are the best answer we can make both to our enemies who are trying to discredit us and to our friends who are losing heart and are ready to stop their work.

"Kazan, July 2, 1923.  
"We express our deep gratitude for your help to the children of the Tatar Republic. Owing to this help the lives of many thousands of children who might have perished from famine were saved. The situation of the Tatar Republic after this hard year of famine and while its consequences are still sorely felt, demands from us hard and persistent work in the interests of the orphans. There arises a new complication in the shape of the locusts which appear in great quantities, threatening to destroy our new crops. Thanking you again we request that your assistance should not be withdrawn till the complete reconstruction of our economic life.

"President of the Children's Committee, Asanayeff, Baltanoff, International Workers' Relief Fund."

"Moscow, June 27, 1923.  
"Last steamship brought Petrograd 16 tractors, your committee's gift for reconstruction. Thanks in Russian people's name for Famine Relief, Children's Relief, Production Relief, Please continue work of Relief for Orphans, for Reconstruction. Reconstruction destroyed famine district enables Russians' concentrated forces to solve remaining urgent production problems.

"International Workers' Relief Committee, Moscow, Oehring."

"Saratov, July 9, 1923.  
"Undersigned institutions sincerely thank Friends of Soviet Russia for two years relief work for famine stricken children, adults and assistance of the economical reconstruction of Russia. This help specially wanted now on one side in connection with liquidation of philanthropic organizations on other side considering the correct line of economical assistance taken by you and greatly needed here. Representative Meirabkon Konrad, Chief Goubotnarob Ganjinsky, Chairman Goubosowiet Trade Unions, Trounchekiy, Representative Child Commission, with Central Executive Committee, Maksimov, Governmental Representative with Foreign Relief Organizations, Perlov."

"Ekaterinoslav, July 6, 1923.  
"We, the children of the Children's Colony Kichkass, send you our warm greeting for your gifts. We hope that you will continue helping us in the future. Come to us, we will be very glad to see you.

"For the children, Director of the Children's Colony, Verokrin."

"Ekaterinoslav, July 8, 1923.  
"We, the children of the Ekaterinoslav Province, express our deep gratitude for the help which you have sent to us. We ask you not to forget us and continue your help in the future.

"For the children, Gamarin."

"Usovka, July 10, 1923.  
"We, the children of the Trade Unions of Usovka Don Basin, are sending you our hearty greetings and thanks for your help. We ask you not to forget us in the future.

"For the children, Usofoburo."

## To Make Our Membership Grow

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, in his article in "The Worker" June 30, has put his finger on the most urgent task that confronts our Party. We must create a membership basis, or all our "moral" victories may come to naught. The foundation of our party has been too narrow and too thin for the volume of activities we developed both in the economic and in the political field.

We have gone out to help the working class in diverse ways, failing to help it in the most direct way that befits a Communist party, viz., by recruiting and organizing and educating a sufficiently numerous vanguard of class struggle under the command of the party.

The membership problem is THE problem of our party, and it is gratifying to realize that henceforth it will occupy the forefront of our endeavor. Yet a mere diagnosis of an existing condition would not do justice to the magnitude of the problem. Comrade Ruthenberg diagnosed the case correctly, no doubt. We have uncovered the face of our party too little, he says, and we have worked thru other organizations too much to impress it upon the class-conscious worker that his place is in the ranks of the Workers' Party. This, however, is only emphasizing one side of the story. In order to have a clear light on the situation (clear lights are not always pleasing to the eye) we must be frank enough to admit that our party as such has never "made" new members in appreciable numbers, that all our membership, with insignificant exceptions, was an inheritance from the two factions that went into the formation of the party, that the apparent increase in membership in the first nine or ten months of our existence was mostly due to the incorporation of new language federations, and that the standstill of the other nine months is only an indication that nearly all organized groups capable of joining the Workers' Party had been absorbed. In other words, the task of recruiting members is entirely new to our party, it has not been practiced heretofore, and it must be approached with an open mind.

What distinguishes the recruiting of individual members from all other party activities is that it cannot be done from above. The general office may be able to inaugurate and successfully conduct a campaign for amalgamation (the local effort alone can transmute propaganda into tangible results), the "party" in general may do useful work in connection with the defense of persecuted comrades (the absolute value of such propaganda should not be overrated); the heads of our party may achieve admirable results in negotiating, mapping out and illuminating a policy of a united front (the even here the final success depends on local response); yet when it comes to drawing new members into our party, the local organizations have to bear the brunt of the work, and upon the ingenuity, agility, initiative and aggressiveness of the local comrades hinges the success of the undertaking. The party as a whole may state the necessity of increasing its numbers; the central bodies may attempt to fire the comrades with beautiful manifestoes, yet it was no accident if comrade Ruthenberg wound up his interesting article by an appeal to every local group and every individual member. In the long run, it is the local group (branch) and the individual member who will pull in new workers into our party. It is the heart to heart talk of every Workers' Party member with his neighbors in the workshop, in the mine and in the mill that, backed by the general prestige of our party and by the magnetic influence of its battles, will swell our ranks.

This lays new stress upon our local groups and their individual members. The question is, Have we done enough to prepare them for this all-important work? Have we developed among them the consciousness of their responsibility and an eagerness to carry to the masses the banner of our party? Have we at all made them intelligent and enlightened participants in the building up of our party? If this question must be answered in the negative, it means no casting aspersions upon our party. We are horribly young, unforgivably young. We have just emerged from a submerged existence where vigorous growth was difficult. We have forged a union of heterogeneous elements which it took some time to break into team work. We have engaged in clearing for ourselves a place in the political arena and in making our voices heard—an indispensable prerequisite to further growth. Yet we must have the candor to admit that we have failed to make the local groups and individual members organic parts of all of our work, and unless we rectify this error there is slight hope for the building up of a solid membership foundation. Our local branches were taking orders from the party without aiding it to reach its decisions. Our local comrades were confronted with party policies framed without their contribution. In many cases the local branches and individual comrades were not even aware of important problems pending before the leading bodies. The party has seldom inquired into the opinions of its rank and file. This statement should not be interpreted as advocating loose democracy. The writer knows the meaning of discipline in a communist party. We all hate the S. P. methods. We know that in many cases, especially in stormy times and in critical situations, the membership must take orders much in the same way as military units take orders from their commanders. But communist discipline, contrary to military discipline, must be based upon the conviction of the rank and file, upon the understanding by every member of the task before the whole, upon the consciousness that the commanders are only comrades engaged in the same battle and forming an element in the collective body. This consciousness of collective effort, not only in carrying out but also in forming the will of the party, has not been sufficiently developed among our members. It was not developed because there was practically no collective effort. If we fail to develop it the consequences may be fatal.

What is the life of a branch of the Workers' Party? In an overwhelming majority of cases it is a chain of humdrum questions. A collection for the F. S. R. A. collection for the Technical Aid. A collection for the Jewish Workers Relief (or a similar other organization). A collection for the Labor Defense. A collection for the party press. Tickets for the party picnic. Tickets for the excursion of the C. C. C. Tickets for a picnic of our branch. Dues. Special assessments. Sale of literature. Preparations for a party meeting. Preparations for a celebration. Local quarrels between members. Elections of delegates to a city conference or other party gathering. This takes 75 per cent of branch sessions. This is the regular work of a branch. Seldom do the members hear a report of the party's work (press service is of no avail where live contact is required). Seldom do they partake in a discussion of the tasks before the party. Almost never have they been permitted to vote upon one or the other policy of the Workers' Party. The result is that the rank and file understands under the word "party" the C. E. C. or some other body which to him appears shrouded in mystery and far beyond reach. The average member does not think that he is the party, that his opinion is forming the opinion of the party, that his error may be injurious to the party. He does not think so because he has not been made an organic element of the party.

If we wish to start a movement for attracting new members, we must start a movement for the elevation of our present members to the height of responsible makers of our party. This will put a new spirit into our branches. It will open new vistas before our members. It will make red blood throb where pale routine work has dried up the sources of initiative and joy in work. A comrade who is a builder of his own party will not stay away from the branch meetings and will not need the rod of coercion to make him do his duty.

### Organize in Buffalo

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Buffalo Labor Party has been officially launched. The constitution adopted contains a clause to the effect that all labor organizations, including political parties of labor, shall be affiliated if they accept the declaration of principles and agree to support the Labor Party candidates. The Buffalo Central Labor Council, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Maintenance of Way Men are all affiliated with the Labor Party. There were about 300 delegates present at the organization meeting. Another meeting will be held at which candidates for all contested offices will be nominated. The delegates displayed great impatience with an effort to defeat the clause that anyone who supported old party candidates should be expelled from the Labor Party. Apologists for the "friends" of labor in the old parties, notably the democratic governor, "Al" Smith, of New York, received no support for their pleas.

### Ballam Comes Marching Home

BOSTON, MASS.—Boston closed its indoor meeting season with a lecture on "The Labor Party" by John J. Ballam, who had not appeared on the public platform in Boston for six years. He made a splendid analysis of the condition of the working class today, of the ideas of the American worker now and before the war.

## Unity Meet Movies with "Fifth Year"

Motion pictures of the historic conference of workers and farmers at Chicago, that created the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, will be a feature of the first showing of "The Fifth Year," the new nine-reel motion picture film presenting actual conditions under which the workers of Soviet Russia are living at the present time.

These pictures will be shown for the first time at the Manhattan Casino, 155th St. and 8th Ave., Saturday, July 28.

The pictures of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party gathering, and prominent spokesmen of the workers and farmers participating in it, were taken by William F. Kruse, of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Kruse also edited the great mass of material, out of which the best went into the making of "The Fifth Year."

This latest film from Soviet Russia gives an actual insight into the life of both the factory workers and peasants. A new life and new hope seems to have taken hold of this vast Workers' Republic. Instead of the gruesome famine scenes one witnessed in "Russia Through the Shadows," one marvels at the complete change. Thousands of athletes are seen at their games, yacht races, horse races, cycle races; all these are once more common occurrences participated in by thousands of workers, while other thousands find time to watch them. Then one sees the Red Army maneuvers and on parade, all kinds of demonstrations. An "outpouring" of about one million workers to celebrate the First of May. The social revolutionary trial and the protests against the counter-revolutionaries also come in for their share. Then we come to the Fourth Congress, Claude McKay, famous Negro poet, formerly editor of "The Liberator," is seen addressing the Congress. Max Eastman is also seen as an interested onlooker at the Communist International.

Special Russian music by a well known Russian orchestra, to accompany the picture, has been arranged for. After the showing there will be a Picnic and a Dance with the orchestra, formerly of the Ambassador Hotel, to furnish the music. Tickets can be secured from the numerous stations, or from the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street.

## District Conventions Held to Comply with Reorganization Plans

According to the decision of the Executive Council of the Workers' Party, by which District No. 2 was divided into three parts, with New York City, New Jersey, and the immediately surrounding territory constituting the New District No. 2, convention calls were recently issued to the New Districts Nos. 2, 4 and 15 to reorganize.

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

The District Convention of District No. 2 will be held in New York City on Sunday, July 22, 1923, at 11 A. M. at 243 E. 84th Street (Labor Temple).

The agenda for the conventions includes the formation of a District Council, the reorganization of the local territories in conformity with the creation of the new districts, the laying of plans for increasing the party's activities and membership, financing the new district office, future activities in the Trade Unions, etc.

The District Convention for the new District No. 4 will be held in Buffalo, July 29.

The District Convention for the new District No. 15 will be held in New Haven, Conn., Sunday, July 22.

### Newark, N. J., Attention!

The Newark, N. J., Trade Union Educational League will hold a meeting Wednesday night, July 25, in the Labor Lyceum, 704 S. 14th St., to consider important matters before the organization. All sympathizers are invited.

### Labor Picnic

Given by THE WORKERS PARTY, GARY, IND. SUNDAY, JULY 22th, at 45th Ave. and Pennsylvania St. Speaker EARL BROWDER All Workers are Welcome

### Dr. M. RASNICK, Pittsburgh

To the Comrades in the Pittsburgh District  
Dr. M. Rasnick announces that he has located his Dental Office at 645 Smithfield Street, near Seventh Avenue. Those who are in need of a Dentist will find it convenient to visit his office which is centrally located. Special consideration will be given to the readers of "The Worker" and their friends. A visit to his office will be appreciated.  
Dr. M. Rasnick, 645 Smithfield Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

## Attention! Progressive Miners!

By MARQUERITE COWL  
(Written Specially for "The Worker.")

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—When Thomas Myerscough, secretary of the International Progressive Miners' Committee presented a petition in court to compel Assistant District Attorney Meyer of Allegheny County to return Progressive Miners' records taken in the raids on the headquarters of the Workers' Party, he was arrested and \$10,000.00 bail asked for him.

The progressive miners of District No. 5 see in the arrest of the secretary of their organization the persecution of the progressive miners' movement. The miners determined to meet this challenge by aggressively defending their comrades. "Tom must not stay behind prison bars," this is what the progressives in District No. 5 all stated.

Upon hearing of Tom's arrest a number of miners dropped pick and shovel and set about to reach other miners for raising the necessary bail. Riding from town to town, without stopping for food or sleep for several days these miners did not rest until they raised the necessary bail in CASH for the release of Tom.

The Lewis machine is always ready to hinder the rank and file in any work that is not to the liking of Lewis. When the miners started out to raise the money for the bail, Lewis' lackeys trailed after them with all kinds of threats. But the miners refused to be fooled for, after several days, tired and weary they plodded their way into the office and laid on the table the necessary bail in cash.

This is the spirit of the progressive miners' spirit, the entire United Mine Workers of America. This is the spirit of solidarity that will carry the miners thru to victory in all their fights.

The progressive miners' movement is a living body with a real soul. Their program when carried into life will not only be a systematic housecleaning affair of all traitorous officials in the United Mine Workers of America, but it will also serve to help get into the union all the miners who are at present unorganized. It will assist to make the United Mine Workers of America the beacon light to better conditions for the miners.

Because their movement voices the opinion of the rank and file in the United Mine Workers of America, because it stands for the removal of all those who do not conscientiously work for the interests of the miners, the miners know that the Progressive Miners' Committee will be attacked. One of the attacks manifests itself in the arrest of their secretary, Thomas Myerscough.

The miners believe in the proverb, "When you fight, the other fellow admits you are right." The miners do not believe in turning the second cheek when slapped on the first. They are going to fight and will win because they have the right foundation to build upon and because workers in other industries are with them.

The miners in Gray, Pa., are out on strike. Nevertheless, they were one of the first to rally to the defense of Tom Myerscough and Alexander Howat, for they already sent in their contribution to the Labor Defense and Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania.

No one but the workers themselves can save their fellow workers who remained true to the interests of the coal diggers and workers of other industries from going to prison.

Brother miners throughout the country, this appeal is especially directed to you. Are you or are you not going to allow Thomas Myerscough

## Big Meeting Hears Cannon in Coast City

(Special Wire to "The Worker.")

SEATTLE, Wash.—"Some people say that Russia has gone back to capitalism. That's pure nonsense. It's neither capitalism nor socialism; it's the New Economic Policy—the transitional period between capitalist economy and socialist economy."

In the foregoing fashion, James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Workers' Party, summed up present-day economic conditions in Russia before a crowd that filled the main assembly hall of the Labor Temple in spite of a driving rainfall.

Cannon, who has just returned from a seven-months tour of Russia, started his lecture by picturing the familiar land of the Soviets fighting armed enemies on all sides, and then proceeded to discuss the Russia of today, compromising in a slight measure with small capitalists, but never losing her grip on the great basic industries.

"Before I went to Russia I heard a great deal about the impending collapse of the Soviet government," said Cannon. "I spent seven months inside of Russia and I looked very diligently for the signs of this famous collapse. The more I looked around, however, the more I came to the conclusion that the Soviet government under the leadership of the Communist Party is stronger than ever before in its history."

A smoke-screen of propaganda has hidden the truth about Russia from the American people.

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12th St.; "Freiheit," 47 Chrystie St.; "Volkszeitung," 15 S. 9th St.

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An opportunity for your organization to make money and give you members a good time.

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## "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.

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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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J. LOUIS ENGBAHL, Managing Editor  
H. M. WICKS, Labor Editor  
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist  
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ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

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## Worried About the Farmers

Worry hangs heavy upon the bankers, food gamblers and old party politicians as a result of the growing discontent among the farmers, displayed in big part thru their linking up with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, at Chicago.

This worry permeated all of Harding's speeches on his flight to Alaska. It forced the Department of Agriculture to call economists and statisticians to the rescue. It hung like a black cloud over the sessions of the Chicago conference of republicans from seven mid-western states. It was reflected in the Kansas City meeting of the International Farm Congress of America.

Harding's soothing words evidently did not reconcile the farmers to the post-war deflation visited upon them. The experts at Washington tell the farmers, as we have often pointed out in these columns, that Soviet Russia is taking over what there is of the pauperized European market, while poorly paid American workers force low consumption at home. These same experts try to cheer the farmers by saying there will be a shortage of corn next year, to produce less wheat. But if all followed this advice then, as in the past, there would be a super-abundance of this cereal. So with the advice to turn to dairy products.

"The wheat belt is sick," says the board of governors of the Kansas City Farm Congress. "The very soil is tired, and the tillers are worn out by the hopeless effort to make more acres of wheat spell more dollars."

Despair spreads over the farm lands, even as it does thru the great industrial centers of the nation, because capitalism rules in Washington and Wall Street. It is because the workers and farmers in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, at Chicago, took a step in the right direction, in support of their own interests, that John T. Adams, chairman of the Republican National Committee, considers them "the common foe of republicans and democrats alike."

The Federated Party has taken its stand for united independent political action and has raised the slogan of a Workers' and Farmers' Government. The Federated Party fights cheap labor in Garzized industry, which means cheap food and bankrupt, landless farmers. The industries and the land to the workers and the farmers is the goal of the Federated Party. It is this growing struggle, drawing to it new masses, that has the capitalist plunderbund worried, as it sweeps forward to victory over all forms of exploitation.

## The Line-up in Italy

Mussolini has won his "electoral reform" in Italy. His Fascisti "terror" frightened all the parliamentary deputies, with the exception of the Communists, Socialists and a few republicans, into supporting him. Even the Popularists of the Catholic Party, who bolted his cabinet, voted with him.

This Fascisti "reform" means that if Mussolini can muster a majority of Italian votes, he can take three-fifths of the places in next parliament. And the Fascisti assassins know that they can win the majority with gun and club, bomb and castor oil, dagger and torch.

In the present parliament there are 147 Communists and Socialists. This vote was cast solidly against the Mussolini "reform," with the Fascisti dictator yelling: "In Russia is there liberty of assembly, of Parliament?" answering himself with a blatant "No!"

There is liberty of assembly in Soviet Russia for the supporters of the workers' and peasants' regime. Czarists, bankers and landlords are not welcome.

World reaction hails Fascist Italy as an example of capitalist "liberty" to be followed everywhere. There thinking workers and peasants are outlawed and murdered.

When Elbert H. Gary, of the U. S. Steel Trust, and Julius Barnes, of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, travelled thru Italy recently, they gave Mussolini rule the approval of America's industrial overlords. We now have the picture of U. S. Ambassador Richard Washburn Child, at Rome, speaking for Washington, voicing sympathy for and support of Fascism.

Thus American capitalism, in Washington and in Wall Street, definitely lines itself on the side of one of the world's most brutal and bloody anti-labor tyrants. It is time that America's workers and farmers declared their solidarity just as fully for the emancipating rule of the Russian-Soviet Republic. Let them learn the difference between the line-up of the open shop bosses in Fascist Rome and the United Front of labor in Soviet Moscow.

## Snowden Offers His Plan

The British parliament has had a discussion on Philip Snowden's plan for the gradual suppression of capitalism and the inauguration of the Socialist era. The plan was defeated by a vote of 368 to 121.

It was to be expected that the bourgeois politicians would be opposed to any plan of socialization. But it was felt that the British Labor Party had at least developed so far that it could muster a 100-per cent vote of its own parliamentarians in support of a simple declaration for public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution. It failed to do this, and the lessons to be drawn therefrom constitute the big value, if any can be attached to the offering of Snowden's plan.

There are 144 Labor Party members in the House of Commons. Taking for granted that there were no absences, we find 23 Labor Party members voting with the King's politicians. It is claimed that they did this "in deference to the less progressive constituents who had elected them," which is not a new excuse for reactionary decisions.

The ailment that has captured the 23 Labor Party members is the disease that is eating at the heart of the whole British Labor Party. As it grows in strength, it seeks to become respectable, and acceptable to all voters. These labor careerists never realize that in holding to labor support they must throw overboard all expectation of aid from the small bourgeoisie and the big capitalists. They cannot realize their hopes of being acceptable in the eyes of their whole constituency.

Yet that is what dictated the decisions of the traitor 23 in casting their ballots on the Snowden plan. The result will inevitably be an awakening of the workers in these parliamentary districts to a demand for real labor representation. It will also cause a drift to the left of the whole mass of British workers in the exercise of their political power. The smoking out of these 23 reactionaries in labor's midst will be a great urge toward increasing British labor support of Communist principles and tactics in the parliamentary struggle. Thus the workers profit again, even from their defeats.

## Why Attack the Workers Party?

The Workers' Party, as the organized expression of the American Communist movement, sees no day down without being confronted by some new attack. This is not so because the party is weak, as all our enemies so carefully state and restate. The party is attacked because it is strong and growing.

It is significant that even the reactionary, Gompers' element among this country's labor publications, this year, took an interest in the application of the British Communist Party for admission to the British Labor Party. They are using the so-called British example as an excuse for championing the Lewis-Gompers' campaign of attempted ostracism of Communists in the American labor movement.

We have but to repeat Gompers' own statement recently that European labor is drifting toward Communism. The demand for the admission of Communists to the British Labor Party is growing rapidly. It will soon win.

American labor reaction will not be glad to learn that the New South Wales, Australia, Labor Conference has voted for affiliation of the Communist Party with the Labor Party. The Communists in this great industrial section of the Australian continent will retain full liberty of separate organization and of propaganda. The New South Wales Labor Party has thus followed the example of the Queensland Labor Party.

We do not begrudge Gompers, or Lewis, or others of their kind, any comfort they may get out of attacking the Workers Party. We know that to the great masses of America's workers and farmers, every knock will be accepted as a boost. So let them keep on knocking. It is the attack of those in despair.

To the great masses of working men and women who believe in the things the Workers Party is fighting for,—we say, "Join the Workers Party!"

## Let "The Amalgamated" Come in

Every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America should join in the effort to have their union affiliate itself with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, called into being as the united political expression of the workers and farmers of the nation.

This affiliation would be the most fitting reply to the kept press that spread the falsehood, during the Chicago Conference, that the delegates of the "Amalgamated" left the gathering on the first day. In its leading editorial, "The Advance," official organ of "The Amalgamated," issue of July 13, states that:

"At its session at New York last month the General Executive Board of 'The Amalgamated' received an invitation from the Farmer-Labor Party to attend a national convention called for July 3d at Chicago. The purpose of the convention was to form a national Labor Party."

"The G. E. B. accepted the invitation and chose the Chicago Board members as delegates to the convention—Samuel Levin, Frank Rosenblum, A. D. Marimietri, Sidney Rissman and Stephen Skala. Rosenblum and Levin were prevented from attending the convention by urgent organization work in New York. The G. E. B. was represented at the Chicago convention thru Marimietri, Rissman and Skala. These delegates will submit to the G. E. B. a report on the work of the convention."

When the G. E. B. meets it should have before it, in addition to the delegates' report, the resolutions of large numbers of the Union's locals demanding affiliation with the Federated Party. This should be but the preliminary to placing "The Amalgamated" definitely on record for united independent political action at its next international convention. Workers in other industries are looking for guidance and inspiration to the members of this most forward-looking union in the needle trades. They must not look in vain. "The Amalgamated" must take its place in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

## This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

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

### Looking for Bolsheviks

The 526 Russian counter-revolutionaries from Siberia, remnants of the Kolchak and Semenov white guards, have arrived in San Francisco. The chamber of commerce is trying to find strike-breaking jobs for them all. At the same time, however, they are being combed by the Burns secret service agents, of the department of justice, for "suspected Bolshevik agents," for even a single individual who might be tainted with working class sympathies. Los Angeles, Cal., has dubbed itself "The Scab City." The Chambers of Commerce, thru importation of Kolchak terrorists, are trying to make of the United States "A Scab Country." But the workers and farmers will have something to say about that!

### Hot Weather Journalism

The New York Times, July 14, ushered in the 1923 season for hot weather journalism by publishing a story headed, "Coke Worker Going to Toll in Airplane." This coke worker turns out to be a "high class employee with a good job," but The Times evidently expects its readers to believe that all coke workers use airplanes, and that "Sedan Cars Take Coal Miners to Their Work." Evidently The Times wants us to believe that the Coal Barons, with their sedans, are a useful part of the mining industry. But there are few workers who will be misled by The Times' brand of hot weather journalism. So let the Times sweat thinking up more falsehoods.

### The Attitude Toward Russia

Referring to the ratification of the Russo-Danish Trade Agreement by the Danish Parliament, the "Pravda" sees in it a significant sign because it was in Denmark that the reactionaries were making their plots and intrigues against the Russian Government. In view of the dependence of Danish capital upon English capital, the ratification acquires a special importance. There is a growing new tendency in France, Japan and even Italy and other countries to look at the rapprochement with Soviet Russia from a purely business point of view independent of any political consideration.

### His First Trip Abroad

Altho president of the International Longshoremen's Union, the 140,000 members of which work along all the nation's waterfronts, Anthony J. Chlopek, has just left on his first trip across the Atlantic. While in Europe he will be called upon to take his stand on the United Front of Transport Workers recently established at Berlin. Here's hoping that Chlopek's first trip abroad will do him some good.

### Lewis Has Been Labelled

In its report on the current civil liberty situation, the Civil Liberties Union lists under "Mob Violence" the ousting of Joseph Manley and others from the Tri-District Convention of the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania, following an inflammatory speech by the union's reactionary president, John L. Lewis. No suit for criminal libel has been filed by Lewis in reply to this label of "Mobster" placed upon him.

### May Live in the Alleys

Poor whites and negroes may still enjoy the great privilege of living in the alleys of Washington, D. C., according to a decision of Justice Jennings Bailey, in the Equity Court of the National Capital. Anything to teach the workers their place under capitalist society.

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

## Under Lash of U. S. Court Yes, We Have No Right to Strike

By JAY LOVESTONE

Again the Daugherty Injunction

If any doubting Thomases still want to know who has the whip hand in the great and glorious American Democracy, let him turn to the final decree of Judge Wilkerson making permanent the Daugherty injunction against the railway workers.

Exactly one year ago 400,000 railway shopmen struck against starvation wages. In the midst of the strike, on Labor Day, Daugherty showed that the Government was possessed of sufficient power and brutality to be a force for employing class law and order by securing the most sweeping injunction ever issued in a labor struggle. Thru the Willard-Jewell agreement and the subsequent settlements most of the workers have gone back. Some are still on strike. With the unrestrained military, judicial and financial aid of the Government the bosses were enabled to drive to cover the heroic shopmen fighting for their unions, their homes, and the most elementary rights of free men.

Thus, in so far as the strike itself is concerned at this moment, the last outburst of Daugherty and his hand-picked, robbed pal, Henchman Wilkerson of Chicago-fame, won't reach very far. The decree of permanence affixed to the infamous strikebreaking injunction of last year only tells the knell of the most desperate open-shop effort ever made by any capitalist government. For all practical intents and purposes there are not enough shopmen striking today to afford the bosses and their governmental agents the glee of heavy casualties in the ranks of the workers.

### Strikebreaking Legalized

But the pith of the whole matter is this. The order of Judge Wilkerson gives the formal legal indorsement for all future strikebreaking activities by any sub-division of the Government. Stripped of all judicial camouflage, this Capitalist Ukase means that when the workers strike against the encroachments of Big Business, against intolerable working terms laid down for them by the private owners of public utilities and basic industries, all methods used by them in self-defense are illegal. It thus strikes the payment of union benefits, the sending of letters of encouragement, the holding of mass meetings, picketing, or even telephoning in behalf of men fighting to save their wives and children from starvation, are all crimes against the Government.

Consequently, this decision is a formal notice served on the workers that from now on the United States Government itself will act as the plaintiff against them when they resist aggression by the bosses controlling industries which are of interstate character and whose commodities are exchanged in interstate commerce. Following the principle of this decree any state government may enact similar strikebreaking legislation and thus declare illegal even strikes strictly confined to state areas. All of which simply means that the Government has declared that the workers have a right to strike only when it gives them that right. In other words, since the Government we have today is a Government of, by, and for the employing class, the workers have the right to strike only when they are sure to be licked or when their stopping of work will not seriously flatten the pocketbooks of the exploiters. From the point of view of effective striking Wilkerson's order boldly and brazenly announces that the workers have no right to strike.

Mortal Blow Struck at Workers  
It is interesting to note that this Open-Shop Law was not enacted by a legislative body. To follow this procedure might make the ugly brutality of our class Government too obvious to many workers and farmers. The employers have struck this mortal blow against the workers from behind. How firmly this order puts the owning class' heel on the neck of the working class is proved by Daugherty's statement. Our Strikebreaker General's explanation is especially important since it is the Department of Justice that will execute the law. Applauding this anti-

labor Decision, Daugherty proclaimed: "No strike involving interstate commerce can be conducted in this country without severe punishment to those who thus participate. The law in this regard is now forever settled by this decision."

Of course Daugherty is talking thru his hat when he says "forever settled." Nevertheless, when coupled with the almost simultaneous decision of the United States Court of Appeals denying striking shopmen the right of trial by jury, the blow thus struck is a terrific one. The United States Court of Appeals even went so far as to call the strike of the railway workers an "insurrection" against the Government. It also kicked the bottom out of the Magna Charta of Sam Gompers, the Clayton Act, by declaring its trial by jury section unconstitutional.

We can all talk ourselves blue in the face denouncing Wilkerson and Daugherty and it won't help the workingmen one bit. We can perps join Gompers in denying till Domsday that Wilkerson meant what he said in his permanent strikebreaking order. Neither method is worth a Continental to the working class.

There is only one effective way in which the workers and farmers can answer their employers and exploiters on the political field. The workers and farmers must organize themselves politically to take the law-making power out of the hands of their oppressors, the capitalist class. The working and farming masses must unite all their forces to take away the political power from the employing class so as to make impossible the use of the Government for strikebreaking purposes. The producing classes should organize themselves to build a Government which shall fight their battles against their enemies.

The Wilkerson Decision is merely another very painful reminder to the workers and farmers that they must all join in a united political party in order to save themselves from industrial slavery.

They Read "The Worker"  
WASHINGTON.—The Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department wants the Federated Press Bulletin in its library. It asks to be placed on the "complimentary list."

In a note making the request the librarian writes: "The Liberator, 'The Worker,' 'The Freeman,' 'The Nation' come regularly, complimentary, and are read with interest." General Amos Fries, who is head of the service and one of the most ardent militarists in the war department, recently declared pacifists, communists and radicals, "dangerous to the country?" Can it be that the general and his staff are seeking the light via the labor press?

TAKE YOUR CHOICE  
It's difficult work describing people, as any policeman will tell you. But I just love these two American descriptions of William Z. Foster, the American labor leader, which both appeared in the New York Times on different days of his trial for criminal syndicalism:

"He is a hard looking man, of wiry muscular build and sharp, stern features, with a forbidding aspect."

"A quiet, well-mannered man. He looked almost like a poet or a dreamer, with his soft blue eyes and his high forehead."

No wonder the jury disagreed!—London Daily Herald.

## Here Are the Facts thru which Lewis and Farrington Expose Each Other as Enemies of Labor

(Continued from Page One)

for control. Farrington, at times posed as a progressive, as for example, his support of Alex Howat and the Herrin Miners. In this way he was able to deceive and gain the support of the honest and liberal-minded amongst the rank and file.

The old saying, "When crooks fall out honest men get their dues," may not always be true, but at least before the love pact was made between Lewis and Farrington, they left sufficient documentary evidence to prove that they at least themselves knew how crooked they were. They have left this evidence in the hands of the rank and file, and it is up to them to pass judgment upon these two gentlemen, whose later strained relations brought out the fact that both of them according to their own statements, have been receiving bribes from coal operators for allowing them to run non-union mines.

That there are crooked Labor Leaders, no one will deny. But to prove their shady transactions is very difficult, and well nigh impossible. However, Lewis and Farrington occupy the unique position of supplying the proof of their own guilt.

John L. Lewis made the statement in the meeting of the International Executive Board of the U. M. W. of A., held Oct. 9th, 1922, that two substantial officers of District 12 (President Farrington and Vice-President Fishwick) had entered into an agreement with W. J. Lester of Herrin, Illinois, to allow operation of his strip mine during the strike; and that the proof of this deliberate sell-out of the Herrin Miners was in the hands of the Attorney General Brundage, who got the documentary evidence by raiding W. J. Lester's office. Lewis did not state how he managed to be taken into the confidence of the man who so bitterly prosecuted the miners of Herrin.

This charge is specific, and the evidence complete, according to Lewis. His duty was very clearly outlined in the U. M. W. of A. constitution, which lays down a rigid law of procedure in cases of this kind. Lewis as International President, should have preferred charges against Farrington and Fishwick, removed them from office, and placed men in charge of District 12 who would look after the interest of the miners, instead of the operators. However he did not do anything of the kind. Why? Farrington supplies the answer.

In a personal letter to John L. Lewis, dated Nov. 2, 1922, Farrington threatens to prefer charges against Lewis for defaming his good name, unless Lewis immediately denies the statements that he made regarding the stripping of the Lester mine. The Lewis answer of Nov. 9th, 1922, did not contain that retraction, so Farrington proceeded to act.

Farrington Prefers Charges Against Lewis  
In a letter dated Nov. 22nd, 1922, Farrington places four distinct charges of corruption and bribery against Lewis. He accuses Lewis of being paid by the President of the South-Western Coal Operators' Association, for the expulsion of Alex. Howat and his colleagues of the Kansas coal fields.

He further accuses Lewis of agreeing prior to the last strike, to a cut in wages, and that in order for Lewis to avoid the responsibility of the cut, the strike was to be called, and if possible to have the government intervene, or failing that, to let the strike continue until the Miners were starved into submission, so that the strikers would demand a settlement even on the basis of a wage cut.

The splendid response of the miners in the non-union coal fields to the strike call, upset this plan, and the treacherous betrayal of the Fayette and Somerset County, Pennsylvania, miners by Lewis, lends weight to the charges made by Farrington.

He further accuses Lewis of receiving \$100,000 from the Kentucky mine owners for permitting them to operate their mines during the strike, and quotes Lewis as stating to the policy committee in a meeting held

in Washington, D. C., "That work in the Kentucky mines would not be stopped as long as he was President of the Miners' Union."

Last but not least, he accuses Lewis of receiving \$650,000 from the Harriman Bank of New York, for allowing three members of the directorate of the bank to operate their mines in Pennsylvania upon a non-union basis.

These serious charges were not made by an irresponsible person, nor were they made in the heat of verbal discussion. Lewis, International President of the most powerful labor organization in America, accuses Farrington and Fishwick of being paid by W. J. Lester for allowing him to operate his strip mine during the strike. This charge was made to the International Executive Board of the U. M. W. of A.

Farrington meets this accusation, not as an innocent man would do, by availing himself of his constitutional rights as laid down by the constitution of the U. M. W. of A. He meets it as one would expect a guilty person to do by accusing Lewis of committing even greater crimes than those of which he himself is accused.

No man with any decency or self-respect would allow these charges to stand for a minute unchallenged, if they were not true. Instead of protecting their good name as Farrington puts it, both decide that they

have spilled enough beans, and for mutual protection, instead of preferring charges against each other, they have come to the conclusion that it is best for them to join forces.

Lewis and Farrington Make Peace

Farrington in a letter to Lewis, dated May 21st, 1923, holds out the olive branch. He does not retract any of the charges made in his previous letter, but shows very clearly that the sole reason for him wanting to come to terms with Lewis is the growing strength of the Progressive International Committee of the U. M. W. of A. For him and Lewis to be divided at this time would be disastrous to both of them. So he asks for a conference with Lewis, to decide under what conditions he can enter the Lewis machine.

Lewis accepts Farrington's peace offer, and in a letter dated Washington, D. C., May 25th, 1923, where he was getting an earful about the progressive miners, from his friend W. J. Burns, he notifies Farrington that his offer is accepted, and that he would arrange a conference when he got back to Indianapolis. That conference has been held, and the issue is now clear; it is Lewis and Farrington versus Howat and the Progressive Miners.

Farrington supported Howat, not because he had any use for Howat or the principles that he stood for, but

because he thought he might have Howat as a powerful ally against Lewis. Howat standing on the Progressive Miners' program, soon dispelled that idea, and so, turn and squirm as he might, there was only one place left for him to go, and that was into the Lewis camp. To get in there, he had to support Lewis and stab Howat in the back.

Farrington Lines Up With Lewis Against Howat

In a letter to Howat dated June 13th, 1923, Farrington officially carries out his agreement with Lewis, by serving notice upon Howat that from now on he, Farrington, will not give Howat any further assistance in his fight for re-instatement, and he puts forward the lame excuse that he takes his stand because Howat has identified himself with the Progressive Miners' Committee.

Of course, Farrington conveniently forgets that Howat has been lecturing under the auspices of this committee for many months. The real truth is, that the dropping of Howat was one of the conditions that Farrington had to agree to; before Lewis would accept him as his aid.

Howat was expelled by Lewis without trial, his only crime being that he smashed the Kansas Industrial Court Law. This, in the eyes of Lewis and the coal operators, was an unforgivable sin.

Farrington, according to Lewis, is guilty of receiving money from W. J. Lester for allowing him to run his strip mine during the strike. Lewis according to Farrington is guilty of taking numerous bribes for allowing non-union-mines to operate in Kentucky and Pennsylvania, as well as attempting to sell out the miners during the last strike.

The judges of these cases are the rank and file. Their answer will be given at the next convention of the U. M. W. of A. That the answer will be the re-instatement of Howat, the endorsement of the Progressive Miners' Program as laid down in the Pittsburgh Conference, and the sending back into private life, the entire corrupt Lewis-Farrington Machine, depends solely upon the militant rank and file.

The progressive committee has got off to a flying start. District 12 has cleaned out the Lewis supporters by a majority of over 10,000; District 5 and 9 are making great headway, the Kansas miners stand solid behind Howat, District 26 can always be depended upon. The progressive miners of District 12 have gained so much strength, that they forced Farrington to line up with Lewis. In fact, from every District comes the most encouraging reports. Victory for the militant rank and file is near at hand.