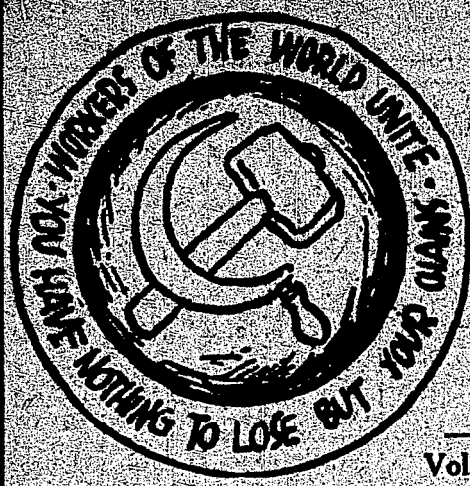




Defeat This War Against the Trade Union Educational League—See Page Three

THE WORKER

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Price 5 cents

A Strike-Breaker President Our Answer: A COMMUNIST DAILY

F.F.L.P. Seeks United Front of All Labor

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—The Federated Farmer-Labor Party, thru its national secretary here, has sent a proposal to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, urging joint action for the 1924 campaign.

It is proposed that there shall be a joint "negotiation committee of five and five, in order to discuss ways and means for a nation-wide organization campaign among the workers and farmers, so that, at the presidential elections of 1924, a mighty Federated Farmer-Labor Party of the masses, of the factories and farms, can undertake the fight against our deadly enemy—capitalism and the capitalist government."

The sending of this letter, was authorized by the National Executive Committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and is signed by the national secretary, Joseph Manley. It is as follows:

Chicago, Ill., July 31, 1923.

William H. Johnston, Chairman, Conference for Progressive Action, Machinist Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: Representatives of six hundred thousand farmers and workers organized the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Our Party is new and has not as yet the majority of farmers and workers behind it, but it represents large masses of exploited farmers and workers, and it represents, moreover, the great idea of independent political action of the laboring masses. In the name of 600,000 exploited farmers and workers and in the name of the great idea of the Farmer-Labor Party we appeal to the Conference for Progressive Political Action to unite its action with our action.

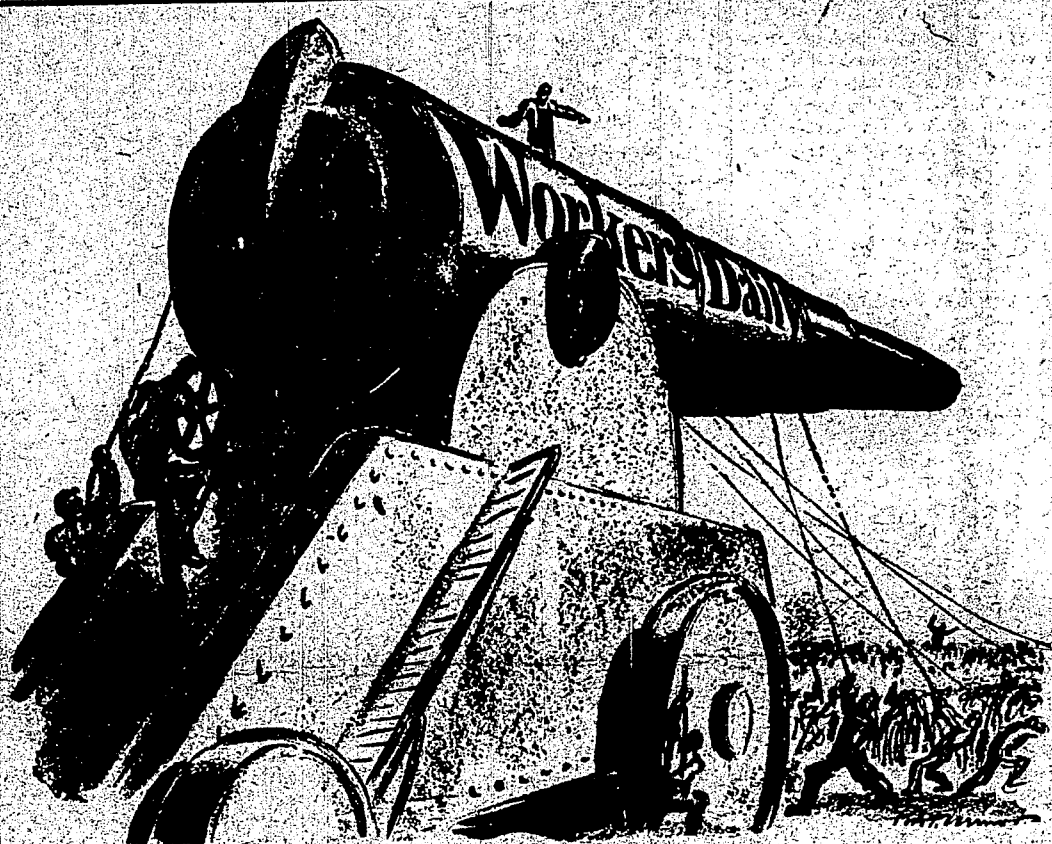
We believe that the time has come for the exploited farmers and workers, regardless of difference in political opinion, to unite against the common enemy, against the capitalists and the capitalist government, instead of splitting their forces.

The time is not only ripe for the organization of a political party of farmers and workers, independent of the old capitalist parties, but the

(Continued on Page Two)

WITHOUT IT, YOU CANNOT FIGHT!

Great Daily Newspapers Are the Artillery of the Modern Labor Struggle. We Must Have a Great National Daily for the American Working Class.



FOR AN ENGLISH DAILY! To All Members of the Workers Party and Sympathizers:

Comrades:—The Workers Party calls upon you to undertake the founding of a great national daily newspaper in the English language.

The time for this step is not only opportune. It is a time which makes a great daily newspaper of the working class an absolute necessity. Great historical changes are occurring in the United States. Struggles unequalled in this country lie in the immediate future. Dangers never before faced by the American workers, are coming upon the Labor Movement. THE TIME HAS ARRIVED. WHEN CAPITALISM NO LONGER TOLERATES EVEN A SEMBLANCE OF A FREE LABOR MOVEMENT, BUT ADVANCES TO DESTROY IT. Reaction has been intrenching

itself during the past two years on a nationally unified scale to this purpose. The Administration of President Harding, up to the moment of its close, expressed for the first time politically a nation-wide conscious plan for an industrial order in which the element of labor organization is to be eliminated by force. The accidental close of President Harding's term elevated to the head of government a puppet whose sole claim to public attention heretofore has been in connection with strikebreaking. Reactionaries in the presidency have been a commonplace; never before has the country had a President who was a strikebreaker by profession.

There is every reason to expect in the immediate future more intense and widespread labor struggles than ever before. These struggles will inevitably concern themselves very largely with WINNING THE MINDS AND THE LOYALTY of the toiling masses for one side or the other. He who has a monopoly of the news can go a long way toward controlling the opinions as well as the understanding of the working masses.

It is inconceivable that the militant workers of this country should enter this period without having at their command at least ONE GREAT DAILY NEWSPAPER to act as their informant, guide and means of co-ordinating plans of action.

Every day the workers are having poured into their ears by the capitalist press, ingenious, confusing and destructive lies, which paralyze their understanding and blast their hopes and ideals. Uncounted millions of printed pages of the kept press, loaded with propaganda against the cause of Labor, are thrust daily into the hands of the workers at a trivial price, the real expense of printing being borne by wealthy advertisers; while the honest and fearless section of the working class press reaches less than one worker in a hundred, and that, usually, but once a week. Even the one formerly Socialist metropolitan daily, the New York Call, has sold itself out, has betrayed the Labor Party idea, and is now competing with the lowest capitalist

gutter sheets in the profession of "anti-bolshevism."

Excellent publications of the militant working class exist. Weeklies, monthlies, and also daily papers in FOREIGN LANGUAGES exist and serve the workers. But none of these suffice to the present situation. Only a great national newspaper reaching the workers EVERY DAY can enlighten and co-ordinate their efforts for the struggles that lie before us.

THE PRESENT TIME CANNOT BE MISSED. THE YEAR 1924 IS A TURNING POINT BEYOND WHICH WE CANNOT PROCEED WITHOUT A GREAT NATIONAL DAILY ORGAN.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party calls upon all members of the Party, and upon all sympathetic workers, immediately to mobilize their utmost strength and TO BEGIN A DRIVE TO RAISE \$100,000 WITH WHICH TO FUND THE GREAT DAILY NEWSPAPER.

As the 7th day of November is the Anniversary of the establishment of the First Workers' and Peasants' Government of the world. It has been decided that the 7TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1923, WILL BE THE DAY FOR STARTING THE COMMUNIST DAILY, which will have for its purpose to work for the founding of the Workers' and Farmers' Government of America.

All units of the Workers Party are instructed to take up the following as their most urgent order of business:

1. To obtain from organizations

Shoe Workers Planning for New Struggle

By WILLIAM SIMONS
(Special to "The Worker")

BROCKTON, Mass.—After eleven weeks of struggle against tremendous odds, the shoe strikers had to acknowledge defeat, return to work (those who could find jobs), and become involuntary members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

When the strike was declared off, those who during the strike had left to seek employment in other cities began to come back. There are jobs for most of them, perhaps for all. But the daring fighters during the scrap—they are the ones who will be discriminated against.

All who ceased work around May 15th, must pay \$4.25 reinstatement fee. For the vast majority, the fine will be \$10 for striking. For the more active, the fines will be prohibitive; they will be hounded from the city. Some of the more active ones have already secured work in other shoe centers.

Lessons of the Strike

No funds. And no well rounded idea of what they were up against. This is what licked the strikers. The

(Continued on Page Five)

and individuals generous donations to the \$100,000 fund.

2. To sell to organizations and individuals preferred stock in the owning corporation of the daily newspaper.

3. Every unit of the Workers Party must form a COMMITTEE "for the Daily."

Every city organization must form a "City Campaign Committee for the Daily." Every City Committee shall choose a campaign manager.

The most important Communist duty in the present situation is to form a great English Daily for the Party.

The English Daily will be the most courageous advocate of the CAUSE OF THE WORKERS.

WITHOUT AN ENGLISH DAILY, THE PARTY CANNOT GROW.

The English Daily will be the most powerful UNIFYING FORCE for the Foreign Language Federations of the Party.

The English Daily will give a new impetus to the AMALGAMATION Movement.

The English Daily will be the spiritual center of the Labor Party Movement.

The English Daily will carry the slogan of the WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT to the broadest masses of workers and exploited farmers.

The English Daily will be the greatest propagandist of the Communist idea in this country.

Comrades! Workers! Sympathizers! Help to create a great national English Daily for the working class.

Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary.

By JOHN PEPPER

The political machinery of the Republican Party made Calvin Coolidge vice-president and death has elevated him to the presidency of the United States.

The presidency of Calvin Coolidge denotes a sharpening of the class struggle. Harding was mediocrity covered with a smile. Coolidge is mediocrity armed with a fist.

Who is Calvin Coolidge? His best friends, the greatest capitalist newspapers, which wish to recommend him to the people of the United States, can single out only one real fact in his life.

He is the man who broke the strike of policemen in Boston. Characteristically, the capitalist press, both Republican and Democratic, are very well satisfied with him—for the very reason, of course, that the only heroic gesture of his life is his strikebreaking in Massachusetts.

His best friends say that he has always been a very retiring man during his entire political career—but

Calvin Coolidge has always been silent. His friends write that it is the silence of wisdom. We believe that he is silent simply because he has nothing to say. But his friends, Democrats and Republicans alike, say that he is not a man of words, but a man of deeds.

He is the man who suppressed the freedom of organization. HE broke the strike in Boston with force; he introduced the offensive of capital in 1919.

Calvin Coolidge was an unknown man in the United States before 1919. He has never had a new idea, never even an old one. He has never written a readable article. He has never organized a movement except a local party machine. He has never supported or put thru a reform. But his friends praise him—he destroyed a trade union and he broke a strike. For this reason he became a vice-president of the United States. Napoleon Bonaparte had his Eighteenth Brumaire, when he dispersed the people of Paris with grape-shot. The people of France were thankful to him and made the unknown general First Consul and emperor. Calvin Coolidge had the opportunity of his lifetime with the police strike of Boston. He brought armed force against the strikers and the thankful people of the United States elevated him, the unknown Governor, to the vice-presidency. Calvin Coolidge as governor of Massachusetts accomplished nothing new or significant. As vice-president of the United States, Calvin Coolidge has accomplished nothing new or significant. But his friends say, and commend him thereby to the workers of the United States, that he accomplished an historical act in destroying a trade union and in breaking a strike by force.

The working class of America should at last recognize the truth! We have a president today whose only qualification for office is that he is a professional strikebreaker. Jay Lovestone, in his book, has baptized the Harding administration with warm and bitter sarcasm as the "GOVERNMENT-STRIKEBREAKER." He has shown in his book that the government of the United States—administration as well as Congress and the courts, compose a single, solid machine to oppress the working class. But at the head of this strikebreaking machine stood Harding—a man with a smile. An enemy of the workers, but conciliating. A man of the capitalists, but at the same time a man of Sunday School phrases about equality and love. NOW AT LAST THE GOVERNMENT-STRIKEBREAKER GETS ITS FITTING HEAD—A STRIKEBREAKING PRESIDENT.

Calvin Coolidge is too insignificant as a person to be able to decide the policy of parties and classes in this country. Even geniuses can influence only the tempo of events, and Calvin Coolidge is at best, mediocrity personified. And yet his elevation to the presidency does mean a sharpening of the political situation.

The Republican Party has for a long time no longer been a solidified party. Harding's diplomacy could hold together the conservatives and so-called progressives and could even influence the so-called radicals within the Republican Party. Coolidge does not only lack the smile, but he has not even the authority and prestige of Harding. He is an outspoken president of the reactionaries. Coolidge as president means an administration against the exploited farmers.

Coolidge as president means armed interference of the state power against every strike of the railroad workers or coal miners. Coolidge as president means the oppression of every worker or farmer organization which is "red." Coolidge as president means the advocacy of joining the World Court of the League of Nations of the international bankers. The labor movement and the movement of the exploited farmers is in great danger. THE WORKERS AND FARMERS MUST DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST COOLIDGE. They must do the same that Minnesota did. The bankrupt farmers of Minnesota ridiculed Coolidge last September and did not allow him to finish his speech when he tried to convince the farmers that they were prosperous. And in 1923, the workers and farmers of Minnesota voted for the Farmer-Labor Party, kicking out the political friend of Coolidge, Governor Preus. The presidency of Coolidge is a danger for the workers and farmers; but the misleaders of the working class wish to hide that from the working class. GOMPERS even assures Mr. Coolidge of the support of the labor movement. The New York City Convention of the SOCIALIST PARTY passes a resolution which proffers condolence for the death of Harding, and at the same time the Committee of Eleven leaders eliminates the second part of the resolution, which was directed against Coolidge. Gompers is a DEMOCRAT; but he promises his support for the REPUBLICAN Coolidge. Hillquit, Gerber, Feigenbaum and the others are SOCIALISTS; but they deceive their own Party Convention and kill with silence the resolution which attacks the REPUBLICAN Coolidge. It is the duty of COMMUNISTS to enlighten the workers everywhere as regards the significance of the presidency of Coolidge, and the new dangers with which the strikebreaker president menaces the labor movement. New bitter struggles are impending. The working class must provide itself with new weapons. We must strengthen the trade unions thru amalgamation. We must strengthen the organized working class thru organizing the unorganized. We must make it clear to the exploited farmers that their only remedy is that the land shall belong to those who use it. We must lead the working class and exploited farmers into the political struggle thru a mighty Federated Farmer-Labor Party. We can do all that only if the Communist Party, the Workers Party, finds the way to the oppressed workers and farmers. The most important instrument for enlightening the masses and leading them into the defensive struggle is a daily paper. THE UNITED STATES HAS ACQUIRED A STRIKE-BREAKING PRESIDENT. OUR ANSWER SHALL BE A COMMUNIST DAILY.

Trotsky Declares Time Is Ripe for Workers to Issue Slogan "The United States of Europe"

Editor's Note:—In order to get a correct understanding of conditions in Europe to-day, it is imperative that America's workers become acquainted with the facts set forth by Leon Trotsky in the accompanying article. During the illness of Lenin, we find Trotsky the most prominent interpreter of the struggles of the Soviet Republic, and of the Communist International. His reasons for supporting the immediate issuance of the slogan, "The United States of Europe," are as clear and concise as his arguments in behalf of the determined attitude he takes on all big problems. He writes:

By LEON TROTSKY

I think that in conjunction with the slogan "A Government of Workers and Peasants," the time is appropriate for issuing the slogan "The United States of Europe." Only by uniting these two slogans shall we get a definite, systematic and progressive response to the most urgent problems of European development. The last imperialist war was essentially a European war. The incidental participation of America and Japan did not alter its character. Having secured what she required, America withdrew her hand from the flames and returned home.

To the toiling masses of Europe it is becoming ever clearer that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the basic problems of European restoration. The slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government" is designed to meet the attempts of the workers to find an issue by their own efforts.

It has now become necessary to indicate this issue more concretely, namely, to assert that only in the closest economic co-operation of the

(Continued on Page Six)

Three Urgent Tasks of Every Party Member

1. Every Party unit shall form immediately a campaign committee for "The Daily."
2. Every Party member must get a new member into the Workers Party.
3. Every Communist must make every effort to have his trade union, benefit society, Workmen's Circle or other labor organization affiliate with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

THIS ISSUE IS No. 288

LOOK AT YOUR ADDRESS LABEL! If the number appearing on your address label is the same as above, your subscription expires with this issue. Watch your expiration number. Renew your subscription before it expires.

Gompers' Press Agents Get Anti-Progressive Dope From the Bosses' Radical Baiters

New evidence has been made public by the Civil Liberties Union, showing that the press agents of the Samuel Gompers' reactionary regime within the American Federation of Labor get their doctored dope against the militants in the labor movement from anti-labor sources.

The specific charge is made that Chester M. Wright, director of the A. F. of L. Information and Publicity Service, used the notorious New York Lusk Radical-Baiting-Committee Report for information in his recent attack on "The Union" and its officers. The charge is made by Prof. Harry F. Ward, chairman of "The Union," in a letter to Wright, who was formerly editor of The New York Call.

It has long been known that the broadsides against the progressives in the labor movement, fired by Gompers' high-priced press agents, drawing their salaries from the per capita paid by the affiliated unions, depended for their ammunition on "open shop" sources. It is believed that Gompers' attacks on Soviet Russia are directly inspired by the National Civic Federation of trade union wreckers.

Professor Ward's letter to the head of the A. F. of L. publicity bureau is the latest development in a sharp exchange of notes between the directors of that bureau and the Civil Liberties Union which followed the statement made in the A. F. of L. Information and Publicity Service for April that the Union is "pro-Soviet in character."

Wright has persistently dodged the Civil Liberties Union's challenge that he "cite a single statement or publication which might properly be called pro-Soviet." In his reply to the Union's challenge he has sidestepped the issue by calling names, declaring that Prof. Ward's point of view is "pro-Bolshevik, pro-I.W.O., and pro-general destructiveness in character."

Scoring such charges as baseless and "unintelligible," Prof. Ward states in his letter to Wright:

"If you had informed your constituents that the basis of your attack was the infamous Lusk Committee Report, its value and worth as a basis for judgment by organized labor would have been appreciated. In New York State at least, labor unions know the meaning of the activities of the man whom you quote as your source of authority concerning the American Civil Liberties Union and its officers."

Referring to Archibald Stevenson, the author of the Lusk Committee Report, Prof. Ward declares:

"The most vicious falsehood asserted by this man in the report is a quotation from the report of an alleged investigator, circulated anonymously by Mr. Ralph Easley, Secretary of the National Civic Federation, among some of the most powerful enemies of organized labor in this country, and that this appears in the report as a quotation from the Civic Federation Review. But the secretary of that organization, thus faced with the responsibility of the matter, replies that the statement was never printed in his paper."

Pointing out that "this proceeding makes manifest some sort of collusion in the production and use of false reports between the compiler of the Lusk Committee Report and the secretary of the National Civic Federation," Prof. Ward brings Wright's attention to the fact that Mr. Gompers is an officer of the Civic Federation.

"You argue that the Civil Liberties Union represents all local organizations which have been affiliated with it solely for the protection of free speech. Let us see how this argument works in your own case. Mr. Gompers is an officer, both of the American Federation of Labor and the National Civic Federation. Now it so happens that at the critical moment in the late steel strike when some friends of mine were endeavoring to persuade Judge Gary to grant the fundamental demands of organized labor in the situation, they discovered that the Secretary of the National Civic Federation was furnishing Mr. Gary with reports concerning me and others, misrepresent-

F.F.L.P. Seeks One Front for Big Battles

(Continued from page One.)

time demands with ever louder voice the formation of such an organization. We need only point to three new facts:

The first fact: the exploited farmers are bankrupt. They receive less for their products than these cost them to produce. The export possibilities for farm products to Europe have been wiped out. At the same time, the trust magnates keep up artificially the prices of all industrial products because they have a monopoly on the instruments of production, on transportation and marketing. The prices of wheat have fallen below a dollar, but the price of bread for the consuming workers remains at the same level.

The second fact: the trade union movement is being menaced by a constantly growing danger. The government with all its force is supporting the open-shop movement secretly as well as openly. The infamous Daugherty Injunction which was a slap in the face, not only of the railroad unions, but of the whole labor movement, has been made permanent by the willfulness of the courts. The right to strike no longer exists in the United States.

The third fact: the tremendous defeat of the Republican Party and the complete elimination of the Democratic Party in the Minnesota elections, show clearly to all who are not blind politically, that the machinery of the old capitalist parties is tottering. The old prejudice that a third party cannot win, has met in Minnesota with just as crushing a defeat, as have the party of Harding and the party of Wilson.

These three facts: the financial bankruptcy of the farmers, the robbery of the workers of the right to strike, and the victory of a third party, show clearly the necessity and possibility for the organization of a powerful Federated Farmer-Labor Party which would embrace all the workers and farmers. The hour of action has struck. We believe the situation has best been characterized by a dirt-farmer at the July 3rd Convention of our Party: "The time is ripe, the time is over-ripe, the time is rotten-ripe."

The organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party at the Chicago Convention means the first great step in this direction. We have brought together for independent political action not less than 600,000 exploited farmers and workers. For that reason we call upon the Conference for Progressive Political Action to unite its efforts with our efforts, for the creation of a Farmer-Labor Party which will embrace the whole working-class and the exploited farmer-masses. The Conference for Progressive Political Action, in its first convention of February, 1922, made the decision that the time is ripe for progressive political action, but not as yet ripe enough for creating an independent political organization. But the second convention, on December 11, 1922, at Cleveland, instead of going one step forward, went one step backward. It did not organize the independent political party of farmers and workers, but decided to take part in the primaries of the old capitalist parties. It accepted a program which is a copy of the program of La Follette and of the Committee of Forty-eight, that is, a program of small business men and well-to-do farmers, and not a program of exploited farmers and industrial workers.

The two million workers and one million farmers whose organizations are affiliated with your Conference, are dissatisfied with this eternal postponement and hesitation. They are just as much dissatisfied with eternal splits in the laboring masses. We are therefore convinced that we are expressing, not only the wishes of the masses behind the Conference for Progressive Political Action when we propose joint action for both big organizations. We propose that the National Executive Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, as well as the National Executive Committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party shall designate a negotiation committee of five and five, in order to discuss ways and means for a nation-wide organization campaign among the workers and farmers, so that at the presidential elections of 1924, a mighty Federated Farmer-Labor Party of the masses of the factories and farms can undertake the fight against our deadly enemy—against capitalism and the capitalist government.

With best wishes, I am, Yours fraternally, Signed: Joseph Manley, Secretary, Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

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

MISSING!

To make up complete files of THE WORKER we need the following numbers—219-282. We will appreciate it if comrades will send us copies of these missing issues.—Business Manager.

Harding's Death Precipitates Decisive Political Struggles

By JAY LOVESTONE
1924 Biggest Year in American Politics

Most political observers and students of Governmental problems are convinced that 1924 will be the biggest year in American politics. The struggle between the various groups in the Republican Party was going on apace even before Harding's death. Month by month the insurgents and Progressives in the Republican fold were drawing nearer and nearer to developing an organization separate from the G. O. P. This tendency was particularly accentuated by the increasingly distressing conditions of the farmers.

So rapidly were the Progressives increasing their Congressional strength and popular influence that many standpatters, high in the ranks of the Republican machine, like Senator Moses, threw up the political sponge and openly admitted disaster ahead. So vague and confusing did the situation become and so close did the strength of the opposing forces in the coming Sixty-Eighth Congress appear, that a Western Senator told the writer: "The next Congress will be so sharply divided that it will be unable to agree on passing even the Ten Commandments in six months."

But all were agreed that the big issues would be settled only at the conventions of the Democratic and Republican Parties. And despite numerous aspirants to the nomination for the Presidency on the Republican ticket, it was practically common knowledge among those who knew Washington that the Republican renomination of Harding was a foregone conclusion, much as many may not have wanted it for strategic and other reasons. It was obvious to all that if the Republican Party was to stand a chance at all in the 1924 Elections it could not do anything which might in the least give its opponents the slightest opportunity to say that it had repudiated its own administration. Of course the failure to give Harding a chance to succeed himself would have been seized upon by the Democrats and Progressives as the best proof of confessed bankruptcy on the part of the Old Guard in the Republican machine.

Harding's Death and the Republican Party

When the first word of Harding's illness reached Washington, those who were in the inner circle of the President were terrified. They knew and felt that there was little chance of his pulling thru under attack by heart disease, pneumonia, and ptomaine poison. The president was cautioned by many of his friends about his health before taking his last trip. But Harding felt that he had to make his grand tour in order to save the Republican Party from ruin and unite the discordant elements at the next convention.

Now that Harding is dead, the Republican Party is confronted with confusion worse confounded. The removal of Harding by death has opened the floodgates of political ambition and conflict inside the Party. There is no leader of any group in the G. O. P. who could serve to unify the Party as well as Harding holding the office of Presidency for four years could. Now every leader and near-leader of the Party is ready to come forward with a proposal that he be made the Moses to lead the Republicans out of the political desert.

The spirit of progressivism which had been stifled by the war is again coming to the front. The skepticism that the War had brought to the great flock of American Liberals and Progressives is rapidly on the wane. The swift and steady disappearance of the recent prosperity spurt, the increasingly heavy oppressive hand of the Government on the workers struggling for even the most elementary needs of life, the persistently accelerating pace at which farmers have been drifting to bankruptcy and economic and social helplessness have all served to give widespread strength to the militant spirit among the workers and the revolt of the farmers against an Administration which they helped to sweep in by the greatest majority ever accorded a Presidential nominee in American history. The insurgent movement against the Republican Party had gained so much strength that its 1920 majority of seven millions was turned into a minus quantity on the basis of the election results since the late Presidential campaign.

It is under this condition of country-wide dissatisfaction, with depression staring the country in the face, and acute dissension in its own ranks that the Republican Party is going before the country to seek another four-year lease on the Governmental machinery of the country. Speculation as to who will receive the Republican nomination is now rife. Some expect Coolidge who is a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary bloodhound and labor-hater to use the coming months prior to the Convention for building up a machine of his own to secure his nomination. Others believe that some one in Harding's Cabinet who is known to favor the former President's policies will be put forward.

But no matter who will be nominated, it is clear to all that pandemonium will reign supreme at the next Republican Convention. In the welter of conflicting economic and social forces the Republican machine that had been swept into power only a few years ago will be challenged more dangerously than ever. There are two most probable steps that the Convention will take. The likelihood of both these has been precipitated by the removal of Harding from the scene of conflict. The first and most likely outcome of the Convention will be the nomination of a completely

The Strike-Breaker Who Is President



CALVIN COOLIDGE

reactionary ticket with an open declaration of war against all forces of Progressivism and near-Progressivism. Should, however, some dark horse appear on the political horizon and win a compromise nomination for the Presidency, then some wishy-washy Progressive phrase-monger like Kenyon will be given the Vice-Presidential nomination in order to rally the La Follette forces to the Republican banner.

What Are the Progressives Going to Do?

The strategy of the Progressives has been to pursue a policy of watchful waiting. La Follette's strategy has been to let the Reactionaries take the first step. But the election of Magnus Johnson has served as a steel rod to the followers of La Follette. Harding's death will undoubtedly embolden the insurgents and make them increase their demands on the Republican Party manifold.

What the Democrats Are Up To

The Democrats do not see that they have gained any political advantage by the exit of Harding from the coming campaign. Many of them believed that Harding was easy picking. They felt that the Republican Party could not get a weaker opponent for them and yet that the Republican Party had to put him in the field. The strategy of the Democratic machine has been to put forward some fake Progressive Democrat as Presidential nominee, get a middle of the road program, and point out to the country how unfit to run the Government both the Reactionary and Progressive Republicans are. The last point they would prove by the confusion and do-nothing record of the Sixty-Eighth Congress which would be unable to get sufficient agreement to pass any important legislation at a time when there was great popular pressure for remedial measures.

With Harding out of the way the Democrats do not feel themselves confronted with as easy a task as before. Should an outright reactionary be nominated by the Republicans the likelihood of the Progressives following the Democratic Party are now more slim than before Harding's death. And if a Kenyon-compromise is reached by the Republicans the Democrats will surely be up against it in smacking the reactionary label all over the Republican Party. Their middle of the road policy will thus be not as effective as it would have been had Harding remained to face their attacks. The Republican crimes of the past will not be so available for political target practice in the present.

Conclusion

The death of Harding has only precipitated the moments of decision in the giant battles that are to be fought in the coming political struggles culminating in the 1924 campaign. The reactionaries as well as the progressives are now more than ever bent on going all the way down the line and fighting it out. Finally, in the ascent of Coolidge to the Presidency there is a certain amount of historical justice. Coolidge is an open enemy of Labor. He has not hidden his hatred of the working masses even behind a political smile. He got where he is today on the basis of a strikebreaking record in Massachusetts. The Harding Administration has been the blackest in years as far as the Labor Movement is concerned. It is historically symbolic of the impending class conflicts that a strikebreaking Administration like Harding's should close with so notorious and open a strikebreaker as Coolidge at the helm of the Government.

The Nepmen of Russia

By ANISE
(Staff Writer, Federated Press and "The Worker")

I spent today among the NEPMEN of Russia, The NEW bourgeois, The profit-makers, In a summer hotel Out from Moscow.

The day was not entirely PLEASANT— It was for me a bit disgusting To see folks spend so much time EATING.

They were as stupid animals, As respectable bourgeois anywhere, And I had grown used To LIVING people.

And yet they had it seemed A certain life, Which was mostly kicking At the Government. They said: "It is true We have COMFORT, But it cost me \$70 To hire an automobile For a single Sunday's pleasure, And these children's homes Get them for NOTHING; We never know what TAXES Will hit us, Or how long our comfort Will continue; Everything Is terribly UNCERTAIN."

And I thought: "Uncertainty, The terror of the workers In every land, Is the terror of the Nepmen here."

And they said: "When these folks Make LAWS To limit our rights and power It's no use paying a lawyer To EVADE them, For their judges go not By the letter of the law But by the law's intention; They punish you as much For sneaking ROUND it, As for any other way Of breaking it."

But a woman said sadly: "THE WORST Is the way our CHILDREN leave us; My daughter has joined THE COMMUNISTS; It took her two years' probation; They made it very hard Suspecting her Because she was the daughter Of a BOURGEOIS, But she stuck to it And left us, And has no use at all For our whole way of living."

Said a man: "The best of them go. My youngest son has joined them; He will accept from me nothing. He's right; I'm a useless old fellow, Enslaved by food and comfort, I shall die grumbling over taxes, And the prices these Bolsheviks charge me; But it's something to know That my children Will be BUILDING This great new country."

Moscow, July, 1923.

"The Adding Machine" by Elmer Rice, just published by Doubleday Page and Co. with pictures of the Theatre Guild's production of the play, will be re-published by Heinemann's in England.

Facts Reveal Fascisti in U. S. Retreat

The last few weeks have witnessed a display of apologetics by those responsible for the organization of Fascista groups in the Italian colonies of America. The deep black of the Fascista standard is being smeared with discreet camouflage.

First, the Italian Ambassador to the United States, Prince Caetani, betook himself to Rome and urged the grand council of the black shirt machine to abandon the project of making Fascisti out of the workmen in America. This has a sharper significance when one remembers that the Ambassador has aided the Fascista movement in America, and has been very close to Judge Gary, one of the chief "boosters" of American Fascism.

Second, the grand council has voted that its followers on the other side of the ocean rearrange their "ideals" so as to eliminate "political" friction; in other words, to limit themselves to patriotic activities.

Third, Premier Mussolini, in an interview given to David Lawrence, of the New York Evening World, enlarged on this attitude to explain this patriotism as activities against the "reds."

It is clear from all this that the Fascisti are finding it harder to capture the Italians in America than they had expected. The dyed-in-the-wool dagger and bomb brand, they find, is not acceptable. Public opinion must be reckoned with. The forces of progressive thought among the immigrants here are too strong to be intimidated.

While there was not a word admitting the power of labor protest in this country, those who watch the situation know only too well that the hasty camouflaging and rather undignified retreat is due essentially, perhaps entirely, to the efforts of the organized labor movement here. The work of the Anti-Fascist Alliance in exposing the past deeds and future plans of the black shirts, the fervor of those who rallied round the opposition explain the views of Prince Caetani and the recasting of the Fascisti program for America.

The danger now, obviously, is that the Fascisti may be taken at their word, and the defenses against their inroads let down. Ingenious persons may really believe that the black shirts, altho they are sowing terror in Italy and Spain and Central Europe will limit themselves to flag-waving and picnics in America.

The truth is that the money which is being invested by the backers of Fascism in America must produce results in the same way as it did Italy—by weakening, and if possible destroying, the American labor movement. Whatever the grand council may set down on paper, the Fascisti admit in their official organ, published in Boston, that they intend to substitute Fascista unions for existing organizations. And even when public opinion obliges them to refrain from announcing these aims in print the aims themselves remain.

The spirit of Fascism must be driven from among us, not merely the phrases!

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'IMPERIAL WASHINGTON'

Reads like a chapter from "The Conquest of Peru" by the arch-conspirator, Pizarro. Every attack by arms, deceit, conspiracy and lies enunciated in the story of the conquest of the Peruvians was re-enacted in the American Government's conquest of the Philippines, Haiti, Hawaii, Santo Domingo, Mexico, in its past fifty years of IMPERIALISTIC history.

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Reactionary Bureaucracy Wars on Trade Union Educational Leagues of Needle Workers

The old bureaucratic trade union machine has started a war against the rank and file of the Jewish unions. Together with the yellow "Forward" they have decided to make a concerted attack upon the militants in order to entrench their reactionary bureaucratic machine.

They have entered upon a life and death struggle to destroy and wipe out of existence all the sections of the Trade Union Educational League. This is a challenge thrown in the face of those militant groups that have sprung into being in the interests of the Trade Union Movement.

This is a fight against the groups that are the real expression of the rank and file of organized labor.

This fact was definitely established at a general conference of the Trade Union Educational League that recently took place in New York.

The conference considered the latest developments in the Jewish Trade Union movement and was confronted with the following situation.

The Present General Situation in the Unions

The situation generally, and especially in the needle trades is a very deplorable one. In the ladies garment industry a complete chaos prevails. Most of the work in the so-called unionized centers is today being produced in sweat and scab shops.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has lost control even in those shops with which it has closed agreements. The workers work under the most unbearable conditions.

The organization is face to face with a series of pressing problems which call for immediate solution, and if no solution is forthcoming the union will find itself upon a surging volcano that will soon erupt and destroy it.

In the men's clothing industry the situation is no better. Tens of thousands of union members are walking the streets without work while the work of manufacturers who have agreements with the union is being made in scab contracting shops.

Among the workers a keen competition prevails growing more acute daily in the unionized shops. The introduction of a minimum wage scale is being hindered by the bosses with the assistance of the reactionary union politicians. The same is true in reference to the introduction of many improvements necessary for the betterment of conditions in the industry.

Practically the same situation confronts the workers in the other industries. The officialdom of the Furriers' Union continually thru the pages of the "Forward" make a lot of noise about the "great advantages" that they are gaining for the workers in the shops. But the furriers who know the truth know well enough that the noise of their officials in this respect is nothing but humbug. The fact is that the working conditions of the furriers is much worse than in the other industries.

The truth of the matter is that in the entire needle trade industry in spite of the much heralded prosperity, a very large number of union members are unemployed. Besides there are those who work under miserable conditions and receive in wages barely enough to live upon. The power of the organized manufacturers is continually getting rid of union conditions. The problems confronting the unions are of a very serious nature.

The Machine Fights Against the Workers Interests

In such a crisis the leadership of the unions surely should have made every possible effort to come in close contact with the active groups of the rank and file. At the present time it is urgently necessary to unite all the forces in an effort to remedy the acute situation in which the organizations find themselves.

Our unions, however, are still being lead and ruled by the reactionary union bureaucracy. This union bureaucracy is unfitted to meet the present situation. Instead of getting in closer touch with the rank and file of their organizations these union bureaucrats have started a bitter war against the groups representing the rank and file. Instead of waging a campaign to wipe out the present intolerable conditions that confront the workers they have determined to wage a relentless war against the increased power of the Trade Union Educational League.

In the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union the bureaucratic machine is endeavoring to remove all the active league workers from the responsible offices in the union. Without any justifiable or constitutional motives the general officers have conducted a vile campaign against the Cloak Makers' Joint Board of Philadelphia. Thru all kinds of methods they have attempted to remove the joint board, for the only reason that it was composed of league members. The executive board of Dressmakers local 22 was put under charges because the majority of its members are connected with the league. In Chicago the Vice President of the International, Perlstein, has rejected nominated candidates for the sole reason that they were with the league. According to Perlstein's statement he only carried out the order of the president and the general executive board of the International. The President himself has in his official statements declared that they, that is his International machine, will under no circumstances permit that any part of the organization should be under the leadership of left officers.

In the Amalgamated also, steps have been taken against the Trade Union Educational League. The General Executive Board has officially made clear its desire in this respect to a committee of the League. It presented to the committee a

demand that the league be immediately disbanded.

Every one is well acquainted with the campaign that is being conducted against the League in the Furriers' Union. There reigns a fascist band that suppresses the will of the rank and file with an iron hand. This fascist band has brazenly denied the right of any union member who is a league member or sympathetic to the league to run for office.

In the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, League members have been prevented from receiving nominations and being elected, thru slugging and other terrorist methods used in the recent elections that were held.

These conditions are the result of a systematic well planned campaign on the part of the union bureaucracy. This union bureaucracy have been driven to extreme measures on account of the pressure exerted upon them by the yellow "Forward". They have determined to ruthlessly wipe out the militant groups of the rank and file.

Reasons Why They Fight Leagues

The formal excuse given for their attacks upon the leagues is that the League is a dual union. The truth, however, is that the bureaucratic leaders themselves know that this is a deliberate lie, because the leagues do not consist of dues-paying members. The leagues are composed of those groups in the unions that have progressive opinions. The leagues have a clear and consistent program on all trade union questions. The program of the league expresses the militant class spirit of the rank and file. This is the main reason why

unions should conduct an ever greater struggle against the oppression of the workers. The struggle shall be waged on a class conscious militant basis and not upon a wavering diplomatic basis.

Against these demands of the Trade Union Educational League the old reactionary trade union officialdom stands in bitter opposition. That is why they are out to destroy the leagues which are striving to realize the establishment of these demands. They maintain absolute silence about the secret clubs which are functioning in almost every union. You do not hear them speak about the Pure and Simple League in the Cloak Makers' Union; the Welfare Club in the Cutters' union; the Council in the Amalgamated; the Circle in the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union. This silence is maintained in spite of the fact that most of these organizations are dues paying organizations. They do not function only as caucuses as the sections of the Trade Union Educational League but also as weapons in the hands of the right wing officialdom. They are always at the service of the old reactionary trade union bureaucracy and are for that reason held legitimate while the leagues that fight for policies in the interest of the whole trade union movement are held to be illegitimate and therefore subject to destruction.

Rank and File Takes up the Fight

If the old machine believes that it will be successful in its efforts to destroy the leagues it is mistaken.

The general conference of the Trade Union Educational League that was mentioned above has decided to fight this vicious onslaught of the reactionaries. The Trade Union Educational League will not permit the reactionaries to terrorize the rank and file, to expel the militants and to split the unions. The fight to destroy the leagues will only tend to solidify all the active progressive and militant forces in the unions. These forces will ultimately give the deathblow to the old reactionary union bureaucracy. They will be thrown out of their positions of power, and the rank and file will then be able to enter with all its might the struggle against the organized power of capital.

The machine is mistaken if it believes that terrorism will hasten its efforts to wipe out the leagues. The machine is entirely mistaken if it believes that with the methods that have been applied in the Furriers Union and the Fancy Leather Goods Union will help it in preventing the progressive militant forces in their struggles in the interests of the workers in the unions. Eventually the old reactionary bureaucracy will meet its doom and the leagues will be the victors in the struggle, because their fight is a fight for the welfare of the masses.

FIGHT THE YELLOW BUREAUCRATS!

Able speakers will reply to the attack on the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League.

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Speakers: William Z. Foster, secretary, Trade Union Educational League, Benjamin Gitlow, Alexander Bittleman, Gold, of the Furriers, Abrams of the Amalgamated, a spokesman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and others prominent in the progressive labor movement.

the old reactionary bureaucratic machine is against the league.

One of the main points in the league program is the organization of the unorganized. The greatest calamity for the unions in the needle trades is the fact that at present the majority of the workers in the industry are unorganized. This is the reason why the greatest amount of work is being done in various scab shops. As a result of this condition tens of thousands of workers and their families are on the verge of starvation.

The league maintains that the leadership over the union should be assumed by the rank and file. Just as long as this will not be accomplished the tens of thousands of unorganized workers will remain unorganized. The present bureaucratic union leaders will never carry out the organization of the unorganized. They are isolated from the rank and file and have nothing but contempt for the broad masses. They look upon the union as a business enterprise the purpose of which is to serve their personal interests and that of their union machine and not the interests of the organization's membership. The league maintains that in the unions the shop delegate system should be introduced. This will lead to the participation of the broad membership of the union in the activities of the organization. This will give an opportunity to the rank and file to take over the leadership.

The league definitely stands and works for amalgamation. The league maintains that all the unions in the needle trades should be united into one industrial organization. Only then will the workers thru their united power be able to counteract the power of the manufacturers. The same policy of Amalgamation the league strives to institute in all the other labor organizations.

The league further maintains that the workers of all the unions should thru their organizations be united in a big political party. For this reason the league is for the organization of a powerful labor party, a party that should fight for the interests of the workers on the political field.

The league maintains that the

Swedish and Swiss Crafts Amalgamate

(By the Federated Press.)

ZURICH, Switzerland. — The clothing workers of Switzerland have amalgamated with the leather workers and formed the "Bekleidungs- und Lederarbeiter-Verband" of Switzerland. Thus practically the whole clothing industry of the country is brought under one hat.

The new union includes tailors, seamstresses, cloth hat and cap makers, on the one hand, and shoemakers, furriers, glove makers, saddlers and tanners on the other. The leather workers have brought 5,342 members into the union, the clothing workers 2,847 members.

In the opinion of E. Musil, national president, the amalgamation has meant concentration of power and a large saving of expense. The separate offices have been abandoned; one organ, the "Bekleidungs- und Lederarbeiter", has been established; above all, an effective strike fund is being built up.

Swedish Unions Amalgamate

STOCKHOLM. — The Swedish Federation of Labor now embraces 33 unions, with 3,999 locals and 300,221 members, of whom 274,520 are men and 25,701 women.

There has been a general trend toward amalgamation and concentration along industrial lines. Thus the hat makers and furriers amalgamated during 1922; likewise the bakers and confectioners, with the butchers, formed the Food Workers' Industrial Union.

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

U. S. Military Dictator Wood Thinks All's Quiet in Manila

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

"All is quiet in Manila!"

General Leonard Wood, U. S. military governor of the Philippines, has cabled this report to the War Department at Washington, D. C.

This does not refer to the weather, altho the same cablegram carried a report of the recent typhoon that swept the Province of Samar. "The General" refers to the danger of the growing unrest among the Filipinos, translated into words in the language of Manual Roxas, speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives, who says:

"He (Wood) has sought to establish a colonial despotism worse than that which has cursed our country for the last ten generations."

It is significant that the New York Times, in reporting the speech by Roxas in which this declaration was made, carefully omitted these words. The Times doesn't want the workers and farmers of the United States to know that the Filipinos feel U. S. imperialism to be worse than Spain's bloody tyranny; that the American, Wood, is a greater oppressor than the Spaniard, Weyler.

Thus the brutality of the growing American World Empire outstrips the agonies inflicted upon colonials by the British in India and Egypt, the French in Morocco, the Belgians in the Congo.

It is now nearly a quarter of a century that the various capitalist old party administrations at Washington, D. C., have pledged self-determination to the Filipinos, declaring that they will be allowed to govern themselves as soon as they show themselves "fit for self-government."

This fiction is now completely exposed as "Governor" Woods seeks to tighten his militaristic grip on behalf of American imperialism upon the colonial slaves of the United States in the Philippines. Again in the language of Roxas:

"He (Wood) has sought to establish a government, not of popular expression, but of suppression of the popular will."

"In matters pertaining to the Philippine National Bank, General Wood has done that which no head of any business organization would do; he has taken the advice of the man most interested in killing our government banking institutions. That is William T. Nolting, president and general manager of a rival, competing bank."

"As to the development of our vast natural resources, the Governor has sought to denationalize our national economic organization, accepting advice from those American interests that want to come here to exploit our sources on a large scale."

The American record in the Philippines is only approached by the terror under the Stars and Stripes over the natives of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hayti and other islands.

It was even before the seizure of the Philippine Islands by Admiral George Dewey, that President William McKinley, in a message to Congress (April 11, 1898) took the usual hypocritical, high moral stand on the subject of forcible annexation, in the following words: "I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That, by our code of morals, would be criminal aggression."

When Admiral Dewey sailed his ships into Manila Bay, the Filipinos under Aguinaldo were already in possession of all the rest of the Island of Luzon. In the language of ex-U. S. Senator Pettigrew, "After (Aguinaldo) set up a government, a government suitable to those people, a government which protected life and property thruout the entire area of that country."

Aguinaldo also took from the Spanish oppressors, the Southern Islands, the Island of Panay, of Cebu and Negros, and organized governments there. American imperialism reaped the fruits of this Filipino revolution against Spain, when it sent Dewey into Manila Bay and crushed the Spanish remnants there, "without the loss of a single man."

The United States, therefore, is in the Philippines as a conqueror, not as the liberator of the Filipinos from Spain. Again, in the words that Pettigrew uses in his "Imperial Washington," "We are there as armed banditti that would enter your premises in daytime, and we have no more right to be there than the bandit has the right to enter and despoil your home."

Yet it is the right that imperialism takes in order to find new fields of exploitation. The colonial colonies of Washington, D. C., in the Philippines find themselves in the same chains as the slaves of the imperialism that lives in London, Paris, Rome or Tokio. Their chains will not break and fall away until all imperialism has been conquered by Workers' Governments everywhere. A Workers' Government in the United States will bring the liberation of the oppressed, not only in the Philippines, but in all other lands where the Stars and Stripes have been raised as camouflage to aid the great international trusts in their plots to pillage the subject peoples of the earth.

"All is quiet in Manila," cables the Military Dictator Wood, but the will to be free smolders everywhere. Soon it will burst into flames, even among the people "liberated" by American imperialism.

Teachers for Soviet Recognition

Chicago. — The American Federation of Teachers at its annual convention in Chicago passed the following resolution:

"That the federation, interested primarily in world reconstruction, urge upon the United States government that all barriers tending to prevent commercial intercourse and the ultimate recognition of the present Russian government be removed."



"Dictator" Wood

Things As They Are

By JAMES P. CANNON

WORDS VERSUS DEEDS

The development of the Communist movement in America from theory to action is producing many fruitful results. Our Labor Party campaign, for example, although only in its infancy, has already created a profound impression thruout the labor movement. A few months of organized struggle on this point has caused more alarm to the labor bureaucrats than twenty years of vague "sentiment" for independent action. And the internal effects of this activity are also very great. Our party itself was never in such a healthy condition. The destructive factional disturbances which characterized our theoretical youth are not much in evidence during these busy days. And we are also learning, thru these external actions of the party, who are the communists of words and who are the communists of deed. We are beginning to understand very clearly what Marx meant when he said, "One step of actual movement is worth a dozen programs."

In the early days of the movement, when it was all talk and theory, the biggest talkers and theoretical quibblers were considered the best communists. But many of them who shone so brilliantly in abstract controversy fail miserably in concrete action. Communism to them was only a cloak. It hid them very well for a while, but action pulls it aside and shows them as they really are.

Take the case of Dennis Batt. He was not able to get along with us because he said we were not revolutionary enough. For fear that we would lead him into reform and compromise he parted company with us long ago. That was the Batt of theory. In actual practice he is showing another face entirely.

Since breaking with us Batt has become editor of the official organ of the Detroit Federation of Labor; and the uncompromising Marxist has shown a remarkable ability to conform and adapt himself to the requirements of this official position. When the Detroit Federation in last election made the fundamental error of adopting a nonpartisan political policy, Batt made no real fight against it. He who broke with us over the turn of a phrase did not break with the leaders of the Detroit Federation on a question of principle. He edited the paper which every week advocated the election of candidates of the capitalist parties.

Last week, however, he came to open conflict with John T. Taylor, president, and Frank Martel, organizer, of the Detroit Federation. These progressive unionists were on the floor advocating the affiliation of the Detroit Federation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and Batt, the revisionist, was opposing them bitterly. On the side of Taylor and Martel were the class-conscious delegates, the radicals and Communists. On the side of Batt were the delegates who are still confused on the issue of independent political action and the reactionaries who are flatly opposed to it. In concrete action Batt made an alliance with the reactionary anti-Labor party elements against the progressive trade unionists and the Communists. He played the game of the enemies of the Labor Party. He who "went along" with Taylor and Martel when they were against the Labor Party broke with them when they were for it. He turned to the right when they turned to the left.

Yes, action is good for the movement.

It clears the air that once was thick. It clears the air that once was thick with sterile debate. It establishes the criterion of deeds instead of words and makes it plain that the phrase-Communists are separated from us not so much by theoretical considerations as by practical ones. They do not want to fight for the things we fight for, against the powerful enemies on the other side of the line.

Nova Scotia Labor Fights Coal Barons

By JOHN ROBUR

(Staff Correspondent Federated Press and "The Worker")

OTTAWA, Can.—With the gradual return to work of the miners and steel workers in Nova Scotia attention here is directed to the situation likely to arise in the steel-coal industry. There is a strong feeling in well-informed circles that there should be a thorough investigation of the British Empire Steel Corporation and all its ramifications.

There have been a number of inquiries into conditions in the closely connected industries of coal and steel in the maritime provinces, but so far the controlling operations themselves have never had the searchlight turned steadily upon them. The coal industry in Nova Scotia is more than a century old, but the germs of the present unhealthy situation began to develop in the nineties, when the Dominion Coal Co. and the Dominion Steel Co. were established. Another big company, Nova Scotia Steel and Coal, was later thrown into the field, and there has been more than two decades in which "watered stock" forms probably at least half of the capital outstanding.

The unsound condition of "Besco," as the corporation is known in Cape Breton, has long been one of the chief causes of industrial turmoil in the whole industry. The workers know that the bosses are reaping huge profits out of stock jobbing if not out of coal and steel operations, and have no confidence in the men for whom they are working. If the industry were put on a sound financial basis, the workers would have some assurance of fairness and that would go a long way to secure peace.

The present head of Besco, Roy M. Wolvin, is neither a steel nor coal operator. He has made his money by promoting. Recently he figured with his brother, Lee Wolvin, in an attempt to control shipping on the great lakes which shocked

Commencing Next Week A SERIES OF ARTICLES on "The Workers Party Today—Tomorrow"

In this series, written by James P. Cannon, the following subjects will be discussed:

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- The New Party Versus the Old.
- Developing a Systematic Propaganda.
- What's Ahead?

parliament into adopting drastic legislation.

These circumstances have done much to educate public opinion. There is a feeling that if there is another investigation of the steel-coal industry, it should not stop with wages, but should make a thorough probe of the Besco corporation.

Foster Coming for Two Days

William Z. Foster will be in New York August 22-23. The Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. has arranged a Mass Meeting in New Star Casino on the 23rd and on the 22nd a meeting of all active militants, secretaries and executive board members of the T. U. E. L. with Comrade Foster will be arranged. Keep the above dates open and watch for further announcements.

You can never understand capitalism until you understand Communism.

Babson Counts on Craft Unionism to Cripple Organization Drive Among Steel Workers

By CLARISSA S. WARE

In a recent bulletin to employers, subscribing to his service, Roger Babson, adviser to "Big Business," writes as follows: "Unionizing Steel.—We do not expect much of the campaign, on account of the large number of competing unions, which have never made out to hang together long enough to get anywhere, and on account of the large numbers of Negroes which have been imported into the steel industry. The trade unions make all kinds of professions about organizing Negroes. They have never actually done much of it."

The employers are counting on craft divisions and racial friction to defeat the campaign to organize the steel workers. What more striking proof would the workers ask than this?

Craft unionism defeated the great steel strike of 1919. Craft unionism divides the workers and permits the employers to use one group against another. Craft unionism breeds jealousies and divisions within the ranks of organized labor. Craft unionism is a crime against the workers. And the capitalists are today counting on craft unionism to defeat the campaign to organize the steel workers.

It is not sufficient for unions to endorse amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions. The rank and file of the craft unions must demand results, must call for action, amalgamation must be made a fact.

An industrial union of all steel workers, red, white, black, yellow, skilled and unskilled, native and foreign-born, could bring even the steel octopus to terms. Divisions of craft, color or creed are weapons in the hands of the employers, Babson's statement proves beyond a doubt, that they realize the value of these divisions and will foster them to the utmost.

The solidarity of labor demands the amalgamation of craft unions into powerful industrial unions of all workers in the industry.

Unusual Outing by Defense Council for August 25; Bathing, Dancing, Hiking, Games

After searching for many months for a suitable place for a summer outing, which will furnish real enjoyment for all, the Labor Defense Council has at last found an ideal spot. Tucked away among the beautiful hills of Westchester county lies Sherwood Park. The Labor Defense Council has secured the use of 24 acres of the finest picnic ground within the vicinity of New York City.

There are large grassy spaces for games and outdoor sports as well as shady nooks for quiet rest and comfort. Special automobiles will meet passengers at the 21st Street station of the White Plains Division of the Interboro Subway (5 Cents fare) and will speed them in comfort to the Park, from 10:30 A. M. to 12 noon, returning at 8 p. m.

Tickets which are one dollar for adults and fifty cents for children, include all privileges without any extra charge.

The combination of bathing facilities and charming country is not only an unusual feature of the outing, but it is exceedingly welcome after the customary roasting at the seashore. The beach has also a fine place for wading for the little folks.

Tickets also include dancing, bowling, outdoor games and many other unusual features which will be made public later.

Tickets are now on sale at the office of the Labor Defense Council, Room 434, 80 East 11th St. Mail orders will be filled promptly. Since the outing will be insured, all money for tickets will be cheerfully refunded in case of rain.

BLOOD AND STEEL!

The Story of the Struggle of the Workers Against Czar Gary's Twelve-Hour Day in the Steel Industry.

By JAY LOVESTONE

The Twelve-Hour Day in the Steel Industry has aroused the interest of not only the workers involved. A murmur of public disapproval is heard thruout the country against this relic of serfdom. Public men, churchmen and social organizations are giving expression to the utmost antipathy to it. The American Federation of Labor has entered upon another attempt to organize the steel workers; while the Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party are actively engaged in organizing the workers for a victorious fight against the inhuman twelve-hour day.

"BLOOD AND STEEL" tells the whole story of this inhuman plot against the workers. Read it, get others to read it. Order a number of copies and sell to all workers in all industries. The steel workers must have your support in their fight—which is also your fight.

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WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

Pittsburgh Labor Braves Rain, Hears Labor Defense Speakers in Spite of Steel-Coal Terror

(Special to "THE WORKER")

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The indomitable spirit of the working class of Pittsburgh, which has repeatedly manifested itself in such terrific struggles as the great railroad strike of 1877, the Homestead strike, the McKees Rocks strike and the two great Westinghouse strikes, and which manifested itself in many ways despite terrible persecution and oppression, was wonderfully in evidence Sunday, August 5th.

Following the raids of April 27th, when 23 workers were unjustly seized, as a later result 9 were indicted because they belonged to the Workers Party, a recognized political organization in this State, there was formed a "United Front" of all groups of the working class, local unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor, Socialists and the Communists.

It was recognized by everyone interested in Free Speech that unless this last outrage on the part of the political tools of the Steel Trust and great Coal Barons was challenged, that no freedom of expression or opinion would be possible in this district.

The sentiment was crystallized in the Labor Defense and Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania. This committee planned an outing and picnic for Sunday, August 5, at a place known as Heinz Grove, a picturesque spot on the outskirts of the city, which has been used all summer by various labor organizations for picnics and outings.

C. E. Ruthenberg, of New York, was invited as the speaker of the day. The picnic was widely advertised for about six weeks, so that the county authorities, who are prosecuting the "Reds" had plenty of opportunity to know of the proposed picnic. The picnic grounds are located in a small political division known as Ross Township.

To the petty officials of this insignificant division of Allegheny County the District Attorney's office assigned the dirty task of sabotaging the picnic. When the Burgess was seen, because of rumors that were in circulation that the police officials of the Borough were going to stop the picnic, he pretended ignorance, and said to see the Constable. When the Constable was seen he stated that an injunction was gotten out against the owner of the Grove and that he would not allow the picnic to take place in the Grove. He would not say who was the author of the injunction, why it was gotten out, except to intimate that there would be prosecution under the "Blue Laws" of Pennsylvania, if the picnic was held on the "Holy Sabbath Day."

He also stated that there would be trucks on the grounds, and that any refreshments or food that was brought there, would be confiscated and hauled away. He very plainly gave the Committee to understand that any person who acted in any official capacity in the picnic would be arrested.

While several thousand people had planned to attend the picnic the word rapidly traveled thruout the District that there was a question whether the police authorities would allow the picnic to be held, because it was on Sunday, which, however, was not the real reason, and as a result many hundreds stayed away from the picnic.

Miners Come Long Distances

In spite of these rumors, however, hundreds of miners came long distances, some of them coming from as far away as Charleroi, Bentleyville and Johnstown. One truck load drove about 35 miles to be at this picnic, and were there early in the day. Due to the threat of the police it was thought best to have no refreshments nor to sell anything on the grounds. No dancing was allowed, and there was no music. In this way any possible technical interference with the picnic was avoided. It is not hard to realize what a trial this was to the spirit of the enthusiastic workers who came expecting to have a good time. They bore up bravely, and waited patiently until the middle of the afternoon for the speaking, although showers occurred, and many had to stand in the dreaching rain to hear the speakers. Fred H. Merrick was Chairman of the meeting, and Jane W. Tait, of the Labor Defense and

Chicago Out for F.F.L.P. Affiliations

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—With the actual formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, our campaign for independent political action by the workers has naturally taken a more definite shape thruout the District. In every city our branches are busy planning the best methods to secure affiliations of labor organizations in this Party. Several local unions have already affiliated, many have heard the reports and are calling special meetings to take action.

The recent decisions made by the Central Executive Committee, to strengthen our Party, so that it be better fitted for this work, thru an intensive membership campaign, is being particularly welcomed by our District. Complete plans for a successful campaign will be worked out and forwarded to our branches.

The Chicago City Central which is always active, is again sending speakers to all branch meetings in the city to take up these points and prepare for a unified campaign. Our members there have attended the industrial group meetings called by the T. U. E. L. "in great numbers and the last monthly T. U. E. L. meeting showed an attendance of about 1,000. Thus the two great issues of the united front of labor, Amalgamation and Independent Political Action of the workers have become logically unified.

A general membership meeting will be called in Chicago in the earlier part of September, date to be announced later.

Our Milwaukee local had a well attended membership meeting at the last visit of the District Organizer.

General membership meetings have also been held with the District Organizer present by Local Lake County, Ind., and South Bend, Ind. In the latter place a few new members were enrolled in the English branch and our Comrades in general thruout this territory, formerly practically impregnable, are getting more of a foothold for the revolutionary working class message. A live discussion has been started everywhere on the need of building a mass political party of the workers. But it is also reported that the Ku Klux Klan are secretly gaining many adherents among those workers who are not yet aware of the fact that they will simply be used as tools by this heinous organization against their own class.

Arrangements have been made for an organization tour by the District Organizer to Peoria, Ill., and Moline, Ill., to attempt to establish definite connections and organize the many sympathetic workers in these localities.

Bouck Enthusiastic About West

CHICAGO.—"Live labor and farmer groups from the Atlantic to the Pacific are working toward unity of labor on the political field," reads a statement by National Secretary Joseph Manley, Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

"William Bouck of the Western Progressive Farmers, and chairman of our party, reports that the Pacific Northwest is enthusiastically greeting the idea of the united federated party. The Los Angeles Labor party has endorsed the action of its delegates.

"It is evident that a party based on federation of the constituent groups for united action in the political campaigns is exactly suited to the American issues. The January convention in Chicago of the Federated Farmer-Labor party will show the power of the federated unity idea."

Mexicans Legalize May First

MEXICO CITY.—The first of May will be declared a national holiday in Mexico if the bill presented in the National Chamber of Deputies at the instigation of certain unions is passed.

Inasmuch as this year the first of May was to all appearances a national holiday, the general strike in all industrial centers being nearly complete, all government offices being closed and a memorial explaining the significance of international labor day written by Joe Vasconcelos, minister of public education, being read to all school children, it would appear that the new bill proposes merely the legalization of an observance already enforced by labor.

Metal Workers, Attention!

A special meeting of the General Metal Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League will be held this Saturday, August 11th, 3 P. M., 208 East 12th St., Room 2.

Tool makers, Machinists, Jewelry Workers, Sheet Metal Workers, Moulders, All progressive metal workers are invited to attend this meeting.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ

THIS COPY OF THE WORKER

KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The Revolutionary Crisis in Germany

We reprint here a manifesto of the German Communist Party. The manifesto is headed: "To the Party," and shows clearly the situation in Germany as well as the position of our sister Party. Germany is going thru a deep revolutionary crisis. The Cuno government is a government in name only. It has no real power. The money crisis has evolved into a food crisis. The Ruhr situation is daily becoming more acute. The capitalist class is no longer in a position to fulfill even the simplest duties of a governing class. It can neither give food to the masses nor save and maintain the unity of the nation. Even the ruined lower middle class and intellectuals are realizing more and more that salvation lies in the rule of the proletariat. The working class itself is leaving the Social-Democratic Party in ever larger masses, and is streaming to the Communist Party. Fascism and Communism—these are the two alternatives for Germany today. The most important part of the manifesto of the German Communist Party is as follows:

The Cuno cabinet is bankrupt. The internal and external crisis threatens to lead to an acute catastrophe in the near future.

We are facing a hard struggle! We must develop the highest readiness for action. There is no relying upon the Social-Democracy and trade union bureaucracy. Like in all previous defensive struggles of the revolutionary proletariat against the counter-revolution and Fascism, the Social-Democracy and trade union bureaucracy will this time again leave the workers in the lurch and betray them.

The Party must realize clearly that the S. D. P. (German Social-Democratic Party) and the trade union leaders will fall completely in any serious defensive struggle against Fascism, and that there can be no thought of their being leaders of the working class.

We Communists can be victorious in the struggle against the counter-revolution, only if we succeed in leading the non-partisan laboring masses together with us into the struggle, without and against the treacherous Social-Democratic Party and trade union bureaucracy.

For this purpose, all preparation must be made for an effective defensive action.

The control committee with the help of the impoverished small business men and small peasants, as well as with the help of the farm workers, against the big speculators, big business men and big land owners, must immediately attend to the preparation for supplying the fighting zone with food.

The common proletarian defense organizations must be organized without delay out of the industries, despite all resistance.

The Party sections which are not finished with the work of creating industrial nuclei must bring into being effective industrial nuclei immediately, within the shortest time.

Connections of the section executives and the local branches of the sections with one another and with the national executive, and the courier service as well, must be organized immediately with the greatest care.

The Party must make its organization so forceful that even in open civil war it will not fail in a single section.

In case of the crippling of legal means of communication such as railroad and post in a general strike or in military struggles, the connection between the organizations, the printing and distribution of propaganda material, etc., must be absolutely assured.

The plans of the Fascists are worked out in detail in military fashion. They have issued the slogan: "Carrying out of the civil war in the most brutal and violent manner. All workers who offer the Fascists resistance shall be shot when captured. In order to break the strike, every tenth man of the strikers shall be shot."

The Fascist uprising can be quelled only if the red terror is set up against the white terror. If the Fascist, who are armed to the teeth, strike at the proletarian fighters, the latter must destroy all Fascist without pity. If the Fascist stand every tenth striker against the wall, the revolutionary workers must stand every fifth man belonging to the Fascist organizations against the wall.

The Fascist organizations have complete military equipment. The workers who as yet possess no weapons, must know how and where to procure weapons in case of an attack. In the main, the unarmed working class will at first be able to beat down the heavily armed Fascist, only thru their mass; and only in the open struggle against the weapons of the Fascist, will they be able to arm themselves in such a way as to press forward to victory.

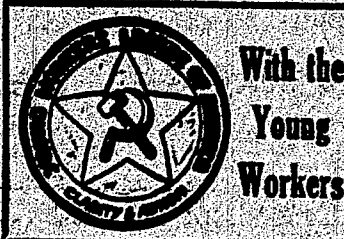
Our comrades will have to sustain the greatest attack in the old and newly occupied region. Abandoned by the German capitalist parties, betrayed by the Social-Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, under the pressure of that formidable French militarism which pursues its aim brutally, pitilessly, the Communist Party will have to parry the attack alone. It cannot oppose the French armed power with armed power; but with so much the more pressure must the weapon of political mass strike be applied.

The German Communist Party must lead the entire working class under its banner into the struggle. It must therefore attempt now, immediately, every means, to win over the Social-Democratic, Christian and non-partisan laboring masses for the energetic defensive fight against the creation of a Rhenish-Westphalian buffer state.

But the Party must also be determined under certain circumstances itself to make the call for the struggle and to take over alone the leadership of the struggle.

This action means, at the very least, the setting up of the flag of revolutionary resistance against the Entente Imperialism, the resistance which will prepare the victorious defensive struggle in alliance with Soviet Russia against French imperialism, leading towards the goal of the liberation of Germany.

We are moving towards decisive struggles. We must prepare ourselves and the masses as well, without nervousness, with coolness and a



The Salsman Tour

The National Office of the Young Workers League of America, 2517 Fullerston Ave., Chicago, Ill., announced that the tour of its organizer, Max Salsman, is being extended into September. The itinerary is as follows:

Brantwood and Clifford, Wis., Aug. 18; Iron River and Crystal Falls, Mich., Aug. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; Bessemer, Mich., Aug. 28 and 31; Ypsilanti, Mich., Aug. 29; Ironwood, Mich., Aug. 30 and Sept. 1; North Ironwood, Mich., Sept. 1 and 2; Meadville, Wis., Sept. 2.

This will conclude the territory in and about the Gogebic Iron Range from where he will proceed to the copper region of Michigan and the Marquette Iron Range and Soo, Michigan region.

The trip of Comrade Salsman is meeting with unprecedented success. New branches are being organized and it is expected that the trip will bring hundreds of new members into the League. The Finnish Federation of the Party, and the local Comrades are giving the organizer splendid help, both organizationally, financially, and morally.

For further information concerning the tour, address the Secretary of the League at the above address.

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

By Anise

"What is the present situation in education?" I asked of Lunacharsky, commissar of education. It requires a special permit to see him as he lives in the Kremlin.

He answered: "It is impossible for a central government to do all the financing of education, though during the past years, when we had no financial system, we tried to handle everything from the center. Under the new arrangement, 75 percent of the cost of schools is put upon the local authorities, except for the technical and upper schools, which the central government still pays for."

"But we have taught 13 million adults to read and write during the past two and a half years. Under the czar only 20 percent of the army could read and write. By the time of the Polish war, we had brought it up to 65 percent. Now every soldier, except the newcomers, can read and write."

Red-Baiting Judge in Kansas City Is Caught Red-Handed in Revolting Crime; Faces Trial

(Special to "The Worker")

KANSAS CITY, MO.—One of the stock-in-trade arguments employed by the employers against the militants of the workers' political and industrial movements is that they are in favor of using force and violence.

The more ardent an advocate one is of vigorously defending working class interests, the more likely is he to be painted as guilty of bloodshed, murder, and the most heinous crimes conceivable, by the agents of the employing class.

The fact of the matter is that this tactic employed by the capitalists and their lackeys is simply that much camouflage used to hide their own dastardly acts of the most gruesome crimes of force, violence and bloodshed against the workers. Every strike, every political campaign of the workingmen, every struggle of Organized Labor for better conditions brings out the truth of this contention.

But very often, even the individual capitalist advocates of merciless suppression of the fighting representatives of the workers expose themselves as being guilty of indescribably revolting outrages against even the most elementary conceptions of "peace and order" and human life.

The Case in Kansas City

The other day there occurred here such a case of a most flagrant nature. It will be recalled that on April 11, a meeting held in behalf of the cause of constitutional liberties for workingmen was raided by the police authorities. Four workers of those arrested were fined \$200 each.

The Judge who denied the workers the right to speak and gather funds for the defense of the workingmen arrested, in St. Joseph, Michigan, was Judge Edward J. Fleming, of the Kansas South Side Court. This robed tyrant then thundered at and poured Hell's damnation against the Communists.

He said that there was no place for such terrible people in his own Kansas City. He posed as a great lover of peace and life and swore volleys that he was imposing this severe penalty on the Communists simply because he was desirous of protecting the population from force and violence and bloodshed.

Fleming Caught Red-Handed

Of course Judge Fleming spared no energy in crowning himself as a great apostle of "law and order" and peace and humanity. He sought to hide behind these phrases in order to crush the movement of the militant workers in Kansas City and break up the Workers Party in particular. Now it turns out to be that the really guilty one of spilling blood and committing heinous crimes is the Judge himself.

Here is the story in a nutshell. A motor car owned and driven by Judge Fleming and carrying several workers was returning from a chicken dinner resort early in the morning of July 1st. It plunged over a fifteen-

Americans Speak at World Conference of Communists in Moscow

Among the speakers at the enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Communist International, in Moscow, were Alexander Trachtenberg and Israel Amter of the Workers Party of the United States, and Charles Johnson, Workers Party of Canada. They spoke on the report rendered by Chairman Zinoviev as part as follows:

By ALEX. TRACHTENBERG

He was pleased to hear the references made by Zinoviev to the splendid strides made by the American Party in the past year. If the American Party has improved it is due to the action adopted at the last International Congress.

He wished to deal with the application to America of the new slogan of a "Workers' and Farmers' Government" issued by the International. There is in the United States a large farmer population, the position of which had recently come to resemble that of the European peasants. Many of them are gradually losing possession of the land they had got free 25 years ago. They were sinking to the position of landless tenant farmers. Statistics collected last year showed, that 75 percent of farm were mortgaged, and the indebtedness of the farmers had increased 13 percent over 1910. The farmer population had decreased because many had left the country for the cities. The temporary war prosperity of the farmers has since been snatched away by the railroads, elevator companies and other intermediaries.

This position of the farmers has induced them to organize their own political party. In the few years of its existence the Non-Partisan League has gained considerable political successes. It was advocating the nationalization of the railroads, storage houses, elevators, etc.

The Workers Party had taken note of this position and had issued the slogan of the Workers' and the Working Farmers' Government. But the slogan was not without its dangers. The American Socialist Party had also gone amongst the farming population, but it had been ill-advised to fuse with the Non-Partisan League and similar political parties, with the result that in many States it became as a party, completely lost. It is important that when the slogan is issued by the Party in America it be interpreted as working along with the working farmers and not with the farmers' political parties.

By ISRAEL AMTER

He believed that in America, the slogan of the Workers' and Farmers' Government was necessary, but it was common with the British comrades he was of the opinion that it should be so framed that the poor and working farmer would be got to understand, that there was a cleavage between him and the exploiting farmer. To secure such a cleavage would be a victory for us. There was no danger that the peasant farmer would be a danger to the proletarian dictatorship.

By CHARLES JOHNSON

(Canada)

Canada is predominantly an agricultural country with a large population of poor and small tenant farmers. These farmers are in such a hopeless state that many are selling their farms entirely. In the Western States there are 150,000 Ukrainians and Russian emigrant farmers. Last year they sent a delegation to the District Party Convention of Manitoba demanding that the Party should come to their assistance.

The farmers' organization was controlled by the rich grain growers and the delegation asked the Convention to assist them in forming a rival party for the poorer farmers. The Convention referred the matter to the Dominion Convention. When the latter considered the matter, the part felt itself too inexperienced and un-informed to formulate a policy.

It accepted the principle of "Workers' and Peasants' Government" issued by the International, but this slogan still faced the party with the question, whether the poor peasant should be taken into the party, or whether they should be organized into a separate farmers' league. The Party accordingly set up a Commission to study the question.

Get the Truth

Editor, "The Worker"—I saw your paper in the school library Wednesday afternoon and read every page. It sure was good to read about the convention in your paper after the way the big capitalist paper reported it. The dope on the steel industry came right to the scratch. I am very glad that "THE WORKER" is so actively fighting for the realization of the ideal and purpose of the movement. I would like to take advantage of your 15 weeks subscription to "THE WORKER" and I am enclosing a U. S. Money Order for Fifty Cents for same. I am working my way thru school, am going home to Madison, Wis. When I shall return to Valparaiso, shall be in a position to take a year's subscription to your paper. I am glad that the workers and farmer went out at the convention thanks to your efforts. Here's hoping for an equally successful year of action—F. S. Valparaiso, Ind.

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

President of Russia Lauds F. S. R. Relief

Enemies of The Friends of Soviet Russia have made the charge that money collected was not used for Russian relief, but for propaganda aimed to break up the unions.

The F. S. R. has in its files a score of cables and several letters from Russia acknowledging the good work done in Russia, thru The International Workers' Relief. One of these is from Lenin.

The most recent of these acknowledgments comes from M. I. Kalinin, president of the All-Russian Executive Committee. It is dated July 12, 1923, and reads as follows:

"Dear Friends: In connection with the International Conference of Economic Aid to Russia, which is now taking place in Berlin at the initiative of the International Workers' Relief to Soviet Russia, I would like to make special note of your conspicuous activities in fighting the famine and its after-effects in Russia.

The assistance afforded by the Friends of Soviet Russia in America, who supplied several thousands of children in various children's homes, shipped hundreds of thousands of suits of clothes and large quantities of foodstuffs and medical supplies. In addition to dozens of tractors, altogether to the value of over 3,000,000 gold roubles, was a substantial and important help to the whole Russian people in its endeavors to overcome the famine and reconstruct the ruined economy of the country.

I have considerable pleasure also in making note of the fact that the extensive humanitarian activities which you have conducted at hundreds of meetings and thru the press have helped to throw light on the true state of affairs in Russia, and has at the same time helped to bring both nations closer together in a friendly understanding.

I thank you heartily in the name of the Russian Government and the Central Committee for Combating the After-effects of the Famine and wish success to your activities in the future.

President All-Russian Central Executive Committee and Central Committee for Combating Aftereffects of Famine.

(Signed) M. I. KALININ.

Dist. 2, New York, Notice

To all delegates who attended the Chicago Convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the Conference at Albany.

Comrades: You are urgently requested to attend a meeting on Friday, August 11, 6 P. M., at 208 East 12th St., Room 2, New York.

This meeting will take up the question of calling a Conference for the formation of a local city branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Defer all other work on that evening and be present at the meeting. Benjamin Lifshitz, District Organizer, District 2, Workers Party.

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

Lewis and the Progressives

The following editorial by T. G. Lawton, editor of the Knox County, Indiana, Labor News, is very pertinent at this moment. It shows what the rank and file think of President John L. Lewis and his reactionary policy. Here it is:

By T. G. LAWTON, Editor, Knox County (Ind.) Labor News

I have seen by the daily press that the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers has gone on record to expel all members who participated in the Pittsburgh convention to unite all of the progressives in the ranks.

It looks like the fellows who claim that the radicals in the ranks of the union are trying to destroy the union are themselves the ones who are trying and making good at destroying the organizations.

If the radicals, in my opinion, wanted to destroy the organization, they would fall in line with the crowd that believes in rule or ruin, for it seems to me that no one could do a better job in tearing down the principles of the union than the present bunch of international officials are doing.

The international officials should have learned long ago that they cannot get the support of the rank and file of the organization when they refuse to give anyone a fair and impartial trial for any offense that he is charged with. When the organization refuses to do that much for the most humble one in the union, then the union is not fit to live in. We should not ask the public courts to give us a fair trial if we refuse our own members a fair trial.

It looks to one up a tree that the officials who have practiced the theory that might makes right, and have seen the results of their handiwork should be the last to complain when the same theory is worked on them. There are quite a few of the rank and file who would be staunch supporters of the policies of John L. Lewis if he had played a different hand in the trouble in Kansas. When he fellows out there were down with the courts on their backs, then Mr. Lewis asserted his power. Then he possibly thought he had knocked out Howat and Dorsey, and others who were just as loyal as they, and expected them all from the union.

Now, after two years of failure in an attempt to rid the union of members that did not agree with his policies, Lewis and his board are going to expel all of the rank and file that do not agree with him. If

See New Frame-up in Arrest of Somerset, Pa., Mine Strikers

By TOM TIPPETT

(Staff Correspondent, Federated Press and "The Worker")

BOSWELL, Pa.—As a result of an explosion which destroyed a 110-foot steel bridge on the B. & O. railroad near here, the night of July 17, six striking members of the United Mine Workers of America are in the Somerset county jail. Bail was fixed at \$5000 each by Judge John A. Berkley at a second hearing of the accused men in Somerset, July 28.

The first hearing was in Boswell before Squire Ecels, who put bail at \$2,000 per man. The miners' union, which has been conducting a strike in Somerset county for the past 16 months, will attempt to raise the \$30,000 required to liberate the union men. Their trial will be heard here Sept. 10.

John Goodensky, also a striking miner, confessed to participation in the dynamiting and implicated the other six. Bail was immediately produced for him from unknown sources.

The miners deny any part in the explosion and declare that dynamite was introduced on two other occasions by their enemies to discredit the union with the public, whose sympathy is with the strike. On those occasions, a scab's house and a railroad coal car was blown up, but the frame-up was so obvious that no strikers were held. The bridge explosion, the miners say, is a part of the same campaign, which they will be able to prove when their side of the case is heard at the trial.

Because of many other attempts made to involve the union by company dicks, the strikers have constantly had to watch their own ranks for traitors. Goodensky had been long under suspicion. He did not have the confidence of his local union and the strike leaders did not know him. After the explosion he disappeared, and the night of July 24 the Jerome barracks, where the strikers live, were broken into at 1:30 a. m. by the various police aggregations that operate here. Without warrants, an automobile load of union men was hauled to Boswell, the strike headquarters, where they were kept in the car under guard on public exhibition until 10:30 a. m. It was then learned that Goodensky, who was nowhere to be seen, had implicated them in the explosion.

After the hearing, a union committee was told by Squire Ecels that

Splitting

By MAX BEDACHT

Rigid centralization, an absolute discipline, present themselves as indispensable conditions for the functioning of a party as the head and nervous system of a class.

A party which, like the Socialist Party, pretends to combat war but at the same time carries on propaganda for war with Mexico thru Berger, a member of its executive committee, and its organ the "Milwaukee Leader," as was the case in 1916, such a party can never be the head of the working class.

How can a party represent the head of the proletariat when its most prominent member, Hillquit, one day defends the "Labor Party" in a debate with Keating, but the next day proposes and decides to maintain the alliance with this enemy of the "Labor Party"? How can a party be the head of the working class when at its Convention, Abe Cahan, with impunity dragged in the mire the Russian revolution and its leaders, while the same Convention elected Debs as chairman of the Party—Debs who has never hesitated to secure great and only too welcome applause at public meetings, by means

of Platonic declarations of love for the Russian revolution?

A revolutionary party which lays claim to leadership of the working class, should not be double-faced. It must not be one thing and appear something else. It must be an organization of resolute action and not of systematic hypocrisy. A revolutionary working class party can and should have only one fundamental principle. If it has two, it has none, except that of systematic betrayal. Either the S. P. is the party of Jewish and Christian small shop-keepers, the most useless and reactionary of all classes as they are represented by Abe Cahan, or it is the party of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy who, with the growing dissatisfaction of their members, perceive in the Hillquitian mantle a welcome cap of invisibility for their betrayal. But it cannot serve even these two masters. And to its honor and also shame let it be said, it does not do so. Its love belongs to one master only, to capitalism.

Unity of the revolutionary elements of the proletariat within such a party is organized disunity, organized helplessness. One is a fool who expects positive work from such a party. Whatever of positive Cahan does, is negated by Debs. Whatever of positive Debs accomplishes in his propaganda for amalgamation is, again negated by Lee, Oneal and the "Call." Every nail which a member of this party hammers with good will, and little skill into the coffin of capitalism, is pulled out again by another member, spitting poison and gall against the enemies of capitalism.

It is treason for revolutionists who see clearly, to remain in such a party. Their insight, their revolutionary will are of no use to the working class, because the party which, as a nervous system, should transmit this insight and this will, does not function for them. They who are supposed to represent the head of the Colossus, have no connection with the body. They share the fate of the proletarian revolutionists in Germany. On account of the lack of an independent resolute organization, they are swallowed up by the revolution, or, at best, they are disregarded by the proletariat arisen in revolt against capitalism. The illusion of unity of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, too long maintained, bears the blame for the present disruption of the German working class. The great,

single Party which should have become the source of strength of the German proletariat was the source of weakness in August 1914 and also in November 1918, and therefore the failure of the true leaders of the working class of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring, etc. To keep this historic truth in a bloody picture but at the same time to adhere to this organizational discord in the name of unity signifies nothing else than deliberate betrayal—or blindness. Those who are neither blind, nor wish to be traitors, attempted therefore to turn the S. P. in the United States into a head, a leader of the proletarian class—centralized party, in which only one basic principle holds sway, the mind; and a disciplined membership, which, infused with one will, dominated by one thought, and acting like one man, represents the nervous system of the working class.

But this movement brought harm to its supporters. The Party wished to force its leaders into the closed ranks of a revolutionary working class. But what these leaders wanted was their sacred freedom to betray the working class, not to surrender at any price, and to throw the party out of their organization. We do not wish in any way to cover up our blame in the split, but merely to establish a historical fact. The writer of these lines will never forget that at the behest of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, he, a regularly elected delegate to the S. P. Convention of September 3, 1919, was forbidden to enter the Convention hall by the same detective-sergeant McDonough who, in February 1920, at the behest of the prosecuting attorney of Chicago, escorted him as a prisoner from San Francisco to Chicago.

The formation of a revolutionary party which could be the head and the leader of the working class, had become a revolutionary duty to those who had learned from the history of the European working class. Therefore the split.

Paradoxical as it may sound, just as the unity within the S. P. represents organized discord, so was the split the necessary condition for the unity of the working class. Politically, there can hardly ever be a question of organizational unity among the working class. But the prerequisite for a victorious revolution is unity in action. This can never be organized and led by a party such as the S. P. which is internally disintegrated, which is led from the most diverse motives, and by the most diverse kinds of leaders, in varying directions, even if it had the will for it. This can be achieved by an organization, whose individual units help, with revolutionary discipline, to create an harmonious whole, which provides head and nervous system to the Colossus of the working class. That is what the Party of the Bolsheviks was in Russia. The "Workers Party" in the United States is striving more and more, and always in a more complete measure, to become that in the United States.

Next Week: The United Front.

Fight Buksa Conviction in Court Sept. 6

(Special to "The Worker")

BELLAIRE, OHIO.—The case of John Buksa, member of the United Mine Workers of Yorkville, O., who was recently convicted in the Ohio County Criminal Court, in Wheeling for the distribution of "seditious literature," will come up for consideration in the West Virginia Circuit Court of Appeals, Sept. 6th.

The importance of this case to West Virginia labor in particular and labor over the country in general, should not be underestimated. The steel, coal and lumber barons of West Virginia, thru their servile agents in the United States Department of Justice, in opening their attack upon the forces of organized labor in the state of West Virginia, have seized upon John Buksa, a member of the Workers Party, and Trustee of the miners' temple at Bellaire, O., as their first object of attack.

John Buksa's case is the first to be tried under the West Virginia "Red flag" law. Should we be unable to produce a reversal of his conviction, this will establish a vicious precedent in the state of West Virginia which the heartless employing class of that state will not hesitate to make use of in all future campaigns against organized labor.

While the defense has so far been able to cover their running expenses, it is now necessary that we renew our campaign for financial support so that this case can be fought successfully thru the State Court of Appeals, the State Supreme Court and even to the United States Supreme Court if necessary.

The International Crisis

The danger of the world attack on the workers is not past. The forces of world reaction are still gathering under the leadership of the British Government to launch their attack on the centre of international working class power—the Russian Workers Republic.

The Russian workers have done all that can be done by conciliation to remove all ground of attack and expose the aims of the imperialists to the workers of the world. It rests with the British working class to smash the designs of the British bourgeoisie.

To accomplish this will need the united power of the whole working class. To mobilize this power must be the immediate effort of every revolutionary worker.

Every worker can play his part. It is no use waiting passively for big demonstrations and national leads. It is the agitation of every worker on the spot that counts.

At the factory gates, inside the workshops, at the docks and shipyards and railway centres, in the trade union branches, in the public squares and market places—everywhere we must explain to the workers what this new campaign against the first Workers' Republic really means and why the workers must smash the war-mongering schemes of Curzon and his Imperialist backers.

Wherever our agitation gets hold, committees should be formed—workshop committees, so as to link up the agitation in local councils of action. Every centre of agitation should link up with other centres. Trade union branches in favor should get in touch with other branches of their union; workshops with other shops in their district; localities with neighboring localities. Resolutions and demands should pour in upon the Government, the Labor Party Executive and the General Council. Let copies be sent to the Russian workers. Everywhere the demand for working class action to secure the withdrawal of the ultimatum must make itself felt.

All steps taken should be communicated at once to the WORKERS WEEKLY, in order that they may receive publicity and the campaign be centralized.

On our efforts now depend incalculable consequences for the future.

Close the ranks against the new attack on the working class!

Hands off the Workers' Republic!

Recognition of the Soviet Government!

Down with Curzon and the war-mongers!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Coal Board Favors Outlawing Strikes

By H. M. WICKS

The United States Coal Commission in its supplemental report, made public recently, urges governmental measures to prevent strikes in the coal fields of the nation. A careful perusal of its report exposes it as a typical "open shop" document. Under the sublime "normalcy" of the Harding administration, nothing but scab shop proposals could be expected to emanate from any agency of the government. The report of the Commission, if adopted and made compulsory by law, would be a standing menace to the coal miners, just as the infamous Daugherty injunction is a standing menace to the railroad workers.

Organized labor, according to the Commission, is now the impediment to peace in the mining industry; it has passed its days of struggling for existence and has reached the stage of constructive opportunity in which it must justify itself by a new kind of service. The report then proceeds to show that this new kind of service consists in abandoning all semblance of unionism and becoming a servile tool of the government.

Instead of standing on its own feet and relying upon its own power of numbers as against the insatiable jackals who own the coal mines and their governmental lackeys, the union, according to this report, shall take no action to remedy oppressive conditions without first giving the employers ninety days notice of such contemplated action. Upon the questions at issue the parties—the miners and operators—shall then confer and if at the end of sixty days they have failed to reach an agreement they shall record the fact of their inability to agree to the President of the United States. Then the President is to appoint a commission which shall in due time make a report.

Meanwhile the coal operators will work their mines full blast, lay in a supply of coal for the heavy industries they serve and then force the miners out of the mines as they did in 1922. Then the scab-herder President, Mr. Coolidge, or some other labor-hater, will call in his commission and sign a report, drafted by the publicity agents of the coal operators, denouncing the mine workers for their total disregard of the "public welfare." Prices of coal

Hungarian Subotniks Here Successful

In 1919 and 1920 when the Russian Soviet Republic was being attacked on all sides by the whole Imperialist world, in the years full of sufferings and hunger for the Russian people, the main question confronting the Russian Proletariat was how to supply the Red Army with food and ammunition, and how to take care of the wounded soldiers.

The railroads were run down, the hospitals were poorly equipped, and there was no food and drugs. In this desperate situation, the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party appealed to the party membership for self-sacrificing work to aid the heroic front of the Red Armies.

The party membership was told that the only way to save the revolution was to work to put the railroads, the shops and the hospitals in shape. The party membership was called upon to sacrifice the Saturday afternoons, to do extra labor on these days.

The members of the Russian Communist party did not hesitate to heed the appeal. From this time on all Saturday afternoons of the party members were given to the party, that is, to the Russian Revolution.

On Saturday afternoons they worked in the railroad shops, in the hospitals, and the Red Army was supplied with food and ammunition, and the wounded were taken care of. The movement spread all over Russia. In the whole country the work was carried on by the Communist world where there was shortage of labor.

It was this example that led the Hungarian Section of the Workers Party to organize Subotniks in the city of New York. On Saturday afternoons, the party members met at an appointed place where they distributed books and circulars, and,

this supplied, made a house to house canvass in the Hungarian quarter of the city. After the work of a few hours, the members came back and every one reported great success. Urged on by this success it was decided to make these subotniks permanent and to distribute on Saturday afternoons not only Hungarian but English literature and party papers also. Since then the subotniks have been held every Saturday afternoon, and a good educational and propaganda work is carried on.

It was, decided by the Central Executive Committee of the Hungarian Section to organize these subotniks in every city where the section has a branch. The first test given to the branches is to increase the number of the party members by 100% during the next month. Our appeal was received with great enthusiasm and subotniks are held all over the country.

The all important thing is a strict discipline by which every party member is compelled to take part in this work.

Organized Charity is the result of Organized Robbery.

Brockton Shoe Strikers Plan Greater Strength for Future Struggles

(Continued from Page One)

strike was a spontaneous uprising, first one craft, and then another, until all but one had gone out. To smash the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. This was the sole objective as the strike went on. The wage increase was lost sight of, that which makes a struggle a trade union fight. And the strikers did not wait until their charters were revoked. They seceded, their first move was to secede, as a protest against the damnable decisions of the State Board of Arbitration.

And in doing so, they deprived themselves of the possibility of getting financial support from many American Federation of Labor locals. Their hope was then to get the support of the independent unions—promises were made, and kept only in part. The faith of the strikers in the other independent organizations has been weakened. There does not exist today in the independent unions enough enthusiasm to take up the cause of such a group as the battling Brockton workers. It was a rude disappointment to the strikers.

What of the Future?

An independent organization is being maintained in Brockton. Some of the members are urging that the name of the organization be changed, in the hope that this can prevent its being crushed by the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Some hope that by strengthening the new union, and getting together funds, they may be able to prepare for the day.

These seem content to keep the new organization a local organization in Brockton. They have no vision of the mightier movement, linking the militant Brockton workers with the militants thruout the shoe and leather industry, and in the other industries of the country. The new union, by itself and for itself—is their slogan. However, a strong sentiment is being developed for getting closer to the militants all over, for drawing up a program of action that is forward looking. The amalgamation issue will be raised shortly by the members of the Brockton Trade Union Educational League.

A Labor Party

Because of the treachery of Mayor Manning, a former shoe worker, the acts of his henchman, the City Solicitor, and of the judges, there has developed a strong sentiment for electing one of the strikers to office.

The rank and file are not altogether clear on this idea, and care will have to be taken, lest the sentiment for independent political action degenerate into supporting a striker on a capitalist ticket. It is significant that in a Brockton paper today there is a comparison of Mayor Manning with the strike-breaking Coolidge.

The strike case appeals have been held over to the regular session of the superior court in October. It is believed that this will be held as a whip to prevent independent political action on the part of the strikers.

What the Workers Need

Inexperienced, the strikers have gone thru a formidable fight. They have received bitter disappointments. They have learned something about their enemies are. There is a splendid opportunity to educate them along the lines of amalgamation and an independent labor party. This task will fall on the Brockton Trade Union Educational League.

The Days Gone By

SAN FRANCISCO.—Time brings strange revenges. While President Harding lay ill in a hotel here, a band of recently arrived czarist refugees secured jobs cleaning his special train in the railroad siding.

Among the car-washers were several former generals in one or another of the various anti-Bolshevik armies. Doubtless they thought as they wielded the scrubbing-brush of the days when they had private trains of their own.

Meeting in Boston

BOSTON, MASS.—Boston City Central Committee announces its mass meeting to be held Thursday, August 16, 1923, 8 P. M. at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton Street, Boston, Mass. Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary of the Workers Party, will speak on Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Scientists are Encouraged

A Central House of the Scientists has been opened in Moscow to become the center of mutual contact and of the spreading of scientific knowledge.

It is under the central committee for the better life of scientists, and is open to all scientists registered with that committee.

The committee also has a house for rest near Moscow, and sanitariums in the Crimea and the Caucasus for its members.

It is now much easier to receive foreign scientific literature, and even to make trips abroad. In fact, several scientists have been sent on such trips.

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Organizing the Negroes

The African Blood Brotherhood is carrying on an intensive educational and organizational campaign among the Negro workers in the nation's great industrial centers. This is an important effort. It should be given every support, not only by the Negro workers themselves, but by both political and economic organizations of the white workers. All labor, both black and white, must unite on the broad basis of common class interests.

Figures issued from Tuskegee, Ala., showing a decrease in lynchings, are apt to be misleading. It is set forth that in the first six months of 1923, there were 15 lynchings in the United States, compared to 30 for the same period last year, and 36 in 1921. It cannot be said that race prejudice is dying out in the South. Rather it seems to be held in abeyance as "The South" beholds the growing exodus of Negro workers to the northern states. The value of the Negro worker is going up.

The white bankers of Georgia bewail the migration, since last New Year, of 80,000 Negro workers to "The North," leaving in their wake 46,674 vacant farm houses, 55,524 idle plows, entailing a money loss exceeding \$2,000,000. The profiteers of Georgia face a labor shortage of 70,843 persons, and compare the resulting devastation to "Sherman's March to Sea" during the Civil War. James S. Peters, president of the Georgia Bankers' Association, says that "The South" needs the Negro because, "He will work for less, live on less and in cheaper quarters than any people save the Oriental coolie."

Yet that is the same reason that urges Gary and Schwab, in the steel industry; Armour and Swift, in the packing industry, and other great industrial overlords, to encourage Negro migration to "The North." The solution of this problem, from the standpoint of labor, is to organize the Negro worker, politically and industrially, side by side with his white brother, so that one will not outbid the other in the capitalist labor market. And it is because the African Blood Brotherhood realizes the problem, and knows the solution, that it can be a great factor in building the much needed "United Front" of the black and white races to combat the forces of the bosses.

City Workers and Farmers

Parasites who feed and grow fat off the American farmer are hunting reasons to explain the unrest among the workers of the land. It remained for O. E. Bradfute, of Chicago, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, to assure farmers at an Albany, N. Y., Conference, that they can't be coupled with city labor, to claim that "The farmer is really a capitalist—he employs labor. He will never become an important political factor."

In fact, this Mr. Bradfute assures the farmer that he is being led astray by the city wage worker, who is merely trying to advance his own selfish purposes. We would conclude from Mr. Bradfute's exhortation that he spends most of his time among the grain gamblers on the Chicago board of trade, and that he couldn't tell a wheat field from a potato patch if it was really put up to him to decide.

How the apologists for the present order do straddle and wobble. When the worker goes on strike against his boss, he is told about the "identity of interests" of capital and labor. But when the worker gets together with the farmer, the latter is told there can be no "identity of interest" between him and the city laborer, because he is a "capitalist." This is a shell-game that will fail to attract any "suckers" from among the exploited.

The greatest political upheavals, like the rise of the Populist movement in the last century, have had their beginnings among the land workers. While Gompers was talking "nonpartisan" political action, the farmers of the northwest were acting it, as in their various state Nonpartisan Leagues. It was not an accident that the Farmer-Labor coalition should develop greatest strength first in Minnesota, an agricultural state, and that the Farmer-Labor class political action idea should be spreading westward into farm states like North Dakota, rather than eastward into the industrial states. Gompers was never able to create a "bloc" of his "card men" in Congress. The "farm bloc," altho it has been small and made up of old-partyites, has been a constant threat to reaction.

This situation is not complimentary to the city worker. But these are the facts. That parasites like Bradfute, and others who

live off the farmers' labor, should try to hide them, is evidence of the bankruptcy of their own position. It will be news to the mortgage and renter farmers that they are "capitalists." To be sure they employ labor, most often the labor of their wives and children, forced to share their hard lot. All of which is developing unity between the farmers' shack and the city workers' tenement.

The land and industrial workers are being forced together, for united action, because they are the victims of the same capitalist social system. It is against the upholders of this system, legalizing as it does the robbery of the many by the few, that the city and land workers must organize their political power in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Against the rising tide driving in this direction the walls of all the Bradfutes are of no avail.

Help "Organize the Unorganized."

Undermining Underwood and Gompers

Oscar Underwood, U. S. Senator from Alabama, has offered himself as a democratic presidential possibility. The workers of Alabama, however, especially of the Birmingham district, believe that Mr. Underwood ought to be "eliminated from public life," and these workers know whereof they speak.

Organized labor in Alabama charges that Underwood's public career "has been characterized by his lack of sympathy with the great masses of the people and by subservency to the selfish big business and financial interests." And the workers of Alabama, among the worst oppressed in the nation, in the coal mines, lumber mills and cotton fields of the state, and the steel mills of Birmingham, ought to know. They have had the full power of the capitalist state turned against them in all their struggles to better their conditions of life. The state militia has set fire to the tents the coal miners and their families were forced to live in during strikes. The terror of the open shoppers has succeeded so far in keeping the steel workers unorganized. U. S. Senator Underwood is one of the political stool pigeons of this brutal tyranny and he wants to be president.

The voice of Underwood is the voice of the steel and coal czars, who, with the czars of other industries, dictate the policies of the Democratic Party. This is the Democratic Party of Samuel Gompers, who is doing all he can to block every effort of the workers and farmers to organize for independent political action.

When Gompers urges his old party "friendships," let the workers think of Underwood, whom Alabama labor would drive from public life. Then the workers of the United States will be nearer the time when they will drive Mr. Gompers and his futile political and industrial labor policies into the discard.

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

The Socialist "United Front"

We are told by The New York Call that, "The Socialist Party has cleared the decks for an energetic campaign for the election of assemblymen, aldermen and judges." The deck clearing was supposed to have been accomplished at a week-end city convention of purely "Socialist" make-up. The camouflage of "The American Labor Party" was completely cast aside. The Farmer-Laborites and the trade union affiliations of "The A. L. P." didn't have an opportunity to agree or to bolt. They weren't even invited. Thus "The A. L. P." that was hit on the head when the "Socialist" controllers decided to run all candidates under the "Socialist" emblem didn't even get a decent burial.

No doubt, the "Socialists" felt themselves safer and more comfortable with the trade union affiliations of "The A. L. P." absent. This must have been especially true when the "Socialist" convention delegate, Frederick Paulitsch, shrieked the hatred of the small bourgeoisie for the organized wage worker, charging that the wage demands of the bricklayers were responsible for the present shortage in school buildings. The Call says this created only a "little flurry" that was smoothed out by one of its own reporters and the lawyer, Karlin. But Paulitsch remained in the "Socialist" convention, and the trade union representatives of the "Socialist" United Front in "The A. L. P." are still on the outside. Yet The Call assures us—

"The party's campaign will be in conjunction with its associate elements in the American Labor Party. All its candidates are likewise the candidates of the trade unions, the Farmer-Labor Party and the other organizations in the A. L. P. WHILE THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED SUNDAY ARE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT EVERY ORGANIZATION IN THE A. L. P. WILL HEARTILY ENDORSE THEM."

This is taking pretty much for granted. It is not expected, for instance, that the railroad workers, victims of the Harding-Daugherty injunction, will get enthusiastic about the "Socialist" tears shed over Harding. Instead they may ponder a little more upon the hypocritical attack of the "Socialists" on the Workers Party, charging that it plotted to "capture" the Labor Party Conference in Chicago. They will realize that only a very blind trade unionist will allow himself to be led about by "Socialists" with an "A. L. P." halter over his head, "Socialists" who have stuffed him with counter-labor resolutions and administered numerous kicks in the shape of bosses' arguments against higher wages, the shorter workday and improved conditions. Yet this is what the "Socialist" United Front really means. Labor will turn away from this crude deception and join the real political "United Front" of the exploited in the cities and on the land—the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Join the Workers Party! Subscribe for "THE WORKER"

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

Unless backed by organization, Labor's cry for justice is about as effective as a political cry on a wooden leg.

Urged to "Go to Church"
The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, thru its Employees' Magazine, is urging the workers to "Go to Church!" Perhaps they would go if they could feel that it would be getting them away from the landlord, grocer, butcher, baker, and other small parasites. But as long as the church can't help them do that, no doubt even the "C. & O." slaves have decided they have no use for it.

Lloyd George Is Coming
Lloyd George, former British Premier, threatens to come to Canada and the United States for a series of speeches in October. We urge him to pay a visit to Secretary of State Hughes. It was Lloyd George who said he would never "shake hands with murder," meaning that he would never recognize Soviet Russia. But there is a working trade agreement between Great Britain and Soviet Russia in force now. Lloyd George might tip off Hughes and Hoover on the futility of opposing Russian Workers' and Peasants' Rule. This might give some purpose to his trip.

Putting "The Nation" Straight
"Only the parties of despair profit by the chaos in Germany today," says "The Nation," in its issue of Aug. 8, and the editor no doubt feels that he has given birth to some real wisdom, and buried the German Communist with his slur. He should have said that the Communist Parties, in every country, are the parties of action in the hour of despair, the parties that point the way, for the workers and farmers, to make their way out of misery and chaos. The workers and farmers know this even if the intellectual, bourgeois "Nation" can't see it.

Child Labor Increasing
Child Labor in Connecticut increased 57 percent in the first quarter of 1923. The chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, speaking in Chicago, stated that child labor in the United States is increasing. In 1920 one million children between the ages of 10 and 16 were employed. During the industrial depression of 1921 the number decreased slightly. June reports from 20 cities out of 31 show that the children of these United States are being forced into industry in ever increasing numbers. Five cities reported increases of more than 100 percent.

According to decision of the Supreme Court it is unconstitutional for Congress to protect children from exploitation. This is capitalism.

Alabama Miners Sold Out
At the moment when the anthracite coal barons were breaking with the Union representatives over the check off, the Bituminous operators published a report of the Alabama miners' strike. After a splendid struggle in which the Negro and white miners stood side by side and fought for the right to organize, the miners, starving and destitute, were persuaded to rest their case with Governor Kilby as arbitrator. The worthy and honorable Governor proceeded to find the strike "illegal and immoral." No more convincing proof of the necessity for the check-off and full union recognition can be given than the rotten deal given the miners in the state of Alabama by the honorable "Open" Shop Governor. Labor must organize to protect itself. The law and justice meted out by Commissions, Courts, and Governors, will be dictated by the particular owners whose interests are involved, be they packers, railroad operators, mine owners or steel magnates.



Gosh! What a Lot of Money!

By HARRISON GEORGE

After a long investigation it is announced by Senator LaFollette that the railroads are capitalized for TEN BILLION DOLLARS more than they cost. And for the first five months of this year the net profit of the Class One roads amounted to \$356,966,900. When the poverty-stricken "widows and orphans" who own the railroads and get their lily fingers in that mess of dough, next send a fat lawyer to appear, weeping, before Ben Hooper, with the assertion that the predatory maintenance of way men et al., are making it impossible for his poor clients to have more than two Rolls-Royce cars per "orphan," that the "widows" who have nothing to wear but silk gowns and ermine cloaks and that whole families of stockholders are compelled to live on as little as \$50,000,000 a year—who will bet that if railway workers strike in spite of these touching arguments that Ben Hooper won't "outlaw" them, that the big papers won't say they are "gone bolshevik" that the "reds" have ordered it all from Moscow, and that Daugherty won't get another injunction and Burns won't arrest some more Communists for "criminal syndicalism?"

While nine roads are showing profits of fifteen per cent on common stock, you will notice that all claim a "right" to six per cent on that TEN BILLION of water. That makes just \$600,000,000.00 of profit over what is justified by investment—granting that they invested anything over the bribes given to put over the gigantic steals from which construction was first financed.

Anyhow, there are those SIX HUNDRED MILLION per year of absolutely unjustified profits, which, I opine, would do one million rail workers much good at the rate of \$600.00 a year raise in wages.

Single men could get married on that raise, and married workers could make life pleasant for the wife and kids. Isn't that so? Yes, but if they start out to get it they have to strike, and somebody, usually the "reds," gets pinched for "criminal syndicalism." All of which shows that when a battle is on, the workers must not only strike but must defend those militant workers who go to prison for taking an active part. The Burns men who arrested the Communists last year told them that their convention would not have been raided had not the shopmen's strike been in full swing. Now thirty of these militants are charged with "criminal syndicalism" in Michigan and labor has a duty to defend them just as it has a duty to bust Ben Hooper's unfair decisions, the Daugherty injunction or anything else that stands in the way of a million railroad men getting a raise of \$600.00 a year from that TEN BILLION of watered stock.

"Americanizing" the Foreign-Born

There are 13,894,841 Foreign-Born in America; 13.4 per cent of the total population of America. Over 34 per cent of our population are of foreign-born stock, that is, either foreign-born or of foreign-born parents.

There are 6,208,697 Foreign-Born who are over twenty-one years old—qualified voters or 10 per cent of the citizens of America. The 17,816,181 citizens of foreign stock make up 29.2 per cent of the potential voting population of America. The Foreign-Born Workers are 58 per cent of the total employed in American industries. In the basic industries, mining, iron and steel, meat packing, and clothing, 60—70 per cent are foreign-born.

What has been the lot of these foreign-born American workers? The longest hours and the lowest wages; the worst housing and the poorest schooling; and discriminatory State and National laws against them. This has been the lot of over 34 million immigrants who have come to the United States within the last hundred years.

Millions of foreign-born workers, herded in the mining and industrial centers of America, have, with sweat and blood, ground out fabulous profits for the employing class. And today it is against these workers that the employing class is launching a

new offensive. This offensive is part of the organized campaign to intensify the oppression and exploitation of all the workers—Native and Foreign. The capitalists aim to foster and perpetuate artificial divisions in the ranks of the workers, divisions along lines of nationality. It is the task of all workers regardless of their place of birth to unite and present one front to the common enemy in the common struggle—the fight against the exploitation of those who work by those who own—the fight against the capitalist slavery.

(The above description of the foreign-born workers in America is from the pamphlet, "The American Foreign-Born Workers," by Clarissa S. Ware. Send 15 cents, coin or postage to Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City, for a copy in English.)

Trotsky Declares Time Is Ripe for Workers to Issue Slogan, "The United States of Europe!"

(Continued from Page One)

peoples of Europe lies the path to the salvation of our continent from economic destruction and enslavement to American capitalism.

America is standing aloof from Europe, patiently waiting until her economic agony has reached such a pitch, that it will be easy to step in and buy up Europe—as Austria was bought up—for a mere song. But France cannot stand aloof from Germany, nor can Germany stand aloof from France. Therein lies the crux, and therein lies the solution, of the European problem. Everything else is incidental.

The European continent in the present state of development of its productive forces is an economic unit—not a close-locked unit, of course, but one possessing profound internal ties—as was proved in the terrible catastrophe of the world war, and again revealed in the mad adventure of the Ruhr occupation. Europe is not a geographical term; it is an economic term, something incomparably more concrete—especially in the present, post-war conditions—than the word market. Just as a federation was long ago recognized as essential for the Balkan Peninsula, so now the time has arrived for stating definitely and clearly that federation is essential for balkanized Europe.

There remain to be considered the

question of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and of Great Britain, on the other. It is obvious that the Soviet Union will not be opposed either to the federative Union of Europe, nor to its own admission to such a federation. Thereby, too, a bridge will be created between Europe and Asia.

The question of Great Britain is much more uncertain; it depends on the pace at which her revolutionary development proceeds. Should the "Government of Workers and Peasants" triumph on the European mainland before British imperialism is overthrown—which is extremely probable—then the European Federation of Workers and Peasants will of necessity be directed against British capital. And, of course, the moment the latter is overthrown the British Isles will enter as a desirable member into the European Federation.

It might be asked: why a European Federation and not a World Federation? Of course, as the world develops economically and politically it will tend to become a world economic unit, and to become more and more centralized, depending upon the level of technical development reached. But we are now concerned not with the future socialist economy of the world, but with finding a way out of the present European impasse. We have to lay a solution before the gulled and ruined workers and peasants of Europe, quite independently of how the revolution develops in

America, Australia, Asia, or Africa. Looked at from this point of view, the slogan "The United States of Europe" has its place in the same historical plan with the slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government"; it is a transitional slogan, indicating a way out, a prospect of salvation, and furnishing at the same time a revolutionary impulse for the toiling masses.

It would be a mistake to measure the whole of the world revolution with the same footrule. America came out of the war not enfeebled, but strengthened. The internal stability of the American bourgeoisie is still very considerable. It is reducing its dependence upon the European market to a minimum. The revolution in America—considered apart from Europe—may thus be a matter of decades. Does that mean that the European revolution must proceed step by step with the American revolution? Certainly not. If backward Russia did not, and could not, await the revolution of Europe, all the more Europe will not, and must not, await the revolution in America. Workers' and Peasants' Europe, blockaded by capitalist America (and at first, perhaps, by Great Britain) will be able to maintain herself and develop as a closely consolidated military and economic unit.

It must not be overlooked that the very danger arising from the United States of America (which is assisting the destruction of Europe and is ready

to step in subsequently as its master) furnishes a very substantial bond for uniting the mutually destructive peoples of Europe into a "European United States of Workers and Peasants." This orientation, of course, proceeds from the difference in the objective situations in the European countries and in the mighty Transatlantic Republic, and is not directed against the international solidarity of the proletariat, nor against the interests of the revolution in America. On the contrary, one of the obstacles to the development of the revolution throughout the world lies in the vain European confidence in the "American uncle (Wilsonism), the charitable feeding of the worst famine districts of Europe, American "loans," etc., etc.) The sooner the masses of the nations of Europe recover the confidence in their own powers—which was destroyed by the war, and the more closely they are rallied around the slogan of a "Union of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics of Europe" the more rapidly will the revolution develop on both sides of the Atlantic.

For just as the triumph of the proletariat in Russia furnished a mighty impulse to the development of the Communist parties of Europe, so, and even to an incomparably greater degree, will the triumph of the revolution in Europe furnish an impulse to revolution in America and throughout the whole world. Altho, when we abstract ourselves from Europe, we are obliged to peer into

the mists of years to perceive the American revolution, yet we may safely assert that by the natural sequence of historical events the triumphant revolution in Europe will serve in a very few years to shatter the power of the American bourgeoisie.

Not merely the question of the Ruhr, i. e. of European fuel and iron, but also the question of reparations is envisaged in the scheme of "The United States of Europe." The question of reparations is purely a European question, and can be solved in the near future only by European means. The Europe of Workers and Peasants will have its reparations budget—as it will have its war budget—as long as it is menaced by dangers from without. This budget will be based upon a graduated income tax, upon levies of capital, upon the confiscation of wealth plundered during wartime, etc. Its incidence will be regulated by the appropriate bodies of the European Federation of Workers and Peasants.

We shall not here indulge in prophecies as to the speed at which the union of the European republics will proceed, in what economic and constitutional forms it will express itself, and what degree of centralization will be obtained in the first period of the workers' and peasants' regime. All these considerations we may safely leave to the future, remembering the experience already gained by the Soviet Union constructed on the soil of the former

Czarist Russia. What is perfectly obvious is that the customs barriers must be thrown down. The peoples of Europe must regard Europe as a field for a united, and increasingly schematic, economic life.

It might be argued that we are in reality speaking of a European Socialist Federation as part of World Federation, and that such a regime can be brought about only by the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will not stop to answer this argument, since it was refuted by the international analysis made during the consideration of the question of a "Workers' Government." "The United States of Europe" is a slogan in every respect corresponding with the slogan "A Workers' (or Workers' and Peasants') Government." Is the realization of a "Workers' Government" possible without the dictatorship of the proletariat? Only a conditional reply can be given to this question. In any case, we regard the "Workers' Government" as a stage towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therein lies the great value of the slogan. But the slogan "The United States of Europe" has an exactly similar and parallel significance. Without this supplementary slogan the fundamental problems of Europe must remain in suspense.

To the workers of Germany, not the Communists (it is not necessary to convince them), but to the workers in general, and in the first place to the social-democratic workers,

who fear the economic consequences of a fight for a workers government to the workers of France, whose minds are still obsessed by the questions of reparations and the State debts; to the workers of Germany, France and of all Europe, who fear that the establishment of the workers' regime will lead to isolation and economic ruin of their countries, we will say: Europe, even if temporarily isolated (and with such a powerful bridge to the East as the Soviet Union) she will not be easily isolated; she will be able not only to maintain herself, but to consolidate and build herself up, once she has broken down the customs barriers, and has united herself economically to the inexhaustible natural riches of Russia.

"The United States of Europe"—purely revolutionary perspective—is the next stage in our general revolutionary perspective. It arises from the profound differences in the situations of Europe and America.

Whoever overlooks these differences, which are of such vital significance at the present time, will willy-nilly, reduce a true revolutionary perspective to a mere historical abstraction. Naturally, the Workers' and Peasants' Federation will not stop in its European phase. As we have said, by our Soviet Union an outlet has been obtained into Asia and from Asia into Europe. We are therefore, here envisaging only a stage, but a stage of great historical importance, thru which we must first pass.