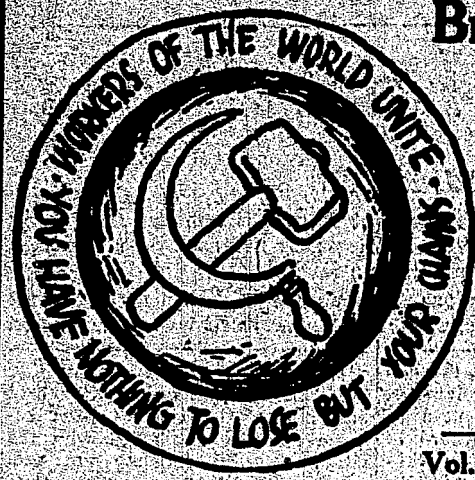




THE WORKER

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1923

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New Crisis in Coal Industry

President Coolidge Plans to Break Miners' Strike

For an English Daily!

Communist International Urges Necessity of Starting Publication by November 7, This Year

Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, in a stirring appeal to the Workers Party and all its Language Federations, urges the necessity of an English language Communist daily in the United States. He says:

TO THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA AND ALL ITS LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

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

The composition of the Workers Party with its 18 Language Federations is unique among the parties of the Communist International. Although these Federations might act as a hindrance to revolutionary work, they, on the other hand, allow the Workers Party to come into direct contact with the great mass of foreign-born workers, who, are the most exploited in the country. The Workers Party has, we think, solved the question of Language Federations in a satisfactory way, in that it regards the Federations merely as propaganda sections of the Party. The comrades of the Language Federations appear also to grasp their task in the right spirit, and to understand that the Party should be a unit despite its many tongues. The Communist International calls on the members of the Federations to regard this unity with the Party as one of its most important duties, and strive for ever closer unity.

The Communist International notes with satisfaction also that several of the Language Federations have good, militant organs in their languages whereby they are able to reach wide masses of workers.

At this point, however, we must say a word about the nature of your press. It is the duty of the foreign-language press to lead the foreign-born workers in the United States to an understanding of the capitalist system and the workers movement in America. It is a mistake when foreign-language papers in America deal too much with the conditions in Europe only. Even though foreign-born workers naturally are interested in the affairs of the country from which they have emigrated, it is the duty and task of the Communist foreign-language press in the United States to awaken these workers to class-consciousness and to struggle against the capitalism under which they are exploited, viz. the capitalism in the United States.

It should not be forgotten, either, that a language paper is able to serve the workers of that special language only. This is a most serious hindrance to really revolutionary propaganda among the great masses of the American workers. It is a most deplorable fact, that AGAINST SOME TEN FOREIGN-LANGUAGE COMMUNIST DAILIES THERE IS NOT A SINGLE ENGLISH COMMUNIST DAILY IN AMERICA. Every comrade whose heart beats for the sake of Communism must and certainly does deplore this fact and realizes that, UNTIL THE WORKERS PARTY HAS AT LEAST ONE ENGLISH DAILY WITH A WIDE CIRCULATION IT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO REACH SUFFICIENTLY WIDE MASSES OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAT.

Comrades of the Language Federations!

The question of an English daily in the United States is as much YOUR question as that of the English-speaking comrades. In fact it is more your problem, since you represent by far the major part of the Workers Party. NOW, THIS IS THE TIME AND THIS IS THE OCCASION WHEN YOU CAN BEST DEMONSTRATE WHETHER THE WORKERS PARTY IS A UNIT OR NOT. The Communist International asks you to consider it as one of your MOST URGENT duties immediately to mobilize all your forces—AS A UNIT—and the support of all sympathizers to the cause of Communism and, together with the English-speaking comrades—yes, the Party as a whole to start

A NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ENGLISH DAILY!

A fitting slogan for this campaign would be: An English daily for the Workers Party BY NOVEMBER 7, 1923—an English daily for the Communist movement in the United States by the day of the next anniversary of the establishment of the first Workers Soviet Government in the world.

As a fighting organ of the Communist movement of America, this organ will have the gigantic task of fighting the tremendous power of capitalism and the reactionary bureaucracy of the old labor movement. The paper will be the center of many battles, but these battles will help you to mobilize sufficient masses of militant workers and to secure the victory of the Communist Revolution.

COMRADES, TO THE TASK!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL WISHES YOU THE FULLEST SUCCESS IN THE CAMPAIGN.



J. Zinoviev

Militants and Party Workers Greet Plans for Daily Worker

The opening of the campaign to raise \$100,000 for the publication of an English Communist Daily has met with an enthusiastic response from all sections of Party workers and militants.

Greetings on the success of the campaign are pouring into the Daily Workers' Campaign Committee.

We publish here some of the greetings received by the Committee:

"Daily" Step in Right Direction

Greetings to the campaign to raise funds for the publication of an

English daily of the revolutionary workers! The power of the press is one of the marvels of modern times. Any social class which would either

(Continued on Page Four)

THE INTERRUPTED FEAST



The Coal Barons now in session at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, are deeply disturbed by the demands of the Anthracite Coal Miners.

Startling Revelations About the Strikebreaker President

"The Worker," in its next three issues, will publish startling revelations as to just what labor may expect from "The Strikebreaker President," Calvin Coolidge. The articles have been written by Jay Lovestone, author of "The Government—Strikebreaker" and are summarized as follows:

1. PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AS "RED BAITER."
 - a) His role in the Massachusetts Preparedness Drives leading the country into the World War.
 - b) His "Investigation" of Educational Institutions of Higher Learning.
 - c) His connections with the American Defense Society.
2. PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AS STRIKEBREAKER.
 - a) In the Boston Police Strike.
 - b) His 1920 "Law and Order" gubernatorial Campaign.
3. WHO IS BEHIND COOLIDGE?
 - a) F. W. Stearns, W. M. Butler and the Boston Bankers.
 - b) A strong party machine man.

Plan of Campaign for "The Daily Worker" Is Announced

The plan for the raising of the \$100,000 fund for the publication of a Daily Worker has been announced by the National Office of the Workers Party, which is carrying on the campaign.

A publishing company known as the Workers Publishing Company, Inc., is being organized and preferred stock selling at \$5 per share will be issued to raise the fund necessary for starting publication.

Campaign Committees are to be set up in all Party units. The following circular, issued by the Daily Worker Campaign Committee to the members of the Workers Party, gives the complete program for the campaign:

1. A fund of \$100,000 shall be raised thru the sale of shares and general contributions for the starting of the Daily. The Daily will be issued as soon as this amount is secured, but all efforts must be directed to raising this amount so that the first issue may appear on November 7th—the 6th anniversary of the Workers' Soviet Republic of Russia.
2. A publication company shall be formed and known as the Workers' Publishing Company. Preferred stock of \$5 each shall be issued and money for the publication of the Daily shall be raised chiefly thru the sale of these shares.
3. In carrying on the stock selling campaign, each Federation shall be assessed to sell a certain number of shares, the number being in proportion to its membership and its connections with the labor movement generally.
4. Each unit of the Party, including branches, CCC's, and Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

(Continued on Page Four)

By JAY LOVESTONE
Author, "The Government—Strikebreaker"

The first public official act of Calvin Coolidge, the strike-breaking president, is a heavy blow struck at labor. No sooner did the new president get to his desk in the White House than he issued a strikebreaking ukase against the coal miners.

After a conference with George Otis Smith, Secretary of the Coal Commission and a frequent contributor to the "Coal Age," the official organ of the National Coal Association, President Coolidge opened the government's offensive against the miners in an effort to prevent them from striking.

Coolidge has ordered the mine workers' representatives and the operators to resume their negotiations for a renewal of their contract at once and to meet immediately with the Coal Commission in New York City. They are now in session at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

The miners' contract expires August 31.

Unless the miners and coal magnates come to terms without further delay the country will have an anthracite strike on its hands Sept. 1. But the President is bent on denying the workers the right to strike in behalf of the check-off system and other working conditions over which the negotiations had recently blown up.

COOLIDGE TO STOP STRIKE AT ALL COSTS

Coolidge has got down to his strikebreaking business with a bang. He does not believe in mincing words about such delicate situations as coal strikes. The Chief Executive has given emphatic orders to the Coal Commission that there must be no strike. The President is ready to go to the limit in putting a halt to any fight the miners may make for the improvement of their conditions or in defense of their unions.

Those who know Coolidge and close observers of the coal situation in Washington are agreed that this is only the preliminary step of the Government. They all say that this edict of Coolidge banning a miners' strike has positively committed the Government to far more drastic and aggressive action to hold the workers in check.

From the President's past outspoken enmity to labor, and from his "fame" and "heroism" in breaking the Boston Police Strike, it is as clear as broad daylight that Coolidge is preparing to resort to "strong Government action."

The President's followers say that the Coal Commission itself has no power to act, yet he will follow exactly the same tactics he pursued in the Boston strike. At the outset he will pretend to be taking no sides. Then he will wage a campaign to discredit the miners in the eyes of the public. After thus showing his hand, the President will use the mailed fist against the workers.

Barons Have Faith in Coolidge

The Coal Barons have unbounded faith in Coolidge. They know very well that a majority of the Coal Commission is opposed to the check-off system. They know as well that President Coolidge feels "that it is unfair and un-American and that men who join the union should have their own freedom, draw their full pay and attend to their obligations to the union."

And the capitalists know at least as well where Coolidge would stand in a showdown between employers and workmen. What the Exploiters of Labor think of and expect from our new President is perhaps best brought out in the following incident: Sometime ago the president of a railroad summing up his experiences with the Governor (Coolidge) said:

"If I had a dispute with my men and Coolidge was the arbitrator, I would be glad to have the men be represented by any lawyer that they chose; and I would be willing to leave my side of the case in his hands without making any plea at all."

In this conference imposed upon the miners by the President, the Coal Barons will be represented by the notorious Labor-baiter, Charles Warriner, the chairman of the General Committee of the Anthracite Coal Operators' Association, W. J. Richards, President of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Co.; W. W. Inglis, President of the Glen

The 8-Hour Day Hoax of U. S. Steel

By H. M. WICKS

The solemn assurance of Gary that the eight-hour day is to be inaugurated in his vast domains is received with scant faith by the hundreds of thousands of slaves who still toil in unutterable misery in his infernos.

The campaign against the 12-Hour Day, that a few months ago was confined to the Communist movement in America, has now swept the nation. So terrific is its momentum that it embraces ever larger numbers. Today there is not one publication in the United States, no matter how servile its demeanor toward capitalism on other questions, that dares openly espouse the continuation of the Twelve-Hour Day.

But in spite of this aroused public opinion, Mr. Gary and his associates are not going to yield to that opinion. His promises will remain promises. Time and again on other occasions he has promised the abolition of the long workday, but just so often as the slaves in his mills have waited expectantly for symptoms of fulfillment of his promises, just so often have the promises vanished, as their fire-baked bodies were transformed into the commodity, steel, with the same devastating force that smoke and flame consumed the other fuel hurled into the blast furnaces, in the process of transforming its value into steel.

The promise of the 8-Hour Day is a hoax and a hoax it will remain until the working class wrests it from the greedy claws of Gary by their organized might.

Newspaper Humbug

The reptile press of the nation, always fawning before the power of

(Continued on Page Four.)

(Continued on Page Two)

Stand Back of Minnesota!

The workers and farmers of Minnesota have been very much in the limelight during the past few weeks. They are going to stand in full view of the public eye for many days to come.

The election of two United States Senators independent of the old parties is but the beginning. Another decisive step was taken when the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, in session at Duluth, Minn., by unanimous vote decided to force the question of independent political action at the Portland, Oregon, Convention of the American Federation of Labor, starting Oct. 1.

The Duluth declaration has already been published in "THE WORKER." It was contained in a set of resolutions that will make history for American Labor. We are this week republishing these resolutions, feeling that they ought to be considered and acted on by every one of the 35,000 local labor unions that go to make up the American labor movement. Here they are:

Demand A. F. of L. Action

Whereas, the utter bankruptcy of the old political parties and their unfaithfulness to labor is clearly shown in the repeal of the Child Labor Law, the Coronado Decision, the passage of the Esch-Cummins Law, and the infamous Daugherty Injunction which broke the railroad shopmen's strike, as well as in numerous other ways, all of which demonstrates conclusively that labor must have a political party of its own, and

Whereas, the organized labor movement of Minnesota thru its political efforts has successfully elected Dr. Henrik Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate, showing that the farmers and workers can be organized into a political party and elect its representatives to the State and National government, and

Whereas, it is behooven upon the American Federation of Labor to lead the great mass of American workers into a more effective and progressive means of defense both on the economic and political fields, and

Whereas, by their assistance in the victories of Dr. Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate they have proven their capability of performing this function successfully, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Minnesota State Federation of Labor urges thru its delegate, that the American Federation of Labor in national convention assembled, modify its former policy and amend its constitution and by-laws so as to remove if any there be sections which may appear counterwise to this all important step of organizing a distinct political party of the organized workers and farmers.

Bring up these resolutions in your union. Have them adopted and forwarded to Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C. Instruct your delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention to support this class position of Minnesota's workers and farmers.

The city workers of Minnesota, especially, show that they mean business. Thru their Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, they have gone on record as endorsing the stand of the Seattle Central Labor Council, in the controversy of that labor body with the reactionary Gompers' officialdom of the American Federation of Labor.

Workers of the United States! Get behind the Minnesota workers! Help them pile greater working class victories upon the triumph already won!

THIS ISSUE IS No. 289

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.

What Is Brewing in Germany? Farmer Labor Party in "Chi" Shows Decline John Farmer's Last Stand

By Adolph Thalheimer, Editor, "The International," German Communist Bi-Weekly

"We are dancing on a volcano, and we are faced by a revolution, if we cannot reconcile the antagonisms."

These words were spoken some days ago by Dr. Gustaf Stresemann, leader of the German People's Party, in an address to the central committee of his party.

Everyone in Germany feels that we are on the eve of a decisive combat between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Everyone knows that the leaders of the Fascist movement in Germany are feverishly arming for the civil war against the working class. Everyone knows that the plans formed by the various Fascist elements, and the time chosen for action, have been changed frequently. But there are innumerable reports, mutually confirming, one another, which go to show that the moment is really imminent.

The lines of procedure are also clearly laid down. The Fascist plans calculate on the impending inevitable defeat of the German bourgeoisie at the hands of Poincaré and the other imperialist robbers. They are taking advantage of the cowardly behavior of Cuno's government, and the failure of the other bourgeois parties and of the social democrats to make good in the national struggle of self-defense.

They rely upon the discontent of the starving petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, who sympathized with social democracy and socialism in the first phase of the German revolution, and are now severely disappointed.

They utilize the hopelessness of broad strata of the working class, rendered indifferent or despairing by the continued treachery of the social democrats. And for what purpose do they want to utilize all this? For the purpose of waging war on the working class under cover of national defense against the Ruhr invasion and the shameful treachery of the Versailles treaty, and for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of Fascism.

This dictatorship is to carry out the program of the great industrialists: to shatter the labor organizations, to sweep away every barrier to capitalist exploitation, to establish the ten-hour working day, and to transfer all state undertakings into the hands of private capital.

Perhaps the proclamation of the Rhenish republic, which is being feverishly prepared by the hirelings of Poincaré, despite all denials, will set the avalanche rolling. Perhaps some other event.

Nobody can be any longer deceived as to the seriousness of the position. The Fascists, by themselves, would be insignificant. But they have military support in the national defense army. All sections of the bourgeoisie are ready to bow to them; for all are aware that once the struggle breaks out, it is a question of the dictatorship of Fascism or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Social democracy as a party is not feared. It is incapable of fighting. Its leaders will either make a cowardly retreat or submit.

The sole real power which, at the head of the proletarian masses, can and will take up the fight against them, is the Communist party.

Our Party is putting forth the utmost energy to render the working class capable of battle and victory. During recent weeks and months it has gained great sympathy and confidence, and won many readers and members. The Party, down to the last member, is filled with the determination to meet the Fascist coup with the utmost force and determination. It is carrying on a broad mass propaganda, in order to prepare the workers, employees, and lower officials for determined defense against the Fascists, and to neutralize or partially win over the petty bourgeoisie.

The struggle will be severe. It will decide the fate of the European labor movement for the next few years.

The decision will also be of the greatest importance for the French working class.

The French working class can alleviate the struggle of the German working class, if it will take up with redoubled energy the fight against the annexation plans of Poincaré, and against the plans of the Comité des Forges for the plundering of the German working class; if it will increase its propaganda among the occupation army, and its work of enlightenment among the peasantry.

The Communist Party of Germany has just issued an appeal to the Party (published in last week's issue of "The Worker"), giving exact instructions, politically and organizationally, for the struggle. The fight will find the Party at its post.

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

AMALGAMATION DANCE
Ashland Auditorium, CHICAGO,
Van Buren and Ashland Aves.
SATURDAY NIGHT, SEPT. 29,
at 8 P. M.
This dance is being given by the
Trade Union Educational League
Needle Trades Section

"Socialists" Save German Capitalism

The German "Socialists" have again come to the rescue of the German capitalists. The "Socialists" have joined in the vote of confidence given the Stresemann government, "Socialists" sit in the Stresemann cabinet, and the German capitalist, Hugo Stinnes, will continue to co-operate with the French capitalists in plundering the German workers.

This is the role the German "Socialists" have played ever since the overthrow of the Kaiser. It was the role of Kerensky, the social-revolutionary, between the downfall of the czar and the creation of the Soviet Republic in Russia.

While the "Socialists," Hilferding, Solmann and Schmidt, join Stresemann in maintaining the German capitalist republic, the French Comité des Forges, speaking for the exploiters of France, confers with the representatives of Stinnes, Krupp, Stumm, Haniel and Thyssen, the money lords of the Reich.

While the "Socialists" blind the workers to their own interests, the French and German capitalists will get together in the hope of further enslaving the masses in both countries. They have attempted this in the past but failed. The German bosses wanted a 50-50 agreement, while the French held out for a 60-40 division of the spoils. It is expected that the German exploiters, fearful of the discontent at home, and seeing the masses in the Socialist Party deserting to the Communist ranks, will make any sort of agreement to maintain their power.

But this new betrayal of the "Socialists" will only result in another short truce. The Communists will use this breathing spell to strengthen their forces, to bring over to their side new masses of German workers disgusted with the alliance of the "Socialists" with the German capitalists. The creation of a German Soviet Republic has not been defeated. It has only been postponed. Communism waits on victory in Germany.

U. S. Dollar Diplomats Join Turks in Oil Victory Over France, England in Near East

American dollar diplomacy, joining forces with the Turks in the Near East Peace Conference, at Lausanne, Switzerland, has won another victory for the Standard Oil Trust. The victims are the imperialisms of England and France. The situation is analyzed by the French Communist, Louis Louzon, as follows:

By LOUIS LOUZON
(Special to "The Worker")

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND.—The key to the situation growing out of the signing of the Near East Peace Treaty here must be sought in America. The United States, whose role in Europe becomes daily of greater importance, has declared that she is standing aside from European politics solely for the purpose of being better able to protect the interests of her own capitalism in Europe.

Anterior Asia is called upon to play the leading role in the future economics of the world. The United States, for whom the markets of the New World no longer suffice, is aware that the best means of paving the way for predominance over the Old World is to occupy the future centre of economics. Thus it has gained a foothold in the south west of Asia. Anatolia and Persia are its first aims.

It is therefore easily to be understood that it has done its best to prevent England and France from winning any privileged position in Turkey, such as would have been obtained by these countries had Turkey been placed under the obligation to pay in gold. This explains the abrupt change of front on the part of English diplomacy.

England has abruptly ceased to support France in this question, and Curzon placed Poincaré in the dilemma of either retiring before the demands of the Turks and signing the peace, or resuming hostilities again. This would, however, have meant that Poincaré had to send troops to Tschannak and Constantinople to aid the British forces there.

As Poincaré could not send fresh troops to the Orient, solely for the purpose of protecting the interests of the owners of Turkish obligations, or at least could not do this without committing suicide, France gave way. Ismet Pasha and America are victorious.

England's Position

The attitude taken by England, and her volte face in the Ruhr question, fully characterize the change of front in English foreign politics. At the time of the Versailles peace negotiations, the following tacit agreement had been arrived at between the English and French bourgeoisie: France receives the hegemony over Europe, she may do as she likes in Central Europe; on the other hand England reserves for herself the rest of the world, especially the Near East, the key to Asia.

But in the execution of this plan, England immediately collided with America, for America also put in a claim to the "rest of the world." This rival was too powerful for England. She realized that the United States would have to be given a free hand.

American imperialism was carrying on an exceedingly active policy in Asia Minor, and even in Persia, where the Standard Oil Co. obtained a concession for the whole of the petroleum on the coast of the Caspian Sea. American capitalists made arrangements for a number of loans, and England looked on without demur.

Compelled to renounce her world policy, England turned once more to Europe. She must attempt to regain in Europe the possibilities of expansion which America had forced her to abandon in the Orient. Her European policy thus becomes more energetic as her oriental policy declines. She beats a retreat on the question of Turkish obligations at the same moment as she arms for a decided intervention in the Ruhr question. She will claim from America her support in her European policy as compensation for her renunciation in the Orient.

In 1919, Lloyd George said to Clemenceau: I leave Europe to you; leave me the world. Today, Baldwin says to the rulers on Wall Street: I leave you the world, but you must help me to suppress France in Europe.

Thus the alternating influences and aggravations of imperialist struggles for power are changing the political groupings in Europe; and not their least effect is the acceleration of the moment of social conflict.

WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—The rapidity with which the Farmer-Labor Party of Cook County—which is actually all there is of the F. L. P.—is traveling the road to political extinction, was indicated here Sunday when only about twenty delegates attended the quarterly convention of that organization.

At the previous quarterly convention, held in the same hall shortly after the Cleveland meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, there were approximately 150 delegates present. There was also a spirit of optimism which was entirely lacking yesterday among the mourners of what once was a promising party.

And it appears that was the main trouble. It was promising, but when the crucial moment arrived it did not live up to its promises. It promised political unity but turned bitterly against it when unity was achieved at the July 3d convention.

Since that historic gathering the fortunes of the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party have been rapidly ebbing. And to add to its misfortunes, Samuel Gompers has now given his blessing which should be sufficient to damn it in the eyes of all militant and progressive workers. And worse still, the editor of the official organ of the F. L. P. proudly featured this benediction in his paper.

Gompers has at last discovered that the "F. L. P." has good intentions even tho it is lacking in political sagacity.

Since the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party the F. L. P. has felt like a little infant left by its parents on a stranger's doorstep. Its parents—Fitzpatrick and Nockels—don't know exactly what to do with it, but Sammy Gompers has come around once or twice to take a look at the infant, perhaps with a view to adoption, provided it agrees to take Dr. Sam's non-partisan medicine.

The principal event Sunday was the speech of a fraternal delegate from the Socialist Party who declared that the S. P. and the F. L. P. were now the only two parties that represented the interests of the workers. He was given a vote of thanks which was ordered inserted in the minutes. The S. P. delegate also invited the F. L. P. to send a speaker to the coming Debs meeting. The invitation was accepted.

Considerable dissension exists among the leading members of the Farmer-Labor Party of Cook County. This was the main topic of the convention. The usual flub-dub was indulged in about the famous "round up" by the Workers Party at the July 3d conference.

One speaker who was a member of the credentials committee which seated all the delegates to the July 3d convention resented the attacks on the Workers Party in the following language: "We are what is left—we can look around on ourselves and say, we are what's left of that convention. And Brother C. M. Madsen has set his finger on the very thing that is the trouble with us—internal dissension. The finest, cleanest men I have ever met in the labor movement are in the Workers Party, and I am sorry to say that I disagree with them fundamentally. But I do not believe we should go around telling lies about them—saying that they packed our convention, and so forth. We will never get anywhere by calling names. The American workingman is determined to have a political party of his own."

Neither Edward Nockels, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, nor Jay Brown, secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party, appeared at the convention. John Fitzpatrick arrived during the afternoon session but took no part in the proceedings. A debate took place between Anton Johannsen, Chairman of the organization committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Robert Buck, as to whether delegates to the State convention should be appointed or elected. Buck held to the former point of view.

Outside of that and the raffling of an used automobile, the 20 members did not create any excitement.

West Va. Likes F. L. P. Program

CLARKSBURG, W. VA.—The formation of a Farmer-Labor Party in West Virginia is a distinct victory for working class independent political action. This victory was made possible, against the opposition of the reactionaries, by the presence of a large rank and file delegation.

The question of affiliating with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was not decided at this time. This question will come up for action at the next convention of the West Virginia Party to be held in March, 1924.

We have just received a copy of the Platform of the West Virginia Farmer-Labor Party. The entire first section of this platform, 6 pages of a total of 14, is word for word the exact duplicate of the "Statement of Principles" of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party adopted at the Chicago Convention.

By HAL WARE and KARL REEVE

It has become increasingly clear to everybody that the present farm crisis means something more than the individual ruin of hundreds of thousands of farmers; it means that the whole arrangement of farm tenure and distribution of farm products is a failure.

Even as far back as 1921, Senator Ladd, speaking before the Senate, said, "It is not true that the war was responsible for our present dangerous economic crisis. Agriculture was going down hill before the war, and when agriculture is going down hill, all industry is going down hill."

"Production per acre had fallen off; soil fertility was being depleted; farm earnings were declining; farm mortgage indebtedness was piling up; tenancy was increasing and rents becoming every year more burdensome, and there was a constantly accelerated migration from the farm to commercial centers. Under our present methods of financing agriculture and of transporting and marketing farm products, the industry was on the road to bankruptcy even before the war." (Congressional Record, December 15, 1921.)

The point of breakdown has now been reached. The 1910 United States census report shows that the mortgage debt in 1910 was \$1,726,851,000; whereas the latest report of the United States Department of Agriculture gives the mortgage debt as \$7,857,700,000 or four times greater than it has ever been in all the 130 years preceding.

Add to this tremendous debt the bank loans to farmers on personal and collateral security, estimated by the Department of Agriculture at \$3,869,415,000 together with the chattel mortgages and merchant loans, and the farmer's debt amounts to well over 15 billion dollars.

The Congressional Commission of Agricultural Inquiry finds that 49 cents of the farm dollar goes to the railroads, 17 cents to the food manufacturers, 14 cents in profits to the retailers, wholesalers and manufacturers, and only 20 cents to the farmer. So that if the farmer wishes to pay back his 15-billion debt he must first pay the fundamental costs of producing his crop, out of his twenty cents.

Before the farmer can get a good start toward again becoming solvent, he must pay the interest on his debt, which amounts yearly, at the average interest, to the substantial sum of 140 dollars for each farm in the United States.

Then there is the terrific item of taxes which, to say the least, hampers the farmer in his struggle to come back. According to the 1922 year-book of the Department of Agriculture, the State, County and local taxes in 1921 were \$.709 per acre, as compared to \$.314 for 1913, an increase of 226 per cent. "Taxes," says the report, "absorbed one-third of the farmer's income in 1921 as compared with less than one-tenth of his income in 1913."

More and more farmers are losing hope and giving up the unequal struggle, realizing that to plant a large crop means merely the loss of more money. We take wheat as an example, for it is one of the most significant crops in the United States, constituting a large part of the value of our exports as well as an important part of our domestic commerce. More than two million farmers in the United States grow wheat.

In 1919, according to the 1921 year book of the Department of Agriculture, it was found that the approximate average cost of producing a bushel of wheat is \$1.87. The finding was based on records secured from 284 representative farms, covering all the states of the wheat belt—North and South Dakota, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Minnesota and Washington. There was found to be a wide variation in the net cost per bushel, three-fourths of the farms producing wheat at a cost of two dollars or less per bushel, but only two farms producing it at a cost as low as one dollar per bushel.

The average cost of \$1.87 is a startling figure when compared with the present Chicago prices—considerably below a dollar. No matter how it is figured, a farmer cannot produce wheat for less than a dollar a bushel, and in the Bread Basket of America—the wheat producing states—where yields per acre are low and acreage per farm is large, the farmer cannot produce wheat for less than \$1.50 per acre. The problem must be discussed on that geographical basis, for that is where practically all the worker's bread comes from.

Compare the lowest estimate of cost of production—\$1.50—with the present Chicago prices, then deduct the average farm price from the market price, and it is found that John Farmer is getting about 60 cents per bushel for a product that costs him at least \$1.50 to produce.

The figures show that, far from securing a new foothold, the farmer is hopeless as long as the present system prevails. We are told by the 1922 Department of Agriculture year book that in striving to maintain his bare title to the land, the farmer was forced to go increasingly in debt the past year, while practicing the strictest economy. Even then, says the year book, "Thousands have been obliged to give up the struggle, let the land go, lose all the money they paid for it, and start anew."

Which means that the dispossessed farmer becomes a farm laborer or is absorbed by the city. Over two million men left the farms last year and were only partly replaced by excess of births over deaths on the farms and by new farmers from urban centers—who are hardly likely to be

more productive than were the dispossessed farmers and their families.

The farmer has been forced to lower unmercifully his standard of living while he was pushed on without hope by the momentum of habit. His yearly labor income is figured by the Congressional Commission at \$464, and the purchasing power of that income is only \$219. And this in spite of the fact that unpaid child and wife labor has been largely introduced. The 1920 census figures, given out by the United States Department of Labor bulletin, report that out of 1,060,858 children between the ages of ten and fifteen years who are engaged in occupation, 647,309, or 61 per cent, are engaged in agriculture. The bulletin adds: "The 1920 census does not report on working children under 10 years of age, but it is known that such children are employed in large numbers in agriculture."

Here, then, is a statistical cross-section of the situation which has brought about the farmer's revolt against the banks, the railroads and the middlemen. In the latter stages

of this process that is dispossessing the American farmers of their land and homes, the farmers have become more closely allied with the city workers. Facing the same enemies, the tendency to combine their political protests has rapidly developed.

This tendency crystallized into action in Chicago on July 4, when the rank and file of labor and farm organizations entered into the first definite pact for a concerted fight against their exploiters, and created the "Federated" Farmer-Labor Party. The initial program of the farmers, which was enthusiastically and unanimously passed by the workers' organizations, contains a demand that the land must belong to the users of the land—the farmers—and that a moratorium for five years on farm mortgages shall be inaugurated. This program is the challenge of the farmers to those who have wrested their farm and their income from them. Goaded to desperation by the farm crisis, they take their places by the side of the workers in the struggle for economic freedom.

Gary's Promises to Abolish 12-Hour Day Sound Like Hoax

(Continued from page One.)

Gary, the industrial despot, gives the widest publicity to his every utterance. In flaring headlines we are informed by the daily press of the nation that the 12-Hour Day is to be immediately given way to the 8-Hour Day. Then we read the Gary interpretation in the main body of the article to the effect that plans have been perfected that will be pushed forward without "unnecessary delay." This is further qualified by the assertion that within the next six weeks the corporation will "begin to inaugurate the 8-Hour Day."

This is to be accomplished if, and when, 60,000 additional laborers are secured, according to Mr. Gary. In other words, when Gary can secure 60,000 additional laborers who are willing to work for the starvation wage of \$4.00 a day he may reduce the hours of labor somewhat.

So all the blatant headlines to the effect that the 12-Hour Day is a thing of the past are simply capitalist humbug emanating from the pen

prostitutes of the daily newspapers.

Gompers Asserts Himself

Samuel Gompers, an inveterate publicity seeker in order to gratify his lust for power, which is not less inordinate than that of Mr. Gary, rushes into print with an alleged "refutation" of the position of the steel king. Mr. Gary holds that the "agitation for reduced wages does not come from the workers themselves." To which Mr. Gompers indignantly replies that, "It has not been so long ago that in the neighborhood of 300,000 employees in the steel industry ceased work to secure better conditions and their main contention was the 8-Hour Day."

Thus, the pompous Gompers has the astounding nerve to profess to defend the interests of the steel strikers at this late date, when in 1919 he played a part equally as decisive in crushing the steel strike as did Mr. Gary and Major General Leonard H. Wood.

When this struggle for eight hours was going on Mr. Gompers, with the consummate perfidy that always characterizes his flunkeyism to the capitalist class, was conveniently absent. He never made a single speech or showed by any word or act that he considered that gigantic movement of any concern to him. Today, when his own personal henchmen are dissipating the balance left over from the fund raised during that struggle, Gompers evinces concern for the steel workers.

It will require something more substantial from Mr. Gompers than protests at this late date to efface his record in the steel strike and wipe from the pages of labor history the fact that the strike was crushed with his implied consent because of his treacherous inactivity.

Competing For Peons

However, even the most insipid efforts to organize the steel workers, such as the present "campaign" evoked retaliation from Mr. Gary. Under the pretext of securing workers so that he can inaugurate the 8-Hour Day Mr. Gary has sent his agents to all parts of the world to recruit prospective scab labor in anticipation of disturbances in his industry. Already he is strongly competing with the beet sugar trust for peons illegally smuggled into the United States from Mexico. His agents are roaming the farm districts recruiting farm laborers into his domains with rosy promises of a steel mill paradise.

He is using the agitation against the Twelve-Hour Day to his own advantage, and under cover of an attempt to inaugurate the 8-Hour Day he is preparing for the next step on the part of the exploited hordes in his mills.

A Disastrous Gesture
The late President Harding, lifted

from the obscurity of a mediocre Senator by Mr. Gary and the heavy industrialist group in the United States, was so palpably the tool of this group that it became necessary for him to try to camouflage his connections in order to stand a ghost of a show as presidential nominee in the next election. It would have been a political blunder heralding inevitable disaster for Harding to have entered the campaign for re-election while the man who elevated him to the Presidency was sweating his slaves twelve hours a day in the steel mills.

The fraudulent Harding-Gary correspondence also contributed its quota to the general wave of resentment against the Twelve-Hour Day. Could Gary have foreseen that his protégé was suffering from a complication of diseases of long years standing that would cut him short in his efforts to rehabilitate his Party in the eyes of the American voters he never would have permitted such agitation. What was intended as an empty gesture for political purpose turned out to be disastrous.

Of a similar nature to the Presidential "intervention" in the 12-Hour Day controversy was the action of the notorious scab-herding Railroad Labor Board condemning the Pennsylvania Railroad for violation of some of its decisions. This act was clearly a crude endeavor to "white-wash" this contemptible governmental instrument of the railroads.

The campaign against the 12-Hour Day in the steel industry has succeeded in arousing millions of workers who sympathize with the slaves of Gary. Now is the time for organized labor to proceed to the organization of the steel workers and if the trade union movement of this country were not under the blight of Gompersism the question of the 8-Hour Day would not be up to Mr. Gary for decision. With the labor movement as it is today there is a two-fold task imposed upon the militants in America. The steel workers must be organized and at the same time the Gompers machine must be forced to yield control of the American Federation of Labor to those who view society as an irreconcilable struggle between the workers and the capitalists.

Kansas City for F. L. P.

KANSAS CITY, MO.—Sunday, August 5th, a meeting was held composed of Farmer-Labor, Trade Union and other elements sympathetic to the idea of independent working class political action. The personnel of this meeting was practically the same that had financed the sending of a delegate from the Kansas City Farmer-Labor Party to the Chicago Convention.

The delegate to the Chicago Convention reported to this meeting. His report was favorable to the Cook County, Ill., Farmer-Labor Party group. The report of J. G. Brown, secretary of the old Farmer-Labor Party, and the statement by Robert M. Buck was read and discussed in detail.

J. E. Snyder, who was present at this meeting and who had been a delegate to the Chicago Convention from the Farmer-Labor Party of California, was called on for a report. Following his report and with the secretary of the Kansas City Farmer-Labor Party not voting, the meeting unanimously went on record in favor of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and its program.

The Farmer-Labor Party of Kansas City as an organization has not yet acted up on the question of affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, for the good and sufficient reason that it is hardly possible to call together a larger number of its original members than that represented at the above meeting.

Mass Meeting Opposes War on Militants

The reactionaries in control of the unions in the needle trades are determined to exterminate the Trade Union Educational League. Already the City of Chicago League members have been driven out of the Board of the Cloakmakers' Union.

The League has determined to meet the attack of the reactionaries with a counter offensive of the rank and file. The league is not going to allow the right wing leaders to prevent the rank and file from expressing themselves on the important issues that the League raises in the unions.

The reactionary leaders are mistaken if they believe that they defeat demand for amalgamation, organization of the unorganized and a labor party by expelling the militant representatives of the rank and file who advocate these measures in the unions.

The trade union bureaucrats are mistaken if they believe they will succeed in disfranchising the militant and revolutionary members in the unions by preventing them from holding office. The reactionary leaders are mistaken if they believe these methods that they will prevent the locals from electing progressive delegates at the coming conventions of their international.

The reactionaries will be sorry that they ever started this war against the Leagues in the needle trades unions. At a big mass meeting in New Star Casino, August 23rd, the rank and file will in no uncertain terms give its answer to the reactionaries who are now splitting the unions by expelling the most active and militant elements of the rank and file.

B. Gold of the Furriers Union will be Chairman. Among the speakers will be William Abrams, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Rose Wolkowitz, of the Dressmakers; International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; E. Marks of the Cloakmakers; International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; H. Schwartzman, of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union; William Z. Foster, Secretary, Trade Union Educational League; Alexander Bittelman, Secretary, Jewish Federation, Workers Party; in Yiddish, and Benjamin Gitlow, Editor of the Freiheit. Admission is free. Meeting starts at 8 o'clock. The New Star Casino at 107th Street and Park Avenue.

Attacks of New Republic and New York Call on Federated Farmer-Labor Party Exposed

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO, Ill.—Two letters, written by W. E. Zeuch, national committeeman of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, have just been made public here in reply to attacks of the New Republic (Liberal) and the New York Call (Socialist).

National Committeeman Zeuch, a prominent figure in the Wisconsin farmer-labor movement, takes both these sheets to task for publishing misleading statements about the Federated Farmer-Labor Party Conference, especially the publication in "The Call" of a letter by Chester C. Platt, to the effect that the Wisconsin Non-Partisan League had rejected affiliation with the Federated Party. The letter to the New Republic follows:

To The New Republic,
421 W. 21st St., New York City.

Sirs:—I must protest. I went to the Farmer-Labor Conference at Chicago as a delegate from the Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin. I attended every session, was a member of the Organizing Committee, and of the sub-committee that drew up the plan of federation and in other ways took part in the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. I think, therefore, that I may qualify as a witness. Since I am not a Communist, Socialist or any other "ist," I feel justified in claiming to be an unbiased witness.

I was a bit surprised to read the report by Robert Morris Lovett in the New Republic several weeks ago. Of course I was prepared for the attitude of superior wisdom and condescending cynicism which is so characteristic of our self-constituted intelligentsia. However, we workers and farmers are so close to the concrete problems of life that we have little stomach for those little nuances of irony which may tickle the risibilities of endowed professors at our expense. We are constantly up against the problem of getting a daily wage that will allow us to live a decent life, or the problems of marketing our products at a price that will save us from bankruptcy. Our problems can not be solved by sarcasm. In a more joyous era we might be disposed to overlook his caricature of our conference.

Furthermore, we have a right to expect honest reporting from a paper with the pretensions of the New Republic. When I read such statements as "The Workers Party is in full control," "The Workers Party took control of proceedings as soon as the convention got down to business," and that the new party is dominated by the Communists, I felt that Lovett could not have been at the Conference, and that he must have gotten his dope by cribbing from the Chicago Tribune or some other such

Zinc Miners Battle Thugs in Illinois

By CARL HAESSLER
(Special to "The Worker")

TAYLOR SPRINGS, ILL.—"Another of them damn reporters."

That was the word went round among miners and smelters on the sidewalk in front of Miners' Hall in Taylor Springs, Ill., as I dropped off the Hillsboro jitney and prepared to break the ice they had carefully presented to the St. Louis Star reporter when he tried to get news out of them for the capitalist press. Taylor Springs is a fair bit northeast of St. Louis.

A smelterman had been shot by a gunman on the third day of the 100 per cent strike against low wages, 12 to 16 hours a day and a scab shop. The gunman was also a temporary deputy sheriff. The American Zinc Co., the smelter trust, had seen to that.

But the gunman and the rest of his armed crew, none of them Taylor Springs boys, all imported, had got a bit tough with the strikers' wives who were acting as pickets in front of the plant and in the street cars that ordinarily carried the working force of 300 to the plant.

The women, formidable Amazons some of them, spoke none too sweetly to the gunmen. The gunmen hurled sour curses at the women. The women's men folk rushed the car to avenge their insulted wives.

A guard drew a gun. The gunman went off. The bullet sped thru the thigh of William Garcia, a striker, member both of the United Mine Workers and of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter workers. The strikers, all unarmed, drove home rough lessons in courtesy with their fists. The battered bodies of the gunmen were the unwilling pupils. They finished their course in the Hillsboro jail and graduated in a hurry into distant parts with a promise never to go to school in Taylor Springs any more.

"Never too old to learn," said the elder of the pair of thugs that got the roughest of the lessons. He'd been a union miner in his younger days and only half realized what work, the smelter manager, Kenneth Rossman, had in store for him.

"All this and a lot more was peeled off to the 'damn reporter' as soon as I had identified myself. 'Where's your credential?' demanded Adolph Corazza, of the organization committee, when I said I had come for the Federated Press. Soon as he saw the magic press card his dark hand-

The Collective Agitator, Propagandist and Organizer

By JOHN PEPPER

The Communist Party of Russia had 17,000 members on the eve of the March revolution in 1917.

The Workers Party of America today has about 20,000 members.

This shows the two Communist parties in their respective stages about equal numerically, but not equal politically. What is the difference between the Workers Party of America today and the Bolshevik Party of Russia on the eve of the Kerensky revolution?

The main difference is that the Bolsheviks were then already a MASS PARTY, although they had only 17,000 members, whereas the Workers Party is not a mass party as yet, despite its 20,000 members.

To be a mass party does not ALWAYS mean that a party must embrace hundreds of thousands in its ORGANIZATION; but it does always mean that it must have deep roots within the masses, and that it must lead the masses in the daily struggle as well as to the barricades of the revolution.

IN THIS SENSE the Bolshevik Party of Russia, with its 17,000 members, was already a mass party. IN THIS SENSE the Workers Party, in spite of its 20,000 members, is still not a mass party.

Why is the Workers Party not a real mass party? Wherein does it fall short?

The Workers Party is not enough of a POLITICAL PARTY. The old sectarian spirit still lives in many comrades who fear that they will lose their Communist virginity in the political struggle.

The Workers Party is not UNI-

FORM enough. The work of the sixteen Language Federations is not sufficiently well coordinated.

The Workers Party is not enough AMERICAN. Many of our comrades do not see their greatest enemy in AMERICAN capitalism, and do not recognize the AMERICAN capitalist government as their deadly enemy.

The Workers Party is not enough COMMUNISTIC. There are comrades who see Marxism only as a collection of dogmas. There are comrades who do not know Marxism at all, and cannot see farther ahead than the daily trade union struggles.

The Workers Party needs to have a deeper POLITICAL INTEREST. The Workers Party needs a stricter CENTRALIZATION.

The Workers Party must concentrate its forces still more in the struggle against AMERICAN capitalism.

The Workers Party must have an intensive Communist Marxist EDUCATION.

In other words, we need more AGITATION, more PROPAGANDA, more ORGANIZATION.

Our party has become so large today and the tasks which stand before us have grown so tremendously that the PRESENT INDIVIDUAL METHODS of agitation, propaganda and organization no longer suffice.

The Workers Party cannot grow, and cannot accomplish its great tasks without new, mightier COLLECTIVE METHODS of agitation, propaganda and organization. Lenin, the greatest leader of the world proletarian, said:

THE PRESS IS A COLLECTIVE AGITATOR.

THE PRESS IS A COLLECTIVE PROPAGANDIST.

THE PRESS IS A COLLECTIVE ORGANIZER.

The Workers Party cannot grow and become a real mass party without the press, without a MIGHTY ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY.

Only an ENGLISH DAILY can lead our party-comrades into the thick of the political life and struggle.

Only an ENGLISH DAILY can give the sixteen Federations a uniform ideology, and bring about the democratic centralization of our party.

Only an ENGLISH DAILY can really make the knowledge concerning the facts of American capitalism and mechanism of the American government into the common possession of every party member.

Only an ENGLISH DAILY, thru a Marxist and Communist education can turn the 20,000 party members into good Communists, and in addition can turn 20,000 sympathizers into Communists.

A grown-up man cannot wear children's shoes. A party which begins to develop into a real MASS PARTY can no longer get along with INDIVIDUAL methods of agitation, propaganda and organization. WE NEED THE ENGLISH DAILY. WE NEED THE POWERFUL COLLECTIVE AGITATOR, PROPAGANDIST AND ORGANIZER. Every Communist should put forth his entire energy as INDIVIDUAL agitator, propagandist and organizer, in order to build up the English daily, the COLLECTIVE agitator, propagandist and organizer.

FIGHT THE YELLOW BUREAUCRATS!

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

NEW STAR CASINO

107th Street and Park Avenue
THURSDAY NIGHT, AUGUST 23, 8 O'CLOCK

Speakers: William Z. Foster, secretary, Trade Union Educational League, Benjamin Gitlow, Alexander Bittelman, 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.

Minneapolis Council and Organized Labor Greet War Prisoner

By STELLA C. GEORGIAN
(Special to "The Worker")

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.— Amid the tolling of the court house bells President Harding, the Minneapolis City Council, controlled by Socialist and labor aldermen, voted ten-nine to elect a committee to extend greetings to J. O. Bentall, member of the Workers Party, who has just been released from Leavenworth penitentiary.

The resolution was introduced by Alderman Bastis and aroused a storm of protest from the conservative members. Vote was by roll call and a high ran the feeling that as the last votes were recorded the voters were shouting their "Ayes" and "Nays" at the top of their voices.

Comrade Bentall was convicted under the espionage law during the war for a speech which he made at a large picnic near Hutchinson. His case was carried to the state supreme court which reversed the lower court and ordered a new trial. As this decision came about two years after the close of the war, it was expected that no further action would be taken. However, the courts demanded their pound of flesh and a new trial resulted in a new conviction which was sustained by the state supreme court. Comrade Bentall's sentence was commuted by President Harding to expire just five weeks sooner than it would normally have done.

A banquet for the close friends and sympathizers of Comrade Bentall is arranged for Saturday evening and on Sunday afternoon a big picnic will be held in Glenwood Park to welcome him back to the ranks of the militant workers.

On Wednesday the Trades and Labor Assembly also elected a committee to extend the greeting of that organization to the returned "con-

unbiased source of information. When he put a statement made by one of the Wisconsin delegates into the mouth of Chairman Bouck I knew that he could not have been present.

The facts relative to the Chicago Conference are as follows. The old Farmer-Labor Party issued a call for a conference to achieve a united front among the liberal and radical political groups. Six hundred delegates came in response to that call. The old Farmer-Labor Party tried to use the Conference to put life into its dying organization. The rank and file of the Conference rebelled against such attempts on the part of the officers of the old Farmer-Labor Party. The delegates felt that they had come to establish a new party which should take in all the elements represented at the conference. When the matter came to an issue the delegates voted overwhelmingly in favor of the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The industrial workers and the dirt farmers stuck together on this proposition from the first to the last. Less than ten percent of the delegates bolted the Federated Farmer-Labor Convention. Those who bolted were largely labor politicians, intelligentsia and wealthy persons who dabble in liberal movements. When the rank and file ran away with the Conference the outraged bourgeoisie and labor politicians who constituted the dissenting minority tried to disrupt the unity of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party by dragging the Red Herring of Communism across the trail. They attempted to use the presence of Ruthenberg and Foster at the Conference and the fact that both of these men had fought for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party as evidence that the new party was Communist. The asininity of this contention is evident to anyone who will take the time to read the declaration of principles and platform of the new party. The disgruntled minority attempted to maintain that the Conference was packed. The Workers Party had ten delegates out of six hundred. Aside from these ten there were about one hundred and

thirty or one hundred and forty delegates who were from left wing organizations and may have been influenced by the advice of Foster and Ruthenberg. But even at that less than one-fourth of the delegates would have been under Workers Party influence.

Under the plan of federation the various elements have influence in proportion to their membership. The Workers Party has 20,000 members. One fair-sized city central labor body that joined the federation would have more power than the whole of the Workers Party. Of the thirty-three members of the Executive Committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party eleven represent farmers' organizations, ten represent old line craft unions, six represent various miscellaneous groups. Will someone please tell me how the Communists can run away with a political party so officered? There is one thing that is certain about the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. It is in the control of the rank and file. It has no Hillquits or Bergers, no Fitzpatricks or Bucks. Its president is a western dirt farmer. Its secretary is a real industrial worker.

The Conference was remarkable for the youth of the delegates. Gray heads were rare. A movement of young men and women can carry on.

Most sincerely,
(Signed) W. E. ZEUCH,
National Committeeman.

The letter to the New York Call says:

To the New York Call,
412 4th Ave., New York City.

Sirs:—Your issue of August 3d carries a news item to the effect that the Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin has withdrawn from the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

As a member of the Executive Committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, representing the Wisconsin Non-Partisan League, I wish to inform you that the news item was untrue.

The Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin has not taken official action upon the question of affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

The letter of Mr. Chester C. Platt which you publish is misleading. So far as I am aware it represents the opinion of Mr. Platt alone and does not represent the consensus of opinion of the Non-Partisan League of this state. The delegates from Wisconsin whom he mentions are overwhelmingly in favor of uniting all farmer and labor factions into one party. No one of the delegates, so far as I know, with the exception of Mr. Platt, has taken a stand against affiliating with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. What action the Wisconsin Non-Partisan League will take is a matter of the future.

It is against the policy of the progressives of this state to attack any movement of the working class. They reserve their fire for the common enemies of all people who labor. Mr. Platt is a New York politician transplanted to Wisconsin soil rather recently, and does not understand the attitude of the progressives of this state in such matters. For some reason unknown to his friends and acquaintances he is extremely bitter on the subject of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and uses his time to write letters blackguarding it.

Do not fall into the error of supposing that Mr. Platt is the Progressive party or represents the progressive groups in this state. When the people of this state get ready to take action on the question of affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party or any other third party movement they will speak for themselves, and in no uncertain tones.

Until such time as the Non-Partisan League takes official action on the question of affiliation I will remain on the Executive Committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. It has my unqualified personal support.

I am wondering whether the Call has the character to publish this denial with the same prominence they gave to the falsehood.

Sincerely,
(Signed) W. E. ZEUCH,
National Committeeman.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

The Workers Party, English Downtown Branch, holds open air meetings regularly at which large numbers of "The Worker" and the pamphlet on "Amalgamation" are sold.

On Tuesday, August 14, a meeting was held on 5th St. and Ave. B, with Comrades Scheiner, Siskind and Fishbein as speakers. Thursday, August 16, a meeting will be held on Second Ave. and 10th St., with J. Louis Engrahl as speaker, and Siskind as chairman.

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

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY

Friday, Sept. 14, 1923
WEBSTER HALL, N. Y. C.

some young face lit up and he grabbed my hand. In a second the Secretary John Mann of the Kortkamp miners spread the news that a Federated Press man, labor's news service, had come to get the truth of the shooting story and spike the Associated Press lies.

Organizer Ed Carbine of the smelter workers told me the tale briefly and clearly. For three years the zinc works have been an open shop sore in a union community. Several attempts to organize failed. Now with wages going up everywhere and labor getting scarce Carbine saw his chance to civilize the smelter. In a couple of weeks 25 per cent of the men were organized. A house to house canvass made it 30 per cent.

The company hired dicks and stool pigeons. It fired every known union man. When the union had over 150 of the 300 men, it demanded recognition. The company hooted the union members out of the gates. Over 200 took out union cards. The company arranged for gunmen. The strike was called Tuesday, Aug. 7. Union membership jumped to 85 per cent that same morning and to 97 per cent by night. Wednesday was peaceful. No work and no strike.

Thursday morning the unarmed striker was shot. An hour later all was quiet again. Col. Culbertson, of the Illinois national guard, a tall open faced not bad-sort-of-a-guy, lumbered into the village. State Mediator Dan Dineen footloosed down from Springfield. The colonel had nothing to do but twiddle his thumbs on the porch of the Hillsboro hotel. The mediator found the company wouldn't mediate. "Union shop? Nothing doing!" said the manager in conference.

But the strikers see that the company's threats to close down entirely are bunk. Like the man of God who had received a call to a more remunerative pulpit and was seeking divine guidance but meanwhile packed his trunks, the company is keeping its fires going in the furnaces. The market for zinc is pretty good.

Sentiment in the towns is strong for the strikers. Everyone was proud that no local boys had been mixed up in the melée as company gunmen. One of the nine non-unionists in the works had collapsed from the heat, a white collar doing unaccustomed work before the furnaces. He's in

the hospital now on the floor above the ward where Bill Garcia, the wounded striker, is lying. Comments on the scab were not gentle. Caustic jests fly round. It seems that the local undertaker had helped to fan the fink on the way to the hospital. The man continues to live and townsmen see it as an undeserved joke on the undertaker.

The affray was the natural and usual fruit of the policy of hard-boiled employers who deliberately send gunmen on the loose when the workers peacefully band together to correct unbearable conditions.

Common labor gets as low as \$3 a day in the American Zinc Co. smelter here. Skilled labor gets no more than \$4.50. Hours are eight a day with extra hours up to 12 and 16 at the whim of the company and without punitive overtime. Deodato Campagna, a boy of 16, was fired when he demurred at doing a second continuous eight hour shift Sunday morning right on top of an eight hour shift Saturday night. He'd have got \$6 for the 16 hours.

The company operated a smelter in Kansas in the glorious days of the lamented Allen industrial court law, that put Alexander Howat in jail. The Illinois boys set the company to rights. "This ain't Kansas," they told the manager. He wanted to have coal from the mine. He could have it if union men comprised the unloading crew. "I'll pick my own crew," says the miner's committee.

Gunmen on the loose are now less plentiful in Montgomery county. Hand hammered courtesy is the style in Taylor Springs.

"Socialists" and the United Front

The united front of prominent "Socialists" in Oklahoma with the capitalist parties has come to grief. Following the Johnston policy of non-partisan political action, the "Socialists," with the Farmer-Laborites and Non-Partisan Leaguers, threw all their resources behind a group of Democrat politicians who were supporting J. C. Walton for governor. Mr. Walton was elected, and great was the elation of the yellows.

As is usually the case with all reformist candidates of this type, Mr. Walton, whose principal support was a hybrid organization called the "Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League," has now recanted his former professed radicalism and is avowedly an enemy of the workers and farmers of that state. Even worse than his stand as a representative of capitalism is his support of the sinister Ku Klux Klan sentiment that is strong in the Southwest.

While an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan would not be repugnant to such creatures as the leaders of the Socialist Party in New York City, who play the game of William J. Burns, it was too much for the Oklahoma "yellows" to stomach, so they are now piously denouncing Mr. Walton as an ingrate and traitor to labor.

The treachery to labor rests squarely upon the alleged "Socialists" and not anywhere else. It is the inevitable result of the decisions of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, to which the Socialist Party is desperately clinging, in spite of the fact that they are looked upon as barnacles by even this aggregation, as was evidenced by their rout at Albany, where Hillquit, Oneal and Co. were shown the door.

PLEASE—

Will comrades send "THE WORKER" copies of No. 282?

These are needed to complete our files?

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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Coolidge Has Plan to Break Coal Strike

(Continued from Page One)

thirty-four railway, coal, gas, electric, banking, insurance, telephone, telegraph, securities, and the United States Steel Corporation. William Rockefeller, who is a director of the National City Bank, the biggest bank in America, and thirty-three copper, power, railway, gas, and electric corporations, and Beekman Winthrop, another director of the National City Bank, and twelve steel, railroad, shipbuilding, and savings bank corporations.

It is to the protection of the interests of this unholy galaxy of sworn enemies of Labor that "Strikebreaker" President Coolidge has dedicated himself.

Coolidge Eager to Spring at Throats of Miners

President Coolidge is anxious to spring at the throats of the miners. He is out for a fight, and is looking for blood—workers' blood. He is planning to capitalize the present coal crisis for his own political future.

Coolidge is eager to use the same kind of strikebreaking tactics in the coal controversy as he did in the Boston police strike.

In his mortal thrust against the miners, President Coolidge is playing for big stakes. Rendering strikebreaking service in the anthracite controversy would dwarf even his service in the Boston police strike. Alongside of the feat of browbeating and terrorizing 150,000 powerfully organized miners the act of destroying the municipal policemen's union in Boston fades into insignificance.

Coolidge's tactics in the present coal dispute are dictated solely by his desire to win the unquestioned and unquestionable support of the blackest reactionaries of the country. The President has very little, if anything at all, to lose as far as labor is concerned. Even Sam Gompers, that old midwife of reaction, dares not pledge Coolidge any more than skin-deep allegiance. But to the employing class in general and the powerful New England manufacturing and banking interests in particular, Coolidge must cater. With them he must play a different game. Having an eye on the Republican Presidential nomination in 1924, Coolidge is losing no time in lining up at least the eighty-eight votes of a solid New England delegation. Already such dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries as Senators Keyes and Moses, of New Hampshire, are openly proclaiming his as the Republican Presidential choice for 1924.

Miners! Be on Your Guard!

The miners must be on guard against the dangerous manoeuvres of the strikebreaking government and its strikebreaker President. They must not permit themselves to be inveigled into surrender to the flaming ambitions of so avowed an enemy of Labor as is now at the head of the Government.

The miners should be prepared to a man to resist to the limit the savage onslaught launched against their union at the behest of the overlords of finance and industry by the Union-smashing President Coolidge.

Gary Sends Us Propaganda

The close connection between the Steel Trust and the kept press is shown by the fact that Elbert H. Gary's United States Steel Corporation is sending out fullpage sheets of that page of the issue of The Times, Sunday, July 29, that contained the laudatory article on the 12-Hour Day. This stuff is sent out to long lists of names in the Steel Trust's office in the hope of misleading those who are liable to get the truth about Steel Trust oppression. How we happened to get on this list is a mystery to us. But it came under one cent postage, so the great billion-dollar steel trust didn't lose so much after all.

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

NOTICE

The Labor Herald for "August" is out. Get your bundles at office of Trade Union Educational League, 208 East 12th Street.

A SMOKE-SCREEN OF PROPAGANDA HAS HIDDEN THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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LABOR TEMPLE
14th St., cor. 2nd Ave.

Three Lessons--New York, Albany, Chicago Announce the Campaign for "The Daily"

By JOHN PEPPER

The First Lesson

These three cities symbolize three stations of the Labor Party movement and show the application of three different tactics.

New York is the seat of the American Labor Party. This American Labor Party was founded by the Socialist Party and is called "American" most likely because it is not a national organization, not even a state organization, only a local city group. In the creation of this remarkable "American" local organization, the Socialist Party was aided by the Farmer-Labor Party of New York and a few Jewish trade unions. The Farmer-Labor Party of New York is another marvelous creature. It is no party at all, has not a single organization in New York and it has little in common with the national organization of the old Farmer-Labor Party. It did not even send delegates to the July 3rd Convention at Chicago. The role of the laboring masses is performed in this "Party" by De Hunt the journalist and the role of the farmer masses by Lefkowitz the teacher.

The American Labor Party was created at the very outset as a private institution of the Socialist Party, and has never for a moment represented anyone but the Socialist Party and its voters. The Jewish trade unions belonging to it do not represent any addition but consist of the old stock of Socialist Party voters. When a part of the trade union movement of New York and the Workers Party tried to join the new organization they were greeted with sabotage and expulsion.

The American Labor Party has never for a moment been anything but a disguised Socialist Party. The Socialist Party felt that it is bankrupt and wished to give a new name to the old dubious firm. The Socialist Party felt that it is no longer being taken seriously and it donned a new mask. In Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream, Snug the Joiner disguises himself in a lion's skin and Bottom the Weaver wears a donkey's head. The lion's skin of the Socialist Party was Lefkowitz and its donkey's head—De Hunt. No wonder that no one was frightened at the American Labor Party and that no one fell in love with it, that no one has taken the American Labor Party seriously—not even the Socialist Party itself. The Socialist Party decided recently that at the next election in New York it would put up its candidates on the Socialist Party ticket, and would drop the sign of the American Labor Party.

The American Labor Party is dead. No sooner was it born, than it was dead. The Socialist Party was its midwife and the Socialist Party was its baby-farmer. The fate of the American Labor Party shows

clearly the lesson that it is impossible to create a real Labor Party without the trade unions and farmer organizations as backbone of the Labor Party. The station New York in the history of the Labor Party movement shows clearly that a so-called Labor Party must disintegrate after a brief existence if it is simply a new name for an existing small political group.

The Second Lesson

Albany was the headquarters of the New York State Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Three elements were present at this convention: 1—The Socialist Party; 2—Some representatives of the rank and file of the trade unions; 3—Railroad leaders who compose part of the Democratic Tammany Hall machine.

The railroad leaders did not want a Labor Party, but wanted immediate participation in the primaries of the old capitalist parties. Their aim was the very same as that of the official American Federation of Labor with its old Gompers slogan: "Punish the enemies and reward the friends." Their aim was that of Johnston, the leader of the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action.

A part of the rank and file delegation was class-conscious and wanted the immediate formation of the Labor Party. Another part was not class-conscious, but represented the feelings of dissatisfied workers and wanted some kind of action without delay.

The Socialist Party went to Albany in order to represent "Independent Political Action"; but at the same time it was anxious not to lose the friendship of the railroad leaders. The Socialist Party leaders, as overslick politicians, wanted to square the circle, with the only result that the railroad leaders beat the Socialist round-heads into the square-heads.

The Socialist Party did not dare to fight in Albany for the idea of a Labor Party, trembling to lose the friendship of the labor leaders. It betrayed the Labor Party in Albany in order to gain the favor of the official railroad brotherhoods, in the same way that it betrayed the Labor Party in Cleveland so as to win the favor of Johnston and Keating, and as it betrayed the idea of amalgamation in order to be tolerated by Gompers. The Socialist Party no longer strives to gain the support of the revolutionary rank and file, for the very reason that the rank and file is revolutionary. And its whole tactic consists today of seeking an alliance with the reactionary labor leaders just because they are reactionary.

Albany stands for the greatest defeat in the political career of the Socialist Party. In 1919 it lost the confidence of the rank and file. Since then, it has not succeeded in striking

roots in the labor aristocracy. And in Albany its plan of alliance with the labor leaders went bankrupt.

The labor leaders in Albany knew what they wanted. They were against the formation of the Labor Party and they wanted immediate action within the old capitalist parties. The only tactic which could have led the Socialist Party to victory would have been: 1—Struggle for immediate formation of the Labor Party; 2—Appeal to the rank and file against the leaders. But the Socialist Party had the dogma, as formulated by Hillquit, that the rank and file and the leaders are the same and cannot be separated. The Socialist Party has the dogma that the Labor Party can be formed only when, not the rank and file alone is for it, but also the big international unions, in other words, the labor officials. The Socialist Party tactic was bound to go bankrupt in Albany, because these dogmas are just as little true for Marxian science as the dogma of the virgin birth by Mary is true for natural science. Neither Gompers nor Johnston will ever bring about the Labor Party. The way of the creation of the Labor Party leads over the political corpses of the \$25,000 a year labor leaders. The process of creation of the Labor Party is, in other words, the process of the separation of the rank and file from the influence of the high labor officials. It is probable that the pressure of the rank and file will win over a big part of the small officials for the idea of the Labor Party. It is even possible that when the pressure from below is still greater, some of the high officials will go willy nilly with the Labor Party movement. But the high labor officials as a stratum will never be leaders in the Labor Party movement here in America, and will serve to their last breath as the Praetorian Guard of the capitalists. The greatest lesson of Albany is that in the United States the idea of a Labor Party can win only thru an appeal to the rank and file and only thru the fight against the reactionary leaders.

The Third Lesson

The July 3rd Convention at Chicago presents the third tactical lesson. There were three outstanding groups present in Chicago: 1—The old Farmer-Labor Party officials; 2—A rank and file representation of over 600,000 workers and farmers; 3—The Workers Party.

The Workers Party faced a difficult tactical dilemma at the July 3rd Convention. It knew that the Convention would be a pure rank and file convention and that none of the national and international unions would be represented. It knew that the whole officialdom of the labor movement is against the Labor Party, Gompers having been against

it for the last forty years. Johnston coquetted with the idea but betrayed it definitely at Cleveland. The officials (Fitzpatrick, Buck and Brown) of the old Farmer-Labor Party were for the Labor Party idea, but only if they could realize it in "respectable" company—in the company of at least some high international unions. The delegates of the rank and file of farmers and workers came to Chicago in order that something be done immediately, and in general were in favor of immediate formation of the Labor Party. And it was a matter of common knowledge that the Workers Party in the last year has been developing a more and more intensive propaganda for the idea of the Labor Party.

What sort of tactic was the Workers Party compelled to employ in this situation?

In contrast to the Socialist Party and in contrast to all those crippled by skepticism who believe that the whole social development in the United States is nothing but a vicious circle, the Workers Party holds to the opinion that the recent development of three new facts: 1—Centralization of the government; 2—Disintegration of the working class; 3—Disintegration of the old parties, has made the formation of a Labor Party not only possible, but inevitable. The lessons of the Cleveland Conference and the lessons of the amalgamation movement have proven conclusively to the Workers Party that the way of the Labor Party in America takes a different direction than in Great Britain. It will be impelled not from above by the officials, but from below by the rank and file.

The Central Executive Committee of our party decided before this July 3rd Convention that it would not appear in Chicago the tactic of the Socialist Party in New York in the formation of the American Labor Party; that it would not force the formation of the Labor Party in case only the old Farmer-Labor Party and the Workers Party should appear at the Chicago Convention. For the Labor Party must not be degraded to a new name for an old, small political group, but must be based on trade unions and farmer organizations. The Central Executive Committee after careful evaluation and after three days of debate decided that the representation of half a million workers and farmers would form a sufficiently broad basis upon which to found the Labor Party. There were present in Chicago delegates representing 600,000 workers and farmers. The Workers Party therefore waged the most energetic fight for the immediate formation of a Labor Party.

The officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the old Farmer-Labor Party were frightened back at their own courage. After much hesitation and wavering they reveal-

ed themselves as traitors, and declared that they do not wish to form a Labor Party at all now, and still less do they want to admit the Workers Party into the Labor Party. The negotiations committee of our party tried every means to secure a compromise. We offered to accept the old Farmer-Labor Party as the basis of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party; we proposed five places on the National Executive Committee for the Farmer-Labor Party, and only two for us; we wanted to make every concession on the program. But on the main question we could not make a compromise, if we would avoid being traitors like Fitzpatrick and his comrades. We could not concede on the question of the Labor Party and affiliation of the Workers Party. If we had conceded in this question, we would have applied the same tactic as did the Socialist Party in Albany, and the result would have been the same. The Socialist Party in Albany proposed postponement of the formation of the Labor Party in order to secure alliance with the railroad leaders, losing thereby all power for attraction over the delegates of the rank and file. In the end, the railroad leaders could throw them out, and not a rooster crowed for them. The officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor demanded that we agree to putting off the formation of the Labor Party, and at the same time they put up a motion to throw out the Workers Party, only because it was an adherent to the Third International. The Workers Party thereupon replied in Chicago, in keeping with its duty as a revolutionary party. It fought uncompromisingly for the immediate formation of the Labor Party, thereby gaining the unprecedented support of the delegation of the rank and file, with the result that now it is the recognized leader of the Labor Party idea, and that it was not the Workers Party, but Fitzpatrick and the other officials who had to leave the Convention beaten.

We have three tactical lessons before us: the lessons of New York, Albany and Chicago. Defeat in New York because a small political group without real support from the trade unions wanted to form a Labor Party. Defeat in Albany because a politically broad-based union which to found the Labor Party. There were present in Chicago delegates representing 600,000 workers and farmers. The Workers Party therefore waged the most energetic fight for the immediate formation of a Labor Party. We are convinced that every Communist who does not stand hopelessly under the ideological influence of the old Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party, will understand.

The English revolutionary Daily Worker will be the heart and voice of the oppressed toilers of America.

Campaign for "The Daily"

(Continued from Page One)

tions, should organize a Daily Worker Committee to conduct a campaign in the particular unit of the party. The city Daily Worker Committee shall consist of from five to nine members; but in addition there shall be drafted party members who are members of unions and fraternal organizations and thru these carry on the work of selling shares in the organizations.

5. In addition to the general stock selling campaign, Special Committees shall be created for the purpose of approaching members and sympathizers in the movement with a view of securing pledges of \$1.00 each from 25 such sympathizers at \$100 each from 100 such sympathizers.

6. Besides the stock selling campaign, which shall go on for the entire period, we propose that during the month of September mass meetings shall be arranged, the proceeds to go to the Daily Worker Fund.

During the month of October—Party units shall arrange balls and entertainments and similar affairs for the fund.

The November 7th celebrations of this year shall be organized for the purpose of raising funds for the Daily Worker, and all Party units are to turn over the proceeds of the celebration for this purpose.

Immediate Task of the Branch

1. In accordance with this plan it is urgent that the next meeting of every branch be devoted to discussion of the Daily and the Branch Campaign Committee be set up. The committee shall send a representative to the City Campaign Committee.

2. The Branch Campaign Committee shall begin promptly the sale of the shares. Under separate cover we are sending you a supply of applications. You will note that there are two kinds—applications for full payment and applications for payment in five installments. The part payment applications are to be remitted to only after full payment has been made. Every party member shall be obligated to purchase at least one share for himself and sell at least one share to a fellow worker.

3. Every party member shall give a supply of applications for shares to sell to the workers in the union, and other workers' organizations.

4. At every meeting of the branch the question of the Daily is to be the first order of business. Reports of the Campaign Committee on funds raised as well as the activities of every member in the drive shall regularly be made.

The English revolutionary Daily Worker will be the heart and voice of the oppressed toilers of America.

DAILY WORKER CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

Greetings to "Daily" from Many Friends

(Continued from Page One)

win control over society, or maintain itself in power must build up fast and active press. Capital understand this very well. Hear their tremendous system of the sands of dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, constantly pouring a deluge of propaganda into the workers' minds. If the workers are to free themselves from this terribled flood of capitalistic poison, they must have a great and powerful press of their own. This is fundamental. A new daily is a long step in the right direction. Every worker who understands his true interests will give the campaign the heartiest support. W. Z. Foster, Secretary, Trade Union Educational League.

Polish Comrades Pledge Support

"In the name of the Polish Federation I greet the opening of the campaign to establish a Communist Daily. The Polish workers recognize full well the significance of the American press in their struggle, and will give their utmost financial aid to create an American organ which will defend their interests against American capitalist class."—A. Chow, Secretary, Polish Federation.

Greek Comrade For English Daily

"The announcement that the campaign has begun for a 'Daily Worker' has aroused great enthusiasm among the members of our Federation, and, no doubt, among all conscious workers.

"Our Federation will help all efforts for the realization of a Daily organ of our Party in the English language."—E. Chrysopoulos, Executive Secretary, Greek Federation.

Note: Additional greetings will be published next week.

Socialists in Buffalo Rouse Workers' Ire

By JOHN J. BALLAM
(Special to "The Worker")

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Credentialed from the Socialist Party, which was ending three delegates, were finally received at the third meeting of the Buffalo Labor Party, called to complete nominations for the city elections, and to act upon the recommendations of the executive committee. The "Socialists" were seated.

From this it might be inferred that the "Socialists" were ready to abide by the constitution of the Buffalo Labor Party, but events developed otherwise.

The Executive Committee of the Buffalo Labor Party recommended that Pat Quinlan, editor of the Socialist weekly, "New Age," must withdraw his name as a candidate on the Socialist Party ticket, if he accepts the nomination of the Buffalo Labor Party. A motion was made to concur in the report.

A delegate demanded a statement from the "Socialist" delegation and the Chairman of the Buffalo Labor Party, who is prominent in the Buffalo Central Labor Council, John Doyle, called upon the "Socialists" to state whether as an affiliated party they were ready to withdraw all their candidates in the city elections. The "Socialists" replied that they were ready to make a statement and that they had no authority to decide for their party. Pat Quinlan took the floor and tried to beg the question by saying that the elections were "non-partisan" and pleaded to be allowed to run on both tickets.

James Campbell, of the Molder's Union, ripped the hide off this specious plea by exposing the fake of so-called non-partisan elections showing that behind every candidate there are class interests. After scores of delegates had denounced the Socialist Party for their dog-in-the-manger and anti-working class attitude and after delegates of the Workers Party had challenged the "Socialists" claim to be a party of labor and called upon them to give up their special interests and create a united front with the workers as the Workers Party was doing, the convention finally forced the "Socialist" spokesman on the floor.

"Comrade" James Battestoni, Socialist delegate, said that he represented a national (?) (New York City and Milwaukee) party with international affiliations and that therefore he could not make a decision binding his party; that they came into the Buffalo Labor Party after the house was built; that his party in Buffalo would not consent to be the water boy for the Labor Party; that his party was based on eternal principles (sic); that his party cast 17,000 votes in a city election; that finally the Socialist Party having nominated its candidate way back in June he could not be bound now to withdraw them in favor of a Labor Party which may put up bad men; and that anyway he wanted to "wait and see" what would happen!

This speech incensed the delegates. They demanded a showdown. One delegate demanded to know where the Socialist vote of 17,000 came from; was it not a labor vote? Another delegate pointed out that the so-called Socialist Party in Buffalo has only 25 members.

Finally the Chairman accepted an amendment in the interest of unity which instructed the Executive Committee of the Buffalo Labor Party to appoint a sub-committee of three to confer with the Socialist Executive on the withdrawal of its candidates. This amendment was put and carried over the strenuous protests of scores of delegates. This gives the Socialist Party of Buffalo three days of grace when it must either decide to go on a scab and anti-labor ticket or come into the Labor Party and form a united front with the Communists and all other workers and thus repudiate the policies of Hillquit, Lee, Berger and Co.

Our Comrades are proving their devotion to the interests of the working class of America by standing shoulder to shoulder with the militant rank and file, uniting them in their struggle for their immediate needs and preparing them for their final conquest of political power and the establishment of the workers as the ruling class.

The Workers Party in Buffalo, thru the activities of its members in the unions and in the Labor Party, is rapidly winning the confidence of the organized and unorganized workers in this city.

In Buffalo, today, it is impossible to scare the workers by telling them that we are reds, Bolsheviks, etc. As one delegate said in the Labor Party convention during the debate on the "Socialists," The trouble with the Socialist Party today, is not that it is so revolutionary for this convention. As a matter of fact the Socialists are so damned conservative for the average unionist. What we want is action and we want action now. If the Socialist Party wants to delay, let it line up with Gompers where it belongs!

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

Detroit Young Workers League Prepares for Its Largest Youth Day Celebration

(Special to "The Worker")

DETROIT, Mich.—Detroit's Young Workers League expects to have the largest celebration for Youth Day in this city. It will be held in the House of the Masses, 2101 Gratiot Ave., Sunday, Sept. 2nd, 7:00 p. m.

Martin Abern, National Secretary of the Young Workers' League, will be the principal speaker of the evening which assures a speech both interesting and instructive.

Marty Abern was one of the Y. W. L. observers at the 4th Congress of the Communist International in November of last year and was American representative to the Congress of the Young Communist International.

He has travelled extensively thru-out the Old World and made a special trip into the Ruhr District of Germany.

He has made extensive investigations of economic conditions as affecting the youth of the United States and his Detroit speech will give reliable information on the issues, now before the workers of this country.

Interesting Program Arranged.

A program of musical and other numbers, including the well-known Chicago pianist Arvid Owens has been arranged. Negotiations are also under way to secure a special number of gymnastics.

The program will last until 8:30, and will be followed by a dance which will last till it finishes. Music for the dance will be furnished by the celebrated "Detroit Union Orchestra."

Youth Day in Los Angeles.
The Los Angeles branch of the

Young Workers' League will celebrate International Youth Day, Sunday, Sept. 2, by a mass meeting and entertainment in Symphony Hall.

Speakers representing the League and the Workers Party will address the meeting, pointing out the effect of capitalist oppression on the working-class youth in particular.

Sept. 14, a debate will be held in Symphony Hall under the auspices of the Young Workers' League on the question: Resolved, That Communism could offer more to the working class than Capitalism. Speakers representing the League will uphold the affirmative side of the debate.

Youth Day in Newark.

The Yowls in Newark, N. J., will celebrate International Youth Day. A mass meeting has been arranged to take place at the Newark Labor Lyceum, 704 So. 14th St., Sunday afternoon, 2:30 p. m., Sept. 9.

A prominent speaker will address the meeting. In addition the German, Hungarian and Lithuanian choruses will sing. Admission is free, and a good program assured.

Brutalities of Coal Czardom Are Exposed

(Special to "The Worker")

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Nowhere in the United States has labor been compelled to wage a greater struggle for its existence than in Pennsylvania. Official lawlessness, despotism and frightful terrorism have been the rule here for decades in order to keep labor in subjection.

The history of labor's struggle in Pennsylvania is a history of the most vicious court injunctions, class rule, murdered union organizers, shattered homes of workmen. But with all these methods of oppression the insatiable industrial magnates of this state were still unsatisfied, so in 1919 they took advantage of the war hysteria and passed the notorious Pennsylvania State Sedition Law and in 1921 it was amended to make it even more effective as a weapon against labor. Among other things the State Sedition Law declares that sedition shall mean:

"To incite or encourage any person or persons to commit any overt act with a view to bring the Government of this State or of the United States into hatred or contempt."

On the night of April 27th, 1923, a number of Pittsburgh police broke in thru the window into the home of Anna Budnik, a workingwoman who arrived from Europe eight months ago. Anna Budnik is a humble, church going woman. She belongs to no organizations and takes no part in any movement. The walls of her two-room home are decorated with pictures of saints and a crucifix adorns the window of the room that is used both as kitchen and sleeping room. Anna Budnik, who is to become a mother, was awakened from sleep when the window was forced open.

"Upon seeing strange men climb in thru the window and begin to search around I became frightened. I almost lost my speech. I was unable to cry out or to utter a word. One man took me by the arm and was leading me to the door. I realized that he was about to take me away. I placed my arms around the neck of my ten year old little girl and refused to go. I did not know who the men were and where they were to take me. One of the men placed his arms around my little girl and another around me and tore us apart. They tore part of the flesh out of my arm and scratched my face. Two men picked me up and threw me into a wagon."

This is the story related by Anna Budnik thru an interpreter. Anna Budnik was arrested without warrant. She was detained in prison for eight days. She kept alive on dry bread because she was unable to relish the unwholesome food offered her. The office of the District Attorney had no record of her arrest. It was brought to the attention of the office of the District Attorney that Anna Budnik is detained in jail thru an attorney by neighbors who cared for her ten year old child. Due to the experience at the hands of the police Anna Budnik is in poor physical condition and needs the care of a physician.

Matt Budnik, the husband of Anna Budnik, was also arrested without warrant from the factory where he worked. After being in jail for twelve days he was released on \$1,000 bail. He was arrested on April 27th but has had no hearing yet. There are no charges brought against him.

Joseph Jokubauski, who does not belong to any political group or industrial organization, who lives on the floor above Budnik was also arrested without warrant. While his wife was out looking for bail for her husband, their seven year old child was killed by an auto. The Pittsburgh papers carried a headline: "Child killed—Red Released."

Both men were discharged by their employers because of the arrest. The police were in search of some one who had formerly lived (about eight months ago) in the rooms now occupied by Budnik.

Let the reader judge who is guilty of sedition. Honest workers who dare to agitate for improved social conditions or those who are responsible for "bringing the Government of this State or of the United States into hatred or contempt" by terrorizing innocent workers and causing tragedy and misery to be brought upon them.

Cleveland Open Air Meetings.

Local Cleveland, Workers Party, is beginning to show some activity regarding street meetings, the following meetings having been arranged to date with more to be scheduled later:

Aug. 18th, Public Square, 9:00 p. m.
Aug. 21st, 10th and Kinross, 8:00 p. m.
Aug. 22nd, 48th and Woodland, 8:00 p. m.
Aug. 24th, W. 25th St. and Lorain Ave., 8:00 p. m.
Aug. 25th, Public Square, 1:00 p. m.
Aug. 25th, W. 25th St. and Lorain Ave., 8:00 p. m.

All readers of "The Worker" living in the vicinity of any of the above mentioned places should attend the meetings. This is merely a beginning of the activities in this direction which will be carried on in the fall of the year.

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

Fascisti Leader in Italy Is Angered By American Labor

The vigorous fight being conducted in this country to prevent the formation of Fascisti bands is having its echoes on the other side of the ocean, in Italy. The "Gazzetta delle Puglie" in Southern Italy carries an article by one of the Fascisti leaders, Hon. Bottai, accusing the consul representatives in America of laxness in their support of Fascism, and railing about the opposition evinced by the World War Veterans, the Socialists, Communists and other labor elements.

From the content of Bottai's article it is evident that he has been roused by the formation of the Anti-Fascisti Alliance of North America, and its initial successes, such as the barring of the local Fascisti from the Memorial Day Parade.

A cablegram transmitting the substance of Bottai's article has been received by "La Parola," published in Chicago. It reads in part:

"Bari—The 'Gazzetta delle Puglie' carries a violent article by the Fascista ex-deputy from Rome, Giuseppe Bottai, which accuses the consul officials of not knowing how to nurture Fascisti organizations abroad. Bottai asserts that in New York there has been started a real anti-

fascist drive, culminating in the formation of a working-class alliance. Its offensive, according to the young Fascista ex-deputy, is conducted on the basis of spreading false reports."

Bottai denounces the activities of Communist organizations among the emigrants in inciting them not to send money to Italy since it would support a tyrannical government.

Bottai also denounces the tactics of the World War Veterans, which he says contains doubtful elements against the New York Fascisti."

Sterile "Marxism"

By H. M. WICKS

While on an organization trip the attention of the present writer was called to the June 30th issue of the "Weekly People," official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, wherein the national secretary of that sect, one Arnold Petersen, utilizes four columns of space trying to extricate his executive committee from the pillory to which we nailed them when we proved some weeks ago that they committed a fundamental error by proclaiming that labor is a commodity.

In his reply Mr. Petersen quotes "Profit" alleged to have been written by Marx, in which Marx is made to declare that in using "the word 'value of labor,' I use it as a popular slang term for 'value of laboring power.'"

So pathetic, so sterile is the understanding of Mr. Petersen that he actually thinks Marx wrote the document attributed to him, in spite of the fact that in a preface to the pamphlet the notorious scoundrel and ingrate son-in-law of Marx, Edward Aveling, admits that he found notes for such a pamphlet among the writings of Marx after the death of Engels.

This is a plain confession of the fact that neither Marx nor Engels during their lives considered the document worth publishing. Yet Petersen, the last of the Mohicans in the S. L. P., triumphantly asserts that Marx himself has a whole chapter in "Value, Price and Profit" dealing with the "Value of Labor." Aveling admits that Marx had nothing to do with arranging the chapters. He says: "My small part in the preparation of this work has been reading the manuscript, making a few suggestions as to English forms of expression, dividing the work up into chapters and NAMING THE CHAPTERS, and revising the proof for press." (Emphasis mine—H. M. W.)

If Mr. Petersen really wanted to quote an authentic work of Marx and not the vitiated thing attributed to Marx by Aveling he should have quoted the "Miserere de la Philosophie" (The Poverty of Philosophy) wherein Marx constantly uses the erroneous term, "value of labor," instead of the "value of labor power." The "Miserere" was written by Marx at the age of 28 when his economic theories were not fully matured and in a preface to this work Engels specifically declares:

"It is scarcely necessary to remark that in this work the language is not identical with that of 'Capital'. In this work Marx still speaks of labor as a commodity, and of its purchase and sale, instead of labor power." (Page 27, Poverty of Philosophy.)

While the Marx of 28 fell into this error, the mature Marx was very careful to emphasize the tremendous importance of carefully distinguishing between the confusing and meaningless term "value of labor" and the correct scientific term "value of labor power." However, it is not even the Marx of 28 that the S. L. P. quotes, but the ingrate son-in-law, Edward Aveling, who was so ignorant of Marx's works that he perverted the notes used by Marx against Weston in 1865. The fact that Marx definitely abandoned and repudiated the term "value of labor" prior to 1865 is proof of the perfidy of Aveling and incidentally the stupidity of the executive committee of the S. L. P.

The decrepit theoretical spokesman for the Socialist Labor Party becomes sterile repeating the mechanical formulae of the Marx of 28, while remaining totally ignorant of the intellectual development of Marx as he approached his crowning achievement, "Capital," where all his early economic writings were revised considerably. His complete abandonment of the unscientific bourgeois term can be found in Part VI of the first volume of Capital where Marx refers to the "value of labor" as an irrational expression of the value of labor-power, and mercilessly ridicules the vulgar economists who used the terminology of the present-day Socialist Labor Party.

The spurious Marxism of the S. L. P. and other sectarians lies in their blind devotion, amounting to religious fanaticism, to every line attributed to Marx. They are dogmatists of a type that Marx held in the utmost contempt. With what shafts of satire would Marx have scorned a group of mental emaciated who stock in trade is religiously repeating his earlier writings because they appear to justify hopeless sectarian blundering!

The difference between we Marxists of the Workers Party and the sterile secretaries of the Socialist Labor Party is that we are critical followers of Marx, using the intellectual weapons of scientific social-

Show "The Fifth Year" Four Days, Aug. 22-25, 14th St. Labor Temple

"The Fifth Year," which is going to be shown at the Labor Temple, 14th St., cor. 2nd Ave., August 22nd to the 25th, was recently reviewed by Comrade M. J. Olgin as follows:

"Russia emerges from the shadows. The stern face of the giant land is alight with new pride."

"Where the Czar's servants crunched in beastly greed the bones of the common people, children's voices fill the air with merry chatter; children of the working class reign supreme in the old forbidden palaces, in the awe-inspiring castles, in the extravagantly beautiful villas by the sea. No comfort is too high for the proletarian children."

"Where the Cossack swung his sabre to crush and maim protesting workmen free in the air flutters the red banner, and proletarian masses, masters of their own country, march in endless columns in affirmation of their power."

The Third International meets in the Coronation Hall of the Romanoffs.

"Work everywhere. Russia digs coal, builds bridges, builds schools, builds brain and muscle, builds up a new generation to whom the nightmare of the past will be a legend."

"Russia is smiling. Good humor shines from eyes that looked numberless of times into the face of death."

"Red soldiers marching, red soldiers at their drills and in action, all of these and hundreds of other scenes one sees by watching 'The Fifth Year.'"

A special Russian Musical program to accompany the picture has been arranged for.

Tickets can be had from any of the party newspapers or from The Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St.

Sadder but Wiser

By WILLIAM SIMONS

BOSTON, Mass.—Six and Seven Dollars a Day for Farm Jobs" was the indignant approach cast by our local press at the bold brigands who are holding up the farm owners for outrageous wages. Editorials were written in condemnation of the wretches who thought not at all of the prosperity of this renowned section of the country, and seized the opportunity to extort unearned money from the helpless farmers, their country's pride. The farmers who have been exploited by the financial interests whose bidding the newspapers are doing, suddenly became the recipients of the keen sympathy of the press.

Some there still are who believe what they read in the Boston capitalist press. W. G. Butt and E. G. Hall of Waltham, Mass., hearing of the wonderful opportunities in the New Hampshire hay fields, with jobs going begging, hooded it to Concord, New Hampshire, and applied to the state free employment bureau. They were informed that there were no \$6 or \$7 jobs listed, and so they had to be satisfied with less; how much less the news item does not specify. Somewhere in New Hampshire, there are two young men, sadder but wiser.

Detroit to Discuss Party Policies

DETROIT, Mich.—A general membership meeting of all members of the Workers Party of Detroit will be held Sunday, Aug. 19, 7:30 p. m., at the House of the Masses, 2101 Gratiot Ave., to discuss the industrial policy of the Workers Party and the relation of this party to all party activities.

Radical Students Unite

A group of eight or ten radical students is getting together for the purpose of forming an organization of culturally inclined young men to room together, and to participate in various activities. All interested write to Louis S. Rogoff, 857 Beck St., Apt. 3, Bronx, New York.

It makes you think and act!

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The Bills of the Victors

Those brave capitalist souls gathered in the conclaves of the Institute of Politics, at Williamstown, Mass., to settle the problems of international politics, have decided that Soviet Russia has less chance of recognition under President Calvin Coolidge than it did under Harding. To be sure, the opportunities were not very great even under Harding, with Hughes and Hoover doing the advising. But with U. S. Senators coming home with pro-Soviet views and all capitalists returning from Moscow with concessions in their pockets, the stand of "The Three Hatches" was beginning to waver.

The Harding-Hughes-Hoover trio often mourned over the czarist debts that the Bolsheviks refused to pay. Coolidge will also have many opportunities for shedding tears over these debts, if we are to believe a New York Times dispatch from Berlin, quoting Leonid Krassin to the effect that "Russia's economic condition has improved so much that she no longer needs to purchase international recognition at a heavy price of reassuming the burden of the Czarist debts." This is the Krassin, late Soviet trade envoy in London, who was so moderate in his Communist views that he was replaced by Christian Rakovsky, the aggressive head of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

This Soviet optimism may raise another spectre for world imperialism. The Russians have repeatedly declared that the damages inflicted by intervention upon the workers and peasants under Soviet Rule more than offset the Czarist debts. Thus, the Soviet, being strong enough to repudiate the indebtedness of the late Czar's government, might go a step further and submit its own bills to London, Paris, Washington, Berlin and Rome for damages suffered.

This is not a phantom of the imagination. France is trying to collect more billions of gold marks from Germany. She is doing this as the right of a victorious nation to collect damages from a conquered foe. Soviet Russia stands triumphant over all her enemies. She is not only entitled to, but is getting into a position where she will be able to present her bills of indebtedness to the heads of all the imperialist governments that tried to accomplish her ruin. And their number is legion. One of the biggest bills could be presented to the Coolidge administration at Washington. There are big chances that it will be so presented.

Spreading "The Truth"

Another deluge of "the truth" about the revolutionary movement in the United States is to fall upon "the public mind." It is to be vomited upon a helpless land by the National Civic Federation, according to its president, Alton B. Parker, corporation lawyer. But the preliminary announcement of this "open shop" gang leader in evening clothes indicates that the quality of the promised "truth" will register the same putrid brand as always. Mr. Parker, for instance, who allows all his witnesses in court to take the oath "to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth" gets away with this:

"Fortunately, in the American labor movement, which the Communists are desperately endeavoring to capture, there is an adequate and well-organized defense. This is evidenced by the recent action of the United Mine Workers of America in ordering the expulsion of all members accepting the doctrines of Communism by the action of the American Federation of Labor in threatening to cancel the charter of any local establishing relations with the Third International."

Members of the miners' union have nowhere been expelled for accepting the doctrines of Communism. President Lewis has threatened to oust members belonging to or in sympathy with the International Miners' Progressive Committee. But none has been expelled for this reason. Some miners in Kansas were expelled by their local organization for attending a meeting that sent a delegate to the Pittsburgh Conference of the Progressive Committee. The crooked lawyer, Parker, however, refrains from giving publicity to these desperate acts of bureaucratic despotism within the labor movement.

Local unions of the American Federation of Labor could not, if they would, establish relations with the Third (Communist) International, because the International only accepts the affiliation of its Communist sections in the world's different nations. Perhaps Mr. Parker's publicity refers to the fact that some central labor bodies have given individuals credentials to the congresses of the Red International of Labor Unions. But this isn't the complaint that Gompers has against the Seattle, Minneapolis and other central labor bodies. His chief grievance here is that these labor bodies demand an independent, class "Labor Party," that they favor amalgamation and other Trade Union Educational League policies, and seek governmental recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic.

Among the members of the committee that is to help spread Parker's Civic Federation propaganda against Communism are

to be found Samuel Gompers, himself, his crown prince, Matthew Wolf; the two railroad brotherhood chiefs, W. G. Lee, of the trainmen, and Warren S. Stone, of the engineers; together with such bitter enemies of labor as August Belmont, the traction magnate, and John Hays Hammond, the mine owner, reinforced by the white guardist head of Columbia University, Nicholas Murray Butler, protector of Mussolini's Fascist agents in this country.

The warped and twisted information, that this band of misinformers will send out to "the public," will resemble the truth as black is white. The only hope that the Parker-Gompers-Civic Federation crowd can have is that a few Henry Dubb readers of the capitalist and "Socialist" press may believe some iota of it.

"Forgive and Forget"

The "Socialists" are not yet convinced that they were kicked out of the Albany Conference for Progressive Political Action. In an interesting document, addressed to William H. Johnston, national chairman of the Conference, they urge the president of the International Association of Machinists to call a "New State Conference."

It is difficult to understand what the "Socialists" hope to gain by a second gathering. The railroad brotherhoods, with their faithful Hall allies, have definitely decided to trail with the old parties. The "Socialists" are against the organization of a "Labor Party" on the theory that "the time has not yet arrived." Even in New York City the "Socialists" have betrayed the shadow of united independent political action to be found in the American Labor Party. The only hope the "Socialists" can place in a second state conference is that it might give them an opportunity to regain some of the prestige lost in the first ill-fated meeting. In order to get this opportunity the "Socialists" promise Johnston they will "forgive and forget" everything that has already happened. This is the promise of one who has lost. It is the plea of the supplicant for favors. It is a confession that the abject servility of the "Socialist" leadership to the trade union bureaucracy has been increased by another degree.

All this the broad membership of the labor movement will never "forgive and forget." The workers and farmers are demanding a united class political front. The railroad brotherhoods will not give it to them. The Conference for Progressive Political Action, organized to blaze new paths, has turned about and is trying to force a retreat of labor's advanced elements to the old party positions they have long abandoned. And the "Socialists" are hanging on to this retreat with all the desperate tenacity of hungry camp-followers, willing to subsist on wayside leavings.

The heavy task, therefore, of uniting the oppressed in the struggle for class political action falls on the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, in New York State as elsewhere. All workers and farmers who look forward, and refuse to turn back, will enlist their organizations under its standards.

A Real Menace to Negro Workers

"The Messenger" is a Socialist publication seeking to speak for Negroes. It is more a part of the "Socialist" front against Communism, than it is an organ espousing the cause of the colored workers. This is more manifest than ever in the August issue of this publication, containing an editorial, "The Menace of Negro Communists."

The same editorial, headed "The Menace of Jewish Communists," or "The Menace of White Communists," might just as easily have appeared in Cahan's Daily Forward, or Oneal's New York Call. In fact, the Randolph-Owen editorship seeks to take in the whole field when it declares that, "Communism can be of no earthly benefit to either white or Negro workers in America."

We wonder why these editors confined themselves to America. Perhaps they were afraid to face the actual working out of the Communist program in relation to the subject nations and races of the world imperialism that sits in power in London, Paris and Rome.

But these editors do drop themselves into a trap when they conclude with a final flourish, "How foolish, then, it is to advocate Communism to the Negro Workers before they have even grasped the fundamentals and necessity of simple trade and industrial unionism."

Where do the "Socialists" advocate industrial unionism? This is a question "The Messenger" editors should answer. Only thru the Communist activities of the Trade Union Educational League do we find any real drive for amalgamation—for industrial unionism. And the most bitter attacks of the "Socialists," especially "Socialists" in the labor unions, are directed against the Trade Union Educational League, because of its struggle to create industrial unions out of the present conflicting craft unions. Only thru really class conscious industrial unions can the United Front of all workers in the huge steel, meat packing, lumber and mining industries be won. And the struggle to achieve this goal is a Communist struggle. The Negroes, like the white workers, will learn that one menace they must overcome is that of "Socialism" trying to chain them in the lap of reactionary labor. The place of all Negro toilers is in the militant ranks of the organized workers, inspired by the principles of Communism.

The Inhuman Demands of "Profits"

"In every stock-jobbing swindle every one knows that sometime or other the crash must come, but every one hopes that it may fall on the head of his neighbor, after he himself has caught the shower of gold, and placed it in safety."

"APRES MOI LA DELUGE!" is the watchword of every capitalist and of every capitalist nation. Hence capital is reckless of the health or length of life of the laborer, unless under compulsion from society. To the outcry as to the physical and mental degradation, the premature death, the torture of overwork, it answers: Ought these to trouble us since they increase our profits?—"Capital," Vol. I, Page 296.

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

Belgian Communists on Trial
After having been kept in prison for four months, 14 prominent members of the Belgian Communist Party are now being tried on a charge of conspiracy against the state. No specific offense is alleged, the charge being based simply on their adherence to the program and tactics of the Communist International. Their real crime is their exposure of the Ruhr occupation and their declaration of solidarity with the Ruhr workers.

Big demonstrations of protest against the trial have been held by the Communist Party. The Belgian Socialist Party condemns the government action in words, but its leaders actually forbid their members taking part in the demonstrations. In spite of the ban many non-Communist organizations took part. In Brussels, the metal, building and leather workers were officially represented. Maréchal, Socialist municipal councillor, openly denounced the cowardice of the reformist leaders.

Give "The Call" a Medal
The double cross of the Royal Order of St. James should be voted the New York Call by the Stresemann Government of Germany. Why? The "Socialist" organ in New York gives first page space to the pictures of a Gang of German Fascists, under the caption of "Defending the German Government." It states the real purpose of these white guards when it says, "These troops are used to repel attacks against the government by dissenting groups." No doubt, The Call will now round up some pictures of the remnants of the Wrangel's, or Denikin's counter-revolutionaries and print them, too. It might also add the pictures of a goodly number of American "Socialists" to its rogue's gallery. That would be a valuable collection for posterity.

Greetings to Marty
In common with workers of other countries, American Communists send their heartiest fraternal greetings to André Marty, just released from a French prison where he has spent four long years. During these four years the name of Marty has become the symbol of international working class solidarity, and his valiant leadership during the Black Sea Mutiny has been honored by the French workers in numerous elections, in which the imprisoned Marty headed the poll.
The release of Marty is a great success, both for our French comrades and a triumph for Marty, whose career and personality has inspired such a powerful movement, that it could not be disregarded, even by such an arch reactionary as Raymond Poincaré.

The Red

They call him "red," and hiss the name they call the working man in cap and overall who delves in mine to bring the world its coal; who guides the train thru dangers to its goal; who toils at lathe and forge and tends the track and carries a world's burdens on his back. And should he dare to overlord complain, demand a decent wage for brawn and brain—they call him "red."
Who call him "red" you ask. The men who set a worker at his task and coin his blood into their ill-got gain; who'd starve his children, rob him of his health, that greed may fatten in luxury and wealth. They've hired the press to call him "red" as well—this brand of parasites, this brood of hell.

My mind reverts thru centuries of long ago to those who helped the race to upward climb, and from the beast to human stature grow (which Black Reaction counts as crime). So while our planet whirls thru space, till bigotry and greed are dead; each warrior gladly takes his place in serried ranks of "deepest red." Adopted from Walt Drummond.

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



"Civilization is cracking"—Prime Minister Baldwin (England)
But within the breaking shell of the old order is contained a New and Better Social System

The Communists and the Labor Party

The Australian Labor Party has accepted the affiliation of the Communist Party of Australia. There are seven Communists on the Central Executive Committee of 33 of the Labor Party. Considerable interest is therefore attached to a declaration that appeared in a recent issue of "The Workers' Weekly," the official organ of the Australian Communist Party as follows:

THE LABOR CONFERENCE AND THE COMMUNISTS

The endorsement of the principle of the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labor Party has broken down the last barrier between the revolutionary workers and the workers as a whole.

The road is now open for the Communists to carry their propaganda to the masses unhindered. The Communist will still continue to meet many opponents, but the fact that the Annual Conference of the Labor Party has officially recognized the Communist Party as an integral part of the Labor movement is a greater weapon in the hands of the Communist than the Capitalist slogans which his reactionary opponent in the Labor movement will use against him.

It breaks the heart of the conservative to see his cherished institutions change. And the fact that the Labor Party which has so often assailed the militant workers has now recognized them not only as a part of the movement, but as an organized part of the movement, is indeed a change.

The Communist Party will take full advantage of this change that it fought so hard for; it will continue its work of educating and organizing the workers for Communism. The Communist Party rightly looks upon this decision of the Conference as a result of its work during its short history. It looks forward to greater results following upon this open recognition of the Communist Party by the Labor Party.

The Communists have not ceased to be Communists. The Communist Party has not ceased to be a Communist Party. On the contrary, the Communist Party will now become a real Communist Party, a party of the workers, a revolutionary political party, which will gather to itself the best elements from the Labor movement as a whole, and weld these elements into a fighting vanguard of the Australian Labor movement.

Not less discipline, but more discipline. Not less education, but more education. Not fewer Communists, but more Communists.

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

Browder Answers Attack by Lefkowitz in New York Call on the Federated Farmer-Labor Party

Earl R. Browder, associate editor of the Labor Herald, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League, has written an answer to the attack, published in the New York Call, July 29, by Abraham Lefkowitz, of the New York City American Labor Party, on the Federated Farmer-Labor Party Convention in Chicago. It is as follows:

By EARL R. BROWDER

Dear Sir and Brother:—I have just seen your article in the Call Magazine of yesterday's date, and the whole thing is so extraordinarily out of line with the facts that I feel you must be the victim of misrepresentation. I can not reconcile myself to the opinion that you would, with deliberation, so viciously misrepresent the events before and during the Chicago Convention. Feeling that you have been misinformed, I am going to give you some facts which you can easily verify if you are really interested in getting the truth of the matter. The outstanding misstatements in your article, as opposed to the actual facts, are as follows:

It was not agreed at any private conference between the Workers Party and the Farmer-Labor Party that the latter should "hold a convention of its own group," etc., as stated in your second paragraph. The first knowledge which the Communists had of the proposed Convention came with the publication of the official call for same. The invitation that the Workers Party later received carried no intimation of a separate convention for the Farmer-Labor Party, but was to attend a "Monster Unity Convention" to establish united action of all working-class political forces. Read the official call for proof of this.

The determination of the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party leaders to hold their own narrower convention before the big affair, was an afterthought on their part, brought in to meet some situation in their own ranks. When we were informed of that change in their plans but a few weeks before the Convention, we immediately sensed a move against us—but we accepted the change without a protest, even though it was an arbitrary act which departed

fundamentally from the original call.

The many minor misstatements about the personnel of the delegates may be ignored in this letter, although they convey an impression that is completely contrary to the facts. More serious is the false charge that "twenty-four hours before the Farmer-Labor Convention was to have been called to order the leaders of the Communists who had been cooperating with the Farmer-Labor leaders served notice that they would not be bound by their previous understanding but insisted that the conference be transformed into a convention." I take it for granted that you had been informed to this effect, but I want to tell you that whoever so informed you told you a deliberate and unvarnished lie. We had never had any understanding that limited the actions of the Chicago Convention. We had attempted to come to some understanding as to what was to be done, but had been met by the Farmer-Labor Party Cook County leaders with a refusal to bind the Convention in any way. Their position was that the Convention must be left perfectly free without any

kind of agreements being arrived at beforehand. What we did do 24 hours before the Convention was to write to the National Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party a letter suggesting that their own narrower convention before the large body met, should be restricted to their regular delegates from the Farmer-Labor Party, and affiliated unions. This suggestion of ours was officially accepted by the Farmer-Labor Party National Committee.

In spite of this understanding the Cook County leaders of the Farmer-Labor Party attempted immediately the convention opened to seat every one in their narrower convention except the Workers Party and a half dozen other delegates, quite plainly a hostile move against the Workers Party, although their own credentials committee unanimously recommended that everyone, including the Workers Party, be seated at once. The efforts of the Cook County leaders to discriminate was naturally opposed by the vast majority of the delegates, at least 600 out of 650. It was this false move on the part of the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party leaders which was the begin-

ning of their estrangement from the body of the delegates.

Let me emphasize that the Workers Party did not want to be seated in the narrower convention—neither did it want its members who were delegates from other organizations to be seated. We officially requested that this be not done, and our request was accepted beforehand. But the breach of understanding on this question made by the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party leaders forced the question before the mass of the delegates who, quite naturally, voted to seat every one at once, with the Workers Party not voting on the question.

You state that the organization committee was opposed because the Communists had control of it. It was not true that the Communists had a majority of any Committee. But the composition of the organization committee was accepted on the floor of the Convention, on behalf of the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party by Delegate McVey, and no one at any time proposed any alternative plan for selecting it. The Cook County Farmer-Labor Party leaders fought against it only

because the motion carried an endorsement of the immediate formation of the Federated Party; they were against the idea of the Federated Party—and not against the method of selecting the committee which they agreed was fair representation of the convention.

The fact is that the Cook County leaders have suddenly abandoned the idea which led them to call the Convention. What their motives were for this can only be conjectured. But the fact that they did not make one single proposal to the convention is proof of that statement. The last-minute proposition which their caucus framed up was absolutely in bad faith. It was deliberately (and in their own caucus openly) framed to create an excuse for breaking away. Several proposals in their caucus were turned down on the grounds that "the Workers Party would accept it; we want something they cannot accept." You can verify this fact from a dozen sources, the authenticity of which you cannot question.

In the face of all these facts your charges of breach of understanding and bad faith on the part of the

Workers Party can only be the result of gross misrepresentation made to you, or of gross dishonesty on your part. I cannot bring myself at this time to believe it is the latter which is the reason I write you. I am particularly hypocritical and "dishonorable" this mud thrown at the Workers Party, because the people who throw it are themselves guilty of their own charges. May I ask that you investigate my statement, and let me know if you do not think that a public retraction of your false and misleading article is in order?

And why not while talking about the Chicago Convention, say something about the program and principles adopted, and whether they fit the needs of the workers or not? After all, that is the real issue before the workers, and not these childish charges and counter-charges which are only a smoke-screen to hide the retreat of some demoralized soldiers of the labor movement. What do you think about the program?

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Earl R. Browder