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The Capitalists Want to Kill Foster! Workers! We Must Defend Our Leader!

By JOHN PEPPER

A small group of gunmen burst into the Carmen's Auditorium in Chicago and fired three shots at William Z. Foster. He was speaking to thousands of members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who had gathered to protest against the splitting tactics of the reactionary union officials in expelling from the union seven members of the Trade Union Educational League.

The capitalist government not long ago conducted a trial against Foster, accusing him of advocating force and violence. The official labor leaders, from Gompers to Keating, have a thousand times denounced him as an advocate of force and violence. Johnston and Keating at the Cleveland Conference, Gompers at the Convention of the Cap Makers, Rodriguez in the July 3rd Convention in Chicago—all of them did nothing but repeat the speech of the prosecuting attorney in St. Joseph, Mich., against Foster and the other Communists, about the advocacy of force and violence. It was this systematic baiting against Foster which provoked the cowardly gunmen to the attack on Foster. Foster has used only three weapons against the capitalists and reactionary labor leaders—agitation,

propaganda and organization. The answer of the capitalists and reactionary labor leaders is—real force and violence; three gunmen and three shots.

We do not know as yet who hired the gunmen. We do not know as yet the role played by the capitalist groups, the Department of Justice and reactionary labor leaders in this dastardly crime.

But we do know the motives behind this attempt on Foster's life.

The three shots are but the reply of the capitalists and the reactionary labor leaders to Foster's revolutionary activity in the interest of the working class.

The three shots are but the reply to the progress made by the Trade Union Educational League and the amalgamation movement, which aim to transform the trade unions into a real power against the capitalists.

The three shots are but a reply to the big rank and file conference of the railroad workers in Chicago, which took up the fight to save the railroad unions from a repetition of the disastrous defeat of the summer of 1922.

The three shots are but a reply to the National Conference of Progressive Miners, at Pittsburgh, which took up the fight against the united

reactionary forces of Lewis and Farington.

The three shots are but a reply to Foster's speech of defense at the St. Joseph trial, where, as a Communist, he proclaimed the fight against the whole capitalist system.

And first and foremost, the three shots are the reply to the July 3rd Convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, where Foster was one of the leaders who helped to forge

the mighty weapon of a Labor Party and place it in the hands of the working class. It is not a mere accident, but rather symbolic, that this attempt against Foster's life was made in the same Carmen's Auditorium where the July 3rd Convention was held.

The duty of the workers is to defend Foster, to defend the most outstanding figure, the most prominent militant leader of the American

laboring masses. The workers must realize that after the capitalists failed to put Foster into the penitentiary for ten years, they are now seeking to kill him, not as an individual, but as the most forceful advocate of the cause of the working class. And the reactionary labor leaders help to create the necessary atmosphere.

It is the duty of the workers to defend Foster because it is their duty to defend themselves.

How can and how must the workers defend Foster, our leader, and thereby also the cause of the revolution and the interests of every honest worker?

The answer of the workers to the three shots should be—a three hundred-fold amalgamation movement.

The answer of the workers to the three shots shall be—a three-fold energetic fight against the reactionary leaders of the railroad unions and of the United Mine Workers and Ladies' Garment Workers.

The answer of the workers to the capitalist press which, with its slanders helped in the Foster-baiting shall be—a mighty English-Language Communist daily for telling the truth and unmasking the kept press of capitalism.

The capitalists seek to kill Foster because he is a Communist. The answer shall be—tripling the membership of the Party of the Communists, the Workers Party.

The capitalists want to kill Foster because they fear the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The answer of the labor movement shall be—the broadening and deepening of the Labor Party on a national scale as well as in the cities and states. It is the duty of every Communist and every militant worker to alarm the whole

labor movement immediately against the gunmen tactics of the capitalists and against the red-chase of the reactionary labor leaders which makes possible such gunmen tactics. We must mobilize the labor movement in order to surround the body of our leader, Foster, the leader of the American revolution, with a coat of mail of love, admiration and solidarity!

IN EVERY BIG CITY AND INDUSTRIAL CENTER THE WORKERS SHALL CALL TOGETHER BIG PROTEST MASS MEETINGS AGAINST THE DESPICABLE MURDERERS!

EVERY TRADE UNION AND LABOR ORGANIZATION MUST IMMEDIATELY PASS RESOLUTIONS OF PROTEST AGAINST THE HIRED ASSASSINS AND AGAINST THE FOSTER-BAITING BY THE REACTIONARY LABOR LEADERS!

THE CAPITALISTS WANT TO KILL FOSTER! THE ANSWER OF THE WORKERS SHALL BE THE STORMY, UNANIMOUS CRY: WE WILL DEFEND OUR LEADER!

The Last Weapon of Reaction



Attempted Assassination of Foster Fails in Reactionary War on T. U. E. L. Militants

(By Wire to "The Worker")

CHICAGO—Attempted assassination of William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, is the latest development in the attack of the yellow official bureaucracy of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union upon its progressive membership.

But the three murderous bullets, pumped from an automatic by one member of a group of hired gunmen who invaded the monster protest meeting of garment workers in Carmen's Hall, here, all flew wild of their mark.

The mark was Foster, who had just been presented amid a great demonstration, as the speaker of the evening, and was launching into an explanation of the present attack by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union against the militants in the union, which has already resulted here in the expulsion of seven of the most active and able members of the Chicago organization.

Foster replied to the charges brought against the T. U. E. L. by Vice President Meyer Perlstein, of New York, now stationed at Chicago, to do the dirty work of the Sigman administration. Foster said:

"If Perlstein declares that the Trade Union Educational League is a dual union, he is a liar, and he knows it."

Perlstein was not there to back-up his charges. Instead three shots were fired in rapid succession, by the gunman who had suddenly appeared with others at a side entrance. In the tumult that ensued the gunmen made their escape as rapidly as they had made their appearance.

The militant spokesman, Foster, who had been deported from Colorado and Wyoming, who had been arrested, indicted and placed on trial in Michigan during the past year, was perhaps the coolest individual during the commotion into which the meeting was thrown.

Due to Foster's composure, and to the fact that he continued immediately with his speech, the audience regained its composure, and a panic was thus prevented. Foster delivered the remainder of his speech, and was listened to without further interruption.

A great part of the audience was made up of women garment workers who had joined hands with the men in the industry to protest against the expulsion of T. U. E. L. members from the union, on the charge that the T. U. E. L. is a dual organization.

The shooting was the crowning act of a long series of attempts to disrupt the meeting. It was evident from the beginning of the demonstration, attended by thousands who had come to the Carmen's Hall through a driving rainstorm, that a full crew of slugs were present to harass and break up the gathering. These rowdies created disturbances that interrupted the meeting.

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In the Next Issue of "The Worker"

You Will Receive the Full and Detailed Reports on the Second National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League to be held in Chicago, Sept. 1-2. Get an extra bundle and distribute the copies among your fellow-workers.

Coal Strike Situation As We Went to Press

By JAY LOVESTONE

President Coolidge has thrown in a "progressive" Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, to seek a compromise in order to avoid a strike.

It is not unlikely that Pinchot will threaten to call a special session of the Pennsylvania Legislature to revoke the State Mining License System in order to force the miners to accept the 30-Day truce offer.

A small wage increase will be offered the miners as bait to accept the truce proposal.

Pinchot and Coolidge know that once the miners agree to delay their strike for even one day the likelihood of a strike will fade into the realm of the impossible. That is the reason

for their great anxiety to secure some sort of a postponement now.

In the meanwhile the mine owners are flooding the country with publicity, spreading the lie that the workers are getting a terrifically high wage and the rate of wages has continually gone up. Not only that. The mine owners are spreading misinformation as to the real value of the miners' wages today.

On August 23rd, the United States Coal Commission submitted a report to the President which shows that the mine owners are weaving their propaganda fabric out of the whole cloth. Says this report: "It may be pointed out that the labor costs formed 61.6 per cent. of the sales

realization in 1913, and 59.5 per cent in January-March, 1923."

But the Commission, which no one can accuse of having the slightest sympathy with Organized Labor, goes on to say even more.

"In considering the increase of the labor cost two important facts should always be kept in mind—only part of the increase is due to wage scales, a part being attributable to the greater amount of labor necessary, in the later years, to produce a ton of coal, due to the changes in the physical condition of the mines, such as the mining of seams which formerly were considered too poor to work, etc. Another consideration which applies to the labor cost as well as to the other costs and the sales realization is that the purchasing power of a dollar was much greater in 1913 than in 1923."

Of course the Operators do not advertise this portion of the report. And even that small section of the so-called "public" which arrogates to itself the displeasure of reading the official Government surveys has not yet been given that pleasure of seeing this report in circulation. An analysis of this report shows further that from 1919 to 1923 the total labor cost per ton increased approximately 18 per cent. At the same time the same forty-eight coal companies reporting this fact also made a report showing that in this same period the per ton cost of officers' expenses and salaries increased 60 per cent. "What is more, the same companies for the same period show a total increase of 180 per cent in the tax cost per ton."

Finally, their accounting report shows an increase in "general expenses" of 45 per cent. No one knows what the "general expenses" include. Not a single Government investigating Commission has ever been able to find out what's what in these "general expenses." But there is not a single naïve one in Washington, altho it is a city famed for squirrel foot, who does not know that these

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Foster Predicted Campaign of Violence as Next Step in Reactionary War on T. U. E. L.

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

"Their next step is a campaign of violence."

These prophetic words were spoken by William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, at the inspiring demonstration of New York City's needle workers, held at the New Star Casino last Thursday, to protest against the expulsion war launched by the Sigman administration in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union against members and sympathizers of the Trade Union Educational League.

Unlike the Chicago gathering, called for the same purpose, Monday night, the New York meeting went off peacefully. Storms of applause repeatedly swept the great auditorium as the 4,000 workers present approved the sentiments expressed by the speakers.

The note of defiance by these militant workers against the campaign of expulsions and terror launched against them, may be summarized in the words of Ben Gitlow, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, when he said:

"It is one thing to expel and another thing to get rid of the left wing movement in the labor unions."

The propaganda attacks of labor's official bureaucracy against the Trade Union Educational League have invariably been followed by violence.

This has been true, to a great extent, in the miners' union, where President John L. Lewis, himself, at the Scranton, Pa., Tri-District Anthracite Coal Miners' Convention, incited some of the delegates to open violence against Joseph Manley, secretary of the International Progressive Miners' Committee. Efforts at similar lynchings have been made in Western Pennsylvania against the militant miners. Alex Howat, for instance, has borne the brunt of this attack in several states.

Foster, therefore, was not indulging in idle oratory, in New York City, three days before the Chicago gathering, when he predicted that "Their (the officialdom of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union) next step is a campaign of violence."

The shooting in Chicago, following upon the expulsion of members of the Trade Union Educational League, involves more than the struggle within the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Its greatest significance lies in the fact that it involves the right of the whole rank and file of the American labor movement to be heard in determining labor's policies.

The purpose of the Trade Union Educational League, its aims and objects, were thoroughly presented at the New York meeting, as they were in Chicago, and the official bureaucracy was challenged to show that the T. U. E. L. is a dual union.

"The Trade Union Educational League," said Foster, in New York, "is a movement that has grown up as the result of the stupidity, dishonesty and corruption of the American trade union leadership. The officials of labor, from Sam Gompers to Morris Sigman, are not on the job for

Charge that T.U.E.L. Is Dual Is Ridiculous Says Rank and File

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—The stand taken, in resolutions, by the great mass meeting here of garment workers, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in the face of official tyranny and the revolver shots of would-be assassins, was as follows:

"Whereas, the fundamental principle of labor unions is that the union must include workers of all opinions and be tolerant of the expression of the same, and whereas, Vice-President Perlstein, in Chicago conducting a campaign of persecution against several members of the union because of their advocacy of amalgamation, the shop delegate system, independent working class political action, and various other policies distasteful to the administration;

"Whereas, the excuse he is offering for these persecutions of loyal members, some of whom have belonged to our organization for as long as 15 years, is ridiculous, namely that the Trade Union Educational League is a dual organization, and whereas, the trial committee that heard the evidence showed its disagreement with the prosecution by voting 5 to 1 in favor of acquittal, and only 5 members out of a total of 35 on the Joint Board voted in favor of conviction, 8 voting for acquittal, 6 being disqualified, 7 not voting, and 3 absent; and whereas, Vice-President Perlstein, claims that he is carrying on this persecution upon direct instructions of the General Executive Board;

"Therefore, be it resolved, that we condemn these expulsion proceedings as contrary to the basic principles of trade unionism and bound to bring the most serious disruption into our organization, and be it further resolved, that we request the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to reverse the decision of expulsion and to reinstate the members in good standing in the union, and be it further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all local unions and Joint Boards of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the General Executive Board.

A general membership meeting to nominate candidates for the coming election will be held Tuesday, Sept. 4, at 8 p. m., at 110 Grand Street, Hoboken, N. J. Members must not fail to attend this meeting.

Concentrate All Forces on Daily, Urges Zinoviev

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THIS ISSUE IS No. 291

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New York Membership of "International" in Stand for Its Rights

The resolutions adopted by the great mass meeting of the New York membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was as follows:

Whereas, the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union because of its bitter opposition to the demands of the militants for Amalgamation, a labor party, and organization of the unorganized has started a war against the militant and progressive forces in the organization, and

Whereas, the General Executive Board in this war against the militants and progressives desires above all to maintain its autocratic and czaristic rule over the membership by disfranchising the militants and striking their names off the ballot; and

Whereas, the General Executive Board unable to stand the criticism of the rank-and-file has thru terrorism and brutal slugging denied Freedom of Speech and wiped out every vestige of democracy in the organization, and

Whereas, the General Executive Board has at this time when the conditions in the industry are deplorable, when scab shops are flourishing, when thousands of union men are out of work, when the control of the union is laughed upon and ignored by the manufacturers who have made agreements with the union, when the working conditions in the factories are abominable, when the manufacturers thru injunctions are threatening to legally exterminate the organization, when the organization of the unorganized has become a life problem for the organization have started a war against the militant and progressive forces represented by the Trade Union Educational League instead of using all their efforts to solidify and strengthen the organization in order to make it a weapon once more in the interests of the workers, and

Whereas, this war against the members of the Trade Union Educational League in depriving the union of its most active membership will disrupt and smash the organization, and

Whereas, in Chicago the union has already been victimized by the disruptive tactics of the General Executive Board since many of the oldest, active and most devoted members of the organization have been expelled in spite of the fact that an investigation committee after hearing the charges against them had exonerated them, and

Whereas, the General Executive Board would not tolerate opposition to its drastic expulsion tactics and has suspended locals that have refused to endorse its union smashing campaign, and

Whereas, the General Executive Board wants to tear the organization apart, doing what the enemies of Labor have so far failed to do, inasmuch as they have requested all the locals all over the country to expel the militant and progressive members who adhere to the program of the Trade Union Educational League, and

Whereas, this policy is now being pursued by the right wing machine in all the other unions, and

Whereas, a yellow, lying, pernicious sheet, the Jewish Daily Forward, is using its wealth and influence to spur the right wing on in its campaign to smash the organizations of the workers,

Therefore be it resolved, that the rank and file in mass meeting assembled in New Star Casino on August 23rd, 4000 strong protests most emphatically against this effort to ruin and smash our organization, and be it further

Resolved, that we refuse to recognize the expulsion of the most active and loyal members from our ranks, and that we pledge ourselves to carry on an unceasing war in our local unions, in our executive and joint boards and thru mass meetings and membership meetings against these disruptive tactics of the General Executive Board, and be it further

Resolved, that we will continue to carry on this fight against all the reactionary forces in the Labor movement until the rank and file will again gain the leadership in their own organization, and until the fight for amalgamation, a labor party and the organization of the unorganized is won.

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

The Workers Party at a Turning Point

By JOHN PEPPER

Our Party stands before a modification of its function.

Briefly stated, we can divide the history of our Communist Party since its creation into three periods.

The first period: the stage of collecting the Communist forces, beginning with the separation from the Socialist Party until about the Bridgman Convention of August, 1922.

The second period: the fight for a standing in the labor movement, from the summer of 1922 to the Labor Party Convention in Chicago, July 3, 1923.

And we are now on the threshold of the third period: the period in which we must begin to lead that part of the working class which stands under our influence, into the political struggles against the capitalists and capitalist government. This period begins with the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

The Period of Collecting the Communist Forces

The first period, the collecting of the Communist forces, was the period of constant factional fights over the question of the best form of organization into which the Communist forces should be gathered. The first great question of organization was whether there shall be a uniform party or a party built on Language Federations. The second question of organization was of the relation between underground and underground work of the Communists. The third question of organization was whether the underground is the only possible form of existence for the Communist Party in America, or whether, depending upon conditions, there shall be an underground or overground form of organization. That which all these problems had in common was that they were all internal problems of the Party, and not problems of the great, broad, labor movement; and still less were they the problems of general American politics.

It was a period of selection and collecting of Communist elements in

the United States. It is therefore self-evident that the main question was who is a "good Communist."

The Period of the Fight for a Standing in the Labor Movement

The second period, the period of fighting for a standing in the labor movement, shows an entirely different picture. The main problem was, how shall the Communists approach the masses, how shall the Workers Party send as deep roots as possible into the masses. In general, the tactic of the United Front served to attain this aim. Particularly, the campaign for amalgamation, the defense drive, the campaign for the defense of the foreign-born workers, the anti-Fascist campaign and the fight for the Labor Party were the various roads leading to the various divisions of the masses. The whole life of the Party changed fundamentally in this period which has covered the last year. Our comrades were no longer occupied with questions of the best form of Party organization, but with organizational details of various labor organizations outside of our Party. It was no longer sufficient for our Party members simply to go to the branch meetings of the Party, but it was their duty to become members of labor organizations, and become the most energetic participants in meetings and conventions of the labor movement. We have had no organized factional fights at all during the last year. It is characteristic in the highest degree that, as the main problem was no longer the selection and collection of Communist forces, but the gaining of influence by the Communists in the labor movement, the most usual classification of Party members was no longer who is a "good Party member," but who is a "good trade-unionist."

A part of the Party comrades—and not the worst ones—those who rendered the best service to the Party in collecting the Communist forces, did not grasp immediately or altogether the change of function of the Party. They clung to the underground form of organization, as to a fetish, and considered it the surest guarantee for barring out of the

Communist Party those who were not 100 per cent pure Communists. They opposed the idea of the Labor Party because they feared that this meant sacrificing of the Communist Party. There was a tendency at that time in our Party, which impatiently demanded the expulsion of those comrades who could not understand and go along with the change of function of the Party. But the C. E. C. of our Party, instead of expulsion of these comrades, exercised patience and sought to convince, with the result that the greatest part of these comrades became the best workers in the trade unions and for the Labor Party idea.

The Period of Political Struggles
The organizing of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party means for our Party the beginning of a new era. The Workers Party is the only political group which has not betrayed the formation of a Labor Party. At the July 3rd Convention in Chicago, the Workers Party was the political driving force which helped to crystallize into an organization the mighty sentiment of the rank and file.

In the first period of the history of our Party we collected the Communist forces. In the second period, the Communists acquired influence among the laboring masses. But this influence lays a very great responsibility upon us. The laboring masses consider the Communists as their leaders, and they expect that we show them the best ways and means of fighting against the capitalists and capitalist government. In the third period of its history, which is now beginning, it is the duty of our Party to lead into the political struggle the masses which are under its influence.

In the first period our Party was occupied only with internal problems of organization. In the second period it was mainly occupied with trade union problems. In the third period it must occupy itself more than ever before, with general political problems. In the first period the vision of the greatest part of our members did not reach further than the internal factional fights of the Communist Party. In the second period

the vision of our Party was enlarged, but with a great part of our comrades it was still no further than the internal struggles of the labor movement. We must now broaden the vision of the Party. We must perceive also the internal conflicts of the various classes of capitalist society. We must undertake more than ever before, the fight against the government.

It would of course be a mistake for anyone to believe that the tasks of the first and second periods no longer hold good, and are not important to the third period. It goes without saying that we must still select and collect the Communist forces. We still have not the Communist mass party. It is self-evident that we must still conduct the greatest struggle in order to influence the masses. We still have not the majority of the American working class under Communist influence.

But now in the third period we have a richer and more complicated task: We must take over, in addition to the tasks of the first and second period, also that of the third period, namely, the task of leading the masses into the political struggle.

This new task creates a much more difficult and complicated situation for our Party, and means a greater modification of the function of the Party than the transition from the first to the second period. It is almost self-evident that a part of our Party comrades—and again not the worst part—cannot immediately and elastically enough understand this modification in the function of our Party. A part of our most active and industrious comrades who have been rendering the best service to the Party in the fight for a standing in the labor movement, and in the fight in the trade unions, do not understand to-day the policies of the Party in the question of the Labor Party. They identify the Party too closely with the trade unions, and even if not in their theory, yet in their practice, they wish that the Party would not be a political party, but simply a left wing of the trade union movement. This view was expressed with distilled falsity in the paper issued

by the Williamsburg branch of our New York Party organization in this way: The Workers Party should, wherever possible, do nothing as a Party, but everything thru the trade unions. Such close adaptation of the Party to the trade unions as was called for in the organ of the Williamsburg branch means the sacrifice of the role of leadership of the Communist Party as a Party. It is just as erroneous as the slogan which was launched formerly in Russia by the right elements and later by the leftists of the Communist Labor Party of Germany, that the Communist Party shall assimilate itself with the Soviets. Of course, the participation in the trade union movement is a life and death question for our Party. Of course we must compel every Party member to become a member of a trade union. Of course we must support and enlarge the Trade Union Educational League tenfold. But it would be a great mistake and in the present new period an obstacle to the further development of our Party if we would devote ourselves exclusively to trade union problems, and if we do not realize that a Communist Party must be not merely the left wing of the trade union movement, but a political party, concerned with all political and social questions. In the present period we must ask not only who is a "good Communist," and who is a "good trade unionist," but also who is good at understanding American politics.

We should not use the tactics of persecution and expulsion toward those comrades who do not grasp quickly enough that this modification in the function of the Party is necessary and inevitable; but we must once more employ the means of patience and conviction. However, that which we cannot sacrifice is that every comrade, whether he is convinced or not, must carry out the policy of the Party and the instructions of the Central Executive Committee decided upon. The comrades who are as yet unconvinced should not forget the classical maxim expressed by Zinoviev: Discipline begins where conviction ends.

Develop Campaign for Workers' Education in Detroit Labor Rank

By CYRIL LAMBKIN, Pres., Workers' Educational Association

DETROIT, Mich.—The Worker Educational Association of Detroit a year ago embarked upon the policy of widening the scope of its activities of attracting to itself the more alert workers, and particularly trade unionists, aiming ultimately to become the educational and cultural center of the workers of Detroit.

The Association already owned a large building, the House of the Masses, which afforded the opportunity of establishing such a center. Next it was necessary to get recognition from the organized labor movement. This was accomplished last April.

The next task is to carry on a campaign of interest, and attract the more or less militant workers to this cause. This task is not a difficult one, provided the more militant workers who are members of the Workers Party, realize the great opportunity presented by the campaign and by the broader operation of such an educational organization for infusing a militant spirit in the rank and file generally.

For the purpose of gaining the full support of the members of the Workers Party, the Workers' Educational Association has arranged a mass meeting for C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Workers Party, who will speak on "Labor and Education." This meeting will take place in the House of the Masses, 2101 Gratiot Ave., Sunday, Sept. 9th, at 2.30 p.m.

Among the Magazines

By NANCY MARKOFF

The September "Labor Herald"

A militant mass movement against reactionary leadership is making itself felt in the trade union movement of this country. Whether it is among the shoeworkers of Brockton, Mass. among the coal miners and the steel workers, or the toilers on the railroads, this revolt against the old type of labor leaders and a forging ahead toward revolutionary union ideal becomes more pronounced daily. The September "Labor Herald" takes up these problems very effectively. You will be especially interested in an article on "The Railroad Amalgamation Movement" by O. H. Wangerin, Secretary of the International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry, and another by William Z. Foster on the problems of the coming American Federation of Labor Convention to be held in October at Portland, Oregon.

No less interesting and important however, are such articles as "Lewis Crucifies Nova Scotia Miners," by Tom Bell; "The All-Russian Textile Workers' Union" by M. Braginsky; "The Brockton Revolt," by James Harris; "Victimizing League Militants," by Ben Gitlow; "The Workers' International," by Caleb Harrison; "The Russian Worker at Present," by Moissaye J. Olgin; "Selective Immigration," by Clarissa S. Ware, and "Trade Union Official and Progress," by M. B. Howard.

"The Liberator" for September
What about "The Third American Revolution?" You can read about it, in the article under that heading by John Pepper, in the September issue of "The Liberator." Pepper analyzes the fears of the next revolution expressed by ex-President Woodrow Wilson, in his recent article in the Atlantic Monthly, and by U. S. Senator-elect Magnus Johnson, in his speeches in Minnesota.

In addition to this article and the editorials there is much additional food for thought in the excellent contributions on other great problems before the American workers. "The Yellow Streak in Coal," by J. Louis Engdahl, is a startling revelation of the official tyranny of President John L. Lewis' administration in the United Mine Workers' Union over the rank and file. "Treasure Islands," by Jay Lovestone, is an expose of the bloody military rule of American Imperialism established by General Leonard Wood over the Philippine Floyd Dell's "Outline of Marriage" closes with the working woman of the stand.

The artistic tone of the September Liberator is rich in drawings by Adolph Dehn, Louis Ribak, Wand Gag, Maurice Becker, William Gropper, and in features like Robert Miner's double page Coolidge cartoon, and Art Young's latest in his "Survival of the Fittest" series.

"Young Worker" Gets Youthful

An interesting feature of the September "Young Worker" is the distinctive youthful character of this number. The articles are written by boys and girls, and deal with their problems. Here are some titles: THE KID WORKER, THE PROBLEMS OF CANADA'S YOUTH ARE THEY OUR WARS, THE STREET AND MAIN STREET, A MODERN FABLE. There are also a number of letters telling about conditions of work for young boys and girls, including school children, in such well known firms as the Bethlehem Steel Company, Oregon Packing Company, Sears Roebuck & Company, and other.

He Is Feared by Reaction



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Secretary, Trade Union Educational League

Assassination Attempt on Wm. Z. Foster Fails

(Continued from Page One)

terfered with the meeting. When Jan Marek began an address in Polish, a special effort was made to break up the proceedings. But it failed. Then Foster was introduced and received an enormous ovation.

He had spoken but a few minutes when the shooting took place.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the seven expelled members of the union. These were Dora Lifshitz, Israel Davidson, J. Goldman, A. Kanevsky, Jenny Schwartz,

J. Litvinsky and J. Terry. Chairman Goldman and the speakers, Davidson and Jenny Schwartz, put the issue before the audience. These were the union officials who had been most enthusiastic in their aid of Vice President Perlestein's organization campaign in Chicago. They have been active and respected members of the union for 15 years.

In reply to Perlestein's dictatorial regime inaugurated against the militants in the union, the mass meeting went on record, in resolutions unanimously adopted, condemning the Sigman-Perlestein splitting tactics, and pledging itself to preserve the unity of the organization at all costs.

It was a coincidence that another speaker during the evening was Moissaye J. Olgin who, while editor of The Freiheit, the New York Jewish Communist daily, had been hauled before the prosecuting attorney by Morris Kaufman, and his Socialist regime in the Furriers' Union, because The Freiheit charged the Furriers' Union officials with employing in New York the tactics that developed during the meeting here.

The yellow officials of the Furriers' Union challenged Olgin at that time to prove that they had hired or used sluggers and gunmen against the union's membership. No doubt, the sanctimonious leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will adopt the same righteous attitude as its best defense in the present instance.

The shooting in the Carmen's Auditorium here reveals the true nature of the reactionary labor leadership. There is indignation everywhere. The general opinion is that the Sigman-Perlestein clique stands exposed as a union splitting outfit using strong arm tactics. The fight for the reinstatement of the excluded members will be vigorously carried on. While the meeting was in progress, the Sigman-Perlestein elements on the Chicago Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union expelled another member. This fight against the bureaucracy is a fight for all honest trade union men to take up.

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

New York Answers Call for Daily Worker

The drive for "The Daily Worker" was inaugurated in District 2, New York City, with the election of the English Daily Campaign Committee. The direction of the work will be centered in the hands of this committee, and it is planned to draw in all of the active units functioning under the control of the Party.

The first step in this direction has been taken with a call for a meeting of delegates from all branches in the City of New York to meet at the local headquarters, Friday, Sept. 7, at 8 p.m. Thru this body of workers it is planned to reach the thousands of members and sympathizers in a great personal contact campaign for the sale of shares.

During the course of the campaign three Great Demonstrations will be held. The first of these will take place at the Central Opera House, 67th St. and Third Ave., Friday, Sept. 28th.

Foster Predicted the Campaign of Violence

(Continued from Page One)

labor. If the leaders of labor had been on the job, there would have been no need for the existence of the Trade Union Educational League. They didn't get on the job for labor. That is why we are on the job. That is why we have organized the Trade Union Educational League.

"The League was first greeted by a campaign of silence," continued Foster. "Then it was ridiculed. Now it is being attacked. The old fossilized officialdom is a disgrace to the labor movement. They have not been able to stop the League. Its program is being accepted everywhere. We have taught the rank and file that they have something to say in the union."

Vice-President Meyer Perlestein, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is directing the attack on the T.U.E.L. forces in Chicago. He was originally sent to Chicago to carry on an organization drive. Foster told how Perlestein came to him for organization ideas. Foster, who is a member of the organization committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, said he had given Perlestein all the information he had, that he had co-operated with him in every way possible, to help organize the scattered forces of the ladies' garment workers in Chicago.

Foster then went on to show that where a campaign of silence and vilification fails, the next inevitable step is violence. They can't answer our program. So they slug our members. They beat them up. They disfranchise them.

"We had expected that these expulsions would take place. But we had not even dreamed that they would be started in a union that calls

itself revolutionary. It is a disgrace to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that the expulsion of Trade Union Educational League members should first take place in this union. In no other union has this taken place as yet.

"Today the leftwing has got the idea of amalgamation stuck in the craft unions like glue." Foster then made the charge that Abraham Cahan, and his Jewish Daily Forward, that has inspired the war against the radicals in the labor movement, especially in the needle trades, was back of the present attack on the T. U. E. L. and I. L. G. W. U.

"If Sigman is the man that Abraham Cahan has picked out to carry on this fight, then he has got much to learn. The T. U. E. L. has done more to kill sentiment for dual unionism in the labor movement than any other power. The T. U. E. L. is not even a union. It doesn't sign contracts with the bosses. It doesn't reach agreements about wages and conditions. It is only an educational organization. What is the real issue? I do not believe that even the labor officials seriously kid each other about the T. U. E. L. being a dual organization."

Foster then reviewed the tremendous service rendered the labor movement by those who had been expelled in Chicago, among them Israel Davidson and Dora Lifshitz. "This attack was devised in the brain of Abe Cahan," Foster charged again. "Cahan learned this stuff from the Yellow Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, that has followed this program as a definite tactic against the lefts, especially in Germany."

Foster then told how he had seen Benjamin Schlesinger, predecessor of Morris Sigman as President of the I. L. G. W. U., degenerate from his early position as a militant trade unionist. Foster expressed the belief that Schlesinger was forced to give way to Sigman in order that a more militant campaign might be carried on against the left wing.

In conclusion Foster said: "The salvation of the union is the task of the left wing. Therefore we must adopt and carry out the slogan of 'No splits in the union!'"

The chairman of the meeting was Elias Marks, of the Cloak Makers' Union, I. L. G. W. U. Other speakers were H. Abrams, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Ben Gold, Furriers' Union, Henry Gewirtzman, Fancy Leather Goods' Workers, and Ben Lifshitz. Other similar meetings will be held in other sections of the city.

Assassination--The Last Weapon of Reaction

It has happened. The fight of the yellow trade union officials against the militant rank and file workers has come to a climax in a deliberate attempt to assassinate their acknowledged leader—William Z. Foster.

Following so closely the mobbing of Joseph Manley, at Scranton, Pa., at the direct incitement of John L. Lewis, the attempted murder of Foster has a sinister significance. The outrage at Scranton was applauded by the "Socialist" newspapers, the "Call" and the Jewish "Forward." The Republican, Lewis, and the "Socialist" Sigman have shown themselves to be blood brothers.

Reaction fights progress everywhere in the labor movement with the same weapons—expulsions, disruption, sluggers. When all these fail it has one weapon left—assassination. The shots of the professional gunmen at the Carmen's Auditorium, at Chicago, show that the last card is on the table.

The reactionary officialdom wants to kill the left wing in order that it may continue to live.

It was no accident that Foster was the target of the professional gunmen at Chicago. Foster is the man the yellow leaders want to get out of the way; Foster, the leader of the militant left wing; Foster, the

tireless propagandist and teacher of modern unionism; Foster, the organizer of hundreds of thousands of Steel and packinghouse workers; Foster, the embodiment of all that is alive and forward driving in the American labor movement today.

The yellow leaders have shown that they will stop at nothing to beat back the rising tide of rank and file revolt against their incompetence and corruption. Expulsions and splits are their stock in trade. They violate every clause of the union constitution which stand in their way. They would rather smash the unions to pieces than let the honest rank and file workers have their will.

The bullets fired from the gunmen's automatics at Chicago were intended to kill not only Foster, but the things Foster stands for—Amalgamation, the Labor Party, and the other measures which will regenerate the labor movement and give it new life and strength. If the bullets had found their mark the American labor movement would be the real victim. Rank and file workers—those bullets were aimed at you!

The expulsions of active and devoted unionists, and the use of hired thugs and assassins, is not the concern of the garment workers alone. It is a life and death question to all progressive elements in the labor

movement. The workers in every union have a vital interest at stake in the heroic struggle of their fellow workers in the needle trades. The attempt to take the life of Foster brings the burning issue home to every militant worker.

Militant workers! Take up the fight of the persecuted needle workers. Turn the searchlight of publicity on the needle trades officialdom. Roll up such a mighty wave of working class protest that they will not dare to continue their criminal campaign.

Down with the treacherous leaders who try to split the unions!
Down with the Employers of sluggers and Assassins!

Finnish Members of Workers Party Get Behind the Drive for English-Language Daily

The powerful Finnish Federation of the Workers Party has responded magnificently to the appeal for an English-Language Communist Daily. The Finnish workers have pledged themselves to raise \$25,000 by the time of the publication of the first issue of "The Daily Worker," the sixth anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, Nov. 7. The communication received from Fahne Burman, secretary of the Finnish Federation, on this subject follows:

Daily Worker Campaign Committee.
Dear Comrades: We have received your communication of Aug. 15, signed by you and Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary of the Party, notifying us that the Finnish Federation is requested to raise the sum of \$25,000 for the Daily Worker—a total of \$100,000 to be raised. Although the quota apportioned to our Federation is quite high, taking into consideration the amount of Finnish workers in the United States from whom this sum will have to be collected, we will however assure you that we will raise our quota as all the other Federations raise theirs, so that an English Daily may be realized.

The circular letters of your Campaign Committee have been translated and mailed to our Branches as preliminary information. In addition to that . . . we will now mail to our members and branches letters and instructions as to how to go ahead with the work of raising the money. We hope to be able to raise our quota in this Drive without any expenses, and believe that no part of our quota should be used to collect the shares from other Party units, so that we can be able to turn over \$25,000 in cold cash when needed.

The Campaign will be conducted by the Federation office in the same manner as in the past. We shall be able to raise our quota in full by the time set for the first publication of the Daily Worker on Nov. 7th next. With best wishes for a successful campaign, we are

Fahne Burman, Secretary,
Finnish Federation, Workers Party.

With the Finnish Federation pledging one-fourth of the total amount of \$100,000 the success of the Drive for the Daily Worker is assured. If the rest of our Comrades will follow the pace set by the Finnish Federation there will be no doubt of a powerful English Language Daily being an established fact.

The Lettish Federation's Support

That the Lettish Comrades will carry out the task assigned to them and live up to their best revolutionary traditions is indicated by the following letter received from the Secretary of the Lettish Federation:

Dear Comrades: The undersigned Comrade was designated as Campaign Manager of this Federation for the Daily Worker and the Bureau pledged itself to do its utmost in supporting the Campaign and will carry it on wholeheartedly in the Lettish Federation.

All announcements and documents pertaining to the campaign will be translated and published in our NEWS LETTERS and distributed in large numbers, as we have no newspaper of our own. Special methods will be employed to raise our quota. Numbers of circulars have been issued to our Branches already, giving them the very first instructions about Branch "Daily Worker Committees" and preparing the way for a general and active Campaign. We are confident that the revolutionary Lettish workers will do their duty in this historic task assigned to them by the Party and the Communist International.

Long live the English Daily!
On with the work for the English Daily!

Fraternally yours, Robert Zeims,
Secretary, Lettish Federation.

The Time Is Ripe

"Every worker and every friend of the working class should greet with joy the appearance of the 'Workers' Daily.' Every effort should be made by organizations and individuals to put the new paper on a solid basis.

"It is humiliating that a great and powerful working class has no press imbued with a militant spirit to lead it in its historic struggle against the dictatorship of Capital. It is more humiliating that a great and powerful working-class is day in and day out submitting to the pernicious influence of the capitalist press which aims at degrading labor.

"Let the new daily of the Workers Party be a turning point in the history of the class-struggle in this country. Let its voice become powerful. Let its word reach hundreds of thousands of workers.

"The time is ripe for a leading proletarian daily press.

"Hail the Workers' Daily!"

—Moissaye J. Olgin.

PITTSBURGH!

LABOR DAY PICNIC

MONDAY, SEPT. 3d

in Heinz's Grove.

Take West View Car No. 10—

Get off at Hawthorne Ave.

Speaker: James P. Cannon.

Auspices of Labor Defense and

Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania.

Chicago Members to Do Their Share to Realize Daily Worker

CHICAGO.—The Chicago City Central Committee of the Workers Party greets with enthusiasm the announcement made by the Party of the launching of a campaign to raise a Fund of \$100,000 to publish an English working class daily paper.

It fully recognizes the importance of such a step. It recognizes the need of such a Daily and the powerful aid it will be to successfully advance the struggles of the American workers against their strongly organized exploiters, as well as help build and strengthen our Party and establish its leadership in these struggles.

The Chicago City Central Committee realizes that inasmuch as this English daily will be published in its locale the collection of a great share of this Fund falls upon the Chicago membership. It therefore pledges its wholehearted support to this Campaign, and is ready to lend all its energy to accomplish this task. It calls upon all Chicago branches to immediately get to work and collect the necessary funds on the basis of at least \$5.00 per member, to be subscribed during the month of September, and furthermore to prepare themselves to completely carry out the policy on this matter as laid down by the National office.

The Chicago North Side English branch has already decided to raise among its own membership the equivalent of \$100.00 per member. This worthy example the Chicago City Central Committee urges all other branches which are in a position to do so, to follow.

The District Executive Committee has set the goal of \$50,000 for the District. A Mass Meeting for the Daily has been arranged for Sept. 21, 8 P. M., at Wickers Park Hall, 2040 W. North Ave.

The Campaign Committee for "The Daily Worker" is as follows: Nick Dozenberg, Manager; Harrison George, Niels Kjar, M. Brooker, M. Marek, J. Anderson, Emil Bechtold, M. Novak, George Maurer.

"The Daily and Party Worker"

"The Party worker, the type of Party member who is never satisfied merely to hold a membership in the Party, but insists upon being an active worker in all Party activities, will greet with unbounded joy the establishment of the 'Daily Worker.'"

"This type of Party member, and he is by far the majority of our membership, has long realized the great need of a revolutionary English daily paper. He has viewed in the capitalist and also in the yellow socialist press attack after attack upon the progressive elements in labor's ranks, with no adequate weapon at hand with which to answer them. He has viewed the most scurrilous attacks by the reactionaries in control of the labor unions, and has had to content himself with insufficient means of the Left Wing of the labor movement.

"With the advent of a powerful English daily, his hopes of meeting these antagonists upon their own ground will be realized. He knows the need of answering their attacks with the facts of the class struggle. He knows the propaganda value of an English daily organ in which the communist viewpoint is stressed. He realizes into how many a dark corner such a revolutionary organ will throw the light of Communist truth, and what a mighty factor it will be in the upbuilding of a strong, virile Party of active communists. The Party worker hails with delight and boundless enthusiasm the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Party for the establishment of this weapon for the workers. He will enter likewise into the work required for its erection and maintenance."—Elmer T. Allison.

Detroit on the Job

The following telegram is one of the messages that are being received daily at the office, and that indicate the Daily Worker Fund will reach the \$100,000 goal set for it:

"City Campaign Committee for Daily Worker at enthusiastic meeting tonight taxed itself quota of ten thousand dollars. Cyril Lambkin, Chairman Committee, Detroit, Mich."

U. S. Fascisti Ordered to Disband

Obligated by the opposition of organized labor here to disband their present group in New York, the Fascisti will attempt to reorganize under the protection of the Sons of Italy and other bodies. That, according to the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, is the meaning of the news from Rome which has thrown the Fascista movement here into disorganized excitement.

A cablegram printed by Corriere d'America states that the New York Fascista groups have been ordered closed, and the reorganization entrusted to a committee of 12 members of the Sons of Italy. A story in Progresso Italo-Americano corroborates this news in part, mentioning the names of De Silvestro, Ligari and Portofino as on the new committee.



The Annual Labor Day Parade

Organize the Steel Workers

Let all militants take an active part in the campaign to organize the steel workers, despite the efforts of the reactionaries to keep them out. All progressive workers in the steel industry must try to make the campaign a success, notwithstanding the incompetent leadership, in spite of the fact that only 14 craft unions are interested, instead of the 24 in 1919.

Above all, the militants should strive to give the movement an industrial character. This can best be done by directing the masses of workers of every trade to affiliate themselves to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. For many years this body has been at least theoretically industrial. Its constitution reads:

"The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers . . . shall be composed of all men working in and around rolling mills, tin mills, steel works, chain works, nail, tack, spike, bolt and nut factories, pipe mills, and all works run in connection with the same."

After the great strike of 1919, the officials of "The Amalgamated," in order to square themselves with the rank and file, blamed the loss of the strike upon the other unions that were federated with them. All of a sudden they blossomed forth into red-hot industrial unionists. They declared that henceforth they would insist upon their jurisdiction and would make the fight upon an industrial basis. Now the militants must see to it that they make good their bluff. And if these reactionaries fail to do it, if they unprotestingly allow the steel workers to be split up again in all sorts of craft fragments, then they should be made to answer for it at the next convention of the Amalgamated Association. The only hope for the steel workers is an industrial union led by militants. The way to achieve it is to insist upon the Amalgamated Association living up to its jurisdiction and then to fire the trimmers at the head of the organization.

The Antics of Stresemann

Dr. Gustave Stresemann, the German chancellor, is both gymnast and contortionist. He must be. He is performing every antic possible to prevent Germany falling into the hands of a Workers' and Farmers' Government. Stresemann assures the London Daily Graphic that:

"If my government falls, accomplishing nothing, then I shall perhaps be the last Burgundian chancellor of Germany. It may be the end. If that happens it will be more of Europe than of Germany which will succumb to Bolshevism."

This is no idle prophecy. But in the same hour that Stresemann was breaking this news to the British, the mark fell on Monday from 5,600,000 to 7,000,000 to the dollar. Tuesday, at 1 o'clock, an effort was made to peg the mark at 6,400,000 to the dollar, but by the end of the day it was going at anywhere from 7,400,000 to 7,800,000 to the dollar.

The Socialists, in this last desperate agony of German capitalism, have pledged the workmen of the Ruhr to give up passive resistance under certain guarantees. But the time has passed when the Ruhr steel workers and coal miners can be pledged to anything by the Socialists, as the Socialist apologists for German capitalism have found out. Stresemann was put into power, with the aid of the Socialists, to prevent the inauguration of a German Workers' and Farmers' Government. But a government of the Workers and Farmers is nearer than ever today in Germany.

The Farmer's Plight

By W. H. GREEN

Vice Chairman, Federated Farmer-Labor Party

Statistics are so dry that the average reader in these days of Jazz Movements will step over them.

It will clarify the farmer's present financial condition to assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that from sixty-five to eighty per cent. of the farmers west of the Mississippi River have made no profit in the past twenty-five years, except that made in the increased price of their lands.

For example. Our family came from the coal regions of northeastern Pennsylvania where my father labored before one of those "living hells" as a puddler when the ore was molten into iron before the advent of steel.

With most of his vitality gone and hearing of the Eldorado of the West after the great strike of 1876-78, we crossed the Western prairies behind an ox-team and neighbored with the Sioux Indians.

The United States Government in those days bet you 160 acres of prairie against \$14 that you could not make a living upon the land for five years.

We braved the privations and railroads, schools and other evidences of civilization soon followed. The progress of the agricultural districts was slow but continuous until the hectic conditions produced by the world war.

At the close of the war farm wages were high and we were told in the press and in the forum that America had secured practically all of the gold of the world; that our nation had paid its foreign debts and that henceforth we were to be the

creditor nation of the world. Money was very cheap and that is where our misfortune began.

When money is cheap in America there is a powerful financial group whose influence is weakened.

Not one person in every hundred thousand knew on May 18, 1920, that seven men had it within their power to call in over two billions of the circulating money of the country and burn it up.

Senators and others have charged those members of the Federal Reserve Banking Board with committing a greater crime than Benedict Arnold attempted in the delivery of West Point. At any rate the suicides and insanity casualties during the past three years exceed those of the world war. It might be asked how the reduction of the money supply would produce this disaster.

Suppose, for example, that some Monday morning those merchants learned to their dismay and terror that over the week-end the government had added eighteen more inches to the yard stick. We fancy that if this were to happen that there would be some suicides on Fifth Avenue, and yet all economists and intelligent financiers know that the scarcity of money and the interest rate is the yard stick and scale beam of the products of farm and factory.

This epoch was brought on so suddenly that the farmer who had no debts was caught in the whirlpool and suffered proportionately. What the financiers left untouched the transportation monopoly confiscated. These are some of the conditions that produced the political upheaval in Minnesota, and the political war has only started.

Labor Day, 1923

By JOSEPH MANLEY, Secretary, Federated Farmer-Labor Party

Labor Day, 1923, finds the American working class facing a crisis.

Their unions, thru the recent attacks by the capitalist institutions, have suffered severe setbacks. Old party politicians and law enforcement bodies dominated by the old parties have been willing agents in the general union-smashing campaign.

From coast to coast, as never before, the workers have made substantial attempts to engage in independent working political action as the only means of relief. These movements have been sabotaged and conspired against by union officialdom. In 1886 the same officialdom successfully crushed a similar rank and file tendency. Today, in 1923, they will not succeed. The rank and file has learned by experience.

At the Chicago convention, July 3, was launched a Federated Farmer-Labor party, which is an expression of this movement for independent working class political action.

Workers Party Demands Emphasized

By ARNE SWABECK

Labor Day in 1923 finds the working class of America again faced with a life and death struggle to preserve its bare rights of organization.

Labor Day of last year was marked by the Daugherty injunction. This year it promises to be the occasion of some similar action against the miners by our strike-breaking president.

Every event in the struggle of labor today gives added emphasis to the two great demands put forth by the Workers Party:

Amalgamation of all divided unions into great industrial organizations, on the one hand, and the federation of workers' economic, political and fraternal organizations into a great Federated Farmer-Labor party, on the other.

Canadian Labor Unions Seek Rights to Carry on Their Own Fights

By JOHN ROBUR

(Federated Press Correspondent)

TORONTO.—Canadian unions are revolting against the rule of their international in the United States, and demanding Canadian autonomy.

A resolution involving their issues has been sent to the Dominion Trades Congress by the Toronto Trades and Labor Council. It proposes that each of the international unions set up a Canadian section having power to declare strikes and finance them, and that Canadian sections have the right to participate in any political activity in the interests of the Canadian working class. It declares that had the Canadian unions these rights at the time of the recent Cape Breton coal and steel strikes in Nova Scotia the result of that protest against the use of troops in industrial struggles would have been different. The resolution, introduced by Machinists Local 235, passed the local trades council by a vote of 24 to 16.

The reference to the Cape Breton strike states that "while the charter of District 26, United Mine Workers of America, was revoked because they dared to strike against the repeated use of troops in that area, yet such a flood of protest came from every part of the Dominion that had Canadian labor possessed complete autonomy in so far as strike action is concerned, withdrawal of the troops would have been a foregone conclusion, and had the Canadian Trades Congress power to levy an assessment for the support of any affiliated section, as has the American Federation of Labor, the result of the recent steel workers' strike would have been different."

According to James Watt, secretary local Trades and Labor council, who opposed the resolution, it means "direct action for political purposes."

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

BEFORE THE SHOOTING IN CHICAGO

Meyer Perlstein, the Mussolini of the Yellow Bureaucracy, Smashes the Union

By BEN GITLOW

The war in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union against the Trade Union Educational League was inaugurated in real earnest in the city of Chicago. The director of the fight against the League there is Vice-President Meyer Perlstein.

This gentleman was sent to Chicago by the International as organizer of the Western district. Just now his main activities consist in expelling good active union members from the organization.

Perlstein, under orders from the General Executive Board of the International, started the fight against the Trade Union Educational League by preferring charges against two of the most active delegates to the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union.

A committee was elected by the Joint Board to investigate the charges against these two members. The investigation committee consisted of six members, each representing one of the six locals that comprise the Joint Board.

During the investigation Vice-President Perlstein acted as the accuser, the prosecutor and the Judge. He did everything in his power to induce the investigation committee to bring in a report unfavorable to the League and to the two delegates of the Joint Board involved. Nothing, however, helped him. The investigation committee, which was truly a rank and file committee, refused to be coerced and brought in a decision upon the facts presented at the hearings. The committee by a vote of five to one declared that the Trade Union Educational League was not a dual organization, and that members of the International were perfectly within their rights when they adhered to the League.

Needless to say that Perlstein, the agent of the reactionary machine in control of the International, was not satisfied with the decision. By hook or crook he would have his pound of flesh. When the committee's report came up before the Joint Board for approval, Perlstein made a bitter and vicious attack against it. He threatened the delegates present with suspension from the union if they would dare to vote in favor of the committee's report. Perlstein, an old hand at the game of expelling progressive members from the organization, took no chances. He did not rely entirely upon his bulldozing. He immediately, without any precedent, made a ruling that the seven members of the Joint Board whom he knew to be sympathetic to the League, were not entitled to a vote on the matter. The committee's report was finally rejected by the Joint Board in the following manner: 11 delegates supported Perlstein's motion to reject the report, 8 voted against, 7 were denied the opportunity of voting and seven refrained from voting because they were afraid that Perlstein would carry out his threat. The committee's report was actually rejected by a minority of the delegates present because only 11 out of the 33 delegates present voted to reject.

This gave Perlstein the opportunity to declare the Trade Union Educational League a dual organization and to expel two of the finest union men in the Cloakmakers' Union of Chicago. The League may not know how to organize the industry but he knows how to checkmate the militants. Before a decision of the Joint Board becomes effective it must be submitted to the locals for approval. This Perlstein knew would give the rank and file an opportunity to condemn the disruptive tactics of Perlstein and to prevent the expulsion of its rank and file leaders. So Perlstein ruled that the decision of the Joint Board goes into effect immediately and is not a matter to be considered by the locals.

Perlstein then rushed into print. He got in touch with the capitalist press and the Jewish Daily Forward. In the Jewish Daily Forward the only reason given for the expulsion was the reason that the Trade Union Educational League was a dual organization. In the Forward it would be bad policy to give other than constitutional reasons. In the capitalist press this great union leader showed his true colors. He paraded as the champion of the country and the American Labor movement. The League, he declared, was not only a dual organization but also a red revolutionary organization. It was friendly to the Communists and was under orders of the Communist International. The capitalist press of Chicago congratulated him. They thanked him for his services to American institutions. They com-

plimented him for his audacity and heroism. They pointed out that he acted against the "reds," while Gompers and the rest of the leaders in the American labor movement only talked. They called upon all the leaders in the unions to follow Perlstein's tactics in order to drive the pernicious reds out of labor organizations.

However, Perlstein did not figure on the militancy and revolutionary spirit that dominates the members of the International. The rank and file did not accept his position as final. They rebelled against his brazen, high-handed, disruptive methods. Shop meetings passed resolutions of protest. The wave of indignation rose. Perlstein had to use an iron hand or he was doomed. Local 104 refused to bow to his ukase. Perlstein expelled Local 104. The seven members left on the Joint Board who belonged to the League continued the fight for the rank and file. So he expelled them. But the rank and file still rebelled. They printed leaflets. They talked among themselves. They refused to remain quiet. So Perlstein decided to do the Mussolini stunt. He had orders passed, that no leaflets could be distributed at local meetings or in the union offices where the workers congregate. He issued an order that any member who dared to discuss anything but trade questions would be suspended from the organization. Even on the streets of Chicago he ruled that the workers could not do these things. To prove to the rank and file that he meant to carry these orders out he had a committee of ten appointed who would in devious ways enforce the edicts of the almighty chief.

The rank and file who are prepared to fight capitalism will not be scared by a trade union buffoon. The rank and file in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union all over the country will take up this fight. The Perlsteins belong to the camp of the enemies of the workers because they do the dirty work of the bosses in breaking up the unions. In Chicago at the present time the workers are fighting a desperate fight against the bosses and their allies, the capitalist courts. Thru injunctions the bosses hope to smash the union. When Perlstein should be fighting the bosses he is fighting the rank and file.

The Coal Strike Outlook

(Continued from page One.)

"general expenses" only afford the owners another avenue of pocketing millions of dollars annually.

Besides assuming that the Operators are telling the truth about the price in coal rising \$2 per ton if the miners get their wage increase there is a leak in their figures somewhere. The Operators say this raise will saddle an additional burden of \$90,000,000 on their poor coal-consuming public. Now, the number of tons of anthracite used in the Eastern Territory annually is 85,000,000. On this basis there would be at total rise of \$170,000,000 in the cost of coal. Thus, even assuming that the Operators are telling the truth for a change, they would be pocketing a net sum of \$80,000,000 on the wage raise. Needless to say the Operators have been making a lot of noise about the public paying more for coal but they have not mentioned a word in all their propaganda about this huge sum of four-score millions that they would pocket by their own increasing the price. The Operators have conveniently omitted telling the public by whom they always swear in case of a strike that the \$2 a ton increase in the price of coal would be only that much additional tribute paid to the Coal Barons by the anthracite consumers.

WILLIAMSBURG

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, THE EMANCIPATOR OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

Workers Party Is Praised for Its Initiative and Work Since the Fourth Congress

NOTE—In this space each week "THE WORKER" will publish, in installment form, a report of the recent Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Communist International. Each installment will take up a separate question treated by the world gathering of Communists at Moscow, a gathering that received but scant attention in the daily press. The first installment follows:

The Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Communist International was a Congress in the real sense of the word, and accomplished work that will be of great significance to the Communist Movement of the

whole world. Issuing the slogan of the United Front on a more extended scale, and proclaiming the Communist International as the "leader not only of the manual workers, not only of the brain workers, but of all strata exploited and crushed by the bourgeoisie—the Communist International, the EMANCIPATOR OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE"—Zinoviev suggested the direction that the Conference would take—and the direction that it did take.

The report of the Presidium showed the splendid work that the Communist International has performed in the six months since the Fourth Congress.

At the Fourth Congress and later at the Leipzig Congress of the German Party, there was a wing of the Party that did not agree with the policy of the Workers' Government and the tactics in the Ruhr. The matter was reaching an acute stage at the time of the crisis in Saxony and the Ruhr, when the whole energy of the Party was required for work, and it threatened to cause disaster. The Communist International intervened and brought the controversy to a successful issue. Today the German Party is the best fighter among the parties outside of Soviet Russia. It is a living, pulsating, virile unit and is gaining increasing influence and

control over the German masses. The Social Democracy is slowly losing its hold, while even the Nationalists of Germany admit that the Communists stand not for the workers alone but have a program for the whole people. The intervention of the Communist International was timely and fruitful. The solution of the French question did not produce the results that Frossard, who later left the Party, expected. On the contrary, the Party is stronger, more active than ever. With the exit of Frossard and his small group of trouble-makers, there entered two men, representative of groups of great value and importance to the Communist movement: Bar-

busse and Monatte. Especially Monatte, former anarchist and syndicalist leader, will add strength to the Party. Already the Party has done good work in the Ruhr crisis—and the coming months will reveal even greater initiative. Italy has still needed the attention of the Communist International. The decisions of the Fourth Congress were not faithfully carried out. On the contrary, the Party did not help to bring over the Socialist Party to the Communist position—to fusion with the Communist Party, despite the fact that the Rome Congress of the Socialist Party declared for affiliation with the Communist Inter-

national. Still harboring sectarian views, refusing to be "contaminated" with opportunistic tendencies, the Communist Party of Italy did not grasp the opportunity to create a solid front with the Socialists, thereby playing into the hands both of the right-wingers, the traitors to the workers, and of Mussolini. These right-wingers split the Party; they refused to accept the Rome decision. The ranks were broken and Mussolini with his black-shirts massacred and crushed the Communists and the militant workers, who, by the treachery of the right-wingers, were left without leadership. By the reorganization of the Executive Committee

of the Communist Party, by inviting the Socialist Party of Italy to send a delegation to the Comintern to discuss the question of affiliation of the Socialist Party and of fusion with the Communist Party, and by sending an appeal to the workers of Italy to stand together against the reaction that rules Italy today, the Communist International has established the basis for the strengthening of the Communist Party and for the unity of all revolutionary forces in Italy.

Next Week — "Democratic Centralism" — Misunderstood

The Workers Party Today—And Tomorrow

By JAMES P. CANNON

3. The United Front Against the Communists

(This is the third of a series of articles on party questions by Comrade Cannon which are appearing weekly in "THE WORKER")

The United Front is a very good slogan, and everybody nowadays seems to be in favor of it. Our United Front slogan has been such a good success that our enemies have adopted it, with an amendment of their own. Those who are unwilling to make a united front against the capitalists are making a united front against the Communists.

Look at them: Farrington and Lewis, after calling each other crooks and grafters and proving it, unite to fight the "Reds," while indictments against our active comrades in Pennsylvania dovelap neatly into their plans. The Socialist Party makes peace with Gompers and war on us. The "Progressive" leaders of the old Farmer-Labor Party take up the fight against us with Gompers' slogans of "Red," "Force and Violence," etc. While these big dogs spring at our throat the little ones snap at our heels, the S. L. P., P. P., etc.

We were never short of enemies. Quite a number of "Progressives" have been in a sort of coalition with us. Now even some of these are joining in an effort to isolate us. An analysis of the make-up of the American labor movement, however, will show that this situation is not a permanent crystallization, and that it is possible, by using the right tactics in the developing class struggle, to break up the present anti-Communist front and bring about re-alignments of various kinds which will advance the movement as a whole and strengthen our position in it.

No European Analogy

The American movement has no counter-part anywhere else in the world, and any attempt to meet its problems by the simple process of finding a European analogy will not succeed. The key to the American problem can be found only in a thorough examination of the peculiar American situation. Our Marxian outlook, confirmed by the history of the movement in Europe, provides us with some general principles to go by, but there is no pattern, made to order from European experience, that fits America today.

In all the European countries the workers' movement has matured to class consciousness and is committed, in theory, to socialism. The working class is organized politically and does not support the capitalist parties. The three factions of the movement, right, center and left, each have a political party organization, all of which are professedly anti-capitalist.

How different is the situation in America. Here the dominating element in the labor movement defends the capitalist system in theory as well as in practice, and the great body of workers still support the capitalist parties. The immaturity of the American working class is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the fact that only a minority support the labor party. A working class without a party of its own is an infant that has not yet celebrated its first birthday.

Beside the Communists, who, of course, are an organized party with a clearly defined revolutionary program, four other elements make up the American labor movement; and all four of them are now centering their chief opposition on the Communists. These four elements are: 1) The Right Wing Bureaucracy; 2) The Socialists; 3) The Revolutionary Sects; 4) The "Progressives."

The Right Wing

The right wing, the ruling bureaucracy, is by all standards the most reactionary in the world. Its philosophy is capitalistic, not socialistic as is the case in the European countries. It is organized and has a definite program of systematic opposition to all radical proposals. It fights all progress under the very same slogans used by the capitalistic press.

Gompers denounces the Trade Union Educational League on patriotic grounds, and accuses the Communists of wanting to overthrow the United States Government with the same moral indignation that inspires a Prosecuting Attorney who speaks against us in court. Lewis, of the miners union, goes one step farther in defence of capitalist institutions. He crosses the Canadian border, and expels the Nova Scotia miners—one of his charges against them being that they went on strike to undermine the "Constituted Authorities" in Canada. His devotion to capitalism is not confined within the narrow limits of national boundaries.

The leaders of the labor movement lean so far backward in support of the profit system that many politicians in the capitalist parties appear to be revolutionaries in comparison with them. Senator Wheeler, of Montana, made the statement that the bankers in Montana are more

political philosophy; and they have no recognized, authoritative leadership of the highly trained, professional European type. They do not represent a crystallized movement, but a hazy sentiment which, speaking in terms of America, where anything resembling a class viewpoint is progress, is really progressive.

This "Progressive" element is already quite large, and it is growing. It has not yet acquired sufficient consciousness to develop an organized form; that is why it is so uncertain, inconsistent and non-militant in action. But at bottom it is a revolt against Gompersism. This is plainly indicated by its general support of such proposals as the labor party, Amalgamation, Recognition of Soviet Russia, etc., wherever it is not called upon to fight too hard for them.

Present Alignment Only Temporary

Up until recently most of these progressives were going along in a rather loose alliance with us in support of these measures. At the Chicago Conference, and in some localities before the Chicago Conference, thru no fault of ours in a single case, a number of these "Progressives" broke away from this alliance and joined the United Front against us. But I do not think the bulk of them naturally belong there, or that we should take it for granted they will stay.

The rapidly developing class struggle will not permit any elements which stand for progress to stay united with the dead reaction of the Gompers regime. The "Progressives" cannot do it without repudiating all the things they have been standing for up till now. Some of the leaders may be willing to do this, but the progressive movement cannot so easily change its character over night.

It is more a drifting movement than a conscious one, and the intensifying struggle accelerates the drift toward the left, not toward the right. This situation offers tremendous possibilities for the Workers Party, and it should certainly be a part of our strategy in the labor movement to look forward to the possibility of a rapprochement with the "Progressives," at least with those who have not consciously betrayed the movement and gone over to Gompers.

In next week's article I will undertake to analyze the "Progressive" movement, and the reasons which brought about the break between some of the leaders and the Communist left wing; and, also, to set forth what, in my opinion, our tactics toward them should be in the future.

"MARCH ON"

B. N. Z.

Do you hear the Comrades singing,
March On! March On!
Does the music thrill your being?
March On! March On!

When the trumpets loudly call
March On! March On!
To victory, to triumph all
March On! March On!

With hammer, scythe and plow,
March On! March On!
Before an enslaving system bow,
March On! March On!

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

"Underground Radicalism"

An Open Letter to Eugene V. Debs and All Honest Workers Within the Socialist Party

By JOHN PEPPER

This pamphlet of 48 pages deals with the past four years of the political and economic history of the workers of the United States. It gives a clear exposition of the attacks levelled against the workers by the capitalist class, the Open Shop Drive against the Unions, the attacks against the Communists, and the struggles of the workers to stem the tide against wage reductions and the offensive against their unions.

Chapters are as follows: The Working Class in Danger; "Underground Radicalism"; Political Development from 1920 to 1923; The Labor Spy; The Socialist Party—Two Wings Without a Body; United Front, But Separate Organizations.

Price, 10 cents—5 or more, 7 cents

WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

The Great Steel Strike

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

25 cents, 265 pages

"THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE," by William Z. Foster, is a book of the first importance in the history of the American labor movement. The heroic struggle of the steel workers for organization and recognition in 1919, and their terrible battle against opposition among the reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, constitutes one of the greatest epochs in labor history.

The 12-Hour Day in the steel mills has now again become a national issue. Foster's keen analysis of the steel situation, the problems of the steel workers and of their organization is as vital information to-day as when written at the close of the great conflict that shook the mighty kingdom of steel to its foundations. Order it!

WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

The "Rights" of a Revolutionist

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

J. B. Salutzky has undertaken to defend a very difficult proposition. He is out in the "Fort Schmitt," the Jewish organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to prove the right of a revolutionist to make a revolution against his own revolutionary party. The party in question is the Workers Party, and the right of revolution is defended not in the abstract, but it is claimed by J. B. Salutzky for himself as against the Workers Party.

The history of Salutzky's relations to the Workers Party is long and painful. Originally he belonged to the Workers' Council group which was against an underground Communist Party. As such he aided in the formation of the Workers Party, but soon became disgusted with the struggle between the two factions. His disgust was so deep that it reduced his party activities to zero. After the transformation of the Workers Party into the one and only Communist Party he entirely withdrew, disagreeing both with the general character of the party and with its particular policies and voicing his disagreement in publications others than those of the Workers Party. He did not, however, give up membership until expelled from the party by order of the Central Executive Committee after long negotiations.

We are not here to argue the merits of Salutzky's behavior or the right or wisdom of the Central Executive Committee in acting as it acted. We are primarily interested in Salutzky's plea for a revolution against a revolutionary party.

Generally speaking, there are only three ways open before a member in relation to his party. He may either agree with the party and work in harmony with its ideas; or he may disagree in some points and still find it possible to work within the party while defending his own stand and demanding changes in the party in conformity with his ideas; or he may disagree with the party in most or all of the major points. In the latter case nothing remains for him but resign. J. B. Salutzky disagreed with the Workers Party in all the major points, which was his perfect right. He still remained a member for a long time, while contributing nothing in the way of party activities, which was, perhaps, illogical but still within his rights. Now, however, he champions the right to make a revolution against the party while remaining a member, which is absurd.

Membership in a political party is not compulsory, as is membership in the state. Neither is it compulsory economically, as is membership in a labor union. Even in a conservative labor union revolutionaries do not attempt to make a revolution against the organization, but they pursue the policy of converting the membership thru constructive criticism, while remaining active and devoted members of the organization as a whole. J. B. Salutzky preferred to be inactive and hostile to the Workers Party as a whole, at the same time criticizing it bitterly before the outer world. This he calls the right of revolution. But why did he stay with the Workers Party when his only relation to it was criticism from without? Why does he want to stay within?

A member of the state cannot escape the state which oppresses him; therefore his only way out is a revolution. A member of a union should not withdraw from his union even when he disagrees with its practice, because withdrawal would weaken the working class; therefore he has to "bore from within." A member of a political party is obliged to sever his relations to the party as soon as he realizes that he is in absolute discord with its policies and that he cannot work in any of its departments. Where does the "right to a revolution" come in?

"Revolutionists," writes Salutzky, "recognize the right of revolution only for themselves and not against themselves, and when they have reached this state of mind, their revolutionism is at an end." This is the substance of party politics in most cases, and unfortunately it is not the exception but the rule. It is easy to raise a cry against machine politics, against mental inertia, against the inability to discuss a situation, and the like. But after you have made the revolution comes the recognition of your own infallibility and the non-recognition of the right of revolution for all others who do not ride triumphantly on the back of the victorious revolution.

It is easy to recognize in this quo-

tion Salutzky's bitterness, but it is still easier to see that his bitterness has led him astray. What does he mean by a right of revolution? Does he mean the right of every individual member of the Workers Party to revolt against the party? But nobody denies him this right. If a man revolts against his party, the first thing for him to do is to get out, the second, to fight against it. Moreover, nobody asks for such rights, and nobody gives them, but they are exercised as a matter of course. When the same Salutzky revolted two years ago against the Socialist Party, he did not go to Hillquit or Berger to demand his right to revolt, but he first quit the party, then launched an attack against it. True, he denounced the Socialist Party while still within, but it was the weakness of the Socialist Party that allowed for such abnormality, and Salutzky himself thought this laxity contemptible. Or would he have liked Hillquit more if the latter had declared solemnly, "Yes, comrade, you have a right to revolt; we are guilty, we are counter-revolutionary, and the old has to yield before the young?" Would not Salutzky himself think such an attitude doubly contemptible?

With all due regard to Salutzky's abilities, we assume that even he is not infallible. Let us, then, imagine Salutzky at the head of an organization and let us imagine a group of members coming up and declaring, "We are out for revolt against you." Would Salutzky bow his head in contrition or would he throw the revolvers down the stairs? Would he "recognize their right of revolution" or would he recognize his own right to send them to the devil although he himself is far from being an angel? This "right of revolution" which Salutzky defends is either an oratorical figure or a nonsense. It is an oratorical figure when applied to the individual member since nobody can deprive an individual member of his right to revolt. It is nonsense when applied to a party, because no party on earth, not even a party composed of Salutzkys, would "recognize the right of revolution against themselves." Salutzky defends a non-sensical proposition.

"Most revolutionists," insists Salutzky in another paragraph, "recognize the right of revolution—for themselves, but not for others. This explains why and which is more important, how most revolutionists become in the end reactionaries." We beg to differ. Most revolutionaries think a revolution against themselves to be counter-revolution, and quite often they are right. A revolution against the Communist Party in Russia, even conducted by Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries who claim to be the "real" revolutionists, is counter-revolution. A revolution against the Hungarian Soviet government was counter-revolution. A revolution of the Kapp forces against the democratic bourgeois government of Germany which sprang up from the November revolution, was also counter-revolution. The "revolution" against the Workers Party of a number of groups and "parties" which call themselves "r-r-revolutionary" and prefer to stay out and do

nothing rather than to put their shoulder to the wheel of history in conjunction with the Communist forces, is clearly of the nature of counter-revolution. Salutzky knows this just as well as any of those whom he is out to fight. Salutzky defends an indefensible proposition made to suit his own case.

But maybe all this artillery of "revolution" is much more harmless than it sounds? Maybe under it is meant the right to criticize the party politics within the party and the right to insist on changes? If so, there is no use to employ the phraseology of revolution, and Salutzky's argument loses its poignant flavor. As to the argument itself, clearly Salutzky, an old party functionary, could not insist on the right of a member to criticize the party from without while boycotting it from within. Clearly Salutzky does not advocate such a division of labor where one group of comrades rake their brains on the building-up of the party while another specializes in criticism and denunciation alone, without as much as moving a finger to aid the party in its work. If this is called the right to criticize, Salutzky again creates an indefensible proposition to suit his own case.

A year ago the present writer was in the same faction with Salutzky. We then fought against the so-called "underground" which, in our opinion, specialized in criticism and denunciation while the open party was doing the work. A year later Salutzky defends a super-overground which is to specialize in criticism of the party from above and without, at the same time doing nothing from within. We can just as little go with Salutzky into this aerial abode to judge the party "from the standpoint of God," as we could go with the Number One into the underground abode to sit judgement over the party from the standpoint of preordained perfection.

Another Promising Candidate

NEW YORK (F. S. R. Service).

The Los Angeles branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia announce that they have entered in the "Canon or Tractor Contest" a member of the Carpenter's Union—Jim Walker. This branch has laid excellent campaign plans, and is going full steam ahead for the election of this representative of American labor to carry a message to the workers of Russia, and bring one back to the workers of America.

John T. Taylor, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor and winner in the first contest, has announced that he will be ready to sail about Sept. 15. It is hoped that the second delegation, "with Jim Walker as part of it," will follow in about a month.

Does Great Good

Editor, The Worker: "The Worker" and the Workers Party are doing an inestimable amount of good for the workers.

I certainly appreciate your work. Very shortly my husband and myself will call to renew our subscription, join the party and find out how we can raise funds to help.

Yours for "The Daily Worker,"
Ruth Brown.

Remember Michigan Raid One Year Ago

When the bolsheviks go out celebrating they never pick a presidential birth; But a day famed for "red baiting" Is the choicest of their dating For to demonstrate the fact they want the earth.

When Henry Dubb is picked up by the copper And unjustly charged with cogitation Plain;

Oh, his pride it takes a cropper (Which for him is something proper) And he never wants to speak of it again.

But when Michigan has slammed into the house-gov A bunch of reds Bill Burns desired in jail, Oh, each merely wipes his brow And proceeds to take a vow For to make a million speeches while an bail.

—Hip Pocket Anthology.

By HARRISON GEORGE

CHICAGO.—All of which is to remind you that the raids on the Communist Convention last year in August were followed, just as soon as C. E. Ruthenberg was released on bail, by the most gigantic protest meeting the workers of Chicago could put on.

That was on Sept. 17, one year ago, when the Chicago workers, aroused by the attack upon the Communists by Burns and his Michigan satraps, answered the attack by a demonstrative mass meeting at which the Labor Defense Council was launched as a counter-attack against the "criminal syndicalist" prosecutions.

Our Birth-Day

A year ago the Labor Defense Council was born. To celebrate our birth-day, the Labor Defense Council has arranged a great mass meeting to which we hope every Chicagoan that attended the meeting a year ago will come and bring his friends and his fellow workers from the shop.

Ruthenberg to Speak Again

This big meeting, which is both an anniversary and a defense meeting where the present perilous situation in the Michigan case will be explained to the assemblage, is also the anniversary of Ruthenberg's last speech in Chicago, since it was at the meeting one year ago that Ruthenberg last spoke to a Chicago audience.

Orchestra and Singers

Not only will the workers of Chicago be favored by hearing Ruthenberg again after the developments of one year, but the Labor Defense Council has engaged the famous Russian Balalaika Orchestra to enliven the meeting with music, and the Young Proletarian Singers to gladden those present with song.

Everybody who reads this announcement should come and bring his friends. Remember the date, Sept. 16, at 8 o'clock, and the place, the Douglas Park Auditorium, which is at Kedzie and Ogden Avenues. Admission will be 25 cents.

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

Monster Demonstration

To Open the Drive for the

Daily Worker

Friday Evening, Sept. 28th

at CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE

67th Street and Third Ave., New York City

Auspices of "Daily Worker" Campaign Committee, District Two.

Watch for Further Particulars

Party Fights for Rights in Pennsylvania

By JAY LOVESTONE

(Special to "The Worker")

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Preparations for the big free speech test meetings, Sept. 9, in Pittsburgh and McKeesport, under the auspices of the Workers Party in co-operation with the Civil Liberties Union and the Labor Defense and Free Speech Council are going ahead at full blast.

Robert W. Dunn, of the Civil Liberties Union, and the writer, as official representatives of the Workers Party, put the whole issue squarely before Governor Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania.

All the facts regarding the campaign of terrorism waged against the Workers Party by the local Pittsburgh authorities and the Federal Department of Justice agents in behalf of the Steel Trust and Coal Operators were laid bare in all their ugliness before the Governor. The likelihood of the State Cossacks and the Steel-owned municipal officialdom breaking up the Pittsburgh and McKeesport meetings in utter violation of the Constitutional rights was put straight up to Governor Pinchot.

Courts Give No Relief

Dunn showed the unsurmountable obstacles in the way of the workers getting justice thru court action. The technical difficulties surrounding the injunction procedure or suit in equity as shown by the Vintondale case; the disproportionate cost involved in any suit for damages; and the difficulty of getting constitutional points decided by the courts were all brought home to Governor Pinchot very ably by Mr. Dunn.

Pinchot Calls Down Mayor

In reply, Governor Pinchot said: "You know that I did send a letter to Mayor Lysle of McKeesport calling him down for his interference with the Steel workers holding meetings there. I know what sort of a fellow he is."

"I have told the State Constabulary very definitely that they must keep out of situations of this sort and that applies to the whole State, including the parts you speak of, Pittsburgh and McKeesport. Of course there are limitations to the powers of the Governor with reference to what a local Mayor or Burgess does. If he commits a crime I can arrest him. But on this question of free speech I can only express an emphatic opinion."

Party to Fight Out Issues

At this point the writer, in behalf of the Workers Party and the workers under indictment in Pittsburgh, made it clear to the Governor that Steel Trust or no Steel Trust, Coal Operators or not, State Cossacks or any other forces to the contrary notwithstanding, the Workers Party was bent upon fighting out this issue to a finish.

I told Pinchot the Workers Party was an open legal political party that was officially on the ballot in the State of Pennsylvania in the last elections, and that Workers Party members were today members of a state assembly. It was made clear to the Governor that the Party would resist to the limit all attempts to drive it underground and outlaw it. When I told the Governor that it was only in his State of Pennsylvania that the Workers Party was subjected to such persecution and that it was the activities of the Party to strengthen the Miners' Union and to put an end to the infamous 12-hour day amongst the Steel workers that brought on these attacks and raids, he answered: "I am just as much opposed to the 12-hour day as you are." But I then quickly pointed out to him that we were right on the job actively pushing these campaigns.

The writer proceeded to tell Pinchot that the Workers Party was going to go all the way down the line in its fight for the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly being guaranteed to all the workers of every section of Pennsylvania and that I would, therefore, not surrender my right to speak as a representative of the Workers Party at the public mass meetings to be held in Pittsburgh and McKeesport.

Declares for Free Speech

Governor Pinchot, replying, said: "I believe in free speech. I believe in the full constitutional right of every citizen to express his point of view. Of course, if he advocates killing a man I would have him arrested. But let him advocate any form of Government or change he likes. There is nothing sacred about the present economic order. I may disagree with what you are advocating, but that's another matter. In so far as free speech is concerned, I am all with you. My heart is in the right place, there."

Ask Governor to Act

I went on to tell the governor that the Workers Party was fighting out this issue in the open and offered to send him in advance a copy of the speech I would deliver at the test meetings which were also to be addressed by such prominent figures as Bishop McConnell and Father Kazinski, and one of the defendants. It was made clear to him that, of course, such noted persons as Bishop McConnell and Father Kazinski would

Connecticut Organized Into District of Workers Party

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

(Special to "The Worker")

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—In the state of Connecticut, alive with large and small industries and yet devoid of a union labor movement worthy the name, a new district of the Workers Party has been organized. Here, then, members of the Workers Party must shoulder a double burden in matters of organization.

They must not only effect a strong party organization, one in which every member and branch understands Communist work and policies. They must also assume leadership in creating a labor union movement. Every shop, from Singers to Rogers 1917, every worker, whether employed at Remingtons, where all hands make things to destroy life, must be organized. One of the immediate tasks of the Workers Party members in Connecticut is to permeate the thousands of industrial workers with labor union organization propaganda.

The district convention of the party recognized this, and therefore again emphasized the expressed will of the Central Executive Council of the party to the effect that every party member must join the union of his craft. And where the open shop propaganda and persecution has destroyed every vestige of unionism, there our members must lead in organizing new unions with vision and strength not possessed by those that succumbed.

That the workers are ready for a new leadership is evidenced in several cities in this state, where, when strikes are imminent or controversies are to be adjusted with the employers, the workers concerned call upon Workers Party members for aid and advice. This co-operation and confidence must be developed until the party locals in very city will be looked upon by the industrial workers of that city as headquarters for sound suggestions and fearless leadership.

The district convention also stressed the necessity of the immediate organization of local branches of the

Federated Farmer-Labor Party. A mass party of city workers and farmers is no more needed any place than in Connecticut. The citadel of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad and of other industrial lords in this state, namely, the capitol at Hartford, where probably more faking and jawnning and bribing and imbibing has taken place than at any similar bosses' executive center, must for once and good echo and re-echo with the voice of the under-dog. In five or six of the largest cities preliminaries are now completed for the calling of organization conferences by radical workers and progressive labor unions for the purpose of giving birth to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in this state.

The organization of English branches of the Party, relief for Soviet Russia; the Labor-Defense Council, these and other matters were given attention by the delegates to the district convention. Konrad Loske, William McKenzie, J. Krichesky, William Gardala, S. Feldman, S. Weisman, and the district organizer were named the district executive committee.

A call was issued for financial support for this new district. Headquarters for the district have been established at Room 6, Labor Lyceum, 38 Howe Street, New Haven, where members, branches and locals are asked to write their organization needs and for further information.

International Youth Day!

Youth Day, International Youth Day, the day of the exploited youth the world over.

The Youth Day of the Communist International is the ray that penetrates the abysmal blackness and despair of the lives of the young toilers.

The Young Communist International clearly visualizes the impending imperialist struggles which will call for sacrifices on the part of the young workers. The race for increased armaments is on, as hotly as ever, in the history of capitalist society. More horrible instruments of destruction are daily being introduced. Poison gases, each more deadly than the other, are constantly being perfected.

The feeble voice of bourgeois liberalism, which was raised against further wars immediately after the great world slaughter, grows weaker and more impotent in the face of the new imperialist alignments.

New capitalist wars are inevitable and the burden of these wars will inevitably fall on the shoulders of the working class youth.

The call for International Youth Day is carried into effect by fifty and some odd Communist Leagues, in as many countries. On that day, huge and far-reaching demonstrations will simultaneously take place in each country the world over.

It is the task of Young Communists everywhere to bring before the masses of young workers the dangers of new wars. It is their task to build a powerful militant resistance to the attempts of imperialism to embroil the young workers in more wars for profits.

The International Youth Day demonstration by the Young Workers League of New York will take place in Webster Hall, Friday, Sept. 14. It promises to be the greatest and most enthusiastic demonstration ever held by any youth organization. Similar demonstrations have been planned for many other sections of the country. They ought to be supported by the whole of the militant labor movement.

not be arrested but that the writer most likely would be and that the local authorities and State Cossacks would then proceed to break up the meetings.

The whole case was then put concretely up to the governor when I asked him to take the following three steps: (1) Send a letter to the Mayors of Pittsburgh and McKeesport instructing them not to prohibit the meetings; (2) Send orders to the State Constabulary in the particular localities not to interfere with the meetings; and (3) In case of arrest or disruption of these meetings to send a special investigator like Mr. T. Henry Walnut to make a thorough survey of the situation and report to him in detail so that prompt and vigorous action might then be taken by the Chief Executive of the State to punish the violators of the Constitutional liberties guaranteed by the State of Pennsylvania.

Would-Be Slayers Still Free

The would-be slayers of William Z. Foster, who fired three shots at him while addressing a mass meeting in Chicago, are still free. It is not expected that the police will exert themselves to find the gunmen. But if a Communist sneezed during a strike, the whole Burns' secret service force, from New York to Los Angeles, would be on the job trying to unravel the plot. The capitalist system is very discriminating as to whom it protects.

Don't Throw This Paper Away

Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Minor Speaks in Woodland Grove Before Many

Sunday's Outing at Zedler's Grove, arranged by the Labor Defense Council, was greatly enjoyed by those who were present. Bob Minor spoke on the case of Marty, the French Communist, and showed how the French workers, thru their united efforts, had raised the case to the highest political importance. Similarly, the American workers had exerted tremendous influence in the case of Tom Mooney. He urged that the same spirit be shown by the workers in defending the Michigan cases. The crowd enjoyed the pleasures of the grove, its beautiful woodland, the fine music, dancing, swimming and other sports. The crowd refused to disperse until it was entirely dark. Great credit is due to the Hotel Workers, the Bakers' Council and the Workers Party volunteers, who gave the finest co-operation and support.

Detroit Party Has Plans for Union Activity

DETROIT, Mich.—The recent general membership meeting of the Workers Party was one of the best in many months. The meeting was called for the purpose of discussing the Party's Industrial Policy, and to take action necessary to bring about its realization in the life of the Party.

After the reports by Cyril Lambkin and Edgar L. Owens an animated discussion took place in which many members participated. The following resolution was enthusiastically adopted by a unanimous vote:

"The members of the Workers Party in the City of Detroit, assembled in general membership meeting in the House of the Masses, Sunday, August 19, 1923, having heard the reports of the District Organizer and of representatives of the District Executive and City Central Committees, and the discussion thereon resolves as follows:

1) That our Party cannot become a revolutionary mass party unless it is able to influence and lead the workers organized in the first place in their economic organizations or trade unions.

2) That the very major slogans of the Party, "Amalgamation" and "The Labor Party" are ones which cannot be realized except thru convincing the trade unionists of the urgent necessity for them;

ESTABLISH, a) That the membership as a whole in this city has until now practically failed to carry out the Party industrial policy;

b) That the results achieved thru the efforts of the very few comrades who have been active in the trade union movement unmistakably show that in the City of Detroit the organized labor movement could not only be influenced but practically led by our Party if the industrial policy would be effectively carried out.

Therefore this membership meeting calls upon all the members of the Party to begin at once joining the unions;

Recommends, that the City Central Committee and the Branch Executive Committees carry on an uninterrupted intensive campaign for joining the unions among the Party membership;

And further recommends, that the City Central Committee select an Industrial Commission consisting of members who are trade unionists. This Commission to have power to enforce the carrying out of the Party industrial policy, and to recommend disciplinary measures wherever necessary."



With the
Young
Workers

Russia's Communist Youth Society
MOSCOW.—I visited several clubs of the Comsomol (League of Communist Youth) in Moscow, and was astonished at the number of them and the variety of their program.

In one district alone of Moscow, there was a fine central club building, and thirty more clubs assembly places in various factories. This is only one of seven districts of Moscow. The program of this building goes from 6 to 12 every evening, covering such things as string orchestra, designing, dramatics, word work, club newspaper, and chorus. There is also a school in reading and writing, reminding one that the fight against illiteracy is still on in Russia.

They seem to have all the activities of an up-to-date Y. M. C. A. building, with one exception. Instead of holding up religion as an ideal, they hold up anti-religion! They did it just as seriously and with as much devotion to high principle as young Christians have for their faith.

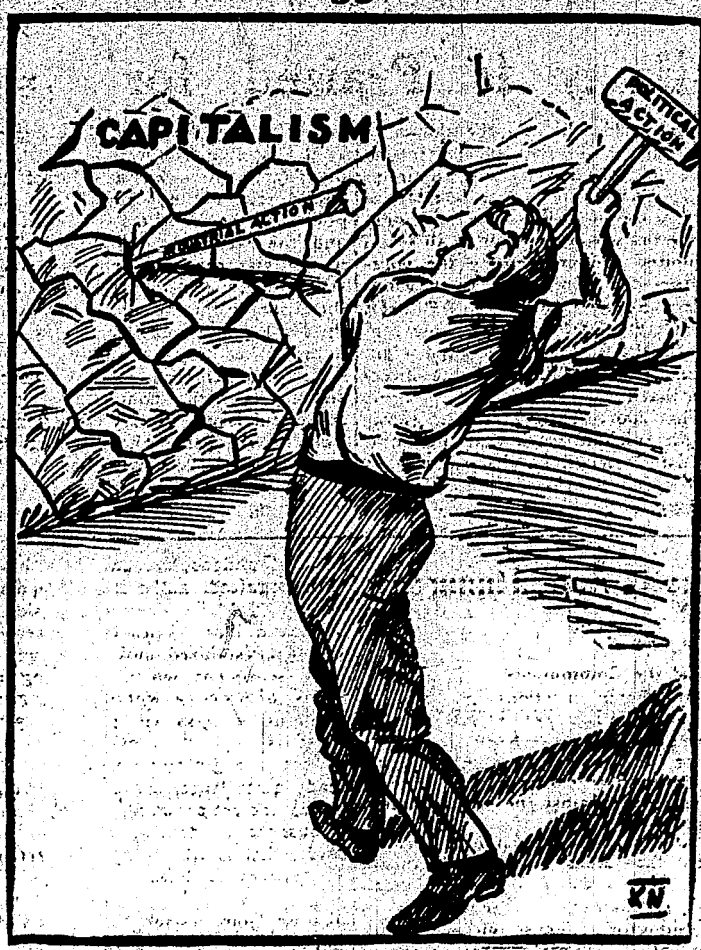
When you came to talk to them, it was evident that what they meant by anti-religion was a devotion to natural science and a profound belief that man, without waiting for miracles, must set out to conquer the world. There was a whole course of lectures, a very popular course, devoted to man's conquest of the world.

It began with the use of tools; it proceeded thru the harnessing of wind and water power; it took up steam and electricity, and wireless; it devoted the whole evening to Edison, the newsboy who rose to conquer unknown worlds of science.

Man's Mastery of Nature—there was a real thrill about it, the kind of thrill that religious devotion has hitherto inspired in adolescent youth. But it was all thought to be anti-religion. This gives an idea of what "religion" has meant in Russian hitherto—superstition, submission, fatalism. Against this so-called religion, these young people go forth with real crusading zeal, preaching that they are born to be rulers of nature and of their own destiny.

So different is the situation in Russia from anything we know in the west, that they do not even explain why they should be against religion. They take it for granted that to fight "religion" is a high and holy thing.

Labor's Struggle for Power



"Crucibles of Crime" Exposes Foul Prisons That Capitalism Provides for Its Victims

Reviewed by NANCY MARKOFF

CRUCIBLES OF CRIME, by Joseph F. Fishman. Published by Cosmopolitan Press, New York.

Of all the diseases of capitalist civilization, the putrid, reeking ulcer in the shape of jails and prisons forces itself upon us. Nice people shrink back in horror. Reformers vow to force thru measures of correction. Nothing is done.

Eight or nine years ago, William C. Osborne made a lot of noise in the capitalist newspapers about the need of reform prisons, taking Sing Sing, of Ossining, New York, as his seat of approach. Then he was forgotten.

In 1919, Col. C. B. Adams, Superintendent of St. Charles, Ill., prison, made a speech before the 46th National Conference of Social Workers and held out very encouraging promises to the effect that in the near future thousands of acres of land will be converted into farms to be used for prisons. He said in part:

"We do progress and prison reformatories are doing real things today which would not have been possible fifteen or twenty years ago. We do progress. The prison of tomorrow will be an improvement upon the old type prison—a prison with cottages inside the walls, and outside the walls farm cottages and colonies."

But Joseph F. Fishman in his book, "Crucibles of Crime," tells how far we have progressed with prison reforms in 1923.

Mr. Fishman was for many years the only inspector for prisons for the United States Government. He made these investigations in the capacity of inspector, and consequently had access to every prison and jail in the country. He gives particular attention to the jails of which there are 3,000 in the United States. A jail differs from a prison in this way. In a jail you have those who are under suspicion of having committed an offense. Only on an average of two-thirds of those who are held are actually found guilty and sentenced. A good many county jails also care for the insane before they are permanently declared subjects for the asylums. Imagine, of you can, people in all walks of life, dumped together into pitch dark cells reeking with the odor of night buckets and strong disinfectants, damp walls covered with vermin, as many as six prisoners huddled together in a hole not big enough for two, fed on putrid food, and for all their needs at the mercy of some nonentity of a keeper who has thru political pull or graft been entrusted with the power to lord over them while they are here; and you have a picture of 95 per cent of the jails of this country. In reading his hair-raising description of prisons and jails one is aware of an uncanny resemblance in them to the jails of the 16th and 17th centuries that existed in England, for which that country was notorious at that time, and which have long been abolished there.

Altho he describes each one of the jails and prisons he has visited in detail, they can all, with only slight differences in local customs, be covered by quoting the following description: "Cells are dark, unsanitary and unfit for anyone to live in. Therefore the rule to permit all prisoners to mingle freely in the open spaces between cells. Not long ago, I visited a jail in one of the wealthiest counties of the State, where eighteen prisoners were occupying three cells, and near these, in the corner of the cell, was an insane prisoner who had been confined for five days. Of the eighteen prisoners, six were boys lying on the floor. They were in the same cell with a sick man, and but for a few days before a man had died with pneumonia, presumably contracted in the jail. Under such conditions these prisoners had lived for weeks with an air space of 67 cubic feet that should have been 500."

Of course there are jails in which a large traffic in the sale of narcotics is conducted by the prisoners and in which the keepers are accomplices. And there are jails in which the keeper is entrusted with money each day for the purchase of food for prisoners.

Russian Trade Unions

If arguments directed against Communism carried at least a semblance of decency and honest endeavor to understand the Communist philosophy, we could give them the benefit of the doubt and enter into discussion to clear some of the wrong interpretations. But the attacks, an example of which can be found in a recent editorial in the Union Labor Advocate, Westfield, N. J., are cheap lies, and insanely stupid. This editorial in particular sounds so much like the arguments that the capitalists have directed against the trade union movement in America that one is tempted to believe that it was copied in bulk from some capitalist magazine's speech, with the word "Communism" substituted for "trade unionism." However, here is the main thought it carries: "Be fair to your employer and he will be fair to you," says this Union Labor Advocate. The article is full of such piffle, and we know workingmen and women will be thoroughly disgusted with it.

Alongside this editorial we would like every worker to place a little pamphlet by the Friends of Soviet Russia, "Russian Trade Unions." It is very briefly written and does not take more than a half hour to read thru. A great deal of willful misinformation that has been directed against Russia and Communism falls mightily flat before the facts given in this pamphlet. After giving a brief history of the functions of the Trade Unions in Russia at the beginning of the Russian revolution it continues with an analysis of the working basis of the trade union movement in Russia today.

It shows the difference between the labor union's position in a country where the workers are the government and in countries where capital uses the government to crush the workers.

THE LABOR HERALD

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

Socialists in New Stand for Divided Front

At a General Council meeting held Wednesday, Aug. 22, the Socialist Party, disguised as the American Labor Party, again demonstrated its opposition to a united front of the workers when it refused to accept the invitation extended by the Provisional Committee for the Organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in New York City to send a committee to the Sept. 16th Conference to agree upon joint candidates for the coming election.

The invitation had been sent by the Committee with the purpose of preventing a division of the forces of labor in the coming election. The Committee believed that, even tho it might still be impossible for the Socialist Party to participate in the organization of a local of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, yet they would agree to common action at the polls, to a common slate of candidates. The meeting, however, definitely showed that the Socialist Party chooses to split the forces of labor rather than to join with the rank and file unionists in organizing a united front for the November elections.

The question of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was quite unexpectedly brought up by Delegate Ossip Wolinsky, of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union. Speaking on the report of the Executive Committee, he stated that, while the Committee pursues the policy of watchful waiting, the reactionaries of the right and of the left are taking definite action. A call for a city conference, he declared, had already been issued in the city for Sept. 16. He maintained that the General Council was not in direct touch with the local organizations, and he therefore suggested as a means of counteracting this conference, that a conference be called of all organizations affiliated with the American Labor Party, excluding those that had not been recognized at the previous convention.

In the lengthy discussion that developed on this point, it was quite evident that the call, which had reached practically every labor organization in this city, was causing them much anxiety.

After the decision to call the conference, suggested by Wolinsky, they took up the communication sent by the Provisional Committee inviting them to form a united front for the elections. They read the call of this Committee, and stated that credentials had been handed them by two delegates from the Committee. These delegates were not given the floor. In fact, no discussion on the question of the credentials was permitted. It was simply brushed aside, and instead they brought in the reply from the Executive Committee to the invitation.

There were now two motions on the floor: one to accept the reply submitted by the Executive Committee, and an amendment that they return the invitation with a short statement that the F. F. L. P. is a mask of the (Communist) Party and a fraud on the American Labor Movement. The better politicians argued that an explanatory answer be given because, as Delegate Abraham Shiplacoff stated, we may know who they are, but there are still a few hundred workers who believe them. Delegate Meyer Gillis, of the Forward, added that there are more than a few hundred, and that, whether we want to or not, we will be drawn into a discussion with them. Delegate Jerome T. DeHunt further declared that he had inquiries from a number of Longshoremen's Unions whether the call for the Sept. 16th Conference had not been sent out by the Farmer-Labor Party. It was therefore necessary, they insisted, to give an answer that would expose the Communists.

When the motion and the amendment came up for a vote, the chairman even refused to give those delegates who were opposed to both propositions the opportunity of voting against them. Finally, however, he was forced to do this, and five voted against both the motion and the amendment.

Generally speaking, the attendance at the meeting was small, only 50 to 60 delegates being present. Almost all of them were either known leaders of the Socialist Party or union officials. There were very few rank and file delegates in sight.

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

MONSTER PICNIC
SUNDAY, SEPT. 2nd
From 10 A. M. Until Midnight
At FLORAL PARK, Hudson Boulevard and Jane St.
West Hoboken, N. J.
A great picnic will be held, which promises to be the most attractive and delightful one. Held under the auspices of New York Joint Branches of the I. W. W. The entire proceeds will be devoted to the struggle for freedom of the POLITICAL PRISONERS.

THE WORKER

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

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Greetings to the Militants

The Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, Sept. 1-2, at Chicago, will be as historic as the first. It is not expected that Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty will send his raiders into the gathering, as he did one year ago. But the T. U. E. L. has many enemies in addition to the politicians and the bosses. The delegates at Chicago will be confronted by the task of carrying on the work of their organization within the unions in the face of the expulsion threats of labor's reactionary officialdom.

It was in Chicago that the Socialist bureaucracy of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union began its outlawing campaign against members of the Trade Union Educational League. President Lewis, in the miners' union, has threatened expulsion, but he has not carried it out. Yet the terror he has invoked has large numbers of miners intimidated. They know well the czarist fist of President Lewis that smashed the miners' union in Kansas and Nova Scotia. On the railroads the campaign for amalgamation has proceeded without, as yet, calling forth a rule of force by those in power.

The attack that is being directed against the T. U. E. L., however, is the surest testimony to its strength and influence. The T. U. E. L. cannot be ignored. It cannot be ridiculed. Its demands for the organization of the unorganized, for amalgamation, for the Labor Party must be answered. And since they have no arguments with which to answer these demands, the backward officials must needs resort to force, the weapon of all tyrants.

It is probably superfluous to point out to the militants in the labor movement that their greatest safeguard is to be found in their own strength. The power that arises out of well disciplined numbers will be a protection to the carrying on of Trade Union Educational League work. The task of the Chicago Conference, therefore, should be to develop ways and means to crystallize an organization from the growing sentiment everywhere for the League's program. Sentiment, no matter how preponderant it may be, is only effective as it is organized. The First Conference laid the foundation of "The League's" activities. Let the Second Conference rear the superstructure of the Trade Union Educational League, building it so well that the winds of reaction will not be able to sway it by a hair's breadth. The united front against the militants must be met with the united front of the whole rank and file against both the bosses and their official allies within the labor movement.

Pinchot—Another Strikebreaker?

This is being written during the chaotic days preceding the date for the ending of the present wage agreement in the Pennsylvania anthracite fields. The mine owners' press is losing no opportunity to attack the workers' forces. It has worn out its arguments against union recognition, the checkoff, higher wages and the shorter workday. So it begins to brouse in new fields. Thus the New York Times grows hysterical over the slightest power possessed by the workers. It has discovered new threats to profits in the certificate required of every miner. It fears that the miners' union may withdraw the maintenance men, resulting in the flooding of the mines.

The issuing of certificates by the Miners' Examining Board has resulted in only experienced men going to work in the hazardous hard coal mining industry. The law demanding

certificates has been in force for 26 years. It has no doubt resulted in the saving of thousands of lives, since an inexperienced coal miner is a constant danger, not only to himself, but to all his fellow workers.

But what does the New York Times, speaking for the mine owners, care about workers' lives lost or saved? It is worried about something more fundamental to the coal proprietors. The Miners' Examining Board is made up, in each inspection district of nine miners, each of whom must have had five years' practical experience in mining in the district. This, according to The Times, "puts the anthracite mining industry completely in the hands of the union."

In other words, if the profiteering mine owners live up to the laws of their own state legislature, it will be impossible for them to import strikebreakers to scab during the strike. Thru control of the examining boards the miners' union holds a strategic position, that has helped win many a strike in other fields. The Times and the mine owners are trying to have these examining boards set aside during the proposed strike, claiming they should not function during this "emergency." They are demanding that such action be taken by Governor Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, declaring that otherwise he has failed as the political executive of the coal and steel dictatorship that rules over the entire state. It is this same Pinchot that has been able to continually postpone the release of Jacob Dolta and other class war prisoners, and who has allowed the white terror to run riot against the workers in numerous sections of the state. But the setting aside of the Miners' Examining Boards would hit home with 200,000 Pennsylvania coal miners. Pinchot will, therefore, not be able to get away with this problem so easily. Pinchot is up against the biggest decision of his career as a "progressive." Will he turn out another "strikebreaker"?

Berger—Friend of Stinnes

Victor L. Berger, the lone Socialist congressman, and the anti-Communist editor of the Milwaukee Leader, has returned home from Europe. He wants American dollar diplomacy to advance a loan of \$1,000,000,000 to the Stresemann-Stinnes regime in Germany, and proclaims that the "notable accomplishment" of the Hamburg Socialist Congress was the refusal of a united front with the Communists.

Under a pro-German mask, Berger posed as a revolutionary Socialist during the war. His real standing as a Socialist became very apparent after the Bolshevik triumph in Russia, in November, 1917. From the beginning, he attacked the efforts of the Communists to maintain the Russian Soviet Republic. It is his position, identical with that of the Communist-baiting Abraham Cahan, of the Jewish Daily Forward, that has won out in the Socialist Party, and now dominates this organization.

We do not remember that Berger has ever urged a loan, or even credits, of a billion dollars, or any other sum, to help reconstruct industry and agriculture in Soviet Russia. But his nationalistic brand of "international" Socialism displays its hideous nature when he urges a billion dollars for the German capitalist republic, money that he must know will drift into the hands of Stinnes, Krupp, Thyssen, and the other great capitalists of Germany.

No doubt Berger feels that this move is good "campaign" stuff for the anti-labor German voters in Wisconsin. He is probably looking ahead to next year's elections. But the really class-conscious workers in Wisconsin ought to have something to say about this. When the Brookharts, the Ladds, the Wheelers, and other United States senators in the old parties, can come back from Europe urging recognition of Soviet Russia, it is time that America's workers asked why a Socialist congressman goes to Europe, doesn't even go near Russia, and returns home urging aid instead to his "favorite nation" under the rule of the bosses.

Berger has merely shown himself another example of a Socialist who has turned against the revolution and become even more reactionary than capitalist politicians. Berger was a school teacher before he became Socialist editor. He has now taught the workers another lesson. They must profit from it to the full.



The New Day Is Dawning!

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

At 3 A. M. in the Morning

While slumbering church dignitaries last Sunday morning were getting strength to exhort the masses to righteousness in their Sunday sermons, seven gunmen raided the Allendale Inn, a fashionable roadhouse near Detroit, Mich. We have been unable to find that any of those robbed were workers from the Detroit auto factories, or miners from the coal, iron and copper pits of the state. Two men in the Sunday morning revelry got their names into print, thru the fact that they were shot by the gunmen, and we find they were George D. Wilson, vice president of the C. R. Wilson Body Co., of Pontiac, and Joseph L. Webber, of Bloomfield Hills, vice president of the Kermath Whitcomb Machine Co., names duly inscribed in the social register of their respective circles. Yet these are the respectables whom the preachers urge as the chosen of the earth, whom the masses must look upon and revere. The churches have joined the Wilsons and the Webbers in every war on the efforts of the iron and copper miners to organize their forces in Michigan. When the next strike wave, however, sweeps the Michigan copper and iron country, the workers may have something to say about the morality of the shorter workday and better pay for labor, compared to the riotous orgies of the bosses in roadhouses at 3 a. m. of a Sunday morning.

Capitalism and Its Money

When Mussolini came into power with his Fascist dictatorship, he proclaimed that the value of the lire would rise. The Stresemann government, with its Socialist finance minister, was created to save the falling mark. But the Fascist lire, in Italy, and the Socialist mark, in Germany, continue to tumble to still lower depths. There is no power on earth that can save capitalism and its money, not even the Fascist or the Socialists. The day of Communism is dawning!

Steel Cells for Workers

The Van Dorn Iron Works of Cleveland, Ohio, has been awarded a contract for the fabrication of 700 steel cells for the new county jail in Los Angeles. This building is expected to be the largest of its kind in the United States, and will be filled with workers, victims of the present capitalist social system.

Petrograd's Exports Grow

The Russian Soviet government announces that exports at Petrograd now outstrip imports. Which means that the capitalist world will soon be owing the Workers' Regime big, shining American dollars, and capitalism will waver a little more on its shaky legs.

Signs That Don't Fail

An indication that the gasoline war in the middle west is coming to an end is seen in the fact that an "investigation" has been ordered. The report of the investigators will be duly filed and the Standard Oil will be happier than ever.

Master of the Machine



This is the emblem of the Red International of Labor Unions, that is striving for the time when the worker will be the master of the machine he has made and not, as today, its slave.

"Advance Guard for Working Class Defense" Planned by Anti-Fascist Alliance of N. A.

The organization of an "Advance Guard for Working Class Defense" to protect union meetings and other labor activities against Fascist assault is being planned by the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, with headquarters at 231 East 11th Street, New York.

According to the plan, details of which have not yet been worked out, affiliated unions will be asked to contribute a contingent toward this defense guard, which will be subject to call whenever the defense of labor gatherings is involved.

This move is prompted by the published reports in Fascist organs that the destruction of existing unions and their substitution by "blackshirt" unions is the object of the imported reaction. Instances where Fascist interference with labor meetings have already been reported in several parts of the country, their comparative rarity in the larger centers like New York being due to the opposition of labor. Every member of the Advance Guard will hold a card of identification.

Help "Organize the Unorganized."

Signs of the Coming Storm

The prosperity balloon is already beginning to spring a leak. Unemployment is noticeably on the increase, and wages are going down. The U. S. Department of Labor and the Federal Reserve Board agree on this, and the figures of the New York Department of Labor tell the same story. The decline started in May and has continued steadily ever since. Wages of factory workers in New York State during the month of June, in this year of prosperity, stood at the munificent average of \$27.87, a marked drop below the month of May, while July shows a drop of 33 cents from this figure.

Industry all over the country is beginning to slow down, and already the workers feel the pinch. The Federal Reserve Board reports, "a slump in industrial activity, with a parallel decrease in employment, are the outstanding features of the country's business condition in July." Employment at industrial establishments decreased 2 per cent, resulting in a decrease of 3 per cent in average wages of industrial workers.

The important thing to remember is that the depression has been going on for three months, and that the cold and formal statistics are already beginning to be translated into terms of human misery. Less food on the worker's table, a still meaner shack to live in, fewer of the pitiful little "extras" that help make life more bearable for the worker, his wife and kids. Before they have had a chance to forget the terrible plague of unemployment that took such heavy toll in 1920 and 1921, it is upon them again.

It looks like a black winter ahead of us, but there are some who will not feel it, having thriftily provided themselves against a spell of hard times. In the Wall Street Journal for August 1923, we read the cheerful statement that "in cash, inventories and working capital, industry was never in a stronger position than it is today."

Let the workers take heart from this announcement. If they have nothing to show for all the wealth they made, they may at least find some consolation in the knowledge that those for whom they made it will have it. There may be hunger in their own homes, but all is well in Wall Street.

Join the Workers Party! Subscribe for "THE WORKER"

Lessons of the Bulgarian Upheaval Drawn to Attention of Sections of Communist International

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV Chairman, Communist International

1. The Necessity for Criticism

We hesitated for some time: Is it not too premature to subject the tactics of the central committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria to public criticism? At the moment this party is exposed to the direct fire of the victorious White Fascist bands. The bourgeois papers constantly demand that our Bulgarian party be placed outside of the law. In consultation with the Executive of the Comintern, we came, however, to the conclusion that we dare not be silent, that silence on the erroneous tactics being pursued by the party will not save it from ruin, but rather enhance the dangers of this ruin; that it is necessary to track down the errors committed, and to learn the right tactics while events in Bulgaria are yet fresh.

The Communist International is a united Communist world-party. The Bulgarian example, without doubt, possesses international significance. Each one of the 60 parties affiliated to the Comintern has its own interests at heart when it seeks to ascertain whether the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has acted rightly or wrongly in the course of events which may be repeated, in a more or less similar form, in other lands.

In the meanwhile, the leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria are propagating their "neutrality" theory in the international Communist press with a zeal worthy of a better cause. This involves two dangers. In the first place, incorrect views are spread abroad and utilized by our opponents in the Second International. In the second place, the defence of an erroneous attitude deprives our Bulgarian comrades themselves of the possibility of rectifying these mistakes, and bars their way to really revolutionary tactics.

We dare not be silent! The question is of too great importance. It is because of our brotherly relations

to the Bulgarian workers, and to the Bulgarian Communist Party, to which we are bound by ties of special friendship, that we feel bound to express our candid opinion. Let our enemies smile maliciously. The Communist Parties have often had to subject themselves to self-criticism, and to order their ranks under the fire of the enemy. It suffices to recollect the example given by the Communist Party of Germany after the March action in 1921. Despite everything, the future none the less belongs to the Bulgarian Communists, not to the reigning Bulgarian Fascists, and not to the "social democratic" Fascist from the party of the "broad" Mencheviki. (When the Bulgarian labor party split, the right wing designated itself the "broad" social democrats, the left wing the "narrow" Ed.)

2. The Role Played by the Independent Peasants' Parties

The latest events in Bulgaria throw a strong light on some of the most important present day social problems, above all on the question of the role played by the peasants' parties. One of the most interesting facts in the most recent history of politics is the attempt to form peasants' parties which presume to play an independent political role—apparently directed against the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat. We have witnessed such attempts during recent years in the Balkans, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, in Poland, etc. It is an exceedingly complicated phenomenon. It may chiefly be explained by the fact that during the war, and during the further decay of the bourgeois "order," the city has been constantly pushed into the background by the village—in the sense that the importance of the village, its economic and social significance, has continually increased. This is the basis. On the one hand, the peasants won a certain amount of political experience during the imperialist war of 1914 to 1918, which shook the village to its profoundest depths, and caused much suffering among the broad masses of the peasantry. The

young men from the countryside who had been called up in millions to fight in the imperialist armies, afterwards returned to their villages (if they returned at all) bringing with them a certain political energy. On the other hand, the power of the big bourgeoisie is obviously on the decline, and thus the bourgeoisie with its social democratic helpers is forced to devote more attention to the peasantry, to draw them into political life.

The peasants' parties are not succeeding in playing an independent role in politics, and are not likely to succeed. In this respect Bulgaria's example is extraordinarily instructive. A via media policy is condemned to breakdown more than any other policy during our imperialist epoch. The peasantry has but two alternatives: either to side with the bourgeoisie, rendering the "Bulgarian" solution of the question inevitable sooner or later—or to side with the proletariat, which is the sole effective means of defending the real and fundamental interests of the peasantry. Even those peasant parties existing today, and keeping up the appearance of independence, are in reality nothing more than political cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie. It is not by accident that we find so many parsons, lawyers, and rich landowners, among the leaders of the so-called peasants' parties.

We cannot deny a certain depth and broadness in Stambulinsky's attempts. The biography of Stambulinsky is not that of an ordinary man. There was a time in which he had the courage to tell the truth in the face of the mighty ones of the earth. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life, and so forth. Especially during the first period of his government, his policy was characterized by a certain broadness of outline. It seemed as if, were it possible for a peasants' party to really play an independent role, that Bulgaria was just the country for the purpose. This is actually the fact. In Bulgaria 85 to 90 per cent of the population consists of peasants. The city bourgeoisie is comparatively very weak. The two

ways by which Bulgaria was visited were especially disastrous to the peasantry. Stambulinsky's past rendered him for a time an extremely popular peasants' leader.

And yet this miserable collapse! Stambulinsky's attempt was in reality the first important attempt, if a demagogic one, yet at least at its commencement, an attempt to direct the policy of a peasants' party against the bourgeoisie. When Stambulinsky held a plebiscite on the punishment of the former ministers guilty of the imperialist war, when he deprived the bourgeois officers of their offices and brought in a peasant militia from the villages, when he armed the peasants, etc.—these were efforts calculated to create popularity for Stambulinsky. But all too soon the "peasants' policy" of Stambulinsky began to change into a policy in favor of the large farmers. In recent times, Stambulinsky did not direct his policy so much against the bourgeoisie as against the working class, and against its leader, the Communist Party. The attempts at keeping to the "middle" line, were speedily shipwrecked. Stambulinsky, in separating himself from the masses, not only forfeited the confidence of the whole working class, but also that of a large section of the peasantry, and himself paved the way for the unhappy fate which overtook him. A "peasants' government" which directs its efforts against both the proletariat and bourgeoisie has proved itself to be an empty and lamentable Utopia, even in an agrarian country like Bulgaria. Nothing but a workers' and peasants' government can help the Bulgarian peasantry to free itself from the clutches of the bourgeois robbers.

3. The Tactics of the Bulgarian Communist Party

The Bulgarian upheaval is a serious historical test of the Bulgarian Communist Party. This crisis, like every other crisis, must serve to show the actual conditions obtaining in the old and powerful Bulgarian Communist Party, which boasts a large membership and is apparently thor-

ly adequate to cope with present problems.

Unfortunately, the Bulgarian Communist Party has not stood the test. On the contrary, it has justified the most pessimistic predictions.

We waited on the tip-toe of expectation for the first news as to the attitude adopted by our Bulgarian Party at the beginning of the civil war. But even the earliest reports aroused the fear that the attitude taken would be too passive. The news, following, exceeded even our worst fears.

"The new government, whose existence is due to a military putsch, replaces the fallen military and police dictatorship of the peasant bourgeoisie by the new dictatorship of the city bourgeoisie, the old bourgeois party."

"The mask of bourgeois legality has been torn aside, and the sole party representing in actual deeds the rights and liberties guaranteed (!) by the constitution (!!) is the Communist Party."

"The toiling masses in town and country will not participate in the armed struggles between city and rural bourgeoisie, for such a participation in the struggle would signify that the toilers fetch the chestnuts out of the fire for their exploiters and oppressors."

"In the name of the working people we demand the maintenance and expansion of political liberty. We demand full liberty of speech and press, full rights of coalition and holding meetings. We demand measures against speculation and high prices!"

Thus declared the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in its first appeal issued on June 9, 1923.

"The armed struggle between the adherents of the fallen government and those of the new government is not yet finished. The Communist Party, and the hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants united beneath its standard, take no part in this armed struggle. We do not know how this struggle will develop, but it is one into which the broad masses of the people have not yet been drawn up to the present moment. It is the struggle for power between the city and country bourgeoisies, that is, between two wings of the capitalist class..."

"The Communist Party, in clearly pointing out the actual aims being fought for by the city and rural bourgeoisies, and in showing that these aims have nothing in common with the aims of the toiling masses in town and village, calls upon the workers and toilers in town and country to unite, and to fight independently for the preservation of their interests, and for the realization of the slogans issued by the Communist Party."

Thus declared the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in its appeal of the 11th June. The Central Committee took its stand on this "neutrality" position, and has not budged from it to this day. Two bourgeois fractions are fighting with one another. That has nothing to do with "us." We demand... the abolition of military law. And this one day after the White upheaval! we are... so innocent that we demand from the Fascist government that it confirms its declarations (on freedom and other beautiful things) "by deeds."

The communist workers in the provinces have not all been able to find their way to this "high" pinnacle of statesmanship. They see that naked Fascist reaction is beginning to triumph; they are taking up arms against it, and are trying to resist the Fascists, who are gaining the upper

hand, by joining their forces with those of groups of peasantry. In Plevna and other places, action is beginning among the armed communist workers, supported by the peasantry. But the Central Committee takes immediate steps. We repeat the wording of the remarkable telegram sent by Comrade Lukanov, secretary of the Central Committee, to Plevna:

"Plevna. To Wassily Tabatschkin (Secretary of the Plevna Party organization). I hear that there are rumors among you in Plevna, to the effect that I have been arrested, and that extraordinary measures are being employed against us here in Sofia. This is a lie. Do not let yourselves be confused by rumors and provocations. You will receive our appeal. Support to the utmost the attitude taken in it! Take no part either for or against one or the other party. Regards to Tatscha Olga Asen, and other comrades." (The object of these last words was to prove to Comrade Tabatschkin that the telegram was really from Lukanov.)

We have learnt from various telegrams that this Plevna incident was not an isolated one.

As is invariably the case in such occurrences, the errors committed by the Party centrals are ascribed to the workers. The Bulgarian workers are accused of indifference, of lack of fighting spirit, of disinclination for combat, etc. It is thus that the members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party write:

These are all mere sophistries. We know quite well that the Central Committee issued the incredibly wrong slogan of "neutrality" a few hours after the white revolution, that is, that it began to induce the workers to take no part in the struggle between two cliques both alleged to be equally hostile to us. How are the workers to prove their fighting spirit, when their own party, in the person of the Central Committee from the very beginning, requires non-participation in the conflict? (To be Concluded Next Week.)