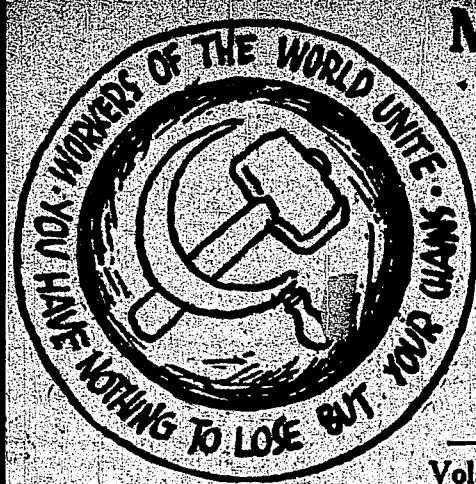




THE WORKER

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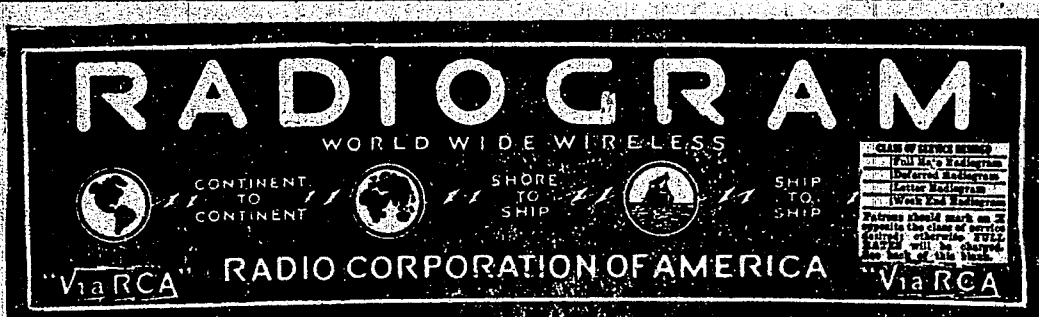
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1923

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Attack on Foster Stirs Labor Shot Fired at T.U.E.L. Secretary in Chicago Hits Reactionaries

French Communist Party Greet Efforts of Workers in the United States to Establish a Communist Daily



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RUTHENBERG WORKERS PARTY, 799 BROADWAY NEW YORK

PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANCAIS ADRESSE VOEUX CHALEUREUX SUCCES OCCASION

LANCERMENT QUOTIDIEN ORGANE INDISPENSABLE DANS BATAILLE CLASSE OUVRIERE

IERE AMERICAINE CONTRE EXPLOITATION CAPITALISTE STOP VOUS PRIONS

SALUER PROLETARIAT AMERICAIN AU NOM PROLETAIRES REVOLUTIONNAIRES

FRANCAIS

SELLIER TREIST

TELEPHONE: BROAD 5100

To secure prompt action on inquiries, this original RADIOGRAM should be presented at the office of the Radio Corporation. In telephone inquiries quote the number preceding the place of origin.

PARIS, France, August 25, 1923.

The translation of the above message is as follows:

Ruthenberg, Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City.

The French Communist Party heartily congratulates, and wishes the best of success on the occasion of the issuance of the Communist Daily, indispensable in the American class struggle against capitalist exploitation. The revolutionary French proletariat greets the American working class.

Signed: Sellier Treist, Secretary.

Minnesota City and Land Labor Fights Political Adventurers in Struggle to Build Party

By H. M. WICKS

(Special to "The Worker")

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Efforts of the trade unions, farmers' organizations, and co-operatives to definitely organize their political power in the state of Minnesota for the purpose of conserving their victories at the polls and winning new conquests in the future, has aroused the opposition of the political adventurers who hoped to use this mass movement in their own interests.

The situation in Minnesota today is unique in the history of American politics. There is a strong Farmer-Labor Party movement, but there is no Farmer-Labor Party. The elections that placed Dr. Hendrick Shipstead and Magnus Johnson in the United States Senate were elemental revolts of the exploited farmers and the organized workers of this state.

The name Farmer-Labor Party was used in these campaigns because it is, in itself, an excellent slogan symbolizing the identity of interests between the wage workers, working farmers and farm laborers. In order that the name "Farmer-Labor Party" could have legal standing it was necessary to comply with the state laws regarding political parties, so the successful candidate for the nomination for governor of the state on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket appointed a state chairman. Other candidates successful in the primary elections selected the state committee. But this state chairman and the state committee constitutes the entire Farmer-Labor Party at present.

The state chairman is a lawyer, one F. A. Pike, who has political ambitions and who is opposed to the organization of a definite political party under control of the rank and file of the workers and farmers of this state.

Pike and his cohorts are in a strategic position, inasmuch as they now enjoy complete control of the political machinery that represents

(Continued on Page Two)

Italians and Greeks of New York City Protest Against War Threat

Italian and Greek workers of New York City will gather Friday Night, Sept. 7, at the Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St., to show that they are opposed to the war that threatens to blaze up between Italy and Greece.

Antonio Presi, editor of Alba Nuova, Italian publication of the Workers Party, who will be one of the speakers, declares that "The sentiment among the Italian workers against Mussolini's high-handed action is overwhelming. There are 150,000 anti-Fascists in New York City, and over 450,000 in other parts of the country."

"We regard Mussolini as an imperialist of the worst type, and we think he will lead our country into war. The economic condition of Italy is bad enough. To start a war would be fatal."

Among the other speakers at Friday night's meeting will be Arturo Giovanitti, General Organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Frank Bellanca, editor of the Italian organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of the Workers' Defense Union.

Elect Communists in New Zealand

WELLINGTON, New Zealand.—George S. Thompson, elected as a Communist alderman of the Dunedin City council, is the first Communist to hold public office in New Zealand. During the war he was jailed for opposing the draft.

New Efforts Made to End Coal Strike

As this issue of "The Worker" went to press, the representatives of the mine workers and the mine owners were again planning to get into conference with Governor Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg. Predictions were being made by the miners' officials, especially by Rinaldo Cappellini, of District 1, that the strike would be of short duration. No basis, however, was given for this belief. On page three, of this issue, we publish the declaration of the International Progressive Miners' Committee on the present situation. In the accompanying article, we show why the coal miners have refused arbitration.

By LELAND OLDS

Why have the miners' union representatives refused arbitration of their demands for the anthracite mine owners?

Every miner knows that he was double-crossed by the public representative who was chairman of the 1920 arbitration board. The subservience of this hanger-on of the capitalist system has cost anthracite workers at least \$30,000,000 in wages which were rightfully theirs.

Recent antics of the Railway Labor Board have confirmed this deep-seated determination not to accept arbitration. Only a year ago this board decreed that a living wage must wait until the railroads were satisfied with profits, and proceeded to lead the Wall Street attempt to substitute company unions for the independent shopcraft unions on the railroads.

Three years ago the anthracite coal commission began by ruling out exhibits that touched the anthracite monopoly in the sensitive spot of profits. Thus the miners' case was stripped of the most important proof of the ability of the industry to pay the increases without increasing the price of coal to the consumer.

The chairman centered proceedings on the question of changes in the cost of living and then repudiated the recommendation of his own economist that the cost of living justified a 27 per cent increase and handed the miners the scant 17 per cent which had been offered by the operators and by the secretary of labor prior to submission of the dispute to arbitration.

This last arbitration performance in the industry was a striking illustration of the subservience of so-called impartial chairmen to the financial overlords who can make or break the snug career of reasonable success and comfort dreamed of by the American middle class. This "impartial" chairman had agreed to accept the findings of an economist engaged to collect data on the cost of living. When the findings turned out to favor a 27 per cent increase the operators' commissioner objected and the economist was fired. Over a week-end the chairman reached the 17 per cent verdict.

It is first-hand knowledge that mysterious influences work on the minds of representatives of the public that underlies solid opposition of the miners to arbitration.

They Protect Would-be Assassins

By BEN GITLOW

Little did the men responsible for the shooting at William Z. Foster, in Chicago, dream what its outcome would be. They did not realize that the shot, that was intended to snuff out the life of one of the most loyal and devoted leaders of the working class, would react against them and their methods. There is absolutely no question that this savage and cowardly attempt to kill Foster was the direct outcome of the terroristic methods employed by the reactionaries against the militants in the unions.

The rank and file, quick to realize that the attempt on Foster's life was an attempt to kill the movement in the unions that he represents, lifted their voices in a mighty protest against this attempted murder. The rank and file, especially of the needle trades unions, realizing the danger to the whole left movement in the continuance of the methods of terrorism and assassination is raising its voice in a mighty protest demanding at the same time that the gangster and terroristic methods resorted to in the unions against militants must cease.

It is interesting to notice how the reactionary machine in the unions together with Abraham Cahan's yellow Socialist Daily Forward reacted to the shooting. The Forward prints an edition in Chicago. The day after the shooting the Chicago Forward in spite of the fact that the shooting was the sensation of every paper in Chicago did not print a single word on the affair. Evidently the Forward wanted to maintain a conspiracy of silence on the matter.

But the Forward could not keep quite. The rank and file of the needle trades unions were expressing their indignation in no uncertain tones. Did the Forward come out in condemnation of the act? Not at all. The Forward the next day did the direct opposite. Instead of helping the movement to stop such outrages against working class leaders, the Jewish Daily Forward, in trying to shoot the affair as a comedy of Foster's own making, rendered valuable assistance to the assassins.

Expose Lies of "Forward"

That the Forward story was a concoction of lies originating in the minds of one of its editors, was easily proven by the Jewish Communist Daily Freiheit.

The Freiheit printed the whole story as it appeared in the Forward together with the reports of the affair that appeared in other New York papers. The Forward story stated that Foster hired gangsters to attend the meeting to break it up and, so shot at him because it would give him publicity and would also give an opportunity to the Communist forces in the unions to put the blame on the leaders of the unions whom they were opposing.

Imagine such assinnity on the part of the Forward. At a meeting called by the Trade Union Educational League Foster would hire gangsters to shoot him. The Forward, however, did not inform its readers that the meeting was held in protest against the expulsion of members from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who were expelled because they were members of the Trade Union Educational League.

The Forward did not inform its readers as did some of the Chicago papers that those in opposition to the meeting had evidently sent in a gang of slugs to create a panic and break up the meeting.

Shielding the Guilty Parties

The Forward did not inform its readers after it had changed its story, stating that an investigation by the Chicago police discovered the holes made by the bullets that were used. If this proves anything it proves that the Forward is not concerned over the possible loss of Foster's life, but is much concerned in shielding the guilty parties.

How did the "International machine" react to the shooting? The "International machine" reacted similarly to the Jewish Daily Forward. Did President Morris Sigman send a

they failed the shooting followed.

Those who hired the gangsters to break up the meeting of the Trade Union Educational League are responsible for the shooting. A miracle of luck saved Foster's life. His death would have been one of the greatest losses to the American Labor Movement. Every one in the Labor Movement, whether he agrees with Foster or not, should have immediately condemned the shooting. Every one in the Labor movement, if he truly has an interest in the welfare of the Labor movement should make an effort to bring to light the guilty parties and so prevent a recurrence of the affair.

But the reactionaries together with the Forward are interested in shielding the guilty parties by spreading the most brazen lies about Foster.

The rank and file, however, are not fooled by the stories of the reactionaries. They have determined to use the Foster incident as a weapon against the gangsterism that is now being used by the reactionaries against the militants and revolutionists in the unions.

The rank and file will not stand silent and permit their leaders to be murdered. The rank and file will no longer allow themselves to be terrorized and slugged into submission. The shot that was fired at Foster missed its mark. It, however, did accomplish something. It aroused the rank and file. It put the Forward and the reactionaries on the defensive, and gave the rank and file an opportunity of once more asserting themselves without fear in their own organizations.

West Va. Organizes Against Coal Bosses

The citizens of West Virginia, determined to wipe out the rule of private coal interests which have in recent years made their state the scene of violent conflicts between capital and labor developing, at times, into a virtual civil war, have banded together into an organization called the "Defenders of West Virginia" for the purpose of "enforcing the Constitution of the United States and reviving the Bill of Rights of West Virginia," according to information received by the American Civil Liberties Union.

held. Sigman knows well enough the tactics that were being used by Vice-President Meyer Perlstein in expelling the Trade Union Educational League members from the "International."

Sigman knows because the entire campaign against the Trade Union Educational League in the "International" is being directed by President Sigman.

Rank and File Denied Rights

Not only have the militant members in Chicago been expelled, but in addition every opportunity for the expelled to express and defend themselves in the organization was denied them. When the Rank and File came to the meeting to express their condemnation against the tactics of the "International machine," a group of vicious characters, evidently sent there for that purpose tried repeatedly to break up the meeting. When

Dunne Greets "The Daily"

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE
Editor, Butte, Mont., Bulletin

Nothing will mark better the progress of the working class movement in the United States than the publication of a fighting daily paper, expressing the maximum position of labor.

There is to-day not one daily voicing the revolutionary determination of the courageous and intelligent section of the American working class.

Such a daily will inevitably rally to itself and the Communist Workers Party all the elements of the American working class who really wish to fight capitalism. Let it record the defeats and victories of the American workers and the reasons therefore with maximum precision and its future is assured.

Our Enemies Must Use Guns, Have No Arguments,—Foster

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—The words of William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, that restored order at the mass meeting here after gunmen had attempted to shoot up the gathering and assassinate the speaker were:

"Our enemies must use guns, they have no arguments left. This is a final demonstration of the complete inability of the enemies of the Trade Union Educational League to answer our arguments for the League program—amalgamation, shop committees, and a Labor Party."

It is significant that one policeman arrived at the hall fully an hour after the shooting. Otherwise police, detectives and secret service agents of Bill Burns' department of justice usually swarm radical labor meetings held in this hall. Up to this writing no serious effort has been made to apprehend the gunmen.

Foster has challenged Meyer Perlstein, vice president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, to debate the issues involved.

Great Demonstration Against Attempted Assassination of Wm. Z. Foster RUTGERS' SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY, SATURDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 8, AT 2 O'CLOCK SHARP

Down with gangsters and assassins! The rank and file will not allow such leaders as William Z. Foster to be shot down in cold blood. The Chicago shooting must not be repeated! Foster will be present in person at this Monster Protest Demonstration by the rank and file, and will tell what took place in Chicago. An answer will be given to the lies of The Forward and to Sigman of "The International." Besides Foster others will speak including C. E. Ruthenberg, M. J. Olgin, Ben. Gitlow, J. Louis Engdahl, S. Epstein, Alexander Bittleman, Robert Minor, Ludwig Lore and others.

MEETING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Foster Tells Second T.U.E.L. Conference that Left Wing Is Vital Necessity of Workers

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO, Ill.—William Z. Foster, Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, in reporting to the Second National Conference held here, with 153 union militants representing 81 international unions and every industrial center in the United States and Canada, declared that:

"The past year has produced many proofs, positive and negative, that the Trade Union Educational League is a vitally necessary and highly effective movement. The negative proofs come from the bankrupt trade union bureaucracy which is totally unable to meet the present critical situation of the labor movement. The positive proofs are furnished by the very successful work of the League."

Foster outlined the progress of the amalgamation movement. At least 2,000,000 trade unionists have decided for amalgamation, he said. The latest achievement was when the Lithographers' International Union, a highly skilled craft union, endorsed amalgamation almost unanimously.

The League has also achieved remarkable results in the campaign for a Labor Party.

The League has taken an active part in the movement to win the trade unions in favor of the United States government recognizing Russia.

Important progress has been made in the organization of left block committees in the basic industries. At present such committees exist in industries of railroad, coal mining, metal, building, food, printing, marine transport, tobacco, clothing, leather and textile.

During the past year the League has published the following pamphlets: "Amalgamation," by Jay Fox; "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement," by Foster; "The Resolutions and Decisions of the Second World Congress of the R. I. L. U.," and "The Russian Trade Unions in 1923."

The League has prevented four fatal splits in the mine workers alone, the miners of Kansas, Nova Scotia, the coke miners betrayed by the Lewis machine and thirty-six thousand anthracite miners who had determined to split over the town-coal-liaison system.

In every industry the League has spooled and enthused the militants and convinced them the true revolutionary tactic is to remain and amalgamate and under no circumstances to split.

Discuss Use of Word "Fakir"

An amusing discussion arose over the use of the phrase labor fakir, some of the delegates claiming it is too harsh.

The final conclusion was that in view of the crimes that they commit against the workers there is no word of phrase in any language too harsh to use, but the militants in their local should avoid mere abuse and use reason and argument.

The way to obtain a following in the rank and file is to convince them not to merely abuse their officials.

The question of publishing a series of articles giving details of historic betrayals and steals and giving the record of prominent fakirs is being considered.

The fakirs have abandoned their early attitude of silent contempt for the League and are now conducting a desperate campaign of abuse, disfranchisement, slugging and expulsion.

The fakirs of the mine workers and the needle trades are blazing the way.

Carry Fight to Rank and File

The militants are determined to carry the issue to the rank and file and are confident that they will emerge from the conflict stronger than ever.

Organizer Tim Buck reported splendid progress in the Canadian district.

In spite of tremendous obstacles and much unemployment the Canadian labor movement is soaked thru and thru with radical sentiment and over half of the locals in the Dominion have gone on record for Amalgamation.

The settlement of the Nova Scotia mine strike showed how completely the rank and file is under their leadership.

The miners struck against the ruthless use of troops against steel strikers.

At once the government, their employers and the arch traitor Lewis mobilized against them.

The government used troops, cossacks and wholesale terror, arrested, indicted and deported their officers for trial.

Lewis revoked their charter and put in a discredited local illiterate named Barrett who had been overwhelmingly defeated in the previous election, to "reorganize" Dist. 26.

The employers announced that they would pay the check-off to Barrett. Lewis was determined to expel all militants if he had to wreck the District to do it.

The employers, however, wanted coal dig and the mine maintenance men to go back and forced Lewis to grant the militants terms.

These were that the district officers should not be expelled from the union and that all local officers should be left untouched.

Secession Is Prevented
Enormous sentiment developed for secession, but the militants persuaded the rank and file to accept these humiliating terms and return to work with their organization intact and under the leadership of the reds.

Two amusing features of the case are that Lewis was sending his orders to the miners thru the employers and that Lewis applied for an injunction against the district president.

The League is confident that when

Three Very Urgent Tasks of Every Member of Party

1. Every Party unit shall form immediately a campaign committee for "The Daily."

2. Every Party member must get a new member into the Workers Party.

3. Every Communist must make every effort to have his trade union, benefit society, Workmen's Circle or other labor organization affiliate with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

U. S. Imperialism Big Factor Driving South America to Eye Russia

By M. YAROSHEVSKY

The World War which advanced the importance of South America as a supplier of raw materials on a large scale, threw the decision of the competitive struggle between the ground-rent and capitalist profits in agriculture, in favor of the latter.

In the most advanced countries, like Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, the native bourgeoisie succeeded to power. Foreign capital, which in South America not only occupies the position of great land owner, but also has in its hands the chief railway lines, the shipping companies, the banks and foreign trade, endeavors to cut down the profits of the local capitalist as much as possible and fights against the local powers. The intentions of world capital with regard to its activities in South America, have now completely changed.

As regards the United States the governments of South America up to now have barely succeeded in getting short-term loans from the New York Banks, and this only under the most onerous terms. The United States built up protective tariffs against the products of the South American republics and at the same time increased, by artificial means, her own imports into these countries.

The leading republics of South America reached this stage of capitalist development when further advance had become unprofitable for the old exploiting capitalist countries, while the strongly developing labor organizations, very mindful of their class interests, exercised a strong pressure upon the profit interests. The South Americans have come to the conviction that no further stream of foreign capital is to be expected in the near future, and that it is absolutely necessary to overcome the present severe crisis by their own efforts. Steps have therefore been taken towards developing the exchange of commodities in the interior of the Continent, and plans formulated for a whole series of railway lines, and local laws regulating rents and terms of tenancy.

At the same time, the South American republics began to display more initiative in questions of international politics, whilst they defended their independence with their combined strength, especially with regard to the United States. The struggle of Soviet Russia against the counter-revolution, which was supported by world capital, aroused not only the enthusiasm of the working masses of South America but it was also followed with great interest by many of the ruling circles of the South American republics. This is confirmed by the repeated reports of interviews with Comrades Tchitcherine and Krassin in the South American papers. And in March of this year the Government of Uruguay laid before Parliament the draft of a commercial treaty with Soviet Russia.

South America regards Soviet Russia, as a market for its enormous surplus of agricultural products and raw materials in general, for which it has no market at present. This is one of the motives for the interest which the bourgeois circles of South America display towards Soviet Russia at this moment.

The League of Nations has slapped Mussolini on the wrist by refusing Italians some choice positions on the League's committees. But what does Mussolini care for a little slap? He would rather turn the Mediterranean into an Italian lake.

Boost for "The Daily."

Editor Haessler, of Federated Press, Blasts Reactionaries' Alibi in Shooting at Chicago

Editor's Note.—Instead of helping hunt down the would-be assassins, who fired three shots at William Z. Foster, while he was addressing a mass meeting in Chicago, Monday night, Aug. 27, the labor reactionaries are trying to show that Foster arranged to have himself shot, in order to enable him to pose as a martyr. This silly defense is characteristic of those who can think of no better alibi. This position of reactionary labor was supported alike by the capitalist Chicago Tribune and the New York Jewish Daily Socialist Forward, with The Call trailing in bewildered fashion. "THE WORKER" sheds additional truth on the situation by publishing the signed statement of Carl Haessler, managing editor of The Federated Press, a statement made after thoroughly investigating the developments in Chicago. He writes:

By CARL HAESSLER

Managing Editor, Federated Press

CHICAGO.—Real bullets were fired at Wm. Z. Foster, according to the police statement following investigation by Detective Sergt. Crowley of the shooting at the mass meeting of members and sympathizers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, called to protest against the expulsion from the organization of radical members.

Sergt. Crowley, in an authorized statement to The Federated Press, denies that any police report has been made branding the shooting a fake, contradicting statements made by the Chicago Tribune on the second and third days following the attempted assassination. He located three marks where the bullets entered the ceiling of the hall, all in line with the emergency exit where the gunman stood in the doorway for a brief moment and the platform where Foster was speaking.

"From our investigation we have no reason to believe, the Tribune statement that the shooting was faked," reads Crowley's statement. "We have not caught the assailant, but are working on the case. There are three bullet marks on the ceiling at Carmen's hall about 40 feet from the side entrance where the shots were fired, that is, about half way between the entrance and the speaker's platform. No report differing from this has been made by the police."

The bullet holes were plainly visible to me. They were evidently made thru hasty pulling of the trigger while the gunman brought the revolver down forearm to level it at Foster. The first bullet narrowly missed a huge inverted electric light bowl, of which there were two in the line of shots. The second shot, a single gunman fired, masking his face with one arm, and fled.

Minnesota City and Land Workers Plan to Drive Political Adventurers from their Ranks

(Continued from page One.)

the spirit of revolt in this state. The membership of the organizations of the workers and farmers that helped win the victories at the polls realize the dangerous power wielded by Lawyer Pike. They fully realize the absurd position which this movement occupies without a definite political party to direct its destinies. After a number of conferences between trade unionists and representatives of the farmers' organizations a decision was reached to call a conference in the city of Minneapolis, beginning Sept. 8, for the purpose of definitely organizing to place this movement in the hands of the rank and file.

A joint call was issued, signed by William Mahoney, president of the Working People's Nonpartisan League, and H. G. Teigen, executive secretary of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League. The former represents the trade unions and some co-operatives, while the latter represents the farmers' organizations and other co-operatives. It is these two organizations that really carried on the burden of the campaign that placed Shipstead and Johnson in the Senate.

Fight for Party Rule

The joint call announces that the conference is "for the purpose of formulating, discussing and adopting plans which will enable the Farmer-Labor Party to conduct the work of education and organization in a more effective manner than before."

Unions, county organizations of the Nonpartisan Leagues and all progressive or district organizations that support the Farmer-Labor movement will be represented.

Response to the call has been gratifying thus far, and both farmers and workers seem to be united in the determination to enter the conference and definitely organize a permanent machine for Party control. On every hand fears have been expressed that without a definitely organized political party under the control of the exploited workers and farmers the movement would become the football of designing politicians. The conference call was a direct challenge to these political shysters under the leadership of lawyer Pike.

Both William Mahoney and H. G. Teigen, who had formerly worked in harmony with Pike and the legal apparatus called the Farmer-Labor Party, were compelled to break with him and issue the call over his head. In the industrial centers the workers are solidly behind the conference call and against Pike. He is completely discredited among the trade unionists. Realizing his predicament, Pike has started a campaign among the farmers with the object of creating a cleavage between the farmers and the wage workers.

A Campaign of Lies

In order to perpetuate their own control of the movement in Minnesota the politicians have started a campaign among the farmers for the purpose of arousing them against the trade unions. The machine that has thus far controlled the political machinery is busy propagating the idea that the Sept. 8 conference is a conspiracy against the farmers. This cry has been taken up by the hordes of journalistic adventurers in control of

ers. Many of them have remained and have played the political game. There are dozens of freelance farm publications, edited by this gentry. The farmers cared naught for the motives of these journals, so long as they published articles favorable to the Nonpartisan movement. Thus they came to speak for the farm population, the few of them know a narrow from a threshing machine. At political conferences of "farmers" these fly-by-night fakirs were always in evidence. The farmers were represented in many instances by the country editors, small town merchants who exchange their shoddy goods for the farmers' produce, and the small bankers.

It is this gang of petty plunderers that is today trying to create a cleavage between the farmers and workers so that their merry game can continue. They see in this coming conference the most devastating menace to their little game of graft on the farmers that has even confronted them. They are willing and anxious to wreck the unity of workers and farmers if only they can maintain their positions as parasites upon the farmers.

Must Smash Conspiracy

Against this conspiracy the entire force of the rank and file of the trade unions, farmer organizations and co-operative organizations is being concentrated. In this struggle the Workers Party of Minnesota is exerting its efforts in behalf of the United Front of these two basic groups of producers in the state. For the sake of preserving this unity all tactical and theoretical differences have been abandoned temporarily in order to secure victory over Lawyer Pike and the peanut politicians who see political control slipping from their vicious clutches.

Realizing fully the immortal words of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels that the "Communists have no interests separate and apart from the interest of the working class as a whole" the Workers Party is consistently adhering to this fundamental principle. We have clearly understood that it is our duty as Communists to participate in the struggles of the working class regardless of the fact that some of the demands put forth in this struggle are for palliative measures, and measures that cannot be realized. The most pressing need of the farmers and trade unions in this state is unity of action. To achieve this unity certain demands are put forth that are distinctly in the category of reformist measures. These demands are efforts to overcome certain oppressive measures, and it is our duty, as Communists, to support these demands and at the same time point to their insufficiency. By supporting these demands of the masses we gain the confidence of the rank and file of exploited workers and farmers. The activity of the Workers Party in this struggle against the conspiracy hatched by shyster lawyers and the lowest pen prostitutes will allay any fears that exist in the minds of the organized masses to the effect that the Communists are disrupters of the labor movement. Should we pursue a policy of isolation by separating ourselves from this vital struggle we would not only be committing an act of treason against the working class by playing into the hands of its enemies, but we would be guilty of treachery to the revolutionary movement of this country.

Every place that Communists have

Steel Trust Has No Monopoly on 12-Hour Day Shown by Conditions Among N. Y. Workers

By SELMAR SHOCKEN

The Twelve-Hour Day is by no means a monopoly of the Steel Trust. The Twelve-Hour Day is an accepted, not a welcome institution, among thousands and thousands of city workers. It is especially widespread among the restaurant workers of New York City, and among the maintenance workers of the large apartment houses with elevator service "and all modern improvements." Practically all workers in the restaurant kitchens are still working under a 12-hour rule. Engineers and firemen, elevator operators, porters, cleaners and other employees of the maintenance departments of factories, hotels, ice plants, etc., adhere to the long work day.

According to a statement of the Amalgamated Public Service Workers Union, an industrial organization which takes into its fold all maintenance workers, from engineer to porter, nearly 95 per cent of all these workers are employed on the 12-hour basis, at a wage rate, which is little above \$30 for the best paid men, and goes down as far as \$15 and \$12 per week for elevator operators. Handy men who are expected to know something of almost any trade, able to repair an electric cable as well as a defect in the steam boiler, receive \$75 to \$110 per month for the 12-hour day.

The 8-hour day prevails only in very few instances. Breweries, large printing and newspaper plants and some hotels employ three shifts. The Hotel Men's Association, a few years ago, signed a contract with the Firemen's Union on the 8-hour basis and a wage of \$31.50 per week. But these are exceptions, and in many plants, where American Federation of Labor unions have contracts for engineers and firemen, the helpers work under deplorable conditions.

The American Federation of Labor unions only allow engineers and firemen to join, each, of course, in a separate union. Tho there may be only ten men employed in certain plants, two of these are probably organized in two different unions, while the remainder are left to take care of themselves. Many of these are members of the Amalgamated Union. Lately the situation has been aggravated by the influx of many thousands of immigrant firemen who desert the foreign steamships at this port, to avoid returning to the un-

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influence they are working to smash the reaction fostered by the politicians, and are rallying farmer organizations, trade unions and co-operatives to the Sept. 8 conference for the purpose of administering a crushing defeat to these adventurers who have for years used the political movement to their own personal advantage, while the condition of the farmer has gradually grown worse, until today there is an unprecedented exodus from the farms because the labor of every member of the family is insufficient to meet the extortionate demands of the mortgage holding bankers and railroad corporations.

When the jay-bird lawyers, mortgage bankers, petty larceny merchants, prostituted journalistic scoundrels for the railroads and others, who profess their undying love for the farmers they gouge, come to Minneapolis on Sept. 8, they will be greeted with the solid front of representatives of the rank and file of the exploited masses of this state, from field and factory, and will meet the most crushing defeat of their careers.

Balieff's "Chauve-Souris" Back Again in New York

Nikita Balieff is back in the United States with his "Chauve-Souris." He told the enthusiastic throng that greeted his appearance at Jolson's Theatre, that "I love New York City, NOW," with emphasis on the "Now." Balieff has been saying the same thing on behalf of his fellow Russian players, during the summer, in London, Paris, Berlin, Antwerp, Vienna and Budapest. Let it be known that Balieff's "Chauve-Souris" now comes directly from the Theatre Femina, Paris, and after lingering for four weeks in New York City, will go on a tour of the country, an ambition that was not achieved last year.

The Jolson Theatre, which will witness the New York engagement, has a decided advantage over the Century Roof, scene of last year's entertainment, in being three times its size. Those who had hoped to get to see these remarkably talented actors and actresses of the Bat Theatre, of Moscow, but had been kept out, by the high prices, will welcome this change. Seats for the four week season range from \$1.00 up.

There will be matinees on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

Tho Balieff has not brushed up on his English, he certainly has improved in his humor. He kept springing one joke after another, padded with spicy satire, until he had the audience in stitches.

Some of the last winter's favorite sketches have been retained in the program, such as "The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers," "Katinka," and the Gypsy chorus, "A Night at Yard's, Moscow, 1840." "The Sleeping Beauty," one of the new numbers, a dance by Mme. Anderson and M. Semenov, artists from the State Theatre in Moscow, is truly exquisite. This season's program consists of a generous offering of sixteen numbers, nicely balanced and very entertaining.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE New York Division

Financial Report from July 1st 1922 to July 1st 1923

INCOME: Contributions	\$6,203.57
ENTERTAINMENTS AND RECEPTIONS	2,311.48
PERMITTING	101.03
DRIVE	3,768.70
BAZAR	4,033.99
ONE DAY'S WAGE	1,336.00

TOTAL GROSS INCOME	\$17,938.05
DEDUCT FROM INCOME: Expenses and Outlays on Entertainment, Drive, Bazar and Advertising	4,239.08

NET INCOME	\$13,698.97
OFFICE EXPENSES	1,336.26

AVAILABLE FOR DEFENSE AND RELIEF	\$12,362.71
Amount over expended	489.87

Loans made to: Labor Unions	500.00
Organizations other than Unions	300.00
Individuals	1,000.00

Loans Repaid	500.00
Balance Due to Labor	1,400.00
Defense Council	500.00

Deficit to Treasurer, 7-1-23	147.89
Cash Balance, Treasurer, 7-1-23	262.24
Expenses less than 10 per cent of Net Income	

"Welcome the English Daily"

"A Communist English Daily, is the greatest need of the American working class today."

"The class struggle between the American exploiters and the workers is becoming more bitter every day. The publication of a Communist Daily will meet the greatest favor of the American workers."

"The Communist Daily is the most important task before our Party members."

"Only by having the English daily will we succeed in gaining more members for our Party, and in winning the support of the exploited workers."

"Welcome the Communist Daily. Long live the future guide of the American workers!"—L. Candela, Secretary, Italian Federation.

ANNIVERSARY RALLY LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

Douglas Park Auditorium (KEDZIE AND OGDEN)

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16th, 8 P. M.

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Speaker

Comrade Ruthenberg has not spoken in Chicago since the first great Defense Rally last September when the Labor Defense Council was launched.

ORCHESTRA and CHORUS

TICKETS ARE 25c.—COME AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE NOT SPHINX TO NATION'S OPEN SHOP BOSSES

By JAY LOVESTONE

One of our leading financial papers recently called "Cal" Coolidge "the Sphinx of the White House." In this there is not a bit of truth. To the financiers and industrialists of the country Coolidge is anything but a Sphinx as far as Labor goes; and that after all is the most decisive gauge of a man in public office today. See where a man stands on the Labor problem, the class struggle, and you know where he is fundamentally lined up on the various issues confronting the country at any particular moment.

The whole record of President Coolidge betrays an unmitigated hostility to the working class and its struggle for the improvement of working and living conditions. It is in this light that the following estimate of our President by Mr. C. W. Barron, owner of the Boston News Bureau and Wall Street Journal and publisher of Barron's Weekly is of import:

"No man is better fitted or equipped to lead the United States in its present commanding position before the whole world. . . . The business interests of the country will go behind him as they went up behind Harding."

The Textile Strike of 1919

In February, 1919, a committee of textile strikers from Lawrence protested to Coolidge, then Governor, against the savage brutality of the mounted police in the strike. On Feb. 18th this Committee sought an audience with Governor Coolidge to lay before him the highhanded conduct of the Lawrence city authorities in refusing the workers the right to hold parades and meetings; the outrages, committed by the Cossacks; and to request his appointment of an impartial committee of investigation.

The Governor, Coolidge, refused even to see this committee of workers. His answer was merely an act of heaping insult upon injury in so far as the striking workers were concerned. Coolidge said that the matter of granting permission to parade was entirely in the hands of local authorities. His letter went on in the familiar strain of the capitalist sanctifiers of the law and order of profits:

"If the police have assaulted any persons without warrant of law, the matter should be brought to the attention of the criminal court. The results which you will secure from the great war and from your residence in America will be exactly what you desire to make them. It is my desire that each citizen of Massachusetts should have the equal protection of the laws and be supported to the extent of the power of the Commonwealth in his right to pursue a lawful occupation. I trust that you will co-operate with the duly constituted authorities of the city, state and nation to this end."

Thus did the aspiring Governor tell the workers to look for solace from the very courts that swung the heavy club of injunctions against them, and thus did Coolidge plainly tell the striking workers that they should shut up and put up, as a matter of gratitude to the country, with the Government acting as a protector of the "lawful" occupation of strike-breaking.

The Boston Police Strike

Many liberals, semi-Socialists and so-called Socialists have, since the ascendancy of Coolidge to the Executive Chair of the Presidency, passed sleepless nights pondering the legal, formal responsibility of Coolidge in the 1919 Boston Police Strike. These lovers of the pure truth of the law and adamant adherents of abstract justice, whatever that may be, have been saying that it's all a lie, that Coolidge never did break the strike of police, that he is getting away with credit which is not due him, and that he has therefore been "made by a myth."

All of this might be splendid stuff for filling the columns for the liberal gullibles while the reactionary press is rejoicing at the advent of a sworn enemy of the working class into the dominating position of the Government. A brief analysis of the Boston Police Strike shows that Coolidge was the man behind the guns and that whatever strikebreaking was done he must be given the discredit for it. Let us turn to the now famous Boston City Document Number 108. This is the report on the police strike made by the "citizens' committee" appointed by Mayor Peters.

The Police Department of Boston is part of the State and not part of the municipal Government. The Police Commissioner is appointed by and responsible to the Governor. In August, 1919, the Boston policemen began to talk strike because of the wretched conditions and low pay to which they were subjected. The police began to talk of affiliating their organization with the American Federation of Labor in order to rally the maximum support of Organized Labor behind them in their fight. No sooner was strike talk in the air than Coolidge hastened to assure the Mayor and Police Commissioner of his support. Apropos of this phase of the strike, Barron's Weekly for August 27, 1923, said:

"But long before the strike the Governor told the police commissioner that he would back him absolutely in his enforcement of the regulations of the service and the laws of the Commonwealth. He brought troops into the city, nominally for drill, and quartered them at the South Armory and the Cadet Armory; there they were held at the call of the proper officer. The officials immediately in charge could get the Governor, the Attorney General, the Governor's secretary, in five minutes by telephone."

When it appeared that trouble was in the air the Police Commissioner pinned his faith in Herbert Parker as his counsel to answer the attacks of the policemen. This Mr. Parker, it is interesting to note, was formerly a State Attorney General, an intimate friend of Coolidge, and a graduate of the same school of corrupt vicious politics headed by the late Senator Murray Crane.

What is more, when Mayor Peters appointed his "Citizens' Committee" to make a report on the strike situation he picked those bankers and big business men closest to Coolidge so that all would work smoothly in the process of impartial investigation. At the head of this Committee stood James J. Storrow of the internationally known banking firm of Lee, Higginson and Co. Mr. Storrow is also a director and officer of the Columbia Rope Co., the Essex Co., the Fairbanks Morse Co., Franklin Foundation, Galveston Houston Electric Co., La Fayette Motors Co., Nash Motors Co., Railway and Light Securities Co., Springfield Railway Co., United States Smelting, Refining and Manufacturing Co., W. H. McElwain & Co., and Wm. Underwood & Co.

Among his associates were such powerful bankers and manufacturers high in the confidence of Coolidge as George E. Brock, President of the Home Savings Bank and Director of the Boylston National Bank of Boston, Market Trust Co., and the New England Mutual Life Insurance Co.; Mr. B. Preston Clark, director of B. C. Clark and Co., Treasurer, Cossack Water Co., Vice-President, Plymouth Cordage Co., and member of the Executive Committee of the United States Smelting, Refining and Manufacturing Co.; John R. Macomber, a director of at least seven banking and commercial organizations; Patrick A. O'Connell, a director of at least eight banking and commercial organizations; James J. Phelan, of Hornblower and Weeks, and an officer of banks, lumber companies, insurance, and trust companies; A. C. Ratschky, the well-known Boston banker; and Fred S. Snyder of the Boston Chamber of Commerce and banker.

Coolidge's game here was to wait for the decisive moment and then hit hard. Says the Report of the Committee: "In justice to the Governor it should be stated that at all times he assured the members of your committee that whenever called upon for a military force he would procure sufficient men—if they could be secured—to maintain law and order."

When the local constituted authorities had done all they could, Coolidge came in to clean up. He forthwith issued his order calling out the entire State Guard of Massachusetts and assumed full authority of the strike situation as Commander in Chief of the State forces. The strike was broken thru the display and employment of the military forces.

The Disorderly Unemployed



"The unemployed seemed well supplied with money—from a source which should be investigated. Several were drunk."—Daily Paper.

Then Coolidge followed up his strong-arm, strikebreaking tactics by denying the policemen even the limited right to organize that the Bankers Citizens' Committee accorded them. In his reply to Gompers seeking a reinstatement of the striking policemen Coolidge said:

"There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, at any time. I shall support the Commissioner in the execution of law and order."

It was this browbeating attitude of Coolidge that was responsible for the local authorities refusing to reinstate the policemen who had struck. It was this dictatorial procedure on the part of Coolidge that uprooted even the faintest semblance of organization that the Bankers' Committee would allow the men.

Because of the policy of the mailed fist pursued by Coolidge, the big capitalists from coast to coast placed laurels on him and sang his praise to the tune of "Thank God for Coolidge." The employers rejoiced and the workers gnashed their teeth. It was Coolidge's unyielding hostility to unionism that made him a national hero of the enemies of labor.

Workers Know Coolidge as Enemy

In explaining his refusal to reinstate the policemen Coolidge boasted:

"There is an obligation to forgive, but it does not extend to the unrepentant. To give them aid and comfort is to support their evil doing and to become an accessory before the fact. A government which does that is a reproach to all civilization and will soon have on its hands the blood of its citizens. I have resisted and propose to continue in resistance to such action."

Such bitter hatred did this revengeful attitude of Coolidge engender among the workers that on July 21, 1920, the Executive Board of the Boston Telephone Operators' Union voted, in special session, not to participate in any Labor Day parade which was to be reviewed by the Governor. The workers expressly stated that they took this attitude because of Coolidge's conduct in the police strike.

The capitalists on the other hand forthwith showed their appreciation of the strikebreaking services rendered them by the President. At the Massachusetts State Convention of the Republican Party a special resolution lauding Coolidge was passed on October 4, 1919. During the sessions of the Republican National Convention in 1920 "Big Business" paid its tribute to him. Gov. Morrow, of Kentucky, was chosen to notify Coolidge of his nomination as Vice-President. It is interesting to note that this Governor Morrow is himself a strikebreaker of the first order. He made his reputation in the following manner, indicated by a telegram sent to the late President Harding by Representative Herman Q. Thompson on February 5, 1922:

"Governor Morrow has sent troops to our town, shooting and killing men and women. Please act."

It was indeed fine strategy to have a man who has used tanks and machine guns to mow down striking

steel workers at Newport, Ky., be the one to make the nomination speech for a man who rode into power because of his prowess in crushing a strike.

And in the Republican Handbook for the 1920 campaign, describing Coolidge's fitness for the job of Vice-President, we find the following paean of praise sung of him by the President of a railroad:

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

Coolidge has not changed his stripes since then. Addressing the "Boston Business Men" in November, 1920, he boasted that his election was the best proof of the fact that "Labor" has been laid low in its aspiration to power. He reminded his friends, the Boston Bankers, that in January, 1920, he had, in an address before the Dartmouth Alumni, warned Organized Labor to keep in mind that it could not live without the law and that the election results bore out his contention one hundred per cent.

Finally, today, confronted with the anthracite coal miner's strike, President Coolidge is pursuing the same strategy he followed in the Boston Police Strike. His first step was to appear impartial. His second step was to have the nearest local authorities exhaust every possibility of avoiding a strike. Then he will step in as the hero of the hour and by a great fanfare and military display and threat to use force and violence he will attempt to cajole the strikers into submission.

Failing in threats, Coolidge will not hesitate to pit all the military and judicial and financial resources of the most powerful strikebreaking Government on earth against the workers struggling for improved conditions.

Steel Bosses of Nova Scotia in Effort to Break Trade Unions

By JOHN A. MURRY

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

SYDNEY, Nova Scotia.—Having prevented the steelworkers from gaining a 20 per cent wage increase, the British Empire Steel Corporation is working for the destruction of their union. Having blacklisted the best union men the corporation thinks this is an opportune time to organize a "co-operative plan of employees representation," in other words, a company union is going to be formed to smash the steelworkers' union. Twice during the past year the company has tried to get the men to accept this plan, but has failed.

A fund, called the Nova Scotia Workers' Defense fund, has been started to assist the blacklisted miners and steelworkers, who are discriminated against for activities during the steel-coal strike of July and August. This fund is also used to defray court charges of a score of workers that are being tried. The entire trade union movement has been circularized and \$2,500 has already been contributed.

Letters to the Editor

Ex-Soldier Wants to Know

Editor, The Worker: I would like to become acquainted more fully with the Communist program, and also know where I could find an English local of the Workers Party.

An ex-soldier, and one-time member of the American Legion, I began thinking for myself as a result of associating with members of the I. W. W. on a trip thru the Northwest. I returned to New York, and for two years have been an ardent advocate for parliamentary Socialism. (Due to my individual agitation activities I have found it hard to keep steadily employed.)

But as I note that the attempt to be "respectable" on the part of Socialist and so-called social-democratic and Labor Parties of the various nations robs them of their revolutionary working class character, and that they tend to become mere petty bourgeois reformist movements, I am beginning to feel that the working class cannot emancipate itself thru the conquest of political machinery of Capitalism. For such a conquest would not injure the power of the capitalist class—economically—and their control and credit would still leave them the means to destroy any effort to establish Socialism. And to this end they would use Direct Action (paid mercenaries, etc.), if necessary. So, with other reasons, I have come to the conclusion that only by completely abolishing the power of our capitalist masters FIRST, and setting up our Governmental machinery on ENTIRELY DIFFERENT Lines to govern a working class republic, with collective control and ownership of production, et al. AFTERWARD, can the workers permanently establish their own regime.

If I am in line with the Communist position I would like to be of service to the movement. P. F. S., N. Y. C.

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

Make Lewis Fight FOR A 100 PERCENT UNION

Demand That James H. Maurer, President of Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Endorse All the Miners' Demands: Full Recognition of the Union and the Check-off—He Has the Key to the Situation—Flood Him With Resolutions, Telegrams and Letters

Because the corrupt capitalist press of the country claims John L. Lewis is making a stand for all the Anthracite miners' demands it is necessary to state some of the facts at this time.

The leopard cannot change its spots and the man who last year deliberately split the solid ranks of the miners of the United States wide open, by deserting the Connellsville Coke Region and dividing the soft coal miners and hard coal miners into two camps, when he signed separate contracts, expiring at different times has not been converted. This man who has introduced District Contracts to take the place of National Contracts, expelled Alexander Howat from the U. M. W. of A.; revoked the charter of District 26; inspired the slugging and blacklisting of hundreds of honest miners, is not to be trusted at this moment when the life of the Union in the hard coal region is at stake.

LEWIS BLAMES PROGRESSIVES FOR DEMANDS THIS YEAR

Lewis didn't want a strike this year. That means he didn't want to fight for the recognition of the Union, the check-off, the eight-hour day and the other Union demands.

HOW DO WE KNOW?

Because, on May 27th, 1923, six days before the famous Conference of the Progressive Miners in Pittsburgh, Pa., Lewis, who had cut short his trip to Europe and rushed back home to fight the Progressives, had a conference in Washington, D. C., with Senator Pepper, of Pennsylvania and John Hays Hammond, Chairman of the United States Coal Commission. He told them that if the Pittsburgh Conference was held there was strong probability of a coal strike, September first. He as good as asked these government officials to bring about government interference with the Pittsburgh Conference and use the Department of Justice to crush the Progressive Movement in the U. M. W. of A. The bait he offered was the danger of a coal strike. In other words, he practically promised that if the Progressive movement was crushed he would see that the old Anthracite contracts were accepted and no new demands made by the miners.

LEWIS IS HYPOCRITICAL

This means that when Lewis pretends to fight now for the miners' demands he is doing so because he is compelled to do so by the Progressives. That is true.

It is the uncompromising stand of Rinaldo Cappellini and the officers of District 1 that is holding Lewis in line. He has almost given away recognition of the Union already. He is wiggling and wabbling every minute. But the officers of District 1 are insisting that Lewis must fight for all the demands.

PROGRESSIVES ELECTED CAPPELLINI

What made it possible for Cappellini and these rebels to drive Lewis up to the battle line? THE PROGRESSIVES. Without the support of the Progressives the Lewis machine would have triumphed in the last election in the Anthracite. There would have been no new demands and no possibility of a strike.

OPERATORS GOT OFF CHEAPLY

The miners have the hard coal operators licked. The operators know that Lewis has to get some demands for the miners to save his face. The thing now is how to get off as cheaply as possible.

Lewis is so discredited by his repeated treachery to the rank and file that the operators must try to bring some honest and unsuspecting labor leader to play the role which Lewis would otherwise play. They looked around for a combination that they hoped to use for this purpose. They think they have found the combination.

Who is this dark-horse combination? It is Governor Pinchot and his chief labor lieutenant, James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. The operators, whether Pinchot or Maurer realize it or not, hope to use these men to pacify the Anthracite miners and get off as cheaply as possible. Pinchot has gotten a politician's reputation of being a liberal. Maurer is considered a Socialist and a Progressive.

PINCHOT BACKED BY FLINN AND GRUNDY

It must be remembered however, that Pinchot was a political lieutenant of Roosevelt's and the miners have not forgotten the Roosevelt Coal Commission. Pinchot owes his election to the support of two of the worst enemies of union labor in this State, the notorious "Bill" Flinn, the Pittsburgh multi-millionaire contractor and Joseph Grundy of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association.

MAURER SUPPORTED PINCHOT

James H. Maurer supported Pinchot and has recently received a political appointment from him. He has accepted this appointment. Pinchot is now consulting continually with Maurer and it is a foregone conclusion that pressure will be brought to bear on Maurer to cause him to use his influence to persuade the miners' rebel leaders to give up the demand for full recognition of the Union and the check-off.

MAURER CAN WIN FOR THE MINERS

MAURER HAS IT IN HIS POWER TO WIN THIS DEMAND FOR THE MINERS.

If, as President of the State Federation of Labor he immediately issues a statement to the whole labor world that the full demands of the miners are very reasonable and that the State Federation of Labor will support them morally and financially to the bitter end, he will insure the ultimate victory for the miners.

By such a stroke Maurer will put Pinchot in a tight hole. All trade unionists of Pennsylvania and the United States will rally to the support of the miners and they will win an overwhelming victory.

During the more than ten years that he has held the position of President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor as a result of the persistent and loyal support of the Progressives in this State, Maurer has never had the opportunity to render a greater distinguished service to the working class.

OPPORTUNITY OF MAURER'S LIFE

Now "Jim" Maurer has the greatest opportunity of service in his entire career. Will he have the courage to measure up to it? It all depends on you.

If thousands of letters and telegrams pour into Maurer from individuals and unions all over the United States in the next few days he will be impressed and may measure up to this great task. It is worth some sacrifice on your part to make the effort.

Write or write to James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa., immediately, that the eyes of the labor world are upon him and for him to pledge the moral and financial support of the State Federation of Labor to the fight of the miners for all their demands and for a 100 percent Union.

MAURER CAN WIN FOR THE MINERS

The publication and circulation of this circular is made possible because of the contribution of the pennies, nickles and dimes of the Progressive miners all over the United States. If you appreciate this service send in your contribution to us to carry on this work.

Twice a month the Progressive Miner is published by this Committee telling the facts of the Progressive Movement in the U. M. W. of A. In the Labor Day edition we have told for the first time the coal story and the facts concerning the great strike in Nova Scotia, the revocation of the charter of District 26 and the injustice and misrepresentation which have been Lewis' part in this dastardly affair. All sorts of lies and slanders have been circulated concerning this affair and you should know the facts.

The price of the Progressive Miner is One Dollar a year for single subscription and bundle orders at the rate of two and a half cents a copy for as many as you want. Orders must be placed ten days before publication. It is published the first and 15th of each month. Send in your subscription and bundle orders immediately.

THOMAS MYERS COUGH, Secy-Treas.

PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

of the United Mine Workers of America

LABOR LYCEUM

35 Miller Street

Pittsburgh, Pa.

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

Canada Labor Sees Activity in Autonomy

By JOHN ROBUR

TORONTO.—An explanation of the demand for autonomous Canadian sections within the international trades unions, which will come before the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress at Vancouver in a resolution from the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, has been given out by Delegate Tim Buck, International Association of Machinists, who sponsored the resolution.

"It means," says Buck, "that the Trades and Labor Congress would become a real active body with power to coordinate the energies of the whole movement in assisting affiliated bodies in times of dispute." He quoted the steel-coal strike in Cape Breton as a case in which the Dominion Congress should have had power to levy an assessment to help the strikers.

Buck explains the attitude of the sponsors of the new movement towards the American Federation of Labor and the international headquarters of the various unions.

"We recognize completely the necessity of organic connection between the trades unionists of Canada and the United States in international unions. It must be apparent, however, that each nation has a national expression. Our political institutions differ, our statutes are not alike, the struggles in each country are somewhat different, altho fundamentally the same. To many of us it seems that economic autonomy for trades unionists in Canada will necessarily have to follow legislative autonomy, which has been conceded by the American Federation of Labor. The sponsors of this resolution would like to accomplish this without disturbing the international features of our trades unions. Those who agree with this viewpoint recognize that Canadian autonomy is inevitable and we propose to prepare the membership for it."

As a method of getting over the financial difficulty in the way of autonomy he suggests that the Canadian sections of the unions might, if necessary, be limited to the expenditure of that section of the union funds contributed by them. He points out, however, that in the railway shopmen's strike last summer Canadian unions were assessed for strike support, altho they decided to remain at work.

Chicago Rallies for Workers' Daily

CHICAGO.—Fifty thousand dollars is the sum set by District No. 8 of the Workers Party as its goal for the "Daily Fund." Chicago has resolved to "work its nails off" in this campaign and will hold a great mass demonstration for the Daily on Friday evening, Sept. 21st, at Wicker Park Hall.

J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "THE WORKER," C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, and others will speak.

Meanwhile the local comrades have already launched their campaign with determination. The N. S. English branch of the Workers Party has pledged \$10.00 per member.

Illinois branches were the first to send in checks for the fund. Bulgarian branch sent \$30.00 as a first step, and South Slavic sent \$25.00.

Workers of Chicago and vicinity hail the coming of their "DAILY."

Debs, Foster and Howat Confer

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—"Promising and fruitful" hours were spent in conference here by Eugene V. Debs, Alexander Howat and William Z. Foster. Beyond this statement nothing was officially disclosed regarding the purpose of the conference.

Debs is chairman of the Socialist party. Howat and Foster are both connected with the newly organized Federated Farmer-Labor party.

Howat, who was the militant president of the Kansas district of the United Mine Workers before his deposition by the international board, has a considerable following among the miners. Foster, organizer of the stock yards workers and leader of the steel strike of 1919, is secretary of the Trade Union Educational League. Unconfirmed reports concerning the conference have it that united political action by all labor groups was under discussion.

Season's First Ball

auspices

Jewish Downtown

Branch No. 3

Workers Party, Bessarabia

at

Beethoven Hall

210 East 5th Street

Saturday, September 8th,

Admission 50c

Music by Prof. Greenspan

"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 leveled 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 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" is publishing, in instalment form, a report of the recent Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Communist International. Each instalment takes up a separate question treated by the world gathering of Communists at Moscow, a gathering that received but scant attention in the daily press. This week's instalment takes up the question "Democratic Centralism Misunderstood." It is as follows:

"Democratic Centralism" Misunderstood

Several slogans of the Communist International have been misunderstood and consequently have produced confusion in the ranks of the Communist parties. Thus, the issue of the "United Front" was misconceived, and as a result it was misapplied. "Democratic Centralism" has not been understood in Scandinavia, particularly in Norway. Norway, therefore, played a considerable role at the Enlarged Executive. The lessons that are to be drawn from this case will be wholesome for the entire Communist movement.

The Norwegian Labor Party is an anomaly in the Communist International. It is made up of trade unions, individual membership being an

exception. Altho instructions had been given to the Norwegian comrades to transform the party into one of individual membership, they continually asked for time—which was granted. But in seeking for time, the comrades were impelled by two different motives. One faction, of syndicalist origin, is instinctively opposed to centralism, even when it is qualified as "democratic," with all the rights and privileges that democracy has within the field of centralism as understood in the Communist International. The other, an opportunist and not a Communist faction, opposes centralism because of an unwillingness to accept instructions that will give uniformity to the Communist movement.

The discussion of the Norwegian question, which was the discussion of "Democratic Centralism," revealed several more spots. Within the Norwegian Labor Party is a group of students who issue a magazine called the "Mot Dag." This group is only partially communistic, and yet has exerted considerable influence over the party. This has been an influence that not only demanded autonomy for the Norwegian Party, but also assumed a most dangerous aspect in that some of its members manifest anti-semitism.

The discussion demanded evidence; the evidence was produced. Articles, statements, and the arguments made at the Conference itself, particularly by a member of the "Mot Dag" group, demonstrated that an element was at work in the Norwegian party that would be harmful to the whole Scandinavian movement.

What are the limits of "centralism"? What are the rights of "democracy" within this centralism? It is clear that, since the expansion of imperialism on an international scale, it has become increasingly necessary for the proletariat to have an international organization and international direction, if it is to gain power. The workers of the separate countries, cannot fight their battles alone against the internationally organized capitalists. It is extremely difficult to differentiate between national and international lines. Is the Ruhr question a matter concerning only the German party, or one concerning the French party alone? Or is it not rather an international question, involving not only these two parties, but the British, Belgian and Italian parties as well?

Who should coordinate the activities of these parties, if not the Communist International? To whom

should be left the question of tactics and strategy: the separate parties—or should not rather the Communist International, as the sole body that has an international survey, direct the action? Did the Italian question concern only the Italian comrades, and therefore did not concern the Communist International, or did not the very failure of the Communist Party of Italy to get together with the Socialist Party, lead to the violent reaction that dominated Italy and encouraged the White Guards of other countries to follow in the path of Mussolini?

Zinoviev Lauds Workers Party

And surely, as Zinoviev pointed out in his report, the interference and decision of the Communist International in the American question at the Fourth Congress, to the effect that the Communist Party of America, in obedience to the conditions prevailing in the country, must come out into the open, were based on the idea of "democratic centralism": on the right and duty of the Communist International to interfere in what appears to be purely national questions, when a settlement cannot be effected by comrades themselves. The American delegates to the Enlarged Executive could only confirm and applaud

the fact that the decision of the Communist International had reinforced and solidified the party, which today is working as a unit. Zinoviev praised the activity of the Workers Party of America, which showed that it had the insight and will to lead the workers.

What then are the rights of democracy? There are problems that are purely national—administrative and technical. The Communist International has not and does not intend to interfere in such matters—provided they can be settled within the country itself. But there are times when the Comintern is too mild, too unwilling to interfere. The Comintern has allowed the British Party to carry on without interference too long, so that today the British Party is unable to function. Well, might the British comrades have asserted that the British affair is an affair entirely British. But they have taken a different view, and seeing that they cannot settle the matter and that the advice and experience of the Communist International, of the representatives of all countries and not the Russian comrades alone, will serve best in unraveling the entanglements into which they have fallen, they have come to the Com-

unist International for settlement of their problems.

Not grasping the nature of "Democratic Centralism," the Norwegian and Swedish Parties demanded that the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International be elected by the respective countries, and not by the Congress of the Communist International. This is a species of federalism that is intolerable and inconsistent with Communist principles, which demand that the Communist International be a REAL international and not one composed of federated bodies. It must have in its Executive not men who are responsible to their National Executives, but men responsible to the highest body in the world, the Congress of the Communist International. Hence the Executive must be composed of men whom the Congress considers fit for directing the affairs of the whole revolutionary movement of the world.

The Norwegian question and the question of "Democratic Centralism" were the occasion of the most heated discussion, in which the Norwegian comrades, participant in the "Mot Dag" group, assumed a challenging and defiant attitude, and accused the Comintern of being responsible for

any trouble that has arisen or might arise in the Norwegian Labor Party. It was discovered, however, that he was riding on a wave of a majority of two votes (94 to 92) which his faction secured at the last convention of the Norwegian Party. Altho his faction also included the syndicalistically inclined comrades, it was clear that the syndicalists and especially their leader are an integral part of the life and history of the Norwegian Labor Party, with characteristics that time and experience will eliminate. In the opposition, however, were a large part of the Party and the Young Communists, who pledged their support to the Communist International.

The united demonstration of the Enlarged Executive, who accused the Norwegian comrades, Comrade Falk, of applying disruptive tactics and of being made of the stuff of which fascists are made, because of his anti-semitism, revealed clearly what the stand of the parties of the world is on this most vital factor in international revolutionary action and strategy—"democratic centralism."

Next Week: "The Religious Question Cannot Be Ignored by Communists."

Foreign-Born Worker First to Realize Labor Press Necessity

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

The foreign-born worker was the first to realize the necessity of a labor press in this country. The foreign-born worker was the first to establish a chain of labor papers issued in all the European languages in all the principal American cities.

It was not only insufficient knowledge of the English language and a desire to have specific information about the countries of their origin that prompted the immigrants to resort to a press in their native tongues.

More so it was their natural disgust with the English language capitalist press. That crawling of the American paper on its belly before

other hand they did not enjoy the advantage of being protected by the working class as a whole, which, by right, ought to have effaced the lines of demarcation between the various groups of the working class and made the cause of those groups one great common cause of the American toilers with no difference of origin, race, nationality, language or geographical division.

This abnormal situation is now in the passing. New life is stirring within the native workers. A flood of class-consciousness is spreading among those whom no raving patriot would dare call non-American. The spirit of revolt is abroad. The progress of the Trade Union Educational League among such unions as are mainly composed of native stock is a manifestation of that spirit.

The formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, whose first convention, July 3-5, thrilled the foreign-born with the spectacle of large masses of native workers demanding the same things which he, the "foreigner," had been advocating for many years, is another great promise. The penetration of the Workers Party into many regions of the Middle West, the North West and the South marks the beginning of a new era, the opening of a new road where foreign and native workers will march hand in hand towards a great common future.

The Daily Worker is one great step on the road of consolidating the forces of the native and foreign-born workers.

The Daily Worker will not be the paper of the English speaking workers only. It will be the friend, companion and leader of the working class as a whole, foreign born and natives alike.

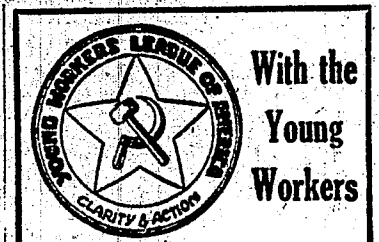
The Daily Worker will create bonds of unity between the various foreign language groups on the one hand, and between those groups and the bulk of the working class on the other. It will utilize the experiences and the achievements of the foreign born militants in order to make the struggle of the entire working class more energetic and more effective, and it will bring home to the foreign born a better understanding and a more correct appreciation of the character and peculiarities of the native American workers.

The Daily Worker will dispel the feeling of isolation from the foreign-born workers, making it evident even to the less enlightened among them that the great American working class, the real makers of America's future, the master of the coming American destinies, is growing ever closer to its foreign-born brothers embracing them in one gigantic struggle for power.

The Daily Worker will fight the cause of the foreign born workers, against the attempt of capitalist dictatorship to limit their rights still more, and thus to enslave them to their own detriment and to the damage of the entire working class. The Daily Worker will in this fight create new points of contact between the foreign-born and the native worker.

Never in the history of this country has there been undertaken a publication of such tremendous consequences for the millions of foreign born workers. This is why every organization of foreign born workers and every one of their members should joyfully greet the appearance of the Daily Worker.

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



With the Young Workers

Misrepresent Extent of Child Labor in the United States

Wholesale misrepresentations of the extent of child labor are being made in the capitalist press.

Special articles in some of the daily capitalist papers discussing the question of child labor try to point out that child labor is decreasing in the United States, when as a matter of fact it is increasing. The basis for the contention that the number of child workers grows less is the last official U. S. census which reported 1,060,000 child workers in 1920 as against 1,900,000 in 1910, and 1,750,000 in 1900. However, it is not pointed out that:

The 1920 count was made in January when farming is at a standstill, whereas the 1910 census was made in April when agricultural work begins in most parts of the country; and because of this practically no count was made of the number of children employed on farms (which comprise 75 per cent of the total number of child workers).

Every document issued by the U. S. Department of Labor on the question of child labor emphatically points out that the number of children employed in "gainful occupations" increased (especially in industry) during the war.

The census does not take count of the children under 10 years of age, "gainfully employed," of which there are thousands in the United States, some working under the most slavish conditions.

No mention is made of the thousands of children in almost every part of the country who work during the summer vacations. Also, the census ignores the vast number of child workers, employed the greater part of the year, but who, because they attend school for a month or two, are not counted as workers.

Reliable authorities estimate the number of child workers in the United States at this time at 2,500,000, a number larger in proportion to the population than any other so-called civilized country in the world.

The Young Workers League of America, the only working class organization in the United States, organized on a national scale, has set itself the special task of organizing as many of the young workers as possible to put up a militant fight against the encroachment of capital inasmuch as the adult workers are being hard hit and are taken up with their own struggles.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY CELEBRATIONS Friday, Sept. 14, 1923, WEBSTER HALL, New York City

Labor Day in Perth Amboy, N. J.

PERTH AMBOY, N. J.—Excitement resulting from the local civil war aroused by the Ku Klux Klan had died down sufficiently by Labor Day, so that an attentive throng quietly listened to a Labor Day Address by J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker."

The local authorities were at first strenuously opposed to any meeting by the Workers Party, claiming that the least excitement would stir the local populace to new disorders. They were assured, however, that there would be no trouble and the meeting was held.

A Letter from Missouri

Here is an interesting letter from a farmer, a former coal miner, of Missouri, who has just got acquainted with "The Worker." His story is gripping in the picture that it presents of the conditions confronting the workers, in the cities and on the land today. For obvious reasons we omit his name. He writes:

EDITOR, THE WORKER.—Hello, you all! I have a friend here. He has given me several copies of "The Worker" and I have found them very interesting.

I was born in Lancashire, Rochdale, England, 67 years ago. I've been a worker all my life and have seen some ups and downs during my life. You see, I always worked for wages, and a fool ought to know what that means.

I have owned a farm now of twenty acres for ten years and have no mortgage on it either. It is mostly hills and hollows. I can raise a lot of stuff on it, and do. But not for sale to storekeepers, but to neighbors mostly. I am two miles from the county seat; 5,000 population, so I am trying to get by without running into debt, and I can just manage it by the skin of my teeth.

The farmers are in one hell of a trap, hollering like the devil. They are being hit from all sides. But they can't see where the blows are coming from. The farmer is the most pitiful, helpless, unsophisticated boob in all of these United States of America. He thinks he owns the farm he works on, has a deed to sell his products from, in an unknown market, and he has never a word to say about the price of his labor product, either selling or buying. And he's so smart, too, he owns a farm. Phaw, I get disgusted hearing him whine.

He thinks the Communists want to take his farm. The capitalists are making him run like the devil from it with his taxes, notes, mortgages and debts. It is to laugh. I have a deed; no mortgage, debts, notes on this place. But I am not fool enough to think I own it. Not me, oh no! I guess the politicians will let me stay on this place so long as I can manage to pay my taxes. And they are going up every year. If I fail, those good old Republicans and Democrats will brutally show me how to get off, by law. The laws they make so they can protect property rights. You know the taxes must come in, or what will become of the politicians.

Oh, it's a great game. I am not apt to go hungry. I can work the place yet; can raise me some eats. I have a nice orchard of 16 apple trees, 4 kiefers pears, 3 peaches, plums, grapes, strawberry, and more Irish and sweet potatoes than I can tell what to do with. Beans, onions, and about six acres of corn; in fine shape. About 250 chickens and a number one Jersey cow, giving now about four gallons of the best butter, making milk in this neighborhood. You see, I have the first crack at all this stuff; so you see, I might say I am sitting pretty. Mind you, I very seldom see any money; I know why. So I govern myself accordingly.

I have read "The Appeal to Reason" for 25 years, and numerous other radical papers, books, and everything that money I had would buy.

I was dead the first 40 years of my life and did not understand this horrible capitalist system like millions more.

I am lucky if I can get 50c a bushel for big fine ripe apples; 75c a bushel for potatoes, 12c lb. for last year's hen 4 lb.; 2c lb. for grapes; eggs 25c in trade dozen; wheat delivered 85c to mill. And so it goes all along here.

And now what about the fellow who must give half of his crop? I say, they have the farmer coming and going. And that's why he's running to town; at least his offspring.

I came from England about 1883; landed in Boston. I have been back three times since. I did some time in the British army, but decided to leave. You understand. I was in Dublin, Ireland, and saw some service there; do you understand; transferred to Aldershot. I could tell you some interesting story from then on but it would take up too much space. I worked in the cotton mills in New Bedford, Mass., Rhode Island, Philadelphia, then came west. Fell into

PLEASE—Will comrades send "THE WORKER" copies of Nos. 282, 283, 284 and 285. These are needed to complete our files?

A Leading Essayist Reviews "The Government—Strikebreaker"

By JAMES FUCHS,

Called by the late Max Nordau "one of the most scholarly essayists of the younger America."—Associate Editor, New Pearson's

"What Frederick Engels said, as early as 1878, about German Socialist literature—that it consists partly of pretentious trash ('hoeheres Blech')—is applicable to almost the entire Socialist literature extolled, written and published in the United States. With less than a dozen credible exceptions, the American output of half a century has been the 'partie honteuse' of the international Socialist movement. When the W. P. started its career in 1922, I felt morally certain that it would continue the literary traditions of its two predecessors. Jay Lovestone's book, 'The Government—Strikebreaker,' came to my desk as a pleasant disappointment. Its appearance marks a departure of honest piety from the era of slovenly compilations, ignorant muckracking, and pseudo-scientific treatises turned out by the 'What I like particularly about it, is its circumspect argument, showing in an incontrovertible way, that the government of the United States has ceased to be a masked fustian and servant of high finance and is now a cynically open and avowed one. Jay Lovestone has taken the utmost care to make verifiable every fact brought forward in support of his main thesis, by a multitude of pertinent references to persons, incidents, times, places and sources. The author of this rousing argument, comprehensively dealing with one of the most important topics of our time, is a youth, fresh from the school bench. Whatever the prospects and the probable future of the W. P. may be, a quiverful of such young fighters would make it a dominant factor in the American labor movement of the near future."

"The Government—Strikebreaker"

By JAY LOVESTONE

A book of 368 pages, tells the story of the strikebreaking, union-smashing policies of the U. S. Government in all the big national strikes of the past few years. It lays bare the Government's nefarious activities against the workers in the Rail Road Strike, the Textile Strike, the Coal Miners' Strike and scores of lesser conflicts between labor and the employing class.

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The Socialist Party Draws the Final Consequences

By JOHN PEPPER

The sixteenth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor which was held in Plattsburgh was a very illuminating event. It showed clearly that: 1) The reactionary labor officials still hold undisputed sway over the machine of the State Federation of Labor. 2) The Gompers-Holland clique is selling the organized hundreds of thousands of workers of the New York State Federation of Labor, lock, stock and barrel, to the Democratic Tammany Hall. 3) The Socialist Party has given up the sham fight against the capitalist parties, which in Albany it had still staged.

Ten Facts

To prove this terrible accusation we will marshal ten outstanding facts of the Convention:

The first fact: The president of the State Federation of Labor, James P. Holland, introduced and recommended Al Smith as the "next president of the United States."

The second fact was the call for "Three cheers for the next president!"

The third fact was the silence of those scores of delegates who are Socialist Party members. We do not expect them to have called for "three cheers for the revolution"; but at least they might have called for "three cheers for the Socialist Party's presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs."

The fourth occurrence was when Governor Al Smith, the big representative of Tammany Hall recommended that the Convention elect James P. Holland as president of the New York State Federation of Labor. This was fine team work: Holland recommends Al Smith as president of the United States and Al Smith recommends James P. Holland as president of the New York State Federation of Labor.

The fifth happening was the unanimous re-election of Holland and the entire reactionary administration. All the Socialist Party delegates in attendance voted for these most reactionary officials of the whole American labor movement. Governor Al Smith issued the order to elect Holland; the party of Hillquit carried out the order promptly. The New York Call of August 30 gives the following report: "The only danger of a difference between the administration and progressive delegates was averted today at the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, when the report of the compensation committee, presented by Curtis, was adopted with the concurrence of the administration."

"The administration state received a unanimous vote at the caucus late tonight."

The sixth fact was that President Holland lauded with the greatest vehemence non-partisan political action as the only political method for the labor movement.

The seventh point was that those delegates belonging to the Socialist Party, to the American Labor Party, to the old Farmer-Labor Party protested or argued just as little against Holland and the non-partisan policy as they fought in a single speech or a single resolution against the Democratic fake—so outspoken a capitalist politician as Al Smith.

The eighth fact was, as the New York Call of August 30 reports: "Committee reports adopted, in no instance extended beyond the suggestions made by Governor Smith in his speech yesterday, except for the education committee."

The ninth point was that the Socialist Party, the American Labor Party and the old Farmer-Labor Party delegates made not a single attempt to have the Convention adopt resolutions which at least in some instances would extend beyond the suggestions made by Governor Smith. The Socialist Party, which is supposed to be a party of Socialism, class struggle and revolution did not find it necessary to oppose an independent policy to, the capitalist policy of the Democratic governor, even if not in the name of Socialism, and revolution, at least for the immediate demands of the class struggle of the exploited workers.

The tenth fact is that notwithstanding the silence and betrayal of the Socialists, it was all of no avail. They kissed the hands of the reactionary labor leaders, but they only received a slap from them again. The echo of the ringing slap resounds in the New York Call of August 31: "A savage attack on Morris Hillquit, counsel, to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Judge Jacob Panken by James P. Holland, state president, directly preceded adjournment of the Convention at the New York State Federation of Labor at noon today."

These ten facts are ten terrible documents of self-degradation of the Socialist Party and its two tools and masks, the American Labor Party and the New York Farmer-Labor Party.

From Albany to Plattsburgh

The tactic of the Socialist Party lately has been but a desperate effort to gain the alliance of reactionary labor leaders. It realizes that it has lost the militant rank and file for good, and the only possibility for it to become a factor in the labor movement is to ally itself with the reactionary labor leaders, so as to acquire thereby that part of the workers as voters who are still under the influence of the reactionary trade union leaders. This over-slick tactic so far has brought no success to the Socialist Party, but only defeats. The fruits of this tactic are Albany and Plattsburgh.

In Albany the Socialist Party attempted an alliance with the reactionary leaders of the railroad unions. But at the same time it wanted to save at least its mask if not its face, and it therefore staged at least a make-believe fight against the capitalist parties. The reactionary labor

Many Unions Join United Front Effort

The call for the convention to organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of New York City, sent out by a provisional committee of active trade unionists and influential members of fraternal organizations, has met with a fine response from leading labor organizations throughout the city.

Local 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Carpenters Local Union No. 2090; Local 54, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; the Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers; Local Union 442, of the Brotherhood of Painters; Local 12, Metal Polishers; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit, Branches 54, 198, and 59 with 800 members; Workmen's Circle, Branches 301, 564, 261, 375, 87, 246, and Branch 68 of the Independent Workmen's Circle, have already acted on the communications sent them and elected delegates to the conference.

The workers realize that this movement offers them the opportunity to unite the forces of labor for common action in the coming election.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party does not want to create a sect on the political field. It wants to unite the working class in one political organization on the basis of Independent Working Class Political Action, and does not intend to exclude any workers' organization for any other political views that it may hold.

Labor Organizations must not confuse the Sept. 16th Conference with the call for a city convention sent out by the so-called American Labor Party which is nothing more than a disguise for the Socialist Party and which, according to its own statement, intends to bar a number of labor organizations from its conference. They intend this to be only a gathering to approve the nominations made at a General Council Meeting by a very small number of delegates from labor unions. The nominations are placed under the Socialist Party emblem and knowing that the workers in New York haven't very much faith in the Socialist Party they are calling this conference to make it appear that the candidates are backed by the entire labor movement of New York.

At the General Council Meeting of August 22nd the Federated Farmer-Labor Party invited the American Labor Party to send a committee to the Sept. 16th conference empowered to agree upon a common slate of candidates for the November elections, but they refused. They prefer to have the ranks of labor divided.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party will not stop at this. It will continue its policy of unifying the labor movement. Help it in this work by making the Sept. 16th conference a real representative body of labor in New York. Take up the question immediately at your local union and fraternal organization. Elect delegates to the conference and help build the movement for a united front of labor.

Walker, California Carpenter, Candidate in Tractor Contest

Jim Walker, of California, a carpenter by trade and well known in union circles on the coast, has been entered as a candidate for the second contest. The California comrades say they will throw all their efforts in his behalf and feel sure of electing him.

A second entry is Comrade K. Okrasa of Detroit. He is a miner and has been entered by "Pravda." Comrade Okrasa is very popular among the Polish people—especially among the miners in his district. Several Polish papers have already pledged their support to Comrade Okrasa. If he is elected it will make two living messages from Detroit, one of the most important industrial cities of America.

Then, we have A. Striz, also of Detroit, whom the Technical Aid Society entered, and for whose election they are working hard.

At this time when the reactionaries are combining their forces to create anti-Russian propaganda in America, the living message assumes double importance. It will not only serve as an expression of good will from America but it will also act as a transmitter of the true facts about the Russian trade unions, when it returns.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN JAPAN

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Unemployment and a general decrease in wages has marked the labor situation in Japan, the Department of Commerce announces. Business men in Japan ascribe a large part of the decline in exports to the Chinese boycott.

Better than Eats

Editor, The Worker:—Please renew my subscription for six months. It expired three weeks ago. But this is the first dollar I got hold of for two months, as I would rather miss a meal than the paper.—V. V., Springfield, Ill.

The Workers Party Today—And Tomorrow

By JAMES P. CANNON

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

Why did some Progressives break with us, and what does it signify? This is an important question for us because it has a vital bearing on our future strategy in the labor movement. It affects our fight for the labor party, for amalgamation and, most of all, for the recognition of our party as an integral part of the labor movement. In order to find the answer we have to analyze the progressive movement, and if we analyze it correctly we should have little difficulty in arriving at the proper attitude toward it.

The great mass of the awakening workers whom we classify under the heading of "Progressives"—those who have broken away from the ruling bureaucracy and who have not yet joined the left wing—are not under the control of an organized party. And it is precisely this situation that makes our task of strengthening and extending the communist influence immeasurably easier than that of our comrades in Europe, who are confronted at every turn by the opposition of powerful socialist parties.

It is our good fortune to have already created a clearly defined, if small, communist party which is operating in an intensifying class struggle with a politically undeveloped, but rapidly fermenting labor movement. These features of the American situation give the communists their supreme opportunity.

By following the right line of strategy, correctly appraising the other elements and adopting the correct attitude toward them, our party can drive forward with the speed of a locomotive.

Defining the Progressives

In order to talk about the other elements in the movement we must first define and label them. The word "Progressives" is both a definition and a label for those with whom we are principally concerned in this article. We cannot speak of them in any of the classic terms of the class struggle, because they are only partly class conscious. From the standpoint of the International proletarian movement they are neither right, left nor center. They are not socialists, communists, centrists, anarchists, or syndicalists. They are—Progressives.

This is a very vague word, it is true; but the section of the American labor movement it describes is, as yet, very hazy in its outlook, and its composition is a hodge-podge. It is altogether too loose and indefinite a body to be spoken of in precise socialist terminology. And that is the crux of the question.

Progressivism is a revolt against Gompersism that has not yet developed a systematic philosophy or an organized form. It is not as yet a conscious movement and it does not show a uniform development in all parts of the country, and in all the International unions. The administration of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is not the same thing as the administration of the Seattle Central Labor Union. There is some difference between Fitzpatrick of Chicago and Cramer of Minneapolis. The Detroit Federation of Labor is not the West Virginia Federation of Labor. But all of them, and the hundreds of thousands of workers, whom they represent and typify, have certain things in common: they are not a part of the Gompers machine, they are not socialists, and they are not communists.

For several years this progressive movement has been drifting comfortably along, putting itself more or less formally on record for progressive measures, but creating no real disturbance in the labor movement. Gompers, the militant reactionary, had little difficulty in beating it back. It was not aggressive enough to cause any sharp collision anywhere. It was not submitted to any real tests and, for that reason, it was not easy to discover its real nature.

Their Uncomfortable Position

But the rapid rise of the Workers Party, and the organization around it of the militant left wing, have introduced a new and most dynamic factor into the situation. The progressives, who are disposed to move ahead slowly and peacefully, find themselves in a most uncomfortable position. Between the militant left wing, which tries to hurry them forward at a faster rate of speed, and the militant reactionaries, who launch fierce counter-attacks in order to drive them back, the progressives have no more peace. Under this pressure from the left and right the progressive movement is revealing its true character quite clearly.

The recent startling actions of different sections of this progressive movement—the big step forward here, the panicky retreat there; the open support of the Michigan communist cases at first, and the denunciation of them a few months later; the joint campaign with the communists for the labor party before the Chicago Conference, and the sudden, unprovoked break at the Conference—all these inconsistent actions are nothing more nor less than the first reactions of the progressive movement to the war between the left and right wings in the labor movement, and the propaganda and pressure each side exerts upon it. That is the real meaning of these recent events.

The progressives do not constitute a homogeneous body, and its lack of consciousness and organization robs it of militancy and certitude, rendering it very susceptible to propaganda and pressure from the right as well as from the left. Under pressure from the left it supports the amalgamation movement. Under counter-pressure from the right it abandons even the labor party. It oscillates between the right and the left, and whenever it has a minute's

Big Campaign for The Daily in Metropolis

Not only that, but our ability to affect the course of the progressives, to give any meaning to an alliance with them, also depends upon it.

Only where we have a strong party organization does the coalition with the progressives represent a real force.

In such localities as Minneapolis we have had experience to show that the unity of the left wing and the progressives, where the left wing is not organized as an independent power, is a house of cards that collapses under the first volley from Gompers' guns.

The confusion and instability of the progressive movement has revealed, which makes it doubly necessary for us to build our own party as an independent power, is also the reason why we cannot adopt a sharp or hostile attitude toward it. If cannot be put into the same category with the socialist party, which carries on a systematic ideological war against us. The progressive movement, in spite of its glaring defects, represents a sound, healthy, honest impulse of hundreds of thousands of workers. It offers great possibilities for us, and it must be our aim to effect an alliance between it and the left wing whenever it is possible, and by careful, patient and friendly work to lead the progressive workers to the platform of Communism.

Amalgamation in Marine Industry

(Special to "The Worker")

NEW ORLEANS, LA.—That the "Plan for Amalgamation in the Marine Industry" is taking root amongst the seamen is plainly seen in the following statement made by a transport worker here:

"I took some of the amalgamation leaflets to the headquarters of the International Seamen's Union and later left a number in the reading room of the Industrial Workers of the World."

"I am going down to the dock tomorrow and will drop some in the pool rooms where the boys hang out when not working. To my mind this is an admirable move and one which should take possession of the marine industry."

"We need amalgamation here very badly. The longshoremen with about 4,000 members, white and colored, and the marine engineers are not affiliated with any international organization. It looks to me as if the longshoremen will go on strike in September for conditions and a slight advance in their scale."

"The I. W. W. boys seem to be giving all their time to the marine industry, and are not pushing other branches. I suppose the reason for this is that the sailors are the only ones organized in that particular branch, No. 510. I am a member of No. 450 and the only one in this section. This town is ripe for amalgamation."

Chicago Labor Needs "Daily"

By THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY (Editor of the Voice of Labor)

The decision of the Workers Party of America to launch a daily paper in Chicago is the best news that the exploited workers of this city have heard for a long, long time. In a city where the workers are poisoned by yellow journalism of the Hearst brand and militant imperialism, Fascism and anti-unionism by the reactionary Chicago Tribune, a daily working-class paper is sure to receive the support of the working masses. A daily workers' paper is a burning necessity and the Workers Party is to be congratulated for deciding to supply that need.

All Workers Must Unite

FORWARD FOR "THE DAILY"

Editor, "The Worker."—I am sure that every class-conscious worker likes "The Worker" because it is in the struggle for all the workers, for a better living, and for Communism! The last time I sent four subscribers to "The Worker," and \$2 for its support. I will do best I can for the Workers Party. I am a worker; I live with workers. All workers must unite against capitalism! Long live our independent power as a party, Communism!—J. L., Madison, Ill.

NOTICE

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

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

SPEAKERS:—Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Olgin and Fred H. Merrick, of Pittsburgh

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

THE WORKER

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When the Police Gets Busy

More than a week has passed since a would-be assassin fired three shots in an attempt to murder William Z. Foster. But no arrests have been made.

In New York City, Policeman John E. Egan, in plain clothes, is shot down on the street. Three young men are immediately arrested and put behind bars, charged with murder.

Two thousand men and women saw the attempted killing of Foster. The manager of the hall, in which the meeting was held, said he spoke to men who were trying to disturb the gathering. Known gangsters were in the hall and recognized by many. Yet no one has been arrested. Not one has even been questioned by the so-called authorities.

In New York City only one young woman says she saw the shooting of the policeman. On her word alone three men face the electric chair.

This comparison shows clearly the values held by the present social system. The capitalists want to kill Foster. Reactionary labor officials are anxious to get him out of the way. His life is held as nothing. Even the Socialist officialdom of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union sneers at him for his heroic efforts to lift the workers to a higher plane of civilization.

But capitalism recognizes in the policeman, Egan, of New York City, one of its own. If Foster were dead the open shop bosses would feel safer. So it is safe to shoot at him. But if it is safe to kill a policeman, a cog in the capitalistic order of force and violence, then the whole capitalist social system totters. Therefore the bosses, and their allies in the labor movement, laugh up their sleeves when men like Foster are attacked; but become terror-stricken when even a lowly policeman is in danger. Thus it is easy to understand why no arrests have been made in Chicago, why the real leaders of labor will not be protected until labor itself protects them. Let all workers learn this lesson of the attempt on Foster's life in Chicago.

Mussolini Goes to War

Mussolini's aggressive action against Greece is the biggest confession yet of the failure of his Fascist dictatorship. He is trying to keep his place in the sun thru new injections of jingoism into the Italian masses. But Mussolini will fail. Mussolini may start another war, in fact the landing of 5,000 Italians on the Island of Corfu is already the beginning. But Mussolini will not end the war. It will be ended by the workers of Italy.

Mussolini has the support of imperialist France in his new adventure. In fact, the Italian dictator at Corfu and elsewhere, is copying the efforts of the French in the Ruhr. Poincaré wants to collect his indemnity from the Germans. Mussolini wants 50,000,000 lire from the Greeks for the murder of some Italian boundary commissioners. Greece is just as unable as is Germany to pay. The pound of flesh, if taken, will contain no blood.

The Athens government, like Mussolini rule at Rome, has been ruthless in its war upon the Greek labor movement. The trade unions, as well as the Communist Party, have been outlawed. Greece and Italy, therefore, offer the spectacle of two brutal national capitalisms at each other's throats, at the same time tearing to shreds all the high-sounding phrases that constitute the foundation upon which the League of Nations is built.

Agony and misery for the masses of Germany and France, of Greece and Italy, are the results of the imperialist ambitions of Poincaré and Mussolini. But the time is near when the workers of these countries will refuse to pay in blood and suffering. They can be expected to build for a bold stroke to achieve their own emancipation. Mussolini is going into the war that means the end of his Fascist rule. Imperialism marches to its ruin.

To the Workers of Japan

Workers of all nations extend their sympathy to the masses in Japan caught in the murderous grip of earthquakes, tidal waves, fires and famine. It is the men, women and children of the working class in Japan, as elsewhere, who suffer most during these calamities. They live in the most dangerous districts. Jammed together in the crowded sections of Yokohama, Tokio and other great cities, they were the least able to escape. To be sure the Imperial Palace caught fire. But no serious damage was done. The Prince Regent removed immediately to another place. The Emperor and Empress are safe at the Nikko Summer Palace.

But the workers, once their homes are destroyed, have nowhere to go. They have no summer palaces in the safe places. They are the first victims of famine and plague, the handmaidens of earthquakes. Those scourges will first take their added toll of death from among them. They are the first who are compelled to riot for food, who are shot down by the gendarmes for rioting.

Factories had been built even on the slopes of restless Mount Fuji. Eight thousand spinners died at their work places in the Fuji Spinning Mills.

The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia will especially sympathize with the stricken masses of Japan. If Japanese labor had established its Soviet Republic, then the bought press of the world would have found some way to blame Workers' Rule for this new catastrophe. That is what they did during last year's famine in the Valley of the Volga. The Communists were to blame, said these harpies of world capitalism.

But how different with Japan, with its newest capitalist imperialism. Scientists conjure up many explanations of these natural horrors from their hidden lore. Not the least blame will be launched at the capitalist social order. All relief societies will be on the job to coin riches for themselves. The Salvation Army is already planning to collect \$5,000,000. We do not remember that it troubled itself about the millions of famine stricken in Soviet Russia. That was an unpopular cause.

When the fire that swept Tokio reached the city prison, the workers incarcerated there, Communist and Socialist victims of the Mikado's white terror, were turned loose with the other prisoners. The Japanese, the workers, will build again upon the ruins. They will erect new cities. It is a good time for the workers to decide that they will build no more palaces for imperialist rulers, that they will rebuild for themselves alone, new cities, a new nation, a new society. These are the only thoughts that can give cheer to the Japanese masses in their present desperate circumstances.

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

The Policies of Madness

France has its Ruhr, Italy has its Corfu and the United States has its refusal to recognize the Russian Soviet Republic. These are alike policies of madness. Poincaré treads the footmarks of preceding French imperialists. Mussolini believes himself another conquering Caesar, and Coolidge echoes the Hughes-Hoover anti-Soviet declarations, like Harding before him.

The French franc goes down with the German mark, Italians as well as Greeks will be slain in hostilities between Rome and Athens, but Soviet Russia is establishing her place in the world in spite of American capitalism. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic have suffered much. But their suffering is passing. It is the workers in America's factories, and the tillers of the fields of this nation, who will continue to suffer, as they are suffering, thru lack of trade relations with the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Moscow would like to get the products of American factories for the freed inhabitants of her vast domains. But Washington reiterates "No!" Coolidge says, "Russia must first have a government that measures up to 'American standards,' which no doubt means a government ruled by bankers, landlords and great industrialists; a government that bankrupts farmers, throws workers into idleness, crushes strikes with ruthless brutality and imprisons those who challenge its power.

Great Britain, in spite of many squeamish objections, receives Christian Rakovsky, head of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, as the new Russian trade envoy to London, but fails to follow this surrender with complete recognition. British imperialism, like that in France, Italy and the U. S. A., would rather have starving workers and penniless farmers at home than aid in the reconstruction program of the First Workers' Republic. These are mad policies indeed—for capitalist imperialism. The Russian workers and peasants have found out, what the workers and farmers everywhere are gradually learning, that they must get rid of the parasites and blood suckers who have too long fattened upon their agonies. Let all American labor realize that Washington's failure to recognize Soviet Russia is but another burden placed upon the shoulders of the workers and farmers of this country. They will then refuse to support this mad policy.

Join the Workers Party! Subscribe for "THE WORKER"

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

Organize the Unorganized!

One of the biggest steps toward "The Daily" is another "sub" for "The (Weekly) Worker." Get it!

The Workers Should Worry

The public schools are opening over the land, and as usual, there are too few seats to go around. But Washington, D. C. dollar diplomacy launched the biggest battle in the world the other day. Intelligent youths do not make good cannon fodder, so why worry about the schools, say the profiteers. That is all the more reason, however, why the workers should worry, more than ever.

Gompers and His Policies

Sam Gompers will, no doubt, use his dollar correspondence with the "Solicitor" statesman of the Coolidge administration to bolster up his position against the recognition of Soviet Russia. If Gompers is with Coolidge on the Russian recognition issue, perhaps he is also with the president on his strike-breaking policies. The one position dovetails with the other. America's workers had better find out where their leaders are at and act accordingly.

Hughes Announces Discovery

U. S. Secretary of State Hughes told the Canadian Bar Association at Montreal that he sees an end of economic wars. This is the first time, to our knowledge, that the bewhiskered secretary of state has admitted that wars were waged for economic reasons. For making such claims, men were sent to prison, and, as in the case of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, at Leavenworth, Kansas, they are still there. Why we can't all be secretaries of state and stay out of jail.

If Mussolini Comes

If Mussolini accepts the invitation of Commander Owsley of the American Legion, as he probably will, to address the legionaires at their forthcoming gathering at San Francisco, he will have an opportunity to stand side by side with Sam Gompers. For Gompers has invited Mr. Owsley to the American Federation of Labor convention at Portland, Ore., in October, and will reciprocate by attending Mr. Owsley's gathering at Frisco. No doubt Mr. Gompers will be able to compare notes with the Fascist dictator and how to make war upon the thinking and progressive elements in the labor movement.

The Greatest Catastrophe

Newswriters speak of the calamities that have come over Japan as "the greatest catastrophe in the world's history." In this they are mistaken, as they are on all problems of magnitude. Not that we would minimize the agony of the Japanese people, but the world war still remains the world's greatest catastrophe. Five years after it came to an end, the world war still has all the peoples of the earth in direst misery, and new wars are in the making. And the world war was the result of a social system that can be wiped away at any time the masses of the workers realize it is in their power, and use this power. Nature is still kinder to man than he is to himself.

Clarissa S. Ware

Clarissa S. Ware, head of the Research Department of the National Office of the Workers Party of America, died on Monday, August 27th, after an operation for acute pancreatitis, a rare disease of one of the digestive organs of the stomach. Comrade Ware had been in full health and vigor until two days before her death.

Clarissa S. Ware became a member of the Party three years ago. During the greater part of this period she was engaged in research work for the Party, preparing material for the Party literature. She was the author of the pamphlet "The American Foreign-Born Workers," and of a number of reports on special phases of the labor movement, some of which were prepared for the Communist International. At the time of her death she was working upon a series of articles on the Ku Klux Klan. She was also editor of "The Review of the Week," a bulletin on social and economic facts issued by the Research Department, which was widely reprinted by the labor press of the country. Comrade Ware also participated actively in the organization work of the Party, having been a member of various local executive bodies of the Party.

In 1922 Comrade Ware went to Russia as part of the Friends of Soviet Russia Tractor Unit, spending six months there working in the famine district of the Ural mountains, undergoing the hardships of living in freight cars and upon famine rations.

In the death of Comrade Ware, the Party and the Communist Movement have lost a loyal, active worker, who because of unusual training and ability was able to render great service to the cause she loyally supported.

Revolt Rumbles in Germany

By WILLIAM F. KRUSE

(European Correspondent of "The Worker")

BERLIN, GERMANY.—August days in Berlin. The mark at a million plus. A month's wages for a pair of shoes. Discontent rumbles ready to flame into revolt.

At The Grosses Schauspiel Haus—"The Weavers." Good cast. The stage settings reflect general poverty, "before the war there were real shelves with real goods on them—now they must use a painted curtain," so the "auslander" is told. The great, beautiful, distinctive theatre, different from anything seen in America, a one-time market hall, is only one-third filled. The best seats cost fifteen cents. Only at the entrances one sees a pitiful survival of the ancient regime. Well groomed old attendants, actually resplendent in full dress (only born funkies can wear it impressively) greet one with the usual "hofflichst bitten darf, gnädige Herrenchaften." You give him ten thousand marks—one cent.

In the foyers the difference is clear. Schupo (Police) everywhere. No evening dress to be seen. Clothes neat, German clothes all ways are, even the moment before they fall apart. Not a pair of silk stockings in the house. The careful, discerning eye sees that clothes are worn threadbare and there are too many patches to be hidden. But collars are white and heads held high. At the bar the most expressive example of all. Beer costs sixteen thousand, a weak lemonade lacking in both lemon and sugar costs ten. So they drink lemonade. Hard times indeed in Germany when the theatre-goer drinks lemonade.

Then the play. The actors merit interest, the audience more. Between the dearest and the cheapest seats is a wide empty stretch. Applause may show appreciation of artistic endeavor but here it certainly registers political opinion as well. Gone is the old time custom of withholding applause until the end of the act. When, to the tune of smashed finery the weavers shout. "The manufacturers shall become as poor as we," there is a roar of applause from the cheaper seats, and this is met with timid handclapping from the higher priced sections, when old Hilse preaches patience and a reward in Heaven.

The traditional phlegmatic tempo of life is profoundly disturbed. Anti-fascist Sunday witnessed "forbidden" demonstrations on an unheard of scale. Open parades were outlawed, a hundred thousand troops and police were concentrated in and around Berlin to cope with the expected "revolution." Instead great halls in all parts of the city held 200,000 demonstrators, all meetings were dismissed at the appointed hour, with a result just as impressive as could be desired. Six workers were slightly wounded in clashes with the police, and over a hundred arrested for disturbing the peace.

The German Communists are hiding their time and organizing their strength. No more minority putsch. The position of the government becomes more critical every day. The mark can hardly slide any further without disappearing altogether. The small business class is being wiped out, storekeepers direct their chief efforts against selling their goods, the more they sell the sooner the collapse of the mark drives them into bankruptcy. Long lines of customers are outside of every grocery waiting their chance to buy their quarter pound of butter. "Tomorrow there may be nothing to buy" is the slogan. Schupo are called daily to protect storekeepers from irate housewives who demand the reduction of prices on bread and potatoes. Perhaps they heed the example of the women in "The Weavers."

Educational and organizational work is the order of the day in the movement here. In a coal mine district of 15,000 inhabitants three hours out from Berlin, where the Communists have only 300 members, they gathered together a great meeting of 6000 people. And they had this meeting addressed by Communists from England, France and Poland, as well as Germany! And this district, once the pride of the SDP, is now sliding toward the Left.

Anything may happen in Germany during the next few months. Something is sure to.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
ANNOUNCE CHICAGO ADDRESS

The National Office, Friends of Soviet Russia, formerly of 201 W. 13th St., New York City, announce their new address as 322 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago.

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

NOTE.—We herewith publish the second and concluding installment of the article by Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, analyzing and criticizing the lack of aggressive action on the part of the Bulgarian Communist Party, during the recent upheaval in that country, when the Stambulinski government was overthrown. Zinoviev argues that there were many indications that the workers and peasants were ready for definite action, but that the Communist Party failed in providing a militant leadership. Zinoviev says:—

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV

Chairman, Communist International

In his article: "The bourgeois military upheaval and the Communist Party in Bulgaria," Comrade Kabaktschiev himself writes that in the districts of Radomir, Parzadschik, Plevna, Schumen, Karlovo, Popovo, Russé, Bela Tschervan-Breg, Lovetsch, and Drenovo (there are 89 districts in all) an armed resistance began among the peasantry, and that the strength of the armed groups reached several hundreds in the districts of Plevna, Schumen and Parzadschik.

How then can it be said to be evident, as maintained by Comrade Kabaktschiev, that the movement was certain of defeat, even when "supported by the Communists?" At the beginning, the Whites had but slight powers at their disposal. This is acknowledged by Comrade Kabaktschiev himself.

But Comrade Kabaktschiev has another argument ready.

"The working masses of the cities," he writes—"met the upheaval with indifference, even with a certain relief." (!)

The article published by the periodical of the Bulgarian Communist

Party, the Novoye Vremya, goes even further:

"The masses of Sofia met the downfall of the Peasants' League government with a feeling of relief and open (!) satisfaction." (!) The article is entitled: "The upheaval and the situation in Bulgaria."

The masses are well known to have a broad back. Everything can be loaded upon them. But if ever there was a case in which the party leaders are to blame, it is this! Even today they are still falling more violently against the fallen Stambulinsky government than against the triumphant Whites. This they justify "theoretically" by the magnificent "thesis," that for the workers there exists no difference between the two "cliques" of the bourgeoisie. They name this a very different epithet.

This dogmatic doctrinaire method of estimating the different groups of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie is not confined to the leaders of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. In this respect they remind us of the worst sectarian characteristics of Guesdism (of the earlier description). So long as this was merely a theoretical fad, a literary subtlety, it was not a serious matter, but as soon as it determined the policy of the party in a decisive crisis, it became a real disaster to the party.

The number of small-holding peasants in Bulgaria, as often confirmed by Comrade Kabaktschiev himself, is 300,000. There are many medium holders (also extremely poor). In this tiny country there are about 600,000 peasants who are potentially our allies. A portion of these was already at the parting of the ways from Stambulinsky to us at the time of the upheaval. And we are told that we are dealing here with a struggle between two equally pernicious bourgeois "cliques."

At the close of the manifesto men-

tioned, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian party saves its conscience with the slogan of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government." But under such circumstances this slogan is a mere phrase, a dead word, a political corpse. This is not the way to fight for the Workers' and Peasants' government. This is not Marxism.

Stambulinsky has been murdered. The heads of his party have been scattered. Some of them have gone over to the Whites. But the peasants remain. We must unite with them to fight against the bourgeoisie. And we cannot do this without freeing ourselves from old sterile views.

The leaders of the Central Committee probably hoped to save the party from blows by their "neutrality." They did not decide to take up arms. The over-cautious leaders sought to shelter themselves from themselves from the impending danger of civil war beneath the torn umbrella of "neutrality." Do not believe the "rumors" of extraordinary measures taken against the Communists, telegraphs Comrade Lukanov. A few days pass and—was it so difficult to foresee it?—the extraordinary measures become actual fact. The Fascist government hails repressions on the Communist Party; in Plevna alone some hundreds of Communists have been arrested; it is perfectly clear that the party is being driven into illegality. The whole bourgeois press writes derisively upon the "neutrality" of the Communists, and prepares to deal them fresh blows.

It is difficult to imagine a more dogmatic and wrongful attitude, under the given circumstances, than that adopted by the C. C. of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Stambulinsky was the natural enemy of the working class. His policy of repressions against the Communists naturally aroused a justified indignation and a justified hate against him. And it is of course equally true that the

heads of the Stambulinsky peasants' party had more and more degenerated into a group representing the interests of the large farmers. But all the same, it is an amazing error, in such a situation as that of Bulgaria, to represent the whole bourgeoisie, including the peasant petty bourgeoisie who are still sympathizing, or half sympathizing, with Stambulinsky, as "a reactionary mass." At the moment when the Fascisti and the heads of the peasants' party came into conflict, it was (and remains) the task of the Communist Party to unite with all reasonably honest adherents of the peasants' party, and to join forces with these against the Whites. Was Kerensky no enemy of the workers in September 1917? And yet the Bolsheviks joined Kerensky against Kornilov. And they lost nothing by it. Kerensky was the only one to lose anything. This is the only way in which the Stambulinsky party can and must be opposed.

The attitude taken by the Bulgarian C. C. approaches very closely to a social democratic attitude.

When we say "social democratic," we are thinking of the good old days of social democracy. The present day social democrats naturally go a great deal further. The leaders of the Bulgarian Mensheviks (the "broad" socialists), who form a part of the Second International, participate in the Fascist government, and it would appear, undertake the role of executioners for this government.

In this manner the Second International identifies itself directly, thru the "broad," with the glorious international family of the Fascisti.

The "neutral" attitude adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria was bound to lead into a blind alley. A waiting policy, combined with a gesture of neutrality, at such a juncture, signifies political capitulation.

The fate of the Bulgarian Com-

munist Party is instructive. It is one of the oldest and most powerful labor parties. The Communist Party of Bulgaria can look back upon at least 25 to 30 years of development. It had won over the greater part of the workers and a considerable section of the peasantry in the course of a long struggle against the "broad" socialists. It deprived the "broad" of all serious influence on the working classes. In agitative and propaganda work, the Bulgarian Communist Party has accomplished magnificent work (something after the manner of the German social democracy in its best years). The Communist Party of Bulgaria is led by a staff of leaders composed of educated and tried Marxists. And yet—this terrible error, this great disappointment. It is fearfully difficult to proceed from agitation and propaganda to revolutionary deeds.

As early as 1921 (in an open letter dated May 4, 1921) the Executive of the Comintern directed the attention of the Bulgarian Communist Party to its weak points. Impress it upon yourselves—we wrote in this letter—that victory does not simply fall from heaven. Remember that agitation and propaganda alone do not suffice, that we must know how to make the transition to direct fighting measures at the decisive moment.

The second time that the Executive drew the attention of the Communist Party of Bulgaria to its weak points, a somewhat sharper tone was used. This was on the occasion of the last revolution in Greece. The Bulgarian Central Committee, heading the whole Balkan federation, maintained an apathy with regard to the events in Greece perfectly incomprehensible to a revolutionist.

What is the cause of this?

The Bulgarian Communist Party has been gathering its forces during a quarter of a century by means of organizational and propagandist work.

The question was, whether quantity would be converted into quality in good time, whether the old Bulgarian party would be able to put an end to the preparatory period of propaganda and gathering of forces, and at the decisive moment, plunge into the fight. It has proved incapable of doing this. The leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, during the past few months, have devoted much more thought and care to the protection of the "People's Houses," which were attacked by Stambulinsky, than to preparations for the impending upheaval, tho this was foreseen by Kabaktschiev and the whole Central Committee. Just as in 1914 many a leader of social democracy.

The Bulgarian Communists are backed up by the whole of the railway workers, the whole of the post office and telegraph employees. It is obvious that this could have been of immense significance in the first days of the upheaval. But we remained "neutral."

The Bulgarian Communist Party wanted a revolution "with guarantees." It has never ventured to even think of a war. "On the day following a revolution, Rumania would march against us, etc." But the Whites were not afraid of the Yugoslavs, and they have been victorious, whilst the "caution" of the Bulgarian Communist Party has earned a severe defeat.

It is difficult indeed to have to say all this at a moment when the scorpions of Fascism are harassing the Bulgarian workers. But we dare not preserve silence. The bitter lesson of the political defeat of one of the strongest parties belonging to the Comintern must be turned to account by the other parties. It is thru these severe and trying defeats that real Communist organizations are developed. We had a right to expect something better from the Bulgarian party. But it seems as if we must

drink this cup of sorrow to the dregs. It is only from their own errors and defeats that the workers learn.

There are situations in which it is worse for a revolutionary party not to take up arms than to enter into a fight resulting in a defeat. Our Bulgarian Party was in such a situation. To retire behind the cloak of "neutrality" at such a moment means paralyzing one's own powers.

We do not doubt for a moment but that those hundreds and thousands of conscious proletarians who have joined the Bulgarian Communist Party—those who have instinctively plunged into the fight and have been left in the lurch by the leaders—will know how to save their party. By a reorganization of their forces, by the experience of the bitter lesson just learnt, they will be enabled to more firmly establish their organizations and prepare themselves for fresh decisive battles, and this under the direct fire of the enemy. After all, the civil war is only just beginning. It can only end with the victory of the Communist Party. The slogan issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria; the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' government, is the right slogan. We do not accuse the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party of fighting under wrong slogans, but of not fighting at all.

The slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' government will find excellent soil in the peasantry which has been shaken out of its indifference by the civil war. The Bulgarian proletariat will follow this slogan to victory thru the severe defeats, thru a period of White Terror.

May our Bulgarian Comrades not lose their courage, may they correct the mistakes committed with all speed. But all other Communist parties may learn from the Bulgarian example how not to do it!