



Help Strike Blow That Will Make It \$100,000 for the "Daily Worker"—See Page Two

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Dunne Defies Gompers' Terror

"I Will Continue to Fight on Lines I Have Chosen," Says Delegate of Montana Workers, Expelled from A. F. of L. Convention

William Green, of Miners' Union, Appears in Role of Prosecutor, Gompers Judge

(Special to "The Worker")

PORTLAND, OREGON.—William F. Dunne, delegate of the Silver Bow (Butte, Mont.) Central Labor Council, has been expelled from the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The charge is that Dunne is a Communist. This is the climax of the red baiting that has been developing hysteria here for the past week. The vote was 27,838 to 130. Leaving the convention hall after the vote had been taken, Dunne declared:

"It will not strengthen the trade union movement to expel me, and I have no doubt the Michigan prosecutor would be glad to hear of it. I will continue to fight the battles of labor on lines I have chosen."

William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers' Union, appeared as the chief prosecutor, with President Samuel Gompers as the judge. The real jury, the broad masses of the American workers, was not present. The fake verdict was turned in by the grand dukes of the Gompers' reactionary bureaucracy.

Green's attack against Dunne was but a cheap rehearsal of the so-called Lewis-Searles' expose of "red activities." This expose has been repudiated by the members of his own union, chiefly by President Frank Farrington, of the Illinois Mine Workers.

Fimmen Makes Great Speech at the British Trade Union Congress

The most outstanding feature of the proceedings of the recent British Trade Union Congress was a speech by Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the Amsterdam International. Fimmen is not a Communist; indeed, in speaking of the division of the working class in Europe, he failed to show that in every case the Communists have striven for the united front, which has been explicitly refused by the Reformists. Nevertheless, he held the Congress the plain facts of the European situation, and his simple inescapable statement of the revolutionary issue facing Europe created a tremendous impression.

Fimmen, for his honesty, is likely to be hounded out of his post of Secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

In his speech he declared, "This may be the last Congress I shall attend in my present capacity." He said:

"I am sorry I cannot bring you good tidings. I might, in addressing Congress on behalf of the international labor movement, use some pleasant phrases, convey fraternal greetings from the Continent, extend my best wishes for the future development of the British labor movement, thank you for your kind reception, and then sit down."

But you do not want me to do that, you prefer to hear the truth in preference to your kind reception, and then sit down."

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Those voting against the expulsion of Dunne were: Ed. S. Lauer of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill workers; M. P. Sillinsky and Gus Soderberg of the Tailors' union; Dunne, representing the Silver Bow Labor Council; D. W. Stevens of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor assembly; James A. Duncan, of the Seattle Labor Council; and T. E. Brown, of the Tacoma Central Labor Council.

"This is not the first time I have faced a white-collared mob aroused to fury by the press of its masters and bent upon my destruction," was the opening sentence of the speech by W. F. Dunne, editor of the Butte Bulletin to the convention.

The campaign of the A. F. of L. officialdom against minority expression culminated in the expulsion from the convention of William F. Dunne, delegate from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council of Butte, Mont. The motion for his expulsion was made by Vice-President Philip Murray of the United Mine Workers of America and followed the demand made for action by William Green, secretary of the same organization.

Ever since Tuesday the daily press has been carrying advance notices of the action to be taken and a steady campaign of publicity has been carried on by the Chester M. Wright, Matthew Woll and John J. Leary syndicate.

There was no spontaneity about the presentation of the case by the prosecution headed by William Green. The evidence consisted solely of charges of criticisms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers. Green as prosecutor cut one of the poorest

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The Allies Against America's Militant Workers



Open Shopper of the National Civic Federation and Fascisti of the American Legion? "Mr. Gompers, we are with you!"

COOLIDGE RESTORES THE STATE OF WAR

By JOHN PEPPER.

New dangers tower over the workers and farmers.

Coolidge, the strike-breaker, president of the government-strikebreaker, is welding tremendous plans to restore the state of war in the United States.

The federal government is planning three far-reaching measures: 1. The restoration of the United States War Grain Corporation. 2. A federal anti-syndicalist law. 3. A national registration of all aliens.

These three measures mean a complete restoration of the state of war in the United States. Coal mining and railroading are already under the claws of the federal government, and the revival of the War Grain Corporation means the absolute rule of the government of bankers and trusts over farming industry. It means restoring the situation of the world war, when the whole of industrial life was put under control of the federal government.

A federal anti-syndicalist law means the reviving of the espionage act, means the consolidation on a national scale of the existing thirty-eight state laws against sedition and overthrow of the government by force and violence.

The registration of all aliens in the United States means the restoration of the state of war, when the persons and property of foreigners were placed under control of the federal government, which meant that millions of immigrant workers were virtually outlawed.

The War Grain Corporation. The bankers and trust-czars are the real rulers in the United States. It is therefore, obvious that the initiative for these new bills and measures comes from the bankers, and, of course, the public, the people of the United States, is informed of the new plans of the government and congress only through the various convention of the bankers.

The plan for a revival of the United States War Grain Corporation was drawn up and submitted to Cool-

idge by a committee of bankers, congressmen and some big landowners and proprietors of farmers' organizations masked as farmers. The statements of these bankers and fake farmers submitted to President Coolidge were:

"We want it distinctly understood that our mission is not alone in behalf of the wheat growers and farmers of the Ninth District, but we speak for the wheat growers and farmers of the entire country. We wish to safeguard the investors in farm mortgages throughout the country, and we are especially interested in saving for thousands of farmers their rights of ownership in their land and to prevent farmers from being forced to leave their present location for other states and occupations."

The revival of the United States War Grain Corporation is not in the interest of the farmers, but aims "to safeguard the investors in farm mortgages throughout the country." The revival of the War Grain Corporation is not in the interest of the exploited farmers, but in the interest of the bankers! The committee of bankers itself admits this, and it is truly the greatest kind of shortsightedness or betrayal, that politicians like Frazier or Magnus Johnson, elected by the masses of farmers, now howl together with the banker wolves, demanding the revival of the War Grain Corporation. The first War Grain Corporation during the world war helped to prepare the present bankruptcy of the farmers, and if Frazier or Magnus Johnson are today advocating the creation of a second grain corporation, it means that consciously or unconsciously they are delivering up the farmers to the bankers and to the federal government of trusts and bankers.

The farmers are demanding public ownership of the railroads, mines and big industries, and the answer of the government of railroad corporations and coal barons is to proclaim the government ownership of the farmers. The War Grain Corpora-

tion, headed by well-known bankers, means nothing else than monopolistic power on a national scale over the products of the farmers. Frazier and Magnus Johnson were elected against the bankers, and to overthrow the government of bankers; and now they are helping to complete the rule of the bankers over the farmers, they are helping to transform the farmers into the slaves of a capitalist government.

Federal Anti-Syndicalist Law and Registration of Aliens.

The constitution of the United States speaks only of the House of Representatives and the Senate, but the unwritten constitution of reality, recognizes a third part of Congress—the American Bankers' Association. It is, of course, evident that the latest plans of the government effecting the vital interests of millions of workers are first introduced, not in the House of Representatives or the Senate, but at the convention of the American Bankers' Association. Solicitor General James M. Beck in his big speech against menacing red radicalism at the Bankers convention revealed the plans of the Coolidge government.

The Federal government has not been indifferent to the spread of such propaganda and only the last week the Attorney-General has taken step by co-operation with the state authorities to establish more effective supervision of the revolutionary and criminal elements in this country.

Now is the next Congress likely to be indifferent to the danger which too many men have hitherto minimized? Two bills will be urged for passage—one to register all aliens in the country, and the other to make it a crime to conspire to overthrow the national government by force and violence. Today it may be doubted whether there is any specific federal statute which enables the federal authorities to arrest an alien, even though he is carrying a bomb to blow up a customs house. The registration of aliens, if adopted, will probably cause a speedy and welcome hegira

of alien Communists who are now under cover and who are classlessly plotting day and night to destroy the ordered principles of liberty for which the constitution stands. It may be that this peril is unduly exaggerated, but it is well to exaggerate, for forewarned is forearmed."

Our country is facing a new economic depression. Production in the steel and textile industries is declining. Many mills are shutting down, and yet the remedies of the government against menacing wholesale unemployment are: a federal anti-syndicalist law, registration and fingerprinting of aliens, and wholesale deportations of Communists. But we know from experience that everybody is a Communist who fights for higher wages and shorter hours. Everybody is a Communist who participates in strikes against the rulers of the steel and textile mills or railroad corporations. And in the kingdom of Gary everybody is even a Communist who tries to organize the hundreds of thousands of unorganized steel workers.

And just as the elected leaders of the farmers—Magnus Johnson, Frazier and the others—have betrayed the interests of the exploited farmers in advocating government ownership of the farmers, in the same way, the elected leaders of the workers—Gompers, Lewis and the others—betray the interests of the workers in advocating government ownership of the workers. The six articles of the Lewis machine against the red menace and against the foreign-born workers who are penetrated with Communism and the speeches of Gompers in the Portland convention provide the best pretext for the government to persecute the foreign-born workers—in other words, the overwhelming majority of the laboring masses of the basic industries. Registration of aliens is but the first step towards government ownership of the workers. Registration of aliens means that the capitalists are virtually making an

inventory of their living possessions, in the same way as, at the end of the business year, they take an inventory of their non-living possessions. The reactionary bankers, trust-lords and government are crying that Communism is a big menace for the country. What is Communism? Simply public ownership of trusts, industries, banks, railroads, mines and political rule of workers and farmers. What does President Coolidge offer with the help of Magnus Johnson, Frazier, Gompers, Lewis, to the farmers and workers? Nothing but government ownership of farmers and workers, and political rule of the big capitalists of industry, banks and railroads.

The workers and farmers must choose now. Do they want government ownership of the workers and farmers, or do they want public ownership of industries, banks and railroads by the workers and farmers?

"Obey or Starve!" Is Perlstein's Terror Slogan in I. L. G. W. U.

"Obey me or starve," says Mayer Perlstein, vice president, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, whose campaign is now being directed to drive the expelled members from the shop and starve them into submission. This brings the fight, which has raged bitterly in the I. L. G. W. U. for two months, to a climax. When Perlstein first started his drive against the left wing, his stated purpose was to remove them from the Joint Board. This was changed to expulsion from the union and now he is determined to expel them from the shop. That his hatred for anything progressive has developed into a mania is self evident by the stupid and criminal rulings he has made, which has demoralized the whole organization.

For two months the rank and file has shown him in a hundred different ways that they are opposed to these wholesale expulsions and to his disruptive tactics. So far he has not been able to get a single local union to endorse his fight against the left wing. His answer to this almost unanimous protest is to carry the fight from the union hall to the shop.

He is centering his attack upon one shop, Hyman Brothers, which no doubt is a forerunner to what will happen in other shops if he is successful in this one. Although no actual expulsions from the shop have taken place, the whole of Perlstein's activities now are directed to create the proper atmosphere favorable for this action. Two of these shop meetings have been adjourned in confusion because Perlstein insists on carrying his dirty politics from the union hall into the shop, results of which will be seen in the very near future.

That Perlstein will go to any length to destroy the left wing movement is self evident. Here are a few of the crimes that Perlstein has committed against the organization within the past two months that requires the serious attention of the rank and file.

Nine members expelled without trial. Two members arbitrarily expelled after Trial Committee found that they were not guilty. Secretary removed from office because she seconded the motion that her local should not endorse the expulsions. Another member of this same local disfranchised for six months because he made the motion. A delegate to the Joint Board, who stated at a meeting of the Joint board that he read the Labor Herald and liked its contents, was ordered by Perlstein to appear before his private expulsion committee. One local union suspended from the Joint Board and its charter threatened because they voted against the expulsion. Instructions issued by Perlstein to the membership forbidding them to buy or sell tickets to the Amalgamation Dance, given by the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League or to solicit or give donations to the Freiheit or to distribute circulars in the union hall or on the streets or to in any way sympathize with or help the expelled members. The penalty for the infraction of these instructions is expulsion from the union. The right of the membership to petition to

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Reaction Jeers at Progress Won by Chicago's Workers

Turn backward! Turn backward! Time, in thy flight! sums up the action of the Chicago Federation of Labor at its meeting held Sunday, October 7.

The occasion was the report of its three delegates to the Decatur Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor. Their report and recommendation approving the action of the Decatur Convention on Amalgamation, the Labor Party and recognition of Soviet Russia caused an all-day discussion.

The report was about to be hurriedly voted on when Delegate William Z. Foster was recognized. In beginning his speech, he pointed out that the approval of this recommendation of the delegates would amount to a repudiation of the many progressive measures the Chicago Federation of Labor had stood for, including the very resolution on a Labor Party which it had unanimously endorsed and instructed these same delegates to introduce at Decatur and that their report showed was defeated by an overwhelming vote.

Foster said that "he had ceased to call Fitzpatrick and Nockels, 'friend' since the issuance of the copy of the Illinois News Letter containing the letter of John Fitzpatrick and Ed Nockels was used in the Decatur Convention to destroy the sentiment for amalgamation, and that Fitzpatrick and Nockels had not been instructed by any action of the Chicago Federation of Labor on this matter, and therefore had no right to issue this kind of a statement."

Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, Democratic alderman, followed Foster, with a bitter attack upon him and the Trade Union Educational League. He sprung a new argument, that "the Trade Union Educational League is responsible for the loss in membership of the American Federation of Labor." He complained that Foster spent his time in building up the League instead of the American Federation of Labor, and "charged" that Foster would not doubt be lauding the Decatur Convention if it had done things that agreed with him. Meaning of course, if it had approved Amalgamation, Labor and Recognition of Soviet Russia.

Victor Olander, secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor, also took the floor and made a rambling speech that lasted an hour and a quarter. He said the opposite of Nelson, that is, that Foster had misused the good name and reputation of the Chicago Federation of Labor, by spreading broadcast its stand on Amalgamation. Which goes to show: "You're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't."

Olander performed many other mental somersaults in condemning "Foster, the Communist leader." His detailed and would-be dramatic story of how at the Decatur Convention, he had "snatched the mantle of fame, which Foster was so furtively wearing, and placed it on the rightful owner—Fitzpatrick; who he claimed was the real originator of the wonderful plan (federation), that Foster had applied in organizing the Stock Yards Workers," was a real gem. His speech was typical of the Gompsonian line of muddled reasoning, filled with Anarcho-Syndicalist philosophy and statements about "preserving the freedom of the individual" while not denying "the principle of mutual aid" (shades of Kropotkin). He wound up in a solemn tone, with a tribute to the wonderful efforts of "brotherly love."

It has been many a day since the Chicago Federation listened to this kind of pseudo-intellectual bunk. Few were deceived by the voice that spoke with a catch in it about brotherly love, while at the same time, a dagger was plunged into the heart of the rank and file demand for amalgamation.

After a discussion of this kind that lasted many hours the report of the delegates, together with their recommendations, was approved, many of the delegates being brought to the meeting for the occasion, by those opposed to any semblance of progress, while others were very much influenced by the temporary red hysteria that is driving the Chicago Federation of Labor to "Out-Gompers Gompers." The officialdom is now engaged in a campaign of repudiation of everything progressive it has ever stood for. They are now rejecting radical measures that have given the Chicago Federation not alone a national but an international reputation. Where is it heading to and where will it end?

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Dunne Defies Gompers' Terror Reign

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figures of the convention, but no ability was needed to secure the result which had been carefully arranged and for which all plans, including the votes of the international officials, had been made.

Dunne defended himself in what opinion generally concedes to be the most remarkable speech ever delivered at an A. F. of L. convention. Not one inch did the target of all the abuse and faked up charges recede. His speech consisted of direct attack upon the policies of the officialdom of the A. F. of L. and never has the machine had a more thorough going over than he gave it. After he had been speaking a few moments, the convention listened in absolute silence to the Communist viewpoint that he expressed. The Lewis-Green-Murray machine denied not a single one of his statements, nor did they run the risk of contradicting statements contained in an article in The Butte Bulletin dealing with the charges of bribery and corruption preferred by Lewis against Farrington, President of the Illinois Mine Workers District and by Farrington against Lewis.

Green got into an awful mess in attempting to question Dunne concerning alleged statements in an article dealing with the anthracite controversy, and Gompers was forced to come to his rescue when Dunne challenged him to read the statements he claimed were made. Immediately following Green's statement Murray moved that the credentials of W. F. Dunne be revoked. The motion specified no charges against Dunne, but the speeches made before and after the motion clearly indicated that the egotism of the misleaders of American labor had been severely injured by the statements of "Dunne" and the Communist press. The loudest complaints were made against the sarcastic statements reflecting upon the intelligence and fighting spirit of the international officialdom; back of this, of course, was the desire to intimidate the proponents of the Labor Party and Amalgamation ideas and the desire to reduce the fighting strength of the supporters of these measures to the minimum. In this there can be no doubt that the Machine has been completely successful and there is not enough opposition to cause officialdom any worry whatever.

In closing his attack on Dunne, Green mentioned as a precedent the expulsion of the devil and his angels

from heaven. Dunne opined his speech by saying that he was glad Green had found Biblical backing. "It gave," he said, "a religious atmosphere that was quite in keeping with the heresy-hunting proclivities of the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor." He announced that he had no intention of making any defense but that any statements he made would be solely for the purpose of making his position understood. He pointed out that the American workers were less than one-seventh organized, that the proportion of the organized to the total number of wage earners was growing smaller and still, said Dunne, "you call yourselves labor leaders." "You have," he continued, "attempted to become the hangmen and informers of the employing class of this country and you expect mercy from them during the coming period of depression. But they despise you and laugh at your pretensions as you strut and swank upon this platform. Sam Gompers himself, head and shoulders above ninety per cent of you intellectually, despises you. He knows your ignorance and your prejudices, your weaknesses and your misdeeds. He plays upon them as a violinist plays upon his instrument. Even the men in the press box despise you and laugh at you. No, you may be flattered and catered to at this convention by the press of the employers but in six months' time they will be denouncing your organizations just as bitterly as they now denounce the Communists. A labor movement cannot be built by attempting to placate the employers and their hangmen, but you are trying to do this. You are trying to convince the employers that you are just respectable, just conservative, just as much interested in maintaining the wage system as the employers themselves. You stop at the same hotels, you wear the same clothes, you belong to the same fraternal orders and you hobnob with them in their clubs."

Dunne paid his respects to Frank Hodges, of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, who had denounced "borders from within" and lauded the American standard of living in his speech to the convention, giving the American Federation of Labor credit for maintaining that standard. Dunne reminded Hodges that the standard of living at the Vancouver Hotel and the Multnomah Hotel, which he had been enjoying during his short stay on this continent was not the standard of living of the American working class. "It is," said Dunne, "the standard of living of the international

workers at this convention but it has no relation whatever to the standards of the men they are supposed to represent." Dunne cited his record in the trade union movement and stated that he had not come into the labor movement by the back door as had the editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal, who had sponsored the attack upon the radical elements by that organization and who had with the sanction of John L. Lewis appealed to the employers for support in the campaign. Green challenged this statement and Dunne quoted articles and paragraphs. Dunne declared that Lewis had attempted in his union over to the gallows after they had been acquitted by a jury and that the sole purpose of these articles was to carry favor with the employers and cover up the misdeeds of the international officers.

In regard to constitutional action and democracy Dunne asked this question, "when you have exhausted all constitutional possibilities and the workers still starve in the streets, what then?" Several times during Dunne's speech there was loud applause in the gallery and Gompers was forced to warn the occupants that no demonstration would be tolerated. Following his statement that he had heard plenty of boasting of revocation of charters but nothing of new unions being organized and that the officials swaggared around as though they had capitalism by the throat there was an unusually loud outburst of applause from the spectators which Gompers quelled.

Following the vote of his expulsion Dunne left the hall and was greeted by a crowd which grew rapidly in front of the convention building. He shook hands with a few, who pressed about him, and then hurried away to his hotel.

The Federated Press was denounced previously to the beginning of the proceedings against Dunne, and the report of the Educational Committee on this matter was elaborated upon by the heir-apparent Mathew Woll, who also took the opportunity to open fire on Dunne. The part allotted him was a brief one however, and the report of the committee was endorsed almost before he had ceased speaking.

From now on the convention will move smoothly ahead before the end of the week. No resolution not sponsored by the Gompers' machine has the slightest chance of a fight being made in its behalf to say nothing of being passed.

the Free State, to show that it was a capitalist government supported by British imperialists and that the only solution of the Irish question is a Workers Republic. The Communist Party maintained its separate identity in supporting the Labor Party and the Republicans and criticized both parties for their shortcomings. The Irish Labor Party issued a statement in which it declared that the party was disappointed with the result of the elections and laid the blame for the result on lack of organization, the Larkin split, the apathy of the workers and the absence of educational propaganda. The statement ends by saying: "There is but one alternative to the present government: A Labor Government. Let us prepare the machinery to hasten the day."

Cleveland Workers Party Enters Upon Election Campaign

The Cleveland local of the Workers Party has succeeded in placing three candidates on the ticket in the municipal election to be held in November.

The election in Cleveland this year is of a unique character. Through amendment to the city charter, adopted about a year ago, only a City Council of 25 members is elected and the Mayor or city manager is chosen by this Council. The important part of the election plan, however, is that the proportional representative system is applied.

The city is divided into four districts from which respectively 7, 5, 6, and 7 members of the City Council are elected. In district 1, for instance, there are some 50,000 voters, who elect seven members of the City Council, and any group which can muster 7,000 votes will be able to elect one of these candidates under the proportional representative plan.

The Workers Party has nominated Carl Hacker as candidate in district 1, Jacob Heinrich in district 8 and A. Severino in district 4. In order to make nominations it was necessary to secure the signatures of 500 electors in each of the districts.

The Party in Cleveland will wage an active campaign in support of these candidates, with the end in view of electing at least one of these candidates in the most favorable district and thus securing representation in the City Council in Cleveland.

Sunday Forum Meetings. The Cleveland organization is also holding Sunday lectures at the Labor Temple, 2528 Euclid Ave. each Sunday evening at 7:30 P. M. On Oct. 29, C. E. Ruthenberg spoke on the "History of the Communist Movement in the United States." On Oct. 30, J. Louis Engdahl, editor of the Worker, will address the forum on the "Class Struggle in the United States." On Oct. 29, Earl R. Browder will speak and on Oct. 28, Jay Lovestone.

"Obey or Starve" Rule in "The International"

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the General Executive Board has been denied."

These are a few of the disruptive measures that are being carried out by Perlestein. At the last meeting of the Joint Board a delegate from Local 81 had the temerity to accuse the officials of causing trouble by bringing their politics into the shop. For this criticism Perlestein suspended him immediately from the Joint Board. This suspension, however, was overruled by the Joint Board. Some of the delegates, disgusted at the tactics of Perlestein, left the meeting.

At the last meeting of Local 100 a temporary delegate was elected to the Joint Board. The following day Perlestein called him into the office along with the chairman of the shop in which he worked and for three hours grilled him in regards to his standing on the Trade Union Educational League.

Finally he ordered the chairman to notify the foreman of the shop not to supply this man with work. This the chairman refused to do, stating that the workers in the shop would not stand for this decision. Perlestein then threatened to remove the chairman from the shop and stated that if it was necessary he would remove all of the workers and replace them with others.

At the last meeting of the Joint Board, Perlestein stated that in order to rid the union of those who were opposed to his policies that he would use physical force.

Democracy in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is dead. The constitutional rights of a member have been abrogated and a reign of terror has been instituted by Perlestein that if allowed to continue will not only mean the expulsion of the left wing from the organization and consequent stagnation, but will eventually lead to the destruction of the organization and a return to the sweat shop system.

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Reactionaries Divide The Workers Even Unto Their Tombstones

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

This is being written at the start of the second week of the American Federation of Labor Convention at Portland, Ore. The writer is in Chicago. But distance is an aid, rather than a hindrance, in seeing clearly what is happening in "The Rose City" on the Pacific Coast.

The kept sheets of Monday, Oct. 8, come out with the aim Samuel Gompers' complete victory over "the reds." Without this issue to dilute upon they would have nothing to print. It is a fight between "the reds" and "the yellows."

Delegate William F. Dunne, of the Silver Bow (Butte, Mont.) Central Labor Council, has been driven out of Sam Gompers' church, while amalgamation has been defeated.

The stone age of standpatism that dominates at Portland, Ore., was clearly shown in one of those great intellectual combats that characterize every A. F. of L. jurisdictional dispute. It was at the gathering of the Building Trades Department, preceding the A. F. of L. opening. The question was over the admission of the Teamsters' Union to the department. James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, premier of the Gompers cabinet, was in favor of the teamsters. P. J. Morrin, of the Structural Iron Workers' Union, was in the opposition.

"And I don't see where a man who cuts tombstones for graveyards has any business in the building trades," declared Morrin.

"Some of these days, Paddy Morrin, you'll be looking for a granite cutter to make you a nice union tombstone for your grave, tho," retorted the chief of the Gompers inner circle.

"That I will not," replied Morrin, however, "I'll be true to my trade. I'll have a structural iron and concrete tombstone."

All of which characterizes the solid ivory reaction that permeates organized labor in these United States. It is the fatal loyalty that so cripples the vision of American labor that it is unable to even sense the big issues that confront the workers.

Thus the New York Leader, formerly the New York Call, makes much ado about its A. F. of L. service. It publishes, in addition to the dispatches of its special correspondent, it says, the reports of the United Press, the Federated Press and the Jewish Daily Forward. But in its Saturday, Oct. 6th, issue, closing the first week of the A. F. of L. Convention, it could only get a single column, first page head, "May Unseat Dunne Today," over a report by George P. West. Now West is no slouch reporter. He was head of the publicity forces that worked with the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations headed by Frank P. Walsh.

He knows the problems confronting the American working class. But in Portland, Ore., he is compelled to join the anti-Communist jazz orchestra of the Gompers-Woll-Lewis outfit and play his tunes accordingly. West voices his conclusion that "Far more attention has been given to the so-called 'red menace' at this convention than was given to it at the American Bankers' Association convention two or three weeks ago." And the biggest accomplishment of the gathering is the unseating of Dunne.

The whole show would be comical if it did not affect the lives of millions of America's working men, women and children. We could laugh at Sam Gompers strutting around in imitation of Wilson's A. Mitchell Palmer, John L. Lewis masquerading as Harry M. Laughry, with the lesser lights in the riotous strike, bawling Coolidge and red-baiting Luskens, if the workers' fight for freedom were not stabbed in the back in this proceeding.

It was a motley array that Gompers had chosen to open his show. "Loyalty to government and faith-

fulness to contracts" was the pl of the prayer offered by Bishop Walter Taylor Sumner, of the Episcopal Diocese of Oregon, who deserted Chicago's West Side, when the red light district began surrounding the church. The anti-labor Mayor George L. Baker, of Portland, did his little skit, completely eliminating schism between teamsters, iron workers and granite cutters when he declared that "there is no room in the I. W. W., Bolshevism and the other isms" in the American labor movement. The solid ivory applause was unanimous and Mayor Baker will continue jailing militant workers in Portland. Governor Walter B. Pierce rattled the bones of "American principles" and the convention was in its proper setting, the reactionary atmosphere that has surrounded any A. F. of L. convention since this central labor body grew on the ruins of the Knights of Labor.

Let us quote again from the Worker's correspondence: "To your correspondent, bo Walker and Robinson (fraternal delegates of the British Trade Union Congress) expressed their surprise that American labor has not gone in independent political action."

And— "They said it was lucky that certain outstanding figures in the British labor movement had not been here as delegates, as they fear their so-called radicalism would show the Americans."

Perhaps the Seattle Central Labor Council should consider itself lucky to get 30 days, instead of 30 seconds to obey the mandates of the Gompers machine and purge itself of all the colors of the Bolshevik rainbow.

Yet, in all these actions, it is evident, to all thinking observers that Gompers' black reaction, no matter from what craft union it gets its support, is chipping away in unison on a common tombstone, that will mark its last resting place just soon as the thinking workers of the world get together, unite their forces and proceed to the building of real class unions of exploited workers.

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Poster Opens 2nd Year's Drive for Michigan Defense

(Special to "The Worker").
DETROIT, MICH.—With the mass meeting in Detroit for the Labor Defense Council at which William Z. Foster will be the principal speaker, the second year of the great drive for the defense in the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism cases will be opened. The House of the Masses, 2101 Grand Ave., has been secured for the meeting, which will be held Tuesday, Oct. 24, at 8:00 p. m.
It is particularly fitting that Foster should be the speaker at this meeting, for in addition to being the public activity of the second year of the defense work, the meeting will open a new phase in the struggle for the Michigan defense which has so far been conducted with such striking success.
That the incident nation-wide raid of which the Bridgman attack was scheduled to be the first was stepped in the bid by the militant defense which has been put up in the Michigan cases is now a recognized fact. A year ago the Labor Defense Council had strictly a defensive battle wage. It had to maintain its position in the face of a bitter offensive by the part of the Burns-Daugherty-Chamber of Commerce crew of capitalist marauders. Now the defense is actively a different one, an offensive. The defense goes forward with the aim to prevent the jailing of Ruthenberg, the arrest of Foster and the jail of the other Michigan defendants, but also to make it impossible for any further red raids to be conducted against the militant working class.
Foster, as the principal speaker of the great Labor Defense Council meeting on Oct. 16th, will strike a keynote for the coming campaign. No one in America has been more before the public eye than Foster. Even the lurid scandals of a decadent capitalist class have to take second place to the columns of the kept press to the accounts of the struggles between the working class and the capitalist reactionaries within the labor movement, with Foster as the outstanding figure in both. Around Foster, the struggle for a labor party, a struggle for practically everything progressive within the American labor movement is now centered. Around Foster as the outstanding figure of the militant working class is very struggle of the workers to maintain their present position and to advance in the face of the open shop drive is itself centered. Foster is a symbol of militant labor in America. But he is not only a symbol, he is the living embodiment of the courage, militancy, and will to power which is making the working class in America an ever greater threat to the security of the capitalist underclass.
The militants of Detroit will be present en masse at the meeting to hold high to greet Foster and to edge themselves determinedly to carry on in the coming important struggles.

Correction in Browder Article.
In setting up the article by Earl Browder on "Fascism in America," the operator omitted two lines in the rewritten copy that resulted in the article conveying a wrong meaning. The sentence as it appeared in last week's issue of "The Worker" was: "The trade union posts of the American Legion are being developed as a basis for the Fascist Party."
This should have read:
"In these trade union posts of the American Legion are being developed as a basis for the Fascist trade unions in America. The trade union bureaucrats of America will probably furnish much of the leadership for the coming Fascist Party."

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From a People's Upheaval to a Class Movement

By JOHN PEPPER.
The class struggle creates ever clearer political expressions of the various classes. The American democratic tradition of cohabitation of various classes in the same political party is beginning to disappear. The most outstanding fact which proves this is the founding of a new mass organization in Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor Federation, by representatives of 120,000 workers.
Minnesota was the first state where the farmers and workers broke with both of the old capitalist parties, the Republican and Democratic, and set up their own party, the Farmer-Labor Party, a mighty mass movement. The candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party, Hendrik Shipstead and Magnus Johnson, were elected by a tremendous mass of three to four hundred thousand voters.
It was a people's upheaval against big capital, not a movement only of workers and exploited farmers, but also well-to-do farmers, small businessmen and even small town bankers and small manufacturers who joined the camp of the discontented element.
It was a people's upheaval, not a class movement. That is its strong side and also its weak side. It is its strong side because it secured a quick victory. It is its weak side because, not being a real class movement it is dominated by the ideology of a narrow-minded lower middle class and by the hesitation and selfish interests of well-to-do farmers. The victory of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota against the capitalist parties, was a tremendous defeat for our deadly enemy, the capitalist class, but not the workers and exploited farmers were the real victors.
In the long run it is impossible for the same party to serve the interests of classes which are at such great variance as small manufacturers on the one hand, and workers on the other hand, or exploited farmers on the one hand and on the other well-to-do farmers. It was clear from the very start that soon after the coalition of various classes going under the name of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota had won victory, the various classes would begin to separate. It was clear in advance that the first revolutionary step had been made, that is, the break with the old Republican and Democratic Parties, the second revolutionary step would be inevitable, namely, the separation of workers and exploited farmers from small businessmen, small manufacturers and well-to-do farmers. After the election of Magnus Johnson I wrote in "The Worker": "The development in the immediate future will go much more quickly than in the past. Years were needed before the workers and farmers became convinced that the Republicans and Democrats did not wish to help them. Months will suffice to show them that La Follette and Magnus Johnson cannot help them. They know today that Harzard is their enemy. Experience will show them that La Follette and Johnson are not their friends."
The formation of the Farmer-Labor Federation is the first organization

of the workers and exploited farmers with the machine of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota.
A Small Machine or a Real Party.
It is interesting that the first struggle within the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, which is a struggle between various classes comprising that party, broke out over the form of organization, and not over questions of program.
The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is not a real party organization, but a small machine which appeals the state and besides that, three to four hundred thousand voters. The machine is superficial, and the voters are not organized locally in any sort of organization. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is nothing but a small state machine of politicians, lawyers, journalists and an unorganized vague sentiment of large masses. In the last victorious election the masses were entirely unorganized as a Farmer-Labor Party as a party; but there were three organized driving forces: 1. The small legal machine of the Farmer-Labor Party without any masses; 2. The Non-Partisan League, which is made up of farmers' organizations; 3. The Working People's North Star, a small party which is an organization of trade unions and other industrial labor organizations. These three organized elements have had frequent conflicts with one another and often clashed in their work during the election campaign. William Mahoney, editor of the Minnesota Union Advocate, characterized this situation very well: "The campaign of 1922 proved that there existed friction and conflict. A number of elements were working at cross purposes, and wasting the money and energy of the party supporters in the effort to dominate the movement. The Non-Partisan League, and a part of the Working People's League and the Farmer-Labor Party with other independent activity. It led to division and confusion." ("Minnesota Union Advocate" Sept. 18, 1923.)
The Farmer-Labor Party cannot win in the next elections, in 1924, if it remains in the present situation, with the workers separately organized, the farmers separately organized, and the party itself as a party, not organized at all—with a small legal machine which rules the party by playing up at one time the farmers against the workers, and at another time the workers against the farmers. The workers of St. Paul and Minneapolis for the first time realized the danger lurking in this situation and demanded a real party organization which is not merely a small legal state machine, but a revolutionary mass machine. The legal machine of Pike, Shipstead, Magnus Johnson developed an energetic opposition to the plan for a real party organization, and attempted to sabotage the plan. But in view of the fact that not the workers alone but also the radical portion of the farmers, the representatives of the exploited farmers, began to demand the

organization of the party, the machine had to give way, and it was possible for a conference of the Working People's League and a conference of the Farmers' League to take place at the same time. The official machine of Pike, Shipstead and Magnus Johnson immediately changed tactics. These people no longer opposed altogether the organization of a party, but offered a plan of party organization which would have absolutely assured the rule and domination of the well-to-do farmers and small businessmen over the workers and exploited farmers.
A Party of Economic Organizations or of Voters?
The workers and exploited farmers offered and advocated a plan whereby the basis of the party organization shall be economic organizations of workers and farmers, the trade unions, co-operatives and farmers' organizations. The Pike-Shipstead-Magnus Johnson machine wants to organize the party on a geographical basis. The workers and exploited farmers have a plan whereby the trade unions, co-operatives and farmers' organizations shall elect delegates, and these delegates shall compose the convention of the party and decide upon officers, nominations and policies. The machine of the well-to-do farmers, small businessmen and lawyers advocated a plan whereby the representation would be based on the vote cast in the districts for Magnus Johnson at the last election. To all appearances the issue is only a question of better organization, but in reality it is a question of class struggle. The question is whether the advanced part, the organized workers and organized farmers shall dominate in the party, or the uncertain, vague gelatinous vote of the masses. On the other hand the question is whether the well-to-do farmers and small businessmen shall be the leading elements of the party, or the workers and exploited farmers. The debate over this question between the "Minnesota Union Advocate," which is the official organ of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, representing 175,000 workers, and the "Minnesota Star," which was at one time a labor paper but which sold out entirely to the business interests and is now the organ of the Pike machine, is highly instructive.
The "Minnesota Star" of September 14, says: "Between three and four hundred thousand voters of Minnesota have commissioned Senators Johnson and Shipstead to go to Washington and do something—or at least say something."
"If we could assemble a convention in Minnesota, really representative of the mass mind of this state, it would be just and proper for this convention to tell our senators what to say in Washington. This is entirely different from a Federation convention, based on a dues system impossible of fair apportionment, telling these senators, the congressmen and the other elected officials what they may or may not do."
"Such procedure may go in Russia where the franchise is perhaps wisely restricted at this time, but it

won't go in the state of Minnesota where the electorate know how to read and write and are capable of at least some capacity to think.
History has shown that the men of America whom we revere the most, the men of mass democracy, not dictatorship."
The "Minnesota Union Advocate," in its issue of September 13, made the following brilliant reply to the Pike machine and the "Minnesota Star": "State Chairman Pike favored a regular Farmer-Labor convention of the party delegates elected on the basis of the vote cast for the candidates. Such a gathering would be futile and foolish and was abandoned."
"It was then decided to call together those economic elements that gave the party its birth and sustenance: the organized farmers and organized workers, and other progressive economic elements. Mr. Pike's argument against the completion of the conference is based on a lack of understanding of political forces. Although he knows as a matter of fact that political movements are based on economic interests, and the Farmer-Labor Party had its origin in the struggle of the producing elements for political expression and legislative relief, he persists in the splendid fiction that pure 'democracy' and 'abstract justice' are the basis of political control."
"That is the kind of 'dope' the politicians fed the people and have picked their pockets while under its influence, but the farmers and workers and other useful elements in Minnesota know that the Farmer-Labor Party is based on the economic interests of these elements, and are determined that they will not devote time and money and labor, building up a political movement to be diverted into innocuous channels or vicious ones by misguided persons."
The Disillusionment with Pure Democracy.
This debate over the form of party organization is one of the most important political events in the whole of the United States for the present moment. Its importance is not only for Minnesota locally, but it has a tremendous national significance. It is the first sign in the United States that the laboring masses are spontaneously of their own accord beginning to see that pure democracy and abstract justice are nothing else than dogma against the interests of the laboring masses, and that the only way the workers and exploited farmers can attain anything is to fight for their class interests—if necessary, even against pure democracy and abstract justice. The process of disillusionment with democracy on the part of the masses of workers and exploited farmers has set in, in the United States. Minnesota presents the most advanced situation. Minnesota made the first organized split from the Republican and Democratic parties, and it is in Minnesota that we see now the first signs of a differentiation of the classes within the big people's movement. We see the first separate organization of workers and exploited farmers within the

general people's movement, against the capitalists. The organization of the Farmer-Labor Federation in Minnesota is of national significance. True, it is not identical with the national organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The motion made at the convention for sending delegates to the January convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was withdrawn due to technical formalities. But the Farmer-Labor Federation of Minnesota is based upon the same principles as the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The Farmer-Labor Federation organized the left wing but at the same time it remained within the official Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, and will participate in the primaries of this party just as the national organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party organizes the left wing of the working class which it can reach, and at the same time serves as a propaganda instrument for a broader labor party.
Help to Split the Capitalist Class.
The revolutionary elements in the United States today have very complicated tasks. We must support the La Follette-Shipstead-Magnus Johnson movement in its struggle against the capitalist government. Yet at the same time we must criticize them thoroughly and mercilessly because their program is shallow, narrow-minded and in the last analysis serves the interests of the small business men and well-to-do farmers.
We must act as a driving force to compel the La Follette-Wheeler-Shipstead-Brookhart-Magnus Johnson forces to make an open split with the official Republican and Democratic parties, because that means that the farmers and small businessmen will separate politically from the trusts, big business and bank capital. But at the same time we must make every effort to organize the workers and exploited farmers separate and apart from the La Follette third party movement. We must exert ourselves to the utmost to create a powerful, broad labor party.
It would be a utopia to believe that the mighty, broad labor party could be organized at one stroke, within twenty-four hours, or at a single convention, and it is for this reason that we must do our utmost to help organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, which means to organize the left wing of the labor movement, and to use it as a driving force and propaganda instrument to win over the broad masses of workers and exploited farmers for a class party.
We are glad to be able to say that the Communists in Minnesota, though they are only a small and young organization have until now mastered in every respect these many-sided political tasks; and under the leadership of our Central Executive Committee have maneuvered in such a way that the Workers Party today in Minnesota has grown from a small, hardly tolerated sect of "foreigners and nuts" into a political factor which begins to attract the best elements of the organized trade union movement.

Party Federation Spokesmen Discuss Industrial Problems

By ABRAM JAKIRA.
A second meeting of secretaries, editors and industrial organizers of the Language Federations with representatives of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party (for report on first meeting see last week's "WORKER") was held Wednesday, Oct. 3. The meeting was devoted entirely to the industrial problems now facing the party. The C. E. C. was represented by Comrades Earl Browder and Abram Jakira.
A review of the situation showed the party to be in a very favorable position for Communist work in the trade unions, and that the Language Federation of the party have a very important task to perform. This is true especially in regard to the basic industries where the workers are mainly foreign born and very favorably disposed towards Communist ideas and to the Communist movement. About 60 per cent of the official organ of our Italian Federation, for instance, with a circulation of about 10,000, is being distributed among the coal miners alone. The efforts which the language federations were making during the last year have produced marked results. Due to these efforts a large portion of our language comrades have joined unions and are now taking an active part and a keen interest in the trade union movement of this country. This effort of the federations must not slacken. It must continue with even greater strength now when the task of the party become greater and greater and when the reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor is in open alliance with the capitalists and the Department of Justice against everything that is progressive in the labor movement.
Special efforts must be made by the federations to utilize the favorable situation that has developed in the labor movement to recruit new members into the party. There can be no doubt that many of our federations can increase their present membership many fold with but a slight effort on their part. Every federation speaker or organizers must pay special attention to this problem.
An industrial registration of the party membership was started some time ago. The results, due to a number of reasons, have been far from satisfactory. Yet, the importance for the party to secure the correct data about its members in the trade unions can hardly be overestimated. The representatives of the federations pledged themselves to co-operate with the C. E. C. to have the industrial registration completed without any further delay.
The question of helping to increase the circulation of the Labor Herald, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League, was given special attention. It was suggested that the language speakers of the party visit every month at least one of the contents of that splendid magazine and that language comrades be urged to order copies of the Labor Herald for distribution among the English-speaking workers.
It was pointed out that the reactionaries of the A. F. of L. are trying to discredit the radicals in this country by waging a most vicious attack, thru numerous lies and insinuations against the trade union movement of Soviet Russia. Two pamphlets dealing with the real facts about the Russian trade unions were published recently by the Friends of Soviet Russia and by the Trade Union Educational League. It is of vital importance that these two splendid pamphlets be given the widest possible circulation. Many federations will have them translated into their own languages.
The industrial department of the party is to supply the federation press with short articles dealing with the role of the foreign born workers in the American labor movement. The federation editors, in turn, are to make a special effort to write for the general party press and for the Labor Herald articles dealing with the experience of the foreign born workers. This would help considerably in the establishment of closer contact between the federations and the party generally.

New York Defies Chicago Workers Party Opens

By JULIUS GODKIND.
NEW YORK CITY.—A New York agent concealed in the Chicago camp forwarded a secret communication issued to the Chicago branches in the drive for The Daily Worker. In this letter the Chicago City Campaign Committee calls upon the branches for help to keep up with the pace set by New York. On receipt of this, some of the New Yorkers showed concern, but it was finally decided to bid Chicago all speed with their pledges—New York is ahead on cash and defies Chicago to overtake her.
In New York the English Williamsburg Branch heard that the English Harlem Branch was building up a large sum of money for shares. Williamsburg commenced to work to overtake Harlem. Harlem heard of this, and its branch director, Comrade Louis Hirschman, promptly started a canvass of absentee members. When the branches finally reported, Harlem and Williamsburg each had \$500 in pledges, of which they had \$115 cash. However, both were killed for the Lithuanian Williamsburg branch had \$125, while the Czech-Slovak branch had \$120. The Bronx Section turned in a check for \$135. With so many branches so nearly even, the competition becomes hotter and hotter, and should the Finnish branches continue to hold back their reports it promises to be a pretty race.
Linden, N. J., 100 Per Cent.
The Daily Worker Campaign Committee of District No. 2 is in receipt of a letter from Linden, N. J., where the party has a Hungarian branch with 13 members. This letter advises the committee that ten comrades have bought one share each, two comrades have contributed \$15 between them, and the thirteenth bought two shares.
Demonstration in Newark.
Newark, New Jersey, has arranged a mass meeting to open the campaign

New Book Store in Heart of New York

Reveling in orange and blue tables and shelves, and thousands of new radical and Communist books, newspapers, pamphlets and magazines, the new bookstore of the Workers Party, "The Jimmie Higgins' Book Shop," has opened its doors, at 127 University Place, near 14th St. and Union Square, New York City.
The opening of the book store marks another step forward in the Workers Party program of propaganda and organization work. Thru this store, the entire distribution of sales of the party literature in New York City and this district will be handled. A re-organization of the distribution machinery of the party will be made so as to increase the sales and the efficiency of the work. All branch literature agents hereafter will secure all literature supplies from JIMMIE HIGGINS' BOOK SHOP.
In choosing the name of the store, the party has paid tribute to the legendary hero of the American revolutionary movement. To hundreds of thousands of workers in this country "Jimmie Higgins" is well known. He symbolizes the active rank and file member devoted to his party and union work. He is the rank and file member who sells literature at meetings, who sees that the platform is on the street corner at the right time, who holds you up with collection boxes and does a thousand and one things incidental to the carrying on of party work. He is unsold, unambitious for himself, and renders invaluable service to the movement. Around JIMMIE HIGGINS' BOOK SHOP, the party will enlist the services of scores and hundreds of local comrades in building up the institution, and building up the party.
In addition to Communist literature, the book shop will carry the world's classics and all the new higher-quality books which even a Communist finds time to read. Comrade Elmer T. Allison will be in charge of the store. Every party member is requested to buy all his reading matter of every kind in the party's new book store.
"Ten Miles Away" in Los Angeles.
On October 16th, at the Walker Auditorium, 738 S. Grant Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., the workers of that city will present an evening's entertainment of which a feature will be the funds secured by the sale of tickets will be used for the defense and relief of the victims of the Criminal Syndicalism Law in California. This entertainment was previously announced for Sept. 30 but the remodeling of the theatre was not completed and it was necessary to postpone it to Oct. 16th.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE WORKER, PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, FOR OCT. 1, 1932.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, (ss.)
Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and country aforesaid, personally appeared Nicholas Dozenberg, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of "The Worker," and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:
1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, Workers Party of America, 1009 N. State St., Room 214; Editor, J. Louis Engdahl, 1009 N. State St., Room 214; Managing Editor, none; Business Manager, Nicholas Dozenberg, 1009 N. State St., Room 214.
2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and address of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.) The Workers Party of America, 1009 N. State St., Room 214; C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, 1009 N. State St., Room 214; James P. Cannon, Treasurer, 1009 N. State St., Room 214.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.
Sworn and subscribed before me this fifth day of October, 1932.
(Seal.)
(My commission expires Jan. 6, 1927.)
Nicholas Dozenberg, Bus. Mgr.
Walter G. Henry.

"God and the Fascisti Save the King!"

By EUGENE LYONS.

And now the Fascisti are saving Great Britain from the still "ever increasing menace of Socialism and Bolshevism."
A mere trifle, you know, for a leisure hour. With Italy and Spain in black straitjackets, with Bulgaria and Bavaria playfully excited by Fascist, time of course hangs heavy and the British people are the beneficiaries of this leisure.
A leaflet issued by the British Fascisti shows that saving England, when one gets down to it systematically is really child's play. The entire plan is summarized in a few paragraphs.
You see, there are Units of seven "under a chosen leader to take active measures against the revolutionary elements in their own districts." Then for purposes of "swift mobilization in the event of general strike or revolution," to quote the document.
"Three Units form a Troop under a Troop Officer."
"Three Troops form a Company under a Company Officer."
"Three Companies form a Division under a Division Officer."
All that is necessary, under this scheme, is to get the original sevens. But that may be left to the patriotism of the Britons.
The extra-legal forces for the maintenance of law, according to the plan, are supplemented by a "Transport Section," comprising the owners of autos, motorcycles, bicycles, tricycles and perambulators (though the last two are not named specifically). With this Section functioning, the railway and marine workers are automatically shorn of their influence in a national crisis. Then there is also to be an Intelligence Department, to keep Great Britain effectively frightened by the Bolshevik spectre.
The leaflet bears the imprint of the Boswell Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 2, Whitefriars Street, E. C. 4, and ends with the pious cliché "God save the King!" Everything that precedes, however, makes it quite clear, that the Fascisti will not leave it to God.

What

The Illinois Industrial Review (Duncan McDonald, editor), says about

The Government Strikebreaker

By JAY LOVESTONE
"If there is any doubt about the hostile attitude of Harding or Daugherty, or for that matter, any of the other politicians, and who they are in sympathy with, this book completely dispels that doubt. They are shown to be in league with the financial pirates who are robbing the American public and using their every effort to destroy every vestige of the trades union movement in this country."
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ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
NICHOLAS DOZENBERG, Business Manager

Entered as second-class matter September 21, 1923, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

Advertising rates upon application.

The Dope Peddlers

One of the best stay-on-the-fence artists among the officials of the United Mine Workers' Union is William Green, its international secretary-treasurer. But he has definitely climbed down into the camp of President John L. Lewis, thru endorsing the recent anti-radical propaganda issued by Ellis Searles for publication in the capitalist press.

Green is a delegate at the Portland Convention of the American Federation of Labor. He gave a signed interview to one of the Portland dailies, owned by the bosses, in which he reiterates the Lewis-Searles fabrications. Green has joined with Lewis, Gompers, Woll and other anti-Communist dope peddlers, "to wipe out the trouble makers", the terms in which he refers to the militants in the miners' union.

We take it that Green's efforts constitute an attempt to save the face of Lewis at Portland. The Lewis-Searles propaganda has been repudiated by Frank Farrington, head of the Illinois Mine Workers' Union, the strongest district organization in the International. Walter Nesbit, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois Mine Workers, also takes his stand with Farrington against Lewis and Green.

It is significant that most of the miners' officials are entirely mum on this issue. "The Worker" sent a letter to every district president, secretary-treasurer and international board member, about 100 in all urging them to state their stand on this issue. Not a single reply came in support of the Lewis-Green-Searles propaganda. The few replies received rejected it. Most of these officials did not reply at all, no doubt preferring to have their silence register their repudiation.

Palmer, Burns, Daugherty, Lusk and all the other agents of the open shop, anti-labor interests have shown themselves failures at peddling anti-radical dope. When Gompers, Lewis, Green, Woll and other bureaucrats of organized labor joined these dope peddlers, they confessed their inability to successfully reply to the arguments and contentions of the thinking elements in the American labor movement.

"Noisy But Not Formidable."

When Lloyd George was premier of the British Empire, he declared that he would never recognize Russia, that he would never shake "the bloody hand of the Soviets." But he has since been converted and he is now urging that the Moscow Workers' and Peasants' Government be given recognition.

It is the same shifting Lloyd George who has come to this side of the Atlantic Ocean for a short tour of the United States and Canada. Landing at New York City, he was asked by the reporters of the metropolitan press:

"Are the Communists on the gain over there?"

He replied, "Well, the Communists—I don't think they are formidable. They are noisy, but they are not formidable."

If Lloyd George does not fear the formidability of Communists, why did he sit quietly in his seat in the British Parliament, while J. T. Walton Newbold, one of its Communist members, was being expelled for daring to voice the demands of exploited labor?

Lloyd George, upon his arrival, announced thru the press of his friend, William Randolph Hearst, that, "Europe is in a desperate condition—but Europe will recover."

He also told an audience of New York newspaper publishers, editors and business men, in the great Hotel Biltmore ballroom, "Take one of your great New York buildings. Drench it with gasoline. Scatter matches about, and then go to an insurance company and ask them if they will take the risk. That is Europe today."

After painting these vivid pictures Lloyd George offers no way out, no hope, except that "the Communists are noisy but not formidable."

All he urges is unity—unity of the capitalist nations. Poincaré, Stresemann and Curzon were working that out on the other side of the Atlantic; unity of the imperialists of Berlin, Paris and London, not only against the German workers, but against all European labor. Lloyd George thus offers the program of the Versailles peace that has been in action for four years, accompanied with increasing violence and misery, unity of decaying capitalism against rising Communism.

And all the time the New York police were mauling and arresting Irish men and women, demonstrating wherever this capitalist

apologist appeared with placards and banners characterizing Lloyd George as the "murderer of Irish women and children."

Later Lloyd George told the reporters that the Irish situation is "wrecking out well." These capitalist statesmen easily settle world problems, in speeches and interviews. But these problems never stay settled. The only wise thing Lloyd George said was that he is planning to retire. He wishes to get out before the Communists kick him out.

The Wobbling "Progressives."

The progressive movement in the political arena is as shapeless, formless, sporadic and unrelated in its various activities as it ever was. The leaders of the insurgents are behaving as the true wavering representatives of the vacillating economic group in society, whose class interests they represent and reflect. The latest of them, Brookhart, wants to wait to see how Coolidge will behave in the next Congress. Magnus Johnson, the nearest impersonation of a dirt farmer in the progressives' camp, talks of a third party if the Republican standpaters will not co-operate and will not get together with the farmers and workers. Apparently Magnus Johnson will really base his policy on his impression of Coolidge being "a nice chap."

The reactionary Washington Post, speaking semi-officially for the Coolidge crowd, has sized up the Minnesota Senator properly when it recently said that Magnus will change quite a bit once he gets the chance to see that the "terrible reactionaries" aren't such bad fellows after all. Borah is discreetly silent. Hiram Johnson, who dons progressive overalls, when the progressive winds blow westward, is keeping mum. And even the fighting La Follette has not yet answered the attempts of Coolidge to break up his ranks thru the offer of restored patronage on a silver platter.

If there is to be any blow struck against the reactionaries in the coming elections, it will have to be struck by the organized political power of the workers and exploited farming masses. They alone can organize to strike effectively against the two old parties of the big capitalists. Exclusive of the treacherous bureaucracy in their camp, this mass of city and rural workers has the courage and will and power to deliver the most telling punches in the coming political fights.

The middle-of-the-roads of every stripe and description have neither the plan nor the purpose to fight the powerful interests to a finish. The workers and farmers have both. The conditions, economic and political, are rotten ripe for the building of the all-inclusive mighty independent political party of the industrial and rural masses—the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Tom Mann Urges Need for Daily Red International of Labour Unions

(BRITISH BUREAU)
All International in the Street, and not in Parliament
Sept. 12th 1923.

Comrades,
I learn that you are talking steps to issue a daily paper; allow me to express the hope that you will be entirely successful in this. We all stand in most urgent need of our own press free from the Capitalist Control, until we have this our work is doubly hard; to have to depend upon Capitalist owned papers for our daily information is humiliating and terribly harmful.
It is because this prevails so largely that they, the owners of the press, are able to get in such an amount of propaganda entirely of an anti-labour nature. Once more Comrades,
The best of Success,
340223 Tom Mann

The above is a reproduction of a letter received from Comrade Tom Mann of England. Tom Mann has inspired the working class of England for two generations with his magnificent spirit and has led them to victory in many a hard fought battle against the British capitalists. Tom Mann became prominent as a world leader of the hosts of labor during the famous dockers' strike in London in 1890 and has continuously since then been in the forefront of every battle waged by the workers of Great Britain and its colonies. Tom Mann was sentenced to jail in 1912 for issuing a manifesto to the soldiers calling upon them to refuse to shoot their striking brothers. As a result of the mass demonstrations of the whole working class of England the British Capitalist Government was forced to release Tom Mann after he served about two months of his sentence. Today Tom Mann is at the head of the British Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions. No one is more qualified to speak upon the question of the need of the working class for its own daily paper and his message should spur our comrades on to ever greater activities to establish the first English-language daily Communist newspaper in the world.

The Struggle of the Working Class

The workers are today engaged in a struggle for simple immediate things: for food and housing and the barest needs of life. But they cannot win these things while a ruling class stands in the way, and for the sake of profits condemns a mass of men to poverty, unemployment and war. Therefore the struggle of the workers becomes the struggle

of a class for power. On the victory of the working class struggle for power depends the future of the world.

The working class came into being with capitalism. The more that wealth became the monopoly of a few, the greater grew the number of the dispossessed.

Side by side with the bourgeoisie or property-owning class has grown up the proletariat or dispossessed class working in subjection to them. Modern big industry has increased the division. It has pushed out the small producer and shopkeeper, and driven them either into the ranks of the proletariat or into becoming salaried agents of capitalism. In place of the old host of manufacturers and traders have grown up the modern bourgeoisie of a handful of financial magnates, directing an army of subordinate officials, jobbers, lawyers, politicians, managers and other agents. In place of the old journeyman and hands of a few small factories has grown up the modern industrial proletariat, massing in its ranks the vast majority of the population and increasing millions of the whole world, crowded in great industrial centers and living in every detail of their lives in slavery to the machine owners and their demands.

The proletariat can only save itself by the destruction of the power of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of all class distinction, and the entry of all into the common heritage of all in a free workers' society embracing the whole world. Only in this can the conflicts and antagonisms which are raging everywhere find their solution.

The proletariat thus in freeing itself frees the whole world. There is no class under it awaiting freedom. The struggle and victory of the working class carries in it the struggle and victory of the whole human race.

The battle of the proletariat cannot be carried through save by the forces of the proletariat. The division between the two camps of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is absolute; there can be no reconciliation. The attempt to build a bridge between them, and talk of common interests as a common endeavor, is a lying trick; it is an attempt to deceive the workers to cover up the reality of their robbery and exploitation by specious phrases about the community; it is treachery to the great cause of the international working class.

From the earliest day the proletariat began to organize and to struggle. At first the organizations of the proletariat were weak, and fought alongside the bourgeoisie against the old feudal order. Today the old struggle is ended, and the bourgeoisie itself has reached the mortal crisis. The hour is come of the final struggle of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Let the workers break free from old associations and traditions and rise to the greatness of their task. Let them trust in their own strength, and victory is theirs.

"The Liberator" in Chicago

The October issue of "The Liberator," the first to be published from Chicago, is remarkable for the range of interest it covers. There is something in it for everyone; fiction, politics, art, poetry are all well represented. Floyd Dell's great new serial, "Literature and the Machine Age," showing the economic basis of the arts begins in this issue. John Pepper contributes a remarkably clear statement of the question of the leadership of the Labor Party. Michael Gold, erstwhile editor of the Liberator, sends a very fine and moving piece of fiction from California, and Harrison George, who was in Leavenworth at the time of Magon's death, throws some new light on that tragic and unnecessary sacrifice. Earl R. Browder and J. Louis Engdahl both contribute good articles, one on the Trade Union Educational League's recent conference, and the other a dramatic tale of the Chicago newspaper strike in 1912. The satirical double cartoon by Fred Ellis will delight all good movie-fans. Art Young, Maurice Becker and Hugo Gellert, as in the old Masses, all have splendid drawings in this number, and there are interesting woodcuts and pictures by other artists; notably Scene by Seiwert, a German artist of the Proletkult. The poems, by George Sterling, Keene Wallis, and others, bring a sense of harmony and power out of the confusion and dust of our daily battle with life.

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

In this World,--Outside Soviet Russia



European Capitalists still coining misery into money, but—

The Bosses and Their Judges

Fitzpatrick and Nockels, of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Walker and Olander, of the Illinois Federation of Labor have turned their backs on the united political front of the workers, and the bosses are making a holiday out of Chicago November judicial elections. The employing interests do not fear the divided ranks of the workers and so they are permitting their own democratic and republican politicians to stage separate exhibitions in this year's election of judges.

In 1917, when the workers were protesting against American entrance into the world war, against profiteering, against repressive anti-labor measures, the bosses were forced to put up a united, non-partisan front, with one ticket, including both democratic and republican candidates. In spite of this united opposition, the workers' candidates made a tremendous showing. But this year the bosses have no fear. The Fitzpatrick element repudiated the labor party idea when they deserted the conference that organized the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The Socialists did not even enter the conference. There is no workers' political unity, therefore, in Chicago, at the present time. The bosses, with complete safety, allow their republican and democratic stooge pigeons to go ahead staging rival circuses.

Let us pick three candidates each from the full opposition slate of the democrats and republicans. On the republican side we find Judge Jesse Holdom, so-called king of the anti-labor injunction judges. He is so crooked that the higher courts, in order to save their own faces, must occasionally reverse him. There is Judge Albert C. Barnes, with his record in the appellate court where he was sure to strangle, if possible, in the bosses' interest decisions affecting the workers. The third republican is Judge Oscar Hebel, well known for the part he played in the judicial attack on the Communist Labor Party following the infamous Palmer-Burns-Hoyne raids in January, 1920.

Now we turn to the full democratic slate. It is headed by Judge Dennis E. Sullivan, against whom Secretary Edward N. Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in a letter to democratic Mayor William E. Dever, protests as follows:

"...a notorious injunction judge who issues illegal injunctions against the workers in industrial disputes, forbidding them from being free men and women, free speech, free press and free assemblage, as against their constitutional rights, and in this he is the king pin and lends encouragement to other judges to do likewise."

On the democratic slate is Martin J. Isaacks, counsel for the clothing manufacturers in their war on the needle workers, charged with being the keeper of the employers' blacklist. His law partner and also his partner in the blacklist business, John P. McGoort is also a candidate, as is Marvin E. Barnhart, pal with Judge Hebel in the court war on Communists.

The open shoppers are, therefore, well protected. They have their candidates on both the democratic and republican slates. The matter who is defeated or elected, the bosses are the winners. The workers are divided and can offer no effective resistance. Fitzpatrick broke with the July unity conference and the result in the first election to follow in Chicago, is the picture of Nockels writing pleading letters to the democratic mayor of Chicago. Name-calling against the Communists, and letter writing to the old-party politicians, exposes the complete bankruptcy of the enemies of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Fitzpatrick and Nockels must be held responsible for hamstringing labor in the present, very important judicial campaign in Chicago.

Workers Must Oppose Fascism, the Last Hope of Capitalism in Decay

Fascism, the immediate menace. The capitalist system is in decay. All attempts to reconstruct it have failed. The destruction wrought by the war was so great and the imperialist rivalries have been so intense that a disintegration of capitalist power has set in, which cannot be stopped. Seeing that regularly constituted government no longer satisfies their needs and demanding a "strong" government irrespective of its "democracy," the bourgeoisie has organized all the elements that have suffered from the war—the ex-army officers, the petty bourgeoisie (which has been ground to pieces by the after-war troubles), the flotsam and jetsam of society, and above all the small peasants, as the backbone of a movement and of a capitalist, dictatorial, military dictatorship, which calls itself a Fascist government.

Sections of the workers yield to the siren call, especially the renegade and right-wing socialists, as in Italy. As a matter of course, the fight is directed against the organized workers and their most militant section, the Communists. It is unnecessary to repeat the deeds of vandalism and destruction committed in the name of "law and order" by the Fascist government of Italy, and by Fascist organizations in Germany, Austria, Hungary. But one fact must be remembered. Fascism becomes dominant where the workers are not revolutionary and are not organized. Where they are not revolutionary, the workers and the petty bourgeoisie see their safety in what appears to be a "strong" government. Thus Fascism is rampant in Bavaria, which has a weak

revolutionary movement, (it was destroyed in the overthrow of the short-lived Soviet Government of Bavaria), but it hardly raises its head in Saxony. This means that the organized labor movement has as one of its immediate and urgent tasks the organization of counter-forces to deal with Fascism in its various manifestations. But even Fascism must disintegrate owing to the very contradiction of the elements composing it. There are many elements under the spell and guidance of Fascism who naturally belong to the working class. The momentary discouragement arising from the failure of the revolutionary movement to seize power has driven them to the embrace of a capitalist military dictatorship. The small peasants, the exploited and crushed intellectuals, teachers, etc., must be

won away from the influence of Fascism. We must begin a militant campaign of education and propaganda, explaining the nature of Fascism. It must be exposed as an act of desperation of the sinking capitalist system which no longer trusts its own institutions and resorts to naked violence in order to retain control and power. It must be shown that, as in Italy, where agrarian capital stands in opposition to industrial capital, when in a moment of despair the two unite in struggle against the workers, dissolution must eventually take place, owing to the very antagonism between agrarian and industrial and financial capital.

Hence the struggle against Fascism is also an ideological one. The natural allies of the working class must be won over, or at least neutralized. This is essential for the establishment of the Workers' and Farmers' Government, which is the surest safeguard against Fascism. Immediate measures must be taken, however, to combat the violent methods of the Fascists. In Germany, the most effective organization has been found in the "Factory Hundreds." All workers irrespective of party and trade union membership are formed into bodies of one hundred and put under military discipline. Although unarmed their very formation is the best protection against the Fascists. To protect their labor temples, presses, meetings, clubs, they carry on systematic propaganda against Fascism and by their solidarity convert the vacillating elements. The Communists must penetrate the farmers' organizations and bring them close to the Party and the trade unions. Solidarity of all working

people against the violent phase of the disintegrating capitalist system must be preached and cultivated. As Fascism is an international phenomenon and is internationally organized, the workers and farmers must present international organization to fight against it. The workers of every country must support the workers of other countries where Fascism rules. The American workers, in particular, should fight for a boycott of all shipments of grain and coal to Italy. This will be the best help against Mussolini and his black-shirt gangs.

The thesis and address on Fascism was delivered by Comrade Zetkin, the "Grand Old Woman" of the Proletarian Revolution. Owing to an injury to her leg, she was unable to stand. Sitting in a gilt chair, once occupied by the czarina, Comrade Zetkin, with the fire and eloquence of a young agitator, inflamed her audience, and made one wish that the movement possessed many more of her ability and enthusiasm. In the midst of the discussion Radek delivered an address that destined to remain as a brilliant statement in the vast galaxy of speeches and writings of this brilliant thinker. "Schlageter, the Wanderer of the Void" was an episode of clear thinking couched in the language of a poet. The story of the young Fascist who, thought he was serving the German fatherland by fighting against Soviet Russia then against the workers in the Ruhr, to be shamed down by French imperialism, the story of Stinnes and his colleagues, who themselves are the patrons of German Fascism—is a lesson for the guided.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

on Tour for the LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL to Address Meetings at

Toledo OCT. 15 Labor Temple 8 P. M.	Detroit OCT. 16 House of Masses 2101 Gratiot Ave. 8 P. M.	Buffalo OCT. 17 Frozin Hall 421 Genesee St. 8 P. M.	Boston OCT. 18, 8 P. M. Scenic Auditorium Berkeley & Tremont Sts.	New York OCT. 19 Definite Announcement Later	Waterbury, Conn. OCT. 21	Cannonsburg, Pa. OCT. 23 7:30 P. M. Labor Temple Jefferson & Pike	Cincinnati OCT. 24 Definite Announcement Later	Minneapolis OCT. 23 Richmond Hall 225 S. 52nd St. 2:30 P. M.	St. Paul OCT. 23 New Labor Temple 416 N. Franklin St. 8 P. M.	Milwaukee OCT. 30, 8 P. M. Freie Gemeinde Hall 8th & Walnut Sts.
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WATCH FOR FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS