



THE WORKER

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Dunne's Portland Speech

UNSEATED DELEGATE ALSO WRITES COMPLETE STORY OF A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

Court Orders Paul Glaser, Workers' Lawyer, Deported

(Special to "The Worker")

GARY, Ind.—Paul P. Glaser, prominent lawyer and active in the radical labor movement of this city, has just been notified that his citizenship papers have been revoked by the U. S. Supreme Court and that he is to be deported to Russia.

Glaser, who is a member of the Workers Party branch here organized the first Socialist Party local in this city and joined the Workers Party on its formation. During the steel strike in 1919, he was very active in leading the strikers, and his house was raided by soldiers and his house and doors and windows broken by them. He was ordered arrested by General Leonard Wood, of Proctor and Gamble soap-suds fame.

Glaser was also the attorney for the three union men who were framed up in the Michigan Central train wreck and he secured the acquittal of all of them including Charles Uellie.

It is significant that Glaser's deportation comes after the steel company had tried to bribe him with \$50,000 during the steel strike, and again at the time he was defending the Michigan Central defendants. Glaser's refusal to double cross the men resulted in the revocation of his citizenship papers and the deportation which will soon take place unless a stay can be procured.

Why Pass This By?

Governor Warren T. McGraw, of Indiana, is charged with having passed from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000 of worthless notes on 207 banks in 54 counties of his home state. Latest reports indicate that no effort, as yet, has been made to fasten these crimes of a capitalist politician on the Communists. Gompers, Lewis and Judge E. H. Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation, are missing a splendid opportunity.

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

The complete speech of William F. Dunne, at the American Federation of Labor Convention at Portland, Ore., in reply to the prosecution that demanded he be unseated as the delegate of the Silver Bow (Butte, Mont.) Labor Council, follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not the first time I have faced a white-collared mob aroused to frenzy by the press of its masters and bent upon my destruction. It is not the first time that my head has been asked as the price of peace and harmony, but in the capitalists' courts I am not called an enemy of the trade union movement; rather do they say that I call upon the workers to resist the attacks of the employers.

I am glad that Delegate Green for the prosecution has succeeded in finding a Biblical precedent for the action you are about to take, in the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven. It not only aids what is a weak case, but it gives the proper religious atmosphere to a proceeding that is entirely consistent with the heresy-hunting proclivities of the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. The accusations themselves cite only criticisms of officials of the United Mine Workers and the American Federation of Labor. The prosecution has had to stoop to interpretation, insinuation and construction just as do the district attorneys of the employers and with all this labored effort the charge simmers down to the accusation that I do not worship at the shrine of John L. Lewis, Phillip Murray, William Green and the rest of the hierarchy.

This I do not deny, nor do I intend to defend myself. Before a capitalist court I would offer a defense and take advantage of every loophole, but before the lackeys of the employers, NO! Any statements I may make will be merely for the purpose of making my position clear.

I did not come into the trade union movement by the back door, as Mr. Frank Hodges inferred some of the reds do when he made his inspired speech. Neither did I come into the trade union movement by the back door as did Mr. Ellis Searles, editor of the United Mine Workers Journal, the individual who is chiefly responsible for the attacks upon the radicals and who asks the co-operation of the employers in the witch-burning campaign.

I have been a trade unionist for more than 14 years and for almost that length of time an active member of the Electrical Workers' Union. My record in the labor movement has no flaws in it; my efforts have been devoted to building a better and a stronger movement and in no single place where I have been has the trade union movement not profited by my activities. I have in my pocket now a letter from one of the international officers of the electrical workers thanking me for my assistance at a critical time.

The patched up story of my activities in the Pennsylvania coal fields during the 1922 strike of the miners is interesting, but incomplete. I made two speeches to miners in that district

Socialist Policeman Stops Anti-Fascisti Meeting in Cicero, Ill.

NEW YORK, N. Y., Oct. 15. Cicero Branch of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, Antonio Press, Room 214, 1009 North State Street, Chicago, Ill. Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America protests most vehemently against the unwarranted arrest of Engdahl, Camarda, and Giordano at Cicero anti-Fascist meeting. The Alliance expresses its deepest feeling of sympathy and appreciation for your splendid endeavor to keep Fascist scourge out of America.

Arturo Giovannitti, General Secretary.

"Call the wagon" was the order given by a Lithuanian policeman, member of the Socialist Party, to an Italian detective and an enthusiastic Anti-Fascist mass meeting at Cicero, Ill., the 60,000 industrial suburb of Chicago, was broken up with the arrest of J. Louis Engdahl editor of "The Worker," Emilio Giordano, business manager of Alba Nuova, the Italian Communist weekly, and Ignazio Camarda, organizer of the Italian Federated Workers Party.

The week before, under local Fascist inspiration, the mass meeting of the local Italian workers had been entirely prevented. The second meeting, however, was nearly over when the arrests were made, following Engdahl's address.

The three comrades were given a free ride to the local police station, where the chauffeur announced to the desk sergeant that the charge was "Overthrowing the government." In legal parlance, however, it developed that the booking was for "disorderly conduct," with bail fixed at \$50 each in cash. The money was raised by local workers, and when the case came up in police court, Saturday, a jury trial was asked and granted for Saturday, Oct. 20.

The Cicero officials, with the local police administration, are evidently being led into support of the local Fascist movement. The Italian workers of Cicero are uniting in the struggle for the freedom of expression, and are planning another meeting in conjunction with Lithuanian workers.

Anniversary Meetings

Sixth anniversary of the Russian revolution will be held in the following cities:

Nov. 3, Portland, Ore.: Ella Reeves Bloor; 4, Omaha, Neb.: W. F. Dunne; 4, Milwaukee, Wis.: C. E. Ruthenberg; 4, Seattle, Wash.: Ella Reeves Bloor; 4, Tacoma, Wash.: Ella Reeves Bloor; 4, Rochester, N. Y.: Benjamin Grilow; 4, Erie, Pa.: Ludwig Lore; 4, Buffalo, N. Y.: R. P. Stokes; 4, Pittsburgh, Pa.: H. M. Wicks; 4, Toledo, Ohio: M. J. Olin; 4, Akron, Ohio: Wilhelm W. Weinstein; 4, Youngstown, Ohio: A. Wagenknecht; 7, St. Louis, Mo.: Earl Browder; 7, San Francisco, Cal.: Earl Browder; 7, Boston, Mass.: J. O. Renthall; 7, Detroit, Mich.: Ludwig Lore; 7, New York, N. Y.: Benjamin Grilow; 7, Chicago, Ill.: William Z. Foster and Earl Browder; 7, Cleveland, Ohio: M. J. Olin; 7, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wilhelm W. Weinstein; 7, Philadelphia, Pa.: A. Wagenknecht; 7, Minneapolis, Minn.: William F. Dunne; 8, St. Paul, Minn.: William F. Dunne; 10, Kansas City, Mo.: Earl Browder; and 10, Los Angeles, Calif.: Ella Reeves Bloor.

The A. F. of L. Convention--Safe and Sane--for Whom? Asks Dunne

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.
(Written Especially for "The Worker")

The forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor will go down in history as the most reactionary gathering of trade-union officials ever held in America. Five years after the signing of the armistice the official trade union movement allowed itself to be swayed by the same hysteria-bred slogans with which the employing class coaxed and coerced the workers to do their bidding during the war period.

The Portland convention was frankly a red-hunting gathering. The official publicity furnished the capitalist press and published by it with gusto weeks before the convention was the quarter the winds of oratory would blow. It was an accurate guide; no resolution which the Gompers machine opposed was too innocuous to escape the would-be piercing gaze of the chief inquisitor--Matthew Woll, whom some call the crown prince but to whom the ribald left-wingers refer as the Portland quince.

The Portland press gave noble assistance to the crusaders who were to deliver the sacred shrine of American trades-unionism from the profane touch of the infidel hordes of red Russia. The hordes were not present in any great numbers apparently, but the result of their machinations were seen in resolutions for amalgamation, a labor party and recognition of Russia, that came from unlooked-for sources. For example, just as it seemed that the longing for anything resembling progress on the part of the A. F. of L. royal family had been fully demonstrated, the Molders' Union in convention in Cleveland went on record for Russian recognition and the establishment of a labor party. The president of the Molders' Union is Joseph F. Valentine. He is a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. This profanation of the inner shrine aroused the fury of its defenders to the highest pitch yet reached and the proceedings from here on are marked by considerable incoherence but with one objective kept in plain sight--showing the employers that labor--ten to fifteen thousand per year labor, limousine-owning labor, Masonic, Knights of Columbus and Elk lodge labor, twenty-five dollar per day expense account labor, American Legion labor and Civic Federation labor--was against any change in the present system and that the only reason employers were ever embarrassed by wage demands was because the rank and file must be thrown a sop or two so they would continue to support the magnificent edifice housing so many pillars of the wage-system.

Should Not Mention Classes.

The unseating of the writer was a strategic move designed to disarm the opposition to the Gompers machine and place it on the defensive in addition to being concrete proof of the sincerity of patriotic purpose actuating A. F. of L. officialdom. This proceeding aroused the only show of interest during the entire convention and it was only at this time that the debate took on a workingclass character; the continual references to the workingclass made by Dunne in reply to the prosecution established a precedent for A. F. of L. conventions and embarrassed very much indeed the

(Continued on Page Three)

Butte Workers Protest Ousting of Their Delegate

(Special to "The Worker")

BUTTE, MONT.—The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council had a lively session last Tuesday night. Delegates scored the ousting of their delegate, William F. Dunne, and the high-handed action of the A. F. of L. officialdom. The characteristic attitude of the reactionary labor leaders who refused to hear the constructive criticism of the rank-and-file as expressed by Dunne on the floor of the Portland convention was denounced. The Council instructed the secretary to send the following protest telegram to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor:

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor,

Multnomah Hotel, Portland, Ore.

The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, having learned through the press that our delegate to the convention of the A. F. of L. has for some reason been unseated, hereby protests such a high handed outrage by an officialdom that apparently cannot stand before an enlightened criticism. We selected our delegate, Brother W. F. Dunne, not on account of his political views, but because of his intense loyalty and devotion to the cause of the workers in all our struggles against the powers that derive pleasure from the act of the convention that deprives him of a seat as delegate and would if they could destroy every organization of labor in this state. They have succeeded in laying some organizations of labor prostrate, but happy to relate not one in Butte owing to the sincere efforts of Dunne and others. We would like to suggest that the officials of the affiliated organizations get in closer touch with the rank and file before it is too late and efforts be put forth to prevent losses in membership instead of attacking persons that have put forth the best that is in them fighting the open-shoppers.

Signed:
J. C. WHITELEY, President,
CLEM BURKARD, Secretary

Candidates in New York

The following have been placed upon the official ballot as candidates of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in the various assembly districts of New York:

Julius Lohsitz, 4th District, Manhattan, Missouri; J. Olin, 8th Dist., Manhattan, Nathan Wilkes, 17th Dist., Manhattan, Abe Epstein, 3rd Dist., Bronx, Harry Berlin, 8th Dist., Bronx, John D. Masso, 14th Dist., Kings, Charles Brower, 23rd Dist., Kings.

Aldermanic candidates are as follows:

Abe Whitman, 4th Dist., Rose Pastor Stokes, 8th Dist., Paul Agnell, 17th Dist., John Axel, 35th Dist., Lewis Lott, 50th Dist.

It took great efforts for our young party to comply with all the requirements of the election law. These efforts must not be lost. We have candidates in most of the working class districts that are of importance in our campaign for Independent Working Class Political Action. This gives us an unparalleled opportunity to bring the message of a UNITED FRONT OF WORKERS AND FARMERS to large masses of the people of New York whom we could not reach in any other way. And this opportunity must not be lost. Every member and sympathizer of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party must do all in his power to utilize this opportunity for propaganda, collect money on subscription lists, distribute our literature, and to make or mass meetings a huge success.

A VOICE FROM PRISON

"Western Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 11, 1923.

"Daily Worker Campaign Committee, Chicago, Ill. Dear Comrades: Am sending herewith five dollars for the Daily Worker fund. The left wing is facing the severest test in its history. The desertion of the flabby "progressives," the slugging and expulsion of militants, particularly in the "socialist" controlled garment trades, the gunman attack on Foster and, finally, the publication under the Gompers-Lewis shield of the despicable concoction bearing the finger prints of Injunction Daugherty's agents; these are unmistakable signs of a concerted and ruthless campaign to blockade the left wing and crush every expression of militancy in the ranks of organized labor.

"This vicious attack must be defeated. The militants must forge a new, powerful weapon--a Communist daily paper--to batter the enemy lines day after day.

"Fraternally yours--Israel Blankstein."

All Communists--all workers, should answer this call and copy this example of Comrade Blankstein, who sends his last dollar from prison to aid THE DAILY WORKER.

An A. F. of L. Editor at Minneapolis Protests Against Gompers' Attacks on Radical Labor

LABOR MUST DEFEND LABOR.
(From "Minneapolis Labor Review", owned by Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly.)

While the rank and file of organized labor is contributing time and money to the defense of W. Z. Foster and other members of organized labor criminally arrested by federal authorities in a raid at Bridgman, Michigan, it is to be deplored that part of the officialdom of the labor movement loses no opportunity to put these workers in the most unfavorable light possible.

It is the right of every official and every member of organized labor to disagree with Foster and those who believe as he does. It is also the right of Foster and his followers to disagree with every official and with members of organized labor.

But with logic lacking to answer the arguments for amalgamation and independent political action, no good will be to be aroused for those who differ with Foster and his ideas by attempting to make it appear that

Foster and his associates have never done anything constructive for the labor movement, and are a menace to it.

Foster was years ago a member of the I. W. W. He toured Europe in working class fashion. He studied the labor movements of that continent and returned to this country convinced that dual organizations like the I. W. W. were a menace to the welfare of the labor movement.

Acting as he believed, he left the I. W. W. and became a staunch member of the American Federation of Labor. For a while he was the prize boy with the A. F. of L. officialdom. He was asked to contribute and did contribute articles to the Federalist, official organ of the American Federation of Labor.

Things went smoothly until it became apparent that while Foster was an opponent of dual unionism, he believed that there should be but one union for each industry, and that the A. F. of L. should work to bring about this needed change in organization. Then the ardor of officialdom for Foster commenced to cool.

During the war Foster was active in organizing the Chicago packing house workers of many nationalities into A. F. of L. unions that forced something like decent conditions and wages in the packing industry.

That these unions in later years were unable to meet the onslaught of the employers was not the fault of Foster but of those who insisted in the disintegration of a council that had been formed to bring more

united action among the packing house unions.

In the big organizing campaign in the steel industry it was Foster who was intrusted with its leadership by the international union officials. Although the campaign did not succeed, it was the strongest move ever put forth by unorganized workers in a trustified industry operating at many points.

Had the money necessary to put on the campaign at all points at once been forthcoming, as it was understood it would be from interested internationals, victory would have been achieved.

But forced, through shortage of funds, to put on an intensive campaign at one point while little or nothing was done at other points,

it proved a handicap that could not be overcome.

Men organized at one point would become restless and demand action. Finally this culminated in a premature strike. Premature for the reason that the money was lacking to send sufficient organizers to all points where steel was manufactured, at the same time.

As the membership of the steel unions grew the amount designated for the organization work increased. And today an organization campaign is being conducted in the steel industry by the A. F. of L. with \$70,000 left over from the campaign which Foster managed.

Could that \$70,000 have been available at the start of the steel organizing campaign led by Foster, it is

most probable that it would have culminated in complete success.

Foster and those who believe with him are often assailed for their friendliness toward Soviet Russia. It is worthy of notice that conservative United States senators return from Russia with praise and commendation for improving conditions in Russia.

It also should not be passed without consideration that one of the greatest influences against dual unionism in the United States has come from the leaders of the soviets. Radicals who could not be influenced by the conservative A. F. of L. officials have been influenced to stay in the A. F. of L. where they belong by the leaders of the Russian movement. And in this fight against dual unionism none has been more active and loyal than Foster.

It is the influence of Foster, together with the opposition to dualism by Russian radicals, that is much and more than anything else to be credited with checking the headway of dualism in the United States.

Foster and those arrested with him at Michigan face penalties of from one to ten years in prison under the stone age syndicalist law of Michigan. They face that penalty not for anything they were doing to promote their own selfish purpose but for what they conceived to be for the benefit of the workers of the nation. Hounded and harried by a government and employers' hostile to organized labor, it is astounding to see labor officials joining the wolf pack that would send Foster and the others to the dungeon.

It is the right of every worker and official to disagree with Foster, but it is also the duty of every worker and official to defend members of organized labor when persecuted by these employers and that government that have attacked and assailed labor at every opportunity.

Special Edition of "The Worker" Celebrating Sixth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic

Order Now: 3c per Copy. \$3.00 per 100. "THE WORKER," Room 214, 1009 N. State Street, Chicago, Ill. It Will Be Dated Saturday, Nov. 3d. Distribute at Nov. 7th Meetings

Many Meetings Are Announced by the Workers Party

Public and membership meetings arranged by the national office of the Workers Party are as follows:

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COMPLETE TEXT OF DUNNE'S SPEECH AT PORTLAND

(Continued from Page One)

the composition of the capitalist system and its contradictions? Men who would be leaders of the workers owe it as a duty to the workers to inform themselves, but this duty you have neglected until it would be difficult to find a gathering in any capitalist nation where the average of intelligence is so low.

I have, since I have been in this convention, seen international officers take that platform and boast of the revocation of charters, but I have heard no boasting of new unions organized. Do you realize that only about one-seventh of the wage-earners of this great nation are members of organized labor and that the percentage of the organized to the total number of wage-earners is growing smaller all the time? Yet you call yourselves labor leaders and you strut and swank about the convention hall as the you had, capitalism by the throat. The standard of living of the American worker is decreasing as any economist worth his salt knows. It is decreasing despite the remarks of Mr. Hodges concerning the wonderful conditions enjoyed by the wage-earners and for which he gave you credit.

I would like to inform Mr. Hodges that the standard of living of the American workers is not the standard of living at the Vancouver and Multnomah Hotels, where he has been stopping during the three weeks he has been on this continent. That is the standard of living of the officialdom of the American labor movement, but it has no relation to the standard of the dues-paying membership any more than the luxuries of the employing class have.

Mr. Hodges was trained in the Marxian school and he should know that objective conditions have much more to do with determining living standards than have the efforts of any labor organization, even though it be one with understanding and militancy, which is lacking here.

Speaking as a Communist, since the issue has been raised, altho I came here as a trade-unionist and not as a Communist, I understand the real reasons for the effort you are now making. You want to prove to the employers that you are more conservative than they are, that you love the wage-system even more ardently than they do. You have succeeded already in gaining a good deal of immunity for yourselves, but this immunity does not extend to the organizations you are supposed to represent. In that the employers and we Communists think alike. They too make a distinction between a high-salaried officialdom and the workingclass. In six months time these same papers that are now lauding you for your determined efforts to cast one Communist into the outer darkness will be denouncing your organizations just as bitterly as you now denounce me. Seeking to placate the employers, you have holed from within their organizations, but you have captured nothing but jewel-studded lodge charms. You may save yourselves, but you cannot save the unions unless you change your policies.

Your attitude is well illustrated by an incident that occurred yesterday, and is a tribute to the success of the most studied attempt I have ever seen at a labor convention to eliminate everything of a workingclass character. Two workmen were watching Mr. Gompers climb into his limousine in front of the auditorium. The slave who drives the car held them up and searched them because they looked like workmen, therefore were suspicious characters. They did not fit into the setting.

There is another reason for your desire to unseat me. You want to

intimidate the supporters of amalgamation and a labor party because these two proposals are a threat to your privileged positions. You hide your opposition to these measures behind your alleged devotion to evolutionary progress. What you mean by evolutionary progress is that you fight all progressive measures with all your might, but when they are accepted in spite of you, you claim credit for the improvement.

We Communists do not care much for academic devotion to abstract principles. We realize that only through organization can be obtained those things that make for progress, and the A. F. of L. is a living—partially living, at least—example of the truth of our beliefs. Could an academic desire for higher wages and shorter hours achieve results there would be no trade-union movement today. So it is with amalgamation, for instance. Those who see the need for industrial unionism as an improved weapon for the wage-earners must organize and work to bring it into being. In this work they encounter the opposition of those who are ignorantly opposed and of those who have privileges to protect as you have. We expect this opposition and if for years I had been holding a job in the trade-union movement that paid me five to ten times what I could earn in any other occupation it is possible that I would also be opposed to amalgamation. It is here that we see clearly the diversity of interest between the membership and officialdom.

The same is true of the labor party idea. We have a centralized government and a working class that is more homogeneous than ever before. In spite of your sabotage labor parties are springing up in the various states and the class issue on the parliamentary field is becoming clearer. But you lovers of evolutionary progress can not see that quite often evolution may take no account of your petty prejudices.

only real political expression—and the international officers, jealous of their sacred autonomy fell upon and killed it but not until after it had been referred back to the committee by a small-sized revolt of central body delegates.

One advance step was taken by the convention. After forty-three years the A. F. of L. now has an educational program by reason of the convention endorsement of the Workers' Educational Bureau. The reason for this change of front by an organization that has discouraged all educational activity by the unions since its inception is to be found in the rapid inroads made in this form of activity by the radicals. It is quite evident that officialdom looks upon the establishment of this branch of activity, not as a weapon against the employers, but as a purely defensive measure against the left-wing elements. There is, however, an opportunity for class-conscious wage-earners to be of real service to the labor movement, to make of the bureau a weapon against reaction both within and without. Organization of the steel industry was also endorsed but there was nothing to show that this is anything more than usual perfunctory expression always made the extent of whose relation to actual facts is seen in the A. F. of L. with less than three millions members in a country where the most conservative estimates place the number of bonafide wage-earners at 18,000,000.

The Portland newspapers could not have been kinder to the convention had it been a national gathering of the Chamber of Commerce. I read all the papers carefully and not once did I find a word of criticism or hostility; every prominent labor leader was given a write-up and his expressed opinions quoted in full. There was nothing in these opinions which could arouse the slightest antagonism or fear among the employers. A published interview with Major George L. Berry, head of the Pressmen's Union, who was inducted into the national army the day before the armistice was signed, illustrates better than anything I can think of, the general tone and viewpoint of the Portland convention. Here is the A. F. of L. position as voiced by this more than usually intelligent leader of American labor:

"We of the American Federation of Labor stand for four great principles governing industry. These are the ownership of property, an adequate return on investments, an adequate sum allowed industry for the matter of deterioration, and that all workers, including managers, get proper compensation for what they put into industry." What employer would quarrel with this?

GOOD AS IT IS.
Written on a "sub" renewal card offering a premium if subscription is renewed.
"The Worker is a premium in itself. Just keep it up and I am satisfied. I have bought a share of \$5 thru our branch to help make the Worker a daily.
"Yours for Communism,
"John Stinilovics."

The hopelessness of the situation as long as the present structure is maintained was shown vividly in the debate on a resolution calling for compulsory affiliation of locals of international unions to state and central bodies. The purpose of the resolution was to strengthen these fighting units of the labor movement—its

St. Matthew, that those who favor a farmer-labor party are really traitors and disrupters of the labor movement. This of course is the last resort of the element that is loath to surrender the precious privilege of peddling labor to the politicians in every campaign and whose constructive achievements for labor to date are seen in the Esch-Cummins bill and the Wilkerson injunction.

In its role of being, all things to all men except workmen, a convention of the A. F. of L. listens to a lot of weird speeches of welcome, advice and comfort and the Portland convention was no exception. Beginning with the governor of Oregon and the mayor of Portland, both of whom were endorsed by the Klan, the convention wound its way through an oratorical labyrinth erected by a speaker for the Near-East relief who gave President Gompers a flag, a delegation from the Protestant churches, John L. Lewis and George L. Berry with revoking charters, the text, a couple of Catholic priests, a vice-chairman of the American Legion and others too numerous to mention. All praised the organization for its courageous stand against radicalism and helped to convince the delegates that they were on the right track. How could it be otherwise when these representative Americans approved of everything that had been or was about to be done?

Gompers Shows Infantile Side.
Russian recognition was opposed by Gompers and Woll. It was urged by a surprisingly large number of delegates considering the sustained nature of the offensive against everything with a red tinge. Could a roll call have been obtained, the opposition would have shown unexpected strength. It was in the debate on this resolution that Gompers showed the childish nature of his opposition to what by this time is a purely formal proposal. He not only reiterated all of the exploded lies which even the capitalist press has discarded long ago, but he stated that if Russia was recognized the labor movement would be forced to recognize such individuals as Foster and myself. The roll-call was asked for by Frank Farrington, president of the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers of America and there is more than a suspicion that he wanted to put Lewis in the position of following instructions and opposing Gompers or of staying with Gompers and disobeying instructions. There was none of the hysterical hatred of Soviet Russia that has characterized other conventions manifested in Portland except in the speeches of Gompers and Woll. The anti-red offensive had reached its peak two or three days before and was already being discounted.

The same arguments were made against the labor party resolutions that have been heard for years with Matthew Woll playing the part of executioner. Only one new reason—if it be a reason—was raised; it now appears, according to the gospel by

the Communist, since the issue has been raised, altho I came here as a trade-unionist and not as a Communist, I understand the real reasons for the effort you are now making. You want to prove to the employers that you are more conservative than they are, that you love the wage-system even more ardently than they do. You have succeeded already in gaining a good deal of immunity for yourselves, but this immunity does not extend to the organizations you are supposed to represent. In that the employers and we Communists think alike. They too make a distinction between a high-salaried officialdom and the workingclass. In six months time these same papers that are now lauding you for your determined efforts to cast one Communist into the outer darkness will be denouncing your organizations just as bitterly as you now denounce me. Seeking to placate the employers, you have holed from within their organizations, but you have captured nothing but jewel-studded lodge charms. You may save yourselves, but you cannot save the unions unless you change your policies.

Your attitude is well illustrated by an incident that occurred yesterday, and is a tribute to the success of the most studied attempt I have ever seen at a labor convention to eliminate everything of a workingclass character. Two workmen were watching Mr. Gompers climb into his limousine in front of the auditorium. The slave who drives the car held them up and searched them because they looked like workmen, therefore were suspicious characters. They did not fit into the setting.

There is another reason for your desire to unseat me. You want to intimidate the supporters of amalgamation and a labor party because these two proposals are a threat to your privileged positions. You hide your opposition to these measures behind your alleged devotion to evolutionary progress. What you mean by evolutionary progress is that you fight all progressive measures with all your might, but when they are accepted in spite of you, you claim credit for the improvement.

We Communists do not care much for academic devotion to abstract principles. We realize that only through organization can be obtained those things that make for progress, and the A. F. of L. is a living—partially living, at least—example of the truth of our beliefs. Could an academic desire for higher wages and shorter hours achieve results there would be no trade-union movement today. So it is with amalgamation, for instance. Those who see the need for industrial unionism as an improved weapon for the wage-earners must organize and work to bring it into being. In this work they encounter the opposition of those who are ignorantly opposed and of those who have privileges to protect as you have. We expect this opposition and if for years I had been holding a job in the trade-union movement that paid me five to ten times what I could earn in any other occupation it is possible that I would also be opposed to amalgamation. It is here that we see clearly the diversity of interest between the membership and officialdom.

The same is true of the labor party idea. We have a centralized government and a working class that is more homogeneous than ever before. In spite of your sabotage labor parties are springing up in the various states and the class issue on the parliamentary field is becoming clearer. But you lovers of evolutionary progress can not see that quite often evolution may take no account of your petty prejudices.

Evolution may not care at all that it deprives you of the pleasure and profit of peddling your influence for the benefit of one or the other of the parties of the employers.

You seem to believe that capitalism is in its heyday; we do not. We say that this is the twilight of capitalism and unless the labor movement changes its policies and tactics it is going to be caught and dragged down in the general chaos that capitalism is bringing in the train of its collapse.

We have enjoyed one short year of capitalist prosperity following a two year period of terrible unemployment and suffering. We now are about to enter another period of depression whose duration no one dare predict. What of the labor movement? Has it recouped the losses sustained in 1920-21? You know, it has not. It will face another open shop drive with less confidence than ever before. What is your answer to this? A war upon the radicals in cooperation with the department of justice, an appeal for aid from the employers in this holy cause; but it will put no food in the mouths of the unemployed although I am sure that the Michigan prosecutor will be pleased to hear you take the same attitude toward me that he does.

All over the world it is now a race between the organization and growth of consciousness among the workers and chaos. You accuse us of looking with disfavour upon constitutional action. We do not but we realize its limitations. I ask you now: If after you have exhausted all constitutional possibilities and the workers still starve by the millions, what then?

In closing let me say that no matter what you do here I shall continue in the path I have chosen to fight for what I believe to be right. I have no fear of the outcome because I fight with a knowledge of the lessons of history and on the side of evolution. You fight ignorantly and against the

evolutionary processes you pretend to adore.

Answers Replies After Speech.

Delegate Green: I would like to ask the delegate if he believes that President Lewis delivered the miners to the employers as is charged in this article in the Butte Bulletin?

Delegate Dunne: Please find and read the statement you refer to.

Delegate Green: Does the delegate believe that statement?

Delegate Dunne: When you find that statement and read it to me I will answer. (Green could not find the statement. It was not there.)

Delegate Green: Does the delegate believe that the officials of the United Mine Workers acted as hangmen and informers for the employers as he stated in his report of his speech last night?

Delegate Dunne: I am literate and I understand the English language. If the articles sponsored by John L. Lewis and published in the capitalist press in which he accuses 66 Lithuanian miners of the Herrin shooting after an acquittal by a jury are not an attempt to turn members of his organization over to the gallows, what are they?

Delegate Green: Do you believe these stories of bribes published in the Bulletin?

Delegate Dunne: I call the attention of Delegate Green and the convention to the fact that these charges of bribery are not made by me but were made against one another by two responsible officials of the United Mine Workers. I am interested only in discovering how far these men will go to keep their jobs.

Delegate Green: Do you charge that the United Mine Workers officials asked aid of the employers?

Delegate Dunne: I do not have to make the charge. It is there under their signature in the last paragraph of the fifth article.

Workers Party Replies to Gompers

THE COMMUNISTS IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

Statement by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

William F. Dunne, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, was expelled from the American Federation of Labor Convention because he is a Communist—because of his political principles.

While denouncing the Soviet Government, which has carried on a life and death struggle for six years against imperialism and civil war, as a dictatorship, the Gompers machine, without such a justification applies even more dictatorial measures in the A. F. of L. convention.

Dunne boldly stated his principles before the convention. Standing practically alone among the three or four hundred highly paid trade union officials sitting as delegates, he declared:

These words tell the whole story of the struggle which is now going on in the trade unions of this country. The officials of the American Federation of Labor, from Gompers to Lewis, are charging the Communists with attempting to disrupt the labor unions.

The Minneapolis Labor Review, an American Federation of Labor paper, says in an editorial on "Labor Must Defend Labor": "It also should not be passed without consideration that one of the great influences against dual unionism in the United States has come from the leaders of the soviets. Radicals who could not be influenced by the conservative American Federation of Labor officials have been influenced to stay in the American Federation of Labor, where they belong, by leaders of the Russian movement."

The truth is that the Communists are the exponents of progressive trade unions and the \$10,000 to \$25,000 a year officials are fearful lest they lose their jobs.

What are the measures which the Communists propose? Organize the unorganized! Amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions! A labor party! Recognition of Soviet Russia!

Organization of the unorganized means a more powerful labor movement. Amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions is essential if the labor unions are to survive in the struggle against the great trusts. A labor party is necessary to fight the battles of the workers against the government which uses its power against them in every strike. The fall of Soviet Russia would mean that the labor movement the world over would be swept out of existence by Fascism and black reaction.

The trade unions in the United States are losing ground. No organization work is being done to bring the great mass of unorganized into the unions. The craft unions find themselves unable to cope with the great industrial combinations which they have to fight.

The measures proposed by the Communists would strengthen the unions. They would make them more effective fighting organizations. And these are the measures which Gompers and his machine calls the Communists "disruptionists" for advocating.

Contrast to these measures the statement of principles adopted by the Gompers machine at Portland: "We, the American Federation of Labor, stand for... ownership of property, and adequate return on investments, an adequate sum allowed industry for deterioration."

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A LARGE VARIETY

Johnstone Explains Flip-Flop of Chicago Labor Officialdom

By J. W. JOHNSTONE.

It was not a mere accident that the reactionaries headed by Nelson, Wright and Olander, most of whom have been conspicuous by their absence in the past, were present at the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Sunday, Oct. 7th. It was a grand marshalling of the reactionary forces determined to place the Federation on the do-nothing-but-bait-the-radicals program of Gompers and Company.

It was a tragic and pitiful sight to see the old leaders, "Fitz" and Nockles, fade into the background and quietly relinquish the leadership to their old and consistent opponents, Oscar Nelson, the Democratic aldermanic vice-president of the Federation. How well I remember the admonition that "Fitz" administered to Nelson in one of their many controversies, "You are playing with fire, Brother Nelson, and if you get burned that is your look out." How well Nelson could retaliate and say, "You have been playing with fire, Brother Fitzpatrick, and now it has consumed you."

The fight was over the report of the delegates to the Decatur convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, which declared the action of that gathering to be representative of the labor movement of Illinois. The acceptance of such a report would naturally carry with it the negation of the previous stand taken by the federation on amalgamation, the recognition of Soviet Russia, and the Labor Party. This of course was denied by those who spoke in favor of the recommendation. The discussion, however, soon brought out just what the adoption of the report carried with it.

The report proper was a brief account of what took place at Decatur, and its adoption would have been in order. It would not have in any way committed the federation to the policies adopted there. In view of this fact, the writer, in order to clear the issue, made an amendment to the motion that the report be adopted and the recommendations of delegates not concurred in. This amendment was immediately, without discussion, laid on the table. This showed plainly that it was not the

report, but the recommendation that the reactionaries were fighting for. This was made still clearer by Fitzpatrick stating, on a question asked, that the resolution passed by the Federation was not an amalgamation resolution, but that it simply called upon the American Federation of Labor to call into conference the International officials to talk over the question. This childish interpretation, fooled no one, not even Fitzpatrick himself.

The issue was amalgamation, the recognition of Soviet Russia and the Labor Party. None of these subjects were discussed, however, by those opposing them. The same old red herring was dragged across the trail. That the effectiveness of baiting the reds has not diminished is shown in the vote of 112 for and 26 against the recommendation.

Oscar Nelson and Victor Olander were the main spokesmen for this red herring brigade, consuming about two hours between them. Nelson spoke for over half an hour. If he said anything of any consequence it passed me by. Olander, however, prepared for an hour very cleverly misrepresenting everything that he touched upon. His speech was no doubt the result of careful study, if not rehearsal.

He accused Foster of every crime under the sun except bootlegging. Foster had stolen from Fitzpatrick the glory of having drawn up the plan upon which the Stockyard's Labor Council was organized. (The plan applied to the stockyards was the Railroad Federation Plan.) Foster had refused to say anything before the steel strike Senate Investigation Committee (although there are forty pages of Foster's testimony in the records). Foster, although a railroad carman, had not spoken at any strike meetings (although Foster really spoke at over 100 meetings of railroad strikers from Chicago to the coast, invited to do so by international officials, as well as the rank and file), and so on.

His attack on the T. U. E. L. and the Communists, was on the same order. They were responsible for the great loss in membership that the trade unions suffered during the

"Open Shop" drive. They had issued leaflets during the railroad strike telling the strikers that their organization and officials were no good. Just what weight this deliberate lie had on the delegates is hard to tell. If the leaflets had existed anywhere but in Olander's distorted mind, he would have produced the evidence. As for the loss of membership being the result of Communist propaganda, this statement makes one wonder if the delegates are as stupid as Olander judges them to be.

Was the loss of the Payette County miners due to the close-ranks policy of the League, or to John I. Lewis' betrayal? Was the loss of the Packing House Workers and the Steel Workers due to the League demanding amalgamation, or was it due to the criminal lack of co-operation on part of the official family? (By the way, Gompers, chairman of the committee for organizing the steel workers, did not address a single steel strike meeting, better give an account of yourself, Sammy.) Was the tremendous loss of membership in the railroad shop trades due to the League publishing the "Railroaders' Next Step," or was it due to the fact that nine organizations stayed at work helping the railroad interests to whip the seven shop crafts who were on strike, as well as the treacherous conduct of labor officials such as Grable and Lee? Now, at this belated stage, Olander tries to lay the loss of union membership at the door of the League, which means that he holds the League responsible for the defeats that labor has suffered.

The strength of the "Open Shop" defense has had no message for Olander. Garry's powerful organization, the equally powerful Packers' and railroad interests, the "Citizens Committee," the Printing, Textile, Leather trusts, etc., the financial interests all united into a solid fighting front, determined to crush organized labor, together with our antiquated form of organization and our stupid and sometimes treacherous leadership, had nothing to do with the defeats of labor and the terrific loss in membership, according to Olander.

Amalgamation, recognition of Soviet

Russia, the Labor Party, the League, the Communist International and Moscow were responsible, so therefore the Chicago Federation of Labor should slap these people on the wrist by adopting the report of the Decatur convention, representing the opinion of the Labor Movement of Illinois.

The Socialists played their minor role of echoing their new master's voice. Flora, a Socialist, voted for the recommendation because he was against the Communists. He gave mouth service to amalgamation, but thought that it ought to come from other source, so to prove that he was for amalgamation he voted against it.

Wright, of the Typographical union, was the only one who took the floor and openly opposed amalgamation, stating that his union had tried it once and found out by experience that it was all wrong. He deplored the fact that delegates took advantage of the floor to voice their own views and not that of the organization, that they were supposed to represent. He either did not know, or conveniently forgot that he was doing the very thing that he accused others of doing, and that his organization had endorsed amalgamation at the Montreal convention three years ago, and still stands committed to it today.

The reversal of front made by the Chicago Federation of Labor was not unexpected. It was not a secret that "Fitz" and Nockles had been warned (unofficially) that Gompers would either make them good or get their scalps. The fight started when the A. F. of L. withdrew its financial support from the Federation (excuse, cutting expenses). That "Fitz" and Nockles wilted is to be deplored. That they are sincere in their repudiation I cannot believe. One thing is certain, and that is, that Oscar Nelson is now the leader of the new majority with Fitz and Nockles as figure heads.

That the progressives could only muster 26 votes, shows to what extent the delegates blindly follow the leadership of "Fitz" and Nockles. They even accepted, without challenge, Fitzpatrick's famous interpretation of the amalgamation resolution, forgetting that he spoke in favor

of amalgamation and that in his concluding remarks he asked the question, "Who is it that objects to amalgamation of craft unions?" then answered the question himself, "The Chicago Tribune," and that Nockles arguing for amalgamation stated, "That amalgamation would wipe out jurisdictional disputes, the curse of labor." Forgetting Fitzpatrick's oft-time repeated statement, "That there are only two hopes in the world, Ireland and Russia." Forgetting that Fitzpatrick as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party made the motion to send out the call for the now famous July 3rd and 4th unity convention, inviting all working class and farmer organizations including the Workers Party.

Oscar Nelson and Victor Olander are not going to be content with this victory. Both of them stated that to adopt the report as recommended did not reverse any former stand taken by the Federation. Some of the delegates may have been fooled, although Olander immediately wired the results of A. F. of L. convention. Their next move will be to make it more definite.

The Chicago Federation of Labor was the first labor organization in the United States to endorse Soviet Russia, and were always proud of the fact that a resolution passed by them and sent to the United States Government, was primarily responsible for the release of Trotsky from a Canadian prison.

The Chicago Federation of Labor made the first attempt to organize a national Labor Party, and this party, recognizing the insincerity of the conference for Progressive Political Action, issued a call for the Unity Convention.

The Chicago Federation of Labor was the first organization to endorse a general amalgamation resolution, starting the campaign which resulted in 16 State Federations, 9 International, scores of Central Labor Bodies and thousands of local unions endorsing it.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has now the added dubious distinction of being the first labor organization to repudiate its stand on these questions.

was declared the surest basis of the present prosperity, suffered a shock in September. The New York Times reports on October 11th: "Contrary to predictions based on preliminary returns of building for September, the total for the month will fall below August." But the real position of the building industry is given by the October 8th survey of the Bureau of Census—that building activity consists mostly of the erecting of residential buildings; and the erecting of industrial buildings, is declining greatly.

Facing the New Crisis.

The most important industries, steel, iron, coal, textile, building, are on the decline. The number of employed is decreasing in almost every state and industrial center. The trusts are striving to put off the start of the crisis by means of big orders for railroad material; but that is the last reserve which capitalism can throw into the economic life, in order to hold off the coming of the crisis. Another few months, and the crisis will be upon us—and with the crisis there will be once more hundreds of thousands and millions of unemployed; the position of the working class will be more frightful than that of 1920-21. The industrial working class has grown considerably in the last year by the migration of two millions of the farming population from the farms, and by the migration of the Negroes from the South. These millions were able to find work during the industrial prosperity of 1922-23. But what will be the fate of the new three million bankrupt farmers, who, as the official estimate states, will have left the farms in 1923? When the crisis comes, the number of unemployed will be even greater than in the last crisis, when the number was between five and six million. The next economic crisis in the United States, which will coincide with the year of the presidential elections, with the disintegration of the old capitalist parties and with the movements for a third party and a labor party, will be a political and social crisis of the first magnitude.

No, Mr. Calvin Coolidge, the millennium has not come.

The most important and most sensitive industry, the steel and iron industry, the most important barometer of economic life, rings the death-knell of the industrial prosperity. Steel ingot production reached its peak in May, 1923, with 4,195,800 tons. Since then, it has been declining, and in the last month, in September, has fallen down to 3,313,354 tons.

And the future of the steel industry presents the darkest sort of picture. The United States Steel Corporation reported on October 10th, that the unfilled orders have declined since the end of March, when they were 7,483,332 tons to 5,035,760 tons at the end of September, which means a decline of not less than 32 per cent. The United States Steel Corporation—as the Iron Age states—is today turning out steel on the average, at 90 per cent of capacity, which means a decline of only 7 per cent from the highest capacity of a few months ago. That shows clearly the plans of the steel trust. They wish to utilize their machines up to full capacity. They will prepare the unfilled orders in a short time, then they will shut down the mills and will throw the workers by the hundreds of thousands out on the street. The economic depression in the steel industry is already present—the new orders have declined by 32 per cent, but the workers cannot feel it already, because production has declined by only 7 per cent.

The copper industry also has its crisis setting in. Copper has its lowest prices in a year, at 13c a pound, on the New York market.

In the textile industry the northern mills are likely to curtail operation (report of the New York Times of October 12, 1923). Bradstreet's report says: "Trade in primary lines and dry goods and especially in cotton goods is unquestionably quieter than some weeks ago." And the Hearst papers say: "Action of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in closing down its cotton mills was a source of much disappointment to the optimists." The refusal of the Japanese silk trust to deliver goods to America means, according to Daniel E. Dooty, representative of the Silk Association of America, that the great mills in Paterson and Passaic will be compelled to close in October or in November. (Chicago Daily Tribune, October 3, 1923.)

A special report from Pittsburgh, in the New York Times of October 8, gives a clear picture of the coal situation: "The Pittsburgh district coal market is very quiet, and it is difficult to sell coal even at the lower prices now ruling, approximately equal, in steam and gas coal, to the lowest prices hitherto made this year—in July—and, in by-product coal, lower than any prices seen for a long time."

The oil industry is facing one of the deepest crises—an over-production. Scores of oil refineries are closing their doors, as the October 8th report of the Bureau of Mines shows. And even the building boom which

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101 JOHN L. LEWIS LIES ANSWERED

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The attack made by the Lewis machine on the members of the United Mine Workers in the articles published in the capitalist press is presented in all its shamelessness; the misrepresentations of the Communist movement are proven. Articles by Foster, Pepper, Cannon, Engdahl and Ruthenberg dealing with the Communist policies in the trade unions.

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Coolidge's Gospel---the Millenium Hath Come

By JOHN PEPPER.

President Coolidge made an official statement announcing that economic conditions are good, that the country is in a state of prosperity and that favorable business conditions will prevail for a long time. Production is going up, wages are increasing, no unemployment in the country, the Republican party is in control, everything is all right, everybody is happy, the new "Revelation" is an actuality, the millenium hath come down out of heaven, having the key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. . . . And they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. . . .

Thus spake the old Book of the Revelation of Calvin is as much a story of good as the old Gospel. With fiery tongue and eyes rolling with ecstasy, Calvin Coolidge cries that the Satan of economic crisis is bound for a thousand years, and that the Christ of business prosperity will reign for a thousand years.

Halleluyah, halleluyah, ring the bells, fall on your knees in thanksgiving, for the angel of Republican rule hath come down out of the heaven and bound the old serpent of business panic for a thousand years! Halleluyah, halleluyah, the millenium hath come!

It is all so wonderful and good to hear; only it's a pity that not a single word of it is true. Calvin is a false prophet. The millenium has not arrived. On the contrary, prosperity is tending to come to an end, production in the basic industries is declining, wholesale prices are falling down, the farmers are bankrupt, and mass unemployment is beginning to menace the working class. It is not the millenium of prosperity which is due in the age-long cycles of capitalism, but the period of depression, panic and unemployment. That is the period concerning which the Book of Revelation says: "And when the thousand years are finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison and shall come forth to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth." Calvin Coolidge is a false prophet. We are facing the reign of the Devil and Satan, the reign of crisis, of factories shut down, long hopeless lines before the factory gates, hundreds of thousands of hungry unemployed. Coolidge is a false prophet. And we warn him (as for us, everybody knows of course, that we wish him only the best) that the same fate will befall him as befell the false prophet in the Book of Revelation: "And the Devil deceived them by the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."

The Profane Facts.

We must now array against Calvin's religious revelations, the sober facts of the bulletins of the United States Steel Corporation, the quotations of the Stock Exchange and the reports of the various government departments.

The latest report of the Department of Commerce, released on October 13, summarizes the situation thus: "Early reports on September business received by the bureau of census. Department of Commerce, show slight declines in productivity activity from August. Pig iron production declined from 3,435,313 in August to 3,125,512 tons for September. Steel ingot production at 3,313,354 tons, compares with 3,677,771 tons for August. Production of bituminous coal and consumption of raw silk and tin registered decline. . . . Total employment as measured by reports from 1,428 representative United States factories made a slight decline from August. Bradstreet's wholesale food price index on a 1913 base, at 142, compares with 140 for August. . . . Prices of iron and steel continued their decline."

It's a pity that before he made his own revelation in the name of the government, Coolidge did not con-

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Are the American Workers Ripe for Communist Organization?

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

The question whether the American workers are ripe for organization in a Communist movement is a very vital one in relation to the campaign initiated by our Party for 10,000 new members.

If, in the United States, those conditions exist which develop in the minds of the workers Communist ideas, then our campaign for membership is bound to achieve results if we carry on the campaign with the proper spirit and initiative.

On the other hand, if the conditions in the United States are such that they are not ripe for Communist mass organization, then our campaign, no matter how aggressively made, will not bring the organizational results which we are seeking.

The Conditions for Communist Organization

There are two fundamental conditions which make possible the organization of a Communist party.

The first of these conditions is the development of capitalist industry to large scale collective production.

So long as industry is still carried on in small factories by small groups of workers, the Communist ideology does not spring up among the workers. It is only when industry is consolidated and great industrial organizations employing thousands of men with the machines of these men divided into machine-like operations comes into existence that the workers' minds are prepared for the Communist ideology.

Examination of these conditions existing in the United States in this respect, show us that no capitalist country in the world is so far developed toward large scale collective production as the United States. The last twenty-five years of industrial evolution have brought into existence great industrial combinations in practically every great industry in this country. Corporations employing thousands of men exist on all sides. Capitalism in the United States has reached the highest development in the world.

In such basic industries as the production of steel, the mining of coal and railroad transportation, development toward combination has gone very far indeed. In the automobile industry, plants employing tens of thousands of men are in existence.

It is in these highly developed, highly centralized industries that the workers are prepared for Communism. It is in such a plant as the Ford automobile plant in Detroit, with its minute division of labor and its turning of the workers into adjuncts to the machine, that the workers are prepared mentally for the Communist message and for Communist organization.

These conditions are over-ripe in the United States.

The second condition necessary to prepare the working class for the organization of a Communist Party is the appearance of the government as the instrument of the capitalists in fighting the workers.

It is only when a centralized state power arises and this centralized state power is openly used against the workers in their struggle for better wages and working conditions that the workers' attention is turned toward the political struggle, the struggle for control of the state power.

During the five years since the end of the war, the workers of the United States have had numerous lessons to prove to them that the government of this country is a capitalist dictatorship, fighting the battles of the capitalist class. In the past we have had the idea, fostered by the ruling class, that in this country we have a government 'of the people, for the people and by the people' and this has been the greatest obstacle to the organization of the workers as a class for the struggle for political power. So long as the workers believe the fairy tale about the government 'of the people, etc.' they believe that their interests can be protected thru the machinery of the existing government. This ideology can only be destroyed by the bitter experiences of the workers in dealing with the government.

That process has been under way in an intensive form since 1918. In the great strikes of 1919, the miners' strike, the steel strike, the government appeared openly on the side of the employer. In the open shop campaign of 1921-22 with its great strike of packing workers of the garment workers of the miners, of the railroad workers, there have been innumerable lessons to the workers that they are not only fighting the

employers, but that, ranged beside their enemies, is the government striking at them with all its power. The numerous injunctions, culminating in the Daugherty injunction; the numerous governmental boards, such as the Railroad Board and the Coal Commission; the use of police, militia, and soldiers of the regular army against the workers; all these strike deep into the minds of the workers the role of the government in the class struggle. Since 1918 the lesson of the part of the government in the class struggle has been driven home to the workers as never before in the history of the United States.

Our Task. Since an examination of the fact shows that all the conditions exist which make possible the organization of a powerful Communist mass party, we may well ask why the Workers Party has not increased in membership at a greater rate than it has during the last two years.

It is easy to find the answer to this question. It is in the attitude of the great body of our membership. There grew up in our party the viewpoint that a Communist party can only have within its ranks the select few, that we must use exceedingly great care in admitting members to our organization and as a consequence of this hardly any effort has been made to bring the workers, whom capitalism is preparing for Communist party membership, into the party organization.

It is our immediate task to remedy this condition. We must begin within

our own organization. We must change the mental attitude of the membership of our party. They must be made to see the need of increasing the strength of our organization and bringing into the party every worker who is ready to accept its principles. We must not expect that every worker who joins our party will be a full-fledged Communist at the beginning. It is our duty to make him that thru education after he joins the party.

The Membership Campaign. All of the above shows how favorable are the conditions for the growth of the Workers Party, if we can mobilize the party members of the membership campaign. Every member of our organization must throw himself into the work of bringing new members into the party, he must reach out among his shop mates, brother trade unionists, friends, and acquaintances, and draw those whom capitalism has prepared for Communist organization into the Communist Party.

A united effort of the whole party during the next three months will not only bring us in the ten thousand members we have set as our goal, but will increase our membership by a far greater figure. Let us make use of our opportunities. Let us take advantage of what capitalism has prepared for us. Let us build a COMMUNIST MASS PARTY!

Salutsky Tries to Explain a Little

By C. E. RUTHENBERG, Secretary Workers Party

In the September number of the American Labor Monthly, J. B. Salutsky, former member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, tries to explain away the charges on which he was expelled from the Workers Party and in doing so makes some misstatements of facts which cannot be permitted to go unchallenged.

Salutsky was a delegate to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in that conference. He states in his article that his mandate as a delegate had been withdrawn but the fact remains that he had a delegates card and sat on the floor of the convention, to which only delegates were admitted.

On Monday afternoon of the first day of the conference when the Credentials Committee brought in its report, Keating, the editor of "Labor," made a vicious attack upon the Workers Party charging that it was a disruptive organization and was hatched by the employers of the United States. This tirade against the Workers Party was made after the writer had risen in the convention to demand a report on the credentials of the Workers Party which had been submitted to the Credentials Committee and upon which no action had been taken.

Altho Keating made a vicious and untruthful attack upon the Workers Party, Salutsky, a member of the central Executive Committee of that party, sat silent. In his article he tries to explain this by stating that the question of Workers Party credentials was a question for the Credentials Committee and that the whole business was out of order. This may be true but it is also true that Keating made his attack and he was answered by R. D. Kramer, of Minneapolis, a non-Workers Party member, and by Dennis Batt, of Detroit, a non-Workers Party member, while Salutsky, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the party, remained in his seat and did not say a word in defense of his organization.

Workers Party Before the Credentials Committee.

Salutsky's second alibi is that he did not support the Workers Party in the second day of the convention because the writer, as Executive Secretary of the Workers Party had stated before the Credentials Committee on Monday afternoon that the Workers Party would support the conference for Progressive Political Action even if it continued the policy of supporting candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties in the primaries. Salutsky does not dare to say directly that such a statement was made but by inference he conveys the impression that "some such statement was made before the Credentials Committee. This is an out and out falsehood.

The question of the Republican and Democratic primaries and the supporting of candidates in those primaries was not raised at any time before the Credentials Committee. What I stated before the Credentials Committee when the question of disagreement between the principles of the Workers Party and the Conference for Political Action was raised was: "The Workers Party believes that a Labor Party will be organized in the United States. Even if this conference does not organize a Labor Party, the Workers Party will remain

months without any solution. The Central Executive Committee was finally convinced that there was no earnest desire on the part of Salutsky to remain a member of the Workers Party and rectify his previous errors and directed that he be expelled from the party. The record of the case shows the infinite patience exercised by the party executives before resorting to the last action. As far as Salutsky's trying to explain his action at Cleveland is concerned his record of the case only shows that he had no comprehension of what it means to be a Communist and a member of the Communist party.

Chicago Workers Party Forum.

The Open Forum conducted by the Workers Party every Sunday evening, Room 210, Capitol Bldg., 159 N. State St., is meeting with great success. Robert Minor, editor of the "Liberator," who opened the forum season, October 7, with a lecture on "who owns the United States," fulfilled the expectations of the large audience who eagerly listened to his masterly lecture.

J. Louis Engdahl, who was scheduled to speak on Sunday, Oct. 14, but was suddenly called to Cleveland, Ohio, was replaced by James P. Cannon, speaking on the subject as originally announced, "REVOLUTIONARY TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT." Comrade Cannon analyzed the recent developments in the ranks of American labor, tracing the great rank and file demands for Amalgamation, a Labor Party, etc., pointing out the role of the Communists as leaders of these movements. Interesting discussion and questions followed.

This forum is being conducted every Sunday night thruout the winter season. Tom Tippet, well known labor press correspondent, will speak next Sunday, Oct. 21, on the "Miners' Struggles." Earl R. Browder, C. E. Ruthenberg, Carl Haessler and Ludwig Denny will be the speakers for the month of November.

Kennedy Is Telling Them.

"The Western Progressive Farmer," in its current issue, reports that John C. Kennedy is explaining the Chicago Federated Farmer-Labor convention to crowds over the state (Washington), and "we predict that never again will the old parties or politicians fool the people as they did last year." Kennedy is a member of the executive committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

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To All Units and Members of the Party

Comrades:—The Central Executive Committee of the Party after a thorough consideration decided to have an Industrial Registration of the entire Party membership twice a year. November was set aside as the month for the first registration. During this month every unit of the Party must elect its Industrial Organizer and forward his name and address to the National Office of the Party on special blanks provided for this purpose. The new organizers are to be elected for a period of six months, until the next registration takes place. During the same month every member of the Party MUST register with the Branch Industrial Organizers on special cards supplied for this purpose by the National Office of the Party. These cards remain in the Branch.

The Branch Industrial Organizer is to enter the secured data on blanks provided especially for that purpose. These blanks must be filled out and returned to the National Office not later than Nov. 30.

The returns on the old registration were so negligible that it was considered advisable to discard them entirely and begin the work all over again. Every unit of the Party, every individual member must see to it that the registration is not made a failure this time. The National Office will from now on pay special attention to this work and no unit will be allowed to neglect it. No excuses for failure to carry out these instructions will be accepted by the Central Executive Committee.

The C. E. C. are to get from the delegates reports on progress of the registration regularly and spare no efforts to have the registration completed within the time limit. Failure on the part of the branches to complete their registration within the time limit will involve serious difficulties and unnecessary waste of time and expenses. The National Office will not allow a single unit to neglect this important work no matter what the cost may be.

Comrade Abram Jakira has been appointed Assistant Executive Secretary and will be in charge of this work.

Comrades, do not compel the National Office to keep on reminding you of the importance of the Industrial Registration. Show your willingness to co-operate with the Central Executive Committee in its efforts to make the Party an efficient fighting body. Act upon this recommendation without delay.

Fraternally yours,
C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary.

Don't Throw This Paper Away

Pass it on to Your Neighbor

Miners Hold Successful Picnic.

Sept. 16th the Allegheny Valley, Pa., miners held a picnic, the proceeds of which was to be for the Labor Defense and Free Speech Council and the Progressive Miners' Committee. The picnic was a grand success and the profit made was \$259.20.

The Labor Defense and Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania acknowledges the receipt of \$129.60. Also the receipt of \$129.60 which it was directed to forward to the Progressive Miners' Committee, which has been done—Margaret Cowi, Financial Secretary.

TUEL Dance at Canton, Ohio.

All workers of Canton, Ohio, are invited to attend the Trade Union League dance, Saturday, October 27, at Polish Hall, 1726 Eleventh St., N. E. Comrade Max Lerner, of Cleveland, Ohio, will deliver a short talk on the activities of the Trade Union Educational League. All proceeds go to the national office of the League.

Mayor Dever, of Chicago, has a novel way of killing prohibition. He intends to make life so miserable for the prohibitionists who like their little night cap that they will join the Free Hootch League. Of course, Dever was speaking to a German audience which may mean an awful lot. If there is anything a German hates more than near-beer it must be water.

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Upton Sinclair, World Famous Author and Journalist, Endorses Campaign for "Daily Worker" in Chicago

If there is anyone in the United States competent to speak upon the need of a real, militant daily paper for the working class, it is that vivid personality called Upton Sinclair.

For two decades or more Upton Sinclair has been the foremost pioneer in waging war upon the iniquities of capitalism, particularly the capitalist press. The capitalist press drew blood from the young crusader many times, and by adverse comment upon Sinclair's life and work has so poisoned the minds of the American people that Sinclair's realistic and graphic stories of American working class life are more popular in Europe, where his books have been translated into all languages and circulated extensively, than in this country.

The tremendous response given internationally to Sinclair's dramatic exposure of life and labor in Chicago's stockyards in his book, "The Jungle," which Sinclair published himself in 1903 after five leading publishers refused it—brought the author

UPTON SINCLAIR
PASADENA
CALIFORNIA
September 22, 1933.

Rose Pastor Stokes seeks me to express my sentiments on the subject of the proposed new daily of the Worker's Party.

I cannot express my sentiments; they are inexpressible. The thing I want to see most of all in these United States is a workers' daily in every big city. Everything else in the workers' movement depends upon that. So long as the workers read the newspapers of the capitalists, they will vote with the capitalists and think with them. So if you really want to take America out of the hands of the organized grafters and parasites, by all means work for the new daily in Chicago.

wide renown in spite of the silence or ridicule of the capitalist papers. "The Jungle" was filmed in 1934, but because of capitalist opposition, the picture has yet to be seen by the great mass of workers.

In recent years Sinclair has settled down at Pasadena, California, and produced an astonishing number

of invaluable books, among which are "The Cry For Justice," an anthology of the literature of social protest; "King Coal," "Jimmie Higgins," a story based upon the wonderful character given to the world by Ben Hanford; "The Profits of Religion," which is recommended by the fact that it has been boycotted by all literary re-

viewers; "100%, the Story of a Patriot," "The Goose Step," and "The Brass Check," to which Sinclair says he had wished to add the sub-title, "A Study of the Whore of Journalism."

It is in "The Brass Check" that Sinclair exposes in convincing and comprehensive detail just how the capitalist press works to keep the masses ignorant and divided and powerless. Every worker should get "The Brass Check," read it and lend it to other workers. Above all, every worker should understand that, although Upton Sinclair is not a member of the Workers Party, the vigorous and enthusiastic manner in which he greets THE DAILY WORKER shows his earnest and broad sympathies with the purposes to which THE DAILY WORKER is dedicated and is a direct call upon all who believe in Upton Sinclair to follow his advice as given in the accompanying letter and by all means work for the new daily in Chicago.

THE WORKER

Published by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America, C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, Room 214, 1009 N. State Street, Chicago, Ill.

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The Gold Hunters

Friday, Oct. 12, was a national holiday—especially for the banks—in these United States. It was Columbus Day. Just 431 years before, Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, Italy, working for King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, of Spain, discovered this western world.

In the wake of Columbus' first voyage came the gold hunters of the old world. Cortez conquered Mexico, and Pizarro visited the same fate on Peru—all for gold. The Spaniards and Portuguese were having the monopoly on the gold hunting, in the 16th century, until Francis Drake came along and plundered their ships so successfully that Queen Elizabeth, of England knighted him with the title, "Sir."

But in spite of the fact that Europe has been very busy these last 400 years, trying to get all the gold possible out of North and South America, we find that the United States still retains the greater part of the world's gold supply. It is the richest nation on earth.

Yet the gold hunters still continue to come, as beggars, however, instead of conquerors. General Joseph Haller, the Mussolini of Poland, is here attending the American Legion convention at San Francisco. He is also calling on the big bankers for a handout in order to keep up the Polish threat against Soviet Russia: Count Apponyi, the agent of the Hungarian Mussolini, Horthy, is also here panhandling a loan for his Fascist government, that has sent thousands of workers to death, and other tens of thousands to prison to safeguard the Versailles Peace.

The basis of gold hunting is the desire to become rich, the hope of the few to fatten off the many. While Cortez, Pizarro, Balboa, Drake and Raleigh are lauded as great discoverers, they were in reality mere adventurers seeking an easy way to accumulate wealth. Haller and Apponyi, with the finance experts of Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and other poverty stricken and bankrupt lands, come and go for the same reason. They want American gold to help perpetuate the capitalist system of rob and plunder in their own countries. They wish to keep the workers enslaved to the desires of the parasite few.

Yet on this Columbus Day, 1923, the world is nearer an end to gold hunting than ever before. The Russian Soviet Republic is building a social order that will in time provide enough, and more, for all within her domains, so there will be no desire to seek alleged riches elsewhere. Western Europe, now starving and in misery, will be compelled to follow the Russian example or see the complete destruction of white civilization. Instead of hunting gold for their masters today, the exploited workers in the cities and on the farms are striving to achieve their own emancipation from this shining, yellow metal, thru the new classless social order—Communism.

From Education to Action

There is an important judicial campaign on in Chicago at the present time. Sitting judges with black anti-labor records appear on both the democratic and republican tickets. The bosses feel safe. Only those judges, according to the present outlook, will be elected who will issue injunctions to help break the strikes of Chicago's protesting workers.

It is interesting in this crisis confronting labor in the nation's second largest city, to study the report of a committee of Chicago labor officials, appointed by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, on the misuse by the bosses' judges of the power to issue injunctions in labor disputes. The report is signed by John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, heading a list of 16 labor officials, many of whom have been breaking into print these past few days with their attacks on the Workers Party and the Communists.

No one will disagree with the facts in the report. Everyone can endorse, with emphasis, the denunciation of the judicial lackeys of the circuit and superior courts. Here are loud sounding words, for instance:

"When an injunction judge, exercising the power which has the force of law, issues a proclamation or so-called restraining order, obedience to which has the effect of restraining men from exercising their constitutional rights in a manner calculated to improve the conditions under which they live and work, he is endeavoring, either consciously or unconsciously, to tear the robes of liberty from the shoulders of the free men and women affected by his order and compelling them to accept the shameful garb of slaves."

And here is another high-power extract:

"Injunction judges have not only revived the arbitrary power of kings, but have retained for their own use even the very titles and terms originated by his royal majesty."

All of which spurs the reader of the report on to expect some definite program of action. But no! We are casually informed that the Illinois Federation of Labor, at its recent convention, "declared that the injunction problem is the paramount legislative issue in this state." The decision of this Gompers' committee of 17, headed by Fitzpatrick, is to support the Illinois Federation in its "campaign of education on this subject."

No mention is made of any effort to secure a united political front of Chicago's workers against the republican and democratic judicial candidates. Gompers could not urge such action, since

he believes in the old parties. Fitzpatrick deserted the fight against the parties and the candidates of the bosses, when he quit the Chicago conference of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Walker and Olander, the anti-Communist state labor leaders, are for the Wall Street parties, and against the labor party.

It is behind their fake cry of "educate the workers" that these misleaders divide and dissipate the strength of organized labor. Education is a delusion if it cannot be followed up with a program of action. The logical step for the workers to take, after denouncing the robbed tyrants of the employers, is to organize their power to sweep these court lackeys from power.

Gompers, Woll, Fitzpatrick and Olander, among others, have shown themselves good talkers this past year, especially against the Communists. But the workers will demand something more than talk. They will want action—united political and industrial action against the bosses. They will be asking, in the days ahead, why these leaders do not follow up their attack on the injunction judges with an attempt to remove them from power. In that hour the misleaders will not be able to answer with fresh attacks on Communism. They will be forced to adopt the Communist program for the United Front or confess themselves traitors to the whole working class.

The Decreasing Wage

Wages will be coming down this winter. The American worker is facing another crisis in spite of the rosy declarations of Samuel Gompers, at Portland, Oregon, in his personally conducted war against the Communists.

The Babson's Statistical Organization deals with figures. Its report for Oct. 9 shows that the summer's upward trend of wages has been checked as follows: September, 71 increases; August, 98, and 161 last June, more than double September's showing. On the other hand, while the summer has seen but few reductions in wages, "the first cuts are now beginning to appear," declares Babson's, continuing as follows:

"During the coming months we should expect to see the number of reductions tending to balance the increase. The net result probably will be a sideways movement in the total average wage rates, with a weakening tendency as the winter goes on. Labor supply in almost every industry is adequate. Strikes are on the decline. In September only 62 strikes were reported, compared with 99 in August, 90 in July, and 145 in June."

Gompers' preparations for this storm ahead consists only of attacks on the progressives in the labor movement. Instead of building up the trade unions, thru organizing the unorganized, he tries to hide the fact that the Federation has lost one million members during the last two years. Instead of strengthening the ranks of labor thru amalgamation, he does everything to keep the workers divided. Instead of developing the labor party as a powerful weapon in the hands of the workers, he opposes every effort at political unity. Babson's statistics, coupled with the actions of the Portland Convention, should expose Gompers' sham pretensions to work for the best interests of labor.

And while wages will be bogging ever downwards, the workers will also realize, as indications now show, that the profit takers are increasing the cost of living.

The Immigration Problem

The new Congress, which does not seem to be able to get together until the regularly scheduled time for its opening, the first Monday in December, is due to give much attention to the problem of immigration. Gary, Rockefeller and the other billion-aires corporation interests want a greater reservoir of labor to feed into the steel, oil, railroad, mining and other industries. They want, however, selective, rather than unrestricted immigration. The bosses want to pick out the kind of workers coming to this country.

The kind of bosses' propaganda that is being sent out to influence sentiment on this question is shown in a special bulletin issued by Babson's Statistical Organization. This bulletin deals especially with German immigration, pointing out that "the greatest single source of foreign labor supply probably will be Germany, between the present time and the end of the immigration year next July."

"Internal conditions in Germany are rapidly approaching a complete economic and political breakdown," declares this bulletin, claiming that German workers are seeking to avoid this situation by rushing, in large numbers, to these shores. But it is argued that there are many objections to German labor. In spite of Socialist sabotage, the German workers have won more power, since the overthrow of the Kaiser than labor has ever had in any country, except Russia. At least 85 per cent of the German industrial workers are today members of unions, compared with 30 per cent before 1919. Nearly ten millions of workers in Germany, with a population of 50 millions, are organized, compared to a mere three million in the United States, with more than double the population. The German worker, therefore, will make a poor strike breaker. The Gary and Rockefeller interests will, as a result, oppose immigration from Germany. But they will push their agreement with Mussolini for desirable Fascist elements to be sent to this country. Gary will continue to rush his agents to Mexico, to the West Indies, to the Hawaiian Islands, to the Philippines, to Japan, China and India for an increasing flow of labor to increase the ranks of unemployed.

The American Federation of Labor convention at Portland, Oregon, went on record against unrestricted immigration. The Gompers regime takes the stand that the monopoly of American labor on existing jobs here must not be broken. That is not a solution of the immigration problem. Gompers cannot erect a Chinese wall high enough to prevent foreign-born workers landing here. Against Gompers' restriction policies and Gary's selective program, the workers must pit the international solidarity of labor. The workers' organizations in every country must become strong enough to dictate immigration to all other countries. Thru the knowledge of conditions everywhere, the workers will be able to combat union-smashing immigration policies proposed by Gary, Rockefeller and Colt, in the United States, and by their counterparts in foreign lands. Against the efforts of organized greed to crush union labor thru wholesale importation of foreign labor, the trade union program must be—develop the unity of the workers everywhere.

With the Children

By PETER HERD.

The Children's Movement in Chicago has gotten well under way, and promises considerable results in the near future. Immediately following the Second National Convention of the Young Workers League, at which definite plans were drawn up for both phases of our work, Comrade Nat Kaplan was placed at the head of the Children's Movement in America. With his very able assistance, Chicago has progressed to a marked degree since June of this year.

Different Aspects.

The movement in this city takes on two different aspects: 1. Working within already existing children's organizations; and 2. Organizing Communist Children's Groups, our basic form of organization. Penetration of the former being for the purpose, eventually, of turning Sunday schools, etc., into groups, organized on the basis of Y. C. I. decisions, if this is at all possible.

Within Children's Organizations.

Dealing with the first of these two phases, considerable progress can be reported. The United Workers' Sunday Schools are the center of our activities in this regard and at this time, as they are, to a large degree, dominated by the Workers Party, and, therefore, more susceptible to our penetration. The program committee of this organization, whose major membership is League workers, has formulated a program very much unlike any other hitherto put into practice in any Working Class Sunday School. The committee realized the necessity of scrapping old, dead and gone dogma, and of substituting for this definite, living issues of vital importance and interest to the proletarian child. With this aim in view, the larger portion of the program now being put into effect in the Sunday Schools has a distinctly working class character.

Y. W. L. and W. P. Teachers.

To date there are ten Y. W. L. and two Workers' Party members teaching in these schools and their number is gradually being increased. This serves as a lever for further developing our tactics in the school.

Parents' Organizations.

Tho' the work goes on comparatively smoothly, there are obstacles, the of minor importance, at this time. Parents' organizations in the children's movement are, as a rule, rather an impediment than a help, but we must admit that the United Workers' Sunday Schools Parents' organizations have been of help to us in our work, up to this time.

The work, however, is usually hampered by these older comrades who have yet failed to grasp the essence and real meaning of the children's movement. "To teach our children that in the future they will become working class fighters," is their idea and aim, and not to help the children right here and now to develop into real fighters in the class struggle which surrounds and engulfs them every hour of their young lives.

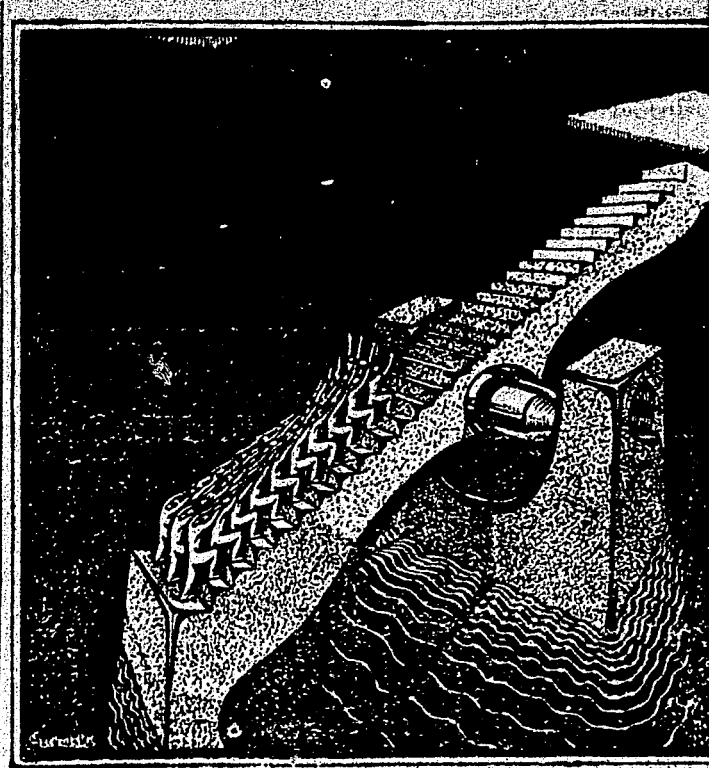
Miscellaneous Organizations.

Other organizations, such as "Future Blossom Sunday Schools," are also being brought under our attention gradually. The school mentioned is of such an outstanding "Working Class" nature that Jewish comrades cannot be used as teachers, or else parents would not allow their children to frequent these schools. The name "Future Blossom" gives a self-explanatory picture of the conception of these comrades regarding the Sunday Schools and general working class children's organizations.

Several Y. W. L. teachers will start work on these schools in the very near future.



Says he is willing to give Coolidge a chance and hopes he'll give us clean sports and cheap gasoline.



The Machine Age

Mine Owners for Unity

Let the mine workers of the United States learn a lesson: the success of all the coal mine owners, union and non-union, uniting their forces in the Bituminous Operators' Special Committee. The soft coal barons now have a united front over the whole country. Their dictatorship extends practically over mining of the whole soft coal tonnage—500,000,000 tons.

The mine bosses have been solidifying their forces in sessions held at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City, while the mine international officials have been active, in Portland, Oregon, denouncing the militants in the labor movement. It was Will Green, the miners' secretary-treasurer, who launched the attack on William F. Dunne, the Communist. Green was supported by Phil Murray, the miners' vice-president, and by Fred Moore, the struggling West Virginia coal miners.

Thus the miners' officials, linking up with Gompers' reactionary bureaucracy, are doing all in their power to weaken the organized labor movement by attacking its progressive elements, while mine owners are doing all in their power to solidify their ranks in preparation for the expiration of the soft coal agreement in the spring. It is a tragic situation that should call for quick action by mine workers everywhere.

The soft coal barons were unanimous in denouncing "the monopolistic tendency of the United Mine Workers of America in branding the nation-wide strike as the principal deterrent to uninterrupted supply of coal and condemning organized violence on the coal fields." This means that the coal barons will fight closed shop and union recognition, with the expiration of the present agreement, that they will try to divide the coal mine of the country thru district and local agreements, and that will continue, thru their kept press, to charge the union mine with the crimes of their own thugs, mine guards and hired strike breakers.

The danger that confronts the miners' union at the present time calls for the greatest possible unity. Attacks by Le Green, Murray and the press agent, Searles, on the progress is treason to the miners' union and loyalty to the bosses. There is no doubt where the rank and file of the miners' union stand when it realizes the present situation to the full, it will be 100 per cent united front against the bosses and their allies. Lewis continues to choose, as he is doing now, to be an agent of the bosses, then the membership of the miners' union will know how to get along without him.

Pledge Aid in Defense of Negro Workers

The sinews, blood and tears of the Negro Workers helped to make this country what it is. For two hundred and fifty years, the Negro toiled in the United States, helping to clear the forests, build the roads, raise the cotton and lay the railroad tracks. The Negro is entitled to the rights as guaranteed to the people of this country by the constitution of the United States.

The Labor Defense and Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania emphatically condemns the act of Mayor Coughlin, of Johnstown, in committing such an outrage against the civil rights of the Negroes by ordering them to get out of Johnstown immediately. The Mayor had no just reason for ordering out the resident Negroes of Johnstown.

The Labor Defense and Free Speech Council of Western Pennsylvania is always ready to defend, if necessary, all Negro workers in Western Pennsylvania who are persecuted and arrested in the exercise of their civil rights. The council makes no distinction as to race or creed.

All Negro organizations and individuals interested in the principle of free speech, press and assembly will write to the following address for information regarding the work of this council. All Negro workers are requested to co-operate with the council so that our work in defending workers who dare to fight for their civil

The Civil Liberty Outlook.

A number of important court cases of the principles of civil liberty come up during the next few weeks. Ten men will face charges under the Anti-Sedition Act in Pennsylvania. Ernst Schleifer will again be tried in Connecticut for alleged seditious utterances at a meeting of strike New Haven, and the Bridgman Communist trials under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law will resume. The increasingly arbitrary rulings of such men as Judge Bailey in Sacramento, Calif., are daily making the situation in that state a crisis.

Disorder in the ranks of the is noticeable in various states as its activities have been greatly principally Texas, Oklahoma and Jersey. An attempt to establish "higher order" without masks may be welcomed as a step toward extinction for this essentially lawless and under-cover organization.

The renewal of attempts to free remaining 33 political prisoners appeals to the President has been with California citizens taking lead in demanding the release of the men convicted in Sacramento still confined on a technicality.

Up with the Fight for the Emancipation of the German Workers

A warning note over the German situation has been sent out by the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions. This note tells clearly what the position is in Germany and what it means to workers everywhere. Every worker who reads our paper should study this note and awaken other workers to what is ahead. The issues it describes will soon be on us. We must be prepared.

Comrades—The whole German working class is in a position of the utmost peril. The Ruhr, the industrial heart of Germany, is occupied by the armies of French imperialism. They have prohibited the export of coal and iron from the Ruhr to unoccupied Germany. They are now preventing the entrance of money for

HANDS OFF WORKERS' GERMANY!

"Soviet diplomacy will in the present circumstances make every effort to impress on all whom it may affect the fact that the capitalist world must leave the question of Germany's future to the German masses themselves, and not attempt to cast a sword on the scales of history, as swords are not the exclusive possession of capitalist countries. They are also to be found in the hands of the proletarian State of Soviet Russia." Editor Karl Radek in the "Izvestia" (Official organ of the Soviet Government.)

the payment of the Ruhr workers' wages. The Ruhr has become a powder magazine which the least spark may explode. In unoccupied Germany the eco-

omic chaos grows ever greater. The capitalists refuse to pay taxes, the government issues ever more paper money to cover its deficits. The value of the mark falls still day by day, while the cost of living goes up and up. The position of the proletariat becomes increasingly more intolerable.

The strike wave swept away the Cuno government in spite of the Socialist leaders and trade union bureaucrats. But the first act of the Stresemann-Hilferding government, the coalition of bourgeoisie and "socialism," which promised to help the workers, was to suppress the Central Committee of the Workshop Councils at Berlin.

At the same time organized capital begins its offensive against the workers. It threatens to close down the factories in protest against the new taxation. In Berlin the whole tramway system is on the point of being closed down. The municipal undertakings are to be let to private capi-

talists who will make up the deficit on the undertaking by dismissing half the workers and cutting down the wages of the remainder.

The object of all these measures is to drive the workers to desperation and to provoke them to premature action so that they can be suppressed before their ranks are formed.

Meanwhile the organization of armed Fascist bands continues. At the given moment they will hurl themselves on the unarmed proletariat.

Comrades, the German proletariat has lived thru the revolution of 1918-1919. It knows from experience that democracy is nothing but the mask for capitalist dictatorship. It will neither allow itself to be provoked nor massacred. The workers are streaming into the Communist Party of Germany, which has become a great mass party.

The social democrats are receiving their deserts for the shameful accep-

sation of Ross Luxembourg, Karl Liebknecht, and Leo Jogiches, for the massacre of 20,000 organized workers, for all their other services to capitalism. The sharper grows the class struggle in Germany, the more rapidly proceeds the decomposition of social democracy.

The situation becomes more and more critical. All the signs indicate that Germany is on the way to revolution.

But the German proletariat has not only to face the armed force of its bourgeoisie. At the moment when the latter attack it, it runs the risk of being stabbed in the back by the Entente powers and their vassal states, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia will hurry their armies to intervene in Germany to bludgeon the workers' movement and to sign a pact with the German bourgeoisie. This danger is imminent. It may be also that British imperialism will attempt by a naval blockade and the

policy of encirclement to drive the workers to surrender from hunger. Comrades, workers of the whole world, we appeal to you to hold out a supporting hand to the German proletariat.

In mass meetings everywhere, draw attention to the situation in Germany, and collect funds for the support of the German strikers and locked-out workers, for revolutionary working-class press and organization. Demonstrate in the streets with the slogans—

Peace with the German working class! Hands off Workers' Germany! Withdraw the armies from the Rhine-land, the Saar, and the Ruhr!

Make the soldiers of France, Belgium, and Great Britain realize that they are only being used as the miserable tools of their exploiters in acting as the executioners of the German proletariat!

To the revolutionary workers and Communists of France, Belgium,

Great Britain, Poland, and Czechoslovakia falls the historic task of posing an impassable barrier between their capitalists and the German proletariat. To them falls the duty of making the greatest efforts to material support of their comrades in Germany.

Up with the fight for the emancipation of the German people from the yoke of Entente and man capital!

Down with capitalist intervention against the German workers! Long live international working class solidarity!

Help the German proletariat! Long live the German Workers' and Peasants' Government! Long live the Communist International!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International, The Executive Committee of the Red International of Labor Unions