



THE WORKER

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FACE GIANT TASKS!

Third National Convention of Workers Party Will Discuss and Act on Problems Confronting the American Working Class

Problems of the most vital interest to the industrial workers and the exploited farmers of the United States will be thoroughly discussed and acted on by the Third National Convention of the Workers Party, to be held Dec. 29-Jan. 1.

This is assured by the all-inclusive theses presented to the party membership by the central executive committee on the present economic and political situation in this country, and its report on the developing Labor Party movement.

These theses are being discussed by all the district conventions of the party now being held. It will come up for final discussion and approval at the national convention.

Because of the great interest attached to these theses, not only for the party membership, but for all thinking workers, we publish it in full in this issue of "The Worker." It is as follows:

Theses on the Present Economic and Political Situation and on Labor Party Policy Proposed by the Central Executive Committee.

1. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

A. The farmers of the United States did not participate in the prosperity which followed the economic crisis of 1920-21. The prosperity was a one-sided industrial prosperity. In 1922 some two million farmers left the land because of bankruptcy and it is estimated that in 1923 three million others will follow them. Tens of thousands of farms have been abandoned in a number of states. The mortgaged farmers are having mortgages foreclosed on their farms and are being compelled to become tenants. The government reports show a tremendous increase in tenantry in the farming regions. Taxation has increased to such a tremendous extent that it is estimated that in 1923 thirty percent of the net products of the farmer went to pay his taxes. As a result of this economic pressure upon the farmers they are entering politics en masse.

B. There is every indication that the existing industrial prosperity will soon come to an end. Production and employment already show decreases in the basic industries. Unfilled orders in the steel industry have decreased 30 per cent during the last three or four months. Employment in the bituminous coal industry is decreasing. In many coal fields the miners are working short days and unemployment is already quite general. Textile mills are closing down because of lack of orders. The Amoskeag Mills in New Hampshire have closed down for the first time in 25 years. There is a great over-production in the copper industry and prices have fallen to the lowest figure in many years. The oil industry is in a catastrophic condition. The development of another economic crisis and widespread unemployment is forecast by all the symptoms of economic life in this country today. Just now the interlocking financial oligarchy which is the ruling power in American industry is throwing in its last reserves to avoid a crisis by having the railroads place larger orders for steel and the Washington government has begun negotiations for the purpose of making a loan to Germany, with the condition, of course, that the money will have to be spent in the United States.

C. During the wave of prosperity which is now passing, the working class was able to bring to a halt the offensive of the capitalists and was able, in some cases, to win wage increases and to shorten hours. However, during this period organized labor was not able to strengthen itself. On the contrary, the membership of the American Federation of Labor decreased in the year 1923 from the year before by 269,167 and in the railroad industry the shop crafts organization was practically destroyed. Reports generally in regard to the trade unions indicate that organization is at a low ebb. This crisis will be all the greater because millions of exploited farmers are invading the industries in search of the means of gaining a living.

D. The political situation. A. Political parties in this country have had within the same parties various economic classes. The sharpening of the conflict of economic group interests is developing a situation which makes it impossible for these economic groups to remain together in the same political party. The first result of this clash of economic group interests within the old parties manifests itself in the failure to agree upon a common program. This has developed into factional struggles in many states and the continuance of the divisions which are developing means the split of the old parties. This division is clearer and sharper in the Republican than in the Democratic party although the latter shows the same tendency.

B. These economic groups whose class interests are in conflict with the ruling big capitalists, such as the lower middle class, the professional groups and the farmers, drawing in their wake a part of the aristocracy of labor, are splitting away from the old parties and the tendency is for these groups to draw together to form a third party which will contain elements from both the old parties and which will enter the political arena as the enemy of the big capitalists who now dominate the government. The LaFollette movement, the Hearst-Hylan movement, the Ford-For-President movement, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, are all expressions of this tendency. The birth of such a party

means a revolutionary change in the American political system, but the policies of such a party will be the backward-looking policies of destroying the trusts or regulating the big capitalists and it would be foolish to believe that such a party can bring any fundamental change in the existing industrial system which would be of benefit to the exploited workers and farmers.

C. On the other hand such a party will weaken and split up the united capitalist class and make impossible a united attack of the capitalists upon the workers.

We must differentiate between such a third party which includes small business men, well-to-do farmers and the professional classes, even tho it may call itself a Farmer-Labor Party, and a class Farmer-Labor Party made up of the industrial workers and exploited farmers.

C. There exists a growing sentiment for a labor party which has developed out of the industrial crisis of 1920-21 and the interference of the government in all the great strikes. This movement of the workers expresses itself in two forms: 1. The support of the third party movement, and 2. In the organization of a class labor party.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action holding under its influence more than a million workers is friendly to, and a great part of the organized workers it represents are supporting, a third party movement.

On the other hand, farmer-labor parties have been organized in some states, such as West Virginia, Minnesota (with the Farmer-Labor Federation expressing the class-conscious element), Montana, and many local labor parties are springing up as in Buffalo, Los Angeles, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the American Labor Party of New York, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of Washington County, Pa., and the

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Nebraska Endorses National Call for Farmer-Labor Meet

(Special to "The Worker")

OMAHA, Neb.—The Nebraska Progressive Party in session here, voted unanimously to participate in the national nominating convention, to be held in St. Paul, Minn., May 30, 1924.

Thus the Progressive Party of Nebraska joins hands with the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and other groups for a monster convention of farmer-labor forces on a national scale.

W. H. Green, secretary of the Progressive Party, spoke in favor of participating in the Minnesota national convention, because he said it had the support and endorsement of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, which he said: "Is the one outstanding political movement on a national scale in this country."

Green spoke on his recent trip to Russia, to attend the first World Congress of farmers, as vice-chairman of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Green's speech elicited great interest, plainly indicating that the western farmers are very much interested in international problems, especially as they affect the agricultural market.

14,690 Grain Farmers Fail

By LELAND OLDS.

Failure has been the lot of 14,690 grain raising farmers in the northwestern grain area, according to a lengthy report from John H. Rich, agent Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. During the last year, he asserts, there has been a radical change for the worse. Costs have risen higher, yields have fallen lower, the farm labor problem has become still more difficult.

The number of failures, says the report, represents over 7 per cent of the 203,040 farmers within the area properly classified as wholly or principally grain raising. Of the total number of failures 4,950 have already been forced to abandon their farms and leave the country. According to the report:

"Changes of so drastic a character have occurred that substantial areas that were in farms a few years ago are now deserted."

BIG PANIC COMING!

Birthdays of Political Prisoners

Birthdays in December of political prisoners confined in American prisons are announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort Club, 2923 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis., as follows:

At Leavenworth, Kans., Box No. 7: Dec. 4, Harry Gray, No. 13571.

At Huntsville, Texas, Box 32: Dec. 5, J. M. Rangel.

At San Quentin Prison, San Quentin, Cal.: Dec. 7, Jim Roe, No. 35785; Dec. 9, Tom Mooney; Dec. 9, Charles Andrews, No. 28107; Dec. 16, C. F. McGrath, No. 37702; Dec. 20, Henry Matlin, No. 38712; Dec. 26, Claude Ervin, No. 37822.

At Folsom Prison, Folsom, Cal.: Dec. 5, John Hiza, No. 12556.

At State Penitentiary, Box 59, Boise, Idaho: Dec. 15, A. S. Embree; Dec. 29, H. E. Hér.

Cora Meyer, National Secretary, invites friends and sympathizers to send birthday cards and letters to these political prisoners. Money is advisable for gifts. Books and publications to be sent directly from the publishers.

Prisoner L. R. writes: "The mailman is coming, perhaps he brings us good news; perhaps he brings us a release from this torturous confinement."

Roger Babson, Financial Expert, Tells Business, "Get Ready!" Communists Urge the Workers, "Organize! Be Prepared!"

By BEN GITLOW

(Special to "The Worker")

NEW YORK CITY.—Roger W. Babson, the leading business expert in the United States, declares the nation is facing an industrial depression that will develop into a panic. He stated his views frankly in an address delivered here at Cooper Union.

Mr. Babson is head of the Babson Statistical Organization, an institution engaged in gathering statistics for business men and concerns in the United States as well as giving them expert business advice. The Babson organization employs 350 economists and business experts and costs \$2,000,000 a year to run.

What Babson has to say is taken very seriously by the business world. The hall was packed with prosperous looking business men who came to hear what he had to say about the business outlook in the United States. Mr. Babson is a very interesting and pleasant talker. He did not raise words. He insisted that the truth must be told even if it is displeasing.

He asserted with emphasis that an analysis of fundamental business statistics indicated that the United States would soon be entering a period of readjustment and that the period of readjustment would bring on a very severe business depression.

Mr. Babson opened his remarks with an attack, particularly upon New York business men who are blind to the realities taking place in the business world of America and who are foolishly optimistic that the United States for a long period of years is going to enjoy unprecedented prosperity.

He analyzed all the so-called signs of business prosperity; the New York business men presented to him and shattered them with reality. He stated that the point to take loadings as an indication of prosperity, to savings bank permits and to the increased retail sales, that prosperity would continue in the United States for some time.

In answer he pointed that these were only indications that registered surface conditions at the particular time but could not be considered in arriving at an understanding of the actual conditions confronting American business. These indications according to Babson, are only thermometers that register the amount of business that is being done at a particular time but do not register whether business conditions are good or bad, because just as a thermometer registers only the degrees of temperature and not whether the weather is good or bad, so these indications register only the amount of business being done at the time and have nothing to do with the question of whether the conditions confronting business are good or bad. Babson insisted that it is necessary in order to understand the nature of business conditions to investigate the conditions of the basic industries, because the basic industries are the ones that form the foundations for prosperity, and that the other industries and business concerns just carry that prosperity along.

He said, "The basic industries of coal, copper, oil, fertilizers, leather, rubber, wheat and others are to-day laid on their backs. The basic industries are not making money today. Unless the basic industries are prosperous, all other industries and business will suffer."

He pointed particularly to the situation that the wheat farmers find themselves in and stated that when

the establishment of peace and normal conditions in Europe would mean to American business, the spring surprise when peace came, the reality that would face American capitalism as soon as peace would be established in Europe. He stated it in this fashion:

"The real problem for American industry will come after the peace is established, when France, England and Germany combine in an industrial campaign."

He then produced articles from his pocket to demonstrate how ridiculously cheap Europe could manufacture goods. And ended up by saying, "What then will keep the factories of the United States busy when the factories of these countries begin to put in order, begin pouring their products into the markets of the world?"

Then Babson became rhetorical. "The attitude of the American people is to blame," said Babson, for the deplorable conditions confronting the country. Labor thinks merely of its unions, bankers of their deposits, merchants merely of sales, and the young people only of having a good time. Honesty, industry and service to others have been lost sight of. The outlook indeed, for the next two or three years is a gloomy one." He then appealed to the people to be unselfish, industrious and interested in the service they can render to others in an effort to change the deplorable conditions, confronting the country. As if this rhetoric can prevent the storm that is facing American capitalism.

Babson's sentimental appeal here was just as futile as the word of the king who thought he could order the tide of the ocean to subside.

He closed his speech by stating that the coming years will see more wage decreases than increases, even if the immigration restrictions are not abolished, inferring by his remarks that a removal of immigration restrictions could be expected in order to cheapen the labor market that commodity prices would decline for a long period of years, that a large number of the weak, inefficient small business concerns would suffer as a result of the readjustment that would take place in the business world and that the depression would win them out of existence.

The depression, the polite way of calling a panic, may be delayed, is the view of Babson, until the votes are counted next November. He stated the administration is making its keenest efforts in holding up business prosperity in order to keep the people optimistic until the election of next year. But in spite of all this he insisted the readjustment and depression must take place.

How long the panic will last Babson cannot tell, for he predicted it might last one, two or three years, and perhaps for a longer period of time.

To the business men assembled he gave this advice, which if carried out will bring the panic upon the country soon. Here is his advice to the business men and he is telling it to them through his service, that reaches hundreds of thousands of them, and thru meetings that he has arranged in forty-nine of the biggest cities in the country. His advice is: "Don't speculate. Don't stock up."

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Labor Goes to Petition Congress



43 New Branches in November

By C. E. RUTHERBERG, Secretary, Workers Party.

The increased impetus of the drive for 10,000 new members during the month of November is shown by the new charters issued by the National Organization. During the months of September and October 64 charters were issued. During three weeks of the month of November 43 new charters were issued by the National Organization. By the end of November the number of new charters will equal the number issued for the two months of September and October.

The list of charters shows that all of the Federations of the party are now participating in the membership drive, for charters were issued to South Slavic, Italian, Russian, Finnish, German, Armenian, French, Lithuanian, as well as to new English branches.

The goal of the National Organization in the drive for new members is not only to build up new party organizations, but to strengthen the present branches of the Party. In fact, the larger number of new members should be secured in those places where the Party is already organized. The

workers. If the city organizations take the proper steps to systematically carry on the work for new members, we can secure the 10,000 new members in the large industrial centers of the country.

It is of the most vital importance that the Party be strong in the industrial centers. It is there that the workers have thru their experiences been prepared for membership in a Communist Party.

While every unit of the Party must systematically carry on the membership drive, the large city organizations should reach the largest number of new members. Those organizations which have not thus far organized a committee and gone to work must do so at once.

Mellon Tax Program Favors Rich Against Poor

By JAY LOVESTONE.

The big interests have fired their first volley in preparation for the Sixty-Eighth Congress opening December 3rd.

Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, the richest man in the millionaire cabinet of President Coolidge, is considered by many the wealthiest man in America today, is the man behind the gun in this instance.

In his much-heralded tax-cutting program Mr. Mellon has laid down a plan which will save the rich infinitely more than the poor. But Mr. Mellon and the press are not saying anything about this fact that the biggest bankers and manufacturers are the heaviest gainers from the proposed plan of tax revision. The newspapers are harping on the fact that the small fellow will get something out of the new income tax scales. But not a single employing class editor or financial expert has dared analyze the Mellon plan and tell the truth about it.

What the Plan Is. The multi-millionaire Mellon has proposed that the income tax be reduced from 4 per cent to 3 per cent

and from 8 per cent to 6 per cent. Surtaxes are to begin at \$10,000 instead of \$6,000. They are to scale up progressively to \$100,000 at 25 per cent where they would stop.

All in all the new scales would mean a total reduction of \$390,900,000; of this sum, \$290,900,000 would be saved in income tax payments, and \$100,000,000 the discontinuance of the tax on telegraphs and theatre tickets. But thru reducing the tax limit on capital losses, a further limitation of the allowance for deduction from gross income, and a revision of the scale of taxation on community property income (husband and wife in certain states) the sum of \$68,000,000 will be added to the present income tax totals. There will thus be a reduction of \$322,900,000 in the federal taxes paid.

Big Business Applauds Mellon.

All the big bankers are applauding Mellon for this plan. The insistence by the Secretary of the Treasury that this plan can be put over only if the bonus to ex-soldiers is dropped has further endeared the tax-cutting program to the mellon-cutters the country over. Chas. M. Schwab, the

steel magnate, has called the new tax proposal a great stimulant to business. E. R. Grace, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, thinks that the Mellon program will again enable the big financiers to invest in attractive securities. The spokesmen of the most powerful railway, coal, oil, insurance, textile and banking interests are all unanimous in their enthusiastic praise of the plan, though they all emphasize their endorsement on the basis of the new scales saving the lower income tax payers. The representatives of five of the biggest banks in the country

whose total deposits are close to the \$2,000,000,000 mark have been specially fervid in their enthusiasm for the revision.

Mellon Program in Operation. There are in the United States 14,014,150 income tax payers. Of this number, 13,124,600 pay taxes on annual incomes ranging from \$1,000 to \$6,000. The remaining 889,550 are taxed on annual incomes ranging from \$6,000 to over \$1,000,000. The lower and middle salaried and wage-earning sections of our population fall in the first division and constitute 93.66% of the total number of tax payers. Those who get their income thru rent, interest, and profit—business, commerce, real estate, stocks, bonds, royalties, dividends, fiduciaries and notes—fall overwhelmingly in the second category of tax payers. These constitute the backbone of the capitalist class and are only 6.4 per cent of the total number paying an income tax.

There is no way of arriving at an accurate estimate of the extent to which the poor and small fellows of the first income tax-paying group would benefit from discontinuing the

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Trotsky Tells Moscow Metal Workers Russia Will Come Out of Her Trials Not Only Honestly but Victoriously

New proofs of Soviet Russia's desire to avoid war and to concentrate all her energies on peaceful work are to be found in Leon Trotsky's speech on international conditions delivered recently before the annual congress of the Metal Workers of Moscow Gubernia.

"The importance of the international situation at the present time cannot be exaggerated," began Trotsky. "We are living in months and weeks leading to events that may take place only once in thousands of years. Up until this time the sign posts of history have been the great French revolution, and the great movement of humanity in Napoleon's time. But these are of minor importance compared to the events that have developed in recent months. Five years ago the hopes entertained by the working class of Germany for a victorious revolution were not justified.

"The Social-Democrats at that time were directing the working class. They divided power with the bourgeoisie, and eventually turned it over to them completely. Germany now stands before the dilemma of perfect ruin or a social revolution.

"What conditions are necessary in order to effect a revolution? The economic, technical and class factors should be mature. The first and second of these are at hand. In the third factor, we see favorable symptoms. There is a numerous working class in Germany—25 million out of a population of 60 millions, and the workers are going more and more away from their compromising leaders toward the Communist Party. The question is: this party is still young. Will she find in herself the will to effect a revolution, and will she be able to do so? In this respect circumstances favor the working class of Germany. They are ready for the struggle, and in order to act they must know that at their head stands a party ready to lead them from struggle to struggle and to final victory. They realize that the question now is not about separate skirmishes, but the decisive struggle for life and death. Of late we have noticed that the German Communist Party grows from month to month and is attracting non-party workers and groups formerly under the influence of the Social-Democrats.

"The present crisis has grown directly out of the occupation of the Ruhr. The ministry of Stresemann has capitulated before the French government, but the French government does not even want to discuss terms with Germany, knowing that Germany once recovered will be dangerous. What do we see in Germany at the present time? There are two powers in Germany. On the one hand the revolutionary masses—on the other the Fascists, and in the middle the amorphous masses of small bourgeoisie and the vacillating Social-Democrats. The middle layer will be washed away by the revolutionary wave. It is necessary to deal the enemy such a blow that they can resist no longer. Can the German Communist Party do this? We see favorable conditions for the class struggle. The forces of the bourgeoisie are an army of 100,000, a police force of 135,000, and the Fascist bands well organized and with splendid leaders. But it must be remembered that these Fascist bands scattered all over the country consist largely of workers who at the decisive minute will not defend the bourgeoisie. On the side of the revolution are the red hundreds, we do not know their quantity, but we know that the German working class can rally sufficient force to break their enemy. At the present time the situation is clear. The coalition of the Communists with the Social-Democrats in the governments of Saxony and Thuringia is comparable to the coalition of the Communists and Left Social Revolutionaries in Russia. Generally speaking the development of the movement grows all the time. Those working masses which are still clinging to the Social-Democrats are growing impatient and are ready to leave their leaders. Events are developing as if according to a plan. If all the signs of struggle do not deceive us we may expect that in the near future power will go over into the hands of the working class. But this is not the whole problem. There is the danger of attack from Germany's neighbors—France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and England from the sea."

Trotsky pointed out that if England had the strength she would use it to fight the revolution, but that since she was powerful only on the sea there was no danger from this direction. As for France, he declared that if absolute madness should overtake her and she should try to occupy the whole territory of Germany, she would need from one and a half to one million seven hundred thousand soldiers, whereas the French army is only 700,000 in all, and even if such a mass could be mobilized the results would be most lamentable for bourgeois France.

"As for Poland," Trotsky continued, "she is hardly ready to advance against a revolutionary Germany. She may try to snatch a bit off the bear's ear, but nothing more. There was a time when we were squeezed so far on all sides that the enemy was at the gates of Moscow. But we stretched our elbows, and now there are no more enemies at our gate. Such a time may come for Germany if Poland should squeeze her, and the German workers will stretch their elbows."

"The problem of Poland has international significance. It cannot be approached diplomatically. As a war with Poland possible? Some impatient comrades say that war is inevitable. I do not think so. There are many facts pointing against it. Why should they wage war? We do

not want to wage war, and we do not say so just for the sake of foreign criticism. Our economic successes are not so great. The difference between the prices of agricultural products and manufactured articles is not yet adjusted. We are just beginning to heal our wounds. War under such conditions would be the severest blow to our public economy.

"We must do everything we can to avoid war, and we shall do so (prolonged applause). War is an equation with many unknown quantities. As to a victory within Germany, she does not need any help on our part. Within, German workers will be victorious—Poor would be such a revolution that could not cope with its own bourgeoisie. The German revolution does not need any physical help.

"In this situation Poland must be either a bridge or a barrier. If she will be a bridge we will pay for it in

cash. We need direct transit communication with Germany. This trade is needed by the whole country; it must be understood even by the village peasant and the kulak for without it agriculture will be stifled. Poland must solve this problem: either to be a bridge or a barrier. We do not wish war. We shall pay not to wage war—but not at the expense of isolating ourselves from the European market. If Poland insists on being a barrier we may have to justify the words of the Polish bullies who say that Russia and Germany are pincers against Poland.

"Poland must also promise non-interference in European civil war with arms. Is such a program realizable? Why not? It would be wrong if our government were affected by the mood of the Communists who feel that war is inevitable. We must continue our daily work of re-establishing our public economy. We must strengthen our army and our air fleet, which does not mean that we are led by military plans. It is clear to everybody that Europe is standing on the eve of great upheavals. We must take all possible measures to avoid war. We must increase ten times our current work. Speaking to you, workers of the union, I say the coming German revolution does not change our fundamental work. What inferences are we to draw from the approaching revolution? That we must do all of our work better and more quickly than ever. If it should come to an open war, then our better preparedness will be in the improve-

He Sees the Workers Victorious



LEON TROTSKY

ment of production. Preparation for war is two-sided—moral and political. If fate demands that we should experience again the effects of war, then it must be understood by the most backward masses of the population. It is not necessary to become nervous and heated. If our enemies should hurl us again into war every peasant must understand that they made us accept war as inevitable. Then we shall come out of the trial not only honestly but victoriously."

Join This Study Class

There are now about 70 students registered in the Chicago Sunday morning study class, and a fine class it is, with Comrade Max Bedacht just beginning his course on "The Class Struggle."

Since the class now meets in a larger hall than where it started (and can take care of 25 to 50 more students) and since there are still 90 per cent of the class session to run (up to May 1, 1924) we offer you the opportunity of coming into the class now.

Following the course on the Class Struggle there will be series of lessons on "Revolutions," "World Revolutionary Movement Today," "History of Labor Movement" and "Economics," which you should not miss.

Comrades wishing to join the class should enroll at the class (1902 W. Division St., 2nd floor, every Sunday morning at 10:30). Young comrades especially should attend this class.

MOSCOW.—The All-Russian Union of Co-operative Societies (Centrosyus) has secured current credits from American firms to the extent of several millions, according to A. A. Kisin, board member, recently returned from America. These are the first credits obtained abroad. Centrosyus will be financed in raw materials in America, Europe, and the far east, thru the intermediary of American banks.

Membership Drive Makes Headway in Boston

During August, September and October the City Central Committee has accepted 29 new membership applications from the foreign language branches of Local Boston, Mass. And at its first meeting in November the C. C. C. will accept 5 more applications already submitted by the Scandinavian Branch of Boston.

New York Prosecutor Confesses Failure in Attack on the F. S. R.

Six months ago representatives of the district attorney's office in New York City came to the Friends of Soviet Russia offices, then located in the East, and subpoenaed all financial records, as well as the office staff.

The staff marched down to the district attorney's office, together with a lawyer and books. The staff were questioned and dismissed, but the books were kept.

The following letter from Attorney Joseph Brodsky tells the whole story of the taking of the books and their release.

799 Broadway, New York, Nov. 17, 1923.

Friends of Soviet Russia,
32 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago.

Gentlemen:—By the time this letter reaches you, you will have received all your books, checks, receipts, vouchers and papers which since last May have been in the possession of the district attorney of New York County, where, for the past six months, Assistant District Attorney Emery C. Weller, aided by specially employed expert accountants, has been carefully investigating the same.

After a most thorough and complete scrutiny and investigation, Mr. Weller was finally compelled to admit to me that there was nothing improper or illegal that he could find in the conduct of its affairs by the F. S. R. and that therefore there was nothing to present to the grand jury even tho the complainant was insisting that this be done.

In response to my query as to who was responsible for instigating this investigation, Mr. Weller told me that the matter had been referred to the district attorney's office by Bird S. Coler, Commissioner of Public Welfare of New York City. I asked Mr. Weller whether it was not a fact that the real instigator was the National Civic Federation, but my query was answered by a smile and a shrug altho Mr. Weller was careful not to make a denial.

At the time the investigation was started I told the district attorney that if honest findings were made he would reach the following conclusions:

(1) That the F. S. R. from the day of its organization has always kept a complete, exact and true account of every dollar received and disbursed.

(2) That the F. S. R. had expended less per dollar received for all expenses, including salaries and maintenance, than any other charitable or philanthropic organization, such as Red Cross, Y. M. C. A. and the like.

(3) That the F. S. R. had successfully carried on the work for which it had been organized, viz.: as the instrument of the American working

class to aid Russia in its hour of need and later to assist in the reconstruction of the First Soviet Republic.

May I not conclude by stating that the F. S. R. made good every promise and that it emerges from the investigation stronger than ever, having proved that it is entirely worthy of the complete confidence and continued support of the working class of America.

Yours very truly,

HALE, NELLES & SHORR,
By Joseph Brodsky.

Demand Russian Recognition.

The Friends of Soviet Russia at a mass meeting Nov. 17th in Lorimer Hall, Boston, passed a resolution calling on the United States to recognize Soviet Russia immediately and urging city and state officials to use their influence toward that end.

Reverend Dr. L. O. Hartmann, editor of "Zion's Herald," who together with Bishop Blake recently returned from a trip in Soviet Russia, was the speaker of the evening. Professor Ellen Hayes, of Wellesley, was the chairman.

Rev. Hartmann said: "Lenin, I believe, is the greatest statesman in Europe today. It is my personal belief that Russia in 25 years will be the finest democracy in the world."

Dr. Hartmann made it clear that he was not a Bolshevik, then added: "The Russian army is about the best army in Europe and I believe that if Russia should combat with any one of the other countries of Europe, she would come out victorious."

He spoke of the accomplishments of the present government, pointing out especially the educational improvements.

Miner's Journal Under Lewis-Searles Control in the Hall of "Capitalist" Fame

The "Brazen" attitude assumed by those responsible for the make-up of the United Mine Workers Journal, is one that should forever place them in the Hall of Fame conducted by Wall Street, or by the British Empire Steel Corporation of Canada, as this particular case would require.

On page seven of the Nov. 15th issue of the "Journal" is an article that stamps it as nothing more than a camouflaged "Capitalist" sheet, and as being totally unworthy of the expenditure of a single cent of the miners' money. The members of the Miners' Union are actually mulcted to the extent of approximately \$160,000.00 a year, in order that the officers of the union may be provided with a propaganda sheet. In bold headlines the article starts, "McLACHLAN GUILTY," followed by "this also in bold type, "SENT TO PRISON FOR 'SEDITION' LIBEL ON CANADIAN GOVERNMENT."

A more contemptible or dastardly attitude could not have been presented by even "B. E. S. C. O." itself, for, after boasting of McLachlan's casting, for having tried to "deliver the district over to the Red Internationale of Moscow," the writer says "he has been sentenced to the Dorchester penitentiary for two years for seditious libel, by the Canadian government."

It so happens that during the strike of the steel workers at Sydney, Nova Scotia, the B. E. S. C. O. people asked for soldiers and provincial police to protect the slaves, and McLachlan sent out a circular letter denouncing Besco for their action. Now here do the job, "Do not break the faith."

Four Days' Labor Defense Bazaar

Four days of colorful entertainment, dancing and merriment are in store for those who are wise enough to attend all four sessions of the Chicago Labor Defense Bazaar which is to be held Dec. 6-9, in Northwest Hall, North and Western Aves., Chicago.

Preparations to make the bazaar superior to anything which has ever been done in Chicago along the same lines have been made and a host of Chicago comrades are now at work so that the elaborate plans which have been made may be consummated.

Every section of the Workers Party in Chicago has offered something special in the way of entertainment and Friday and Saturday nights and Sunday afternoon, the times set aside for the entertainment, will see the Northwest Hall turned into an Arabian Nights Bazaar as of old when the people of all nations gathered together to show their wares and to vie with each other in novel and exotic performances.

On sale in the booths will be peasant handicraft from most of the countries in Europe and Asia, including a large assortment of the Russian work, which the Friends of Soviet Russia had for sale last year and which met with such popular demand. For those who want to do their Christmas shopping where novel and distinctive gifts can be purchased for little money, the bazaar will be a haven. The knowledge that a better assortment of merchandise at lower prices can be bought and at the same time the Labor Defense Council will be supported in its fight for the freedom of Foster and Ruthenberg, will bring thousands of Chicago workers to the bazaar.

Convict Labor System Grows.

WASHINGTON.—Sixteen states now lease out their convicts on the contract system, to private manufacturers of garments, as compared with seven states enjoying that degree of civilization before the world war. President Coolidge has just heard a report on this progress, from the conference of governors, and it looks good to him.

Wisconsin Employment Drops.

MADISON, Wis.—A sharp drop in the total volume of employment in Wisconsin industries is reported by the state industrial commission. From August to September the number of employed by industrial concerns fell from 84,402 to 82,059, or approximately 3%. September is the second month in which a decline in employment has been noted.

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

Detroit Reaction Broke Workers' Political Front

By CYRIL LAMBKIN.

(Special to "The Worker")

DETROIT, Mich.—The climax in the political drama staged by organized labor in Detroit on the occasion of the recent municipal election came on election day, when two of the five men endorsed by the Detroit Federation of Labor for the city council met defeat. The election of the other three makes the result no less a defeat for labor, in view of the fact that the two defeated candidates were more closely connected with the labor movement than two of the three victorious candidates; and also because they were members of the present council and sought re-election.

The defeat, without hesitation, can be laid at the door of the reactionary Building Trades Council and its allied and associated reactionaries in a few of the other unions. These reactionaries attempted to restrict endorsement to only two of the nine men that comprise the city council, but they were overwhelmingly repudiated in the Detroit Federation of Labor which was determined to challenge a majority of the council.

Instead of submitting to the decision of the majority of the organized labor movement the officials of the Building Trades Council proceeded with their splitting tactics. Under the name of the "Labor Candidates' Political Committee" they addressed unions and circulated members urging them to vote for only two men, Ewald and Castator. The following is a paragraph from their circular letter to unionists: "There is one thing that will insure the retention of labor representatives in the council, and that is for our members to get out and vote for Castator and Ewald, with the understanding that voting for other candidates than these discounts our chances for victory."

The break in the political front made defeat inevitable. However, the defeat overtook the reactionaries as well. Their leading candidate, Robert Ewald, Business Agent of the Bricklayers' Union, failed of re-election. Fred Castator was elected, the defeat of Ewald can be explained only as a rebuke on the part of the majority of the unionists of the city. The instigators of the splitting tactics being the officials of the Bricklayers' Union, the other workers rightly or wrongly held Ewald, the business agent of that union, responsible and voted against him.

A significant result of the election is the fact that Joseph Martin, until recently Commissioner of Public Works, a notorious anti-trade unionist, led the poll for the council and by virtue of this he becomes president of the new council.

The Workers Party of Detroit, in line with the united front policy of the party, endorsed the candidates of the Detroit Federation of Labor.

Scott Nearing Is on Speaking Tour for Labor Defense

Not since last spring, when the accounts of the trials of William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg were filling the pages of labor and capitalist papers alike, has there been so much activity on the part of labor militants in the Labor Defense Council.

News locals are being organized, meetings are being arranged all over the country and individual workers are collecting funds on the L. D. C. contribution lists. In addition to the meetings for Foster, which were announced last week, meetings at which Scott Nearing will speak have been arranged as follows:

Ziegler, Ill., Dec. 3.
Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 4.
Toledo, Ohio, Dec. 16, evening.
Canton, Ohio, Dec. 17.
Akron, Ohio, Dec. 18.
Youngstown, Ohio, Dec. 19.

These meetings, like those arranged for Foster, are attracting wide attention in the cities where they have been arranged.

In addition to other activities practically all of the local Labor Defense Councils have arranged for dances, bazaars or entertainments for the defense. Among these are the masquerade ball to be held in Cicero, Ill., Dec. 1; the International Bazaar, arranged in Chicago, Dec. 6-9; dance in Detroit, Dec. 1; bazaar in Minneapolis, Dec. 15-16; bazaar in St. Paul the end of December; dance in Boston, Dec. 29, and one in Los Angeles the last part of December.

Requests from practically every industrial center in the country have been made for speakers to address Labor Defense Council meetings. These are being complied with as rapidly as possible. Cities in which no local Labor Defense Council is organized, should send in their requests for speakers at once.

WATERBURY, CONN.—The Russian branch of the Workers Party here requested its members to refrain from working Nov. 7, the sixth anniversary of the Russian revolution. Those who could not lay off work without losing their jobs were requested to donate their day's wages to the defense of political prisoners. A check for \$45.85 was forwarded to the Labor Defense Council.

Invitation to Moscow.

MOSCOW.—The Russian Government has received an invitation, transmitted by the Italian Representative in Moscow, to take part in the International Art Exhibition at Venice, in April of next year.

Gems

Some of the best reading can be bought in the form of small pamphlets for ten and five cents. Here are a few. Complete list will be mailed on request.

An Appeal to the Young, 10
Kropotkin, 10
Blood and Steel, 10
Jay Lovestone, 10
Communism and the Family, 10
Kollant, 10
Dictatorship of the Proletariat, 10
Kameney, 10
Immigration, Deportation and Organized Labor, 10
W. T. Colyer, 10
Industrial Autocracy, 10
Mary Marcy, 10
Nicolaï Lenin, His Life and Work, 10
G. Zinoviev, 10
Right to be Lazy, The, 10
Paul Lafargue, 10
Shop Talks on Economics, 10
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Millionaire Mellon's Tax Program Favors Rich Against Poor

(Continued from Page 1)

annually on the normal tax and \$31,250,000 on their earned income at 76 per cent of rates. This would be a total gain of only \$95,750,000 to the lower and middle salaried and wage-earning class. However, deducting from this total the \$3,000,000 that this economic group would have to pay in new taxes on the revised basis, we find that the poorer layers of our economic society, the workers, the small farmers, and clerks and small business men would have a net saving of \$92,750,000 annually.

Saves Rich and Hits Poor.

The powerful rich class of manufacturers, bankers, high-priced corporation managers, and wealthy farmers who constitute only a little over six per cent (6.34%) of the total income-paying population receive the net gain of \$130,150,000 or close to sixty per cent (58.39%) of the total saved through the new Mellon arrangements.

The workingmen, poor farmers and lower-salaried white-collar workers, whose annual income ranges from \$1,000 to \$6,000 and who constitute about ninety-four per cent (93.66%) of the total number paying taxes on income, receive only a little over forty per cent (41.61%) or \$22,750,000 of the total reduction of \$222,900,000 that the revised tax program would entail.

Thus, six per cent of the income tax payers, the wealthy and millionaire class, will gain almost sixty per cent of the total advantage while ninety-four per cent of the number paying an income tax, the overwhelming majority of the poorer people, will gain only about forty per cent of the sum saved by the reduction of the present income tax rates.

But interesting as this analysis is, the reasons given by Mellon for the adoption of his plan are still more interesting and enlightening.

Mellon is responsible for saving the big capitalist interests hundreds of millions of dollars through the repeal of the excess profits tax and the reduction of the surtax from 65 to 50 per cent. Now he is advocating a reduction of the surtax to 25%.

The argument given by Mr. Mellon for this reduction is that "the rich will pay more under his plan than they do now," as now, by investing in tax-exempt securities, they avoid paying almost altogether. Of course our efficient Secretary of the Treasury doesn't mention the countless avenues of escape open to the wealthy owners of property through the declaration of stock dividends and the manipulation of their income figures by high-priced, skilled accountants.

Yet, it is interesting and instructive to all workers and farmers that Mr. Mellon, the guardian of our national treasury, admits publicly that the Government cannot and will not do anything to prevent the millionaire stock and bond owners from depleting the country of hundreds of millions of dollars annually in unpaid taxes. This is not the policy pursued by the government when the poor come before its courts for judgment, as shown by the severe sentences often imposed on people found guilty of stealing or attempting to steal the most trifling sum, for example the case of Judge Talley in New York sentencing Louis Wiley to fifteen years for attempting to steal \$2 cents.

If the government were to apply the same measure of justice to the rich as it does to the poor it would take many centuries, going back to the Stone Age, to punish the millionaire capitalists for their failure to pay on upwards of \$2,000,000,000 in corporation accumulated surpluses. Yet, it is Mellon's own corporation, the Gulf Oil Co., that began the merry dance of stock-dividends; it is the Aluminum Corporation of which Mr. Mellon is the leading stockholder, that has received an amortization of \$15,000,000 on about \$30,000,000 valuation; and it is another Mellon company the Standard Steel Car, that still has an alleged \$2,000,000 tax due, though the assess-

THE I. W. W. AND THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS

By JAMES P. CANNON

The Fifteenth General Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, which is scheduled to remain in session for three weeks, devoted 80 minutes of its time to hearing representatives of the Red International appeal to them to send delegates to the forthcoming World Congress in order to discuss there the basis of a working program upon which all the revolutionary elements in the American labor movement may unite their forces for the common struggle. Without exaggerating the immediate results accomplished, I venture to say that this act of the convention was the most significant one in all its deliberations. The Red International appeared there as the advocate of unity in the struggle of all revolutionary labor unionists of America and the world. There is no bigger question before the working class than this; and the mere discussion of it, even though it leads to no immediate result, is an event of major importance.

The friendly approach of the Red International toward the convention of the I. W. W. does not signify any change of policy on its part. It simply represented another step in its efforts to unify all the militant elements in the labor movement on a common platform of revolutionary struggle. It has already accomplished much toward this end. The Red International has been the leading and inspiring force in the organization, for the first time in history, of the left wing of the American trade unions into a compact, unified body. It has gained a decisive influence in many of the radical independent unions, and has been the greatest power making for the harmonious cooperation of the members of these unions with the revolutionary workers in the conservative trade unions. The next necessary task is to bring about a unity of purpose between these elements and the I. W. W. It must be acknowledged that this will be a tremendous task. Thick walls of prejudice and misunderstanding stand in the way. But the Red International turns to it with such a record of real achievements to its credit as to give the promise that it will find the way to overcome all difficulties and achieve its purposes in good time.

It would be foolish to think this will be a simple or easy thing to accomplish. Real and serious differences stand in the way, and they will not disappear merely because we might wish them to. But it is worth while now to begin a serious discussion of the whole question. The Red International does not cover up real differences, it brings them out into the open and talks about them frankly. This is what we must do.

There are two main conflicts, one theoretical and the other practical, which have so far not only prevented unity between the I. W. W. and the revolutionary trade unionists and the communists, but which have charged the whole atmosphere with hostility and led to the most bitter controversy.

All sorts of controversies have complicated the situation, but they are all subordinate to the main question arising from them. The main points of controversy are these two: First, the conflict in philosophy between communism and syndicalism, or industrialism, which is its American variant, over the role of the state, the necessity for a proletarian party and the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Second, the conflict between the Red International program of working within the conservative unions, wherever they exist as mass organizations, in order to revolutionize them from within, and the I. W. W. program of organizing branches as rivals to the other unions. These conflicts are of such a deep seated nature as to absolutely preclude the possibility of an immediate complete agreement and organize unity between the I. W. W. and the communists on the one hand and between the I. W. W. and the trade unions on the other. But it does not follow from this that a state of war must exist between them along the entire front, with no cooperation anywhere. On the contrary, an examination of the concrete situation will show that a working agreement and co-operation in action is immediately possible in most places and on many questions of great importance.

For example, there is no valid reason to prevent a joint fight of the I. W. W. and the communists and adherents of the Red International for the release of class war prisoners, against criminal syndicalism laws and injunctions, in support of Workers' Germany, etc. Each organization could join in such a United Front without sacrificing any principle or jeopardizing its organizational integrity in any way. All that is required to bring it about is an alliance for the specific purpose, not a unity of the organizations. Such a joint fight would be the greatest agitational value it would multiply the power behind the drive and make for its success. The movement generally, and the I. W. W. in particular, has much to gain from it. A campaign of this nature can be carried out without regard to the points in dispute between us. Its effect would be to strengthen and stimulate the movement as a whole and to promote a feeling of friendship and solidarity which would make it much easier to work for a basis of united effort on other questions. To say that because we do not all agree on the question of the state, we cannot make a joint fight for the class war prisoners, is tantamount to saying that we can never work together as long as there is one point at issue between us. Such a view is dogmatic and unreasonable. The united front on the questions mentioned above is an immediate practical possibility. If we are serious revolutionists who put the interests of the working class above everything, we have to say this United Front is a necessity.

Turning to the field of organization, it can be shown that the differ-

ences between the I. W. W. and the adherents of the Red International are not nearly so great as to prevent co-operation in most cases of real importance. The story has been persistently circulated, and is believed by many members of the I. W. W., that the Red International wants to "liquidate" the I. W. W., and that it makes a fetish of the A. F. of L. There is no truth in this story. The Red International does lay it down as a cardinal point that the revolutionary workers must not isolate themselves from the masses, that they must join the unions to which the masses belong, no matter what their affiliation may be, and work there in good faith to build them up, to strengthen them in every way and to inspire them with the spirit of militant struggle. But this does not mean that the Red International has a special love for the unions affiliated to the A. F. of L., as such, and is opposed on principle to the I. W. W. and Independent unions. The Red International works according to the concrete facts as it finds them, not according to a but and dried formula. It surveys each industry separately, and in each case asks the question: "Where are the Masses of the Workers?" The answer to that question determines its program for that industry. In the Coal Mining industry it naturally supports the United Mine Workers, an A. F. of L. organization, because the organized workers are there. For the same reason, in the Men's Clothing Industry it supports the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, an Independent Union, and in such industries as Lumber and Agriculture it supports the I. W. W. In an industry having two or more rival unions it works for the unification of all of them into a single industrial union for the entire industry. Its approach to the question in each case is practical, not simply theoretical.

This realistic attitude of the Red International does not suit those who take a dogmatic view of the labor movement, who want to move always along a straight line and meet all its complex problems by the simple process of saying yes or no. They point to this flexible program as proof of their contention that it is impossible for the I. W. W. to even speak to the Red International, to say nothing of affiliating with it. But a sober consideration of the question for five minutes is sufficient to completely explode this theory. It is true that this policy of the Red International conflicts with the I. W. W. program of universal organization in such fields as the Coal Mining Industry, the Needle Trades, Building Trades, etc., where the workers are already organized in large numbers into other unions. In these fields there is a real conflict; but it is a conflict more of theory than of practice. In the daily struggle the question hardly ever arises for the simple reason that the I. W. W. does not exist there as a functioning labor organization. And the conflict there does not preclude the possibility of unity in other

fields where the practical situation is different. If we will turn to those fields where the I. W. W. functions as a labor union, we will find that there is no real conflict between it and the Red International.

The financial report of the general office of the I. W. W. for the fiscal year ending Oct. 1, 1923, shows the average number of dues paying members for the year to be approximately 38,000. This report also shows conclusively that, in spite of all theories of universality, the I. W. W. is predominantly an organization of migratory workers. The great bulk of its membership consists of lumber workers, agricultural workers and general construction workers. In these three industries it has about 21,000 members. In these industries, as in practically the whole field of migratory labor, the I. W. W. is the only real labor union. The question of a conflict between the I. W. W. and other unions does not arise here, and consequently there is no conflict between the I. W. W. and the program of the Red International. The Red International can come to a complete agreement with the I. W. W. in this field on the basis of all of its supporters joining and supporting the existing unions of the I. W. W. At the very beginning we see that complete unity between the Red International and the I. W. W. can be realized immediately in the main fields of I. W. W. organization. The very first discussion of the problem will dispose of the charge that the Red International wants to "liquidate" the I. W. W. and it will also eliminate at least 75 per cent of the organizational conflicts.

In the metal mining industry and the marine transport industry the I. W. W. also has some organization. The problem is not quite as simple in these industries because rival unions exist and the great majority of the workers are unorganized. The total number of dues stamps issued to the Metal Mine Workers' Union of the I. W. W. (which also includes a small number of coal miners) by the general office during the past year was 2,680, while the total number of dues stamps issued to the marine transport workers was 6,426. The real problem in these industries is the problem of organizing the workers. A necessary preliminary to this is the co-operation of all the militant elements. It cannot be said offhand what precise form this co-operation would take; that could only be arrived at after the most thorough discussion and consideration of the whole situation on the part of all concerned. One thing is certain: friction between the militant elements could be reduced or eliminated entirely; and their whole energy concentrated on the fight against the bosses. In any event the question of "liquidation" does not enter.

It may be argued that this article deals only with a part of the differences which have caused the bitter controversy in the past, and that it leaves many points of conflict untouched. This is true enough. We

have no patent prescription by which complete unity with the I. W. W. can be achieved at one stroke. Argument alone is not sufficient to erase the long-standing antagonisms. The struggle itself is the great unifier that welds all truly militant elements in the working class into one body and hammers all their theories into a unified system. My purpose here has been to bring to the front those questions upon which agreement can be reached, and to throw some light on the great possibilities for future co-operation opened by the proposed of the Red International that the I. W. W. send delegates to the next World Congress in order to discuss the whole question there. It is my contention that the differences of theory and doctrine between the I. W. W. and the Communists, real and serious though they be, do not justify a continuous state of war along the whole front. This war is all the more harmful to both because it is unnecessary; and more than that, it is harmful to the interests of the working class as a whole. The conflict in the camp of militant labor, which goes to the point of preventing solidarity and unity in the class struggle, serves the capitalists and their allies. A thorough discussion at the World Congress may not succeed in settling all matters in dispute. But it will lay the basis for unity of action in the struggle. That is the important thing now. The rest will follow.

The militant labor movement of America is nearer to unity than ever before, and the greatest power making for this unity is the Red International of Labor Unions. Here in America, as everywhere else in the capitalist world, the Red International is fulfilling its great historic role. It is uniting the militant workers into a mighty army and marshaling them for the struggle. It has already won the devoted allegiance of the revolutionary workers in all the American labor organizations except the I. W. W. The members of the I. W. W. still stand aside from the Red International only because the flood of misrepresentation has prejudiced them against it. But the Red International will not accept this attitude as final. It is a fighting body, but it is willing to fight only against the capitalist class and its agents. To the I. W. W., as to all organizations of rank and file workers, it holds out the hand of brotherhood. Its answer to the narrow dogmatists who have misrepresented and slandered it, and to those members of the I. W. W. who have been deceived thereby, is to turn again to the I. W. W. with an appeal for a friendly discussion of all differences in order to find a basis for unity. The time is surely coming when the rank and file of the I. W. W. will hear that appeal and act upon it. And the result of their action will be to bring about a greater solidarity than the American movement has ever known, a tremendous stride forward of the movement as a whole and its unity under one banner, the banner of the Red International.

Big Panic Soon in U. S., Says Financial Expert

(Continued from Page 1)

with goods, buy only as much as you can dispose of, collect on old accounts, don't be liberal with your credit. Reduce your overhead expenses as much as possible. Hold on to your money.

If the business men will carry on Babson's advice, and there are already indications that they are, I will have the result of curtailing enormously the amount of business now being done. It will mean the introduction of big economies in business in all lines; slackening up with the slowing down of industry, will come severe unemployment and terrible want and misery for the workers.

From Babson's speech, one gathers that capitalism in the United States is in a dilemma, that domestic and foreign conditions are undermining its prosperity. The capitalists expect the panic and they know it is coming. Nevertheless, they, together with Babson admit that they can do absolutely nothing to avert it.

The panic that is coming in the United States, and Babson frankly admits it, will be the severest panic that the country has ever experienced. Out of the hardships it will impose upon the mass of the workers, farmers and small business men, will come bitter class struggles that will give rise to important political problems and changes. The near future, therefore, will bring to the United States, unemployment, demonstrations, gigantic strikes against the open shop and wage reductions, fights against high rents and rebellions against the political dominance of big capitalism.

For the Communists, the coming years in the United States are going to be very fruitful. Mr. Babson, the Communists agree with you, that the storm is coming. Your advice to the business man of America is to be prepared. And the Communists' advice to the workers, will be the same, organize and be prepared.

Attend These Meetings.

Youngstown, Ohio — J. O. Bentall — "What Communism Offers to the Workers."

Chicago — Nov. 29. — James P. Cannon — "The Daily Worker" Workers' Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd.

Chicago — Nov. 30. — Robert Minor — "Art and the Day" Young Men's Hebrew Association, 2229 W. Division St.

Milwaukee, Wis. Dec. 2. — John Williamson — 8 p.m. — "Youth in American Factories and Schools" — Millers Hall, 8th and State Sts. — Open Forum.

Chicago — Dec. 2. — J. Louis Engdahl, Basement South End Pythian Temple, 41087 Michigan Ave., at 230 p.m.

Chicago — Dec. 3. — James P. Cannon, — 8322 Douglas Blvd. — Propaganda Meeting.

WANTED: Young man or woman proficient in shorthand for half-time secretarial job, weekly salary. Party member preferred. Apply Liberator, 1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

Cotton Interests Organizing in Congress

Congressmen and Senators of the cotton growing states are going to organize a bloc in the next Congress to defend the interests of the big cotton growers. On Nov. 30th these Senators and Congressmen will get together. They will devise ways and means to do for the Southern Cotton Barons what Capper's bloc did for wealthy farmers and against the poor farmers. Representative B. G. Lowry, of Mississippi, has sent out the call.

The moving spirit of this proposed cotton bloc in the Senate is Senator William J. Harris, of Georgia, who has been a prominent figure in Southern banking and insurance business for many years.

ment letter has never been sent out. Taxes on Rich Decreasing and on Poor Increasing.

It is estimated that there are at least \$13,000,000,000 of tax exempt securities. Some maintain that the total is nearer twenty-five billion dollars.

In 1916 there were 1296 annual incomes of over \$300,000. Year by year the capitalists learned the great game of tax dodging. In 1917, despite the fabulous profits, gained in the war industries, the number in this class shrunk to 1,015. By 1921 the group dwindled to 264. And now the government offers to make a public retreat before these millionaire plunderers of the national treasury. From the report of the commis-

sioner of Internal Revenue for the year ending June 30, 1923 we learn that in the last year the receipts from income and profits taxes decreased by almost \$400,000,000. The inheritance tax alone showed a decline of \$13,000,000 in the last fiscal year. On the other hand the number of people in the class of income tax payers from \$1,000 to \$6,000 has increased from 92.10 per cent of total in 1921 to the 93.66 per cent for the last fiscal year. What is more, the receipts from miscellaneous taxes, almost always paid in the main by the poor, is on the climb.

Against the Workers and Farmers. The taxation program of Mr. Mellon is simply another broadside fired by our employing class government against the working and farming masses. Its present issuance was of course precipitated by the pressing needs of the Republican Party which happens to be in power at this time.

Almost one-sixth of our national income, according to so conservative an authority as the National Industrial Conference Board, is consumed in the expenses incurred through running the State, local, and national governments. The employing class needs the government to devote itself primarily to activities and campaigns to suppress the working and farming masses and thus guarantee the maintenance of the present system of the private ownership of the social means of exchange and production. But the capitalists hate like Cain to pay the mounting costs entailed in the upkeep of this machinery of oppression which rises in expense as the class conflicts sharpen. The employers therefore try to pass on these costs to the workers and poor farmers.

The new Mellon program is simply another effort, a very clever one, to save the rich and smite the poor. It plays directly into the hands of the big bankers and manufacturers against the working and farming classes.

Speakers Discuss, Should U.S. Congress Probe Communism?

C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary, Workers' Party, spoke at the first mass meeting in the nation-wide "Why Communism?" drive of the party, Wednesday night, at Emmett Memorial Hall, Ogden and Taylor Aves., in Chicago.

The two other speakers in this drive are J. Louis Engdahl, editor, "The Worker," and Jay Lovestone, author of the "The Government Strikebreaker" and head of the Workers' Party Research Bureau.

These meetings are being held incidental to the opening of congress. Reactionary labor officials, among them Sam Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, in alliance with the most reactionary, red-baiting organizations in the country, are demanding a congressional investigation of the American Communist movement. The Workers' Party gives its reply to this demand at these meetings. They are as follows:

C. E. Ruthenberg as speaker, Dec. 4, Labor Temple, Michigan and Jefferson Aves., Toledo, O., 2 (afternoon); Cleveland: O., 2 (evening); Central L. U. Hall, 17th and State Sts., Erie, Pa.; Frohsinn Hall, Genesee and Spring Sts., Buffalo, N.Y.; 4, New York City; 5, Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.; 6, Horticultural Hall, Front St., Worcester, Mass.; 7, Eagles Temple, corner Broad and Spring Garden Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.; 12, House of the Masses, Detroit.

J. Louis Engdahl as speaker, Dec. 4, Springfield, Ill.; 6, Hall No. 1, Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Sts., St. Louis, Mo.; 7, Fraternity Hall, 1225 Walnut St., Kansas City, Mo.; 8, Omaha, Neb.; Jay Lovestone as speaker, Dec. 1, Milwaukee, Wis.; 2, (afternoon) Richmond Hall, 225 So. 5th St., Minneapolis, Minn.; 2 (evening) Labor Temple, 406 N. Franklin St., St. Paul, Minn.; 8, Duluth, Minn.; 4, Workers' Hall, corner Gower Ave. and N. Fifth St., Superior, Wis.

Textile Workers Resist Owners' Schemes

At a meeting of the New England Conference of the United Textile Workers of America resolutions were adopted against the attempts of the Pacific of Dover, New Hampshire, to force them to run additional machinery per man.

The workers are bent on preventing the bosses from forcing them to turn out 50 per cent more at the same wages. The employers are threatening to shut down the mills in order to force the workmen to accept these unspeakable terms. With this resort to the starvation weapon by the employers, there is a great likelihood of a big struggle in the textile industry.

Membership Meeting in New York.

The District Executive Committee in New York City has decided to call local membership meetings to discuss the agenda for the coming National Convention.

The meeting for all the branches in Manhattan and the Bronx will be held Thursday, Dec. 6, 8 p.m., at Astoria Hall, 62 E. 4th St. Members of the Central Executive Committee, H. M. Wicks, Alexander Bittelman and Ben Gitlow will be present at this meeting and will participate in the discussion.

All branch organizers are requested to notify the members of their respective branches to the above effect, and to call off any branch meetings which are scheduled for that night.

Cannon Speaks at Irish Forum. The Irish Social and Educational Society is bringing the economic question to the attention of the Irish workers in Chicago thru the means of a forum which is held every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in Emmet Memorial Hall, Ogden Ave. and Taylor St. The venture is already a pronounced success and an unusually large attendance is expected on Sunday evening, Dec. 2, when James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Workers' Party, will speak on "The Decline of the British Empire."

Readers of "The Worker" are invited to attend and also bring the forum to the attention of any Irish workers they come in contact with.

West New York, N. J. Meeting. The mass meeting at West New York, New Jersey, at the Labor Lyceum, 17th St. and Taylor Place, to launch a new branch of the Workers' Party, will be held Sunday, Dec. 2, at 2 p.m. Among the speakers will be Iago Goldstein, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Ben Lifshitz and Anton Zaparka. Admission free.

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By NATALIE GOMEZ.

BY H. M. WICKS.

THURSDAY EVENING
DEC. 6

Giant Tasks Face Third Convention of Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been organized on a national scale.

While the sentiment and pressure of a labor party is growing, it would be an illusion to believe that an all-inclusive mass labor party will be organized in the near future. The farmers machine will, as in the past, gain support one of the old capitalist parties. Johnston and the Railroad Brotherhood and their followers, organized in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, will undoubtedly follow the third party or support a candidate on the old party ticket. Only the left wing of the labor movement will at the beginning participate in the organization of a mass class party of the farmers and workers. On the other hand the federation of that part of the labor movement controlled by Johnston and company will be counterbalanced by the great mass of desperate farmers who are ready to join in a class farmer-labor party.

The Third Party and the Farmer-Labor Party.

A. We must continue our campaign for the organization of a party of the workers and exploited farmers embracing, as broad a section of these groups as can be won for a class farmer-labor party. Our policy must be to develop a class party of workers and exploited farmers, and not a third party including the lower middle class and the well-to-do farmers. We may, in special circumstances, be compelled to participate in a farmer-labor party which is in reality a third party, as in Minnesota, but in such a situation it is our duty to develop inside of such an organization of the workers and exploited farmers.

Our goal is not the organization of a so-called third party, even though it may disguise itself and call itself Farmer-Labor Party, but to organize a class farmer-labor party of workers and exploited farmers. Where such third parties calling themselves farmer-labor parties arise which include the workers and exploited farmers, we must enter into such parties, but our policy must be to win all the workers and exploited farmers away from the third party and to organize them in a class farmer-labor party.

B. While we carry on our campaign for the organization of a class farmer-labor party we must at the same time carry on a campaign for the third party forces to split away from the old capitalist parties and when a third party is organized we must make an alliance with it against the old capitalist parties and the capitalist government. This alliance must not take the form of organizational unity between the class farmer-labor party and the third party. We will enter into common campaigns with the third party against the capitalist class, such as the maintenance of civil liberties, recognition of Soviet Russia, against intervention, against capitalism in Europe, demoralization of the government, nationalization of the railroads and lines, measures to enable the farm-

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American Intellectuals and Communism

By MICHAEL GOLD

It is still a fair guess, among American intellectuals, for one of them to confess that he is a Communist. Thinkers like Max Eastman, William Z. Foster, or John Pepper, to name the first three that come to mind, are not admitted to full membership in the exclusive academy maintained by contributors to the Freeman, the Dial, the Nation and the New Republic. The older pacifist-liberals in this country still regard Communist thinkers as damaged and perhaps dangerous allies, as liberals gone wrong; while the younger intelligentsia, nurtured on the burlesque and esthetics of the Smart Set—Dial philosophy, do not even understand what Communist thinkers are thinking about, and lock the windows against this rough, living storm while they play on the floor of their steam heated ivory tower with their bright toys of art.

The American philosopher of art and life, even when he is a rebel against the orthodoxies of the last century, pursues a lonely path, and has no steady North Star by which to guide his bewildered journey. He creates a tragedy out of this situation. He figures life to be the hopeless struggle of the individual against a universe too vast and overpowering; he does not perceive, like the Communist, the immense armies of

workers who all over the world cooperate in the great task of creating a new scheme of things. He stands alone, and it is inevitable that he should sink alone, under the frightful burden of world-change. He has no social sense, and he pays for this with despair and helplessness.

The American rebel-intellectual has come to an impasse. When one reads a poem like the Waste Land, by T. S. Eliot, one easily understands, thru the fevered ramblings, that this sensitive artist has found the modern world too much for him, and that he has chosen the path of intellectual suicide. When one mourns with Theodore Dreiser over the pathos of the suffering world, or when one moves thru the Ohio fogs of sex and maladjustment with Sherwood Anderson, or among the hysterical lightnings of Waldo Frank's sex-ridden America, one is sure that there is no escape if one follows these guides, but that industrialism has defeated them in their deepest souls.

The American fiction writer, artist and poet, sensitive and aware of the rotten foundations of the life here, has as yet, only reached the destructive phase of revolution. He is amazed that anyone can peer into the future and see a new world rising out of this confusion. Is there any answer in H. L. Mencken, for instance, but that we forget reality, and eat, drink and

be merry, which is nothing but the counsel of darkest despair? Sinclair Lewis has been most praised as a critic of modern America; but what light could the average man receive from him? His heroine of Main Street aspires after the petty culture of a settlement house; this is her great problem. Babbitt yearns for a little truth in his strange business world of bunk and bombast; and that is all of his problem. None of the rebellions of the modern fiction hero and heroine rise any higher than the source of their creators, and their creators are still seeking the bourgeois freedoms of the eighteenth century.

One reads a great and promising book like the Mind in the Making, by James Harvey Robinson. The groundwork is splendid; the conclusions as pathetic as those of a child confronted with an earthquake. Mr. Robinson thinks war, poverty and capitalism can be obliterated if the human race will only read history and acquire the historical sense that teaches one the possibilities of change and hope for the future. Would that every farmer and factory worker could acquire the elements of a college education, as Mr. Robinson wishes! But is history going to wait until that far-off day to usher in its revolutions? This, too, is a doctrine of despair, one that could only

emanate from the mind of an intellectual who has no intimate knowledge of the labor movement and its plans. These intellectuals, pessimistic, floundering, anarchistic, are nevertheless of vast usefulness, for they are breaking down the hypocritical and conventional lies on which American capitalism is founded. They have missed only one vital point in their thinking, and that is, that the old world is being destroyed, and that a new one will and must take its place.

The Communist thinker sees the new world before him, and it makes his thought and action move with the steadiness and determination of fate. The liberal intellectuals are wandering spirits who flit forlornly from one spot to another, and do not know that they are inhabitants of a collective body—the new Communist world. They feel chaos within them, and see chaos about them, and each despairs in his lonely corner. They are unconscious of the fact that they are harbingers of a new springtime in the world, as the shivering birds who migrate from the south, and in snow and ice, announce the coming of the northern spring. These solitary artists and intellectual rebels of America are unconscious revolutionists; the Communist is a conscious one, however, and the difference is like that of adolescence and maturity in an individual.

The lonely rebellions of these intellectuals are being realized in Russia, and soon in Germany and Europe, and, perhaps, long afterwards they will bear fruit in America. But they do not know this. They treat European and Russian Communism with some respect because it has developed power, and all men, even the most ethereal idealists, must take notice of power.

The American Communist movement, however, they do not even know, because it is so young, and as yet has no more to show than a healthy foundation. And the movement here is still in its first constructive stages of hard labor. It has little time for the theorizing, thru which alone intellectuals seem to be able to understand the world.

Soon, perhaps, philosophers will arise in the Communist ranks who will teach the American intellectuals that all their fitful, wandering rebellions have been gathered together in a strong world philosophy which millions are fighting for wherever the sun shines. This Communist philosophy will be seen to be not the mere political battle that they deem it, but a new vision of education, art, science and religion, a synthesis more far-reaching than the Platonic or medieval Catholic synthesis, a philosophy that will finally make man the master of the universe and of his own fate.

Notice! Chicago Trade Union Militants!

The Trade Union Educational League, Local Chicago, will hold its general monthly meeting, Friday, Nov. 30th, 8 p. m., Wicker Park Hall, 2040 W. North Ave. The change of the meeting date is due to many other meetings being held Wednesday, Nov. 28.

This meeting is very important due to the fact that the Labor Herald Ball is to take place on New Year's Eve, which gives us only one month to prepare for making the affair a success. A considerable amount of energy must be put into this work by every member of the league. All roads must lead the workers to the Ashland Auditorium New Year's Eve.

Marty Aborn will speak on the important role the young workers play in revolutionary activities.

ers to buy at lower prices the products of the great trusts.

a. We will nominate our candidates on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket wherever possible and carry on an independent campaign.

b. Whenever the Farmer-Labor Party candidates have a chance to win we will carry on the fight to elect these candidates against those of the old parties and the third party. Wherever the Socialist Party or any other labor political group has a chance to win we will support these candidates against all other parties including the third party.

c. Wherever neither the Farmer-Labor Party nor the third party candidates have a chance to win we will vote for the Farmer-Labor Party candidates in the election.

d. Where the Farmer-Labor Party candidates have no chance to win and the third party can unquestionably win against the capitalist parties with our support we will vote for the third party candidates.

e. In any case and under all circumstances we will maintain the separate organizational existence of the Farmer-Labor Party, carry on an independent campaign for its separate policies and under its own slogans.

f. While maintaining the alliance with the third party we must at all times carry on a campaign of merciless criticism against it, pointing out the uselessness of its half-measures, its cowardice and hesitation and destroying the illusion that the class struggle can be won thru its measures.

4.—The Labor Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

A. There are three great dangers which threaten the labor party movement in the United States at the present time. These forces, if not counteracted, can dissipate and destroy the whole movement for years

to come. These forces are as follows:

a. The third party movement and the Ford movement. The workers and exploited farmers of the United States have for so many years supported the Republican and Democratic parties that an organization which breaks away from these old parties will have a tremendous appeal for them and they will not differentiate between such a general third party movement and the class farmer-labor movement. Unless there is a national rallying point for the existing Farmer-Labor groups which represent the class parties there is great danger that these isolated groups will be swept into the third party movement and thus the whole movement for a class labor party will be halted for years to come.

b. There is also the danger that the existing isolated state and city parties will disintegrate and disappear because there is no national expression and no national leadership to give them direction and hold them together. The past history of similar farmer-labor party organizations has been that such isolated parties will not exist for a long time. They can only be made permanent thru a national leadership continually formulating policies which bring them into action and thus giving them life and strength. There is also the danger that these isolated parties may carry on independent campaigns locally, but on a national scale still support the old capitalist parties. Thus, for instance, in West Virginia one of the leaders of the party has already announced that the Farmer-Labor Party of West Virginia will have its own candidate and make its own fight in the state of West Virginia, but that on a national scale the members will be free to vote the Republican and Democratic tickets as in the past. A similar expression has been made by Magnus Johnson in relation to the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.

c. The presidential campaign of 1924 will be one of the most vital importance to the labor party movement. Unless there is a national crystallization of the labor party movement enabling it to nominate a presidential candidate and to conduct a nation-wide campaign the movement will receive a severe setback and there will be no hope for organizing a class farmer-labor party on a national scale for some years to come. The whole life of the movement depends upon a national organization and a national campaign and such a campaign is bound to awaken great enthusiasm and enable the class farmer-labor party idea to make great strides forward.

B. All of the foregoing analysis shows conclusively, first, that only the left wing masses of the labor and farmer movement will at first participate in the organization of the class farmer-labor party and, second, that unless such a class farmer-labor party is organized on a national scale for the 1924 election the whole movement will be dissipated and destroyed for years to come. Our policy, therefore, must be to organize the left wing bloc among the workers and exploited farmers into a national class farmer-labor party for the 1924 elections.

C. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party is the beginning of the organization of the left wing of the exploited farmers and industrial workers. We must, as part of the campaign for the organization of the whole left wing, assist in maintaining, organizing and strengthening the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

A. We should also seek to have the Federated Farmer-Labor Party as an instrument for propaganda for the idea of the all-inclusive mass farmer-labor party and must draw as broad a mass of the workers and exploited farmers into the labor party as possible.

b. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party must organize wherever possible and affiliate those organizations of which it can win the support.

c. The campaign of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party should be carried on to secure:

1. Affiliation wherever possible.

2. Where we are not strong enough

to secure affiliations we should seek endorsement.

3. If we are unable to secure either affiliation or endorsement we should endeavor to have delegates sent to the next convention.

D. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party should consider each situation separately and thoroughly. It should organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party only in such places in which the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party will not bring a split of the left wing; that is, of the followers of the class-labor-party movement. In the process of organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party it will come in conflict with some of the progressive leaders in the labor movement. Its effort must be, thru a careful policy, to clarify these progressive leaders and to win them for the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, but it cannot sacrifice the organization of the left wing masses because of the hesitancy and irresolution of individual progressives here and there, provided that it can carry with it the masses.

E. Where a class farmer-labor party exists we must endeavor to become affiliated with it and must carry on propaganda for its radicalization and for national affiliations.

F. The Farmer-Labor Party is an expression of the united front. While it must be our policy to draw as large a mass of workers as possible into the united front, this does mean that we cannot at a particular time organize a united front with those groups which are ready to join us. It is not sufficient to carry on propaganda and to build up a vague sentiment for a united front on some particular issue. The propaganda and the building of such sentiment must be followed by organization or it will quickly dissipate itself. Where we build a united front organization which includes only a part of the masses it is our task to endeavor to expand it and draw as many as possible of the workers into the organization.

G. All our organizational effort should be to assist the Federated Farmer-Labor Party to create a national crystallization of the class farmer-labor movement for the 1924 campaign. To achieve this end we will not insist upon a dogmatic attitude that the national convention in which such crystallization will take place must come in the form of a convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. On the contrary, our effort must be to secure support of as many groups as possible for such a convention. The call for the convention should be signed by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and if possible, by the West Virginia Farmer-Labor Party, the Montana Farmer-Labor Party, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of New York, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of Washington County, Pa., and any other local or state group which may be organized.

The policy of the Conference for Progressive Political Action creates a situation which will force the Socialist Party into a different position. The Socialist Party is not likely to follow Johnston in support of one of the old parties. Unless it is to completely isolate itself it must come closer to the existing Farmer-Labor Party movement. Our policy must be to hasten this development and to endeavor to secure the support of the Socialist Party for the call for the 1924 convention.

H. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party should not only carry on a struggle to organize itself in the industrial centers but should make the greatest effort to win the support of the laboring farmers. All the facts indicate that there are great masses of farmers who can be won for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

5.—Dangers to the Workers Party.

A. The manoeuvres in relation to

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Demand Amnesty by Christmas

By ROSA LADDON.

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK.—Unconditional freedom for all wartime political prisoners still confined in federal penitentiaries was the burden of a rousing resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of 2,000 persons at Cooper Union, under the auspices of the General Defense Committee, I. W. W., in its intensive amnesty campaign here. Ralph Chaplin, labor poet and his life a political prisoner at Leavenworth until last June, was the principal speaker, together with Arthur Garfield Hays, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Scott Nearing and the Rev. Wolcott Cutler, presiding.

and the third party constitute a serious danger to the Workers Party unless our members are given a clear Communist understanding of our strategy and tactics in each particular situation. This makes it necessary to immediately begin a thorough campaign of education in fundamental Communist principles among our members and thus to create a party membership which will never forget its fundamental Communist principles in these manoeuvres of the class struggle.

B. As part of the campaign of education we must also develop a stronger discipline among our members. It is only if the party members understand that they are soldiers in an army which is carrying on difficult the Federated Farmer-Labor Party manoeuvres in a battle of the class struggle and that unhesitating loyalty to the party is a first requisite of victory in these manoeuvres, that we can hope to successfully carry thru the manoeuvres we undertake.

C. In order to impress upon our membership the real character of a Communist party we must develop campaigns which are directed against the capitalist system and the capitalist government. Our struggles in the past have been largely struggles within the trade unions against reactionary labor leaders. Unless we combine with these struggles greater battles against the capitalist class our members and even the masses of the workers will get a one-sided impression of the character of our party. The utilization of the discontent of the masses for such campaigns is therefore of the first importance.

D. One of the methods thru which we can carry on our campaigns against the capitalists is to participate in election campaigns in opposition to the capitalist parties. Thus far our party has in principle declared itself in favor of parliamentary action but in practice it has been an anti-parliamentary organization. We must change these conditions and throw our party into the election campaigns. This also applies to political action against the capitalist government both in and outside of election campaigns.

E. The campaign for ten thousand new members for the party must be supported with all the strength of our party. At the present time our interests and campaigns are of such a widespread nature that our party organization is unable to carry them on successfully with its present strength. We must increase the membership of the party in order that we may have the forces at our command to carry thru the many actions in which we are involved.

F. The Daily Worker will aid in carrying thru all of the measures necessary to strengthen our party. It will be a means of Communist education, a means of teaching our members the needs and the purpose of our various actions and the establishment of the daily is one of the important factors in strengthening our party and overcoming the dangers which face it.

G. Danger of new prosecutions directed at the destruction of our party continues to exist. We cannot forecast when the class struggle will so sharpen that the ruling class will find it necessary to again launch an attack upon the Communists and thru such an attack endeavor to crush the whole revolutionary movement. We must take measures to safeguard our party against the possibilities of such an attack. These measures should be the following:

a. We must as quickly as possible reorganize our party so far as it is possible upon the basis of shop units in addition to the existing territorial branches. Shop units cannot be destroyed altho territorial branches can easily be driven out of existence.

Lay Off 4,600 in Milwaukee Shops.

MILWAUKEE.—The indefinite shutdown of the locomotive and repair departments at the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul shops here has thrown 4,600 men out of work.

Salzman on Second Tour of Northwest for Youth League

Max Salzman, national field organizer for the Young Workers League, is to return to the Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin district of the branches and strengthen the ones formed during his last trip thru that territory.

The last six months trip of Comrade Salzman was very successful in bringing the principles and program of the Young Workers League to large numbers of young farm and industrial workers and was the first fruitful venture of the League in this section. The support of the local branches of the Workers Party proved invaluable to the organizer and their cooperation is expected to be even greater on his return trip.

One of the main reasons for revisiting the newly-formed branches is to stimulate them into greater activity than heretofore, and especially to use every possibility for the formation of shop nuclei, which is one of the most important phases of the League's work at the present time.

The tour of comrade Salzman will take him thru the following cities: Nov. 30, Minneapolis; and St. Paul, General membership meeting. Dec. 1, Cromwell, Minn.; 2, Cloquet, Minn.; 3, Superior, Wis.; 4, Florence, Minn.; 5, Orr, Minn.; 6, Chisholm, Minn.; 7, Nashua, Minn.; 8, Hibbing, Minn.; 9, Duluth, Minn.; 10, Brule, (Waino) Wis.; 11, Brantwood, Wis.; 12, Phelps, Wis.; 13, Ironwood, Mich.; 14, North Ironwood, Mich.; 15, Paynesville, Mich.; 16, Mass, Mich.; 17, Green, Mich.; 18, Firesteel, Mich.; 19, South Range, Mich.; 20, Hancock, Mich.; 21, Herman, Mich.; 22, Ishpeming, Mich.; 23, Marquette, Mich.; 24, Eben Junction, Mich.; 25, Munising, Mich.; 26, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.

PARIS.—The French General Confederation of Labor is organizing a national peace demonstration on November 11, Armistice day. Mass meetings are to be held thruout the country as a manifestation against war and militarism.

Next Step in Daily Worker Drive

The greater part of the \$58,218.07 raised in The Daily drive has been subscribed by the members of the Workers Party and our closest sympathizers.

Our next immediate task is to get before the trade unions and arouse their interest for the first really militant workers' daily newspaper ever published in the English language in this country.

THE DAILY WORKER will carry on a systematic propaganda to make the trade unions effective organs of working class struggle and all militants in the labor movement should try to get before as many local unions as possible to get their financial and moral support for THE DAILY WORKER.

Organize Committees to Visit the Unions in Your Locality!

This is the most important duty of the Local Daily Worker Campaign Committees of every City Central Committee and in every party branch.

Send every effort to help raise the other \$40,000. Do not delay. Put up on your pledges. Sell a share. Buy another share. Circulate the CONTRIBUTION LISTS among your friends and fellow-workers.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO SPEED UP THE DRIVE? Take this question up in your local committee and your branch. Have you taken up the problems of approaching liberals who might be ready to donate substantial sums? Have you brought the question of supporting THE DAILY WORKER before your union, your fraternal or benefit society? Have you talked about THE DAILY WORKER to your shop mate and neighbor? If you will do all these things we can raise the balance of the \$100,000 fund and publish our daily in January.

LET'S GET TOGETHER AND PUT THIS DRIVE OVER!

Here are the results for the period Nov. 17 to Nov. 23:

From Districts.

From Federations Bureaus.

District 1 Massachusetts \$ 85.00

District 2 New York \$160.00

District 5 Pittsburgh 20.00

District 6 Ohio 75.00

District 7 Detroit 30.00

District 8 Illinois 50.00

District 9 Minnesota 30.00

District 10 Missouri 47.50

District 12 Seattle 84.81

District 13 California 115.00

District 15 Connecticut 142.00

Total for Districts \$1,829.31

Total Nov. 17-23 \$2,333.33

Previously stated \$5,582.18

TOTAL FOR DRIVE TO NOV. 23 \$58,218.07

JOHN J. BALLAM, Manager, Daily Worker Campaign Committee

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Some interesting meetings scheduled for the near future are:
Monday, Dec. 3, James P. Cannon speaks on "Sam-Gompers and the Reds," at 3322 Douglas Boulevard. Meeting conducted by the Douglas Park Branch, Workers Party.

Wednesday, Dec. 5, William Z. Foster speaks on "Why Every Militant Worker Should Join the Workers Party" at Ryan's Hall, 6654 S. Halsted St. Meeting conducted by the Englewood Branch.

Sunday, Dec. 2, J. Louis Engdahl will speak at Kensington, Ill. Meeting conducted by the Italian Branch.

Monday, Dec. 10, J. Louis Engdahl will speak at Division Hall, 244 Division St. Meeting conducted by the Northwest Jewish Branch.

Tuesday, Dec. 11, Earl Browder speaks on "The Possibilities for Labor Party" Workers Lyceum, 278 Hirsch Boulevard. Conducted by Northwest Branch.

Monday, Dec. 17, Max Bedacht on "The Present Situation in Germany." Imperial Hall, 2409 N. Halsted Street. Conducted by North Side Branch.

NEW YORK.—Feodor Chalapin, the great Russian singer who has appeared with the Chicago Opera Company and the Metropolitan Company here during the last three years, will head his own opera company for the season 1924-25, according to reports in New York City.

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

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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H. M. WICKS, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
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For What Shall We Give Thanks?

This is the week of Thanksgiving Day, 1923.

For what shall we give thanks?

For the new wars that threaten the world five years after the armistice?

For the new and increased unemployment and reductions in wages, promised by John Moody, of Moody's investment service, while the Standard Oil Company distributes cash dividends totaling \$135,000,000?

For the \$800,000 settlement received by Helen Elwood Stokes from her doddering millionaire husband, W. E. D. Stokes, and the custody of two children, while 1,060,000 children between the ages of 10 and 12 are at work in the mills and factories of the nation?

For the release of the ex-Kaiser's last spy from an American prison, while hundreds of workers still languish in capitalism's penitentiaries?

For the spreading of the bosses' propaganda in the schools, thru the drama, the movies, the radio, from the press and the pulpit, while the truth about labor's aspirations is everywhere gagged and strangled?

For the reduction of taxes on the huge, unearned incomes of the parasite rich, while greed gathers its forces to smother any effort to secure a mere pittance of a soldier bonus from the next Congress?

For J. Ogden Armour, food profiteer, who needs a little ready cash and sells a few shares of Kansas City light and power stock for \$2,500,000.00, while two millions of farmers, bankrupt and landless, are making their way to the cities this year, with prospects that they will be followed by three millions next year?

For the increase of 82 per cent in the profits of ten large corporations, including Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., while the American Academy of Political and Social Science reports that 25,000 coal miners have been killed during the last 10 years, two-thirds, preventable thru the adoption of cheap safety methods?

For the 15 per cent profits, or \$7,768,854, coined by the National Biscuit Co., while food prices are generally higher than at any time in two years?

It is not likely that the workers will be thankful for any of these manifestations of the capitalist social order. Thanksgiving Day originated when the early New England colonists, without bankers, landlords or food gamblers to rob them, had harvested their year's crops and found that they had plenty.

Thanksgiving Day still lives as an institution because it affords the owners an excellent opportunity to hypnotize the many into believing they are not agonizing under the iron heel of insatiable greed.

The hypocrisy of the present day celebration of Thanksgiving will not disappear until the social system of rob and have, that makes a mockery of it, is completely abolished.

Then, with the passing of capitalism, all humanity will have a cause for Thanksgiving.

In Backward West Virginia

West Virginia still insists on being one of the blackest spots on this dark continent. Within the week it has barred from its sacred terrain, dedicated to the service of the profiteering mine owners, not only the Russian film, "The Fifth Year," but Channing Pollock's play, "The Fool."

The disgraceful feature about the whole affair, if we are to believe a report in the Pittsburgh Press, is that the attack on "The Fifth Year," has the support of Perry E. Donley, secretary of the Central Labor Union at Morgantown, West Virginia, and C. R. Boyles, a vice-president of the State Federation of Labor.

"The Fifth Year" is a labor film. "The Fool" is a labor play, with a long New York run, and a multitude of companies now on the road, exposing the revolting conditions existing in the West Virginia mine fields.

This shows the inevitable working out of the Gompers policies. His lieutenants attack a movie telling the inspiring story of reconstruction in the first Workers' Republic. And then the bosses and their kept press coin the prejudice created into the suppression of a favorable labor play.

The question has often been asked, is West Virginia a part of the United States? We might supplement this by asking, can such men as Donley and Boyles be a part of the American labor movement, and if so, how long?

There Are Knocks and Boosts

The business manager has just handed us two letters. One comes from a self-proclaimed single taxpayer in Oregon, the other from the wife of a worker in New York state. The single taxpayer, who addresses us as "Gentlemen," tries to hand out a knock; that looks to us like a compliment. Our comrade, who opens her letter with "Dear Comrades," sends in an inspiring boost.

The single taxpayer says:

"I request that you stop sending the paper to me when the time is up. I am wasting my time to read your stuff when I know it is not radical enough to accomplish anything, only raise hell, and make it no better to get a living. I am a single taxpayer, and what you say sounds like the weakest kind of milk and water stuff, 50 years behind the times, and a disgrace to your intelligence to be fooling away your time on anything so futile."

The wife of the worker writes:

"Please send me The Worker for another six months. Would have subscribed sooner, only my husband has very little work, and we know only too well what that means. But I would rather go without my meals, as long as I could, than to go without the best paper in the country. Thanks ever so much for last week's paper. I hate to miss an issue."

The attitude of the single taxpayer is that of the "tired" or phrase mongering radical, whose self-estimated superiority absolves him from all activity in the class struggle. In fact, most single taxpayers deny the class struggle, belonging to that fraternity that pledges itself to war alike on reaction and revolution. The supercilious vapors of these pessimists, however, usually have a depressing effect on a small segment of the labor movement. This must be overcome. And if the Oregon gentleman has any real working class instincts in his make-up, he will again find himself reading Communist publications and taking his stand in the Communist movement. If he has no interest in the working class, we shall not be sorry to lose him.

On the other hand, we see in the worker's wife, who writes us, the material out of which a really revolutionary working class movement is not only built, but which carries it on to victory.

And the Rich Shall Grow Richer

We are asked to shed tears for William Wrigley, Jr., the chewing gum king, because the Wrigley Co. "largest chewing gum concern in the world," has lost a \$3,718,000 damage suit to a business rival, C. P. Larson, Jr., Co.

But let all chewing gum fans pause. There is a joker in this situation. Mr. Wrigley and a group of his associates withdrew \$11,000,000 of their investment before the court order was made public. We are not told how the big gum magnate and his friends got hold of this valuable information in advance. But they dumped 400,000 shares at \$40 per share on the market, for a total value of \$16,000,000.

The dumping of this avalanche of stock on the market, with the unfavorable court decision, will put the value of chewing gum securities on the toboggan. With the drop in prices the small investor, who didn't know how the court was going to rule, will be the heavy loser. The lambs in the investment world will be sheared again.

When the stock has hit bottom prices, Mr. Wrigley and his friends will buy it up again. They will thus coin new profits out of a supposedly unfavorable situation. Wrigley has made good on the old proverb. "The rich shall grow richer, and the poor shall grow poorer. To those that hath shall be given. From those that hath not, shall be taken away."

The small stockholders in Wrigley, Jr., chewing gum shares will at last get the wisdom that comes with experience.

While the little investors go broke, Mr. Wrigley will go ahead, industrially, making more millions thru robbing the producer and consumer of chewing gum, and thus become an even greater figure politically, thru his money, as the chief backer of U. S. Senator Hiram Johnson for the presidency in 1924.

The Banks Keep On Busting

In the six business days, Oct. 23-29, twenty-four business banks closed in the Minneapolis territory. Many people believed that this serious condition ended with the bumper crop of farm bank failures two years ago. But at no time before have so many banks failed. Besides, for every bank reported failed, according to the Wall Street Journal, there is one bank that is to be classed doubtful.

The inability of the farmers to pay old debts and the depleted cash reserves are given as the cause of this collapse. Of these closed banks one was in Minnesota, two in Montana, and 21 in North Dakota. We wonder why Coolidge's farm investigators have overlooked this opportunity to show that the farmers are getting more prosperous day by day as the 1924 election approaches.

Most interesting of all is the fact disclosed by these failures that the poor farmers are the ones hardest hit. Most of these banks were small. They had as depositors the poor working farmers who have very little to put away after the railroads and grain gamblers and packers get thru with them. Nine were small banks whose capital was \$10,000 or less. The total capital of the 24 banks was less than a half a million dollars and their total deposits a little over three and a half million dollars.

Investigators of the conditions of the farming masses the country over who do not play the role of political pawnbrokers for the big interests of the capitalist class report similar distress prevailing in all the farming areas.

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

Coal Miners Dig \$17,000 for Lewis-Searles Publicity

By THOMAS MYERS COUGH.

Ellis Searles, one time dope-bunter for the Indianapolis News, a capitalist daily, but more recently known as the editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal, gave out on the morning of Sept. 10, 1923, what he evidently thought was a series of articles that would knock the props from under the whole radical movement on this side of the Atlantic.

Much to his surprise, however, he finds that it has had the opposite effect; not only did his "stuff" fall on deaf ears among the workers of this country, but it brought forth the wrath of the liberal press of the country thru their editorial columns, a challenge from the radicals to prove his statements; and an offer from those he attacks to assist in an investigation, which he (Searles) proposed.

To date he has done nothing regarding either the challenge or the offer, probably because he knows that it will serve to discredit him all the more. Besides, since his "expose" has been exposed, he is not very anxious to come out in the open. It has been shown that the "dope" he dished out to the newspapers of the country was secured from an agent of the mine owners, whose name is Clark.

Ellis Searles doesn't know a thing about mines or mining, in fact it is doubtful if he knows the difference between a coal mine and a brick-ward. But he knows how to spend the miners' money. The report of Secretary William Green, on receipts and expenditures, for the period Feb. 1 to Aug. 1, shows that Searles received more than \$17,000.00 for "publicity" purposes, besides the princely salary he receives.

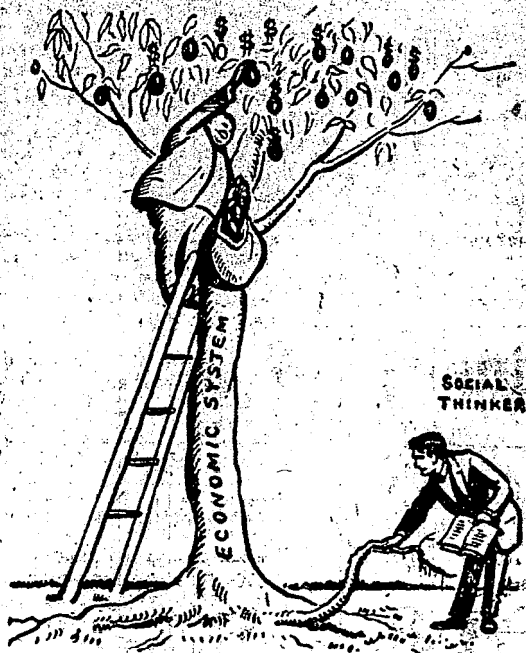
Little wonder this man Clark has been wearing a big smile and telling everyone he met that he was working for Searles, and "was being well paid for it."

It is quite possible that the above mentioned sum of \$17,000.00 is not

all that has been spent, for with a "miscellaneous" column, such as Green's report shows, anything might happen. What a poor fish Searles must be to think he can fool an army of workers. The day has passed when he or anyone else can consistently fool them. It is possible also that there will be more expenses attached to the infamous expose, because the articles were released after the issuance of Secretary Green's report. But if that is the case, the delegates to the convention will take care of it, because Green will have to make a report to that body.

Searles will soon arrive at the time and place when he will be told to get off our reservation, for we are more than tired of supporting parasites as well as a lot of others of his ilk.

We are more than tired of having the capitalist system use us for foot balls, and our labor movement for its bulwark. To all of you I say, "You had better get your JOBS with the concerns owned by our masters, for you cannot continue to serve them in your present capacities."



TWO MEMBERS OF OUR SYSTEM.
One goes to the root and explains causes while the other owns the tree and gathers the plums for himself.

Coolidge Farm Angels Find Farmers Hopeless

The noted banker, Eugene Meyer, and the now famous lame duck Frank W. Mondell, were appointed by President Coolidge to find ways and means of helping the bankrupt farmers. How serious these Administration salesmen were in their efforts can be seen from the fact that they have thrown up their hands in despair and cannot suggest any other remedy but an increased tariff on wheat.

Already on the basis of the present high schedules in the Fordney-McCumber tariff, the farmers of Kansas, Texas, Washington, Oregon and Idaho are losing about \$400,000,000. To increase the rates on any of the products, such as wheat would simply mean increasing the loss of the farmers.

No one should be surprised at the suggested "remedy." Mr. Meyer has long been in the service of the Wall Street bankers and Mr. Mondell has a record which speaks volumes. In his autobiography, page 431, Roosevelt pointed out that the conduct of Mr. Mondell was a bit too rough even for him. Speaking of a bill proposed by Senator Newlands (Democrat Nev.) for conservation of the nation's resources, Roosevelt pointed out in his message to Congress, December

3, 1901: "My active interference was necessary to prevent it (the bill) from being made unworkable by the undue insistence upon states' rights in accordance with the efforts of Mr. Mondell and other congressmen, who consistently fought for local and private interests against the interests of the people as a whole."

It's just this class of friends that Mr. Coolidge will appoint to relieve the distress of the farmers and workers. Mr. Coolidge can and will appoint only agents of the employer. These "relief agents" will relieve the farmers of whatever is still left them after the last three years of depression.

Ernst Toller--Dramatist of the Working Class

By LOUIS F. LOCHNER.

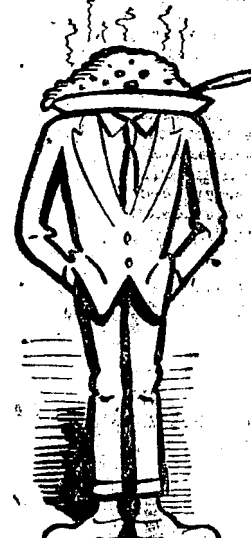
(Federal Press Correspondent) LEIPZIG, Germany.—Ernst Toller, greatest contemporary dramatist of the German working class, whose play, "The Machine Stormers," is well known in America, has achieved another success with the production at the local Altes theater of his new play, Hinkemann (Limping Man).

Again this first night has had to take place without the presence of the author. Toller is still confined in a jail in Bavaria, into which he was put by the reactionaries for his alleged offense of helping Kurt Eisner put over the brief Soviet regime in Bavaria in 1918-1919. Three great plays of his have gone over the boards since he was locked up—not one of them has been allowed to see staged. Worse still, he has not

even been permitted to see what the theatrical critics have had to say about his various productions in the newspapers.

Like the other plays of Toller, Hinkemann is a working class drama, laid in working class scenes. The problem treated is an unusual one. During the war a certain working man was unsexed by a shot from the enemy's guns. His wife for a time continues to be faithful to him despite his deformity, but eventually succumbs to the seductive offers of a virile "ladies' man." The seducer himself tells Hinkemann about the wife's infidelity, but adds the lie that she has made fun of his ailment. This proves too much for Hinkemann. He is willing to forgive his wife as, in a touching and strong scene, she evinces deep contrition for her act. But he

finds himself unable to continue to live. "I don't want to—I know too much," he cries. He commits suicide. By this means Toller introduces many vivid pictures of proletarian life. Delicate though the subject Toller treats his whole theme in manner that precludes the possibility of lewdness or obscenity.



I. Puddinghead—near neighbor The Poor Fish—says: "What the country needs most is confidence. (He isn't certain what it needs or confidence in, but that doesn't matter.)"

Farmers' Earnings Show Steady Decline

In a recent issue of the well-known financial paper, the Analyst, there appeared a very interesting study of the farmers' earnings. The investigation was made by the statistician, Mr. L. M. Graves of the reactionary Farm Bureau Federation. Yet the figures are highly instructive for all farmers, especially in view of the intensive propaganda being waged by the daily press to show that the farmers are improving their conditions.

In the four-year period, 1919-22, Mr. Graves shows a continuous decline in the gross sales of farm products. In millions of dollars the gross sales of farm products declined from \$7,860 in 1919 to \$4,623 for the year 1922. In the same period the gross sales of livestock fell from \$3,622,000,000 in 1919 to \$2,256,000,000 in 1922. During these years animal products fell in gross sales from \$2,114,000,000 to \$1,700,000,000.

In view of the rising cost of living this condition of steadily declining income for the farmers is becoming still more unbearable to millions of the rural working masses.

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The Devastating Scourge of the American Labor Movement--"The Fear of Gompers"

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

When the farmer and labor forces gathered at St. Paul, Minn., Nov. 15-16, decided to issue a call for a National Convention, to be held May 30, 1924, they did a courageous thing.

They swept aside completely the reitist obstacle to independent political action of the workers and farmers in the United States.

This obstacle is—FEAR!

Among the organized workers fear of the reigning Gompers' bureaucracy in the American Federation of Labor.

Among the organized farmers fear of the old partyite reaction that still yields its influence among them.

Fear is a powerful argument. When all the convincing arguments for mass political action have been made and accepted, fear turns the scales the other way. It dictates the final decision.

President John Fitzpatrick, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, attended the St. Paul conference but failed to sign the call for the 1924 convention. He was fearful that Gompers would be opposed to it, that he would polarize the unions of the nation against it. Fitzpatrick has returned to Chicago. He maintains his oppo-

sition. But it remains to be seen what decision the National Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party will take on this important question.

That this fear of Gompers does not sway the Minnesota Farmer-Labor forces, and the Farmer-Labor Parties of Washington, South Dakota, Montana, the Progressive Parties of Idaho and Nebraska, and the Nonpartisan Leagues of other states is an indication of big progress made.

The dread of what Gompers will do, or say, has been and still is a devastating scourge upon the American labor movement. It holds organized labor in the vise of inaction. The most devout cannot fear God more than some labor officials fear Gompers. The Minnesota industrial workers and working farmers are providing the antidote for this destructive malady.

Perhaps there are timid ones who will say that the Minnesota farmer-labor movement is entering upon its new move in blind folly; that it is their hope of immediate, nation-wide success, that breeds their audacity. These will snugly proclaim that this is a futile hope.

It is because the Minnesota farmer-labor forces are not blinded by illusions that their present action is all the more courageous.

Thus we find a very conservative statement, of the ambitions of the farmer-labor drive, in the Minnesota

Union Advocate, edited by William Mahoney, when it says:

"It is not reasonable that a third party (Farmer-Labor Party) can win in 1924, and this fact will influence a number of liberals to withhold their sanction to the undertaking at this time. There will be a hope that something can be secured by voting for the better of two evils which may be served by the old parties."

"There will be four big questions up at the next national election. The railroad question, the currency question, the judiciary question, and the taxation question will occupy the center of the arena. The position of progressives on these questions will be fundamentally different from that which exists today and will therefore place the movement on a different plane from the old parties."

"It will not be possible to get a proper expression of the progressive position in the platforms of the democratic and republican parties, and it will be necessary to have a third party to meet this need."

"But there is not much hope of organizing the progressives of the United States into a national government. It is evident now that this will come in the form of a gradual growth by the federation of state movements."

"With a good platform and strong candidates there is no reason why a large number of states could not be

carried for a national Farmer-Labor ticket. Once this result was accomplished the party would soon become an assured fact, and would gather all the progressives within its fold."

This was written before the recent conference in St. Paul that called the national convention for Memorial Day, May 30, 1924.

It is significant that farmers constitute some of the staunchest elements in this drive. Magnus Johnson, United States Senator, in an address in Chicago, appealed for Farmer-Labor unity while the officials of the Chicago and the Illinois Federations of Labor hold aloof.

The Progressive Party of Nebraska, supported by Nebraska's farmers and workers, endorses the national convention call of the St. Paul conference, while the Omaha Central Labor Union unseats Tom Matthews, delegate of the Butcher Workmen's Union, because he dared write an article criticizing the actions of Gompers' regime at Portland. The Omaha Central Labor Union has been "progressive" in the past, no doubt it still is, but it seems infected with the scourge, "The Fear of Gompers."

J. F. Emme, delegate of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly at Portland, helps reveal this fear of a large number who have been called "progressives" in the past.

Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, introduced

the resolution for independent political action, at Portland, and Emme supported it, both in committee and before the convention.

Emme reported to the workers in St. Paul, according to the Minnesota Union Advocate, Nov. 6, that: "From the very earliest moment of the A. F. of L. convention—in fact, the opening addresses themselves agreed to notice on those who were interested in political activity, that no third party resolution would find favor in the eyes of the executive authority."

Emme tells what happened at the committee hearing, as follows:

"There was no single objection raised against the Minnesota resolution, or the policy pursued by our group on the political field excepting that were the A. F. of L. to take a stand such as we wish it, it would preclude the possibility of their entering into negotiations with either the democratic or republican parties for considerations from that day on."

"This argument is on a national scale the same as the arguments we have been compelled to meet locally in our state. No doubt there is a kernel of truth in this argument, but our experience in Minnesota has clearly shown that as long as we want to trade with the political powers that be we lay no foundation for a final and entire victory."

The Gompers lieutenants on the resolutions committee tried to get

Hall and Emme to withdraw the Minnesota resolution, no doubt because it didn't look good to fight a movement that had sent two Farmer-Labor spokesmen to the United States Senate. But Hall and Emme refused, and so the report of the resolutions committee pounced on the declaration, identical in form, sent in by the Chicago Federation of Labor. Emme reported:

"On this resolution the committee immediately pounced and assumed that it was the work of some ultra radicals of Illinois, and in every conceivable way aroused the prejudice of the conservatives and reactionaries against the resolutions in question."

Of the Portland results Emme reports that:

"The roll call shows only a vote of 1,895 in favor. There is, however, a group representing 1,628 votes not voting, while the vote against independent political action was 25,066."

Then Emme shows how fear got in its last and greatest argument. He reported:

"At the first appearance the vote seems to show an overwhelming sentiment against political action, but one must be careful in accepting this view, as it is far from correct. Your delegate had opportunity to talk to many delegates at the convention and the general feeling expressed by all of them is that political action such as demanded by our resolution is in-

evitable. They, however, are not prepared to vote against the official family of the A. F. of L., for numerous reasons.

"Most of the delegates to the convention are men who must accept favors for their organizations from the A. F. of L. executive council. These men dare not vote against the wishes of the official group and w oftentimes in private conversations express themselves. It is surprising indeed, how this silent undercurrent of coercion is admitted when one speaks to the delegates on the side line."

Emme's report stamps the Portland A. F. of L. convention an aggregation of cowards fearful of voting their own convictions.

In order to cover up their cowardice, these leaders of labor attack progressive measures as radical plots that ought to be defeated because Communists are in favor of them. They stand completely unmasked, the helpless and abject victims of the devastating scourge of the American labor movement—"The Fear of Gompers."

The St. Paul conference was courageous in that it was able to overcome this disease and move forward to new achievements for American labor, on the land and in the city. It will find an overwhelming response among the great masses of the exploited and robbed American people.