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HALT MINERS' WAGE WAR TO LET CONVENTION PASS

Florida Resort to Be the Scene of New Conference

(Special to "The Worker")
CLEVELAND.—The bituminous wage conference here between the miners and operators of the central competitive field adjourned to meet in Jacksonville, Fla., Feb. 11, which is after the annual miners' convention.

Standing behind the negotiations is the open threat of certain mine owners that they will force a strike on April 1 by refusing to renew the agreement. There is now a surplus of bituminous coal on hand, the operators have made big profits during the past few years, and their position is so favorable that they are ready to "go the limit" to break the hold of the miners' organization. No statement giving the results of the conference has been issued.

The mine owners and the U. M. W. A. executives agreed to come into a general conference comprising the entire field before taking any further move toward a strike or lockout. Two years ago the mine operators sharply refused to negotiate a new agreement with the miners thereby occasioning the brief strike which was terminated in August, 1922.

Coal Barons Muzzle Churches.

PITTSBURGH.—The word of God as dictated by the big coal companies is the only form in which preaching is permitted in many company towns in the mining districts. Churches looking for a bit of ground on which to erect their edifices find the companies setting down in black on white that the land will be forfeited to the corporation if certain topics are touched on by the preacher in a certain way.

The Methodist conference of district superintendents made itself heard at Pittsburgh on the subject of the divine word as broadcasted by a coal company censor.

One superintendent at the conference declared, "I have met with a strange and not uncommon opposition from certain great coal companies that to me is ominous. When attempting to secure title to certain plots of ground for building churches we have found it impossible to do so. The deeds dictate what shall be preached and what is prohibited upon the property with the penalty of forfeiture in case of any transgressions of the conditions."

"Our preachers are muzzled."

Roumania for Recognition.

BUCHAREST, Roumania.—Roumania is ready to recognize the Soviet government of Russia, Foreign Minister Duca said. M. Duca expects Tchitcherine personally to represent Russia at a conference to be held soon which will arrange the details of an agreement.

Watch the "Daily Worker" for the first instalment of "A Week," the great epic of the Russian revolution, by the brilliant young Russian writer, Iury Libedinsky. It will start soon.

Get unity thru the Labor Party!

Hughes-Lodge Anti-Russian Attack Most Ridiculous Made By Grown Men--Brookhart

(Washington Correspondence to "The Worker.")

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Rehashing all the state department charges that Soviet Russia is carrying on a propaganda campaign for the overthrow of the United States government, Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, spokesman for the administration, opened the debate in the Senate on recognition of Soviet Russia. Lodge's speech was prepared and supplemented with documents used by the state department in their campaign against recognition.

Senator Borah answered Lodge and said that the so-called "proof" of a plot to overthrow this government was of such flimsy character that it would not be admitted as evidence in any court. Sixteen countries have recognized Russia, he said, and there is no reason why the United States should not do the same. He pointed out that the administration argument against recognition had changed from the grounds that they were the murderers of women and children to the charge that they seek to overthrow this government.

Borah quoted interviews with prominent Americans including former Secretary of the Interior Fall, and former Governor Goodrich, of Indiana, in proof of his assertion that the Soviet government is stable.

He said that such changes as had come about in Russia recently were the result of the wishes of the people. Senator Brookhart said the entire argument against recognition was childish. "The administration arguments are the most ridiculous I ever heard from grown men."

During the debate the galleries were crowded, showing the keen interest taken by unofficial Washington in the question of recognition.

Almost Captured Trotsky. Secretary of State Hughes seems to think he needs more evidence to substantiate his charges that Soviet Russia is intent on overthrowing the United States government.

On instructions from Secretary Hughes, agents of the department of justice in Chicago obtained a statement from Col. Jacques M. Lissovsky, former chief of staff of the white army of Russia, which force was destroyed by the Red Army. Lissovsky is an avowed enemy of the Soviet government.

Lissovsky said that in April, 1919, the white army under his command "almost captured Trotsky," but that he escaped.

Wolman Lectures for Amalgamated. The fourth open forum lecture under the auspices of Local 39, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, will be held on Friday evening, Jan. 11, at 8 p. m., in the Ashland Auditorium, room 237.

Dr. Leo Wolman will speak on "Side Issues in the Labor Movement." Questions and discussion will follow the lecture. Friday evening, Jan. 25, Oscar Nelson, Vice-President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, will speak on "American Federation of Labor and Its Program."

The Land for the Users!

Protect the Foreign-Born with an Irresistible Front of All Labor

The resolution for the protection of the foreign-born workers adopted by the convention follows:

The millions of foreign-born workers are facing new dangers. The message of President Coolidge to Congress, and the plans of Secretary of Labor Davis have revealed the plans of the capitalists against the foreign-born workers. Congress will in the very near future consider bills on registration and finger-printing of the foreign-born workers. New special annual taxes and new discriminating measures against the foreign-born workers will come up before Congress in the near future.

This convention authorizes the Central Executive Committee and the District Executive Committees to immediately take steps to initiate a United Front with all organizations which are willing to join in such a campaign.

The Workers Party was the only political party, as far back as a year ago, in its last convention, brought to the attention of the workers these great dangers. We began a big movement for the protection of foreign-born workers.

The convention of the Workers Party pledges our party to carry on a big campaign in the next year, for the protection of foreign-born workers, and calls upon every worker to organize the united front of native-born American and foreign-born workers against the criminal plans of the Coolidge administration, Ku Klux Klan, and American Legion patriots.

The workers must recognize that the attack against the foreign-born workers is but a new attempt of the capitalist offensive against the suppressed and ill-paid laboring masses of the basic industries.

Fifty German Soup-Kitchens

News has just reached the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany that fifty soup kitchens have been opened and are being maintained in Germany for the hungry. These kitchens are supported by French, Czechoslovakian and Dutch workers, thru the International Arbeiter Hilfe.

The first kitchen was opened by workers of Holland on October 25th. Up to Dec. 3rd, 95,000 workers were fed in those kitchens and 50,000 loaves of bread were distributed.

Of these fifty kitchens, France, Holland and Czechoslovakia maintain their own kitchens at a cost of \$2,000 per month. Each kitchen has a sign board over it giving the nationality of the workers maintaining it, as illustrated.

Several other kitchens are about to be opened, among them one to be supported by the American workers.

A drive for fifteen thousand dollars by February First has just been started by the Committee for International Workers' Aid, who are Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany. This will pay the initial outlay of \$500 for equipment of an American soup kitchen and \$2,000 a month for upkeep until the summer.

A delegate will probably be sent with the money as soon as it is raised, to personally conduct the opening of the soup kitchen and to come back with a report covering the work done.

Send contributions to the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany, 32 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. (Committee for International Workers' Aid.)

Friends of Soviet Russia are also Friends of Workers' Germany, and demand that German relief be given on the basis of:

Famine relief without conditions. Famine relief without political discrimination.

HOW ABOUT THESE FACTS?

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON.—Quotations from state department and treasury department files, dug up and published in Senate Document 88, 67th congress, 2nd session, some three years ago, show that the American invasion of North Russia at Archangel, from Aug. 1, 1918, until March 31, 1920, cost \$3,112,000, of which nearly \$2,000,000 went to the British army in payment for supplies.

The Siberian invasion from Aug. 1, 1918, until Aug. 24, 1920, is figured at \$8,049,000 exclusive of supplies in kind. The latter item is not calculated, but at the rate shown for Archangel it should be \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 more.

Lansbury Warns the King

LONDON.—George Lansbury, former editor of the London Daily Herald (Labor) warned King George to be careful or he might lose his job. At a workers' dance here he said that in the fight between Liberals, Labor and the Conservatives for the government the king would do well not to use his prerogatives and power to help the Liberals and Conservatives to power. "King George would do well to watch his step and keep his finger out of the pie. If he doesn't he may find himself taking a very keen interest in the unemployment situation."

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—The 19 I. W. W. members sentenced to 30 days for vagrancy after the recent raids on Defense Committee and Marine Transport Workers' headquarters here, are now free on a writ of habeas corpus.

Chicago Unionists Flay Reactionaries at Portland Meet

The Chicago Federation of Labor at its regular meeting on January 6 voted to receive the report of Frank McVey, its delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, after a brief discussion which was participated in by several delegates.

The report was neither a criticism nor a commendation of the proceedings of the convention. It recorded the cruel and brutal onslaughts accorded to every progressive measure that came before the body. It was a matter of surprise that even the Ku Klux Klan suffered from the rod of chastisement with which President Gompers and his grand dukes flayed everybody who dares to move against the reactionary officialdom.

Amalgamation, a Labor Party, Soviet Recognition, all went down before the reactionary onslaught. Delegate McVey stated that on the question of a labor party many delegates without any solicitation on his part came to him prior to the vote on the resolution and informed him, that on a live voice vote they would vote for it but could not afford to do so for political reasons if there was a roll call vote.

Losing Members.

McVey expressed the opinion that it was a waste of money for central bodies to send delegates to A. F. of L. conventions. Such delegates are referred to as "one lungers" by the international union chiefs. "Let the one lungers do the talking and we will do the voting" is the slogan of the per capita sharks. The term "one lunker" is derived from the fact that central body delegates have only one vote.

He brought out the significant point that since the British Labor Party engaged in political action the union membership in that country doubled while here in America within the past two years the American Federation of Labor lost over one million members.

The unseating of William F. Dunne, he said, was based on articles published by him in the Butte Bulletin containing letters from John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Frank Farrington, president of the Illinois Miners' Union, in which they accused each other of having accepted money from the employers.

Delegate Johnstone in the discussion said that he did not criticize the report on the ground of accuracy, he wanted to express his opinion on the important questions which were smothered under the reactionary Gompersian blanket. He charged that the attack of Gompers on the Federated Press was unjust. It was not a Communist, I. W. W. or A. F. of L. press service. It was fair and impartial news collecting agency giving every section of the labor movement equal treatment.

He charged that the action of the convention in defeating the motion for recognition of Soviet Russia did not represent the feeling of organized labor. He charged that the opposition to a labor party and the other forward measures proposed showed that the "convention" did not represent the rank and file but the officialdom. The articles printed by William F. Dunne, he declared, were simply the statements of Lewis and Farrington themselves and expressed the authoritative opinion of these gentlemen.

Facing Both Ways. Christen Madsen made his usual "Good God-good devil" speech. He stood in no-man's land and posed as the goddess of justice trembling lest he should wrong anybody. Then he proceeded to lay the heavy end of the stick on the radicals. Madsen (Continued on Page 4)

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SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—

The 19 I. W. W. members sentenced to 30 days for vagrancy after the recent raids on Defense Committee and Marine Transport Workers' headquarters here, are now free on a writ of habeas corpus.

Workers Party Convention Approves Fight Being Made for the Class Labor Party

Unanimous support was given by the Third National Convention of the Workers Party to the Labor Party policies carried out during the past year by the Central Executive Committee.

Thus the most important United Front effort of the party, that is giving it the lead in the struggle for the class Farmer-Labor Party in the United States, has been approved by the party's authority.

This question came before the convention in the report on the thesis of Central Executive Committee on the Labor Party question.

This was presented to the convention by the party's executive secretary, C. E. Ruthenberg. He made the following motions:

1. The convention approves of the work of the Central Executive Committee and congratulates the party on its achievements for our movement during the past year.

2. We adopt as the policy of the party the theses on "Political and Economic Conditions in the United States," and "The Policy of Our Party," submitted by the Central Executive Committee.

Resolution on Party Program. We reaffirm the program of the party as adopted in the second national convention.

Delegate J. Louis Engdahl, on behalf of the majority of the political bureau of the Central Executive Committee, presented the additional motions:

1. That the November theses shall supersede all previous theses of the party on the labor party question.

2. That the National Convention adopts the November theses of the Central Executive Committee.

3. That the convention approves the actions of the Central Executive Committee on the labor party issue.

4. The convention approves the actions of the Central Executive Committee in the July 3d convention and the party's participation in the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

5. That the convention declares that the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party on July 3d was a victory for the party and its labor party policy and opened the road for a broader united front.

Endorse Federated Party. 6. That the convention endorses the affiliation of the Workers Party with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

7. That the convention approves the actions of the Central Executive Committee in helping to organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party not only as a propaganda and an organizing body, but also as a real political party.

The signers of the supplementary motions were Ruthenberg, Engdahl, John Pepper, Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow, Max Bedacht and Robert Minor.

But, altho these motions were adopted unanimously, yet there was considerable debate on the whole Labor Party question, especially in carrying out this united front effort of the party in Chicago.

The most debatable phase of Labor Party problem, the question of the third party, was removed completely from the arena of the discussion by unanimous decision to refer this problem to the Communist International, before which all elements will be represented.

The Central Executive Committee's resolutions criticize the Chicago District Executive Committee for the manner in which it carried out the United Front with the Leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor was defeated and a declaration by the District Executive Committee of Chicago adopted. The Chicago statement is printed in full in another page of this issue.

The debate on this resolution was the stormiest during the convention with the possible exception of that which preceded the election of the Central Executive Committee.

Comrade Foster in his report for the industrial department of the party analyzed the period of prosperity thru which we have passed and showed its basic unsoundness. While industry in most of the other capitalist countries was on the decline the American industrial revival was due to the great need for products in the home markets, particularly in the building and automobile industries.

Our New Executive

The Central Executive Committee as elected by the Third National Convention of the Workers Party consists of the following members:

Alexander Bittleman
Earl R. Browder
Fahle Burman
James P. Cannon
William F. Dunne
J. Louis Engdahl
William Z. Foster
Benjamin Gitlow
Ludwig Lore
Jay Lovestone
John Pepper
C. E. Ruthenberg

The political bureau consists of Foster, Browder, Cannon, Ruthenberg, Pepper, Lovestone and Dunne.

The organization committee consists of Foster, Cannon, Ruthenberg, Abern and Pepper.

Representative on National Executive Committee of Young Workers League—Engdahl.

members of the party. The Agrarian Report was adopted unanimously.

Jay Lovestone made a report on American Imperialism, which was received with enthusiasm. He showed the growing aggressiveness of our capitalists and their exploitation of South America and the Philippines.

Max Bedacht reported on Shop Nuclei. An amendment was offered by Jack Jampolsky, of New York, in favor of industrial branches. The amendment was voted down and the convention went on record in favor of Shop Nuclei.

During the election of the Central Executive Committee for the coming year vigorous criticism was indulged in. But after the balloting was over majority and minority joined in expressing their intention to enthusiastically support the new C. E. C.

With the singing of the "Internationale" the convention adjourned to carry on the work of bringing the Communist message home to the American workers and working farmers and preparing for the day when the producers of this country shall take power into their own hands.

Reduce "Daily Worker" Sub Price

The price of "The Daily Worker," to be published beginning Jan. 13, as the first Communist daily paper ever published in the English language, has been reduced by a unanimous vote of the annual Workers Party convention, just adjourned. The new price, as set by the convention, is as follows:—

Outside Chicago.—The yearly price has been set at \$6.00; for six months, \$3.50; three months, \$2.00.

In Chicago.—By carrier, \$10.00 a year; \$5.00 for six months; \$1.00 a month. By mail, \$8.00 per year; \$4.50 for six months.

The decision on this matter followed a thorough discussion concerning the problems to be faced by the new Daily. The decision was based on the general opinion that with the lower price, it will be possible to secure subscriptions in great numbers from the masses of the workers.

Because of the very much higher distribution cost within the city of Chicago, it was found impossible to reduce the price further for Chicago subscribers.

The business office of THE DAILY WORKER announces that those who have already subscribed at the higher prices, originally set, will receive extensions of their subscriptions, proportionate to the additional money that they paid in.

The establishment of a militant daily labor paper has placed the most powerful weapon for propaganda, education and organization in the hands of the class-conscious workers," said Moritz J. Loeb, Business Manager of THE DAILY WORKER.

"With the reduction in the price of the paper, this weapon has been made even more powerful and with the low price now charged for our daily, every worker in the United States who can read English has been made a potential subscriber. We expect that this reduction in the price has given new stimulus to the thousands of workers who regard THE DAILY WORKER as the most potent revolutionary instrument and who are devoting their time and energy to securing subscriptions."

Hundreds and hundreds of subscriptions to THE DAILY WORKER are coming in to the office every day. With the stimulus given to the subscription campaign by the price reduction, it is expected that this number will be increased to thousands, to the end that within a period

of a few short weeks THE DAILY WORKER will already be exerting its influence over a tremendous portion of the American labor movement.

While the entire force of the class-conscious workers is now being devoted to the most important activity, that of securing subscribers for THE DAILY WORKER, arrangements are already under way to install a permanent machinery which will serve every day in the year in the task of maintaining and building up THE DAILY WORKER.

Detailed instructions for the organization of this machinery have been prepared by THE DAILY WORKER business office and are being sent to all units of the Workers Party. Until this organization is effected, however, all members of the Workers Party and all class-conscious workers everywhere are urged to carry on the campaign for subscriptions and to send them to THE DAILY WORKER at the earliest possible moment, so that all subscribers may begin to receive their paper with the first issue.

Contracts for the production and distribution of the paper have been let, and arrangements have been completed whereby THE DAILY WORKER will be published as previously announced, the birthday issue to be sold at the celebration meetings, Jan. 12th and 13th, and the first regular issue on Jan. 14th. THE DAILY WORKER has established permanent offices at 1640 N. Halsted St., Chicago, to which address all mail should be sent.

Chicago Workers Will Greet the "Daily Worker" SUNDAY JAN. 13, 8 P.M.

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM. Van Buren St. and Ashland Blvd.

Speakers: C. E. RUTHENBERG, J. P. CANNON, ANNA LOUISE STRONG, Recently returned from Soviet Russia

Appearing, First Issue Daily Worker Admission 25 cents Auspices Daily Worker Campaign Committee

Big Achievements of Workers Party Told in Report of Central Executive Committee

The report of the Central Executive Committee to the Third National Convention of the Workers Party was as follows:

During the past year, our party has made the greatest step forward since its existence as an organization. At the last convention of our party, we finally formulated the correct policy to govern the work of our organization. This report of the Central Executive Committee will state in detail the application of those policies and the results for our party.

The Central Executive Committee believes that during the past year the Communist party in the United States has for the first time become a real political factor influencing the life and struggles of the workers of this country.

The United Front.
The policies outlined by the second national convention had as their basis the application of the united front policy of the Communist International in the United States. It is the united front policy which has governed the work of the Central Executive Committee during the past year and it is this application of this policy that we have achieved the progress which our party has made. This policy has been applied in the following campaigns:

Michigan Defense Campaign.
The Michigan Defense Campaign was, of course, begun before the last convention of the party but this campaign continued during the present year and the full results became apparent since the last convention.

In calling for a united front of all workers organizations for defense of the rights of free speech and free press and to secure the repeal of the criminal syndicalist laws, the Central Executive Committee applied the united front principle. Through this campaign we drew to our support organizations of workers and even liberal organizations in all parts of the country.

It is a fact admitted by our enemies in the Michigan cases that our campaign resulted in turning the attack upon our party into a victory for our party. The connections which were established, the influence and prestige which we gained through the defense campaign materially strengthened the party influence and aided in preparing the way for the Workers Party to become the openly functioning Communist party of the United States.

Foreign-Born Protection.
The second national convention adopted a resolution instructing the Central Executive Committee to begin a campaign for the protection of foreign-born workers. The Central Executive Committee during the early months of last year began to build a

united front organization to carry on this struggle. In a number of cities we were successful in creating committees for protection of foreign-born workers in which various labor organizations, fraternal organizations and political groups were represented.

A number of our federations, notably the Hungarian and German Federations were also able to draw into united front organizations numerous fraternal and labor organizations in their respective language groups. At the time of the adjournment of Congress, the Central Executive Committee had under way the launching of a National Council for the Protection of the Foreign-Born Workers in which various representative labor union members of national standing were to participate. However, in view of the fact that Congress adjourned without passing the legislation directed against the foreign-born workers, the campaign was left in abeyance for the time being. With the new developments in the form of the recommendation in President Coolidge's message for the registration of the foreign-born workers, the campaign for the protection of foreign-born workers becomes again a great issue in the life of the American workers.

The Central Executive Committee recommends that this convention, re-endorse the resolution of the second national convention and that the incoming Central Executive Committee be directed to carry the campaign previously initiated forward with new aggressiveness. Even in the developments of this campaign during the past year, our party particularly through the language section was able to strengthen its position and win the support of new groups of workers.

May Day United Front.
In connection with the celebration of May Day, the Central Executive Committee launched the slogans, "Amalgamation," "A Labor Party," and "A Workers' Government," and endeavored to build up a united front May Day celebration on the basis of these slogans.

This campaign brought into cooperation with our party organization for the celebration of May Day, a greater number of labor unions and workers' fraternal organizations than were united in any of the previous campaigns of the party.

Labor Party Campaign.
The campaign for a Labor Party was initiated prior to the second national convention and the first action in this campaign in the form of the effort to seat our delegates in the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland took place just prior to the last national convention.

Even in its action in this instance the party increased its prestige and political influence. It was in the ef-

fort to seat our delegates in the Conference for Progressive Political Action that our party first appeared as a political factor in this country.

The next move of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was to issue a call for a national conference on July 3d to which were invited all the political and economic groups favoring the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party.

The facts show that the Central Executive Committee made every effort possible to avoid the split at the July 3d conference and that it was the fact that John Fitzpatrick had gotten "cold feet" because of fear of the Gompers machine that caused the split of the July 3d conference.

Immediately after the July 3d conference the Central Executive Committee launched a campaign to assist in the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

There had been represented in the July 3d convention more than 800,000 organized workers and the problem was to secure the affiliation of the organizations represented with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

The instructions sent to our party units were to raise the issue of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in all local unions, fraternal bodies, co-operatives and other labor organizations and endeavor to secure a vote of affiliation.

In those cities in which the conditions were ripe the party units were directed to take the initiative to form a committee for the organization of a branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in all local unions, fraternal bodies, provided that the support secured was in a ratio of ten to one of the members of our party.

A few weeks later it appeared that the barrage of misrepresentation and lies carried by the capitalist press and the Gompers labor press in regard to the July 3d convention was having an influence on the work of organizing the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The Central Executive Committee considered that under these conditions it was necessary to modify the original instructions to our party in this work in support of the federated and adopt a resolution which provided that in carrying on this work we should endeavor:

a. To secure affiliation wherever possible.

b. To secure endorsements of the Federated where affiliations could not be secured.

c. To secure delegates to the next convention of the Federated where neither affiliation nor endorsements could be secured.

At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee about the middle of August the whole question of our work in support of the Federated was

raised and thoroughly discussed. As a result of this discussion the Central Executive Committee adopted a two-fold policy so far as its relations with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was concerned.

a. That our support of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party must take the form of assisting the organization of the Federated and that an organization campaign and organization work to build branches of the Federated must be initiated wherever conditions were ripe.

b. That in addition the Federated Farmer-Labor Party must consider this as an instrument for the work of propaganda and organization for a larger united front and must carry on a campaign in those organizations not ready to affiliate with the Federated for the idea of a united front labor party.

Since the August meeting of the Central Executive Committee this policy has been in force and has been successfully applied. The Central Executive Committee during the period between the August meeting and the present time has adopted policies for a score of dissimilar situations in various parts of the United States.

On the left there has been the policy of assisting the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party as in the case of New York City and Washington County, Pennsylvania. Where strong branches of the Federated have been brought into existence there has been the policy of securing endorsements for the Federated; there has been the policy of securing delegates for the next convention of the Federated, and in some instances, as in the case of Massachusetts, there has been the policy of carrying on an educational campaign for a united front labor party without any reference to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

The Central Executive Committee believes that a close examination of all the details of these policies in relation to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the Labor Party issue since the August policy was adopted will not show a single instance in which a mistake has been made. The policy of the Central Executive Committee has been elastic enough to fit itself to each individual situation and to secure for the party the greatest results from each such situation.

The Present Situation.

On the basis of the present situation of our party in relation to the labor party movement in this country, the Central Executive Committee declares its belief that the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party at the July 3d convention has greatly strengthened the position of the Workers Party.

Through the maneuvers carried on by

our party directly and by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party with our assistance, our party is now in a position which makes it impossible to challenge our leadership in the labor party movement.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party since it has secured the affiliation of but 185,000 of the 800,000 organized workers represented in the July 3d conference, enjoys a greater influence and prestige than the number of officially affiliated members would indicate.

It has built for itself a position of powerful influence upon the whole labor movement and its connections extend to practically every part of the country in which there is a labor party movement.

On the basis of these facts and our cooperation in bringing about this situation the Central Executive Committee believes that its view that the July 3d conference and its results were a very great victory for our party cannot be successfully challenged.

During the last two months, following but the policy declared in the August statement and reiterated in the November thesis submitted to this convention for approval that our party must assist the Federated in bringing into existence a greater united front labor party, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has entered into an agreement with the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor Party of South Dakota, the Farmer-Labor Party of Montana, the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, the Progressive Party of Idaho, and the Committee of 43 for a convention to be held in the Twin Cities of Minnesota on May 30th for the nomination of a candidate for President and Vice-President and adoption of a national program, in the presidential election.

Thus the Central Executive Committee is able to present to the convention a successful culmination of this policy of assisting in making the Federated Farmer-Labor Party the nucleus for a greater united front labor party.

Our Communist Propaganda.

While carrying on the united front campaign of our party the Central Executive Committee has not overlooked the necessity of continuous propaganda about the fundamentals of Communism, in order that the workers may not be misled as to the real character of our party.

It has kept in the foreground the necessity of the campaigns which would bring out the fundamental Communist principles and educating the workers to an understanding of the Communist program and goal.

Consolidation of the Party.

At the beginning of last year our party still consisted of numerous

groups with factional inclinations. These were definitely organized around certain auxiliary institutions of the party. It has been the policy of the Central Executive Committee to consolidate the party into one centralized organization in which factional difficulties would not exist.

We believe that the Central Executive Committee has been successful in this work and that in spite of any divisions on question of policy which may exist within the organization our party has now definitely become one organization which can no longer be torn asunder by any divisions upon policy which may arise in the party in the future.

The Party Membership.

The following shows the development of the party membership since the organization of the party.

In order to contrast the membership figures for the four months of last year on which the convention apportionment of delegates was based with that of this year and to show the present make-up of our party the following tables are presented:

Membership July, August, September, October, 1923 (Average)

District	Total
1	2,081
2	3,175
3	411
4	707
5	1,180
6	856
7	1,242
8	1,470
9	381
10	445
11	498
12	218
Unorganized	218
Total	12,394

Average Membership—July, October, 1923.

District	Total
1	1,949
2	3,055
3	729
4	435
5	734
6	1,460
7	914
8	1,803
9	1,768
10	470
11	577
12	777
13	273
14	25
Unorganized	247
Total	15,238

The industrial registration of the party undertaken by the national office has thus far brought complete reports from 19 branches with a total of 6,862 members, or about one-third of the total party membership.

This registration shows the following results:

Industry	Union Unions	Non Union
Agricultural Workers	11	11
Building Workers	583	27
Clothing Workers	452	12
Food Workers	75	12
Metal and Machinery Workers	584	63
Lumber Workers	10	1
Miners	682	9
Printers	32	1
Public Service Workers	69	10
Railroad Workers	14	3
Textile Workers	41	15
Miscellaneous (Including laborers and housewives)	158	2,616
Totals	2,409	4,438

The sale of initiation stamps during the year ending November 30th shows that 6,550 new members were admitted to our party, whereas the average dues payment shows an increase in membership of only a little over 3,000. It will be therefore seen that during this period we lost 3,500 members who were in the party while admitting 6,550 new members into the organization.

The average membership figure of course does not as yet show the results of the membership drive during the last few months as the due payment of new members for a single month would not appreciably effect the average for a long time. However, it will be noticed that as between October and November there has been an increase of 1,616 members. Unquestionably the membership drive has resulted in a large addition to the previous membership of the party.

The charter applications show that during the year 347 new branches were organized.

English Membership.

While the table above shows the dues payments from members paying dues thru English branches represent only a small part of the total membership, this does not tell the whole story so far as our English speaking members are concerned.

The executive secretary of the party reporting at a recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee stated that his opinion from the investigations and experiences in visiting various party organizations that at least 50 per cent of our total membership is an English speaking membership altho a large number of these members pay their dues through foreign branches and are official listed as foreign language speaking members.

Chicago Workers Prepare Greeting for "The Daily"

One of the greatest attractions at the Chicago "Daily Worker" celebration that is next to the actual appearance of "The Daily" itself, will undoubtedly be the first speech to be given in this city by Comrade Anna Louise Strong, recently returned from Russia.

Comrade Strong is well known to the American labor movement. Perhaps she is even better known under the name "Anise." Her vivid descriptions of the struggles of the workers, and particularly her "ragged verses" became the greatest factor in establishing the Seattle Union Record as a labor daily.

She has now returned from a three years' stay in Soviet Russia ready to tell the American workers of the wonderful advances made by this first Soviet republic.

It goes without saying that there will be other well known speakers. C. E. Ruthenberg and James P. Cannon will greet the appearance of the first issue of the daily and tell the audience what the daily will mean to Chicago workers. J. Louis Engdahl will give us a little dope about how the editorial end of the new daily is to be conducted and Jack Carney, recently returned from Ireland, will also speak.

The celebration will be held at Ashland Auditorium, Van Buren St. and Ashland Blvd., Sunday, Jan. 13th, at 8 p. m. Our newboys will be on the job. The Daily Worker souvenir edition will be sold for the first time in Chicago. Sixteen pages, rich in material and teeming with life, every line and every column prepared by working class writers in the interest of the working class. No live worker can afford to miss this celebration.

Greetings to the Communist International

The Third National Convention of the Workers Party extends greetings to the Communist International.

During the past year the Communist International has appeared everywhere where the workers suffer from oppression and exploitation as the leader in the struggle against the oppressors and exploiters. It stands today as the hope of all those who struggle against the suffering and bloodshed, which the decaying capitalist system brings into the world.

It is the leadership of the Communist International which inspires hopes in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country.

The Workers Party re-affirms its declaration of sympathy with the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

Our Party Convention

By JOHN PEPPER.

The present article does not purport to give an appraisal of the Third National Convention of the Workers Party of America. It is intended simply as an expression of an attitude.

The Convention performed political work of great import. It dealt with every phase of the American labor movement and political life. It was a political convention of a political party. For the first time in the history of our party we had as the principal issue of the Convention, neither an inner organizational question of the party nor an abstract principle, but concrete tactical questions. This issue was not, Shall we participate in the labor party movement? but, How shall we participate? The issue was not, Are we for or against the united front policy? but, how shall we carry out the united front?

The opinions of the delegates at the convention were divided. Sharp differences manifested themselves. Heated debates were fought out on an issue. The final results were, that on the main question, the labor policies of the majority of the former Central Executive Committee were accepted, but a new Central Executive Committee was elected in which the

former minority forms the majority.

The explanation of this contradiction is that the majority of this convention was a coalition of two groups. One group which centers in Chicago was not in agreement with the policies of the majority of the former Central Executive Committee, on the July 3d convention and on the task and role of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Another group, which centers in New York, was not in accord with the policies of the former majority of the Central Executive Committee in its attitude toward the third party. The first group criticized the majority of the former Central Executive Committee, claiming that it had made a step too far to the left. The second group criticized the majority of the former Central Executive Committee, maintaining that it had made one step too far to the right. Both groups, together formed the majority in the convention, and elected a new Central Executive Committee, in which the former majority was changed to a minority.

Does this change mean a revolution within our party? By no means. If we analyze more closely the new Central Executive Committee we will find that not a single new person is on the Central Executive Committee, and that only the balance of power is shifted. It is a change, but no revolution. The new Central Executive Committee is recruited from the same leading stratum out of which the old Central Executive Committee was recruited. That shows a stability of our party. It shows that our party has at last developed a such a degree that we have a stable leading stratum. A Communist Party is not a real Communist Party as long as it has not developed a leading stratum which is generally acknowledged by the party membership as such. Only cheap demagoguery will deny this. But every Marxist will admit that a Communist Party must

be built up from both ends, from the bottom, out of the rank and file, and from the top, out of a leading stratum.

The second lesson of the convention for our party is that the unity of the party showed itself to be an indisputable fact. For the first time in the history of the American Communist movement we see a deep-going difference of opinion settled without a split. The various groups attacked each other, at times bitterly, and at times the attacks were colored with personal recrimination. But no one of the groups questioned even for a moment the Communist integrity of the other groups. Each group asserted that the tactics of the other groups were wrong or even disastrous, but—for the first time in our party history—no group questioned the motives of the other groups, and every group acknowledged the Communist motives of the others. The unity of the party was not in question at all—not for a single moment. The intrinsic health of the party has shown itself, in that the unity of the party is taken as a matter of course by every party member today.

This is the sum and substance of the lessons of the convention of our party: The world party of the proletariat at last has a real American branch—a party which is political, which is an entity, and which has a stable leadership.

Majority and minority recognize equally that we have no non-Communist elements in our party, and this must determine our mutual attitude after the convention. Neither majority nor minority has the right to continue the fight. The issues are settled. The newly built majority must not indulge in revenge, and the new minority must not complain. It is not only the right, but the duty of the minority to criticize the Central Executive Committee, but at the same time it must have faith in the Central Executive Committee. In the past our party has suffered from a lack of both. We had too little political criticism against the Central Executive Committee and too little faith in the Central Executive Committee. We should not forget for a moment that, regardless of who has the majority or minority in the Central Executive Committee, the Central Executive Committee is the leader of the party, and every party comrade must carry out wholeheartedly every decision of the Central Executive Committee. The mutual criticism of groups cannot make a rubber ball out of the prestige and authority of the Central Executive Committee. As a representative of the majority I once quoted Zinoviev against the then minority: "Discipline begins where conviction ends." Now, as a representative of the minority, I will repeat the quotation, turning to the present minority: "Discipline begins where conviction ends."

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Workers Party Pledges New Support To the Labor Defense Council

The National Convention of the Workers Party, meeting in Chicago, gave its unqualified endorsement to the work of the Labor Defense Council. The convention called upon militant workers everywhere—and especially party members—to lend new aid to the defense in the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism cases, so that the struggle may be "carried on to complete victory thru the winning of the Ruthenberg appeal."

Without a single dissenting vote, the delegates adopted the following clear-cut resolution:

"Whereas, The fight that has been carried on for the defense in the

terminated and must be carried on complete victory thru the winning of the Ruthenberg appeal, therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention call on the working class to maintain its united front defense thru its support of the Labor Defense Council and in particular call on the party members and units to keep in the forefront the claims of the labor defense as a vital necessity in protecting the freedom of our party leaders and other revolutionary exponent

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Foster's Industrial Report Submitted to the Workers Party Convention Is Approved

Submitted by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

I. The Economic Situation.
The industrial report submitted by William Z. Foster to the Workers Party Convention was adopted after considerable discussion. The report follows:

About 18 months ago American industry was entering into the full flush of a period of high production and general "prosperity." As this is written (December, 1933), the first unmistakable signs of crisis are being registered. During the intervening time industry has been running at almost full blast, in the midst of a capitalist world that is visibly breaking up and disintegrating. Because this economic condition is fundamental to all work within the labor movement, a brief review of the period just passing and the indications for the coming year are important.

The seeming "prosperity" of the period just passing was of an unusual nature. The main points in explanation of the instability of the passing period of prosperity (in addition to the inevitable operations of the capitalist system which bring periodical crises), can be summarized briefly as follows:

1. The revival was not based upon an extension of the markets under control of American capitalism, but upon an unusual absorption of products in the domestic market in the way of replacements and extensions of equipment in industry and transportation. Contrary to expectations of a year and a half ago, the European market has not been of any great value to American capitalism, despite the economic and financial collapse of European capitalism. The domestic absorption of products is exemplified in the building boom (building in 1932 running into billions of dollars, with 1933 not far behind), in the automobile industry, which reached a new high peak of production, and in the replacements and extensions of the railroads which have absorbed, along with building, much of the steel production of the country.

2. This unprecedented boom, at a time when industry in most of the other capitalist countries is on the decline, has been accompanied by an accelerated rate of combination among capitalist interests. The copper, textile, oil, auto, meat-packing, steel, railroad, and financial combinations have been enormously extended and strengthened. The benefits of this "prosperity" have, however, not extended to any considerable circles outside of the larger capitalists. The workers have had their wages smashed, and while weekly wages have slightly increased (now on the decline, however), the wage-rate per hour has been lowered and working conditions worsened. There has been no increase in the capacity of the workers to consume the products of their industry.

3. The farmers have been systematically forced into bankruptcy during this very period of "prosperity." The bankruptcy of the farmers is not figurative but actual. Thousands of them in the Northwest, men who traditionally pay their bills even if they have to starve and whose financial stability has made farm mortgages synonymous with complete security of investment in this country, are now resorting to bankruptcy courts in order to be relieved of debt and to be free to start all over again as tenants or as wage workers competing with the workers already in the cities. This bankruptcy of the farming system, occurring during the false prosperity period, is the cause of the political upheavals in the states.

The peak of this abnormal "prosperity" has now been passed. Unemployment is beginning gradually to be felt, and is increasing more and more rapidly. All signs point to a rapid decline in production and an extended period of depression.

II. Failure of Trade Unions.

For the past sixty years the periods of economic revival have always been accompanied by a growth and extension of trade union organization. So constant was this phenomena that it came to be looked upon as inevitable. Consequently when the latest era of prosperity began (March, 1923) trade union leaders and bourgeois economists quite generally jumped to the conclusion that the downward trend of trade unionism would stop and that the movement was due for the customary period of expansion. They declared the "open shop" drive to be defeated. But we disputed these optimistic prophecies. More than a year ago we said, in a report to the R. I. U., that those who counted upon the economic revival to also revive the trade unions would be disappointed. The reasons cited for this were, the militant character of the capitalist offensive, and the completely reactionary character of the bureaucracy that hold the trade unions in its power. We said: "Unless it modernizes its thinking, tactics and organization forms, the American labor movement is in imminent danger of being wiped out."

The past year has justified that analysis. The bureaucracy has done nothing to improve the structure of the unions, to organize the unorganized, or to infuse the rank and file with a militant spirit to offset the growing power and aggressiveness of the capitalists. Consequently, the trade unions have lost hundreds of thousands of members. According to the report of Secretary Morrison at the 1933 convention, the American Federation of Labor lost 269,000 members in the past year. Thousands of local unions have surrendered their charters, particularly in the railroad industry. Even international craft unions have not been immune, as witnessed by the International Union of Timberworkers giving up the ghost. In the railroad industry the shop unions have been completely wiped out over whole sections of the country. In the mining industry newly-organized fields have been allowed to lapse again into the hands of non-union operators, and the organization morale is at the lowest ebb in years. Even in the needle trades the unions are suffering a great crisis regarding membership. The organizations in the other industries are in a similar condition. Throughout the labor movement it has been a year of retreat in the face of generally favorable economic conditions. With industrial activity now on the decline we can definitely say that the labor movement is faced with imminent danger, not only from the dry-rot which affects it

internally but also from the big "open shop" drives of the employers which may be expected in the near future.

III. Campaign for Class Collaboration.
In the face of this crisis, developments within the labor movement during the past year are characterized by two profound and opposing currents. On the one hand the masses, the rank and file of the unions, goaded on by the "open shop" drive and the lowered conditions of labor, are more and more striving to engage in struggle against the exploiters; witness the growing labor party movement, the amalgamation movement that has swept the trade unions, the various left-wing conferences and the growing left-wing press. On the other hand the bureaucracy, the trade union officialdom with a small section of the "aristocracy of labor," out of fear of the struggle with the bosses and fear of the awakening membership, has been moving to the right; it has been attempting to consolidate its position by alliances with the employers; witness the revival of insurance schemes, the labor banking mania, the collaboration schemes of William H. Johnston and his cohorts in the railroad shop unions, the expulsions and discriminations against the left wing, the "red menace" campaign with its appeals for help to the employers (typified in the Seafarers articles), and the official program of the Gompers family announced in the Portland convention by Gompers, Woll, Berry, Lewis and others, and the open advocacy of collaboration in all its forms.

The result of these two profound and opposing currents is a deep cleavage within the labor movement itself. The struggle against the employing class, demanded by the working masses, under pressure of the worsening conditions, is sabotaged by the officialdom of the unions. In order to find expression it must turn into a struggle against the bureaucrats who stand as the protectors of the interests of capitalism, and the obstacles to struggle for better conditions. The resulting conflict between "left" and "right," now taking on ever larger proportions through the labor movement, is thus really the struggle within the labor movement, the working masses, on the one side and on the other the agents of capitalism entrenched within the ranks of labor. It is not a struggle between factions of the labor movement; it is the class struggle itself, with the officials fighting the battle of the capitalist class.

IV. Growth of Left Wing.
The unexampled development of the left wing in the American trade unions, and its crystallization around definite programs, slogans, and organizational forms upon a national scale (a development hitherto absent from American trade unionism), is the direct result of the severe economic pressure and of this cleavage between the officialdom of the trade unions, the bureaucrats, and the great masses of the working class. This cleavage is for the first time becoming clear and distinct. The organization of the rank and file left wing militants is crystallizing in the Trade Union Educational League. The league has established its local general groups in all the principal industrial centers, and its network of national industrial committees cover all the principal industries, such as Mining, Railroads, Textile, Clothing, Printing, Building, Metal, Food, Leather, etc. These industrial committees include all unions within their respective industries, independent and American Federation of Labor alike. Conflict with the revolutionary independent unions, as such, is established through the Red International Committee. This organization is made up, on the one hand, of the revolutionary minorities organized in the Trade Union Educational League, and on the other hand of the revolutionary unions affiliated to or sympathetic with the Red International of Labor Unions. Already the left wing has created the organizational forms necessary for complete functioning and co-ordination of all its forces in the labor movement as a whole. The task now before it is to fill in these forms to rally the entire left wing for the work in hand.

Even at this incipient stage of its organization the left wing movement in the trade unions has given ample demonstration of its power. This is because the Communists have given its conscious leadership. We alone through the labor movement have a program. All the other tendencies are bankrupt. Striking illustration of this has been given by the rapid spread of the amalgamation movement, especially in the railroad industry where it has swept thousands of local unions into its folds. Another outstanding manifestation of the power of the left wing movement was evidenced at the convention of the Moderns Union where, in spite of desperate resistance from the reactionary officialdom, the left wing under the leadership of a handful of avowed Communists, succeeded in putting this old and conservative organization on record for labor party, amalgamation, the recognition of Soviet Russia, the organization of the unorganized and various other campaigns and slogans of the T. U. E. L.

V. War with Bureaucrats.
The reactionary bureaucrats are not permitting this left wing movement to spread save in spite of their most desperate opposition. Faithful to the interests of their masters, the capitalists, they have launched a war to the knife, in all branches of the trade union movement, against the militant and revolutionary elements in the league. The attacks of the bureaucrats take on many forms. Democracy in the unions, so far as the left wing individuals and programs are concerned, has been practically abolished. At the Portland convention, for example, when the question of amalgamation, recognition of Soviet Russia, the labor party, etc., came up for consideration, scores of delegates voted against these measures in spite of the fact that their unions had gone on record definitely in favor of them. Moreover, there was the brutal expulsion of William E. Dunne, in the Railway Carmen Union, the general executive board is illegally refusing to send out a referendum to the rank and file on the question of amalgamation, notwithstanding that a large number of locals, ten times as many as required by the constitution, have regularly demanded it. Everywhere the trade

union press teems with denunciations of the Communists, one of the most notable incidents of this organized campaign of vilification being the infamous series of articles sent forth to a glib world by Ellis Searles, in the name of the United Mine Workers. In this organization Lewis and the other autocrats are carrying on a war of extermination against the left wing. They did not hesitate to line up with the British Empire Steel Corporation in order to crush the revolutionary miners of District No. 26, Nova Scotia. They have expelled many active militants. But the war against the left wing has reached its climax in the needle trades, especially in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In this union, dominated by typical Amsterdam Socialists, the most contemptible practices are being indulged in. Revolutionaries are being discriminated against and denied the right to hold office. Many have been slugged by the professional thugs in the employ of the union officials. Others have been expelled outright from the organization. Many even have been blacklisted from the industry, the employers co-operating eagerly with the reactionary union officials in this contemptible procedure. In Philadelphia the reactionaries have practically destroyed the organization in their efforts to prevent the left wing from putting some real life and fighting spirit into it. From Gompers to Sigman it is a united front of all the reactionary officials with their capitalist allies against the growing left wing.

VI. The Task Before Us.
The critical task of the American labor movement throws a tremendous task upon the revolutionary left wing. The trade union bureaucrats, faced by constantly increasing pressure from the employers, are now preparing to make a still more rapid retreat to the right. When the real struggle begins, as it will shortly, they will follow a policy of compromise and surrender. They will sacrifice the standards of living of the workers by accepting for them longer hours, lower wages, piece work, and generally worsened working conditions in industry. To prevent this further betrayal of the workers' interests is the task of the left wing. It is our duty to block the right wing efforts and to direct the masses to the left and the militant resistance against the employers. We must redouble our efforts to imbue the workers with a fighting spirit, to amalgamate their scattered unions, and to induce them to take independent political action. We must carry on a ceaseless campaign for the organization of the unorganized; for the labor movement will be practically helpless so long as millions of workers remain outside of its folds. We must break down the national isolation of the American trade union movement, and bring it into the fold of the Red International of Labor Unions. Meanwhile we must seek, ever and always, to defeat the reactionary leaders now at the head of the movement and to replace them by revolutionaries, for so long as defenders of capitalism stand at the head of organized labor the workers' cause will be constantly compromised and betrayed. But above all, we must bring home to the workers a clear

understanding of the futility of the capitalist system and teach them that the only way out of their slavery is thru the proletarian revolution, thru the establishment of the Workers' and Farmers' Government.

VII. Party and the Unions.
The strengthening and unification of the trade unions for the class struggle, and the conquest of these organizations for the program of Communism, are of the utmost importance to our party. Without attaining the leadership of the masses organized in the trade unions it will be impossible for us to function effectively as the vanguard of the proletariat. Time and again the Communist International has emphasized the supreme necessity of Communist working amongst the masses organized industrially. In every unit of our party the question of work in the trade unions must be recognized as one of the greatest importance, and all available strength must be thrown into it.

The party has a fundamental service to perform for the left wing movement in the unions. That deep-going swing to the left, a blind reaction of the masses against the oppression of the employing class and against the treachery of their reactionary leaders. It is a groping after the deep realities of the struggle against capitalism. But this blind left wing movement cannot become conscious of its functions, cannot bring into existence its proper organizational forms, except if it has the organized and militant leadership of the Communists, of the vanguard organized in the Workers Party under the leadership of the Communist International. The active and conscious participation of our party in every phase of the left wing movement among the trade unions is the first condition for the successful development and functioning of that movement.

In carrying on the industrial work it must never be forgotten that its final aim is the building and strengthening of the Workers Party. The movements for amalgamation, the labor party, organization of the unorganized, etc., among the unions, create favorable spheres of influence for us and win the sympathy of great numbers of workers who recognize the practical leadership of the Communists in the every-day struggle. It is the duty of all units of the party to follow up closely the industrial work carried in by the party and its members, and to absorb those workers brought under our ideological leadership thru this work into actual membership in the party. Unless this is done our work is largely in vain. The conscious goal of the work on the industrial field must be ever and always the building of the Workers Party into a Communist mass party.

Two features of the industrial work require special mention. The first relates to our labor party program. Inasmuch as the labor party, insofar as it represents the industrial workers, rests directly upon the trade unions and draws its conventions and other legislative assemblies out of their ranks, the extent to which we will have power and influence in the growing labor party movement will depend almost entirely upon the strength and grip we have in the trade unions. A fundamental condition for the success of our labor party

is therefore, a sound industrial program.

The second feature requiring special mention relates to shop nuclei. Although shop nuclei are primarily political organizations, nevertheless they are of great importance in an industrial program. The time will come in the not distant future when the Communists will have to lay plans for the trade union organization of the now unorganized masses in the great basic industries. When this time comes the existence of a highly developed system of party shop nuclei and the Trade Union Educational League industrial groups will be of invaluable service. The shop nuclei will perform many other important industrial functions and their organization should be forwarded as a part of the general industrial program.

VIII. Organization Program.
The following are the general organizational proposals of the industrial department for the carrying out of the industrial work:

1. **Industrial Organization.** Each unit of the party shall select as industrial organizers whose duty it shall be to see to it that the industrial program of the party is put into effect insofar as its unit is concerned.

2. **Registration.** A complete registration of the entire membership shall be taken semi-annually, showing by occupation and union affiliations of the members. It shall be the duty of the branch industrial organizers to carry out this registration promptly and thoroughly.

3. **Union Membership.** It is the duty of each member of the Workers Party to be a member of a labor union and to be active therein. The branch industrial organizers shall report regularly to the branch, names of party members working in industries who are not affiliated to labor unions.

4. **League Membership.** It is the duty of each member of the Workers Party employed in the industries to be a member of the Trade Union Educational League. The party units in the various localities will be held responsible for the organization and maintenance of a section of the Trade Union Educational League in their respective fields, and for the active participation of their membership in the same.

5. **League Support.** It is the duty of each party unit to help actively in circulating the LABOR HERALD, and the other publications of the Trade Union Educational League. Each party unit shall also help in financing the league by the sale of Sustaining Fund Certificates, and the organization of picnics, dances and other forms of entertainment.

The Workers Party has every reason to congratulate itself upon its solid achievements upon the industrial field as well as the political field during the past year. We have become a major factor in the trade unions, and the mainspring of all progressive movements therein. It must be acknowledged, however, that our full forces have not been mobilized, and if we could have brought our full strength to bear upon the problems with which we had to deal, our results would have been many fold. The main task for the coming year is to enroll within the party the fresh elements from the left wing ready for us.

U. S. Must Recognize Soviet Russia

The resolution on the recognition of Soviet Russia adopted by the Third National Convention of the Workers Party follows:

The workers and peasants of Russia, overthrowing first the age-old autocracy of the Czars and then the new-found autocracy of modern capitalism, have brought into the world a new form of state.

Every available military and political means of the greatest capitalist nations has been directed against this new state in the effort to destroy it; and every effort has failed. Today it stands as the strongest power of continental Europe and Asia. Russia, with the newly released vitality of a revolutionary country, with institutions better adapted to modern needs, steadily improves its economic conditions while all other nations of Europe are steadily sinking toward ruin. Peace has not been made among the nations since the World War.

The imperialist nations, controlled by capitalist cliques who are frightened with the sight of the rise of the new class into power in Russia, have refused to make peace with a government of workers and peasants. Yet the banner of Russian freedom flies over one-sixth of the land surface of the earth. A large portion of the world's richest possessions, absolutely necessary to peaceful international life, lie under the flag of the workers' and farmers' republic. Without Russia, peaceful world life is impossible for all nations. Soviet Russia has offered peace. Willing to forgive the fact that the American government has repeatedly invaded and made war upon their land, the Soviet government has repeatedly held out its hand in friendship to this country.

Every new invitation to head the wounds of war has been met by the American President and secretary of state with petty evasion, calumnies and slanders. In fear of standing a comparison between the American dictatorship of Big Business and the Russian dictatorship of the wage-earning and farming classes, the American government has invented ridiculous falsehoods, one after another, during a period of five years, as excuses for non-recognition of Russia. Among these is the lie that the Russian Soviet government is seeking and will use any diplomatic contact to encourage American workers and farmers to revolt against the tyranny of the American capitalist class to put the red flag on the White House.

Although a friend to all exploited and abused classes of the earth, although it stands as a shining example of progress and victory for the exploited of the earth, it is ridiculous to say that Soviet Russia could or would in any way interfere in the internal affairs of any other nation. Russia alone of all nations has shown its willingness to let all countries control their own affairs, while President Coolidge, with arrogant effrontery, demands the right to reshape Russia's internal institutions before recognizing her recognition.

Only because the President and secretary of state, the government of this country, represent a Big Business clique which considers its private wealth in advance of the inter-

Our Language Press

The Third Convention of the Workers Party fully confirms the resolution on the language press adopted by the Second Convention a year ago.

Fully appreciating the progress towards the establishment of a unified press action made by the party during the last year, the Third Convention instructs the incoming Central Executive Committee to continue in its efforts to establish a uniform press policy and action for all the party press.

The editors of the federation papers are urged to pay close attention to the central organ of the party and to the press service issued by the National Office and to take active part in all campaigns conducted by the party the federation press should apply itself more than before with American conditions and not so much to European problems.

The federation press must devote sufficient space to the clarification of the various policies and issues of the party regardless of whether the editor agrees with the official stand of the party or not.

acts of the nation, does this government fail to recognize the Soviet republic of Russia. For that reason alone the economic chaos and stagnation of the world is prolonged. Only for that reason does the secretary of state of the United States stoop to petty forgeries of documents, deliberate mistranslations of articles and low intrigues with the scum of extinct European monarchies, to make a dishonest propaganda against the new republic of Russia.

The Workers party calls upon the workers and farmers to renew their demand for the restoration of peaceful relations between nations thru the recognition of the Russian Soviet republic and demands such action of the congress of the United States.

When Koo-Koos Coo

The old saying, "When thieves fall out . . ." has particular reference to the Koo-Koo Klan just now. Two factions are now mixed up in an internal scrap that for bitterness and hatred makes the "far famed Kentucky mountain feuds playthings in comparison," according to a letter received by Coolidge from E. Y. Clarke, the "Imperial Giant" of one of the factions.

The letter states the Klansmen are taking advantage of "an old, un-repealed, and obsolete law with relation to the protection of cattle and other animals" to obtain permits to carry weapons, from their own Klan controlled judges, follow as night follows day.

He ought to know. They picked out the right law, now if the bloodshed be confined to a strictly private war between "club members" it ought to prove a most commendable arrangement.

Clarke modestly admits that he was "the man most largely responsible for the building of the Klan" but that "the positive and undisputable information . . . as to the gradual degradation and despoliation of the Klan, through disregard of its high ideals, principles and purposes is a severe shock and keen disappointment." So he cannot rest passive lest he get blamed for "the outrages of justice, individual liberty and respect for the courts and the government resulting from the rape of the organization which has taken place in the past year or eighteen months' time." "It's a touching scene where the mother downs her child."

It should be noted that this time of degradation, etc., is the same period during which Clarke was out of power in the organization. So he writes to President Coolidge, and at the same time calls upon "the better element" (of the Klan), either to take hold "and remedy the existing evils" or to disband the organization. Just the kind of talk one expects from a minority leader. Just calls the kleagles to konklomorate a kaucus and either grab the organization or bust it up.

But why drag the President into such a high crusade? A minority fight! Silent Cal was never with the minority in his life, and won't be until the workers put him there. A political infant who asks a presidential re-election candidate to help in a minority fight deserved to be kicked clear of Klan control.

But then Ford called at the White House just before the President's message came across with Muscle Shoals. Now Henry is strong for Cal—and aluminum. Was there an appendix to the Clarke letter showing how many otherwise hostile votes backed it up?

Organize the Unorganized!
Get unity thru the Labor Party!

Amalgamation in Jugo-Slavia.

BELGRADE.—New life is stirring in the Jugo-Slavian trade union movement. On Nov. 25th a metal workers' congress was held here for the purpose of reuniting the two metal workers' unions. Progress toward amalgamation is also being made among the Bosnian miners and smelters. On Oct. 30 a joint meeting was held at Vares by these unions in order to arrange for their amalgamation.

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January 12th and 13th

CHICAGO—Ashland Auditorium, Van Buren at Ashland, Jan. 13, 8 P. M.
NEW YORK—New Star Casino, 107th St. & Park Ave., Jan. 13, 2 P. M.
ST. PAUL—Labor Temple, 416 N. Franklin St., Jan. 13, 8 P. M.
DETROIT—House of the Masses, Jan. 13.
PROVIDENCE, R. I.—A. C. A. Hall, Olneyville, Jan. 13, 8 P. M.
WASHINGTON, D. C.—Labor Lyceum, 1337—7th St. N. W., 8 P. M., Jan. 13
MONESSEN, PA.—Finnish Workers Hall, 618—6th St., 7:30 P. M., Jan. 13.
RACINE, WIS.—Union Hall, 428 Wisconsin St., Jan. 13, 2:30 P. M.

Watch your local press and inquire from local Workers Party
Headquarters regarding time and place of other meetings.

You Cannot Afford to Miss THE DAILY WORKER
First Issue

You Will Not Want to Miss the Thrill of Being Present When
the DAILY WORKER Is Born

National Convention Adopts Statement on United Front Problem in Chicago

The statement on the United Front Problem, adopted by the convention of the Workers Party, follows:

In order for the Convention to properly judge the united front in Chicago it is essential to know the effects upon our Party as a whole. These constitute a great victory for the Workers Party. By and large the united front in Chicago was a most valuable experience for our organization. For one thing, it was the means thru which was launched the great amalgamation movement. This movement made a definite factor of the Workers Party industrially. It showed to the working class of this country that our organization alone has a practical program for solidifying the ranks of the workers upon the industrial field. It put us ideologically in the lead of the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the trade union movement. Besides this great advantage to us on the industrial field, the united front in Chicago contributed enormously to giving us our present position as the real leaders of the labor party movement. It was because of our united front arrangement with the Farmer-Labor Party that we were able to develop the strong national movement which culminated in our participation in and control of the July 3-5 Convention. At this gathering was born the Federated Farmer-Labor Party which now serves as the basis for our labor party activities nationally. That convention convinced the whole labor movement that we are a factor which has to be reckoned with in the labor party movement. In addition to giving us a favorable opportunity to launch our national industrial and political programs, the united front in Chicago also held many other advantages for us. One that may be mentioned is the organization of the Labor Defense Council which had the full backing of our united front allies and which was largely responsible for the great support of and the educational effects which came from the Michigan trials. Another

was the death thrust given to the movement of protest against the trials of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow, when the Chicago Federation of Labor unanimously defeated a resolution protesting to the Soviet Government, and which was aimed to be the opening gun in a big national campaign among the trade unions on this matter. Another benefit for us from the Chicago united front was the strong and constant support given the recognition of Soviet Russia and the movement to relieve the great famine. Taken together, therefore, the various movements growing out of the united front in Chicago were of tremendous significance and value to our Party.

2. Another fundamental which it is essential to know about the united front in Chicago is that, in all its important aspects, the Chicago united front was a national situation. As such, it was strictly under the control and direction of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party. It was thru the Chicago united front that the Party was handling its most vital industrial and political connections and programs, and maneuvering them upon a national scale. Every important move that was made, was either initiated or endorsed by the Central Executive Committee, which was constantly in full touch with the whole situation for the almost two years that it lasted. In view of these facts the District Executive Committee cannot be held fully responsible for the united front, as has been attempted by the critics of that committee. Whatever praise or blame may be due as the result of its achievements and failures, must be shared heavily by the C. E. C. which controlled the situation directly.

3. In reviewing the activities of the District Executive Committee in carrying out the united front policy in Chicago, as understood and accepted by the C. E. C., we find that Committee to be substantially correct. Some mistakes were made but these were all of a minor character and in no considerable measure influenced the final outcome of the situation. Criticism of these mistakes is strictly in order, for only by such criticism can we improve our conceptions and methods. This criticism, however, should not take on a defeat-

ist character or obscure the tremendous advantages won by our Party by the Chicago united front.

4. The criticism is made that "while everywhere in the country the results of the July 3-5 Convention immensely strengthened our influence in Chicago the reverse was true." This statement is untrue. In the agreement between the majority and the minority regarding the November thesis, the majority definitely agreed that had the split not occurred that we would have been more favorably situated throughout the country. The reason the bad effects of the split were felt more severely in Chicago was that that was the storm center of the struggle, and the stronghold of the Farmer-Labor Party.

5. The majority resolution attempts to explain the severity of the split in Chicago by charging that the D. E. C. failed to build our Party as an independent power. But this charge is untrue. The truth is that, particularly in the industrial work, the Fitzpatrick group was practically ignored. In the case of the historic amalgamation resolution, which brought the whole Gompers machine into action against the Chicago Federation of Labor, the heads of that organization were not even consulted about the advisability of introducing that resolution. Deeming the time ripe for such a proposition, the resolution was simply drafted and brought in by the Chicago comrades, chances being taken as to whatever fight might develop over it. The same was true of every other measure introduced by them in the C. F. of L. Not one went in by agreement. In the case of the protest against the raid upon the Bridgman Convention, the resolution putting the C. F. of L. on record in support of the defense, was introduced in the face of official opposition. Another typical instance of the independent industrial policy carried on against the Fitzpatrick group was found in the case of the general labor party referendum sent out by the T. U. E. L. The first thing the leaders of the F. F. P. knew of this matter, which they considered of the most vital importance to their organization, was when it appeared in print. They were so bitter over it that they almost broke the united front. If this policy was wrong, the C. E. C. must

stand the criticism for it, because it was fully informed of what was going on and made no objection.

6. The further charge is made that the united front in Chicago remained on the surface and "was not sufficiently imbedded in the depths of the masses of workers" because it was "established with the Fitzpatrick group of leaders." That the united front remained upon the surface was decidedly not true, although it was certainly true that the great masses had not been entirely won away from their "progressive" leaders. But this process was going on rapidly. Sufficient proof of this was to be found in the Chicago district, where, until the break occurred, the influence of our Party among the masses was increasing by leaps and bounds. This was shown by the growing number of our delegates in the Chicago Federation of Labor and the various labor party and other conferences, as well as by the constantly more friendly reception by the masses of all our slogans and movements. The Chicago District was sinking its roots deeply and rapidly in the basic soil of the labor organizations. As for the national situation the demonstration that the charge is untrue that the united front was being carried on simply with the leaders, is furnished by the tremendous outpouring of rank and file delegates at the famous July 3-5 Convention and by the profoundly rank and file character of the amalgamation movement everywhere.

7. Another criticism that is invalid is the charge that the D. E. C. "accepted the leadership of Fitzpatrick as an unquestionable fact and never attempted to assume leadership for the Communists." The truth is just the reverse. Especially in the Chicago Federation of Labor the ideological leadership had largely passed into the hands of the Communists. Amalgamation, the defense of the Michigan cases, the recognition of Soviet Russia, and the concept of the labor party to include all political groups, as well as many other movements, were distinctly Communist policies and openly recognized as such in the Federation. The leadership in the struggles for these measures was always taken by the Communists, with the Fitzpatrick group taking no active part in the discussion. There

was a standing instruction to the Party's delegates in the Federation that in presenting any measures to that body they should always point out the limitations of them and to call attention to the full revolutionary program. To say that "Neither in the measures which they advocated nor in the fight for them was there an essential difference between the Fitzpatrick group and the District Committee of Chicago" is a complete misrepresentation of the actual situation.

8. In the majority resolution, the following single sentence is cited from Organizer's Swaback's report on June 10 Convention of the Cook County Labor Party: "We had decided and did pursue the method of as much as possible following the lead of the national officers of the Farmer-Labor Party and mainly stressed the necessity of unity." The rest of the report, as well as the facts of the Convention, show that the Workers Party followed its own policy and made its own fight. The critical test was when the Workers Party submitted its own resolution demanding that the labor party include all political groups. The Rodriguez-Ernest group or right-wing of the F. L. P. then submitted an amendment demanding the exclusion of the Workers Party from the July 3-5 Convention. This amendment was supported by the left-wing group of the F. L. P., the Fitzpatrick-Buck-Nocels group. Thereupon the Workers Party made a motion to lay the amendment on the table, which was carried. In the July 3-5 Convention the Workers Party carried out exactly the same policy by laying on the table a similar motion presented by Rodriguez. The report by which they attempt to convict the D. E. C. of being followers of Fitzpatrick is a report that proves the opposite of the contention of the majority resolution.

9. The majority resolution declares that the District Committee in its practice, did not direct any criticism against the Fitzpatrick group. This was largely true. But in so doing the District Committee merely followed the policy which the C. E. C. is following in Minnesota, Detroit and everywhere else, where we have some semblance of a united front. If this policy was wrong, the C. E. C. was entirely responsible, because it

was fully advised during a year and a half of the united front in Chicago and never called upon the District Committee to criticize Fitzpatrick, nor upon the T. U. E. L. to criticize him until the crisis over the July 3-5 Convention. The C. E. C. policy towards Fitzpatrick was the same as it now is towards Mahoney, since the July 3-5 split the Chicago comrades have waged a bitter fight against the Fitzpatrick group. No body of communists in America are confronted with so intense a struggle. Charges of weakness or timidity in this fight are totally unfounded, especially in view of the fact that the C. E. C. took definite action to prevent the fight in the Federation from developing to the point of intensity where it would be an actual menace to our Party nationally.

10. The majority resolution falsely accuses the D. E. C. that it considered that "the fight against the yellow internationalists was not timely," because it complained against the May Day leaflet. This is entirely untrue. The D. E. C. took the position that the May Day leaflet was incorrectly drawn up because it laid down the struggle against Amsterdam as the basis for the united front, in exactly the same manner as amalgamation and other issues of every day struggle. It is entirely false to say the issue to state that the C. E. C. only asked the D. E. C. to carry on a propaganda; the manifesto was addressed to "all labor unions," etc., and definitely laid down the struggle against Amsterdam as the basis for the united front. When the C. E. C. later explained that they did not mean what the manifesto said, the entire controversy was closed. And in spite of its correct criticism of the May Day leaflet, the District Committee, in a spirit of Communist discipline, did distribute the leaflets sent them to the number of 25,000 copies.

11. It is stated in the majority resolution that the D. E. C. sent out a letter to the membership in which it was urged that the fight for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party be not started immediately in the unions controlled by the Fitzpatrick group, but that efforts be concentrated on other local unions. It is further stated that the C. E. C. had to correct this policy. But this is incorrect. The fact is the D. E. C. corrected the policy itself within three days.

its letter to New York stating the correction of the policy crossed en route the letter of the C. E. C. ordering that the policy be changed.

12. The criticism that the D. E. C. had too much confidence in the Fitzpatrick group will not bear investigation. An interesting proof of this is that it was the D. E. C. and its active members who, in the critical weeks preceding the July 3-5 Convention, warned the C. E. C. repeatedly that the Fitzpatrick group were weakening very badly and that the greatest care had to be exercised in order to avoid a break with them. They recommended and urged that more systematic and careful negotiations be carried on with the Farmer-Labor Party, and that to this end a committee be kept in Chicago to keep in close touch with the delicate situation. These recommendations were not concurred in by the C. E. C., which showed great laxity and carelessness in handling the negotiations with the Farmer-Labor Party.

13. The charge that the D. E. C. and the comrades in Chicago have not sufficiently criticized the Fitzpatrick group since the July 3-5 Convention hardly merit refutation. At most every meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor since the Convention has been marked by the bitterest struggles between the Communists and the Fitzpatrick and reactionary groups. The fight reached such a point, we repeat, that the C. E. C. itself had to intervene and tell the Chicago comrades that they should slacken in their opposition to Fitzpatrick in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

14. The most important conclusions to be drawn from the united front in Chicago are the following:

1st. The principles of the united front laid down by the Communist International were proved by the Chicago united front to be practical and effective instruments for the Workers Party in the American class struggle. The Chicago united front resulted in advantages of first magnitude to the Workers Party nationally.

2nd. In carrying out the policies of the C. E. C. the tactics of the D. E. C. were substantially correct. Some mistakes were made, as noted above, but these were of a minor character and had little or no determining effect upon the general outcome of the situation.

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Chicago Unionists Flay Reactionaries at Portland Meet

claims to be a socialist. He said it was reported in Portland that the expulsion of Dunne was hatched by New York newspaper reporters who wanted a "story." Gompers resisted their evil designs for a whole week, but Comrade Dunne, declared Madsen, went to Portland for the sole purpose of getting expelled, insulted everybody who wore a white collar and tender-hearted delegates of the Madsen variety felt so generous that they could not turn down Dunne's silent plea for expulsion. Madsen believes that a man should sit down only with those he respects. He thought the expulsion of Dunne was just as unlawful as the expulsion of the five Socialist assemblymen from the New York legislature. But he very impartially distributed the blame for the Dunne expulsion on—Gompers and Dunne.

Fakers All Right? Delegate Wright, of the Printers, did not think such extraneous matters as a labor party, amalgamation, Soviet Russia and other questions of the same kind had any place in a central body. Anything outside of Chicago, he intimated, should be handled by the secretary for foreign affairs. At the same time he had something to say about Dunne and Soviet Russia. He came to the conclusion that Dunne should not be at the A. F. of L. convention, the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council or even in his local union. What was Dunne's crime? He published letters written by Lewis and Farrington in which they politely called each other thieves. Delegate Wright knew both of them. They are fine fellows. Of course, they got excited and when one called the other a crook the other had to clear himself by saying "you are another."

But this was a private affair and nobody else had a right to butt in, least of all a radical. One thing labor officials can never forgive each other, Wright declared, and that was accepting money from employers.

His wrath was equally righteous against Soviet Russia. The rank and file were sick of hearing that name. A point of order nipped his speech in the bud and when a special order of business was disposed of, he was not present to conclude.

A delegate from the Photo Engravers concluded the discussion on the report by stating that three months before the Portland convention the capitalist press carried stories of plans hatched in the Gompers royal family for the expulsion of reds at the forthcoming convention. He stated that the convention was a step backward and not a step forward. He declared that Matthew Woll, the chief heresy hunter of the Gompers administration, is the international president of his union and the members have challenged him to expel them for being radicals.

O. L. Stanley, president of the Lake County Central Labor Union, addressed the federation and stated that Mr. Fowler, of the Milk Producers' Association came to him with the object of seeking closer relations between the milk producers and the milk drivers and handlers' organizations and that the milk farmers expressed a desire to join the American Federation of Labor. President Fitzpatrick invited Stanley and Fowler to attend the next meeting of the executive

committee of the American Federation of Labor to discuss the matter. The meeting voted to support the movement for German relief and also the officers of the Flat Janitors' Union whose sentence of from one to five years on a charge of conspiracy was recently sustained by the Supreme Court. A petition was circulated with a view to securing a pardon from Governor Small. William Quase, president of the Flat Janitors' Union, addressed the body and stated that they succeeded in raising the wages of the janitors and improving their working conditions thru their organization. "I will not say," he declared, "that kid glove methods were always used. Sometimes there are situations where brains don't fit."

Second Annual Red Revel Coming. The day of the great yearly cosmopolitan gathering, the Red Revel, is approaching and our comrades are busily engaged in polishing the high boots and fastening the buttons in their new costumes. This year it is going to be a masque ball of some unusual attraction. Communists, socialists, methodists, capitalists and many other "ists," indicated by their costumes, will mix merrily. It will be a complete united front of enjoyment. Our most obstinate theoreticians have promised faithfully that they will bury the hatchet for that one day, but still some of them insist that this united front must be accomplished on a broad mass basis to be genuine. Again others say that only the left wing is ready for such a tremendous enterprise.

The committee in charge has decided that the never failing class collaboration is quite in order for that day, and to make it possible has secured the internationally known Ashland Auditorium for the event. The committee's bearing in mind that this place has become the historical battle ground of recent years.

Henry Ford is expected to arrive in a limousine ready to throw his hat in the ring for the grand prize, without which he could never make the run to the White House. But don't worry, Senator La Follette will be notified; so you see there will be left undone to preserve a real cosmopolitan character at the famous Red Revel, Feb. 16th. The Proletarian Press Service has been leased for the period up to Feb. 16th. A staff of reporters are on the job who will bring the news, red, hot, every week. Watch for further developments.

Free Speech in Newark, N. J. William Z. Foster will speak in Newark, N. J., Jan. 11th, under the auspices of the Labor Defense Council in spite of illegal interference by the authorities.

The Labor Lyceum has been engaged, but so far the chief of police has refused to give a permit. A fight to see that Foster does speak in Newark is being put up with the help of the Civil Liberties Union.

Foster is also speaking in Bridgeport, Conn., and Paterson, N. J.

Scott Nearing will speak for the Michigan defense on the following dates:

Rockford, Ill., Feb. 2.
Minneapolis, Minn., Feb. 5.
Chicago, Ill., Feb. 6.
Meetings are being arranged for Comrade Nearing in Pittsburgh, Feb. 7th and in Reading, Pa.; Passaic, N. J.; Worcester, Mass., and other New England cities.

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

Our Industrial Work

The convention endorsed the industrial work of the Party for the past 12 months, and the program laid out for the coming year. In order for our industrial work to be a success, it is absolutely essential that the party throw its whole available force into it. Wherever possible, shop nuclei must be formed. The members of the party who work in the industries must join the trade unions and become aggressive participants therein in furthering the party work. In addition, the members must become active in the Trade Union Educational League and give real support to its slogans of amalgamation, the labor party, organize the unorganized, recognition of Soviet Russia, Labor Unions, etc. They shall subscribe for and help circulate THE LABOR HERALD and other publications of the league. In each locality the local party organization will be held responsible for the organization and continuance of a branch of the Trade Union Educational League.

The semi-annual industrial registration of the party must be taken seriously and made as nearly as practical 100 per cent complete. The industrial organizers selected by the local branches must function regularly and see to it that the party is brought actively into the industrial work. The thorough carrying out of the foregoing measures will do much towards giving our party the grip necessary among the organized masses to enable it to function really and effectively in its true role of the advance guard of the proletariat.

Boost for Federated Press. NEW YORK.—There are only two countries, the United States and Russia, in which the workers have established a news service on its own footing independent of the capitalist class," comments the New York Volkszeitung, the only German language labor daily in America. "The Federated Press is of course only a beginning but a mighty good and promising one. Through its many-sidedness and scope it has already won a good reputation. It serves the labor press as an almost indispensable corrective to the 'great' lying news services of the employing class.

"But because the Federated Press reports labor events without bias and treats all of the groups of the labor movement objectively it has incurred the bitter enmity of Samuel Gompers and several of his lieutenants. The president of the A. F. of L. cannot understand a news policy that gives the same impartial consideration to the I. W. W. as to the A. F. of L. He cannot comprehend a point of view that keeps the Federated Press from outwitting the communist movement."

I. W. W.'s Released on Bonds. SACRAMENTO, Calif.—Homa Stewart and Pete Wukusich, recently convicted of criminal syndicalism, are now out on appeal bond. C. J. Driscoll was acquitted at the same trial on the same evidence, and this fact will be used as a basis of appeal. Meanwhile Ed Higgins, E. McGee and Sam Oberman are on trial on the same charge. Except for petty persecution in Los Angeles and the recent raids in San Francisco, Sacramento is the only county in which the criminal syndicalism prosecutions are being actively pushed at the present time.

Our Literature Department

NICHOLAS DOZENBERG, Director.

This column is dedicated to the purpose of discussing ways and means and experiences how to promote and effect successful sales of literature, announcements for new literature, etc. Contributions are solicited from our D. O. A. Organizers. Speakers of anybody interested in this vital problem.

The Third National Convention of the Workers Party. Delegates and visitors to the Third National Convention of the Workers Party, held in Chicago, Dec. 30 and Jan. 1 and 2, agree that it was one of the most interesting conventions witnessed. Even Spolanski and McDonald, of the "D. of J.," found it so interesting that one could not even suggest that they celebrate the holidays at home, but they sat in the ante-room, adjoining the convention, like mummies, to the last.

During the recess they purchased several copies of the ABRIDGED REPORT OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE C. I. THESES AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL and several issue of the monthly magazine: The Communist International, and other Communist literature. Spolanski claims that he was once a member of the radical movement several years ago, but evidently he agrees that the Communist literature is the best he ever read, and for that reason bought some to read. But how about you? Are you familiar with the literature as above? Are you acquainted with the theses and resolutions adopted by the Fourth Congress of the C. I.?

But there is something in store for those who could not be present at the convention and listen in. The report of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, including the report by W. Z. Foster on the industrial situation, THESES as adopted, detailed information about the different departments, resolutions adopted, constitutional amendments acted upon, etc. WILL BE PRINTED IN BOOK FORM, 28 pages, and will sell for 50c a copy. Readers of The Worker would act wisely by placing an order with the Literature Department for a copy at once. To read this book will be just like being present at the convention and better.

Modernists vs. Fundamentalists. Bishop Brown, Communist, is called "crazy" by some "fundamentalists." No person is better qualified to write or speak on the present controversy in the Episcopal Church than the Right Reverend Bishop William Montgomery Brown. He knows the church because he is still a member of the House of Bishops. For a long time he was one of its leading members. His sermons attracted national attention. His first theological work ran into several editions. Today, candidates for the church find themselves compelled to study the works of Bishop Brown. Of course they do not study all the works of the Bishop. For instance, they do not read "Communism vs. Christianity." They say he is a crazy bolshevik. Readers of "The Worker" who want

to be fully acquainted with the nature of this controversy, can find no work more up-to-date and authoritative than this work of Bishop Brown's. It sells for 25 cents per copy, or six copies for one dollar. Read it and then pass it on to your friends.

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THESES AND RESOLUTIONS

Report of the C. E. C.

Third National Convention Workers Party of America

Held in Chicago, Ill., Dec. 30 and 31, 1923, Jan. 1 and 2, 1924.

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2. The Daily Worker in Chicago.

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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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J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor; H. M. WICKS, Labor Editor; ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist; ART YOUNG, Cartoonist; NICHOLAS DOZENBERG, Business Manager

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Advertising rates upon application.

The Last Issue of "The Worker"

This is the last issue of "The Worker." As a weekly publication it has served the American Communist movement well. It has been the stepping stone to "The Daily," into which it is being merged.

"The Worker" was established in February, two years ago, out of the merger of "The Toller" and "The Workers Council," when the Workers Party was created as the open expression of American Communism.

It has been the medium thru which the Party has spoken to the workers and farmers of the United States. It has been an instrument of education for the Party membership and sympathizers, to keep them in touch with the Party's developing policies.

It has long been evident that the greater struggles in which the Workers Party is engaging far outstripped the meager possibilities of a weekly publication. Thus the need of "The Daily" has become apparent to all, and it is now entering the arena of the American class struggle as the champion of Communism in this country.

All those who have given of their support to "The Weekly," will surely redouble their energies to make "The Daily" the power it ought to be. "The Weekly" is dead! Forward to "The Daily!"

Helping the Farmers

Perhaps no domestic problem has received as much public attention in the last year or so as the agricultural problem. It is not difficult to understand why. The conditions of the great mass of our rural population have grown more precarious daily in the last three years. No one denies today that the farmers are up against it. Every precinct politician and Wall Street statesman proclaims emphatically that he is for the farmers. A national election is approaching and the agricultural area will be the pivotal point whose votes will settle the issue. Hence the vociferous heralding of solicitude towards the farmers and the flood of quack remedies to relieve the distress of the rural masses on the part of the capitalists and their Washington lackeys and lickspittles.

The farm price of wheat is rapidly sinking to a point below the pre-war level. The purchasing power of a bushel is already far below. In July, 1913, the North Dakota farmer could buy a suit of clothes for 21 bushels of wheat. In July, 1923, the same farmer had to turn over 31 bushels for the suit of clothes. A wagon which cost him 103 bushels in 1913 costs him today 166 bushels.

Approximately 2,000,000 farmers are affected by this condition. Large areas of North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, Idaho and Washington are suffering from this collapse of the wheat market.

Further illustration of the financial hopelessness of the farmers is found in the doubling of the average mortgage debt per owner-operated farms in the last decade, and in the fact that tax payments in some sections of the West are in arrears from one to four years.

The American farmers can well take a leaf out of the book of their Russian brethren if they desire to help themselves out of their present acute distress.

A Shocking Picture

New York City boasts of being the first city of the world. It is, in riches and misery.

In this great seat of financial and industrial prowess, side by side with the most resplendent display of wealth and luxury, there obtains a conditions of poverty and degradation, which defies description.

From the report of the State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning on the housing conditions of 8,000 families in Greater New York, the workers the country over can draw an inspiration to end the dreadful state of affairs and a warning that unless the working masses take matters into their own hands abject misery will be their sole lot.

Rents have increased from 40 to 93 per cent since 1920, with the lower paid workers as usual "spending a larger part of their income for rent." Factory wages show a decrease. Though the

demand for homes is greater, the number of vacancies is fewer. Many rooms branded as unfit to live in are now reported to be occupied. Ventilation is wretched. The sanitary conditions are growing worse. The high rents are cutting down the food and education budgets. The standards of living are falling all along the line. The few ameliorative laws that have been enacted are being evaded. They are a dead letter.

Such conditions are almost unbelievable in the greatest city of the world's richest and most highly developed country. Such conditions persist. Their aggravation is a brutal fact, which stares the city workers in the face every day. Cold statistics don't tell the story. The real situation which exists through the country is pictured by the commission in its report to the governor.

"We find in this investigation that the legendary 'average' man pays a larger proportion of his income for rent than three or four years ago. The effect of this is shown in a definite lowering of standards in the matter of food or in educational opportunities for the children. It is frequently reported that increased rental makes it impossible to send the children to high school. . . . In the small, dark bedroom, lighted and ventilated by a small opening in the wall, is a three quarter bed, in which sleep two boys of fourteen and ten and a girl of thirteen. To describe these conditions as 'detrimantal to the public health and morals' is no idle phrase. The conditions mean being cramped in body and soul, they mean irritation and racked nerves, they mean contagion and infection."

This picture is the result of the findings of competent investigators, against whom the charges of being pro-working class, can not be made.

Through this whole period, in which the lot of the New York workers was growing more and more wretched, such "friends of labor" as Mayor Hylan and Governor Smith have been at the helm of the municipal and state governments. Neither administration has done a thing to relieve the distress of the workers. Both administrations have tacitly and openly aided and abetted the landlord-capitalists in their vicious practice of forcing high rents and intolerable housing conditions on the working masses.

Our Democratic Senate

The United States Senate has of late been receiving considerable attention in the press as an arena where great battles for democracy are being fought out. The leaderless progressives have been waging a bitter struggle to prevent Cummins from becoming chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee. In turn the press has begun an active campaign to denounce the Senate as a hothouse of radicalism.

Time and again these same capitalist mouthpieces have proclaimed from the political housetops the country over that the Senate is the greatest organ of democracy. Of course, no one took this talk seriously.

But it is very interesting to note how the capitalist forces of the country manage to maintain their strangle-hold on the Senate by manipulating minorities of the voters. More than one-third of the senators have been elected by a minority of the voters in their respective states. The exact number is thirty-four, including such stalwart champions of reaction as Hiram Johnson of California, Senator McLean of Connecticut, Senator Bruce of Maryland, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania.

Under these circumstances one finds it very hard to see where our much-vaunted rule by majority gets off at.

A Little Cow Shall Lead Them

When Magnus Johnson, the "dirt farmer" of the great northwest, was elected to the United States senate, some capitalists had visions of shining steel and the honking of asthmatic flivvers as the rebel army of embattled Minnesotans moved on the White House.

Magnus talked of revolution unless the exploited farmer was given a square deal. He was going to be heard from in the Senate. Possessed of a pair of lungs that makes his whisper sound like a young hurricane, his voice from the senate tribune raised in behalf of the children of the soil would be heard round the United States, if not 'round the world.

Magnus has proved, however, that the city dweller has no monopoly on inventive genius. The man from the plains has made the greatest discovery in human history. He has discovered a new way of waging the class struggle and ushering in the social revolution.

Away with those who have wasted their eloquence, urging mankind to turn swords into teaspoons and guns into moonshine stills. Revolution has always been associated in the minds of men with red. From now on the favorite color will be white. Whereas in other days the fiery charger, with shining breastplate and caparisoned to spot decorated every painting where battle was given, from now on the lowly milch cow will reign supreme.

Magnus has become famous. He went to Washington with fire in his eyes and sound in his lungs. But one look at a cow shed and at the secretary of agriculture turned away his wrath, and instead of intensifying the struggle between the exploited farmers and the capitalists by dwelling on their wrongs in the senate he agreed to settle the conflict by challenging the capitalists' representative in the Department of Agriculture to a milking contest, with General Tasker H. Bliss, representing the military as referee. Secretary Wallace won the bout.

Magnus Johnson's constituents may take consolation from the fact that their representative, nothing daunted from his first defeat, challenged the victor to a bucksaw contest. It is reported in Washington that this way of settling important issues has advantages over the vocal method. We may see Senator Johnson of California challenging Coolidge to a prune-eating contest, Senator Underwood throwing down the gauntlet to MacAdoo to a moonshine drinking contest and Senator Lodge challenging State Secretary Hughes to a whisker-growing battle.

We wonder what the voters of Minnesota will think of the bovine statesmanship of the political fognhorn who promised to fight their battles in Washington. Magnus may tickle the ears of the bourgeoisie by tickling the teat of a cow, but he will never tickle away the problems of the bankrupt farmers of Minnesota in this way.

Coolidge and Cabinet Favor Open Shop; Views Bolster Attack on Trade Unions

(Special to "The Worker")

NEW YORK CITY.—At the annual convention of the anti-union National Founders' Association, held at the Hotel Astor, here, William H. Barr, president of the association, advocated "the absolute necessity for the adoption of the 'open shop' policy." He asserted, "That extravagant building costs directly governing ever-increasing rentals are brought about by the brigandage of the building trade unions."

In a vicious attack on the railroad brotherhoods, he declared, "The possibility of cheaper railway transportation is again jeopardized by recent demands on the part of the brotherhoods for an increase in wages, which if granted, would put them back on the unjustified and profligate scale of governmental wartime operation."

In its account of the convention, the New York Times makes the following comment, "At the dinner of the association reception views entitled 'The Dawn of New Industrial Day' were shown. These revealed the opinions of prominent men, including members of the Cabinet, on freedom in industrial relations (another name for the Open Shop). Those whose views were shown included President Coolidge, ex-President Taft, and Secretaries Hughes, Mellon, Weeks, Daugherty, New, Denby, Work, Wallace, Hoover and Davis. Prominent churchmen, educators and others were quoted as favoring the 'open shop' principle."

German Army Anti-Republican. DRESDEN, Saxony.—A new conflict has broken out between the federal government of Germany and the government of the free state of Saxony. It arises out of the allegation made by the military dictator of Saxony appointed by the national minister of defense, that the troops of the federal army were being spied upon by agents of the Saxon government.

The working class minister of the interior of Saxony, Liebmann, does not deny the charge. On the contrary he justifies his action on the grounds that he has sworn to uphold the republican constitution, and that and they will not willingly accept any other.

"If the Catholic Church does not give them the higher education that is useful for their future as good citizens, they will be at the mercy of the elements that are the greatest danger to our country. Communists, Socialists and Bolsheviks are presenting to them in the labor unions and in their social organizations the wonderful blessings that will result from the acceptance of their doctrines, and the only organization that can save them and that will save them is the Catholic Church."

"Capitalists, bankers, industrial leaders realize to the fullest extent that their greatest security for capital for property and for the preservation of the liberties which we enjoy depends upon the influence of the Catholic Church with the great multitudes of these people."

Dead Weight—So to Speak. "Agitator": In the report of the last session of the Party Caucus there was a discussion on the weight of the human brain. Since it wasn't mentioned, can you tell me whether men or women have the heaviest brain?"

—OFFICE BEANE.

Men. No question about it. But when you marry, you will learn on coming in late from a meeting, that this fact means nothing.

Organize the Unorganized!

The Party Caucus

The workers are beginning to realize that for their welfare there is not a single thought in all the blocs in Congress.

An average of three novels a day, including Sundays, were published in England during 1922.

That's a lot. But after listening to old party politicians, during the same year, we felt certain America still holds all records for fiction.

For a fighting worker—the fighting DAILY WORKER!

It's a Skin Game, Ekka!

John G. Shedd, chairman of the directors of Marshall Field & Co., unable to serve on a committee to dispose of 10,000 sealions for the government, because of his departure this week for his annual winter vacation at Pasadena.

A great patriot, during the war (when profits were high) he now can't help his country—it would interfere with his golf. Besides, he doesn't want to make any more money out of skins. He has made a lot all his life out of the hides of his employees.

—EKKA NOMICS.

Sam Gompers has been getting away with a lot of labor's money for years.

But the workers are finally beginning to take interest.

For a fighting worker—the fighting DAILY WORKER!

These people who were backing Henry for president could have learned from any chauffeur.

That often when it is most needed a Ford won't run.

Natalie says, after listening carefully to the convention discussion that some of our members will soon have to face an unemployment crisis. And she's quite right. There are less jobs than there were last year.

Apple Sauce!

Samuel Insull, president of a Chicago gas company, in a New Year message to his employees says "Again I think we are all to be congratulated that we are in the public utility business. There is a comfortable steadiness and certainty in it with abundant opportunity for individual advancement, plus the gratifying knowledge that we are engaged in furnishing service which is essential to the well-being of the community."

Does this bird believe in the slogan of his firm: "You can do it better with gas!"

—BRICK LAYER.

Send in your contributions to the Party Caucus.

Well—Isn't It?

People say the radicals are not always in favor of the workers.

Is it because we say, when workers are abused, that it's a Capitalist plan?

—G. WHILLIKENS.

The Federated Press reports the receipt of the first shipment of straw berries in St. Louis—selling at \$ per quart.

Strawberries are only for the rich. But in order that workers are not disappointed completely they will be given the razberries.

"Johnson Gives Blow to Radicals—Headline.

All the presidential candidates are alike. When they speak, all the give the radicals—and every one else—a terrible, long blow.

Geo. Maurer reports to this session of the Party Caucus a most interesting fact: "According to George (an he's very reliable!) a sign on Clar St. reads: 'Periodicals Laundry.' We agree with him that this would be a splendid place to send some of the sheets of the dirty Yellow Press."

But we doubt they would ever get clean even in the Periodicals Laundry. So we have already sent in our subscription for the clean and scrappy DAILY WORKER.

—AGITATOR.

Bolshevism and Menshevism: The Lessons of the Revolution By S. Semkovsky

(Note.—For nearly two decades S. Semkovsky was a leader in the Russian Menshevik Party. He belonged, as he writes of himself, to the "centrist" tendency within the Menshevik Party. Two years ago, he left the party, disgusted by the swing of the Mensheviks to the right. After a silence of two years he is now publishing a book in the Ukrainian government publishing house which will appear soon under the title "The Lessons of the Revolution," and in which he makes a confession as regards the Nov. 7, 1917, revolution. We reprint an excerpt below. The Foreword to this book. After the confessions of Martynov, Roshkov and the Georgian Mensheviks, the position taken by Semkovsky is now a fresh proof of the ideological collapse of the Menshevik Party.)

Aug. 23) and through the third coalition whose life was cut short by the revolution of Oct. 25 (Nov. 7).

Plechanov set up an ideal "rising line of the revolution," as a contrast over against the course of events in the year 1917. If he had lived thru the present time he would have found the courage, in our opinion, to recognize that it was precisely the line of historical process from February to October, which was the "rising line."

No one can deny any longer that the Bolshevik victory in October, 1917, was according to historical law. Who could still take seriously today the former illusion "which prophesied the downfall of the 'Bolshevik adventure' in a few weeks? Even Millyukoff, in his history of the second Russian revolution has to speak of the "weakness of the upper social strata which were so easily shaken out of their place and thrown aside by the movement of the multitude."

But we must go still further. If by democracy we do not mean the democracy of General Denikin who termed himself a "Liberal Democrat," but if we mean rather the rule of the interests of the lower strata of the people, then we must admit that even the dispersing of the Constituent National Assembly was the act of a genuine democracy, the same democracy which in the French Revolution also was not too greatly concerned with regulations, which tempestuously invaded the council hall of the Convention upon which it violently forced its own will and did not even

recoil from the execution of its members.

There can hardly be any more doubt that without the October "revolt" of the Bolsheviks the revolution would long ago have been down on the ground. The Kornilov adventure, as well as the entire sum and substance and all the acts of the "Directorial" leave no further doubt that the Kerenski regime in its essence had become towards the end, nothing else than a means to prepare the way for the counter-revolution. It was indeed no accident that those forces which Kerenski could use against the October uprising—or to be more correct, could attempt to use—were precisely those forces which later on, also constituted the picked troops of the counter-revolution.

There is no doubt that the Mensheviks—yes, even the Social Revolutionists—in their policy during the revolution did not actually intend to play into the hands of the counter-revolution, but their intention was simply to assume a painless development for the revolution "in a realistic manner." But this "realism" proved to be besides other things, the pure policy of illusion. A painless revolution is an impossible thing. When facing the revolution Mensheviks pictured it "as it ought to be," Bolsheviks expressed the revolution as it is. The old Kant had already pointed out the difference between a hundred possible and a hundred actual thalers.

The old factional dispute over the

actuating forces of the revolution and over the "two kinds of tactics"—the orientation towards bourgeois liberalism or towards alliance of the working class with the peasantry against the capitalist class—was decided by history in favor of Bolshevism.

Bolshevism won its October victory precisely as the party of the working class, in alliance with the peasantry.

Six years went by. The Russian revolution has not only stood its ground against a hundred enemies, but has developed into a world power, into the only real support of the proletarian revolution in the international arena wherever at any time it may reach the point of victory.

But until this victory is achieved, those inner contradictions remain which history has not spared the Russian revolution, and tremendous difficulties will yet arise, frequently resulting in no less mistakes and regressions.

But what is the lesson? That the mistakes, the regressions must cease—this is a primary requisite and can in no way occasion any change in the line of principle followed by the revolution. Any line of principle, which stands in opposition to Bolshevism, necessarily requires that the revolutionary power be harmonized with the economic basis (the capitalism newly developed through the new second economic policy)—that is, it calls for the striking up of power by the Bolsheviks, such a "Marxist" prescription would certainly remove all revolutionary

contradictions, for it would remove the revolution itself.

Could the Bolsheviks have renounced taking over power in October? The revolution in that case would have been destroyed to its roots.

Can the Bolsheviks now relinquish power? A nonsensical question! Politically this would mean the restoration of the Romanoff monarchy after a few short stages, socially it would mean an unprecedented oppression of the laboring masses; and internationally it would mean, at best, the transformation of Russia into a great Hungary or Poland, which, in the service of England or France, would prove the most savage gendarme against the revolution in Eastern or Central Europe.

In the intricate game of the imperialist forces, peasant Russia, without the Bolshevik power, would constitute the greatest danger, especially for the German revolution. The universal significance of the Russian revolution, stated briefly, consists, in a far greater measure than the Paris Commune, in the fact that it brought to light the mechanism of civil war, which is indispensable for the proletarian revolution. This is not a matter simply of certain details of the "Russian practice"—it would be ridiculous to consider these as unchangeable criteria—but rather of the basic fact revealed by our revolution, namely, that in the new epoch which dates formally from the world war, in the epoch of direct struggle of the working class for

power, the inevitable way to Socialism is represented, not by "Democracy" and "coalition," but by civil war and dictatorship.

The correctness of the viewpoint of "world Bolshevism" was proven lately with the greatest clarity through two developments: First, through Fascism, and second, through the whole evolution of the German revolution, whose individual stages bring to mind the zigzag line of our revolution between February and October, 1917.

The German Social Democracy succeeded in consummating the attempt of the Girondist bloc of Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists. And what did we see? We saw that in the precious historical moment when the bourgeoisie was disarmed and the working class armed, the Social Democracy, through the big and little Noskes, disarmed the working class and armed the capitalist class. This helped the capitalist class to form the Reichswehr whose Soldatstva we saw marching into Saxony, with the blessing of Ebert and the Social Democratic colleagues of Stresemann, to destroy the Saxon workers' government and to strangle the German revolution.

And the left Social Democracy? The inevitable mistake of the internationalist wing of the Russian Mensheviks which in the decisive moment in October could not decide to rend asunder the traditional ties and to join the advance guard of the revolution without vacillating, was repeated on an international scale

and indeed with the same pitiful results.

The German "Independents," who at one time were even oriented towards the Communist International, now dissolved into the official Social Democratic Party, and the Vienna International, although there can be no doubt that in case of a new world war the national sections of this International will place themselves again at the disposal of their own national imperialisms in the very same way as in the year 1924.

With that alone the left Social Democrats have signed their own death sentence. For it will be impossible, after all the lessons of the revolution, to continue the policy of vacillation. It will surely be impossible, after the last bitter experience in Germany, to attempt once more to resurrect the party of the "Independents" or the "Second and a Half International," which solemnly buried itself with its own hand.

What remains? This: To recognize frankly that there is no place for "centrism" wherever the alternative exists either democratic reform Socialism which restrains the working class from the struggle for power and also from Socialism—or revolution—any Marxism which, notwithstanding the contradictions of the new epoch which have grown a thousandfold sharper, acts to consolidate the masses under the flag of social revolution, under the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat.