

## FOSTER, GITLOW ARE GIVEN 33,316 VOTES IN 13 STATES BY THE PLUTE POLL JUDGES

After some five weeks of waiting the national organization of the Workers Party has at last been able to secure information in regard to the vote credited to the Communist candidates in thirteen of the fourteen states in which the party was on the ballot.

The figure received as the total vote in these states, 33,316, bears out the contention of the Central Executive Committee of the party, taking into consideration the fact that in many instances votes cast for the Communist candidates were not counted by election officials, that the total vote cast for the Communist candidates reached 100,000.

One of the striking discrepancies shown by the report of the vote given to the Communist candidates is the fact that in the state of Iowa, where the Workers Party has scarcely any organization, 4,037 votes were credited to our candidates, whereas in the state of Illinois, a great industrial state where the party has a strong organization and carried on an active campaign, only 2,622 votes were counted for the Communist candidates.

Reports from various sections of the country, pointing out the failure to count the Communist vote, are appearing in the DAILY WORKER from time to time.

In the votes credited to the Workers Party candidates, New York state leads the way in the total number of ballots counted for Foster and Gitlow. The vote in that state was 8,244. Minnesota shows the second largest vote credited to Foster and Gitlow, the total being 4,406.

The vote reported by the secretaries of state in the various states in which the party was on the ballot, is as follows:

Massachusetts	2,036
New York	8,244
Pennsylvania	2,735
New Jersey	1,540
Indiana	987
Illinois	2,622
Wisconsin	3,760
Minnesota	4,406
Iowa	6,037
North Dakota	370
Washington	761
Montana	357
Colorado	560
	33,316

HERE are no Sacco-Vanzettis in prison in Russia. This is a good resort to hurl in the teeth of the enemies of the Soviet government who prate about dictatorship and persecution of the bourgeoisie. When a worker ponders over the sufferings of the Russian proletariat and peasantry under the czar, the patience of the emancipated Russian workers is marvelous. It should not be forgotten that it was a parade of Leningrad workers before the American embassy in that city that first dramatically called the attention of this city to the crime that was perpetrated on Tom Mooney and that parade helped to initiate the great movement that saved him from the gallows. Sacco and Vanzetti must be freed and it is up to the American workers to get busy.

THE Grand Duchess Cyril has arrived in New York. She is a duchess without a country but she is assured of her three squares a day

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Subscribe for the DAILY WORKER.

## MICHIGAN DECISION SHOWS THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE COURTS

By C. E. RUTHENBERG.

THE affirmation of the verdict of the Berrien county court finding me guilty of criminal syndicalism by the supreme court of the state of Michigan, establishes a new "crime" so far as the state of Michigan is concerned. The only charge against me was that I attended the convention of the Communist Party at Bridgeman. I was not charged with any speech or other act violating the criminal syndicalism law. It was not charged that the convention itself adopted any proposal which violated the criminal syndicalism law. The mere assembling of the convention in Michigan and my "assembling with" the convention constituted the "crime."

The United States supreme court in its decisions "interpreting" the clauses of the constitution declaring that congress shall make no law infringing upon the right of freedom of press, speech and assembly, in the espionage law cases as not dared go farther than to say speech and writing is punishable when there is "a clear and present danger" of injury resulting therefrom. The Michigan court has gone further and declared that there is belief in certain political principles—the principles of Communism.

ism—is a crime.

Thus one more step is taken to completely emasculate the provision of the constitution. The criminal syndicalist laws were enacted to protect the capitalist system against the advocacy of ideas which would build a movement against that system. I declared during my trial that the court in which the case was being tried was a capitalist court existing to protect the capitalist system. It is not at all surprising that the Michigan supreme court which is part of the same capitalist government and existing to protect the exploiters of labor has given its approval to an interpretation of the criminal syndicalist law which tears down the last vestiges of the right of freedom of speech, press and assembly. The verdict is an example of how the governmental machinery functions in the interest of the ruling class—the capitalist class—and against the workers.

The case will be appealed to the United States supreme court. The upholding of the decision of the Michigan court by the supreme court will be proof that the constitutional provisions have no meaning for the working class and will put an end to the claim that the constitution protects freedom of speech, press and assembly.

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## DEATH GAINS ON SCIENCE SHOWN BY MORTALITY RATE

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11.—Despite the onward march of science and medicine, the American mortality rate last year was higher than the year before, the department of commerce announced today. In 1922, the rate was 11.8 per thousand; last year it climbed to 12.3.

Only seven states, six of them in the far west, showed lower mortality rates for 1923 than for 1922. These were Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Utah, Washington and South Carolina.

## DAILY WORKER DRIVE TAKES ON NEW LIFE

### Loeb Returns From a Successful Tour

Revived interest in the task of increasing the circulation and subsequently the power and influence of the DAILY WORKER was reported by

Moritz J. Loeb, business manager of the workers' daily, on his return from an organizing tour which took him thru Cleveland, Detroit, New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. "The comrades in every city visited by me, expressed and showed their determination to translate into action the decision of the Central Executive Committee on the building of the DAILY WORKER," declared Comrade Loeb.

The DAILY WORKER is now receiving the main attention of the party and the local units throughout the country realize that it is the most important weapon in the hands of the Workers Party for bringing the message of Communism to the attention of the working class.

New York in the Lead.

New York City has taken the lead in boosting the DAILY WORKER. The subscription list in the metropolis has been increased by over 1,000 during the months of October and November. This increase in subscriptions made it possible to place the daily on the newsstands in New York bringing the sales up to one thousand copies per day at the present time.

Local New York of the Workers Party has set itself the task of bringing the paid circulation in that city up to 3,000 and according to present plans, when that figure is reached, a special New York edition will be issued. Comrade L. E. Katterfeld, city DAILY WORKER agent, is of the opinion that our paid circulation will exceed 10,000 before the end of April and he expects the press pageant which will be held in Madison Square Garden on March 15, to boost the circulation to that figure. The New York militants will not be satisfied until they have created a sufficient demand for the publication of a sister Communist daily in the world's biggest city.

Boston to Open Drive.

Comrade Winfield A. Dwyer of Boston, who polled 24,000 votes for secretary of state on the Communist ticket in the recent elections, has been appointed city agent for the DAILY WORKER in that city. He has full charge of the distribution of the paper and the Workers Monthly. He has proceeded to organize the already existing sentiment for the daily and plans to launch a campaign to increase the circulation in Boston to 10,000 copies within two months.

In Philadelphia, it was decided to put a full time DAILY WORKER agent in the field and to launch a campaign that will lay the basis for placing

(Continued on page 2)

### Rockford Farmer Is Killed While Trying To Deliver Scab Milk

(Special to The Daily Worker)

ROCKFORD, Ill., Dec. 11.—Rockford's milk war today claimed its first victim.

Richard Saunders was shot in the abdomen and Charles Carlson was beaten in a pitched battle resulting when farmer pickets along the highway halted a truck load of milk which Frank McKissick was attempting to deliver to a boycotted dairy. Two deputies who were accompanying McKissick are accused of being responsible for the injuries and today they were under peace bonds.

The milk war was precipitated by differences over prices, the farmers picketing the roads to prevent deliveries by all who were not supporting their organization.

## GOMPERS DIES DURING TRIP THRU MEXICO

### Heart Failure on High Mountain the Cause

(Special to The Daily Worker)

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 11.—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and president also of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, from the convention of which he was returning, died on the train at San Nicolas, a small town near San Luis Potosi, supposedly from heart failure due to the high altitude.

This is reported as the immediate cause of his death, as his heart was unable to function while he was being taken by train thru a high mountain pass.

But he had suffered a relapse from other ailments while at Mexico City. (Continued on page 2)

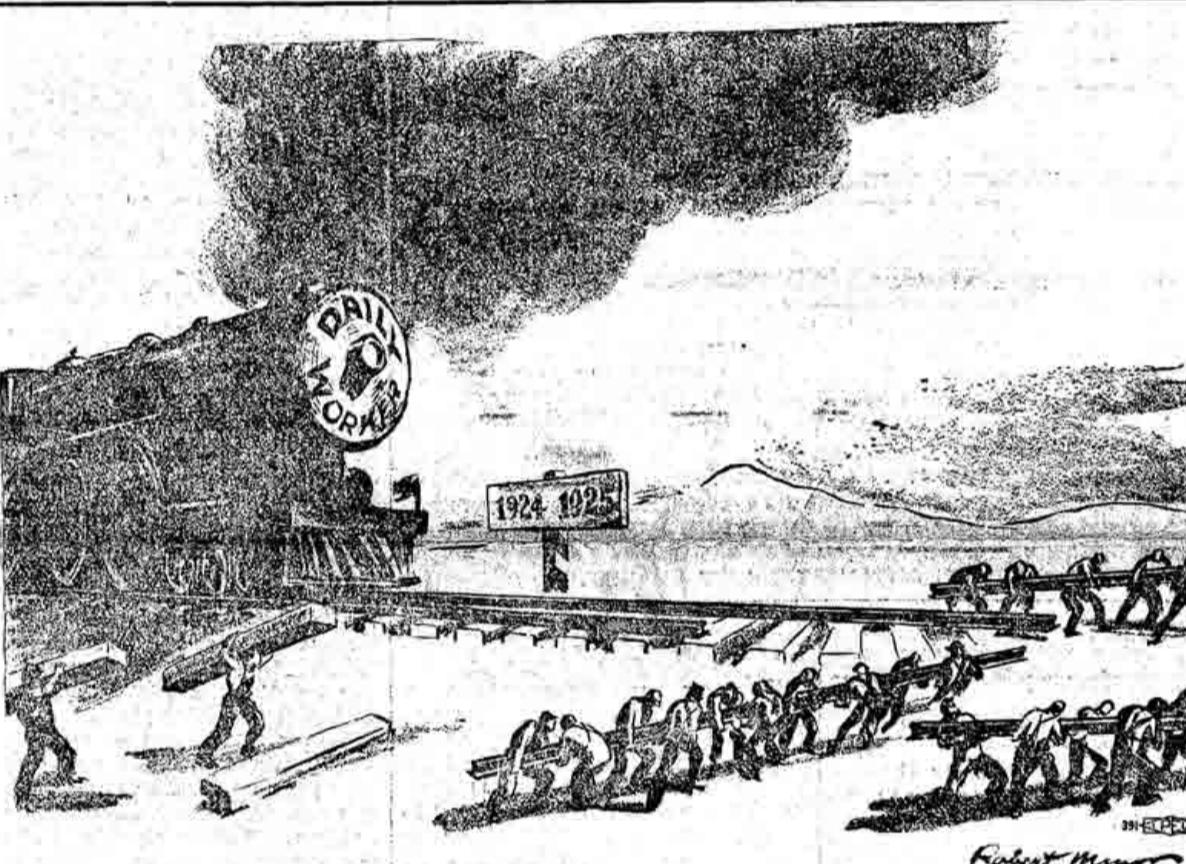
## Progressive Ticket Leads Farrington Slate in Poll of Illinois Coal Miners

## American Capitalism Loses Loyal Servant

SAM GOMPERS is dead. There is no doubt that the capitalist daily press will put their front pages in mourning; that the bitterest enemies of the working class, such as Coolidge, Dawes, Morgan, will pay their respects to the departed. But the militant workers will shed no crocodile tears.

Gompers died in the harness of his masters, the imperialists of America, in his last great effort to extend their power over the toiling masses of the world. The El Paso convention of the A. F. of. L. was the crowning achievement in a long life of working class betrayal. The sessions of the Pan-American Federation of Labor over which he had just presided were a continuous suppression of the grievances of the workers of Latin-America

### "LAY THE RAILS FOR 1925!"



## CAPPELLINI ONCE POPULAR IDOL, NOW A TRAITOR

### Striking Coal Diggers Grill Renegade

By THOMAS MYERSCOUGH.  
(Special to The Daily Worker)

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 11.—Kinaldo

Cappellini, once the popular idol of

the miners of this section of District

United Mine Workers of America,

turned to these parts last Sunday

from his sojourn in Texas and

Mexico.

He spent much time in his office in

Scranton on Monday, raving over the

growing sentiment against his admini-

stration and threatening to expose

those responsible, regardless of who

they may be (intimating that some are

agents or organizers), as agents of the

coal operators. Today he appeared

at the meeting of the general griev-

ance committee in Pittston, not at

the district president, he said, but

at the steel strike.

He completely neglected the

problems of the unemployed workers, except insofar as Judge Gary and

President Harding invited him to help capitalism solve its problems. He

is the outstanding champion of class collaboration, with all of its conse-

quences of subjection of the working class, and against the class struggle in

all its forms.

In the struggle of international imperialism to strangle and destroy

soviet Russia, none was so militant and bitter as the servant of imperialism,

Samuel Gompers. In his invective against the first government of workers

and farmers, Gompers outdid even such spokesmen of the capitalist class as

Hughes, Lloyd George, or Pollock. He hated Russia because Russia of the

Soviets had become the symbol of working class struggle in the betrayal

of which Gompers himself was steeped for 40 years.

Among the last acts of Gompers was a final crime against the cause of

working class solidarity, his attempt to block the great movement for world

unity in the labor movement, the unity of the International Federation of

Trade Unions of Amsterdam, and the Red International of Labor Unions of

Tokyo. Gompers withdrew from Amsterdam when Wall Street temporarily

withdrew from direct participation in European politics; Gompers was, when he died, busy re-entering the European labor movement to follow the Dawes

Plan and help to enforce it. He was maneuvering to enter the Amsterdam

International to fight the unity proposal of the Red International of Labor

Unions, and to perpetuate the split in the international trade union world.

In the annals of capitalist imperialism, the name of Gompers will be

written high among those who served it loyally and well—but in the annals

of the revolutionary working class, Gompers will be given his true place as

the betrayer of the toiling masses and the agent of the mortal enemies of

the proletariat.

The weakening of the reactionary labor machine of which Gompers was

the head thru his death should be the signal to the workers of this country

for a militant struggle to drive Gompersism from the labor movement. The

alliance between the reactionary labor officials and the employers must be

broken; the trade unions must be amalgamated into strong industrial unions,

a widespread campaign for organization of the unorganized must be launched,

labor must take up the struggle against unemployment, labor must enter

the political struggle as a class to fight its own battles.

Gompers is dead! The workers must now kill Gompersism.

Central Executive Committee,

Workers Party of America,

William Z. Foster, Chairman.

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary.

Help Insure  
THE  
DAILY WORKER  
for 1925!

# STRIKERS TURN DOWN PROPOSAL OF ARBITRATION

## Company's Attempt to Run Scab Train Fails

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 11.—Efforts of Mayor S. A. Bullard of this city to induce the 350 striking employees of the Illinois traction system to return to work again failed yesterday.

The strikers insist that they be paid time and one-half overtime for all work over ten hours and demand a closed shop. They have refused to listen to proposals of the mayor and Springfield chamber of commerce that the men return to work and then arbitrate.

**Strikers Surround Scab Train.**  
A passenger coach was operated from Litchfield to Staunton Monday night by non-union crew. A crowd of several hundred strikers and sympathizers surrounded the car and its crew on its arrival at Staunton, and insisted that the car be returned to the Litchfield barn and kept there. The car was taken back to Litchfield and no further efforts to use strikebreakers have been made.

At the main office of the Illinois traction company at Springfield, the company denied responsibility for the running of the car. Company officials claimed the car was taken out of the barn without their permission, "probably by joyriders." Strikers, however, declare that the car was run to try out sentiment of the population in the towns affected by the strike.

**Long Record of Strikebreakers.**  
Superintendent D. W. Snyder, who is representing the company in negotiations, has a long record as a vicious strikebreaker. Snyder was formerly manager of the traction system at Bloomington. He was responsible for the historic Bloomington streetcar strike of 1917, which was marked by violence and bloodshed invited by gunmen imported by Snyder.

In the Bloomington strike these professional strikebreakers tried to do their stuff in the usual fashion, and there were several clashes between the strikers and the hired gunmen. Bloomington unions raised \$3,000 to defend and exonerate several of their members indicted by a packed grand jury for alleged rioting. The Bloomington carmen now have a 100 percent union as evidence of Snyder's incompetency as a strikebreaker. It looks as tho the running of the car to Staunton were some of Snyder's handiwork.

Further negotiations are expected to take place today either at Peoria or at Springfield.

The last strike on the Illinois traction system in 1918 resulted in a partial victory for the strikers.

## FRENCH COMMUNISTS TO PROTEST THE MASS ARRESTS OF WORKERS

PARIS, France, Dec. 11.—Communists announced their intention of holding a street meeting near the Lazare railroad terminal tonight to protest against the continued arrest and deportation of Communists. Communists of foreign birth are being arrested here at the rate of two or three every day, at the instance of the Herriot government.

The government has declared its intention of attempting to prevent or break up the meeting. Large forces of police are to be concentrated at the railroad station tonight in an effort to suppress the meeting.

The Communists plan several demonstrations of similar nature protesting against the Herriot violence.

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## PAN-AMERICAN WORKERS UNITE IN ATTACK ON PLOTS OF YANKEE CAPITALISTS IN LATIN-AMERICA

The following manifesto, exposing and opposing the nefarious plots to set the peaceful peoples of South America to mass murder of each other over some trivial question of "national honor" or disputes concerning boundary lines, was published in Mexico City during the sessions of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, creating a sensation among the delegates and among the workers of all Latin-America.

### A Call to the Workers of Chile and Peru

#### YANKEE CAPITALISTS FOMENT WAR BETWEEN THE LATIN NATIONS IN ORDER TO WEAKEN AND CONQUER THEM

Comrades!

In the name of all the workers of Latin-America, who suffer so keenly from the crimes of Yankee imperialism, we address this call.

The principal obstacle to the definite and complete triumph of Yankee imperialism is the power not yet weakened, of Argentina, Chile, Brazil and the other countries of the extreme south. In order to nullify these forces, and to extend its tentacles over the rest of Latin-America, to do what it has done in Mexico, Central America and in the northern part of South America, the octopus of Yankee imperialism is preparing a fratricidal war between Chile and Peru and between Argentina and Brazil.

The newspapers of November 26 inform us that there have been firing between Peruvian and Chilean soldiers near Tela. This act indicates to what degree the sinister forces of imperialism have advanced the realization of their plans.

Pretending to be an "impartial" arbitrator in the dispute over the provinces of Taana and Arica, the North American government, at the same time, has ordered Admiral Woodward of the Yankee navy to Peru, together with many other officers, "to reorganize the army and navy of the country."

The same action has been carried out in Brazil, ordering Admiral Vogelsang, and fifty officers in addition, to prepare Brazil for war against Argentina. Not that Yankee imperialism is more favorable to Brazil than to Argentina, neither preferring Peru to Chile, but that it wishes to break the "A. B. C. Alliance" (Argentina, Brazil and Chile), and to provoke at all costs these wars, in order to wipe out the last obstacle which obstructs its victorious march toward continental imperialism.

The only hope of saving Latin-America, of rescuing Peru, Chile, Brazil and Argentina from arriving at the same condition as Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, Mexico, etc., is action, resolute, immediate and overwhelming, of the workers of these countries in order to stop the imminent war and unify the forces of all the continent against our real enemy.

The false patriotism that foments militarism, the agents of Yankee imperialism in Chile and Peru, will betray these countries into servitude to the House of Morgan.

Now is no time to be feeding old rancors over battles won or lost by the bourgeois armies in long gone years. The danger is not in the past, but in the future, and in the present.

If the Chilean and Peruvian governments lend themselves to these maneuvers of the United States, the workers of both nations must make immediate demonstrations against imperialism and against those governments, overthrowing them if necessary.

The future of all the workers and peasants of Latin-America trembles in the balance. Tomorrow will be too late. Begin the demonstrations today! All Latin-America calls—

WAR AGAINST FRATRICIDAL WAR!

WAR AGAINST YANKEE IMPERIALISM!

FORWARD TO THE FEDERATION OF WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENTS OF BOTH CONTINENTS!

LONG LIVE PAN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY!

Signed:

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO.

THE WORKERS (Communist) PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE MEXICAN COMMITTEE OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS.

THE PAN-AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

### Gompers Dies While Returning to the U. S. from Mexico

(Continued from page 1)  
stated by three physicians who attended him to be "bronchitis and possibly twenty-four hour pneumonia."

Had a Lucid Interval.

After a night of delirium in Mexico City, he told his attendants in a lucid interval that he thought he would live if he were moved to a lower altitude and insisted on boarding a train for the United States.

He was removed from the train at San Luis Potosi early Wednesday night, and was examined by physicians who reported that his condition was not dangerous. He spent the night in the hospital at San Luis Potosi, and resumed the journey Thursday morning, hoping to reach Laredo, Texas, on the border, on Friday morning.

But the mountain range in the vicinity of San Nicolas is the highest along the route of the International and Great Northern railroad to the United States, and despite the efforts of the physicians to keep Gompers alive by artificial means, his heart would not function.

Gompers was born in London, England, 1850, of Jewish parents. He became a cigarmaker and, the he has continually opposed the entrance of workers from other countries, came to America himself as an immigrant alien worker. More than that, he was a "radical" alien immigrant. He skinned thru some of the pamphlets of the immature revolutionary movement of the time, and announced himself to be an anarchist.

Like all anarchists, however, he grew ever more close to the position of the petty bourgeoisie in social outlook, and after attaining the presidency of the American Federation of Labor in 1880, he waged unrelenting war upon all revolutionary ideas in the labor movement. Fortified in his position by building a machine which controlled the American Federation of Labor from top to bottom, he increased his attacks on revolutionary tendencies within the labor unions, and became the most open advocate of class collaboration, political and industrial.

He mobilized the American Federation of Labor for support of the imperialist war before the United States entered it at the Buffalo convention in February 1917. And in common with all the reformist labor leaders of the allied nations he never forgave the Russian workers for turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war against capitalists and landlords.

### Labor Faker Talks Class Collaboration At Bosses Meeting

NEW YORK, Dec. 11.—W. N. Doak, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, appearing on the same platform with railroad executives here, opposed government ownership according to press dispatches Doak, who spoke after Alfred P. Thom general counsel of the association of railway executives, spoke for "active and friendly co-operation of capital, labor and management as a solution of railroad ills," is reported.

## C. P. P. A. LEADERS MEET TO DISCUSS FUTURE POLICY

### Johnston Says Time Is Ripe for New Party

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11.—Leaders of the progressive movement which supported the independent presidential candidacy of Senator Robert M. LaFollette were gathering in Washington today for the opening tomorrow of the executive committee of the conference for progressive political action.

Under instructions from its convention last June, the committee is charged particularly with making recommendations on the establishment of a permanent new third party in the United States.

#### Four Problems.

Four major things are to be considered by the committee, William M. Johnston, chairman, and the president of the International Association of Machinists, announced today. These are:

1. Issuance of a call for another national convention of the conference.
2. Review of the LaFollette campaign.
3. Recommendations for the establishment of a third party.
4. Recommendations for participation in national and state elections.

#### Thinks Time Is Ripe.

Johnston himself expressed belief that the LaFollette campaign demonstrated not only the need of a new political alignment, but that the "time now is ripe for the launching of a new party movement, a movement composed chiefly of the American workers and other progressive minded citizens of the country."

LaFollette who, because of a cold may not attend the sessions, but will be in constant consultation with committee, holds practically the identical view and will bend every effort looking toward the permanent establishment of the new movement. He will oppose, however, any move by the committee other than drafting recommendations to be laid before the next convention for approval. He believes that the convention itself, not the committee, should be the body charged with definitely bringing out and giving life to the new party.

#### Same Is Now Safely Dead.

Action of the American Federation of Labor at its El Paso convention in flatly turning down appeals to unite with a third party, will not in any way halt efforts to lay the ground work for the new movement, Johnston said.

"We did not want the endorsement of the federation," said Johnston, "although we realize that the backbone of our movement will be supplied by the working classes. This is to be a movement of individual men and women, not of organizations. This is not to be strictly a labor party."

The committee does not plan, Johnston explained, to recommend putting complete new tickets in the political field everywhere.

"We will put up candidates of our own only when the old parties offer us nothing but reactionaries," he explained. "That might even apply to the presidency if one of the existing parties nominated a real progressive."

Under present plans, the committee probably will issue a call for next convention to be held either late next month or early in February. Chicago is the likely choice for the meeting place, Johnston said.

#### Campaign in Ohio.

Comrade J. A. Hamilton of Cleveland, is preparing to launch a campaign in conjunction with the Ohio subscription drive under the leadership of Max Lerner, district organizer. This campaign will add 3,000 new subscribers to our lists according to the indications at the present time, Comrade Lerner informed the DAILY WORKER business manager. A special Ohio edition will be published when that figure is reached.

#### Increase in Detroit.

Comrade Loeb found things humdrum for the daily in the city of Detroit. The paper is for sale on the principal newsstands and the paid subscription list has been increased by over 200 in the past two months. A full time agent will be put to work in Detroit at the earliest possible moment.

The party members everywhere have accepted the fact that the DAILY WORKER is the instrument with which the Workers Party can be developed into a mass Communist Party," declared Comrade Loeb in summing up the results of his tour. "It will be emphasized everywhere that the members of the Workers Party must at all times carry on direct subscription soliciting activity as the best means the party now has of reaching the masses of the working class," declared Comrade Loeb.

#### A Sign of Wavering.

A sign of wavering was seen at today's meeting, for when a motion was made to continue on strike for a "settlement with victory" it was carried by a vote of 66 to 13, one of the latter or "defeatist" votes came, when a delegate, who had tried to avoid voting, was forced to say where he stood. This vote represents the first defection in the ranks since the inception of the strike, for all previous votes were unanimous. International Board Member Campbell, formerly the chairman of this fighting grievance committee, took cognizance of this

## Socialism in Germany Reveals Itself As Twin Brother of Fascism

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

TODAY, an echo of Herriot's attacks on the Communists in France, linked with similar moves throughout Europe to pave the way for the Dawes' Plan, is heard in the announced intentions of the German "socialists" to join what is called "the great coalition government."

The recent reichstag elections didn't result in much change in the reichstag make-up. But results will be secured thru the changing attitudes of the various parties, notably the "socialists."

The "socialists," Scheidemann, Breitscheid and Lobe, now declare that the "socialists" must enter the government of the capitalist republic, even tho it contain Stresemann's people's party, with its monarchistic inclinations.

Hitherto the "socialists" have timidly refrained from joining in a bloc with the party of the late anti-labor industrialist, Hugo Stinnes. But it is now ready to take the plunge. The anti-Communist coalition, to chain the whole German working class, to Morgan's chariot, must be built at all costs. What an aggregation: "socialists," so-called democrats, center (catholic), and the people's party (industrial-monarchist), with its Ludendorff wing of extreme fascism.

The only difficulty is, not that "socialists" will fall into line with Morgan's wishes, but that Stresemann's crowd may refuse to mingle with the "socialists." While the "socialists" are ready to surrender the German workers to the Wall Street banking interests without a fight; Stresemann's crowd holds out for a high price for German capitalism. Stresemann wants to be chancellor at the head of a coalition that would include the nationalist (fascisti) party. Stresemann as chancellor would put up a struggle in the interests of Germany's industrial overlords against the new demands that will arise under the carrying out of the Dawes plan.

This situation reveals all parties, from the "socialists" on the left, to the extreme fascists on the right, ready to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie. Only the Communists stand forth as the champions of working class interests; as the leaders of the laboring masses in their bitter struggles.

The "socialists" are clearly revealed as a wing of fascism. In fact, the German social-democracy and fascism stand forth as twin brothers. Fascism does not object to an alliance with the social-democracy. But it insists that "socialists" come into the alliance on the fascist terms laid down for it. And that the "socialists" will do. The tenacity with which the Scheidemann-Ebert social-democracy clings to the German bourgeoisie is reproduced in miniature in the death-grip with which the Hillquit-Berger "socialists" in this country hang on to the LaFollette movement.

In England there is a growing opposition to the Dawes plan among the workers, even among its most reformist sections. This opposition is not so pronounced in Germany, altho it is growing. The results of the recent German elections shows that large numbers of German workers still harbor the hope that they may get something out of the Dawes plan. This can be the only explanation of the slight recovery in "socialist" strength in the reichstag, altho the "socialists" met with a big reverse in the elections to the Prussian diet, while the Communist gained.

But the workers will be stung into action under the lash of Morgan-Dawes oppression. They will break the class truce thru withdrawing their support from the social-democracy. They will give their strength to Communist leadership; to the Communist struggle for power and a Soviet Germany.

and requested a motion to meet again tomorrow to reconsider the same question, which was made and accepted. A strong belief is current now that at tomorrow's session, the men will be swayed into accepting another "dose" of promises, which, in substance, will represent a "third sting in the same place" for the men, and "victory" for the operators, for which they will be even thankful to Lewis, Cappellini and Co.

#### To Drop Committees.

Cappellini is quoted by the capitalist press hereabouts, as saying that he will not deal with the general grievance committee in the future, but that all grievances must be handled by the local committees. That an effort to "outlaw" the general bodies was on foot, was predicted in these columns another week ago. Seems like another case of a father trying to drown his illegitimate child. Cappellini founded the general grievance committee and rose to power and position thru their medium, but now that he recognizes that his "pedestal" is being made shaky via the same route, he welcomes the demise of these bodies, probably expecting thereby, to escape punishment for his guilt of repeated delay in the settlement of grievances.

#### Cause Will Remain.

Whatever the settlement of the strike brings, when it does come, it will only effect a temporary lull, for the "cause" will remain, until these "instinctively rebellious" miners learn that there is something more to do, than to deal with the "effects." Cappellini told the committee that his trip to Mexico was ordered by his superior officer, Lewis, and that the expense was borne by the government; this while trying to square himself against the charge that he had been in hiding within close proximity to his home.

Come, then, and meet your friends at the Workers' School on Saturday night. They all will be there—from Bronx and Brownsville, Harlem and Williamsburg. Get acquainted with the Workers

# Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

## WAR AGAINST OPPORTUNIST CONFUSION

By EARL R. BROWDER.

"Organized confusion" is the outstanding characteristic of the thesis of the minority. It is a perfect illustration of what the thesis of the C. E. C. (majority) warned against as the right deviation of farmer-laborism within our party. Under cover of "leftist" phrases, the minority is advancing a revision of Communist conceptions of political action, of the role of the Communist Party, of the nature of "class action," and of the process of revolutionizing the masses. On each of these points the minority stands for a definite right-wing revision. Let us briefly prove this in their own words.

### Minority Identifies Political Action With Parliamentarism.

The majority thesis states the Communist position that the whole class struggle is a political struggle, and that the purpose of the united front is to engage in all struggles of the workers to sharpen and develop the political aspect and thus bring the workers closer to Communism.

The minority, on the other hand, contends that the only possible kind of political action, on the united front basis, is in the form of a farmer-labor party. Such an idea has no sense or logic at all, unless we start from the social-democratic conception that participation in elections is the only form of political action. But it seems that the minority is leaning very, very strongly in that direction. What else can it mean when the minority thesis says:

"If we abandon the united front politically by abandoning the slogan 'for a class farmer-labor party' . . ."

Comrade Ruthenberg, in *The Workers' Monthly* for December, goes so far as to say that the slogan "for a farmer-labor party" is based upon "the rock foundation" that the intensifying of the class struggle must mean, politically, a farmer-labor party movement. We were under the impression that the "rock foundation" of the class struggle was the basis for Communist political action, but never will we admit that farmer-laborism has the same rock foundation as our own movement.

Such a conception is organized confusion, behind which the most fundamental right-wing deviations are smuggled into our movement.

### Minority Revises the Role of the Party

The minority says that the central task of the Workers (Communist) Party is to build another, non-Communist party. They take the position that the Workers Party can only grow if it is an auxiliary to a farmer-labor party. They say that only "the slogan of farmer-labor party and campaigns for the building up of farmer-labor parties" will win any sort of position for the Workers Party in this country.

This is another right-wing deviation, part and parcel of the general right-wing tendency of the minority. Under certain conditions such slogans and campaigns may have temporary value as they had in the past, but when the minority makes this a principle, declaring that only such means will build the Workers Party without regard to political conditions, then the minority has thereby rejected the Leninist conception of our party as the leader, and reduced it to a role of parasite upon another organization which is to be the real organ of political struggle. The Leninist conception of the role of the party is fundamentally in conflict with the minority. It is based upon the conception of the

crime against our party to remain silent.

Comrade Ruthenberg has been the first to wince at the personal trend of the discussion. This in spite of the fact that he opens a personal attack on Comrade Foster in the December "Workers' Monthly"—the same issue in which Comrade Foster also has an article, but an article which proceeds from beginning to end without reference to persons but strictly to policy. In addition, we have been charged with "polemical detectivism" by those who, even before discussion had opened and continually since, have hotly stigmatized the majority with the epithet of "syndicalist."

Now it may be a crime in a Communist Party to enter it from and to remain in a proletarian organization, if so I must apologize, the the Profiteers may share the blame for my persistence in this left error. But I am disposed to take up this accusation of "syndicalism" against the majority, as it places our accusers also on trial. If we of the majority are accused of not being Communists, but syndicalists, we may be permitted the privilege to inquire into how far to the right our comrades of the minority have moved that they feel we are so far to the left as to be "syndicalists."

Syndicalist! Mea culpa! Mea culpa! But then, on the other hand I never was an anarchist, whose mind the Russian revolution could change only a very little, nor was I a parliamentary socialist whose mind neither the revolution nor anything else has been able to change at all. The Communist veneer which has been laid over the comrades of these two seemingly opposite tendencies, is now showing cracks wide enough, that looking thru the rents of the party discussion, their remarkable similarity is distinctly noted.

### Fight Both Deviations!

There is an essential and fundamental connection between the anarchist and the social democrat in their conception of what "independent working class political action" is. Comrade Lenin has said that "Anarchism is a punishment laid upon the labor movement for its reformist sins." And I was about to add another article to the many I have already written against the I. W. W. conception of "political action," when—lo and behold! I find it more needful to write one against the reformist parliamentarism which is showing itself in our party and at the head of our party.

"Political action means voting and participation in elections and capitalist parliaments and nothing else," say the anarchist leaders of the I. W. W. "We are organized for a political function, which means participation in electoral struggles for the seizure of political power. We are not syndicalists!" shouted Comrade Minor on the evening of November 20, 1924. He was clearly supported by Comrade Ruthenberg, who at that meeting apparently understood that the "Twenty-one points" of the Comintern were "revolutionize the broad masses of workers," we call a halt. This is the worst kind of opportunism masking the worst kind of syndicalist tendencies.

The masses will not be revolutionized by a slogan which has nothing of a class nature in it, but the word "class." They will be revolutionized in the process of actual struggle against the forces of capitalism on the basis of definite and concrete demands. The united front must be based upon such concrete and everyday struggles, from below, not upon the abstract organizational slogan of a farmer-labor party, which is a form of united front from above.

For the first time in the American movement we are faced with a systematic opportunism, well organized and with some standing in the movement, that bids for leadership boldly and frankly on the basis of its opportunistic deviations. But it will not get very far. The Workers (Communist) Party in its overwhelming majority follows, and desires to continue to follow, the line of the Communist International. It will rally as one great army to repudiate this opportunist confusion that is presented in the minority thesis.

## ON DEVIATIONS—SYNDICALIST, SECTARIAN, AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC

By HARRISON GEORGE.

No one more than myself realizes the fact that in the long and difficult process of building up a Communist Party which will be a real Leninist-Bolshevik party of action, that it is necessary to work with the human material inherited from the pre-party period. The simplest survey will show that we have not yet become a Bolshevik party, "monolithic, hewn of one piece," altho we have hopes of becoming such a party.

The digestion of the various elements has now extended over a period of five years. It is time we showed some effect of the guidance of the Comintern. The party should be attuned to the necessity of testing the response of the material ingested to the line of Communist principles especially clarified and determined by the Second Congress of the Comintern.

No party clearance has ever been attempted or suggested, even of the central organs. The party (I speak of the Workers (Communist) Party and not the farmer-labor party) has drifted along with criminal lack of self-examination. The fact that our party program, which is filled with the most ridiculous deviations and is clearly written in a hasty, trashy way in both content and construction, has stood for two years, is a testimony to our ideological laziness.

We have had, until this one, not even the pretense of a real party discussion in which the ideological leaders of our party might be required to expose their basic understanding. Until now they have passed muster with general agitational expressions against

Communist Party as the only class party of the workers.

### Minority Wants Two "Class Parties."

Here we touch the heart of the mistake of our minority. All of their errors reach down to their conception of a "class" farmer-labor party. "Even the dominated by conservative labor leaders," said C. E. Ruthenberg, in *The Workers' Monthly* for November, "a party created by the C. P. P. A. based upon the labor organizations it represented, would have been a labor party . . . which would 'fight for the economic interests' of the workers and poor farmers. They think that such a party would be an expression of 'working class political action' as 'class action'."

There is only one sense in which a farmer-labor party is class action, and that is, it is part of the working class acting. But that means nothing in a political sense. "Class action" of the workers becomes something more than a phrase only when it is action directed against the capitalist class, that is, revolutionary action. Farmer-labor action is a reflection of the illusions of the masses, of the idea that by electing a few "labor" leaders to office they can make the world suitable for the workers to live in.

In the organization of such an illusion, "class political action"? The C. E. C. says no, it is not; but the minority thinks it is. They even go so far as to say that if we give up the slogan embodying the illusion, we thereby give up class political action. Comrade Ruthenberg even asks: "Is the movement for class political action dead?" in dealing with the question of a farmer-labor party. He thinks that if the farmer-labor party is dead, then the class struggle is over. But Communists are not so easily discouraged. We knew all the time that the Workers (Communist) Party is the only class party of the workers, so we can not waste any time grieving at the demise of the "class" farmer-labor party. How Will Masses be Revolutionized?

The minority has the right-wing conception that the masses will be revolutionized by parliamentary and reformist politics. It is quite well established, of course, that Communists must participate in parliamentary action. But when Comrades Lovestone and Ruthenberg tell us in their thesis that the slogan of a farmer-labor party will "revolutionize the broad masses of workers," we call a halt. This is the worst kind of confusion masking the worst kind of opportunism.

The masses will not be revolutionized by a slogan which has nothing of a class nature in it, but the word "class." They will be revolutionized in the process of actual struggle against the forces of capitalism on the basis of definite and concrete demands. The united front must be based upon such concrete and everyday struggles, from below, not upon the abstract organizational slogan of a farmer-labor party, which is a form of united front from above.

For the first time in the American movement we are faced with a systematic opportunism, well organized and with some standing in the movement, that bids for leadership boldly and frankly on the basis of its opportunistic deviations. But it will not get very far. The Workers (Communist) Party in its overwhelming majority follows, and desires to continue to follow, the line of the Communist International. It will rally as one great army to repudiate this opportunist confusion that is presented in the minority thesis.

Se, for example, the generous soorn for a "pure Communist program" and for the slogan "Forward to the Soviets," as expressed by Comrade Pollack. Then there is Comrade Lovestone, who has the same success with Mahoney that Mahoney had with the C. P. P. A. Comrade Lovestone testifies (under Marxian oath as all reformists do who must find Communist ground for non-Communist action) that when we catch him trying to shove our party into the maw of petty bourgeois farmer-labor party, that he is only pulling us out!

Yet Comrade Lovestone is so completely a "vulgar parliamentarian" that he cannot see any political movement outside of a party, and a farmer-labor party at that! He deems to mention the Workers Party twice in his article of December 3, in which he says:

"These comrades (the majority) would have us believe that the hundreds of thousands of farmer-laborites of yesterday don't want and are not interested now in another political movement."

### The Nebular Hypothesis of Farmer-Labor Parties.

"Another political movement" is, of course, a real, genuine, "class" farmer-labor party. And he proceeds in a veritable cloud of "election alliances," "political situations," "campaigns," "new parties," "candidates," "farmer-labor revivals," etc. A somnambulist walking in a world of dreams. It is clear that without the farmer-labor party slogan, the case of "political action" simply doesn't exist for Comrade Lovestone.

They Ask For Bread—And Get—A Slogan.

Then comes Comrade Bedacht, who ought to know better, and after leading us right up to the lunch counter, where he promises us something substantial, gives us—a slogan! He

## No Disagreement Here!

We discuss the future tasks of the party preliminary to a decision. After a decision is rendered we march forward unitedly to carry it into effect.

In all this the DAILY WORKER lends a BIG hand. Today it constitutes our forum for discussion. Tomorrow it will help to carry the decision made into effect.

We can not get along without our daily. And if you are sincere in your desire to keep it, you'll HELP INSURE IT FOR 1925. INSURANCE POLICIES ARE ISSUED. Denomination: \$10, \$5 and \$1. Make it your policy to BUY A POLICY.

### THE WORKERS PARTY:

William Z. Foster,  
Chairman  
C. E. Ruthenberg,  
Executive Secretary

cites that the workers are struggling in New England, in California and in West Virginia. He correctly says that they should be united. He correctly adds that they should be united "by a political party of the workers" (which, according to Bedacht, however, is not the Workers Party). But wonderful to relate, even if the Workers Party gets these workers together it must "supply the slogan of the farmer-labor party" to them, or else there would be no "political action" of all the workers everywhere." What a marvelous conclusion for a Marxist!

Yet there are, to cite one of many examples, class war prisoners in the New England, California, and West Virginia cited by Comrade Bedacht as an arena of struggle, as well as many elsewhere. The French and the German Communist Parties have found that amnesty of class war prisoners can be made a political issue on which to unite all workers everywhere. Mass demonstrations and even such "syndicalist" weapons as the political strike could and should be used in this country for this end. Can the textile workers of New England, the dock workers of Frisco, and the West Virginia miners be rallied into a nation-wide movement more successfully around a slogan "for a class farmer-labor party" or for the slogan "release the class war prisoners!"

To Comrade Bedacht, these workers are ready now, any day, to do whatever tools for the minority thesis, while the millions of farmers, angry, impatient and armed with shotguns and pitchforks are surrounding the LaFollette henchmen in the county seats, demanding "Give us a class farmer-labor party or give us death!" Nothing else is "political action" to Comrade Bedacht. As for the rest, he says after Cato, "the syndicalists must be destroyed."

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The next exhibit is Comrade Powell, who is filled with as much rebellion against centralization and discipline as an anarchist-syndicalist I. W. W. Naturally, he sees that we of the majority have "abandoned the united front on the political field" by laying aside the slogan for a "defunct" farmer-labor party.

Precisely attacked is the T. U. E. L., which our comrades of the minority discover only when they have to sleuth about for "issues." The T. U. E. L. is "syndicalist" because, the it advocates a united front of unemployed councils directed against the state and federal governments, the it campaign for a united front for class war prisoners, for a united front against criminal syndicalist laws (we are not yet "criminal" syndicalists to the minority, let us hope), the T. U. E. L. advocates mass violation of injunctions, a campaign against race discrimination, the it urges a united front against imperialism and the Dawes' plan, still, to Comrade Powell's mind, "it abandons the political front."

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12,000,000 Converts! Quick, The Farmer-Labor Gun!

Could absurdity go further? If it cannot, Comrade Powell can! He says that "our election campaign destroyed the LaFollette illusion in the minds of masses of voters and they" (listen to this) "they stayed away from the polls." He then proceeds to prove that because "only 30 million out of 60 million voters took part in the elections while in 1916 more than 70 per cent voted"—therefore, the difference between 50 and 70 per cent of the electorate, or 12,000,000 voters, were so disgusted with LaFollette that he didn't give them a "class farmer-labor party" that they . . .

"Perhaps they voted for Foster," you will suggest. By no means! They were disillusioned with Foster, too, according to Comrade Powell, and did not vote at all!

The Lost Tribes of Farmer-Labor.

These are the lost tribes with whom Comrade Ruthenberg makes common cause against Comrade Foster, and Comrade Powell wants these 12,000,000 dream children to say they didn't vote for Foster because the Workers Party won't give them "class political action," while the I. W. W. says that the same 12,000,000 didn't vote for Foster because he gives them "political action." These 12,000,000 who are so advanced according to both Comrade Powell and the I. W. W.

that they wouldn't vote for the Workers Party, are, queerly enough, in neither the I. W. W. nor in a "class farmer-labor party" of their own. They are simply lost in space! A political phenomenon of Comrade Pepper's LaFollette revolution, and the endomorphic theory of the creation of farmer-labor parties.

But Comrade Powell, and other exponents of parliamentary cretinism, such as Comrades Reeve and Kaplan, who think the party is a sort of football ground to romp around in and not an organ of revolutionary struggle demanding a serious and receptive apprenticeship as a preliminary to leadership, are all accountable in the loose way the party has permitted its members to regard their class duties.

Torturing the Capitalist Decline.

But it is an astonishing revelation of ideological bankruptcy to hear Comrade Ruthenberg, whom the Comintern has associated with Comrade Foster as the best element in our party, aver that without a "class farmer-labor party" there is no "class political action." There is little explanation for his so twisting and torturing the political consequences of the decline of capitalism as to make it squeak—"want a farmer-labor party!"—in view of his previous distinction between the related political conflict of the class and the immediate and every day struggles as given in the February Liberator, where he says:

"The guiding principle of Communist policy . . . is to use the class struggles growing out of these conflicting economic interests to mobilize the forces which will wrest from the capitalists the state power."

"Syndicalist" Leanings—Once on a Time.

"This does not mean only a campaign on the basic economic issue, which sharply divides the interests of the capitalists and the workers—privately owned industry, operated for exploitative purposes versus socialized industry operated for service. The conflict between economic groups in capitalist society manifests itself in continuous struggles over immediate questions. The workers fight for better wages and working conditions. They engage in a struggle against restrictive laws, against injunctions, the use of armed power of the government against them. . . . These daily struggles are the starting point of the Communist struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. By entering into all of these struggles, which grow out of the every day life of the exploited, becoming their spokesmen, winning their confidence, the Communists establish their leadership of all those who suffer under the whip of capitalism."

This is a fairly good picture of the scope of "political action," and while not given with any marvelous clarity, it is not the most important method to initiate, to aid in carrying out the

is sufficient to show that Comrade Ruthenberg has, or once had, a pigeon-hole in his mind labeled "Communist principles." But, alas and alack! In continuing the article, on the very next page, out popped the opportunist devil with "a mass farmer-labor party, which will fight the political battles of the industrial workers and exploited farmers."

Naturally, anybody who says that has little use for the Workers Party and can't see any "political battles" being fought without a "mass farmer-labor party" (now revised to a "class farmer-labor party") does the fighting—which Communists have always de-

clared it wouldn't do.

The final retort of the comrades of the minority is that we of the majority, who wish to deal in no more than the Comintern and opportunist farmer-labor parties until we see more masses than they can show, and better reasons than they advance, is that the majority are "sectarians." I am not very frightened at the term. And I am sure the party, our Workers (Communist) Party, will correct our erring comrades of the minority by saying, as the Comintern is sure to say, "It is not necessary to be a social-democrat in order to avoid being a sectarian—or a syndicalist."

## LIQUIDATION—OF WHAT, AND BY WHOM?

By MAX BEGADT.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America is faced with momentous decisions, far more important than the apparent issue would signify. For or against a labor party; that seems to be the question. But in reality the labor party is only incidentally the object of the discussion. The real issue lies deeper. And in justice to the party and to the Comintern International we must insist that the fundamental

points be dealt with in the discussion. ry

# Discussion on Our Party's Immediate Tasks

## LIQUIDATION—OF WHAT, AND BY WHOM?

(Continued from page 3)  
bor party. The minority was at no time blind to the fact that this campaign might result in the formation of such a party, and that this new party would be a competitor with the Workers' Party for leadership over the working masses. Yet the campaign was carried on in spite of that danger.

First: Because our activity and leadership in this campaign might result in our ideological and even actual leadership of such a party and thus turn the new party from a competitor to an instrument of our leadership.

Second: Because if the process of the formation of such a labor party would be completed quicker that we succeeded in widening our influence and strengthening our leadership for the task of leading the labor party so that actually a tremendous mass party of workers and exploited farmers would spring up beyond our control, the Communists would still be the gainers. The actual political split of the forces of the exploited urban and rural masses from the leadership of imperialist capital would facilitate our political work to a degree that would far outweigh all disadvantages accruing to us from the existence of the competing leadership of the new party. In other words the newly formed political party of the exploited would present for us a much more favorable basis of operation than the political alliance of the working masses with the old capitalist parties. It is immensely more difficult to make the first break in the political alliance of workers and capitalists than it is to widen an existing breach.

Third: The campaign for a labor party may or may not result in the formation of such a party, yet, the process of the campaign itself, the maneuvers of the campaign would bring us in contact with the masses, would strengthen our party numerically, would teach our party maneuvers and activities, and was bound to extend the influence of the party to greater numbers of workers and exploited farmers.

The minority therefore, in all the phases of the campaign, always kept the interests of our party in the foreground. And we "farmer-labor Communists" were ready at any time to sacrifice the labor party to the interests of our own, the Workers (Communist) Party. And when this very point became an issue, in August, 1923, Comrade Ruthenberg introduced the following declaration of principle.

"The formation of a labor party in the United States is not in itself—irrespective of the relation of the Workers Party to such a labor party—an aim of the Workers Party. The labor party campaign of our party is an application of the united front policy of the Communist International and must be governed by the same underlying principles as other united front maneuvers. We will carry on the struggle for the labor party so long as we can increase the influence and strengthen the Workers Party organizationally thru this campaign. When situations arise in which the interests of the Workers Party conflict with the goal of the formation of the labor party we must unhesitatingly sacrifice the labor party."

The stalwart defenders of the Workers (Communist) Party, against the urge of a labor party, Comrades Foster, Cannon and Bittelman voted against this statement of policy.

The C. E. C. had established the policy that in all our labor party activities, the Workers (Communist) Party, was to be kept to the foreground. But when real tests came the majority went back on this policy of the C. E. C. When in May, 1924, the fight of the LaFolletteists in California against our party grew hot, and when these LaFolletteists made efforts to get rid of the Workers Party so they could paralyze without interference from the Workers Party, the growing movement for political independence of the workers and poor farmers with the poison of LaFolletteism, the political committee of our party voted down a motion of Lovestone to make a fight for the admission of Workers Party delegates to the California conference. The first two paragraphs of the motion read: "1.—To make a fight for the seating of W. P. delegates; 2.—If defeated all party members representing labor organizations remain in the conference to fight for W. P. policies

and to seek to win as many places of authority as possible." Such staunch opponents of "liquidation" as Bittelman, Browder and Cannon voted against while the naughty liquidators Engdahl, Lovestone and Bedacht voted for. Liquidation, indeed; but by whom?

But such activities of the "anti-liquidators" are by no means inconsistent with their general policy and conception. These sole defenders of the Workers (Communist) Party never considered the advantages accruing for the party out of the campaign for a labor party. They entered the campaign for a labor party for the sole and exclusive purpose to create a labor party. No, not a, but the labor party, the petty bourgeois labor party, patterned after the English labor party, the all-inclusive labor party, if need be exclusive of the Workers (Communist) Party, but at least with the Workers (Communist) Party in its rightful place of a hopeless minority. That last part of the sentence is not my interpretation, but the exact words of Comrade Foster.

Liquidation, indeed; but by whom? The position of the majority as proven not only by words, but by all its actions, is that the formation of a labor party, an all-inclusive labor party must be the goal of any labor party movement. If such a movement exists among the workers, it is the duty of Communists to assist it, but always with a view of helping to accomplish the task of the formation of a labor party. If there is no movement for the formation of such a party, the Communists have no business to bother about it.

The minority, on the other hand, maintains that the American working class, still completely under the domination of bourgeois ideology and leadership, must develop the idea of separate political interests of their class. Until the workers have developed this idea there can be no question of Communist leadership over these workers.

The slogan: "For a farmer-labor party" best expresses this need of political independence of the workers from the capitalists. It is not the desire of the minority to establish a labor party irrespective of situations and possibilities. It is, however, the endeavor of the minority to gain leadership over the working masses during the very process of their breaking away from capitalist ideology and leadership by guiding and hastening this process.

Liquidation, indeed; but by whom? Opportunist tendencies, indeed; but by whom?

Lack of Communist understanding, indeed; but by whom?

Resolutions and programs settle all the problems of the "Communist" and anti-liquidationist" majority of the C. E. C. Judging by past performances they will even settle the revolution by a resolution or a program of action—without action.

The other day, the majority decided in the D. E. C. of Chicago, that the party shall not enter the coming municipal campaign because it is a non-partisan election. When the majority found what a "Communist" decision this was, it called a special meeting of the D. E. C. and changed the decision, but it did not change its "Communism." Just think of it. The recent struggles of striking workers of Chicago, against the activities of the police department; the activities, or lack of activities of the board of aldermen in the struggle of the workers against the police department and in the struggle of the schools and teachers against the autocratic tool of big business in the chair of superintendent of schools of Chicago; offer great possibilities for united front actions during the campaign, the possibility for a labor party campaign on a large, the local scale and under the direct initiative and guidance of the Workers (Communist) Party. But the majority said: The only advantage we can get out of a campaign is the printing of the name of our party on the ballot. Since that is impossible, because of the non-partisan character of the campaign, what is the use?

The change was made by a special meeting of the D. E. C. not because of a change of heart, and not because the majority wanted a campaign of the party, but because it became aware of the dangers of its position for its campaign within the party.

Lack of Communist understanding, indeed; but by whom?

Liquidation, indeed; but by whom?

## WHY MAKE IT UNANIMOUS?

By WM. F. KRUSE.

THE present party discussion is a novel one in at least one respect. An administration proposes to throw overboard, immediately and forthwith, a major political policy sanctioned by the Communist International, which that administration itself formulated and for which, as the party leadership, it must carry full responsibility. On the other hand the minority, which on this policy seems to have stood with the administration, right or wrong, fights to continue this political united front tactic of the labor party. While it is far more common for minorities to demand changes and majorities to de-

mand their policies, our present situation can only be explained on one of two bases: either some fundamental change in conditions makes a change of tactic necessary, or the administration never really favored the tactic in the first place and embraced it on grounds of expediency.

This last ground should hardly be maintained. It is true that the present administration inherited the labor party united front tactic from the present minority when it won control of the last party convention. But it did so by making this program its own, and in its application to current conditions it has not contributed any changes, precisely as the writer pre-

## NEW YORK DISTRICT ENDORSES THE C. E. C. DECISION ON CONVENTION

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 11.—At its last meeting held Dec. 8, the District Executive Committee of District No. 2, adopted the following resolution:

"The changed political situation arising out of the recent election necessitates the Workers Party adjusting its policy and program of action in accordance with these changes.

"This demands a full and complete discussion by our entire membership to culminate in a national convention where the membership will decide upon any and all changes to be made, therefore,

"We, the District Executive Committee of District No. 2, Workers Party of America, concur in the request of the Central Executive Committee to the Comintern for permission to hold a national convention. Same to be in accord with the party constitution."

Motion—That we concur in the above resolution and send a copy to the DAILY WORKER for publication.

dicted at the convention in refusing to take a factional stand where no difference in principle prevailed. If, then, this tactic, which the administration seeks to junk, is to be laid at its own door, what fundamental reasons do they cite for abandoning our two-year old tactic of a "united front from below" for independent class politics?

An examination of majority and minority theses reveals perfect agreement as to the sharpening of the economic crisis. Varga's analysis, accepted by the Communist International, also bears this out. The economic foundation existed in 1923 for a labor party, and it exists just as strongly today. Communist political tactic proceeds from a correct evaluation of objective economic conditions. The majority thesis tries to fit in some meaningless reservations about great public building programs, unsupported by any evidence, but it dare not take exception to the minority analysis, like that of the Communist International, of a continuation and intensification of the economic crisis.

Why Are Labor Parties Formed?

A study of the history of previous American labor parties reveals that working class political expression in this country has always sprung out of so-called "hard times." The reasons for this are rudimentary. In times of depression the evils of capitalism stand out in sharp relief, the suffering of the workers is more acute and more widespread, the forces of the state are used more openly in crushing the workers' unrest. The demand for political expression is especially strong in the trade unions because the purely economic organizations cannot keep up wages, cannot keep up the price of labor power in the face of decreased employment.

Change of method or of leadership or both is the demand of the militant unionists. Canny officials, sensing in this demand a danger to themselves, consent to political activity, take leadership, and betray the movement at the earliest opportunity.

This has been the case in the labor party agitation of 1923-24 just as in previous periods. Whereas in times past by the promising tendency toward class politics was led into Tammany Hall or again into the republican party, this time the "liberal" LaFollette party served the same purpose. If there were no Communist Party in America we might very well expect that the treachery of these labor bureaucrats would once more go unexposed, and that the urge for class conquest of political power would dissipate itself in the internal wrangles and careerism of the old parties. But there is such a party in the Workers Party. It has already done a tremendous service in clarifying a large portion of this rebel movement to an understanding that what they really want is a class labor party. Its ideological hold upon these militants is not strong enough to draw them into its own ranks, nor was it strong enough to hold them against the ingrained American psychology of "getting something now." The masses still wanted the labor party but they thought that the road toward it lay thru the LaFollette camp.

Our Presidential Campaign.

Practically our whole central executive committee was ready to follow on that road and would have done so had it not been checked, fortunately, by the International. We found ourselves in a very difficult situation but maintained the slogan of the labor party versus the LaFollette liberal party while we practiced class politics under our own banner and with our own candidate. There is no sense in making of necessity a virtue—there was practically no choice before the central executive committee when the retreat from the liberal coalition became mandatory. We exposed the anti-working class character of the LaFollette movement and its program; we pointed out especially that the treachery of the labor bureaucrats had prevented the crystallization of the deep-seated economic protest of worker and farmer from finding expression in a class party. We pounded away at the issue of "Labor Party versus Liberal Party." On that basis we held to us the most militant non-Communist elements that had been partly won over by our various united front campaigns, we won the support of the die-hard left socialists (mostly unorganized), and we kept the respect of those laborites who followed the LaFollette rainbow in the hope that the labor party gold lay at its end.

We do not minimize the success of our party in waging this, its first campaign. That after two bewildering changes of policy we could never-

course of action, but we must always assign solid reasons acceptable to the working class, acceptable at least to those militants that more or less consistently follow our banner. We must not only give these reasons, we must terminate a campaign in such a manner that our position is clear and unmistakable before the workers. To do otherwise puts us in the light of political tricksters in the eyes of those workers who are left high and dry as the result of response to our agitation; no more harmful result could be forged against the growth of our movement.

Assorted United Fronts.

The administration has not fought for its new position on the ground of its economic basis nor of its political consequences. It has virtually said "We are tired of this campaign, let's try something else, here is a whole assortment of united fronts, take your pick, don't play with the same united front all the time." The premature abandonment of policies into which we have drawn our unorganized supporters is a very poor foundation upon which to start new united front agitations.

In meeting the position of the minority, the administration has not taken any basic position, it has created straw men and proceeded to demolish them. A favorite argument is that the minority conceive of the labor party movement as the only kind of united front in existence. They mention a few others: for amalgamation, protection of foreign born, unemployment—the last one especially the most consistent opposition demand even during the time of the functioning of the labor party united front. The administration still looks upon it as merely "in the agitational stage."

The united front for amalgamation was a fine basic from which the united front for labor party was made more sure of success. The united front for protection of the foreign born was made easier of realization because of the united front for a labor party which preceded it. The united front for a child labor campaign will be greatly helped provided we acquit ourselves creditably in the present critical stage of the labor party action. It, and all other campaigns, will be seriously hurt if we allow our position to be confused with the hasty desertion of the liberals or the labor bureaucrats.

They could drop this campaign for working class politics like a hot potato just as soon

Why Make It Unanimous?

If the economic basis of the movement for class politics has not been changed, has its superficial election campaign expression undergone such profound alterations as to justify a change in tactic on our part? If there were any such changes they would have to be very important indeed to justify any deviation from a tactic otherwise formulated on the basis of the objective economic situation. What changes are there in the political alignments; how do they affect those workers that want the labor party; how do they affect the Communists?

The administration is very emphatic on this point. One of its members writes: "As far as building a new party is concerned, the masses are now at rest." At the El Paso convention, "Grand Duke" Woll, according to our reporter, declared, "The last election was a national referendum and showed that labor did not want a labor party." Brothers Johnston and Gompers and Senator LaFollette agree. The Chicago Tribune had an editorial to the same effect. We can understand LaFollette's position when we consider his class affiliation. We can comprehend Gompers and Woll being glad to get out of this excursion into irregularity. We can evaluate Johnston's motives for entering this campaign—and leaving it flat at the first opportunity. But why Bittelman and Cannon and Foster? Why our party? Why make it unanimous?

If It's Dead, Bury It.

At this very point, when the enemy and the labor traitors seek to bury the labor party movement in the liberal party funeral, our tactic should be to take full advantage of the depression created by their relative failure in the election to regain our ideological leadership over the movement toward class politics. This is a very different proposal from the "Communism versus Laborism" with which shallow adherents of the administration try to explain the factional differences. Even if it were true that the grave of LaFollette's effort to organize a definite liberal party also contained, for the time being, the remains of a movement for a labor party, these last two months before the funeral would be a very poor time to slaughter our own slogan, "For a class labor party." Even from the point of naked expediency, from which the majority judges this question, it is utterly stupid political tactic to surrender our advantage as the only political force in America which has kept unsatisfied the banner of working class politics. Even if we wanted to confine ourselves hereafter to the purely trade union program of the party it would still be criminal to abandon those militants whose original response to our own slogans started them on the pilgrimage that ended in the liberal party swamp. The labor party slogan is not dead, but even if it were, the most elementary political sense would demand that we give it decent burial, after a determined offensive upon the LaFollette gathering in January and a campaign of clarification in the unions to dispel the confusion that now exists among the militants themselves as to our true position.

We cannot jump from one slogan to another, abandoning our fundamental campaigns like a tired infant its playthings. It is necessary at times to change tactics, even to abandon

the banner of working class politics, but this must be done with the greatest care and tact.

It is the slogan of the Detroit Reds now.

The entire membership of the Workers Party and of the Young Workers League has united solidly all of its forces in a final drive to put across a monster press rally for the benefit of the DAILY WORKER and the drive of the Young Workers League to make their official organ, The Young Worker, a weekly.

The rally is planned for Sunday, December 14, and from the pre-meeting purchasing of tickets for the entertainment it is expected that hundreds of workers, with the proper amount of "flaming youths" included, will fill up the famous House of the Masses, at 2646 St. Aubin St., on the coming Sunday, at 8 o'clock.

Tickets for this affair are priced at the ridiculously low sum of four bits otherwise known as fifty cents each.

Not only will you be doing yourself a favor by coming and bringing your friends, but you will be helping the working class press which is fighting in your interests. All forward-looking working stiffs are expected to come and bring their girls, since without them a red dance is a pretty sorry affair. The dance will be the event of the social elite in working class circles of Detroit and there will be darn few to miss it.

Remember the date!

DETROIT MONSTER PRESS RALLY ON SUNDAY, DEC. 14

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 11.—Party and league united for the Communist press! That is the slogan of the Detroit Reds now.

The entire membership of the Workers Party and of the Young Workers League has united solidly all of its forces in a final drive to put across a monster press rally for the benefit of the DAILY WORKER and the drive of the Young Workers League to make their official organ, The Young Worker, a weekly.

Medbury Theater, Tuesday and Wednesday, Dec. 16 and 17.

Caniff Theater, Wednesday and Thursday, Dec. 17 and 18.

Royal Theater, Friday, Dec. 19.

Philly Knit Goods Workers.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Federated Textile Unions of America have been assailing the knitted outerwear workers of Philadelphia to organize but will not hinder the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union from granting the knitwear workers a charter in the Quaker City as they have

granted one in New York, asserts Lawrence F. LaBrie, secretary-treasurer of Federated Textile Unions. The federated is an independent organization, declares LaBrie, "ready to assist affiliated organizations in time of strike or lockout" and "ready to help any and all classes of workers to organize."

Getting Over It.

PARIS, Dec. 11.—Premier Herriot

was slightly better today, according to physicians treating him for la grippe. They ordered that he remain

in bed several days more, however.

WORTH FIGHTING FOR

What is worth believing in, is worth battling for. You fight for what you believe in, right now, by GIVING for it. This minute should find you on tip-toe, ready to go! You're expected to RUSH IN and do your FULL SHARE of the task that confronts us.

St. Paul Readers, Attention.

A hard time dance will be given by the City Central Committee, of St. Paul at Commonwealth Club, 435 Rice St., Saturday evening, Dec. 13. There

will be a kangaroo court and novelty entertainment. Come prepared for the occasion. The cow-bells begin ringing at 8 sharp.

Comrades in the Freiheit Singing Society will sing some of their new songs, which will add to the many attractions that promise to make this the liveliest and the most enjoyable affair ever held in Philadelphia. Admission 50c. Banquet will last till 2 a.m.

St. Paul Readers, Attention.

A hard time dance will be given by the City Central Committee, of St. Paul at Commonwealth Club, 4



## THE DAILY WORKER

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## Gompers Is Dead—The Revolution Lives

Samuel Gompers has gone and no matter what temporary arrangements are made to keep peace in the official family of the American Federation of Labor, there will ensue a bitter struggle for the throne he occupied so long.

Forty-five years of experience in the game of internal trade union politics, forty-five years of playing one union against another in jurisdictional disputes, forty-five years of dividing the support of political opponents and mustering a majority for his machine at every convention, made Gompers an artist of rare skill in this field.

He played on the ambitions, prejudices and passions of the lower strata of officialdom, like a violinist plays on his strings. He was far abler and much better informed than any of his immediate associates and he was regarded by many an ignorant international union official with almost superstitious awe.

He dominated the American Federation of Labor and it bears his mark today. He made no pretense of leading the labor movement, but fought always for the fetishes of craft and calling, was against industrial unionism, working class political action, against anything that smacked of criticism of American capitalism, acted always on the theory that employers and workers were parts of a happy family and that bad conditions were due to bad employers—not to a bad social system.

He delivered the labor movement to the House of Morgan in 1917. He waged war on every working class foe of imperialism, was the most bitter and outspoken enemy of Soviet Russia in America and crowned his labors, a few days before his death, by handing over the Mexican labor movement, tied hand and foot, to American imperialism.

He fought against the socialist party before it betrayed the working class during and after the world war, and when the Workers (Communist) Party became the revolutionary vanguard in the United States, he formed a united front with every agency of capitalism against it.

The capitalist, yellow socialist and reactionary labor press will mourn Gompers. They will praise his leadership, his strategy and his organizing ability, but the record of history can be read by all and it says in unmistakable terms that Samuel Gompers left the American labor movement weaker, in proportion to the strength of the capitalist class, than it was when he came upon the scene. He left the American Federation of Labor an organization that has forgotten how to fight and that glories in its subservience to American capitalism at home and prides itself on the aid given by it in subjugating workers of other nations.

The record of the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor—its endorsement of military training camps, its plea for more battleships, its plea for official representatives in the war department, its enunciation of the Monroe doctrine in accordance with the imperialist policies of the Coolidge-Morgan-Dawes government, its betrayal of the Mexican workers—is the epitaph of Samuel Gompers.

He lived a servant of American capitalism and he died as such. The labor bureaucrats have lost their leader and American capitalism an efficient ally.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America and the Trade Union Educational League live and will carry on the same struggle to win the masses for the revolution that they waged before Gompers' death and which served to show to hundreds of thousands of workers the true character of Gompers as the mouthpiece of capitalist reaction in the ranks of labor.

His successor cannot fool for long the workers into following the bloody trail that Gompers blazed for them—the trail that leads straight to death on imperialism's battlefields.

## Social-Democracy "Victorious"

The German social-democrats announce triumphantly that the recent elections were a victory for the Dawes plan.

If there is any shame left in the Bergers and Hillquits they will be as outspoken as their Deutschland kindred and admit that the socialist party—what part LaFollette did not swallow—is as Comrade Zinoviev so aptly phrased it, "the third party of the bourgeoisie."

Perhaps in the light of the sturdy work of the social democracy for the slave plan of American imperialism this phrase should be revised and the social-democracy given first place in the list of capitalism's supporters.

It boast of the victory of the Dawes plan in the German elections entitles it to promotion when added to its murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

## The Communists and Child Labor

The census report of 1920 showed that only 43 per cent of the farm boys and girls of high school age were enrolled in school. More than half of all the farm children are not obtaining the educational advantages which our schools are theoretically supposed to offer to all. Many of them remain at home because they are unable to carry high school work, but the greater portion of them are at home because they have to work or because of a financial handicap.

J. E. Hill, state supervisor of Vocational Education in Illinois, in a speech before the Society for Vocational Education, December 11.

Here is a concrete example from the daily lives of the farmers' children in the rich agricultural state of Illinois, given by an expert in close touch with the situation. It is complete proof of the statement contained in the manifesto of the Workers (Communist) Party of America on child labor, that any method proposed to destroy this evil which does not provide for maintenance of school children by the government, is meaningless and ineffective.

Illinois is an old and rich agrarian district. The state is covered with a network of public schools that are as good as any under capitalism. Transportation is excellent, yet but 43 per cent of the eligible high school youth were enrolled.

Why? The state supervisor, certainly no friend of Communism, states plainly that poverty of the parents necessitating the employment of the children, is the basic reason. And now we come upon one of the worst effects of child labor i. e. its devastating inroads on wages and conditions of labor. The father of a family, if his children can find jobs, can be forced by the bosses to accept drastic reductions in his wages and as for large sections of the farming population they live only by intensive exploitation of the labor of their own flesh and blood.

A unified front of all working class organizations for the government maintenance of all children of school age is the only method of combating an evil that not only condemns children to lives of slavery but that also brings down the standard of living of the whole working class.

Daily Worker  
Insurance Policies  
\$10 - \$5 - \$1

## Rebukes Cop for Killing

A coroner's jury reprimanded former Traffic Police man John McGuire yesterday for killing Chester Mizulowski, 20, of 4227 South Richmond street, who was shaking dice. McGuire has resigned from the police force.—News Item in Chicago Tribune.

Policeman McGuire was probably actuated by a flood of righteous indignation when he resigned. To be reprimanded for the killing of a foreign-born worker who was undermining the Anglo-Saxon civilization by shaking dice, is too much for any self-respecting bluecoat in this land of freedom.

The increasing domination of South American nations by American imperialism is shown in recent dispatches from Brazil which state that that country will await action by the United States before proceeding further with negotiations for recognition of and a treaty with Soviet Russia. The American army officers who are training the Brazilian forces for war on Argentina are apparently extending their activities to European affairs as well.

Watch the capitalist press, see how it will play up the working class traitor Gompers. Last week they had a picture of Debs too, with a nice friendly little note. Usually the photo section is filled with pictures of kings and murderers, bandits and whole strings of social parasites, with royalty always played up strong. And this is the greatest "democracy" on earth.

That the division line of society cuts thru racial groups and follows class interests, is seen by the way the American capitalists can get the Mexican president, Calles, to lick their boots, while Gompers joined with other labor leaders of the Mexican race, joins hands with both Calles and Hughes to fight the Communists.

If anyone asks whb the "reds" are today, let him look at those the capitalist press attack. The anarchists are non-existent, the socialists are dead, even the I. W. W. has become harmless, and only the Communists are the center of hostility. That's because they are alive.

French imperialism raided a school in Paris where Communists taught natives of Tunis, Morocco and Syria how to organize their fellows to overthrow French rule. The Communists are the only group which makes internationalism a thing of reality.

The German social-democrats are now engaged in going around with offers of cabinet jobs to fascist nationalists to trade off for support by these monarchist elements against the Communists in the reichstag. The more we see of social-democrats the better we like dogs.

Your Policy Must Be  
Buy a Policy—

## NORTHERN OHIO OVERSUBSCRIBES ITS DAILY QUOTA

## The Unemployed They Buy Policies

(Special to The Daily Worker)

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 11.—Many Workers Party branches in northern Ohio have already oversubscribed their quota for the fund to insure the DAILY WORKER for next year, in spite of widespread unemployment in this section.

At a meeting of the Cleveland city central committee, branch DAILY WORKER agents reported that the sales of the insurance policies are in full swing. Many of the Cleveland branches have promised to subscribe an average of five dollars per member.

Buy Five and Ten Dollar Policies.

At Warren, Ohio, an interesting discussion took place at the DAILY WORKER membership meeting. The Finnish branch will try its utmost to raise its quota in spite of much unemployment among its members. The South Slavic branch of Warren has nearly raised its quota.

In Ashtabula and Conneaut there is also much unemployment. Some members have not worked for six months.

In spite of this the sale of policies

to build the DAILY WORKER is on

and many bought five and ten dollar policies at the meeting.

The unemployed Finns of Ohio call

upon all higher paid Finnish building

laborers and others in the east to buy

five and ten dollar policies to assure

the full Finnish Federation quota.

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