

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.

AS WE SEE IT By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

THE business office of the DAILY WORKER has received a check amounting to \$11.82 from the English-American section of the Political Emigrant's Club in Moscow for the Sacco-Vanzetti defense fund. This news should make a strong pull on the purse strings of the readers of the DAILY WORKER. And it should inspire the American workers to renew their efforts to save our imprisoned comrades from the electric chair and one of the best ways to do this is to raise funds for legal defense.

THE millions of the employing class of the United States are behind the state of Massachusetts in the effort to send Sacco and Vanzetti to the death chair. It is significant of the growing spirit of solidarity among the workers of the world that our comrades in other lands should voluntarily contribute their share to thwart the aims of the assassins of labor in the United States. The fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti is as pressing a duty as ever confronted the American working class. No time should be lost. Money is badly needed. It should be remembered that only last week the workers of Moscow sent one thousand dollars to the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee. Russia is indeed the land of the free workers.

THERE are no Sacco-Vanzettis in prison in Russia. This is a good report 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 (Continued on page 6)

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 Bridgman. 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 issues 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 the mere belief in certain political principles—the principles of Commun-

ism—is a crime.

Thus one more step is taken to completely emasculate the provision of the constitution. The criminal syndicalism 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 syndicalism law which tears down the last vestiges of the right of freedom of speech, press and assembly.

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.

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 thru out 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. Katterfield, 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 campaign 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 daily 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 1,000 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 the daily in that city.

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 badly beaten in a pitched battle resulting when farmer pickets along the highway halted a truck load of milk which Frank McKiski was attempting to deliver to a boycotted dairy. Two deputies who were accompanying McKiski 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)

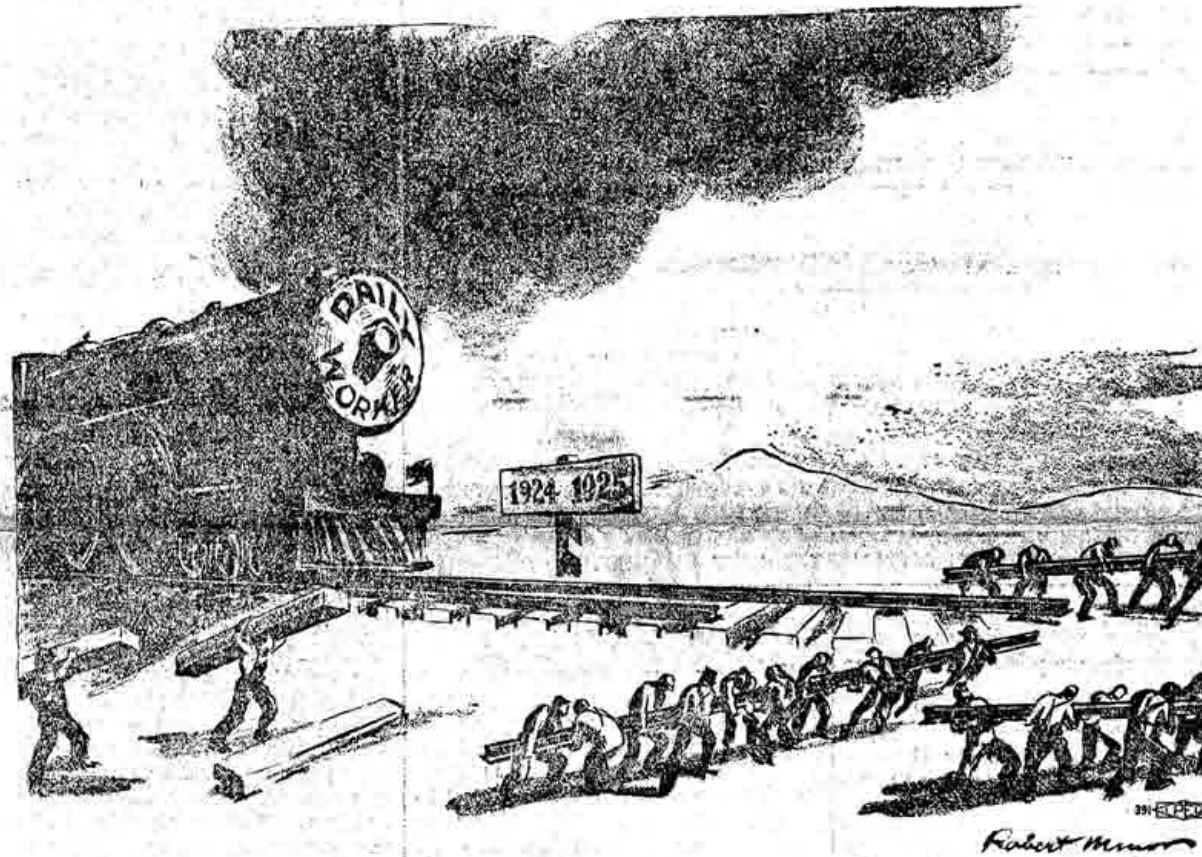
Progressive Ticket Leads Farrington Slate in Poll of Illinois Coal Miners

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 MYERS COUGH.
(Special to The Daily Worker)
PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 11.—Rinaldo Cappellini, once the popular idol of 33 miners of this section of District United Mine Workers of America, turned to these parts last Sunday night 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 administration and threatening to expose those responsible, regardless of who they may be (intimating that some are officials or organizers), as agents of the coal operators. Today he appeared at the meeting of the general grievance committee in Pittsburgh, not as the district president, he said, but as "an individual."

He had been invited by the committee upon hearing that he had returned so as to find out what his attitude was in the present situation. He was asked to appear yesterday, but claimed the press of other matters prevented it and the meeting today was arranged for him.

Cappellini on Defensive.
Claiming that there was a concerted move on foot to get rid of him by making him "the goat" for everything, Cappellini said, "I have come to the meeting to help decide whether or not I am a traitor, or whether the coal company is back of the strike. Why don't you fellows ask the members of the district executive board to come to the meeting to defend themselves as I, as an individual, am defending myself?" To a number of "pointed" questions asked at different intervals during the five-hour session, Cappellini invariably replied that he would not answer.

He refused to answer Delegate (Continued on page 2)

WORKERS PARTY BIG FACTOR IN MINERS' FIGHT

Farrington Expected to Count Himself "In"

(Special to The Daily Worker)
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 11.—John Hindmarsh of Riverton, Illinois, progressive candidate for president of District No. 12, United Mine Workers of America against the present incumbent, Frank Farrington, is leading his opponent, according to unofficial returns from the elections that were held on Dec. 9.

The only obstacle in the way of Farrington's removal by vote of the membership is the fact that he counts the vote and may steal this election as he has always done in the past.

The progressive leaders declare that no coal miner in Illinois outside of those on Farrington's payroll will admit that they ever voted for the reactionary and agent of the coal operators. Farrington says, "I will be your next president whether you vote for me or not."

Vigorous Campaign.
The progressives in the Illinois Miners' Union have carried on a vigorous campaign against Farrington and his henchmen. In this they were given valuable aid and leadership by the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League and particularly by District 8, of which Comrade Arne Swabeck is organizer.

This district of the Workers Party recently published and distributed among the miners 10,000 copies of a sixteen-page pamphlet exposing the career of Frank Farrington in the labor movement and particularly in the miners' union. This pamphlet and the campaign carried on by the progressives under Communist leadership had the effect of solidifying the opposition to Farrington and his lackeys.

Clean Sweep for President.
The returns from the Springfield district where the Communists are leading the fight against Farrington, show a clean sweep for the progressive ticket led by Hindmarsh. Farrington has been after the scalp of John J. Watt and Freeman Thompson, officials of the Springfield sub-district for a long time but the members in that section are solidly behind them. Duncan McDonald was recently dropped from Local 448, on threat of lifting their charter by Farrington. One of the propositions which the miners were called to vote for besides offices for the next two years, was the old age pension guaranteeing aged miners \$25.00 a month. It is proposed that an assessment be levied against the wages of the miners in order to cover the cost of the pension.

Another Religious Institution Takes Cue From the Holy Ghost

A police investigation of the Lutheran Girls' Home, a semi-charitable organization here, was launched today following the arrest of the chef at the home and his alleged confession that he was the father of a baby born to one of the inmates.

The home, according to police, purports to be an establishment where working girls are able to obtain room and board at nominal costs under the chaperonage of a matron. There are 76 girls living there.

Attention was directed to it when Mrs. Letta Schenk, 19, gave birth to a baby at a local hospital. To her husband, summoned from Minnesota, where he lives, Mrs. Schenk is said to have involved Thomas Richmond, 30, chef at the home. His arrest followed.

Ely, Minn., with But Six Members Gave Foster 24 Votes

(Special to The Daily Worker)
ELY, Minn., Dec. 11.—The vote for Wm. Z. Foster, candidate of the Workers Party for president, was in this little town, 24 votes. We have only six members in the Slavic branch here.—Signed, A. Delac.

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 over-time 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 a 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 strike-breakers 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 Records of Strikebreaking.
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 street car strike of 1917, which was marked by violence and bloodshed incited 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 per cent union as evidence of Snyder's incompetency as a strikebreaker. It looks as though 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 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 fratricidal war between Chile and Peru and between Argentine and Brazil.

The newspapers of November 26 inform us that there have been firing between Peruvian and Chilean soldiers near Teela. 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 Tana 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 serfdom 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, tho 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 skimmed 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.

Daily Worker Drive Peps Up with Big Spurt of New Life

(Continued from page 1)
ing the paper on every newsstand in the Quaker City.

Comrade Fred Merrick of Pittsburgh, was tentatively selected to handle and develop that district for the DAILY WORKER. He plans to run special campaigns among the miners and the steel workers and the possibilities for success in that region are bright.

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 humming 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.

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 reported the independent presidential candidacy of Senator Robert M. LaFollette 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 men, 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.

Sam 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, "all the 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.

Cappellini, Once Popular Idol, Is Now a Traitor
(Continued from page 1)
Martina of No. 14 colliery, located in Cappellini's home town, Hilldale, when he asked the ex-radical, if it wasn't a fact, that when they travelled around together, fighting side by side in 1920 against ex-President Dempsey, that he (Cappellini) had advocated fight, strike and various kinds of sabotage.

Dodged Questions.
He also refused an immediate answer to a question by Delegate Lucarelli of Old Forge, who wanted to know if Cappellini accepted as official the action of the executive board during his absence, in revoking the charters of the striking locals.

Later, however, he used evasive language, but positively affirmed the action. All his efforts today, he said, were to get the men to resist their strike order. To attain this end he used a cloak of pathos mixed with an air of bravado, winding up with a promise that the committee, now in charge of the strike and expelled thru charter revocation, could elect an Italian from among its members and he would appoint him as an organizer.

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 "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 thruout 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 (fascist) 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 ever 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 committees in the future, but that all grievances must be handled by the local committees. That an effort to "outlaw" the general bodies was not, was predicted in these columns several weeks ago. Seems like another case of a father trying to disown his illegitimate child. Cappellini founded the general grievance committees 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).

Fire Destroys Valuable Documents
SEVILLE.—Fire broke out in the West Indian building today and destroyed priceless documents in the archives. Many of the documents were of historical value.

*Your Policy Must Be
—Buy a Policy—*

Roll Call

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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

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 action. 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 party 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.

Is 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 know all the time that the Workers (Communist) Party is the only class party of the workers, so we cannot 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 opportunist tendencies.

The masses will not be revolutionized by a slogan which had 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.

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," although 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

the capitalist system, or confined their possible errors to executive committee sessions out of sight of the party as a whole and issued them as party instructions which all good Communists obey.

Naturally it was not to go on forever. Some situation had to arise to shake the party into wakefulness, self-criticism and scrutiny of its ideological leadership. Such a situation is the present party discussion over the farmer-labor party slogan issue. It is unavoidable, nay, it is even necessary, that in such a discussion the ideological deviations (if any exist) from the line of Leninist-Communism in the mental furniture of any of our leading comrades, should be sharply pointed out and the deviation corrected by the party so that the comrades who have erred, may learn from their error and, united with their critics, give their best ability to carry on the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

Some comrades are considerate of human feelings. They say with anxious mind and troubled heart, "Don't be personal," when the political line of a leading party comrade is designated and compared with known deviations—be it left or right. Communists are not thin-skinned about political criticism. If we are not to do this, our party may as well cease trying to be a party which clears itself by critical self-survey, and may as well call in the Comintern to perform a service to Communism for which we would be inherently unfitted. It would be excellent if there were no deviations. But if such exist, it is a

crime against our party to remain silent.

Comrade Ruthenberg has been the first to win 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 continuously 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 Proletariat 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 points of parliamentary procedure. What Lies Behind Farmer-Laborism.

Whether or not we shall have a farmer-labor party ("mass" or "class"—you may take your choice), or even whether or not there shall be a slogan for these apples of Sodom, is becoming an issue which, the of grave importance, is exposing the graver issue of whether or not we shall have a Bolshevik party, or whether we shall be delivered over to a social democratic morass of "vulgar parliamentarism"—which is where the comrades of the minority are leading us, consciously or unconsciously.

See, for example, the generous scorn 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 a 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 deigns 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 life.

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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 same 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 down 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."

The next exhibit is Comrade Powell, who is filled with as much rebellion against centralization and discipline as an anarcho-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."

Particularly 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, it advocates a united front of unemployed councils directed against the state and federal governments, the 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 field."

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 because 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-Laborism.

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 does give 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 part is a sort of a 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—"I 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 exploitive 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,

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 fantastic 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 BEDACHT.

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 Communist International we must insist that the fundamental points be dealt with in the discussion.

The majority, either not understanding the fundamental points at issue, or desirous to keep them out of the discussion, insists to stick to superficialities, to hair-splitting and quibbling. Reading the long and shallow epistles of our majority comrades one becomes convinced that these comrades have taken the advice of Mephisto serious:

"To eagerly don't labor for ideas; For if on ideas you're short, You surely find a fitting word; About words 'tis easy to dispute, No trouble to believe in words, And nothing you may rob of words."

The party is entitled to know the facts so it may judge by them. The fireworks of words—and nothing but words—of the majority shall not succeed in covering up their own shallowness and meaninglessness.

Comrade Foster, while in Moscow last year, carried on a campaign against the minority with an accusation that it had consistently sabotaged the industrial work of the party. There was not an iota of justification for this accusation; neither on the basis of facts as contained in the minutes of the C. E. C., nor on the basis of the activities of the party. But, also not intentionally, Comrade Foster had put his finger on the sore when he raised that issue. The facts of the matter are that the present majority consistently sabotages the political activities of the party. For the present majority the industrial work was not the most important method to initiate, to aid in and to carry

WHO ARE THE MENSHEVIKS?

By ALFRED GOETZ.

IN an article on the party controversy published by the DAILY WORKER Dec. 3, Comrade Lovestone accuses the majority of the party of menshevik skepticism. In a rather lengthy statement in which he attempts to prove that the farmer-labor movement has not been swallowed by LaFollette and that it can be revived, we find the following:

Skepticism—A Menshevik Disease.

"Thus Lenin in his introduction to 'Karl Marx' Letters to Kugelmann," said, 'The Marxist doctrine has welded the theory and practice of the class struggle into an INDIVISIBLE WHOLE (caps his). He is no Marxist who, to justify existing conditions, distorts the theory which soberly confirms the objective situation, who goes so far as to adapt himself with the greatest possible speed to any temporary lull in the revolution (!), to throw quickly overboard his 'revolutionary illusion' and to set about collecting the 'realistic' shreds."

On which Comrade Lovestone comments as follows: "It is a truth long known to Bolsheviks, that only the empiric does not look at developing class conflicts and movements any further than the horizon of the then given situation. Amongst mensheviks," Comrade Lovestone continues, "skepticism and doubt rise in direct proportion to the drawn out and laborious character the development of class movements tend to assume."

To all of which we agree and although we fail to see how this applies to the majority position, it can readily be seen how much more accurately it describes the minority. It is true, Comrade Lovestone, that the comrades of the majority have doubts and are skeptical of the possibility of re-establishing whatever sentiment of the farmer-labor movement has existed—and with good cause. Since when has it become the function of a Communist Party to organize farmer-labor parties? It is true that it would be our duty to participate in a mass movement of this kind or even in a widespread demand for one, should one exist, but for us to try to organize a non-Communist party which we would ultimately have to combat, and at that when we would have to organize it out of nothing but ourselves and our close sympathizers, is clearly ridiculous.

We would further like to ask the minority, since when has it become a cardinal principle of Communists to view with anything but doubt and

skepticism any movement of this nature which if it is to be more than a paper organization must consist of a strong block of trade unions who will make it anything but a real class movement. It is a well known fact that Communists support and participate in such movements only for the purpose of tearing off their farmer-labor mask and thereby reveal their essential petty bourgeois character to the masses. Or are our comrades of the minority of the opinion that this country is favored with revolutionary labor fakers?

When it comes to menshevik skepticism, however, it is the minority who can be charged with that, for it is they who doubt our Communist party. They doubt, and Lovestone openly states his doubt, that our party will be able to carry on its struggle under its own banner. They are skeptical of the possibilities of our party becoming a mass party unless we assume a disguise or their magic formula of a "Mass, Class Farmer-Labor Party," a party which would assume all the vital functions of a Communist Party in the everyday struggle, and which would leave no other function for our party than to shout "Onward to the Soviets," as Sylvan A. Pollock stated in an article supporting the minority position.

It can be seen from the above that not only the minority thesis but all the articles that have been printed in support of the minority position are confessions of disappointment in the Communist Party; are confessions of doubt and menshevik skepticism as to the ability of the party to carry out its Communist task. No matter how good the intentions of the minority may be, the fact remains that if their policies are adopted they will lead to the liquidation of the Workers (Communist) Party, and to the formation of a menshevik Two-and-a-Half International left wing group similar to the one which Walton T. Newbold and M. Phillips Price in England are trying to establish.

Comrades, do not permit yourselves to be fooled. The way to a mass Communist movement is not thru a sleight-of-hand farmer-labor party maneuver. It is only thru the Bolshevization of the party and thru the rank and file taking an active part in the every day struggle that such a movement can be established. We cannot build the party by means of the united front thru negotiations with so-called progressive leaders from the top but only by creating a united front thru ceaseless struggles and activity from below.

ry on political activities, but this industrial work was an aim in itself. In the eyes of these comrades the industrial department of the party was not the auxiliary of the party, but the party became the auxiliary of its industrial department. Whenever Comrade Pepper or another member of the minority tried to give the industrial activities of our party political significance, when motions were made to bring out into clear relief the purpose of our industrial activities in the promotion of political action, then the cry was raised that the minority belittles industrial action. The present minority has consistently supported Comrade Foster in all his plans for the industrial activities of our party. Comrade Pepper was indefatigable in spurring the party on to more and still more of industrial activities. But in addition to these industrial activities there were proposed at all times slogans and actions to link up the industrial activities with the paramount task of our party. And this paramount task is not, as the majority seems to believe, the industrialization of our party, but it is the politicalization of the working class.

"But," says Comrade O'Flaherty, "every struggle of the working class against the capitalists, whether it be in an election campaign or in a strike, is a political struggle." Well, Comrade O'Flaherty, this is "as you see it." In reality the political potentialities of a strike are not worth even a passing mention by a communist if they are not brought out into the open by systematic action of a revolutionary party of the workers, by the Communists. As long as the application of political power in the strikes is confined to the capitalists, the strike is not a political struggle. It must be made one by conscious action. And the political character of a strike lies not in the naked fact of the strike itself, but only in the potentialities of the strike in that the experiences of the strikes drive home to the workers the necessity of a political struggle and thus tend to turn strikes (not every strike, but strikes in general) into political struggles against the bourgeois state. These struggles will then take on many forms and not merely that of political strikes.

The task of our party is not to be merely active in the industrial struggles of the working class, but it is to develop in all instances the political potentialities of such struggles. Not merely participation in these struggles is our aim, but participation with a purpose. And it is on this point that we invariably collided with the majority. Political slogans in strikes were declared to be out of order, as in the instance of the Garment Workers' strike in Chicago. Instructions that speeches, delivered at certain occasions about our demands and slogans should bring out the political scope of these slogans and demands, were considered as sabotage of industrial work, as in the case of Foster's speech on amalgamation in the Decatur convention. In the preparation of convention resolution for trades union conventions everything was consciously eliminated that could raise fundamental and political issues. In one case for instance such an elimination was made on the ground that if left in, the bureaucrats of the convention may switch the issue to that of Moscow agents.

At the bottom of this controversy there is a fundamental difference of conception. This difference makes itself felt in the consideration of all questions. The majority is even conscious of this difference. But it is careful to conceal it. After the majority has fought in each concrete instance the proposals to push to the foreground every political potentiality in economic struggles of the workers, the same majority proposes to the Proletariat a program containing such demands in almost the identical words of the original minority proposals. But, after the program is adopted, everything remains as it is. The program is an alibi, helping the majority, but it does not help the party to increased political activities.

The Issue of Liquidation.

The majority, having in its midst an expert on slogans, decided that what it case lacks in quality may be made up in viciousness of its sermons and slogans against the minority. Thus, the well-known slogan of liquidation was resurrected, polished up and paraded as perfectly new and reliable.

Let us look at this a little closer. Who is to liquidate and what?

The Workers (Communist) Party was engaged in a campaign for a less

(Continued on Page 4)

Discussion on Our Party's Immediate Tasks

LIQUIDATION—OF WHAT, AND BY WHOM? NEW YORK DISTRICT ENDORSES THE C. E. C. DECISION ON CONVENTION

(Continued from page 3)

bor party. The minority was not at all time blind to the fact that this campaign might result in the formation of such a party, and that this new party would then 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 than 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 ogre 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 the Communists to assist it, but always with a view of helping to accomplish the task of the formation of the 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 performance they will even settle the revolution itself 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?

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 tactics proceed 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 gone 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 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-

theless rally at the eleventh hour to put our candidates on the ballot in 12 states out of 48, despite the tremendous legal difficulties in the way, is something to be proud of. That after months of flirting with the more liberal labor bureaucrats our party could swing unanimously into action to expose and fight them for the leadership of the masses is a tribute to our discipline and a record of which many an older Communist Party could well be proud. An administration spokesman seeks to prove our alleged desire to "liquidate" the Workers Party because we do not go in panegyrics over the alleged 100,000 votes he claims will be counted for us. He attacks Comrade Minor for reading from the DAILY WORKER that our party will even cast more votes than the S. L. P. Since when is this the acid test of "success" in Communist campaigns? Since when does a desire for realism, as shown in the minority estimate of 20,000 counted Communist votes, prove a desire to liquidate our party? An argument of that kind is an insult to the intelligence of our membership. Those who collected the signatures, who took the straw votes, who held the street meetings, who took the shop collections, who distributed the literature, know better on what basis to measure the achievements of the party in the last campaign.

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 class 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 Liberalism" 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 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 unsullied 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 a

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 basis from which the united front for a 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

as they succeeded in their game of sterilizing it for this election. The election campaign is over, they are thru. Next time they will try it again. But is that also our position? On election night our chairman announces, "We are thru with the farmer-labor party slogan." The inference to be drawn by our friends in the labor movement is a painful one.

More "Straw-men." We do not say that the labor party is the only form that the united front can take. That is a straw-man. We do say that with our own intense trade union campaign for this policy still fresh in the minds of our supporters, with the fizzle of liberalism itself destroying the illusion of quick and certain immediate success over that road, with the self-exposure of the treachery of the labor bureaucrats still smarting the eyes of the rank and file trade unionists who thought they were getting a class party—we say that now is the time for our party to profit from this particular situation in the continuation of this slogan of deep mass appeal, a slogan that is solidly in line with both economic conditions and political developments.

Against this the administration, tending to an institutional pride that might abound in the republican party or in some kindergarten but is luckily absent in a Communist Party, puts forth the slogan: "The labor party idea is no good, for class politics join the Workers Party." Such a slogan would be entirely appropriate in a situation where a reformist-led labor party is actually actively defending and administering the interests of the capitalist class—it is utterly out of place two weeks after we ourselves were still supporting it, six months after we ourselves were in danger of straying as far over the line as have the masses whom we could help start, but could not stop. It is unheard of at a time when the labor bureaucrats sufficiently strong to try to steer their membership back into the parties of big capital, instead of neutralizing them in a reformist bloc under their control.

In the present backward state of political consciousness on the part of the American working class, "For a labor party" is a revolutionary mass slogan that promises the Workers Party the greatest possible increase of contact and militant influence. The cry of "The Workers Party Against the Field" is sectarianism pure and

simple in this stage of development. Members can be recruited far faster thru individual solicitation and organization among those who are drawn into co-operative action with us in these united fronts than by an abstract general invitation.

The issue is not the straw-man, "Communist Party versus Farmer-Labor Party." The issue is: "What shall be the Communist attitude toward the labor party movement in view of its betrayal by all elements except ourselves?"

We Have Faith in Party. The issue is not that the minority have no "faith" in the Workers Party. They have more faith in it and in the revolutionary integrity of its members than have the majority, and they prove it by their willingness to throw the party into open struggle with the liberals and the labor bureaucrats for the ideological leadership of that part of the working class that has shown the urge to class conquest of political power. Whatever fears of "contamination" or "infection" there may have been to hold anyone back two years ago, the conduct of our party membership during the long and difficult 1924 campaign has been such that we can feel sure of ourselves now. The rank and file has shown fully as much firm understanding as has its leadership, and it has shown self-discipline enough to follow loyally even when believing the leadership was mistaken. More cannot be demanded from any party. Greater "faith" cannot be expressed in any organization.

We do not oppose change because it is change. The administration wants to alter a major tactic, it wants to drop the united front campaign for a labor party. We do not say that this is the only united front. We do not say that we must campaign for a labor party forever and ever, Amen.

We do say that this slogan is not dead as long as economic conditions remain as they are and militant supporters of working class political action remain enmeshed in the toils of liberalism or the labor bureaucracy. We challenge the administration to justify the change either on the basis of economic change of political development. These two form the bases that determine changes in Communist tactics and until a case is made out on these grounds the old tactic supported in national convention and by the Communist International must stand unchanged.

Party Activities Of Local Chicago

Friday, Dec. 12
Scandinavian S. Side, 641 E. 61st St.
Lettish Branch, 459 Thomas St.

Saturday, Dec. 13
Y. W. L. dance, Northwest Hall, cor. North and Western Aves.

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE ACTIVITIES, LOCAL CHICAGO.

Friday, Dec. 12
Area Branch No. 1, 6 p. m., 180 West Washington St. Discussion on N. E. C. statement. John Williamson, speaking.
Area Branch No. 2, 8 p. m., 722 Blue Island Ave. Discussion of N. E. C. statement. John Edwards, speaking.
Area Branch No. 3, 8 p. m., 3142 S. Halsted St. Activity meeting.
Area Branch No. 4, 8 p. m., activity meeting, 3322 Douglas Blvd.
Area Branch No. 5, 8 p. m., activity meeting, 820 N. Clark St.
Area Branch No. 6, 8 p. m., 2618 Hirsch Blvd. Discussion of N. E. C. statement. Max Shuchman, speaker.

Saturday, Dec. 13
Y. W. L. dance, Northwest Hall, cor. North and Western Aves.

JUNIORS HIKE SUNDAY

Meet the bunch at Milwaukee and Western at 10 o'clock sharp on Sunday, Dec. 14. Bring lunch and carfare. Lots of fun ahead! League and party members invited.

Amter and Carlson At Philadelphia Banquet and Dance

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Dec. 11.—On Saturday evening, Dec. 13, all Philadelphia party activities are called off to enable every comrade and sympathizer of the party to attend the banquet and dance which will be held at the Shuberts Drawing Rooms, Franklin St. and Columbia Ave.

Israel Amter who just returned from Moscow after two years of activity in Russia and Germany, will be the chief speaker at the banquet with Comrade Oliver Carlson, who also recently arrived from Russia and who is now in charge of the educational work in district three, acting as toastmaster. 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 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, 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.

CHICAGO BAZAAR NETS \$2,000 FOR DAILY WORKER AND LABOR DEFENSE

The Chicago bazaar committee reports over \$2,000 netted for the DAILY WORKER and Labor Defense Council. Approximately, the gross receipts were \$3,200—expenses \$1,200.

The committee desires to thank the following branches—Czecho-Slovak, Karl Marx Scandinavian, Ukrainian No. 1, Hungarian, Greek, Lettish and Polish, and Comrades Kalousek, Bekiesh, Holm especially.

The Chicago conference will meet Saturday afternoon, Dec. 13, at 3:15 o'clock. All delegates are requested to attend.

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.

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 stiffers 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!

IMPORTANT CHANGE IN RUSSIAN MOVIE DATES IN DETROIT

Owing to mistakes of the theater managers there is an important change in the dates for the Detroit showings of "Polikushka," "Soldier Ivan's Miracle," and "Russian Asbestos Industry." These pictures will be shown simultaneously at two theaters on Wednesday, Dec. 17. The correct list of next week's dates:

Medbury Theater, Tuesday and Wednesday, Dec. 16 and 17.
Caniff Theater, Wednesday and Thursday, Dec. 17 and 18.
Royale Theater, Friday, Dec. 19.

Philly Knit Goods Workers. PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Federated Textile Unions of America have been assisting the knitted underwear 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 its 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 jaundice. They ordered that he remain in bed several days more, however.

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-

fend 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-

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.

The Daily Worker
We've Got It!
Let's Keep It!
And Build It!

The World of Labor • Industry & Agriculture

NEW YORK LABOR HITS DAWES PLAN AND TERROR RULE

Denounce Brutal Murders by Estonian Terror

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK CITY.—(By mail.)—Despite the severe rain several hundred workers gathered at the Labor Temple in response to the appeal of the International Workers' Aid and Workers' Party to protest against the white terror in Germany and Estonia. The meeting adopted a resolution denouncing the brutal murder of the Estonian comrades and the violent persecutions of revolutionary workers in Germany. It called for the freedom of the 400,000 workers in the capitalist dungeons throughout Europe and Asia. The resolution further declared that the violence being now employed by the imperialists of these countries is evidence of the fact that the workers are resisting the attempt to enslave them thru the Dawes plan and other means. The meeting went on record in favor of supporting the International Workers' Aid in its campaign for raising funds on behalf of the imprisoned workers.

The speakers of the meeting were Israel Amter, who told of the imprisonment of workers in Europe and of the steps the workers were taking in their behalf; Ludwig Lore, who discussed the Dawes plan and its effect upon the working class of Germany; and Ben Gitlow who spoke of American capitalist class and the House of Morgan as the center of revolution throughout the world. William W. Weinstein, secretary of the International Workers' Aid, acted as the chairman. A collection was taken on behalf of the political prisoners.

Drain Eyes World Court.
NEW YORK, Dec. 11.—The American Legion committed itself by the words of its national commander, James A. Drain, in favor of the universal draft bill to come before congress soon and for "some sort of a world court." Drain explained that the draft bill would make all citizens obliged to serve the government either by fighting, working or financing.

Elect Musy Swiss President.
BERNE, Switzerland, Dec. 11.—Jean Marie Musy, of Fribourg, former finance minister, today was elected president of the Swiss federation.

DISARMING THE SMALL NATIONS

By J. S. Co.

In the very portals where Carnegie established his notorious sham, "The Peace Palace," at the Hague, Holland, an unprincipled pacifist and an ambitious propagandist spreading militarist held a debate on the subject, "Shall the Netherlands disarm?" This debate attracted much attention, and it was attended by peoples from all classes. The hall was crammed to capacity and a large crowd was gathered on the outside where a loud speaker had been arranged. In spite of the fact that both speakers were leaders of bourgeois parties, a great part of the audience thought it would be fitting to the occasion to sing the social-pacifist song "Down with the weapons." This, of course, tended to aggravate the speakers because it gave indication of the rising tide of resentment, not only against war, but the elements that promote it.

Present Warfare Spares None.

Professor Van Emden, the pacifist, pictured the terrible slaughtering in the next war, and how, today, in time of war, when entire populations in big cities are working on the necessities of war, to make it successful, the enemy will recognize no non-combatants, and will endeavor to destroy them, and might make their own (the bourgeois) wives and children the innocent victims of air raiders. Thus bringing the horrors of war right on their front doorsteps.

This is where the shoe pinched. As long as they could draft cannon fodder out of the working class, and let them do the sacrificing while their own kinsmen were safe at home they were satisfied, but now a new condition presents itself. Yes, to die for one's country is glorious, but now they realize that in the war of the future their own flesh and blood might decorate the gutter in the street.

"War" For Whom?

It is remarkable how a man like Professor Van Emden can talk for hours about war and against it, or rather the terror of war, without coming to the point.

True it is, as Professor Van Emden stated, there is no speck of sense for a small country to have an army, even for defense. They will be kept neutral to buy food from or be used to protect their (the warring nation's) boundary with or if it is in a strategic position, the country will be overrun. He pictured the coming chemical war with its poisonous gases, where in the big cities, everywhere from baby to grandmother will wear a gas mask, and told about the horror that would result from bacterium planting, laying waste to all vegetation infected.

Imagine two opposite air raiding parties sent out on the same day, returning home after a successful raid, to find their own city wiped off the earth. Of course, the general did not agree to this. He thinks chemical war is not so inhuman as pictured. Holland only needs 15,000,000 florins to be protected from air raids (the general must have been reading Brisbane's editorials).

They Have Poor Memories.

General Snyder thought it was very naughty and nasty to make a joke of the army and to speculate on the cowardice of a people. He said, "When the big neighbor states know that neutral Holland is prepared they will think twice before attacking it." (He was mum about the experience of Belgium.)

After both parties had spoken the pacifist audience was ready to go on the war path, and were shouting with cat calls. After the singing of the International, and "Down with weapons," they went home.

Of course, they could not blame Professor Van Emden, "a progressive" for bringing red there. He probably didn't like it himself.

This meeting was another step towards the grave of a parasitic class that still lives on the glory of Holland's golden age, the 17th century.

Your Union Meeting

SECOND FRIDAY, DEC. 12, 1924

No.	Name of Local and Place of Meeting.
207	Bakers and Confectioners, 3420 W. Roosevelt Road.
122	Blacksmiths, 64th and S. Ashland Ave.
429	Boiler Makers, 105th and Ave. M.
424	Boiler Makers, 55th and Halsted.
653	Boiler Makers, 62d and Halsted.
653	Building Trades Council, 150 W. Washington St.
2200	Carpenters District Council, 505 S. State St.
14286	Carpenters, 4239 S. Halsted St.
14286	Commercial Portrait Artists, 19 W. Adams St.
9	Electricians, 2901 W. Monroe St.
182	Electricians, 19 W. Adams St.
683	Engineers (Loc.), Madison and Sacramento Sts.
845	Engineers, 180 W. Washington St.
674	Firemen and Engineemen, 5428 Westworth Ave.
45	Fur Workers, Gardeners and Florists, Village Hall, Morton Grove.
17117	Garment Workers, 175 W. Washington St., 6 p. m.
84	Glass Workers, Emily and Marshall Sts.
218	Hod Carriers, 1850 Sherman St., Evanston.
7	Janitors, 166 W. Washington St.
1225	Ladies' Garment Workers, Joint Board, 328 W. Van Buren St.
4	Lithographers, 629 S. Ashland Blvd.
113	Machinists, 113 S. Ashland Blvd.
109	Machinists, 113 S. Ashland Blvd.
492	Machinists, 113 S. Ashland Blvd.
746	Machinists, S. E. cor. Lexington and Western.
1225	Machinists, 53d Pl. and Halsted.
6	Metal Polishers, 119 S. Throop St.
637	Painters, School and Sheffield Ave.
73	Pattern Makers, 113 S. Throop St.
8	Photo Engravers, 314 W. Harrison St., 6:30 p. m.
810	Plasterers, 180 W. Washington St.
665	Plumbers, 5213 S. Halsted St.
612	Plumbers, 9251 S. Chicago Ave.
287	Railway Carmen, 59th and Halsted.
1268	Railway Carmen, Blue Island, Ill.
1307	Railway Carmen, 52d and Robey.
862	Railway Clerks, 9 S. Clinton St.
6857	Rope Splicers, 5808 Milwaukee Ave.
2	Teachers (Men), 315 Plymouth Ct., 7:30 p. m.
111	Telegraphers, O. R. T. Court Club, Atlantic Hotel.
301	Upholsterers, 159 N. State St.
301	Watchmen (Stock Yards), 3749 S. Halsted St.

Local 269, A. C. W.—Meets every 2nd Friday, 1564 N. Robey.
(Note—Unless otherwise stated all meetings are at 8 p. m.)

Makes Record Flight.

MADRID.—El Sol publishes today a story that Clerva, an engineer, has made a record flight of twelve kilometers in eight minutes with a helicopter.

betrayed

Their first conversation betrayed the fact that she was not fastidious

At a distance she had appeared unusually neat, immaculate. But upon their first face-to-face meeting he discovered that her teeth were not clean. And he soon lost interest.

So many people overlook this one matter of fastidiousness. And do so in spite of the fact that in conversation the teeth are the one most noticeable thing about you.

Notice today how you, yourself, watch another person's teeth when he or she is talking. If the teeth are not well kept they at once become a liability.

Listerine Tooth Paste cleans teeth a new way. At last our cleverest have discovered a polishing ingredient that really cleans without scratching the enamel—a difficult problem finally solved.

You will notice the improvement even in the first few days. And you know it is cleaning safely.

So the makers of Listerine, the safe antiseptic, have found for you also the really safe dentifrice.

What are your teeth saying about you today?—LAMBERT PHARMACAL CO., Saint Louis, U. S. A.

LISTERINE TOOTH PASTE
Large Tube—25 cents

FILIPINO SCORES LYING ARTICLES IN BOSS PAPERS

Like Most 'Intellectuals' He Is Rather Tame

By H. O. WATT.

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 11.—Several articles published in the Washington Post, and syndicated thru-out the country, have aroused the ire of the Philippine people. At a meeting held tonight by the league of industrial democracy, Vicente Bunuan, press representative of the Philippine government, in this country, spoke in refutation of the published statements.

Bunuan, who is a good speaker, put his audience in good humor, by preceding his address with the remark that Laurence Todd, who acted as chairman, had just informed him that the members of the organization he was about to address are "intellectual liberals." The speaker called attention to the fact that the writer of the articles in question had found nothing in the islands favorable to the Filipino people; not a single instance of human feeling or decency.

U. S. Degeneracy.

The unfairness of this attitude was obvious. Bunuan explained that if he wished to be unfair to America he might take isolated instances of degeneracy in this country and go back to the Philippines and base slanderous articles on these isolated cases. It was an easy matter for the speaker to refute the charges contained in the offending articles.

Facts and figures give the lie to the whole mass of vituperation and the speaker confined himself to such facts and figures. The articles are obviously propaganda in the interest of those interests which are fighting against independence for the Philippine people. Instead of the "decay and deterioration" found by Katherine Mayo, the speaker showed that remarkable progress has been made in the islands, especially during the time in which they were granted some degree of local autonomy by the Wilson administration in this country.

Bunuan Non-Committal.

At the conclusion of Bunuan's talk an effort was made by members of the audience to draw from him his opinion as to the motive behind the publication of the newspaper stories. He was asked if he thought that the author was employed by the sugar trust to do its dirty work. Bunuan would not commit himself specifically but said that he had a suspicion as to why the propaganda was instituted. He stated that the articles are of magazine style and that there is nothing new in them. Such articles are usually printed on the "home" page of newspapers, but in this instance they cover nearly the entire first page. He stated that the author has been back in this country for three months but the articles did not appear until the first week of congress.

Must Be More Militant.

It seems to the writer that the Filipinos might make more progress in their fight for liberty if they should adopt a more militant attitude toward their oppressors. Nowhere in history have subject peoples obtained freedom except by fighting for it. Surely the Filipinos are dissatisfied with administration of their affairs by American exploiters; otherwise they would not be asking for independence. Still Bunuan, this evening, told his audience that he has confidence in the fairness and justice of American, Christian, civilization.

This humble, servile attitude seems to prevail amongst all of the educated Filipinos now in this country and gives rise to the impression that there are several "kept" newspapers in the islands, and that these publications are "educating" the populace into paths of humility, much as is done in this country. Perhaps if a little mass action in the shape of general strikes and other demonstrations were indulged in, more might be accomplished than by the eternal passing of resolutions.

Subscribe for "Your Daily," the DAILY WORKER.

PRINCE OF WALES A BRIGHT CHAP

He spoke at a Thanksgiving dinner in London. He told the bootblacks of all sovereign states assembled there that he was especially interested in Chicago and Detroit upon his recent visit in the United States. "The obvious remark to make about these two cities," said the Prince, "is that Chicago turns live pigs into little bits as fast as Detroit turns little bits into live automobiles." (Laughter.)

The obvious remark we are compelled to make is, that in both instances the workers are ground to little bits turning pigs into little bits and little bits into autos. This may be what the bootblacks laughed about!

This laughter can be silenced. And better than that. The beginning is made by making it your policy to buy a policy in the campaign to

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

LENIN AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Editor's Note.—Every day until publication has been completed, the DAILY WORKER will publish a new chapter from the book, "Lenin: The Great Strategist of the Class War," by A. Losovsky, secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions. The twenty-second chapter is entitled, "Lenin and the Trade Unions."

THE trade union movement also is very much indebted to Lenin. First of all because he has determined the correct place to be occupied by the trade unions in the class struggle. He fought very bitterly all those in the trade unions of Europe that favored the existence of the trade unions as perfectly independent organizations from the political party of the proletariat. He proved in a number of cases that this idea of the independence of the unions from the political movement of the proletariat in fact means independence from revolutionary class politics, that the anarchists and reformists by preaching the idea of the independence of the trade unions are merely serving the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin looked upon the trade unions as the elementary units of working class organization, "as the place where the masses are trained in organization, in collective management, and in Communism." He was at one and the same time opposed to over-estimating as well as under-estimating the importance of trade unions. He always insisted upon the necessity of taking part in these mass organizations, irrespective of the nature of their leadership. In his book "The Infantile Sickness of Communism," in the chapter entitled, "Shall revolutionaries participate in Reactionary Trade Unions?" he criticizes very energetically those Communist elements which at the first onslaught of the reactionary bureaucracy become pessimistic and throw out the slogan of, "Out of the trade unions, an immediate split." Such tactics he designates as: "Unpardonable stupidity which is equivalent to offering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie." He says: "We must work wherever the masses are, criticize mercilessly the labor aristocracy which is dominated by reformism, narrow craft egotism, and the ideas of bourgeois imperialism." Lenin would emphasize time and again that without the trade unions the Soviet government could not have maintained itself in power for more than two weeks. The trade unions are the connecting link between the masses and the proletarian vanguard. It is only by our daily activities that we can convince the masses that it is only we who are capable of leading them from capitalism to Communism.

The development of the revolutionary trade union movement followed that of the Communist movement. The Russian trade union movement was to the Red International of Labor Unions of the same importance as the Communist Party of Russia was to the Communist International. The Russian trade union movement had begun developing with particular intensity after the October revolution under the ideological and political leadership of Lenin.

Lenin followed the development of the trade union movement with the same interest with which he followed that of the Communist movement. He would always explain that the Amsterdam Internationals is the main support of the international bourgeoisie, and

because of this he was so much interested in the Red International of Labor Unions, as can be seen from his communication to the First Congress of the R. I. L. U. (July, 1921) where Lenin said:

"It is hard to express in words the importance of this international trade union congress. Everywhere in the whole world the Communist ideas find ever more followers among the membership of the trade unions. The progress of Communism does not follow a straight line. It is not regular, it has got to overcome thousands of obstacles, but it moves forward just the same. This international trade union congress will hasten the progress of Communism, which will be victorious in the trade union movement. There is no power on earth that is able to prevent the collapse of capitalism and the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie."

From this it can be seen what importance Lenin attached to the international unification of the revolutionary trade union movement for the struggles of the working class.

Tomorrow—"A Child of His People and Century."

PORTCHESTER, N. Y.—Picketing of the Tommy-lines Manufacturing Corporation, makers of boys' clothing, began here by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union on the first day the factory attempted to operate. The union workers picketing the shop claim that the company had been working in New York under a union agreement and suddenly moved all its equipment out of town in an effort to set up an open shop. The Amalgamated has opened a local office and will insist upon organizing the Tommy-lines shop, according to pickets.

The dispute with the union is over the guarantee of 40 weeks yearly work. The season usually last only 32 weeks. The factory signed for the 40 week work but moved out of town in the night after 32 weeks' work.

ATTENTION!

All friendly organizations are requested not to arrange any affairs on SATURDAY, DEC. 27, as the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia will give a performance on that date at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St. "Coal Miner Kort," a revolutionary drama, will be presented in the Russian language.

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YOUNG SLAVES MAKE MILLIONS FOR THE BOSSES

Two Great Big Little Pamphlets

The Young Workers League has just published two small and attractive pamphlets dealing with the conditions of the young workers in the National Biscuit Co. and the national mail order houses of America. The first is titled "Who Makes Who Owns Nabisco" and deals extensively with this nationally known biscuit firm and the human element that goes into their production.

A Cracker-Jack Pamphlet

This little pamphlet describes graphically the conditions under which the famous "Nabisco" wafers and other sweetmeats are produced. We find that the great majority of the workers are young boys and girls under 21 years of age, and they receive the magnificent wage of \$15 to \$18 per week.

The pamphlet concludes by bringing forward the position of the Young Workers League and presents a series of demands that the young workers should fight for. The Young Workers League has already successfully propagated these demands in several of the large cities where Nabisco plants are located.

Millionaires Made From Slaves

The second pamphlet of this unique series is entitled "Millions and Misery" and presents to the young workers of the many mail order houses the class significance of their exploitation. In no industry are the young workers exploited so viciously. The mail order bosses have their exploitation down to a science. The various means of competition are exposed and the facts as to where J. Rosenwald and all the other millionaire owners get their millions from while the young workers receive \$14 and \$15 per week in wages.

The Sears-Roebuck company is the largest mail order concern in the country and the net profits of this company was \$11,512,619 during 1923. The Young Workers League calls upon the mail order house workers to organize and fight for their definite demands and to organize into factory nuclei of the YWL there to fight for their everyday demands and the ultimate abolition of all exploiters and their damnable system.

Both of these 16 page pamphlets sell at 5c per copy and every reader of the DAILY WORKER should purchase one for himself and a bundle for selling in his branch, union meeting or fraternal organization. Prices are as follows: in bundles of 100 or more \$3.50, in bundles of 25 copies, \$1.00, under 25 they sell at 5c per copy. Order from Young Workers League, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

KENOSHA, WIS., ATTENTION!

Look! Look!

A Big Social

A Box Social and a Raffle

By the

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

of

KENOSHA, WIS.

Dec. 13, 1924

AT 8 P. M.

GERMAN-AMERICAN HOME

Admission Free. All Welcome.

OUR DAILY PATTERNS



A PRACTICAL SUIT FOR THE SMALL BOY

4947. This style expresses comfort and ease. It is an ideal play or school suit for a little boy. Velveteen, serge, jersey cloth or flannel may be used for its development.

The pattern is cut in four sizes: 2, 3, 4 and 6 years. A 4-year size requires 2 3/4 yards of 27-inch material. Pattern mailed to any address on receipt of 12c in silver or stamps.

IN ORDERING YOUR PATTERN BE SURE TO MENTION THE SIZE YOU WANT IT IN.

Send 12c in silver or stamps for our UP-TO-DATE FALL & WINTER 1924 Address: THE DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

NOTICE TO PATTERN BUYERS.—The patterns being sold thru the DAILY WORKER pattern department are furnished by a New York firm of pattern manufacturers. Orders are forwarded by the DAILY WORKER every day as received, and they are mailed by the manufacturer direct to the customer. The DAILY WORKER does not keep a stock of patterns on hand. Delivery of patterns ordinarily will take at least 10 days from the date of mailing the order. Do not become impatient if your pattern is

Personal.

ISADORE. You were fond of your family. Mother is very ill. She believes you are dead. Answer. Your sister, Lillian.

PITTSBURGH, PA.
DR. RASNICK
DENTIST

Rendering Expert Dental Service for 20 Years.

645 SMITHFIELD ST., Near 7th Ave.
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UNCLE WIGGILY'S TRICKS

"Pass Johnnie the cake, Uncle Wiggily!"

"I hope it doesn't make him ill."

"What did it taste like, Johnnie?"

"It tasted like MORE!"



THE DAILY WORKER

Published by the DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.
1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
(Phone: Monroe 4712)

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

By mail: \$6.00 per year \$3.50 6 months \$2.00 3 months
By mail (in Chicago only): \$5.00 per year \$3.00 6 months \$2.50 3 months

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THE DAILY WORKER
1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Illinois

J. LOUIS ENGBAHL, Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNN, Business Manager
MORITZ J. LOEB, Business Manager

Entered as second-class mail Sept. 21, 1923, at the Post-Office at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

290 Advertising rates on application

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 request 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.

Its 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 combatting 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 Policeman 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 Argentine 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 fakers of the Mexican race, joins hands with both Calles and Hughes to fight the Communists.

If anyone asks who 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.

"Czarina" Becomes Acclimatized to American Hot Air

NEW YORK, Dec. 11.—The "Grand Duchess" Victoria Fedorovna, formerly of Russia, wife of the Russian grand duke Cyril, who claims to be "Czar of all the Russians," has been occupying her royal time in the United States attempting to solve cross-word puzzles. The "Czarina," seems not a bit embarrassed by the fact that her "subjects" are a handful of disgruntled monarchists who fled for their lives to Paris in mortal fear of being put to work by the Bolsheviks. The "Czarina" has extended her "kingdom" to the hand-kissing followers of extinct Russian imperialism in New York, including the American society people and industrial monarchs who are afraid of being buried as deep

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

(Continued from page 1)
and luxuries to boot. The duchess was received in the metropolis with kissing of hands by the male funkies, and curtsies by the women. She was referred to as "Your Highness" by the jaded parasites of Fifth Avenue who attended the ball in Sherry's in honor of the czarist female. The writer once knew of a Scottish chief who lived comfortably for several years on the moneyed aristocracy, from the Back Bay in Boston to the fashionable sections of New York, on his title and his kilts. A grand duchess should not worry about the economic conditions in America as long as the American workers are willing to be slaves.

OUR old friend, J. A. Lochray, editor of the Mid-West News and one of the enthusiasts for a farmer-labor party when such a proposition was popular among the masses, does not seem to have prospered much from his lightning change political twists. First Lochray supported the farmer-labor party. Next he supported LaFollette, perhaps a little, but he damaged his virtue nevertheless. Then he came into Chicago and offered to peddle himself for cash. He was willing to be sold to any organization. The G. O. P. took him for so much on the hoof. He immediately declared for Coolidge, and opened fire on LaFollette, branding the latter as a radical, the Lochray, a few weeks prior to his sale on the Chicago market, put LaFollette down as a reactionary.

THE latest copy of Lochray's paper to reach us is reduced in size and carries the announcement that henceforth it will appear monthly instead of weekly. It carries a front page story boosting the policies of the bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor at the El Paso convention. On one of the inside pages it publishes a fake "special" from Chicago to the Mid-West News, denouncing the Workers Party manifestos on "Education Week." Lochray has sunk so low that only unusual ingenuity will enable him to go down farther. It is rather consoling to know that his peridy has not added to the sum total of his material comfort.

—Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, the Open Forum.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK CHICAGO



Here you have it. This is what they do to us whenever an opportunity arises. For ten days Chicago literally shook while it was being soaked, day after day, with this yellow filth.

This yellow filth contained a bit of truth, of course. That's what they hang their lies upon. That Chicago is a hotbed of red propaganda, true! That Communist are, from tip to toe, for Soviet Russia, correct! But we plotted to slay public officials; made bombs in either dunes or flats or any place; conspired to assassinate President Wilson—this is foolish fiction, ridiculous rot.

We had the DAILY WORKER. And in a minute we were on the job covering their yellow with a bright coat of red. Upon large posters and in our daily we told the workers that Communists were not to be found under beds or in dark alleys, or in the woods.

We told Chicago that we were quite perceptibly located at 1113 West Washington Blvd., and that there wasn't a "keep out" sign on or in the building. The same sun that shines on the Daily News and its brothers in the corrupt chorus of capitalism also shines on us. We told the workers that if they wanted to learn ALL about us, to read the DAILY WORKER daily and not the enemy press, the Daily News.

Our only bombs are the propaganda in the DAILY WORKER. And this dynamite we do not intend softening one bit. With this dynamite we helped silence the Daily News. About a week, and the Daily News closed its columns to this yellow dope. It had discovered that it did not pay.

BUT SUPPOSE WE HAD NOT HAD THE DAILY WORKER? Then what? Confronted with these questions is what compels us to make this campaign to INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925 a "must" campaign. We MUST make the DAILY WORKER safe so that it will always help us give battle in all our struggles with the yellows.

Do you seriously wish to increase the effectiveness of the DAILY WORKER? Do you demand that it live and increase in power? Are you earnest in this fight against world imperialism and that section of it that abides in this country? Are you with us? You answer these questions in the affirmative today by a generous purchase of INSURANCE POLICIES.

YOUR POLICY MUST BE TO BUY A POLICY

SIGN AND SEND

—DAILY WORKER FRIENDS—

You are with us in this race to win the world. This is a big job. You know that big jobs can only be accomplished by big instruments. Make the DAILY WORKER a BIG WEAPON in the struggle by INSURING IT FOR 1925. Pen in hand, fill this blank:

THE DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

I want the DAILY WORKER to last and grow until we win. I want to INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925. Send me a

(Check which denomination)
\$10 \$5 \$1
INSURANCE POLICY
for which I enclose remittance herewith.

Name
Street
City State