

## MUSSOLINI ORDERED MURDERS SAYS CESARE ROSSI, FORMER FASCIST CHIEF, IN CONFESSION

(Special to The Daily Worker)

ROME, Dec. 28.—The hero of world capitalist reaction, Benito Mussolini, Fascist dictator of Italy, is exposed by Cesare Rossi, former right hand man of Mussolini and secretary general of his government, as an instigator and head of Fascist murder bands who assassinated those who opposed him and terrorized the whole nation.

This sensational expose is made in the form of a memorandum of Rossi, who is now under arrest on charges of murdering Matteotti, the socialist deputy in parliament. The long and detailed account given by Rossi of the plots engineered by Mussolini for the assassination of his foes is a most lurid document and is published simultaneously in several papers together with convincing proof in the way of photographic reproductions of original documents furnished by Rossi.

### AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

SCRATCH a liberal and you will find a reactionary. The Chicago Tribune ostentatiously displays an editorial from the New Republic, in which the American Communists are castigated for propagating Communism, much to the disgust of the saffron-hued "radicals" of Greenwich Village. The New Republic indirectly suggests that those who fail to properly appreciate the blessings of America be deported to Russia "and help in the real work of constructing a Communist state." This is only what could be expected from one of the leading journals of the intelligence that supported LaFollette in the recent election.

THE New Republic rebukes Soviet Russia for not producing a Utopia out of the industrial desert inherited from the czar's regime and asks with a flourish of disdainful superiority, "What traveler returned from Russia reports any brilliant achievement in any field, intellectual, artistic, educational, technical?" We can inform the New Republic that even the Associated Press, which cannot be accused of blushing over in its desire to play up Soviet Russia's accomplishments, is responsible for a recent dispatch testifying to the great impetus given to inventions during the past two years, since Russia got a position where the workers and peasants were no longer confronted by hordes of capitalist hirelings from those "civilized" and "accomplished" capitalist countries, the praises of which our petty bourgeois parasites like to sing.

THE ass who wrote the editorial in the kept organ of faded liberalism, stepped on ground that one with a little more knowledge might hesitate to tread on when he ventured the jibe that the Communists of Russia were acknowledging the importance of capital as an agent of production in their efforts to secure a loan. Well, any young comrade could tell the Greenwich Village scribe that Communists have nothing in the world against "capital" which any novice in economics knows to be that portion of the product of human labor which is stolen by the capitalists from the workers and is used to produce more wealth for the master class. What we object to is the system which enables one class, a small minority of the population, to use this stored-up wealth to heap up riches for themselves and keep the masses in slavery.

THE workers and peasants of Russia not being solemn idiots like the hack who turned out the editorial against the Communists at the orders of some manufacturer who is subsidizing the New Republic, know that machinery and other kinds of capital are needed in order to more quickly bring the productive forces of the workers' and peasants' government to a high point of efficiency. This "capital" will not be used to exploit the workers of Russia. It will be used "by" them and the wealth thus created with the aid of this "capital" in whatever form it appears, will add to the happiness and comforts of the workers and peasants of Russia. Oh, no! Mr. Saphead of the New Republic, we entertain no hard feelings towards (Continued on Page 2.)

### MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS

Membership meetings at which representatives of the C. E. C. and minority will present the party policies, will be held as follows:

NEW HAVEN—Thursday, January 1, at 2 p. m.

PHILADELPHIA—Sunday, Jan. 4, 2 p. m., Machinists Temple, 13th and Spring Garden streets.

BOSTON—Sunday, Jan. 4, 2 p. m., Dudley St. Opera House, 113 Dudley street.

PITTSBURGH—Sunday, Jan. 4, 2 p. m., International Labor Lyceum, 805 James St. N. S.

BUFFALO—Sunday, Jan. 4, 2 p. m., Finnish Hall, 169 Grider street.

## PUBLISHERS IN FURY OVER NEW POSTAGE RAISE

Coolidge Scheme Works;  
He Drops Out of Picture

That Coolidge's scheme, to throw the postal clerk's fight out of the senate into the newspaper publishers' camp and thereby kill it without soiling his own hands, is working, is seen by the furor his proposal to increase postal rates on second class mail has caused among publishers.

Publishers Up in Arms.  
The American Newspaper Publishers filed a protest today at the first hearing on the new measure.

They charge the new schedule proposed to meet the postal pay increases would "cripple the circulation" of their publications. They insist there is unfairness to them in hasty hearings on the new bill. They demand "sufficient" time (more delay) to study the report of the post office department. Scores of publishers have telegraphed their objections. More are expected to storm both house and senate.

The Senator Moses swears the hearings will be closed next Tuesday at the latest, it can be easily guessed that they will not.

Harry S. New, postmaster general whether naively or otherwise, is forging ahead with his demand that magazine and newspaper publishers make up the \$68,000,000 necessary to pay the increase in pay.

New Submits Figures.  
In making his argument he submits the following figures:

"It cost 1.6 cents per piece to handle first class matter and third class matter requires little distribution in the railway mail service, whereas daily and weekly newspapers receive letter mail service. It costs 1.45 cents per piece to handle first class matter and 12.73 cents per piece to handle fourth class matter.

"With such a small revenue from second class and such a large service conferred upon it, it is inevitable that there must be a large loss. The cost of second class is 2.39 cents per piece."

Of course no one will fool himself into believing that New's facts and figures will force this bill thru over the heads of big publishers. All that will come out of it will be lifting the responsibility off the shoulders of Coolidge and the senate and completely annihilating the post office clerk's demand for pay increase.

## OLGIN GIVES COURSE AT WORKERS SCHOOL ON RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 28.—Molossay J. Olgin, noted Communist lecturer and writer, is giving a course of lectures on the Russian Revolution at the Workers' School of New York, 208 East 12th street, on Tuesday nights.

The course will consist of ten lectures dealing with the problems of the Russian peasantry, the controversies within the Russian Communist Party, the cultural aspects of the Russian revolution, the theatre in Soviet Russia, modern Russian literature, etc.

Comrade Olgin, who needs no introduction to New York militants, is especially well-qualified to give such a course. While a delegate from the Workers' Party to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International he spent several months in Russia studying the problems and constructive achievements of the workers republic. His lectures will treat of vital aspects of the revolution which it is essential to know in order to understand the full significance of the new life that is being built in Russia.

At the next session of the class, on Tuesday, December 30th, Comrade Olgin will deal with "The Problems of the Peasantry in Soviet Russia." This subject should prove of great interest to all workers. The relationship between the peasantry and Soviet government, between the agricultural and the industrial proletariat of Russia, has been one of the most fundamental problems of the revolution. It is necessary to understand this problem to appreciate the achievements of the Workers Republic.

Extensive discussion will follow the lectures, which are given in English. The fee for the course is \$2; single admissions, 25 cents.

Remember the date of the next lecture—Tuesday, December 30th, at 208 East 12th Street, N. Y. C.

## PITIFUL STATE OF WORKERS IN BERLIN, GERMANY

Dawes Plan Brings Them  
No Relief

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BERLIN, Dec. 28.—The following appeal has been issued by the administration of the City Refuge for the Homeless, in Berlin:

"Day after day, early in the afternoon, the four thousand and more miserable souls in this city who have no place to lay their heads at night begin to gather outside the walls of the city refuge on Froebelstrasse; wretched, ragged, hungry creatures, with scarcely enough to cover their nakedness, many of them barefooted; waiting until the doors open.

No Rest; No Food.

"And next morning they must go again on the streets, not knowing whether or not some kind hand will give them a crumb of bread, whereas some garbage pail will dislodge a remnant of food. One day like another—without rest, without work, without shelter, freezing. Citizens! In spite of your own want, there are others who are in still greater want. Have you not somewhere a bit of clothing which you do not yourselves need, or which you can no longer wear. Thousands would welcome the least rag of clothing. Every small gift is a plaster on a wound—and there are so many wounds."

When the Dawes reparations plan gets well under way conditions will become still worse, it is feared.

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

## PRISON OFFICIALS BAR DEFENSE COMMITTEE FROM SEEING VANZETTI

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BOSTON, Mass., Dec. 28.—The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee was refused admittance to see Bartolomeo Vanzetti, on Wednesday, on the grounds that he is insane. Vanzetti has been removed from his cell in the Charleston state prison to the prison hospital. He will be examined by prison "sanity experts."

Reports were being circulated by Charleston prison authorities that Vanzetti "was continually muttering to himself and had barred the door of his cell against an imaginary assailant."

It has not been ascertained whether the prison officials are endeavoring to hold Vanzetti incommunicado on a fake insanity charge, or whether some violence has been practiced on his person, in an effort to hinder the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee's appeal for a new trial.

## Dever Helps Bosses Kindle War Spirit In Illinois Youth

Mayor Dever is co-operating with the Kiwanis Clubs and other 100 per cent employers' organizations in militarizing the youth of the country. Dever has sent a letter to Mayor Bulard of Springfield introducing 100 boy scouts. The scouts are being sent to Springfield in order to try to kindle interest in militarism there. They will be in charge of the Springfield Kiwanis Club.

Mayor Bulard recently acted in the interests of the Illinois Traction company in an effort to induce 500 striking trainmen to return to work.

Subscribe for the DAILY WORKER.

## WILLIAM GREEN WINKS EYE AS LEWIS APPOINTEE BREAKS UP KENTUCKY MINERS' UNIONS

The unorganized miners of eastern Kentucky have many times pleaded in vain to John L. Lewis, president, and William Green, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, the latter recently promoted to president of the American Federation of Labor, to give them aid in organizing the Hazard and Big Sandy coal fields.

They have petitioned the national conventions of the miners' union, they have sent personal letters, resolutions, and petitions to William Green and John L. Lewis. The answer has always been either absolute silence, or an excuse for further delay.

At the convention of the United Mine Workers of America, held in January, in Indianapolis, Local No. 4106, of Fleming, Ky., presented a resolution stating:

"WHEREAS, the employees of the operators in the Hazard coal field, embraced in district 30, are at present living in a state of deplorable subjection and oppression at the hands of one of the most autocratic and detestable industrial despots in the country, namely, that of the coal operators in that particular field, and

"WHEREAS, we have good reason to believe that the employees in that field are discontented, restive and resentful against the autocratic coal barons, who are at present their complete masters, and that they are ready and willing to become members of the United Mine Workers of America whenever the opportunity is presented to them; and

"WHEREAS, we can see no valid reason for the inexcusable delay that has been made in attempting to organize the Hazard coal field; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, that we respectfully call on our international president, John L. Lewis, to explain to the organization of the United Mine Workers at this coming convention in January, why no attempt has been made within the last four years to complete the organization of district 30; and be it further

"RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be placed on file and a copy forwarded to our international president, John L. Lewis.

(signed) L. E. WHITEHEAD,  
E. M. STAPLETON,  
CROCKET STAPLETON,  
Committee.

L. U. 4106, located at Fleming, Ky. Receiving no results from this resolution, the coal miners of eastern Kentucky submitted a petition to the international executive board, addressed to William Green and John L. Lewis, which said in part:

"J. L. Lewis, Pres.,  
Wm. Green, Sec.-Treas.,  
United Mine Workers of America,  
Indianapolis, Ind.

"We, the undersigned, coal miners of the Hazard (Ky.) coal field,

## PORT WORKERS IN AUSTRALIA FIGHT OPEN SHOP

Stewards Dropped Over  
Two Lunatics

(By The Federated Press)

SYDNEY, Australia, Dec. 28.—Waterfront workers at all Australian ports have declared a partial strike against open shop methods.

Members of the Waterside Workers' Federation have refused to work overtime—that is between 5 p. m. and 8 a. m.—until the labor agency at Sydney, thru which scab labor is being recruited, is abolished. The motion was carried at meetings at every Australian port. Some time ago, the federal arbitration ruler that members of the Waterside Workers' Federation should have preference in employment. Notwithstanding this ruling, the shipping owners continued to employ non-union labor (principally returned soldiers).

Coal-trimmers have thrown in their lot with the waterside workers, and the decision not to work overtime has been endorsed by the maritime transport group, the miners, and other key unions.

Trouble has also broken out between the maritime unions and the Australian government in connection with the dismissal of 47 stewards from government-owned steamers and the engagement of nonunionists. The stewards were dismissed because they refused to look after two lunatics being taken from Australia to England. The stewards contended that this was the work of guards and not stewards.

When the stewards were dismissed the union refused to supply any more stewards unless the 47 men were reinstated, and an undertaking given that stewards would not be called upon to do the work of warders.

## NEW CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP IN GERMANY AS ALLIES STAY IN RUHR PERILS DAWES PLAN

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BERLIN, Dec. 28.—The refusal of the allies to evacuate Cologne as provided in both the Versailles treaty and the Dawes plan, has created a political crisis in which the present social-democratic government may be overthrown by the workers led by the Communist Party of Germany. To save capitalism again as it has done before under General Von Seeckt, President Ebert will again turn over the nation to a white guard dictatorship and abrogate the German constitution.

This is in line with all previous acts of the German social-democracy. Its acceptance of the Dawes plan, which means the enslavement of German labor, the violation of the 8-hour law and surrender of the national economy to American imperialism, is but the latest of a long series of betrayals of the German workers.

Now the new dictatorship of Chancellor Marx, Foreign Minister Stresemann and Finance Minister Luther, is aimed to suppress any new effort of German workers to break the clutch of American imperialism in alliance with German capitalism upon their lives.

Dispatches from Washington say that great anxiety is felt there, and doubtless in Wall Street, over the insistence of the allies to remain in the Ruhr, as shown by yesterday's decision of the council of ambassadors to refuse to evacuate the Cologne bridgehead on Jan. 10 as promised in the Versailles treaty and later pledged in the Dawes plan conference at London.

While the United States officially is "disinterested" in the dispute, as it is not signatory to the Versailles treaty, it is very much concerned in reality, because the additional loads upon Germany thru any added occupation threatened to upset the none to well-balanced arrangement of the Dawes plan, into which American capitalist-imperialism is involved up to the hilt.

The Lamont-Hughes Combine.  
With the endorsement of Coolidge and Hughes, the American bankers have put hundreds of millions into the gamble for control of Germany and thru Germany of Europe, on the chance that the ratification of the Dawes plan would "stabilize" European capitalism on the basis of American hegemony thru the Morgan banks.

Lamont sat in the London conference with Secretary Hughes just outside the door, both striving to make American imperialism the leader of European capitalism.

Now the prospect of a serious split over the Rhine occupation carries with it the peril of wrecking the whole Dawes scheme.

Continued occupation of Germany by the allies costs the allies not a cent, all expenses of millions of dollars a day are laid upon Germany, which is none too well off as it is. This extra load destroys just so much more of Germany's assets which otherwise could be used for reparations. And if Germany don't pay reparations, then the occupation is continued as punishment. A really excellent arrangement.

A Nice Arrangement.  
How good it is (for the allies) may be seen by the fact that so long as France keeps her army in Germany, Germany pays every cent of the expense. But once France brings them into French territory, then France must pay the bill for the army's upkeep.

The Coolidge administration feels that France is performing badly as a beneficiary of Morgan's two loans by finding excuses for continuing the occupation.

These excuses are regarded as very poor, especially the French stories of "concealed arms" in Germany. Washington ridicules the idea that Germany can make war on France.

Fear a Soviet Germany.

Washington—and Wall Street—is a little worried. If the Dawes plan is so sabotaged by the allies that German economy is upset, not only will the American banks be allowed to whistle for their money, but they will have to ask a Soviet Germany for it.

For there is a great fear by American capital that the occupation of Germany will provoke the German workers into accepting the leadership of Communists, especially as a concurrent economic disturbance would drive them toward the left and the whole German nation would become a Soviet republic in alliance with Soviet Russia.

Are You Going to the Open Forum Sunday Night?

## SOCIALIST LEADER SHOWS HOW TO MAKE HAY WHILE SUN SHINES

(Special to The Daily Worker)

PRAGUE, Dec. 28.—The leader of the social-democratic party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovakian ambassador to Germany, Tusar, died recently in Berlin. It was discovered that he left behind him an estate which he had "saved" to the value of twelve million Czech crowns. Five years ago Tusar was practically penniless.



## PASHAS LOOKS AFTER CUSTOMERS CONSCIENTIOUSLY

### They Become His Friend and Comrade

The record of sub-selling was broken today by George Pashas, owner of the Cozy Lunch Room, 2426 Lincoln Ave. The ease with which subscriptions to the DAILY WORKER sell was demonstrated by Pashas in several morning hours of business. No more than a dozen short, persuasive conversations with as many breakfast patrons of his restaurant netted nine subscriptions to the DAILY WORKER.

#### What They've Been Looking For.

Pashas said to the DAILY WORKER: "It is in no sense an expression of petty bourgeois pride when I say that the business of my restaurant has, far from suffering, shown a very noticeable improvement since I have been active for the DAILY WORKER. All of my customers are working men. It is no trouble at all to interest most of them in the paper. One of the most common remarks in my place is, 'That's what I have been looking for.' I have sold more than twenty-five subscriptions with a minimum of effort in the past few weeks. I have been convinced from what I have seen here that the DAILY WORKER has a prompt and forceful appeal to the majority of real workers that are introduced to it."

This should give encouragement to those who are taking part in the big Chicago subscription drive for five thousand new subscribers.

#### It Can Be Done!

Thurber Lewis, manager of the drive, told the DAILY WORKER at his office in Room 397, 168 W. Washington street: "The experience of Comrade Pashas in selling subscriptions to the DAILY WORKER is a real proof of the groundlessness of the belief many of our comrades have that it is a hard job selling a subscription to the DAILY WORKER. Of course, it's hard to sell one to a white-collar bank clerk or a one hundred per cent rotarian, but it is not hard to arouse the interest of a real worker."

## Dutch Industry to Lose Out in New Iron and Steel Compact

(Special to The Daily Worker)

AMSTERDAM, Holland, Dec. 28.—Creation of a European concern embracing 45 per cent of the world's production of iron and steel, would seriously menace Dutch industry. The Dutch shipbuilding industry has flourished partly because of the cheap foreign iron and steel prices brought about by pre-war competition in Holland. If the new international concern fixes a standard price for iron and steel sold in Holland, it would mean the end of Dutch shipbuilding, steel and iron men here say.

Holland possesses modern blast furnaces, the first two of which were built by the firm of Freyn Brassart and company, located in Chicago.

#### Bronx Readers, Attention!

"A. B. C. of Communism," every Tuesday night, at 1347 Boston Road. Dr. I. Stamler, instructor. All members of Bronx Section, Workers Party, who have joined the party within a year, must attend this class. Others invited.

English, Elementary, Monday night, at 511 East 173rd St. S. Feishin, instructor.

## MEXICO CITY LABOR FAKERS EXPEL BERTRAM D. WOLFE FROM CENTRAL BODY "A LA YANKEE"

By ELLA G. WOLFE.  
(Special to The Daily Worker)

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 28.—The growing influence of the Communists, especially among the peasants of Mexico, the recent affiliation of the League of Agrarian Communes of the State of Vera Cruz, consisting of a membership of 20,000, to the Peasants' International at Moscow, the intelligent propaganda on Russia amongst the proletariat, has so gotten under the skin of the leaders of the Mexican Federation of Labor that Morones in one of his speeches at the Pan-American Congress stated that his organization would stop at nothing in its fight against the Communist elements.

They began to put this threat into effect at the Central Labor Council of Mexico City. Bert Wolfe, active member of the union of newspapermen, was re-elected delegate to the Central Labor Council, a few days ago. The credentials committee reported that his credentials could not be accepted. The reason given was the publication of a series of articles in "El Democrata" one of the metropolitan dailies, in which Wolfe had attacked the Mexican Federation of Labor.

#### Excuse Number Two.

Wolfe jumped up and asked for the floor. He told those delegates who had not already read the articles, that they limited themselves to the description of conditions in Russia in 1924; that there was not a single attack against the federation, as most of the workers who had read them knew, that the report of the credentials committee was a frame up because they had no proofs of the charges they were making. The committee was stumped!

#### Excuse Number Two.

Then Alvarez, one of the "inner group" of the federation asked for the floor. He told the delegates that Wolfe was being rejected not precisely for his articles in "El Democrata," that those articles were excellent and very intelligently written, but that Wolfe had published four articles in the state of Vera Cruz, in which he had attacked the federation. Wolfe again demanded the floor, and told the delegates that he knew not a single editor in Vera Cruz that in all his life he had never published a line in that state, and he asked Alvarez to present proofs. Alvarez could not.

Then Wolfe pointed out that he had been a lone fighter for the affiliation of his union with the federation. That it took him six months to convince the newspaper men that only a united front of all workers would make possible a workers' victory. He was also one of the most energetic fighters for his union's affiliation with the allied printing trades; that he had served faithfully on all commissions to which he had been elected; that he had served faithfully as delegate to the Central Labor Council before he went to Russia, and that promptly on his return, his union re-elected him to serve again; that he could see no reason for the rejection of his credentials. The charges against him were trumped up and false, that it appeared the only reason for his rejection the credentials committee was unwilling to state—which was that he is a Communist.

#### At Last A Reason!

At this point Rodriguez, another of the "inner group," asked for the floor and he told the assembly that that was precisely the reason, that just because Wolfe was a Communist they did not want him in their organization. Then followed a wholesale attack upon Communists in general. That they were being instructed by the Third International to enter all organizations of workers and to break them up; that Communists were police spies, like Lynn Gale; that they accepted money from Soviet Russia to run their propaganda; that they were responsible for Fascism in Italy; that they were also responsible for the failure of the MacDonald government in England; that they were spouting a foreign theory; that Mexico was tired of importations and wanted to develop a nationalist movement of its own; that Communism

## RUSSIAN INVENTORS FLOURISHING UNDER THE SOVIET REGIME

(Special to The Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, Dec. 28.—A Russian workman has invented a railroad brake which appears, on tests, to meet Russia needs better than the Westinghouse brake.

The Leningrad experimental workshop is making a new medical apparatus for determining the content of the blood.

The first Russian-made typewriter is on the market invented by engineer Blok. Instead of the usual 700 parts it has 445, making 50 per cent economy of time in manufacture.

was all right in Russia, but in Mexico there was no room for it, etc., etc.

To defend himself against all these vituperations, Wolfe again asked for the floor. He pointed out that he was being rejected on charges that had nothing to do with him; that if Lynn Gale was a fool and a coward and turned state's evidence that it had nothing to do with him; that as far as receiving money from Soviet Russia, that Felipe Carrillo a beloved leader of the Mexican federation had received much Russian gold in trying to build a labor movement in Mexico; that Lelja Paz, another leader, had also received money for organizing the workers. That as far as importation was concerned that the red and black flag which the federation flaunts so proudly is an importation from Spain; that anarchism is also an importation; that if there is anything which is native to Mexican soil, it is the primitive Communism of the Indian, to which he is clinging so forcefully.

Then another delegate from the newspapermen's union asked for the floor. He pointed out that for an organization that used so many revolutionary phrases, it was a little bit disconcerting to find it trying to expel a member for different political opinions. He proposed a motion to suspend expulsion until such time as the credentials committee could furnish proofs of the charges they were making.

#### Expulsion "a la Yankee."

The motion was put to a vote. Many voted in the affirmative. The opposition was not counted and the motion was declared lost. Then came the vote on the report of the committee. Out of an assembly of over 200 delegates only 27 voted for the report to expel Wolfe. The chair announced 47 votes. There were many sympathizers with Wolfe but they were afraid to vote. The chair declared the expulsion unanimous.

This is not the first Communist expelled by the "revolutionary" Mexican Federation of Labor. Sorla, Communist delegate from the state of Michoacan to the congress of the federation was not seated because he was a Communist. And this expulsion policy will continue and will grow as the Communist movement in Mexico grows in influence among the workers and peasants.

The fight is not over yet. Wolfe will carry the fight back to his union.

Secure The Daily Worker for 1925

## MANY JOBLESS BUY OUR POLICY—IT'S UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE!

"If I was working, I would make it a ten dollar policy instead of five," writes William Boyd from Forest Grove, Oregon, as he sends in his greenback to insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925. "As the logging camps are closing down for the winter, I am temporarily without a master," he goes on to say.

"Some of us are out of work. most of us have been jobless this fall, and many of us expect to get laid off after New Years; consequently, we can't buy as many policies as we would like to," writes Edwin Peterson from Jamestown, N. Y. He encloses the first collection, adding, "we expect to do better before the campaign is over."

Another comrade writes that, tho he has been laid up for four months with a broken leg and other injuries received from an accident, nonetheless, he has persuaded his branch comrades to take care of the 50 book of policies sent him. He encloses \$25 cash. He is Gus Kirland of Dorchester, Mass.

"Owing to financial circumstances caused by sickness and death in my family, I cannot contribute what I would like, but I enclose \$5.00 which was raised in our branch," writes Walter Luhn from Cincinnati, O., of the Herweg Maennerchor.

"Times are not good here so I am leaving for Mexico," A. Heide of Santa Ana, Calif., informs the DAILY WORKER, as he sends in his \$5 for a policy.

## CANADA MOUNTED COP DOPE SELLER AND UNION FINK

### Enticed Girls Into the Opium Habit

VICTORIA, B. C., Dec. 28.—After being employed as a disrupter in the Lumber Workers' Union of this province and later convicted as a dope peddler and enticer of young girls to the opium habit, Frank Eccles, former Canadian mounted policeman, has come back into the business world as an exporter of cedar coffins to China.

#### Now in Coffin Business.

Last week he shipped some 2,400 cedar coffins to the orient, and announces that he has opened up this business for the selling of B. C. cedar products abroad. The fact that this vile stoolpigeon is enabled to enter the exports business on such a scale is positive proof that between his dope peddling and labor spying activities he has been well rewarded financially.

#### Also Stoolpigeon.

Eccles was convicted, along with two other members of the mounted police, of having sold dope to young girls and when they refused to purchase from him, planted it on them and then made their arrest. In the trial it was brought out that he was the receiver of "hush money" for protected higherups in the traffic. He also confessed that during 1921-22 he was engaged in disrupting the Lumber Workers' Union by fostering the idea of a dual organization among the discontented members.

## Kentucky Miners Complain in Vain to Union Officials

(Continued from page 1)  
work in the eastern Kentucky coal fields.

William Green, who has stepped into Czar Gompers' shoes, sent \$5,000 to some scabs in Alabama when an explosion occurred two years ago, for which he received cheap notoriety in the capitalist newspapers. But Green has not lifted his little finger to organize the coal miners of eastern Kentucky.

L. E. Whitehead, secretary of the Blackey, Ky., wrote to William Green on Feb. 22, 1924, stating: "When Samuel Pascoe took charge of district No. 30, in 1919, organization work was progressing rapidly. The first thing Mr. Pascoe did was to disband Local Union No. 4099, of McRoberts, Ky., one of the best locals in Letcher county. He kept up this kind of work on the Kentucky and Big Sandy rivers until confidence was destroyed not only in him, but he destroyed the prestige of good, reliable union men who were trying to co-operate with him."

"Mr. Pascoe may have followed the instructions of the International board, but I do not believe that the policy he put in effect down here would meet with their approval if they were in possession of the facts. It should convince the board, if they take into consideration the amount of per capita tax that was paid in before Pascoe began his administration that something has been going wrong in district No. 30."

"There have been letters received in this district which had a tendency to destroy confidence in Mr. Pascoe, as one letter came from the president of the Farmington (Ill.) local, saying he sold out in a congressional campaign, or at least, sold the miners' votes."

"The union men in this district believe it will be of material interest to the organization if the provisions president of this district, Mr. Pascoe is removed."

(signed) L. E. Whitehead."

## They Are Building Traps to Defend Property Rights and Are Caught in Them

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

TODAY, they are burying the dead—mere hunks of burnt flesh and charred bones—the 33 who died in the fire that swept a little white school house, in the Babb's Switch Settlement in Oklahoma.

The living were caught in a trap of their own making, there was but one small door. Wire netting and iron bars at the windows stopped up these exits.

It was a Christmas feast for hungry flames. The clumsy Santa Claus brushed a lighted candle against some tinsel on the gaily decorated Christmas tree and the fire got its start. The dried evergreen was crackling in another second. Then the whole of the sun-dried shack of a school house, similar to thousands of others to be found in rural communities, was ablaze; a roaring furnace. Men, women and children fought to reach the lone exit already choked by others. Thirty-three died, helpless as the rooted trees before the oncoming fire in the forest.

The trustees had had the bars and netting put over the windows to bar out intruders. It is declared that it was an effort to keep off "vandals." No doubt that refers to the wandering, homeless tenant farmer, who plods the cotton belt of the southwest; but who must oftentimes seek shelter for the night. The property-owning, better-off farmer, who is not driven from pillar to post with each new season, must needs protect his school house against his plundered brother. It is just another slant at the struggle between property rights and human rights. The protectors of property rights prepared the trap in which they were caught, and in which many of them perished.

So the great capitalist nations, with their organized governments to defend their property rights, build the traps in which they are caught. Armies are recruited, navies are built, flocks of planes come into being, to protect property rights by land, by water, by air.

Private property begets profits that must be invested elsewhere. Foreign fields for exploitation are sought out everywhere, and the whole world is turned into a tinder box, where the least spark sets off the whole powder magazine; and then comes—WAR; from which there is less escape than was to be found by the men, women and children at Babb's Switch, in Oklahoma, thru the lone, little door in their white school house. Another Sarajevo can as easily plunge nations at each other's throats and light the flames of a new and greater world conflict.

Capitalism is building the trap that will destroy it; because the time will come when the workers and farmers of other nations, like the workers and farmers of Soviet Russia, will refuse to go to war and die for their capitalist masters. They will grow to realize that they can even destroy the trap, in which millions are due to perish in the next great imperialist slaughter, if they will only awaken to the danger that even now presents itself and destroy the capitalist social order that breeds world rivalries between nations and spawns world wars.

Under any sane social order there is no reason why anyone should desire to vandalize a school house along the rural highway. It should be, under any sane system of life, a public shrine, at all times open to all. So the boundaries that divide nations should be only lines appearing upon a map; not the stalking places for marching armies, maneuvering spots for great fleets; of places to be studied by observers in bombing planes that darken the sky. It is time that the toiling masses realize that in order to obliterate the insanities of capitalism, they must obliterate capitalism itself.

## PHILADELPHIA COMRADES ACTIVE IN UNIONS; HEALTHY INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP, PARTY WORK

The city central committee of Philadelphia has arranged a concert and ball for New Year's eve at the Slovak Timberman Hall, 8th and Fairmount Ave. "Clouds" will be the special feature of the concert, which will start at 7:30 p. m. Dancing begins at 8:30 and continues until next year. All Philadelphia comrades and friends will be there to greet the new year. The committee has secured an especially good orchestra to entice even the most ardent leaders of the discussion to do nothing else but dance and enjoy themselves. The admission has been reduced to the unemployment rate of 45c, which will surely induce all our comrades to be present.

The party in Philadelphia takes the slogan of "Bolshevization" seriously and has taken a number of definite steps to put it into effect. The first step towards Bolshevization is education and in this field we have some concrete results already. Three study classes are now functioning regularly. A class in English language is held regularly every Sunday morning. A class in economics every Saturday afternoon and a class in trade union history and tactics composed of active comrades in the trade unions meets every Sunday morning. All the classes meet in the party headquarters, 521 York Ave.

Education Taken Seriously. The party open forum conducted every Sunday evening at 1623 Arch street is developing into a first class educational institution. By far the most important educational feature is the series of lectures conducted by Comrade Carlson on Wednesday evenings at the party headquarters.

The seriousness with which the party takes these lectures can be demonstrated by the decisive action of the City Central Committee when an effort was made by the District Executive Committee to inject factional-

ism into this phase of our educational work. A motion was passed to repudiate the factional interpretation and action of the district . . . on this question, the membership was called upon to give full and complete support to the lectures and a motion expressing full confidence in the city executive committee was passed with only one dissenting vote.

The trade union work is improving with satisfactory speed, our comrades recognize the unions as a training ground for efficient leadership, and as the most satisfactory field for carrying on communist propaganda. The Philadelphia Trade Union Educational League has to its credit the organization of these new unions and is creating a growing prestige in a score of others.

#### Gain in Membership.

Last eight months show a steady gain in party membership and it is interesting to note that during the four months of local farmer-labor party campaign from April 1st to July the party has gained 27 new members, while during the four months of the

## POLICEMAN KILLS A HUNGRY NEGRO BRAGS, 'FINE SHOT'

### Shot in Back of Head While Ten Feet Away

Policeman Thomas J. Larney shot a hungry Negro who is said to have snatched a purse from a woman on the stairs of the elevated station at Congress St. and Wabash Ave. Wednesday night.

The Negro was later identified as James Thomas, 6326 Rhodes Ave. Larney pursued him, and when but a few feet away, fired a bullet into the back of Thomas' head. Thomas was left for 25 minutes, dying in the snow without attention, while Larney was waiting for the patrol. Larney stood over the body and laughed and chatted with bystanders about his exploit while Thomas' lifeblood stained the snow crimson. Thomas died in the hospital.

Mario Giordano, assistant editor of the Italian working class daily newspaper "Il Lavoratore," who witnessed the killing, offered to aid the Negro, but spectators refused to allow him to do so. While Larney was poking the Negro with his foot, and smiling at the "wonderful shot" he made, bystanders told Giordano, "If you try to help him, you'll get the same medicine." Giordano suggested that Thomas be taken to a drug store, and that first aid be immediately rendered, but the crowd let the Negro lie twenty-five minutes in the snow without attention of any kind.

Later the report of the affair as given to the papers was that Larney had "fired thru a space between the running spectators, when Thomas was near escape, from 150 feet in the rear." The truth of the affair, declares Giordano, is that the Negro ran only 100 feet in all and that Larney fired when less than ten feet away.

The killing was entirely unnecessary, according to Giordano, as the policeman could have captured Thomas or could have fired at his legs.

## AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

(Continued from page 1)  
death, but we believe that those who create it should enjoy it. This, of course, looks bad to prostituted penitents.

WHEN Austin Chamberlain started on his recent European tour, the DAILY WORKER guessed that his main object in visiting Herriot, Mussolini and other lesser agents of the European brigands, was to form an anti-Bolshevik bloc under the leadership of Britain. The prediction is amply borne out by the facts. Immediately after Chamberlain reached Paris, Herriot started his red raids. Mussolini was afraid to start any trouble, he has all he can handle and more. But the kept Balkan nations, like Bulgaria, Roumania and even Albania, hangout for budding capitalists still in bandit stage of civilization, expelled the Soviet legation on the orders of Chamberlain. This proves that the one power the capitalist private governments fear more than any other is the mighty workers' and peasants' republic of Russia. With that power they cannot and will not compromise.

Your Policy Must Be  
—Buy a Policy—

Workers Party campaign from August 1st to November 30 the party has secured 127 new members including four new branches and several others are in the stage of formation.

The election of Comrade Max Levine as the Philadelphia DAILY WORKER Agent is the first step towards a drive to raise 500 new subscriptions for the DAILY WORKER in this city.

Lenin memorial meeting at Lulu Temple on Saturday, January 24 will be our next great step towards teaching the workers of Philadelphia the principles and tactics of Leninism. The special feature of this great memorial will be the showing of moving pictures of the funeral of Lenin, and the May Day pilgrimage of Communist youth to the Lenin tomb in Moscow.

Initial steps are being taken to organize a huge DAILY WORKER JUBILEE for Saturday, February 7. Philadelphia readers of the DAILY WORKER are requested to look for further announcements on this subject.

## Where Are You Going New Year's Eve?

To that

## T. U. E. L. BALL

at WEST END WOMEN'S CLUB,  
37 So. Ashland Blvd.

where all the live ones will celebrate in regular New Year's Eve style.

50c A PERSON ADMITS YOU

to the last dance of the season and the first one of the new year.

Auspices, TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

LOCAL CHICAGO

THE PAGE OF MILITANT BRANCHES IN THE  
**Militant Special Birthday Edition of the Dai'y Worker to Appear Jan. 13, 1925**  
 Only Names of Militant Branches Will Appear Upon the Militant Page of this Big Special. Only Those  
 Branches are Militant that Remit for Insurance Policy Sales Before January 8



## LUMBER WORKERS JOB DANGEROUS RECORDS SHOW

### Get Small Pay But Take Long Chances

By LELAND OLDS.  
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)  
Lumberjacks lead in the tragic list of workers who risk their lives for the owners of the world's natural resources, according to figures for 1922 by the Canadian department of labor. The department finds that in 1922 one out of every 176 employees in the logging camps lost his life in producing a profit for the lumber trust.

**Heavy Accident Loss.**  
The department records 153 fatal accidents in the Canadian industry, which employs approximately 27,000 men. It finds that the greatest loss of life is caused by drownings among river drivers, falling trees and accidents in rolling, loading and piling operations.

The 1922 figures published by the departments for industries showing a relatively high accident rate are as follows:

Canada	No. employees	Fatalities	Per 100
Logging	26,950	153	0.567
Metal Mining	13,138	37	.281
Coal mining	31,838	97	.304
Steam Rys.	165,835	143	.086
Wood and paper	118,462	74	.062
Iron and steel	75,334	42	.055
Chemical	14,085	58	.056
Fishing	57,880	20	.034

These are labor's casualties due to the carelessness about the life of manual workers characteristic of capitalist industrialism.

**Big Risks; Small Pay.**  
Like conscript soldiers, paid 30 pieces of silver to risk their lives in the wars of capitalist expansion, these workers take their chances in the woods and mines and mills for the lowest subsistence wage while the profits go to the master. In the logging camps where the fatality rate is highest, monthly pay runs between \$40 and \$45 with a few getting as high as \$60 a month.

### CHICAGO, ATTENTION!

All friendly organizations, T. U. E. L. groups, party branches, language federations and Y. W. L. branches! Arrangements have been made for the following major city affairs. Do not arrange conflicting affairs on these days:

T. U. E. L. Ball—Wednesday, Dec. 31, West End Women's Club Hall, Monroe and Ashland.

Karl Liebknecht Celebration—Sunday, January 11, Northwest Hall, corner North and Western Aves. Auspices Y. W. L. Local Chicago.

Lenin memorial meeting—Wednesday, Jan. 21, Ashland Auditorium, Van Buren and Ashland. Workers Party, Local Chicago.

The Red Revel—Saturday, Feb. 28, West End Women's Club Hall.

**Watch for the Special  
First Anniversary  
Edition of the  
DAILY WORKER  
January 13,  
1925**

### SPECIAL NOTICE!

On Back Numbers of the  
DAILY WORKER

The heavy cost of handling back numbers for which there has been a steady demand necessitates the following prices:

5 CENTS PER COPY  
on all issues within 30 days of  
current issue.

10 CENTS PER COPY  
for all issues over 30 days old.

No orders for back numbers filled  
unless paid for in advance.

### How to Be Healthy

For many years people have been suffering from many ailments. Many have gone to doctors who have them medicated for a trial. After several trials and operations they failed to regain their health.

**DR. TAFT**  
1555 West Roosevelt Road  
Daily 9 to 12 a. m. 2 to 5 p. m.  
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## PRESIDENT OF COAL MINERS' FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN ADDRESSES MINERS OF RUSSIA

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
MOSCOW (By Mail).—The central committee of the All-Russian Union of Miners was addressed on November 9, by Herbert Smith, president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and an executive member of the Miners' International.

The speech was made during a visit of the large delegation of British trade unionists to the sixth national congress of the All-Russian Council of Labor Unions. President Smith spoke in part as follows:

"Comrades: According to British customs, I should first address the chairman, but following your custom I address you all. I convey to you the greetings of one million British miners. I came here to become familiar with the conditions and life of the miners of Soviet Russia.

"I believe and think that you all agree with me that all the miners, as well as the workers of other industries, should be organized in one great international union. United we stand, divided we fall. This old maxim of the labor movement is of special value to the workers of all countries today, and particularly to the workers of Great Britain.

"In June our collective agreement expires. In negotiating for a new agreement we shall demand better conditions of labor and life for our miners. However, this will be no easy task. The mine fields are controlled by private capitalists organized in about 1,500 companies and trusts. These companies or trusts have a common center, and they fight the miners in close contact with the united capitalists of our country.

"All sorts of rumors and lies are spread among the British miners about the life of the Russian miners. I am very grateful to the official representatives of your union who have given me quite substantial information on nearly everything pertaining to the work and life of the Russian miners. I thank them in advance also for the supplementary information which they have promised to furnish me shortly. I suppose that the information received by me here may be used in England upon my return.

"I hope to become even more closely acquainted with the life and work of the Russian miners during my visit to the biggest coalfields of your country. I intend to visit the various places chiefly for the following reasons: first, I am myself a practical miner, and have spent 25 years in underground work before I came to be a union official. Secondly, now and through my period of office I spend about two days per week in going down in the mines in order to keep myself in touch with the questions agitating the men and to take the necessary measures. I have a good knowledge of the situation of mining in Great Britain. I desire to learn your conditions in Russia.

"We intend to press for a number of reforms in order to improve the conditions of the British miners, and I want to collect material and information to enable me to benefit by the experience of the miners' movement in other countries, to work out the best possible schemes of such reforms.

"Here in Russia you have moved ahead in some reforms, especially in the matter of insurance and labor protection. For instance, you miners may leave the pit whenever they find an accumulation of about three percent gas and he is paid full wages. We have no such rules.

"A miner in Russia leaves his work when short of timber, etc., without loss of pay if he finds that things are not in order and that there are conditions that represent a menace to him and to his work. This is a considerable achievement, and it enables you to prevent many accidents.

"The principal cause of England's large number of accidents is for want of proper safety appliances, etc., not being supplied by the private employers who control the mining industry. "If I can learn in your mines anything that will prevent accidents and how you protect your labor in general, and if the experience gained could be applied even in some measure in Great Britain, my trip to Russia would already be justified.

"However, I would like to become acquainted not only with your achievements, but also with the difficulties standing in your way. I would like to help you in whatever way I might to overcome the obstacles and difficulties confronting you.

"We in Great Britain have been struggling for many years for the nationalization of mines. We base our claims upon the following reasons: First, we hoped thus to facilitate our struggle for safety of labor, for better protection of the miners. Secondly, we hope thus to obtain better conditions of labor for the miners, and finally, to produce cheaper coal for general consumption by the masses of Great Britain.

"I intend to tell the international miners upon my return home of everything I have seen here, and particularly of the conditions of labor and life under which you live. I consider it my duty to state that I was particularly favorably impressed by the comradely spirit existing among the workers of Soviet Russia.

"I shall try to get the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the International Federation to send a delegation to Russia in order to make a thorough study of the life of the Russian miners and to establish the

## FAMOUS MOVIE FILM, "POLIKUSHKA," WILL RETURN TO CHICAGO

The famous story, "Polikushka,"

by the immortal writer, L. N. Tolstoy, which was made into a moving picture by the Moscow Art Theater, is coming back to Chicago for one evening only. The picture was shown in Chicago at the Orchestra Hall only once last winter. Thousands of workers who were unable to see the picture at its first showing are anxiously awaiting its coming back. The picture will be shown THURSDAY NIGHT, JAN. 15, at Gartner's Independent Theater, 3725 Roosevelt Road, near Independent Blvd. Mark the date on your calendar and tell your friends about it.

All friendly organizations are requested to postpone their meetings on that date.

## RUSSIAN MOVIES

Four more mining towns, two in Illinois and two in Pennsylvania, have been added to the long list of working class centers where the Russian films make strong appeal. "The Beauty and the Bolshevik" will be shown:

Livingston, Ill., Movie Palace, Jan. 4.  
Bentleyville, Pa., Opera House, Jan. 9.  
Daisytown, Pa., Home Theater, Jan. 10.

In the first of these towns one comrade made all the arrangements single-handed and expects success in full proportion to the small scene of action. In Livingston the German fraternal organization, Arbeiter Krankenkasse, is backing the show. In Bentleyville the Workers Party central committee has charge of all arrangements, while in Daisytown the show is run in the \$40,000 motion picture theater recently built by the Finnish co-operative.

### How Not to Arrange a Movie.

"The Beauty and the Bolshevik," Russian feature motion picture, was ALMOST booked in one of the largest cities in this country. The local committee notified the national office that they wanted the film somewhere around an approximate date and received a reply that while the period had some free dates, many other local events were planned during this time—quick action was needed to fix a definite date. The local had some trouble in getting a hall and about five weeks rolled by until one day the national office received a letter stating that a certain theater had been rented for a certain date, all legal permits secured, operators and machines hired—could they have the film?

They could not. Two days previous the same date had been asked for by another, smaller city, before putting a deposit on the theater. The national office gave the date and they went ahead to pay for the theater and print tickets.

Two things are necessary in arranging a film show. First the film. Second the show. Film plus show equals film show. Any locality that wants to run these Russian feature films should find out when and on what terms a showplace can be secured. Then they should notify the national office to find out whether the desired film can be had that day. If the answer is "Yes" they pay deposit, print tickets, start selling, im print advertising furnished by national office, and get busy. If your local is not yet listed among towns showing "Beauty and Bolshevik" get in touch at once with the Movie Department, International Workers Aid 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

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

## SIDELIGHTS ON WILLIAM GREEN, A. F. OF L. HEAD

NEW YORK, Dec. 23.—William Green, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, is the new president of the American Federation of Labor by choice of the executive council of the federation in special session in New York. Green is the man who led the attack upon William F. Dunne, radical delegate, in the 1923 Portland convention of the A. F. of L. Duncan Has Grouch.

James Duncan, senior vice-president of the A. F. of L. urged his own claim to succeed Samuel Gompers but did not have his name presented for voting. He resigned from the council immediately. Action upon the resignation is deferred to the Feb. 3 meeting of the council in Miami, Fla. James P. Noonan of the Electrical Workers was chosen by the council to succeed Green on the council.

Green opposed the A. F. of L. in endorsement of LaFollette and does not believe labor unions should form a party, is against the A. F. of L. group insurance plan, and opposes the recognition of Russia. He is a Baptist, Mason, Elk, and Odd Fellow. He is 51 and has six children. As for leader of the Ohio senate he was instrumental in passing the Ohio workmen's compensation law.

closest comradely relations with the Russian miners.

"The horrors and destruction of war will never be forgotten and our attention must be given to the creation of better conditions of labor and life for all the workers that they may be united in powerful unions, in a powerful international union that would struggle for better conditions for the workers of the world.

"My time is limited and I shall not be able to dwell upon all the problems facing the miners of the various countries.

"Since I have honor of addressing the plenary session of your central committee, where I suppose every coalfield is represented, I consider it my duty to tell you that the British miners have never felt any enmity towards the Russian miners or the Russian peoples; on the contrary, the British miners have closely followed your struggle, and are always ready to maintain with you the closest and friendliest relations.

"Please tell this to your miners in my name.

"I hold three responsible positions in the miners' movement, as for instance, the position of the president of the Yorkshire Miners' Federation which has 140,000 members, of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and of the Miners' International which has a membership of nearly two million miners.

"But since I come in contact with the miners not only of Great Britain but of every other country, I want to assure you that all the miners who are members of our international would be greatly pleased to have you in the ranks of the Miners' International.

"We shall do everything possible to see to it that the All-Russian Miners' Union becomes a member of the Miners' International, if we can agree on policy in the near future, and we shall then fight, together with you for the aims and objects confronting the workers of the entire world."

Are You Going to the Open Forum  
Sunday Night?

## NEW YEAR'S EVE THE FREIHEIT WILL ISSUE ITS 1,000th NUMBER AND CELEBRATE WITH MASQUERADE

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
NEW YORK, Dec. 28.—Everybody in New York is going to the Freiheit New Year's eve ball on Wednesday evening, Dec. 31, at the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory.

By everybody we mean everyone in the revolutionary movement, everyone who appreciates the revolutionary message the Freiheit spreads among militant working-class paper will be there. No one ever misses the Freiheit Ball.

The Freiheit New Year's Eve Ball is the affair of the season in New York City. This year an additional feature will heighten the festivities. On New Year's Eve the Freiheit will issue its 1000th number.

The Freiheit ball is a masquerade ball. The costumes are always novel, gay, inspiring and entertaining. They tell of the struggles of the working-class under capitalist exploitation, they carry a message of working-class solidarity and freedom. The Freiheit ball brings out the latest artistic expression of the revolutionary working-class movement. The costume make this affair an institution in our

## WHAT HAPPENED TO \$75,000?

By MORITZ J. LOEB

NOW that the campaign "TO INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925" is under way, it may be asked: "Why is it necessary to provide for THE DAILY WORKER during 1925? What has happened to the money that was raised to establish the Daily?" That is a legitimate question and fortunately for THE DAILY WORKER and for the party it can be given a glorious answer.

In 1923 the party campaigned for \$100,000 with which to establish THE DAILY WORKER. The campaign did not reach its goal but it was decided that we could not wait until the full amount was secured. When it was seen that about \$75,000 would be available it was thought possible to go ahead and begin publication.

It was the plan of the central executive committee to establish the paper but the establishment of the printing plant in which to publish was not seriously contemplated. "For," it was argued, "we are sure to incur a tremendous deficit with our Daily particularly at the start. In order to secure the existence of our paper we must hold all possible cash in our reserve fund to provide against this deficit."

Establishing Daily.  
But it was soon seen that this was at best an opportunist point of view. To be sure deficits would be incurred. No working-class paper had ever been started without them, particularly no Communist paper. But it was not good communism to use the substance of THE DAILY WORKER to pour into the deficit.

And we have run THE DAILY WORKER for a year with a deficit far lower than we had dared to hope for!  
It hasn't been an easy task. Ever since our money has been invested in the machinery and the building it has been a bitter struggle to keep our heads above water. We weren't adequately financed even for the purchase of the many things that were essential. We didn't have the working capital which is so necessary to the operation of so large an undertaking.

Where Money Went.  
What happened to the \$75,000? It has been invested in the most efficient and soundest investment which our party could possibly make. It has been the laying of a cornerstone of the Communist movement in America, nothing less.

The tale of what happened to the \$75,000 also tells the story of the need for the campaign to INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925.

We didn't have enough money to start with! There was plenty of misgiving about our ability to keep

ER was started was to look about for suitable machinery and a headquarters in which to put it. But here arose another difficult problem which demanded immediate solving. Setting up a printing plant is an expensive proposition. Once set, moving a printing plant is equally expensive. Rents were high in Chicago. Landlords were not friends of the Communist movement. It was soon seen that to rent headquarters for our printing plant was not only to pay the landlord an immediate and heavy profit but also to place ourselves at the mercy of landlords with the prospect of sooner or later receiving a blow at their hands.

The same logic which demanded the purchase of our own printing plant also demanded a building of our own in which to house the plant. There wasn't enough money. Yet it couldn't be helped. In deciding between the future security of THE DAILY WORKER and the immediate ease in getting out the Daily there could be no question of the step which had to be taken.

### Purchased Building.

What has happened is pretty well known. We not only have established THE DAILY WORKER but also we have bought a building which houses our Daily and the national headquarters of the party as well. We have established a printing plant which produces not only THE DAILY WORKER but The Workers Monthly, The party's Italian Daily, The Young Worker, our Greek Weekly and all of the job and publication printing of the party.

And we have run THE DAILY WORKER for a year with a deficit far lower than we had dared to hope for!

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## ANTI-CHRISTIAN SENTIMENT RAGES THROUGHOUT CHINA

### Missionaries Branded as Imperialist Tools

PEKING, Dec. 28.—The religious advance agents of American capitalism as in China are quite worried over the growing sentiment against Christian missionaries, sweeping this country. Christmas day has been selected for demonstrations to expose the Christian religions as agencies for fostering foreign rule on the Chinese people.

To Hold Convention.  
The anti-Christian elements in Shanghai, arranged for a convention. Students throughout China are taking a leading part in the anti-Christian demonstrations.

Literature branding the missionaries as agents of imperialist powers is distributed. The capitalist press blames Communist propagandists for the literature. The Shanghai police recently raided the local university and declared that evidence of Moscow funds was found.

The raid was inspired by the British authorities.

alive the Daily with so small a sum. But it was never dreamed that so much more in addition could be done.

The whole plan of the party has been to make every penny spent, count for the permanence of the DAILY WORKER. And it is the opinion of the writer that if the party membership will now provide the \$50,000 to insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925, the insurance will be not only for 1925 but until that time when "insurance" will no longer be necessary.

**D.R.S. ZIMMERMAN**  
**DENTIST**  
2232 N. CALIFORNIA AVE. Phone ARMITAGE 1466

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DELAY MEANS DECAY

## Revolution Comes!

Is the title of the striking cover—a reproduction of the most famous painting in the Revolutionary Museum in Moscow, by N. Kravchenko—in the January issue of

## THE WORKERS MONTHLY

EDITED BY EARL R. BROWDER.

**LENIN,**  
**Leader and Comrade**  
By Alexander Bittelman

**The A. F. of L.**  
**and Trade Union Unity**  
By Wm. F. Dunne and Wm. Z. Foster

and the second installment of the revolutionary classic

## THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV

are only three of ten important contributions in this issue, including the

### Splendid Labor Cartoons

by Art Young, Adolph Dehn, Gropper, Fred Ellis and Hay Bales.

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# Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

## WHY IS THE MINORITY SILENT ON THE THIRD PARTY ALLIANCE?

By EARL R. BROWDER.

IN the minority thesis there are two great gaps, two tremendous silences, which speak louder than words. The minority does not say if our judgment in July, that the farmer-labor movement had been swept into the LaFollette movement, was correct or incorrect. And the minority DOES NOT SAY WHETHER THEY BELIEVE THAT C. I. WAS RIGHT OR WRONG IN ITS DECISION ON THE PROPOSED THIRD PARTY ALLIANCE.

When pressed to the wall on this point, spokesmen for the minority say "That is not an issue." They mean, they wish it were not an issue.

Comrade Zinoviev thought it an issue important enough for him to give it a special section in his report to the Fifth Congress. Following all good Communist practice, Zinoviev reviewed this important decision and rendered judgment as to whether it had proved a good or a bad decision. He said:

"We must also combat some digressions to the right in the American movement; these digressions made their appearance with the third party, the LaFollette party; the tendency to form a common election platform with this petty-bourgeois movement. . . . The executive committee decided to oppose these tactics, and as events have shown we were quite right."

This, one of the most important decisions ever rendered for the American movement, was opposed by both the minority and majority. Even after the decision had been rendered and carried into effect, members of both majority and minority expressed themselves as being convinced that the decision was wrong. But experience proved that the decision was right.

The majority, in writing its thesis,

thought it absolutely essential that the party must know what our final judgment on this decision was. And we came to the unanimous conclusion that the decision was right. We said so in the thesis. We admitted our previous error.

But the minority is silent. It is neither hot nor cold. It neither approves nor disapproves. It says "this is not an issue."

But the Communist International thought it was an issue. Comrade Zinoviev thought it important enough for a special report. Our party thinks it important to know whether the "digressions to the right" in the American party, about which Comrade Zinoviev spoke, are to be repeated. The party has a right to know what the minority, which asks for the leadership of the party, thinks about these "digressions to the right." But the minority is silent.

The reason why the minority is silent is because the minority wants to lead the American party again into election alliances with the "third party" movement. The minority thinks the C. I. decision was wrong. They want to go back to the C. I. and convince them of their mistake. And that is one of the big reasons why they cling so desperately to the "class farmer-labor party" slogan—it is their means of penetrating the LaFollette party.

The silence of the minority thesis on the "third party alliance" convicts the minority of attempting to perpetuate the right wing digressions of the past year. Their silence is the final proof that the party should not entrust its guidance to them. Under cover of phrases of Marxism and Leninism, they want to continue to combat the political line of the C. I., and drag the American party again back into the muck of LaFolletteism from which the C. I. rescued us.

## NEW YORK EXPERIENCES

By CHARLES KRUMBEIN.

District Organizer, District No. 2.

IN September, 1923, a conference was called in the name of mostly members of unions (W. P. not mentioned on call) where F. F. L. P. was organized. Delegates from forty local unions, forty-seven branches Workmen's Circle, eleven branches Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, and eighteen miscellaneous. Fraternal organizations were present, representing about 90,000 workers.

A large representative council was decided upon by the conference. One meeting of this council was called, but only about fifteen showed up. Second meeting was never called. An executive committee of about fifteen was elected—made up of almost all W. P. members.

F. F. L. P. local New York entered campaign in fall of 1923, putting six assembly and four aldermanic candidates on ballot. (Here allowance must be made for shortness of time.)

During campaign, four indoor meetings were held averaging 250 in attendance. Average seating capacity of halls was 900. Speakers were amongst others, Olgin, Gitlow, Lore and Poyntz. Open air meetings few in number. Two leaflets issued in English and Jewish, 50,000 all told. Badly distributed. \$842.23 raised during campaign. Expenses about \$1500. Difference paid from W. P. Of the \$842 contributed, \$295.00 was from 22 organizations.

Average vote for assembly candidates, 197—for aldermanic, 110. All this happened during administration of the F. F. L. P. enthusiast, Comrade Lifshitz. From above it appears that membership was not enthused about campaigns. This is an important factor.

Now between 1923 and 1924 campaigns.

Lenin memorial meeting arranged on Feb. 4, 1924. The preliminary arrangements were made by Lifshitz. So lacking was the understanding of united front that he called the meeting in the name of one "Lenin Memorial Committee." 60,000 leaflets, 1000 posters and 19,000 tickets were printed and well distributed on which the W. P. was not mentioned, meeting being under auspices of Lenin Memorial Committee. Publicity went out in same name to our own press until my arrival here, when it was immediately stopped and thereafter all publicity that went out was in the name of the W. P. This was called to attention of D. E. C.

During campaign for June 17 convention, we organized in New York and N. J. F. F. L. P.'s. This was done using F. F. L. P. Executive committee was called together twice a month with five to seven W. P. members of committee appearing. F. F. L. P. of New York has organized with ourselves and close sympathizers; those that supported us in recent campaign. N. J. F. L. P. organized on moment's notice, thru instructions from C. E. C. by mail, the result of the conference attended by W. P. branches and four or five outside organizations, none of which were unions.

An incident during conference in Schenectady on May 18, 1924, where New York F. F. L. P. was organized. We were instructed by C. E. C. to affiliate state parties with national F. F. L. P. Purpose of organizing

state parties as I understood, was to strengthen F. F. L. P. for June 17 convention. In committee it was learned that Hopkins, representing N. Y. progressive party, who was there with three delegates would split if we affiliated N. Y. party with F. F. L. P. I was for affiliation, regardless of split with Hopkins' outfit but stood alone in conference of leading comrades. Lifshitz, Lore, Weinstein, Poyntz, and others being against affiliating if it meant a split. Result no affiliation.

Now for the recent W. P. campaign. My understanding of our objective in this campaign was to popularize the Workers (Communist) Party. This, as the facts will prove, we accomplished. First we put the national and state ticket on the ballot. This required 22,000 signatures with a minimum of 100 signatures in each of 62 counties. This cost money, but we raised it. We had one Gitlow meeting, 2000 attendance; two Foster meetings, 6000 attendance; twelve Cannon meetings, average attendance 500; one Olgin meeting, attendance 800. Averaged 30 to 40 outdoor meetings a week during campaign. Six red nights where we concentrated our forces in six different sections of New York City, trucks, red lights, etc., holding six to twelve meetings on each red night. Many of these open air meetings were mass meetings of from 200 to 1200 in attendance. Indoor meetings, best political meetings ever held here.

Nearly one million pieces of literature distributed, included leaflets, pamphlets, posters, stickers and 85,000 DAILY WORKERS. Raised nearly \$16,000 for the campaign. \$2,322.00 of this was contributed by 25 local unions, 13 branches of Workmen's Circle, 49 branches of Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund and 16 miscellaneous, fraternal organizations. 5500 votes for our national and state tickets and in the six assembly districts where we averaged 197 votes for the F. F. L. P. We averaged 225 votes for the W. P.

In October we took 180 new members which is about 60 more than the average for the last 10 months. Response of the membership, as compared with 1923 campaign, financially, in the distribution of literature, etc., showed that the campaign helped towards building a mass C. P. They were enthused, \$16,000.00 proves that, and the party acted as a unit as never before.

We reached the masses as never before and I am sure better than we ever could thru a F. F. L. P. Many members stated they were glad they could make the fight out and out as against that a camouflage as our F. F. L. P. was known and called by all our enemies. An incident, in one of the large bakers' unions here when the fight took place to endorse the W. P. candidates, it resolved itself into a fight to endorse the W. P. as such which was finally done.

Whoever says we can't go to the masses in our own name, but must use a "false face" in face of the above facts has another guess coming.

*Your Policy must Be  
—Buy a Policy—*

## COMMUNISM VERSUS OPPORTUNISM

By J. C. OBOLONSKY

OUR party is at the cross-roads. Its membership has to decide whether it is to go—right, or left; that is, whether it is to work for the creation of a farmer-labor party, or whether it is to get busy rooting the Workers' Party into the fertile soil of class-struggle on the basis of the united front and the immediate burning needs of the workers. Some "minorities" propose to work for the organization of the class-farmer-labor party. So said Comrade Ruthenberg in an article entitled "Is America ripe for a Labor Party" in the Modern Quarterly: "At this (St. Paul—J. O.) convention the foundation was laid (!) for a class farmer-labor party" and further, "The building of a class (!) political party is not a matter of a few months or even of a few years. It may be a matter of another five years before there is created in this country a mass political party representing the two producing groups in capitalist society, BUT SUCH A PARTY IS BOUND TO COME." (caps mine J. O.).

Where is the foundation laid at St. Paul? If we drop the policy of bluff and face hard facts then we are bound to get a different picture of the St. Paul convention, in the words of Comrade Foster:

"The situation at St. Paul was this: The elections were approaching and it was absolutely necessary to crystallize the farmer-labor party in order to make or try to make, a campaign under its banner. The situation was difficult, WITH THE LAFOLLETTE FORCES SUCKING THE LIFE OUT OF THE FARMER LABOR MOVEMENT. Consequently the C. E. C. made extreme efforts to hang on to the disappearing masses. In some respects its policy verged into OPPORTUNISM. THIS MUST BE ADMITTED." In true Marxian-Leninist light THIS is a correct analysis of what occurred at St. Paul. Foreseeing such a "foundation," the Comintern was a thousand times correct, as against the minority of three on the C. E. C. when it instructed our weak party to drop the dead ballast AND GO ITS WAY. It takes courage to admit mistakes, but Lenin always had it and its high time that our young leadership become also in this sense fully Leninists. So much for St. Paul.

Now as to the building of a "class" farmer-labor party; the logical inference to be drawn from Comrade Ruthenberg's statement that a farmer-labor party is bound to come, in other words—it is inevitable, and more than that—in FIVE years or so. The inference is—get on the job and start organizing it. Five years is a very small interval of time and if we don't get busy at once it may be too late.

This is another fundamental misconception of the forces operating in the class-struggle in America. It is rather bold to assert at this time that a farmer-labor party will be created in five years, as it is in general incorrect to assert that the coming in to being of the labor party in America is inevitable. At least such utterances need unmistakable proof and such is still forthcoming from the minority quarters.

As angry as we may be at that petty-bourgeois Messiah LaFollette, yet it is only common sense and frankness to admit that the farmer-labor movement—whatever there was of it that counted—has been most effectively and completely swallowed up by the LaFollette movement.

Most of the wild flights of the minority abstract and pure theorists rotate about their inability to "root," their thinking in the objective conditions of our present activities as a Communist Party. Simon pure stubbornness is disguised as virtue and desire is mistaken for conditions.

They swing in a truly pendulum style. They jump from extreme to extreme. The group that was so "left sick" and paralyzed in 1920 that it issued a leaflet to the Brooklyn car strikers it issued to them a slogan "to arms" now swings so far to the right that it makes a cut-and-dry division between economic and political activities of the working-class identifies political activities of the working-class with the farmer-labor party ALONE, considers the farmer-labor party the ONLY expression of the united front tactic on the political arena and lets the Workers Party appear as a bystander and not as an active participant in the struggle.

The minority conception calls back to life the feebleness developed in our movement thru the necessity to work underground (its negative phase and expression). Contact with workers had to be established thru other organizations, indirectly. Well, we have done away with the underground organization, but the lack of faith in the strength and power of attraction by the Workers (Communist) Party still exists and assumes various forms. The "philosophy" of our underground days still lingers . . . a harmful vestige, a hangover and a hindrance to the free development of the Communist Party and movement, a blind for some and cause for confusion to others.

Said Comrade Lenin: "It is insuffi-

cient to be a revolutionary and a Communist in general, but it is necessary to find at each moment that particular link in the chain which one must seize with all his strength in order to hold the whole chain and to PREPARE A SURE TRANSITION TO THE FOLLOWING LINK." What is that link that will keep the chain unbroken at this moment?

The general flow of sentiment, which was the manifestation of a general movement for a labor party in 1922, has been the beginning of a process. The policy of the party then rightly was as follows: "The party must not oppose the coming to life of this power." Since then the process has been consummated; the movement has been completely directed into the channel of LaFolletteism. Never mind the building of bogies, conjuring up ghosts and shoving them to the forefront by some of our comrades,—there is no mass movement separate and apart from the LaFollette movement now in Dec. 1924. The boss of the "progressive forces" is now carefully laying the corner-stones in his foundation. His strategists have carefully studied the various tendencies that manifest themselves in the ranks of workers and dissatisfied farmers, who in their political immaturity are BOUND FOR DISILLUSIONMENT but not by the minority medicine.

All the delicate slogans of "class," "mass," "class mass," "revolutionary," "class revolutionary," "class mass revolutionary" ad infinitum, will fall on deaf ears; we will deliberately cajole ourselves into a position, where fiery leaflets to northwestern farmers will be most eagerly and effectively distributed on Second Ave. and 8th St., New York City; a party with one of the above titles will be formed of ourselves and sympathizers. Our "pure" agitation for the slogan will result in OUR taking out hot chesnuts of the fire of class struggle and delivering them to our bitterest enemies, to the LaFollette movement. Meanwhile the LaFollette movement will slap us right and left and we'll (as in the past) neglect the most essential elementary work of building up our young, and very weak Communist Party.

Let us not go for another campaign of draining the life-blood of our infant party, let's admit our past blunders (and if we were not for the decision of the Comintern in the last elections there might have been MORE than three in the then minority), let's learn from our past mistakes how to realistically build hereon. We must leave the utopia of getting to the social revolution on a high white horse by quick route, but rather stick to our reliable fundamentals that our road is hard, windy, and full of obstacles and turns. We must hold fast to our basic principles and ALWAYS hold in the forefront the banner of the only class political party of the proletariat—the Workers Party of America.

There may be advantages for the Workers Party in partaking sometime in block formations with other political groups, yet it is up to the minority to prove that it is correct Marxian and Leninist policy and tactics to CREATE AND BUILD non-Communist, or semi-Communist parties as a general principle, that it is permissible to sneer and scoff at the EXISTING Communist Party, neglect it and have to utter lack of faith in it.

The way of the minority is the SWAMPY way, the one which leads to opportunistic leanings and tendencies. That road is impregnated with "chvosticism" and liquidation.

Slogans must be effective to be useful. They must either be rallying cries for the mobilization of large masses of workers, or must have the attractive power to bring large masses into action.

The C. E. C. (majority) thesis proposes that the party for the first time in its history gets out of the clouds of speculation, puts it both feet on the class-struggle ground and in true Marxian-Leninist way begin considering ITS manifest pressing problems on the economic and political fields.

"There is only one party that fights always and everywhere for the interests of the working-class, that has no interests apart from those of the working-class, and that party is the party of Communism, the Workers Party. . . . The Workers Party under its own name, its own banner, its own program of political struggle, must enter into every battle of the workers against their oppressors, calling for and forming where possible all sorts of united fronts upon special issues, and using every such struggle, whether alone, or in a united front, as instruments for directly recruiting the workers into the Workers Party and building it into the mass Communist Party that will lead the proletarian revolution in America."

**Help Insure  
THE  
DAILY WORKER  
for 1925!**

## IS IT THE MEASLES? A DIAGNOSIS.

By JOHN J. BALLAM.

District Organizer, District No. 1.

OUR party is now about five years old. We are quite lusty, much given to chatter, as is most natural, and to playing of pranks which give the Communist International some concern lest we do ourselves some permanent injury.

But, on the whole growing, running about, and gaining our education thru our own experiences and the examples of our older sister parties of other countries.

In our early infancy, we developed a bad case of "left sickness" which was protracted by the fact that we were compelled to stay in-doors on account of the Palmer raids which deprived us of the proper nourishment furnished by the class struggle and contact with the masses which is the very breath of our nostrils.

Any trained observer might now know that something is the matter with our young party. Of late we have become pale and lifeless. Our "united front food" does not seem to agree with us—we have a slight indigestion together with some hysteria.

Dr. Foster has shoved his finger down our throats and made us throw up the farmer-labor party slogan because Dr. Foster thinks the stuff is indigestible and will kill us if we are given any more of it.

Our quack doctors on the central executive committee are shaking their heads ominously and are all for putting us to bed and closing the windows and keeping us indoors for a long time, or until we get strong enough to play with the farmer-labor party again. The chief rabbi claims that it all came about thru playing with the unclean gentle masses in the farmer-labor party and the medicine men of the central executive committee majority say that if this continues it will not only kill (liquidate) us but, "will spell death and destruction to the Communist movement in America." What a horrible prospect!

When the Communist International specialists take our temperature and diagnose the case I am sure that they will find developing another incipient case of "left sickness" complicated by a little right wing sectarianism and syndicalistic idiosyncrasies. Let us examine the symptoms.

When I read the majority thesis I was struck with the similarity of its slogans and its arguments with those of the "leftists" of 1921. Those who were with me in the fight against the L. P. P. (legal political party) will recognize many of our old arguments in the majority thesis. We were not opposed to the L. P. P. "in principle." We declared that nevertheless, the L. P. P. would "liquidate" our party (read faction). We branded everyone who favored the L. P. P. as liquidators, reformers, opportunists, centrists, social-democrats, etc. We raised the cry of "Save the Party." We proposed "something just as good" in place of the L. P. P.—The United Toilers of America (see Foster's LABOR CONGRESS). We announced the "crushing policy" to "relentlessly combat it and stamp it out." But at least we were honest, we were not "horse traders"—we had a homogeneous group—we refused to trade or compromise with any one who did not accept our point of view. We maintained discipline within our own ranks and because of this we were able to accept the discipline of the C. I. We recognized our mistakes and openly avowed them like the Leninists that we are. We are now totally immune from "left sickness." We can no longer be caught with the catch phrases of a bastard leftism—especially when these emanate from the mouths of our Bittelmanns and Cannons.

The majority thesis is so filled with inconsistencies—it is such a hodge-podge—that I cannot believe that it was presented for any but factional purposes. It appears to me to be designed to befuddle and confuse the membership and to form a basis upon which to unite every divergent element in the party from Katterfeldt to Lore, and in order to maintain a factional group in power.

On the Horns of a Dilemma

The central executive committee majority finds itself poised upon the horns of a dilemma. It is interesting to note how they attempt to extricate themselves from it. The majority thesis says:

"At the time when the farmer-labor movement was developing a mass character, moving in the direction of an INDEPENDENT PARTY, it was correct for our party to raise the slogan of 'a farmer-labor party' and participate actively in the movement for it."

Up to July, 1924, this policy was both profitable and successful. This policy must now be discarded and abandoned. Why? Because, says the thesis:

"The formation of a labor party becomes INEVITABLE and POSSIBLE only inasmuch as the economic mass organizations of labor are compelled to join hands for independent political action. But when the LEADERS of these organizations enter into a PERMANENT alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, and when such an alliance receives the recognition of ALMOST THE

ENTIRE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT, then the question of forming a labor party loses its basic foundation and ceases to be a fighting issue for immediate practical use."

This is a major premise of the majority. I shall prove later that it is not only untenable, but that it is not based upon facts. I shall prove that it is not true that almost the entire organized labor movement has thru its leaders entered into a permanent alliance with the petty bourgeoisie for political action. The majority thesis says that, therefore:

"The Workers Party cannot advantageously promulgate the slogan of a 'farmer-labor party' AT THE PRESENT TIME. The further development of the class struggle may eventually create a mass SENTIMENT for the formation of a labor party. In such case the Workers Party may find it advantageous AGAIN TO RAISE THE SLOGAN for such a party AND ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE in the movement for it." . . . "WE ARE NOT OPPOSED TO A LABOR PARTY IN PRINCIPLE."

The majority thesis concludes by saying:

"Therefore, every attempt by the Workers Party to set up middle-of-the-way bodies to take the place of the Workers Party in the eyes of the masses is in DIRECT VIOLATION OF COMMUNIST PRINCIPLES, and if carried to any length will spell the LIQUIDATION OF THE WORKERS PARTY . . ."

"This farmer-laborism opportunistic tendency within the Workers Party means DEATH and DESTRUCTION to the Communist movement in America . . . This tendency must be relentlessly combatted and stamped out." (All emphasis ours. J. J. B.)

Here you have it. Reconcile these statements if you can. Let us reduce the arguments of the majority to a syllogism:

Major premise: Any middle-of-the-road party set up by the Workers Party will liquidate the Workers Party; Minor premise: The labor party is a middle-of-the-road party.

CONCLUSION: THE LABOR PARTY WILL LIQUIDATE THE WORKERS PARTY.

Does the majority believe this? They are not opposed to a labor party IN PRINCIPLE. The party becomes INEVITABLE when the economic mass organizations of labor join hands for independent political action. The majority will again raise the slogan of "a farmer-labor party" when the development of the class struggle creates a SENTIMENT for it and they will ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE in the movement for it. But, they say, the advocacy and formation of a middle-of-the-road labor party by the Workers Party means the LIQUIDATION of the Workers Party and DEATH AND DESTRUCTION to the Communist movement. Therefore, the Foster-Cannon-Bittelmann group declare that they are ready to LIQUIDATE the Workers Party and to destroy the Communist movement whenever the LEADERS of mass economic organizations become ready to organize a middle-of-the-road labor party. Who are the liquidators? Could rank opportunism go further? Could factional bitterness and personal hatreds lead sane men further astray? Could a graver misconception of the united front tactics be imagined?

But this is not at all. THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS A POLITICAL STRUGGLE. Even syndicalists may come to recognize this Marxian fundamental—"in principle." While waiting for the masses themselves to join hands for independent political action, our precious majority is compelled to recognize the need for some substitute for the farmer-labor party slogan. The majority thesis states the problem thus:—

"At present the MAIN OBJECTIVE of our united front policy is to start a movement from below to compel the so-called labor wing of the LaFollette movement to break its alliance with the petty bourgeoisie and to win the masses to the class struggle and to the leadership of the Workers Party."

"At present the MAIN STRENGTH of LaFolletteism and consequently the main danger to the class struggle comes from the ideological hegemony of LaFolletteism over the MINDS of LARGE SECTIONS of the WORKERS and POOR FARMERS. We must therefore concentrate our energy to expose and defeat the petty bourgeois influence of LaFolletteism in the labor movement."

How? By " . . . putting up against the LaFollette party the Workers Party."

And is this all? Only "opportunists" could ask for more. But the majority thesis proposes much more.

Listen:—  
"As the working masses gain militancy and aggressiveness the situation will become ripe and the necessity urgent for a general mobilization of all the forces of labor for a concerted struggle against the triumphant capitalist reaction. The working class will then feel the need of a UNIFYING CENTER for

LEADERSHIP and DIRECTION and a GENERAL LABOR CONGRESS elected by the rank and file of labor in the trade unions and in the shops and amongst the unemployed will become the best means FOR THE UNIFICATION of the struggles of labor. It is the duty of the Workers Party to IMMEDIATELY begin to popularize the idea of such a LABOR CONGRESS." (emphasis mine J. J. B.)

A unifying center for leadership and direction! We had thought that the Workers Party was such a unifying center and that nothing else could replace. Is it possible that our majority "patriots" are losing faith in the Workers Party? Or—horrible thought—does Foster propose a dual union? another I. W. W.? Is Foster getting ready to liquidate the T. U. E. L. in favor of a GENERAL LABOR CONGRESS? Who will come to the GENERAL LABOR CONGRESS called by the Workers Party? Will the big international unions send delegates? Will we gather together more than we did at the F. F. L. P. convention? Will Foster launch his own LABOR PARTY in his GENERAL LABOR CONGRESS? Come out with it, Comrade Foster, the whole party is breathlessly awaiting more particulars about your LABOR CONGRESS.

And is this tenuous LABOR CONGRESS the only substitute that the majority have to offer in place of the farmer-labor party slogan? Oh, no! Listen:—

"As the class struggle develops and our campaign against LaFolletteism progresses there will be found in a number of LOCALITIES organized LABOR BODIES ready to break their alliances with the petty-bourgeoisie and to enter the election campaigns as LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. It will be the duty of the Workers Party to secure the support of these labor bodies for the Workers Party. Wherever this is IMPOSSIBLE because of the immaturity of the masses, the Workers Party will propose UNITED LABOR FRONTS for election purposes. In proposing whether such united fronts will be carried on under the auspices of LABOR CONGRESSES, COUNCILS OF ACTION, LABOR PARTIES, etc. the Workers Party will be . . ."

Try as our majority may they cannot get away from the farmer-labor party slogan. They are like men spitting into the teeth of a gale—the wind drives the spit back into their faces. All their syndicalistic substitutes for a farmer-labor party amount to the same thing. They can't get away from it. The farmer-labor party slogan is with us because it is inherent in the present movement of the poorer farmers and workers in their attempts to break away from the republican-democratic party of the big bourgeoisie and in their attempts to find a common basis for independent political action in their struggles against the capitalist class as a whole. It may be that the rapid development of the class struggle will forestall the actual establishment of a farmer-labor party in America and that thru the operation and effects of the Dawes plan an intensive economic and political crisis may drive the workers into extensive revolutionary activity. In such periods the working class learns more in a few months than in years of ordinary struggle and in such a revolutionary epoch the Workers Party will know how to raise the slogan of "ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS." But we are writing our program for 1925 and there is no such deep-going crisis on the immediate horizon.

Therefore the slogan "for a farmer-labor party" remains potent to mobilize the workers for independent political action and to break the hegemony of the petty-bourgeoisie over the poorer farmers and workers—to quicken their into class political action for their immediate demands and to draw them closer to the influence and leadership of the Workers Party. Our party will be the only party or organization which can or will raise this slogan. The slogan "for a farmer-labor party" will become a COMMUNIST slogan since the socialists, the progressives, the petty bourgeois politician and their labor lieutenants, the reactionaries of all stripes, will oppose and denounce it. Under this slogan we will be expressing the hopes, the sentiments, the aspirations of millions of workers and poor farmers, organized and unorganized, and by this means we will draw into our ranks the most advanced, the most developed and the most revolutionary elements.

In this movement the Workers Party remains intact, spreading its Communist propaganda among all its sympathizers and adherents in the united front political movement; maintaining close contact with all working class elements in the united front, criticizing the reactionary rightwing leaders, pushing the vacillating center more to the left; always holding aloft the red banner of the Communist International, and continually pointing the way to the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviets as the ONLY MEANS of abolishing capitalism and capitalist rule.

Let us go back for a moment to (Continued on Page 5.)



## THE PARTY DISCUSSION CONTINUED

## MY POSITION TOWARD THE FARMER-LABOR MOVEMENT

(Article I.)

By LUDWIG LORE.

IN view of the veritable landslide of articles concerning my attitude, past and present, on every question of importance to the Communist movement in the last four years, I feel that I owe it, not only to myself, but to the party membership, to outline, as briefly as I can, considering the number and nature of the charges against me, my party activity and the point of view from which it has been undertaken.

I regret, Comrade Lovestone's minutes to the contrary notwithstanding, that the majority and minority theses were not submitted to me by the national secretary for my vote until a very few days ago, long after they had become party property, and the discussion well on its way. I am, however, of the opinion that the issue that has been thrown into the forefront of the party discussion is an artificial one, an issue that has neither foundation nor life in the labor movement at the present time. As to its purpose, there can be no doubt. In spite of the distinct instructions of the Communist International that the majority and minority groups adjust their differences, the hatchet has not been buried. The minority group is a frank aspirant for power, and is determined at all costs to find an issue, be it ever so flimsy, upon which it can base its unmitigated opposition to the present administration.

## Why a Farmer-Labor Party?

One of the fundamental tenets of the Communist movement has been, that the masses must become imbued with the significance of the class struggle, not merely by propagandistic political and educational endeavor, but, above all, by active participation in the class struggle on the political as well as on the industrial field. Obviously, therefore, it becomes the duty of the Communists to participate in every working class movement that has for its premises the maintenance of the interests of the working class against that of its exploiters, whether this movement appear on the industrial field, as a labor union, or on the political field, as a labor party.

I am convinced that, in America, the labor party will come. Not immediately. On the contrary, it will come into being only after a slow and tortuous process, only after the poor farmers and organized labor have been betrayed again and again by leaders of the third party, LaFollette type. I am convinced that 1928 will see third parties in a number of states—Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Washington—perhaps even nationally in some form or other. Out of these third party movements, themselves abortive, a left wing will develop that will become the nucleus for a real, class conscious labor party movement in the future.

## Where Will We Stand?

Whether, when that time comes, the Communist movement in this country will fight or support this movement will depend entirely upon the strength that we, ourselves, will have attained. If our party shall have been successful in gaining a firm foothold in the masses, it will have to take up the fight against the reformist aims of the labor party movement. If, on the other hand, and I consider this much more likely, the Communist movement still consists of only the most advanced part of the working class, we will not only have to support the movement, but do everything in our power to become a part of it, if this can be achieved without losing our

identity.

The growth of the Communist movement in a country whose working class, like ours, lacks every vestige of political interest and understanding, will be slow. The American worker is an individualist, is incapable of seeing the larger aspects of any question of national importance. Contrary to the current impression, the American has no revolutionary tradition, and the democratic illusion still holds and will hold him in its grip so long as a certain degree of economic success can still be won by individual endeavor. He will always be ready to support reformers, men who like Roosevelt, Bryan, Hearst or a LaFollette take up the cudgels against big capital to give the little man a chance to aspire to a place in the sun.

Our work in the labor movement, therefore, will be, for years to come, to go hand in hand with the industrial labor movement in its struggles, to force it to take up a more energetic fight against the capitalist class, and in so doing to bring into being the political class consciousness that must exist before a labor party movement, in which we can participate, can come into existence.

In the meantime we will educate the advance guard in the labor movement, those who will listen to our message and help us in our work, to a clear understanding of the inevitability of the social revolution and the methods and weapons with which it can be successfully brought about.

The Communist movement can do this, however, only if it understands that it must participate in all struggles of the working class; that it must be the leader in these movements. The recent decision of the central executive committee to carry on an active campaign in support of the child labor amendment, is a case in point. Here our party supports not only the minimum made possible by the constitutional amendment, but demands state responsibility for the child's education and welfare up to the 18th year, as determined by federal legislation.

## The Majority Thesis.

Taken as a whole I agree with the majority thesis. The farmer-labor movement is dead and is not likely to awaken to a new existence for years to come. My differences with the majority conception on the question of the farmer-labor party are differences of emphasis rather than of fact. While I maintain that our support of the class farmer-labor movement was not accidental, but part of our fundamental Communist conception, I believe that any attempt to resuscitate the deceased class farmer-labor movement at the present time can and will result in confusion and resentment against our movement.

## The Minority Thesis.

While the minority evades the question of organizing a new edition of the federated farmer-labor party, it stands committed by its own thesis, to this program. One cannot actively engage in a campaign for a theory and refuse to put it into practice. There can be but one alternative. Either we believe that there is at present in existence a distinct and numerically significant movement for the creation of a party of labor and farmers along class lines. If that is the case, it is the duty of the Communist movement to support it and to augment its growth. If, on the other hand, this movement has dwindled into nothingness, it is not our duty artificially to recreate it.

The experiences of the past year have shown us the danger of the position that the minority is taking. The

very laudable desire to apply these theories to actual conditions, led us to attempt the organization of farmer-labor groups wherever this was humanly possible. Whatever our aims may have been, the fact remains that, with very few exceptions, the state farmer-labor party organizations were artificial bodies created by our party with the help of organizations influenced or controlled by our own members. But a peculiar quirk in the human mind makes us see favorable conditions, once we have based our program of action upon certain premises, even where these do not exist. The result is a policy of self-deception, such as could have been observed in our party even after the June 17 convention, when some of our leaders maintained in DAILY WORKER articles that there was a clear division between the farmers at St. Paul who went with LaFollette and the workers from the industrial states, who maintained a class program and adhered to the leadership of the Workers Party. And yet we all knew then, as we know today, that the latter, practically without exception, represented makeshift bodies of Workers Party origin. So far did we go in this policy of mutual self-deception that an attempt was made at that time to convey this obviously false impression to the comrades in Russia.

## The Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

In one of his articles, Comrade Cannon refers to the fact that I supported the federated farmer-labor party at a time when the present majority opposed it. This was undoubtedly the case. But a brief review of the history of our activity in the unfortunate federated farmer-labor party venture will show that the minority is right when it "refuses to have Lore pinned to its coat lapels."

At the Chicago convention where the federated farmer-labor party came into being, the Comrades Foster, Ruthenberg, Manley, Lovestone and myself had been appointed by the central executive committee to act as steering committee. Comrade Pepper had insisted upon my membership on this committee, and I had accepted very unwillingly. It is not generally known that I strongly objected to the decision that brought about the rupture between our followers and the Fitzpatrick-Nockels-Buck group, i. e., the decision to instruct the organization committee of the convention to bring in a full plan for the organization of a farmer-labor party on a national scale. The steering committee persisted in its course even after Buck had twice pleaded with the convention and with our group that the motion be withdrawn, stating that they would not stand for this thing that was being crammed down their throats. I insisted upon a special meeting of the steering committee after I had approached the members of the steering committee. In vain. I am still convinced that the split that placed us in so disadvantageous a position and that prompted the present majority to abandon the federated farmer-labor party almost at birth, because it feared the active opposition of the trade union movement, should and could have been avoided.

The opposition of the present majority to the federated farmer-labor party was obviously not based upon theoretical opposition but upon a very understandable desire to leave well enough alone. Certainly its opposition to the federated farmer-labor party offers a very poor basis for the "holier than thou" attitude of this group, especially in view of its more recent (LaFollette) past.

I believed, while I recognized the gravity of the situation that our headlong action had precipitated, that it would nevertheless be possible to keep the federated farmer-labor party alive. At two central executive committee meetings I moved to send out trade union organizers to bring local unions into the new party. Hundreds of local unions would have joined if an honest attempt had been made. The motions were adopted but never carried out by the present minority. Then the majority, in spite of its present enthusiasm for that policy. Again, at a later central executive committee meeting (unfortunately I have not Comrade Lovestone's easy access to central executive committee minutes), a program for immediate action for

the federated farmer-labor party was adopted, consisting of three labor and three farmer demands, which were to be submitted to a special session of congress, for which an energetic campaign was to be waged, counter-acting Senator Brookhart's propaganda for the immediate convocation of congress. The program was endorsed by the executive council of the federated farmer-labor party with all against one vote—and there it ended. The present minority, which is so anxious for mass action, played hockey with its friends of the executive council of the federated farmer-labor party, and the entire program was forgotten. Inquiries at later central executive committee sessions for a report on action undertaken brought no response.

It would have been possible at that time, in my opinion, to build up, not a gigantic movement. It is true, but a movement that would have enabled us to galvanize large sections of organized labor into political class action, to establish for the revolutionary working class a sphere of influence that would have given it a broad field for active work, had it not been for the open opposition of the present majority and the sabotage of the present minority and the national office.

There is many a true word spoken in jest. Perhaps the remark made by an active supporter concerning a minority member, that "he is afraid that MY party may become bigger than HIS party" came pretty close to the truth.

But what was possible at that time, is possible no longer. We who did our honest share of the propaganda work in the labor organizations before and after the Chicago convention, who visited the industrial and fraternal organizations and—I speak proudly in this case—who worked night after night for months preaching the necessity of political class action and the united front, and succeeded in arousing sympathy and understanding that could have been crystallized into affiliation—we know the mistrust

## IS IT THE MEASLES? A DIAGNOSIS.

(Continued from page 4)

where the majority thesis claims that the leaders of the mass economic organizations of labor have formed a PERMANENT alliance with the petty bourgeoisie and that this alliance has received the recognition of ALMOST THE ENTIRE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT.

Even if this were so it would make more imperative than ever before the necessity of raising the slogan of a farmer-labor party for independent class political action in order to mobilize around our banner the militant left wing and split them away from the third capitalist party movement and to discredit their class collaborating leaders in all working class organizations.

BUT IT IS NOT TRUE. The official leadership of the mass economic organizations of labor are in alliance with the republican-democratic party of AMERICAN IMPERIALISM through the "non-partisan" policy which was reaffirmed at the El Paso convention of the A. F. of L. They are against the THIRD PARTY and against the LABOR PARTY. They are in favor of the Dawes plan, the American Legion and imperialistic war; they are against recognition of Soviet Russia. The A. F. of L. and the reactionary unions are the allies of American imperialism on every count.

## The Majority Policy in Practice.

Here in Massachusetts we have had the opportunity to see how the majority thesis works out in practice. The C. P. P. A. convention was held in Boston December 14. About 30 of our comrades were elected from their unions and fraternal organizations to the C. P. P. A. conference. If we were working under our old united front policy we could have had at least 30 more. The big reactionary A. F. of L. unions and the R. R. unions were not represented. None of their leaders were present. All our comrades and many of their fellow delegates were instructed to vote for the farmer-labor party. A general membership meeting of the Boston T. U. E. L. voted unanimously in favor of raising the slogan of a farmer-labor

## Chicago Greek W. P. Branch Supports Majority Thesis

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Greek Branch of Chicago, Dec. 25, 1924.

## Resolution

"The Chicago Branch of the Greek Federation of the Workers Party, after careful and practical discussion of both C. E. C. and minority theses, declares itself for the thesis of the C. E. C. majority as the only correct and practical Communist policy which our party must follow, and recommends to all branches of the federation and all members of the party to support the thesis of the C. E. C. majority."

For the majority 12. For the minority 8.

Signed: James Manos, Br. Secretary

and ridicule that meets us today, whenever we try to repeat this performance.

When immediately after the St. Paul conference I realized the impossibility of continuing to form fake parties, I insisted that our work lies for the present in the building up of the Workers Party and briefly outlined this policy last June at a district No. 2 membership meeting, to the open horror of Comrade Foster, who regarded this opinion as rank heresy. In spite of the verbal slaughter that followed, the central executive committee, hardly more than two weeks later, took the same position and by nominating Foster and Gitlow, led the party, after two years wandering in the wilderness, back into a period of constructive Communist work.

Open Forum, Sunday Night, Lodge Room, Ashland Auditorium.

## The Workers Party in Action

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Open Forum, Sunday Night, Lodge Room, Ashland Auditorium.

## MAKE THE MILITANT PAGE WORTH \$20,000 TO THE DAILY

Party Members, Branches, Party Officials Can With a Little Effort Make the Militant Page the Feature of the Year.

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT.

We are for a militant party. So are you. Together we must help build that kind of party, a fighting party for which no task will be too difficult.

In the forefront of a fighting party stands its press. It leads the party in thought and action. It cements the party, centralizes it. It gives the party life. The party press, as Lenin said, is to the party what scaffolding is to a building. Upon it the workers stand, handing material to other workers with which the building, the party, is built.

We have by all ways at our command tried to improve the party membership with the need of safeguarding the DAILY WORKER. The Central Executive Committee has passed a series of motions in connection with this campaign which ought to have stirred every party member to action.

Either we INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925 are we run the risk of having to retrench. And who wants to retrench? Who wants to vote for enforced economies which will decrease the power of our daily?

A test for the party membership and branches has been decided upon. The DAILY WORKER will be one year old on January 13. Upon this date a big red special edition of the DAILY WORKER will be issued. It will contain 12 pages and will constitute a document which should become part of the library of every revolutionist.

In this big special edition will be featured the PAGE OF MILITANT BRANCHES. This MILITANT PAGE will be the roll call of the red branches of the Workers Party. And because it is a test of our militancy, we earnestly hope that EVERY party branch will have its name engraved upon the MILITANT PAGE as a sign of its Communist understanding and determination.

The district organizers, federation secretaries, federation editors and the city central committee secretaries can help in this attempt to register every party branch in the insurance campaign—in fact, must help. Every party official must give this thought and action.

The name of your branch will be printed upon the MILITANT PAGE of the big special issue only if your branch remits for insurance policies sold before January 8. There is only one more word to add—and that is, REMIT.

## Douglas Park English Branch on Record for The Majority Thesis

After thorough discussion of the party policies at three consecutive meetings set aside for this purpose only, the branch went on record in favor of the majority thesis. The vote was taken at the close of the meeting was 19 to 11.

## Lithuanian Branch No. 2 Overwhelmingly for The Minority Theses

The Workers Party Lithuanian Branch, No. 2, in its regular meeting Dec. 18, with Comrade George Maurer present, who was given unlimited time for the discussion and, supporting the majority theses, criticized the minority theses and its leaders Ruthenberg, Lovestone and others, and after the considerable discussion voted almost unanimously for the minority. Only two comrades did not vote but even these expressed that the minority theses was the better of the two. The following motion was accepted:

"The Workers Party Lithuanian Section Branch No. 2, in its meeting on Dec. 18, after hearing Comrade George Maurer report on the majority C. E. C. theses and after thorough discussion of both the majority and the minority theses almost unanimously voted for the minority."

"We are fully convinced that the minority's position is much better more practical to go to the masses of workers and poor farmers and thus to build our party, the Workers (Communist) Party in America."—Organizer V. V. Vasys.

## Detroit Workers to Welcome New Year at House of the Masses

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 28.—The real New Year's Eve event in Detroit this year will be staged in the House of the Masses, 2646 St. Aubin, when the Workers' Educational Association will be giving its annual international costume ball.

This annual affair always attracts, and this year the arrangements committee has promised a program more elaborate than ever before. Something will be doing in all the House halls.

Dances in national costume will be given at odd times throughout the evening. Solo and group singing will also be featured. Russian "Chli," Turkish coffee, and Bulgarian pastry will be served by girls in respective native attire, and our Greek and Armenian comrades will serve one of their famous dinners. Anyone attending who fails to enjoy himself on this occasion will be turned over to the Uffa Uffa Imps for treatment. Admission is 50 cents.

## Cleveland, O., Jewish Branch on Record for Minority Thesis

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 28.—The Jewish Branch of the Workers Party of Cleveland, after thorough discussion of both theses unflinchingly endorses the minority thesis as the one pointing out correct tactics and policies to pursue for our party in order to develop and build our movement as a mass Communist organization.

## It's an Irish Trick!



But carrying a load is no longer ONLY an Irish accomplishment.

A Bolshevik, regardless of nationality, can always learn to shoulder the responsibility of getting subscription bricks to "Build the DAILY WORKER."

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MORITZ J. LOEB

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## Why "River Work" in China?

By a "stroke of the pen" President Coolidge has given the imperialist business interests of the United States just 14 more warships. With the same pen, very likely, he signed a letter to the Federal Council of Churches "assuring" these anxious followers of the lowly Nazarene, that there was "no strike" whatever between America and Japan, and that all was favorable for a future of peace and brotherly love.

But we have warships for war, not for peace. Furthermore, by the signing of the naval construction bill appropriating \$110,000,000 for eight new scout cruisers and six gunboats, we are getting some warships—for they are not "peace-ships," but warships. Incidentally, we are, under the bill, going to "modernize" the old warships we have. All in the name of peace and brotherly love.

But in the official news statement given out at Washington, we come across a rather amazing revelation of the uses to which these nice new gunboats are to be put. It says, "The gunboats are urgently needed to replace antiquated shallow draft ships for river work in Chinese waters."

Now to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ it will probably appear quite strange and accidental, so to speak, if, after these gunboats are built and are, by the magic carpet of the House of Morgan, wished into the rivers of China, that our "national honor" or the "lives of missionaries" or any other fair sounding excuse, gives them the chance to bombard the inhabitants of China, or—more than likely—the Japanese who have taken control of some parts of China.

But to the revolutionist, to the Communist, it will be no accident. The fact that the American government openly acknowledges long before the event, that it is deliberately going about the work of building gunboats to trespass upon the sovereignty of the Chinese nation is only a central fact of a series connecting up the process of imperialist expansion of Wall Street.

Not only the necessity of new markets for manufactured commodities—the commodity surplus is reduced to a minimum in the age of monopoly—but the need for a market for surplus capital, which in turn calls for strict control over the terrain of the debtor nation to insure the safety of the principal and interest—all these call for warlike preparations. This is why we have the appropriation for \$110,000,000 new warships. They are aimed to insure a return of super-profit from imperialist business far larger than this modest sum.

That is why we see President Coolidge, after assuring the good Christians that no war is in the offing, issuing a statement that "gunboats are urgently needed for river work in Chinese waters."

## Educating the Chinaman

Havelock Ellis once said that China was the most civilized of any nation on earth. Certainly China has a cultural history that, in point of time, compares with our own like a sage with a child. And perhaps the comparison will hold in other respects as well. It is very possible that our notion of China's backwardness is due to a perverted view engendered by a complacent satisfaction with our own artificial and stimulated sense of "superior" western culture.

But however old and traditional the culture of a people may be, world economy has a very material way of paying no attention to it. Western imperialism takes the same attitude towards strange idols as Tamerlane. Nor is it in other respects any the less brutal than Tamerlane and his golden horde. The difference is that Tamerlane's Mongols went about their rapacious business with commendable unhyppocrisy. Western imperialism destroys with a smile of pious justification.

Our troops went to China years ago ostensibly to suppress the Boxers. What they did was to give America a commercial foothold and come away with \$14,000,000 indemnity in the bargain.

Last year, congress was overwhelmed with an exaggerated feeling of its own generosity. It decided to give the money back. But not to the Chinese government. It gave the money, or rather, returned it, for "educational purposes." A special commission, headed by an American, of course, was set up to see that the fund was used for educational purposes only.

That was the best investment the U. S. government has made in years. Educational appropriations are always the best kind of propaganda capitalism can buy. That fourteen million was calculated to help "Westernize" China. The more China is westernized the more fit it becomes for capitalist exploitation. A people imbued with the tradition and culture of Old China make poor factory slaves. They must be "educated."

But there is another kind of "education" seeping into China from another direction. There is a culture more agreeable and more easily assimilable growing on the great steppes to the North. It is a race. It is a race that is already showing bad signs for Western capitalism. The Soviets are very popular in China.

## Walk Right Up and Ring the Bell

Above all, rebels should not have inferiority complexes. Rebel training is directed as much against this complex as against mental confusion. And there is a certain connection between the two that we don't now wish to take the time to go into. But we can all be agreed that such states of mind have no place in a rebel movement.

If we are rebels, we have got to talk rebellion under all possible circumstances. We have got to speak our minds about capitalism on every occasion that presents itself. Those are propagandists who are not afraid to talk.

Something that gives an excuse to talk propaganda is something that is appreciated and taken advantage of by the real rebel. That something, for one, is the DAILY WORKER.

At this time, in many cities of the country, the DAILY WORKER is making propaganda possibilities that are not overlooked by those members who appreciate the value of extensive propaganda. The DAILY WORKER is conducting local subscription drives. By supplying special "sub" equipment the "Daily" is not only making it easy to sell but easier still to TRY to sell subscriptions.

It's the TRYING that counts. It's in the TRYING that we do our propaganda chores. It's in the TRYING that we train ourselves as organizers for Communism. It's in the TRYING that we convince class-conscious workers that their place is in the Workers Party.

If you haven't sufficiently overcome your timidity to allow you to walk up to a workingman's house and ring the bell, how is your courage to be depended on to perform the many feats of daring required of a rebel in really serious moments.

When you say you can't sell when you are asked to go from house to house with DAILY WORKER subs, you are admitting defeat. Because in the first place you are not asked to sell. You are asked to TRY to sell. It's the trying that counts. You are not a salesman. You are an organizer, a propagandist. When you walk right up and ring the bell and start talking about the DAILY WORKER you are performing a service for Communism.

## Kissing the Club

The organ of the German social-democracy, the Vorwaerts, in its Christmas edition complains bitterly of the refusal of the allies to withdraw their troops from Cologne after the social-democrats had carried out their part of the bargain of betrayal—getting a majority for submission to the Dawes plan in the last elections.

The Vorwaerts says: "The German nation is convinced that its disarmament is complete and the government states, that no sensational discovery has been made during the last 1,744 inspections carried out by the Allies. Is this true? If Mr. Herriot's accusation is a hypocritical pretext for a refusal to evacuate Cologne then he forgets that such hypocrisy is bound to weaken the position of the supporters of the republic and the supporters of fulfillment of the Dawes plan."

The German workingclass has been disarmed and the Vorwaerts is pleased. The refusal of the allied imperialists to remove their troops weakens "the supporters of the fulfillment of the Dawes plan" and the Vorwaerts is displeased.

The tremendous support given the Communists in the industrial centers, in spite of the terroristic activities of the social-democratic government, shows that not all the German workingclass has been convinced that kissing the club of the capitalists is the way for freedom.

Those simple folk who always hope for the best quite generally hailed the Herriot regime in France as a herald of peace. What else, indeed, could a "radical socialist" and a bosom friend of Ramsay MacDonald be, otherwise than a sucking dove burdened down with an olive branch. Regrettably must we quote General Nollet: "The new superior council created by the Herriot government is working at top speed... preparing a complete mobilization of all industries in case of another conflict."

The kind-hearted Calvin Coolidge commuted the sentence of one federal prisoner to celebrate the Christmas holiday and indicated the possession of a christian spirit.

The favored prisoner is an ex-soldier who has already served nine years of a life sentence. Cal fixed it so he has to stay in jail only eleven years more. This outburst of generosity shows that Cal does not believe in straining the quality of mercy.

The superb forward drive of the left wing in two of the largest of labor unions, the Carpenters and the Miners, shows that a great ground-swell in again beginning to stir the masses. Tired radicals and those who expect, or expected, to win the unions in six months, need not report for duty. Only Communists can be effective.

The christian spirit is in the ascendant at Paris, Illinois. The city is filled with klan and anti-klan forces, well armed and thirsting for one another's blood. Each side depends upon their god to bring them victory.

Both sides denounce the Communists as menaces to civilization.

Every day get a "sub" for the DAILY WORKER and a member for the Workers Party.

# The Mexican Was Right—They Are Bankers

By HARRISON GEORGE.

WHEN the 375 delegates to the 44th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso, Texas, crossed the international bridge over the Rio Grande to visit the sixth convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor (C. R. O. M.) meeting at Juarez, Mexico, a Mexican immigration officer remarked, "These are surely not laboring men, they look more like bankers!"

The Mexican official was correct. They are bankers, running about thirty "labor banks" with approximately \$150,000,000 of capital and planning to start others. But what is far more they have the same imperialist program as bankers, especially the large bankers who hold forth on the south end of Manhattan island in the city of New York.

## All Cut and Dried

Bankers they are! No banker could be more devoted to capitalism at home and imperialism abroad than Samuel Gompers, president again upon re-election, which election was so well provided for in advance that the telegraphic news agencies sent out advance news of his re-election with the note to release the item at 11:30 a. m. on Nov. 25.

In Europe the leaders of labor organizations must idealize for the membership's consumption, all programs of class collaboration with reactionaries. Gompers throws away every veil of reformist "respectability" and cavorts before the labor movement, naked and unashamed, the harlot of American imperialism.

If anyone had expected more from this convention, which met on Nov. 17 and adjourned on the 25th, they expected too much from a body from which every sign of a left wing had been carefully eradicated long before it met. It was a meeting of the \$10,000 a year "fat boys," the "international officers," the union bureaucrats. Besides these pot-bellied "sons of labor" whose heaviest "work" is to get some contractors to "come across," the United States senate is a beacon star of intelligence and a gathering of progressives.

Lots of Socialists—But No Left Wing. There simply was no left wing. There were, certainly, from fifty to one hundred socialists or ex-socialists present, but these distinguished themselves only by being more virulently and actively reactionary than their more swinish brothers. The labor party got one spokesman and two votes, amalgamation was unanimously defeated, so was the resolution for recognition of Russia—which might have fared better in the U. S. senate. And similar unanimity prevailed in the most disgraceful collaboration with imperialism.

Since the Portland convention last year, when Bill Dunn was unseated the policy thrust the federation has been one of ruthless suppression of the left wing. The result was a convention from which all shade of revolutionary or even reformist opposition had been carefully filtered.

Lack of Mind, Not Opportunity. No wonder that after sizing up the delegation Gompers could safely assert that "Every delegate has a full and free opportunity to speak his mind." That no delegate spoke from the floor during the first five of the eight days did not indicate lack of opportunity but lack of mind.

Only on the last day, when Kovel'sky of the "Walters" Union objected that at the next convention at Atlantic City, Gompers should not pick out a scab hotel for headquarters, as he had picked the scab "El Paso del Norte" this year, did Gompers find it needful to refuse the floor to a delegate. And this time, so savage was his attack that the delegate murmured, "Well, if you want to eat in scab hotels, all right!"—and then sat down. Only on one or two such occasions was the slightest sign of life shown.

Amalgamation Hardly Mentioned. Altho the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers had brot in a resolution asking that all crafts in the steel mills come under the jurisdiction of one union in behalf of an organizing campaign, it was defeated unanimously.

This, in spite of the speech of A. B. Swales, the British delegate, who told of the progress of amalgamation in England and the slogan, "More unionism and fewer unions." In spite, as well, of the jurisdictional quarrel which has left the 350,000 carpenters outside the Building Trades' department, the fight between the Stone Cutters and Granite Cutters which resulted in scabbing by the Granite Cutters on the Stone Cutters at New Haven, Connecticut; and in spite of the rivalry between the United Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the former bringing to the convention a resolution asking that the A. C. W. label be declared unfair.

The Labor Party's Early Death. The labor party issue was disposed of nearly as easily. The two resolutions asking for a labor party, the result of previous work of the Trade Union Educational League in the Molders' Union and in the Operative Potters' Union, were killed with the adoption of the recommendation of the executive council, with only two votes dissenting, after Basky of the Stone Cutters had been the only one

to champion the idea.

These recommendations represented the compromise arrived at between the republican party element, led by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and Hutcheson of the Carpenters; the democratic party group led by Major George L. Berry of the Pressmen, and the LaFollette group, comprising Gompers, who himself had led the executive council into the LaFollette endorsement, and Wm. H. Johnston of the Machinists, who sat with his whole delegation, silent, and saw the labor party issue killed and a so-called "non-partisan" program adopted without making a protest.

## A Meaningless "Program."

This program provides the following: (1) That the present cumbersome ballot be changed to make voting easier. (2) That labor participate more generally in primary elections. (3) That all non-partisan campaign committees be maintained on a permanent basis. (4) That a plan be devised whereby forward-looking persons who are not trade unionists may be enlisted in labor's non-partisan political campaigns. (5) That changes in laws be advocated where necessary to make the functioning of independent political movements more effective. Max Hayes, ex-socialist, raised his voice for a "third" party. So much for that. Gompers will be seen by this, not as objecting to utility in labor politics, but as improving the technique of utility.

The resolution favoring recognition of Soviet Russia, which had been fought thru the last Molders' convention by the Trade Union Educational League, was sabotaged in its presentation, two essential paragraphs being left out completely. Max J. Sillinsky of the Tailors was the lone defender of the resolution, Frey of the Molders disavowing the whole thing as a work of Communists and members of the T. U. E. L.

## King Sam and the Royal Family.

The little group of princelings around King Samuel seized the opportunity to attack Russia without regard to facts in Russia or elsewhere. Gompers himself made a vicious speech upon Russia and the Communist International, which he declared was trying to destroy all democracies and labor movements. He expressed his feeling at the "ingratitude" of Russia for the United States, which "had sent a friendly committee on a warship with a labor man on board, to congratulate Kerensky and give Russia a message of good will."

Least those who came into the labor movement lately misunderstand, I explain that the warship conveyed the precious yellow-socialist prostitute, Charles Edward Russell, to Russia, to request the starving and munitionless Russian masses to keep on fighting on the eastern front to save imperialist France on the western front.

## Wants a "Well-Balanced" Navy.

Some may say, "But that is past; in the future labor will know better." But not if the labor bureaucrats have their way. The Metal Trades department, which held its convention just prior to the main body, petitioned for resolution, "The president, the secretary of the navy, the cabinet, the committee on naval affairs and the members of congress to make adequate provision for building up and maintaining a well-balanced navy."

And what response was there for the words of the British delegate, Swales, when he said, "Our hatred for war must be translated into action and practice. We must have international solidarity of the workers of the whole world?"

## And Conscript Armies.

To begin with the national commander of the American Legion, James A. Drain was given an ovation and gave a "For God and Country" speech, after which a resolution favoring conscription in time of war was passed just before a resolution against Japanese immigrant workers.

Green Becomes Asst-Sec'y of War. Then "Resolution 75" was reported by Matthew Woll of the resolution committee, which advised that it be referred to the executive council. And what is "Resolution 75"? It is, in essential part, as follows:

"Whereas, the American Federation of Labor stands opposed to war except in the defense of our country and believes that the safety of our country can be preserved only if its citizens are able to defend it, by force of arms if necessary;

"Therefore be it resolved, that the citizens' military training camps are deserving of the support of American laboring men and the executive council is authorized and directed to nominate three civilians aides to the secretary of war at large and one civilian aide in each of the forty-eight states to cooperate with the government in recruiting candidates for these camps."

What Do You Mean, "Defense"? That the assertion of the above resolution being motivated only by a desire for "defense" is pure hypocrisy, may be seen from the action taken on resolution 22, proposed by the Seamen's union. This resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas, modern wars are begun largely thru pressure by land influence of the international bankers; be it

"Resolved, that while we freely

grant any American citizen the right and privilege to invest his capital in any country of his choice, we most emphatically protest against the use of our army or navy to collect either the principal or the interest of such investments when collections are no longer possible thru legitimate channels."

"No Isolation of Our Great Republic" By the treatment of resolution 22, we very clearly see that the purpose of Gompers in appointing himself as under-secretary of war and appointing labor bureaucrats in every state as recruiting agents is by no means "defensive." The resolutions committee in adroit language, after "subscribing to the high and lofty purpose," said:

"With the rapid extension of international finance, industrialism and commercialism, the restriction proposed for the end sought by this resolution, confined as it is to our nation alone, would tend to isolate our people and nation from participation in the world's developments. . . . We enforce all legal obligation entered into within our domestic borders by processes of law and by discipline of governmental forces."

"So, too, in the present international intercourse, our methods of obedience and discipline to obligations entered into are harsh and cruel at times. Nothing within the realm of practical possibilities should remain unobserved so that the people of all nations will be inspired to develop processes of a humane and peaceful character. This cannot be achieved by a lessening of national honor or the isolation of our great republic from co-operating with all other democratic nations in the world's present tendencies and developments. We cannot recommend approval of the resolution."

## Morgan's "Meritorious Loans."

In other words it is "national honor" to use the army and navy to collect the loans of the House of Morgan and make war against Soviet Russia, Haiti, Santo Domingo, or even—who knows?—war upon France or upon the enslaved workers of Germany who may revolt and repudiate the Dawes' plan and its loans. In all this, the labor bureaucracy offers to be both the recruiting agent and the priest who blesses the war and makes it holy. "We are against isolation" means "We are for imperialism," and Woll made it plain when he upheld verbally the necessity of war to collect "meritorious loans."

## Amsterdam Reformists Have No Plans

That labor may not find these loans so "meritorious" was indicated by the fraternal delegates from Europe in particular. The English openly admitted that the Dawes' plan was already forcing a lower standard on British workers and they might lose still more. But they had no policy to oppose it and didn't know what to do. The German delegate said that Germany accepted the Dawes' plan to "get a breathing spell," but admitted that labor was being strangled in the process of "breathing." He asserted that it was either the Dawes' plan or Bolshevism, and the yellow social-democrats, of which he is one of the leaders, chose the Dawes' plan, tho he couldn't clearly explain its advantages as compared with Bolshevism.

It is with these fraternal delegates from Europe, and the ones coming from the Mexican federation then in convention across the Rio Grande, that the most significant events developed in showing the American labor bureaucracy as the labor department of American imperialism.

## Morones and Calles; Gompers and Coolidge.

The leading group of the Mexican federation has wholly subordinated itself to the Gompers bureaucracy, just as the Mexican government has made its peace with American capital and accepted heavy loans from Dohney, one of the Teapot Dome group of oil imperialists, to defeat the last de la Huerta rebellion backed by the Cowdray oil imperialism of England. The Mexican federation certified its servility by unseating a Communist, Alfonso F. Soria, and by pledging itself to "defend the A. F. of L."

## "The Monroe Doctrine of Labor"

In reply, this was acknowledged by adoption of the motion of Matthew Woll to mark "the beginning of the Monroe Doctrine of American labor to apply to the western hemisphere. By that I mean united resistance against attempts by foreign capital or foreign labor to get a foothold either in concessions, property or economic principles or aspirations."

One could scarcely conceive of a more flagrant or complete statement of the unreserved adherence of the American Federation of Labor to the purposes of American imperialism, including the intention to oppose the "economic principles or aspirations of foreign labor"—meaning the revolutionary principles of the Red International of Labor Unions.

## A. F. of L. Follows Dawes.

Last, but not least, was the intrigue engineered carefully thruout the whole convention, to lay the foundation for re-affiliation of the A. F. of L. to the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions.

On the third day of the convention, the Hearst correspondent, Kenneth Clark, reported "conferences between

federation leaders and fraternal delegates from England, Germany, Mexico and Canada," looking to the formation of a new international. That was the inference, since "a definite organization of American and European labor" was contemplated, without mention being made of either Amsterdam or the Red International of Labor Unions.

This was apparently a "feeler" of Gompers. The British and German delegates denied holding such conferences. But evidently a move was on foot by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to affiliate to Amsterdam, upon their own terms.

## Gompers to Control Amsterdam.

And what does the A. F. of L. want in Amsterdam? It wants control of European labor—and to attain that it must control Amsterdam. So it was making a feint at "starting a new international" more to the right than Amsterdam, to force Amsterdam to the right and to sign over its leadership to Gompers in order to get the affiliation of the American Federation, just as European governments have been forced to sign over their policies to American imperialism in order to get loans to ward off collapse.

Gompers' policy has always been and remains, the policy of the American government. If he is now going back to Europe, it is not for Europe's good, but for the benefit of American imperialism. He revealed this malevolence in his attacks on Russian workers, and by his henchmen's public opposition to the speech of A. B. Swales, British fraternal delegate, who said that Amsterdam, or British workers, at least, did not fear the Russian workers and wanted unity with them. Later Swales admitted that Amsterdam would drop some of its "objectionable features" to get the affiliation of the A. F. of L.

## A "Dawes' Plan of Labor" Being Made

Chester M. Wright, yellow ex-socialist and Gompers' publicity man, manufactured "resentment among the delegates" at Swales' remark. And when the matter of international relations came up, Matthew Woll stated the official objection that the A. F. of L. wanted its "autonomy." But just as Woll believed in the Monroe Doctrine of labor when the Mexican federation gave guarantee of behavior by expelling a Communist, so will he believe in a "Dawes' plan of labor" when Amsterdam will refuse unity with the Red International of Labor Unions, when Amsterdam will refuse the Russian industrial unions admission into the industrial internationals and will surrender to Gompers the dictatorship of European labor just as the governments of Europe have surrendered to J. P. Morgan and company.

## The Surrender to Capital.

These are the big developments of the American Federation of Labor's 44th annual convention. Faced with rapidly dwindling membership, with antiquated craft unions unable and unwilling to fight for the workers' interests, with reaction triumphant in both politics and industry, with war against Japan clouding the horizon, unemployment, the open shop drive and the menace of the Dawes' plan threatening wage and hour standards, the A. F. of L. surrendered body, soul and boot-straps to the capitalists, ignored all the vital interests of the workers and openly became the labor department of American imperialism.

## What Shall Labor Do?

What shall American labor do in the face of this wholesale betrayal. It cannot quit the class struggle, nor can it bear forever the misery thus forced upon it. The sooner it makes up its mind to fight, the sooner the inevitable battle will be over, it must look to the left wing, the militants, the Communists. These are not in the high councils of the A. F. of L., but down among the rank and file of workers in the shops.

## Build the Party Nuclei and Union Fractions.

The Workers (Communist) Party is organizing its basic units in the shops. Revolutionary workers, join the Workers Party factory nuclei! Form revolutionary fractions in your unions under the guidance of the Trade Union Educational League to fight class collaboration and official treachery.

## Organize All-Inclusive Shop Committees.

Resist wage cuts and open shop drives by rallying all the workers, organized or unorganized, around shop committees, representative of every craft in the shop! Make the shop committees the leading organs of mass struggle for political demands, demonstrate with these shop committee mass organizations against injunctions, against blacklist or discharge of militant workers!

## For Political Struggle in the Shops.

Call shop meetings to protest against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, and the imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings! Demand thru your shop committees the government relief of unemployed! The withdrawal of armed forces from China, Haiti and Santo Domingo! Rally the masses around the shop committees in protest against government strikebreaking with troops, courts and police! Invite them to vote for Communists.

Against the open capitalist enemy and the enemy within the ranks of labor, against the capitalist and labor union bureaucrat, organize the Communist Party factory nuclei! Organize the masses in all-inclusive shop committees!