

# RICH DIVIDE BIG LOOT FOR XMAS

## AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHEARTY.

INGENUITY is by no means a monopoly of the circulation departments of the capitalist papers. The latter have recently helped to drive their readers crazier than usual, with their cross word puzzles and other crooked stunts. The object is to get advertising. That "the end justifies the means" is supposed to be the wicked slogan of the jesuits. Not a bad slogan in a period when dead ones are so popular. But the circulation manager of the DAILY WORKER translated this slogan into action, which is the only way to treat a slogan. Having your curiosity sufficiently aroused by now, I shall let you in on the secret.

EVERY subscriber to the DAILY WORKER and every member of the Workers Party is provided with a tool box. Not a heavy load to carry, just the kind of a tool box that will work wonders in getting subs for our daily. It is nothing more nor less than a neat little red book with a significant picture on the outside of each cover, and on the inside a calendar, important dates in the history of the international working class movement and high spots in the history of the American labor and revolutionary movements.

IN this little "tool box" you have subscription blanks for the DAILY WORKER and the Workers Monthly, application blanks for membership in the Workers Party, space for addresses and telephone numbers and a little pocket in which to carry your membership cards, in the party or in your union. It strikes me as being a very useful weapon for the live wires who are building up the greatest labor daily published in the English language and in doing that are building up the labor movement. Every reader of the DAILY WORKER should carry this "tool box" with him and use it. The supply is unlimited.

OUR leader is gone" shrieks the Seattle Union Record in an editorial commenting on the death of Samuel Gompers. That is right. After all, Gompers was the leader of that type of fake progressive. Silk purses cannot be made from sows' ears and the difference between most of our erstwhile progressives and Gompers was a difference in the degree or method. The editorial ends with: "He devoted his life to labor's cause. May he rest in peace." We say, Amen! At least we hope he does not pull off a resurrection. We have had enough of him.

TODAY the capitalist press shed gallons of inky tears over the death of Gompers. But at times, when the labor chief made some play that the capitalists did not understand, they were not so enthusiastic about him. One of Sam's favorite gags was to defy injunctions and then forget about them. He never forgot to brag about the famous Buck Stove and Range case, when, by heck, he almost went to jail and, goddarnit, was perfectly willing to go. But he did not. These fiery speeches were the necessary introduction to a later counsel of surrender, in case any group of workers took Sam seriously and started out to fight the injunction.

GOMPERS was here in Chicago in the early part of this year beefing about an injunction that was leveled against the members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union by the clothing bosses. Sam came, talked, smoked several cigars and went away. The injunction held, hundreds of members of the union were clubbed and sent to jail. The Tribune now vies with the yellow socialist press in showering tributes on the departed labor lieutenant, but only a year ago it threw several hapless innocents into the old faker's hide, not because he was too reactionary, of course, but because his

## CLAIM ALL U. S. WILL BE HIT BY AN ALASKAN COLD WAVE

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—For the first time in many years, the entire United States, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, is to suffer simultaneously from extremely cold weather, the United States weather bureau announced today. The cold waves, coming down out of Alaska, has already struck the Pacific northwest, and will move slowly across the country during the next two days.

## SIX BURNED TO DEATH IN N. Y. EAST SIDE FIRE

### Blaze Takes Big Toll in Night Disaster

(Special to The Daily Worker)  
NEW YORK, Dec. 16.—Six persons were burned to death, two of them women and four men, in a mysterious fire which swept thru a five story tenement at 13 East 98th Street early today. Five others are missing.

Charred Beyond Recognition. Edward Russell, 64, tenant on the fifth floor, was positively identified. Of the other dead the police said they believed two of them to be Miss Ida Goldberg, who had been living with a family on the fourth floor, and Mrs. Minnie McShane, whose husband is a prison turnkey. Other bodies, the police said, were charred beyond recognition.

There were 50 or more tenants in the building. Authorities said they were unable to account for a considerable number of these.

Tried to Escape. It was tragically evident, as the police searched the charred structure for victims, that the tenants had made desperate efforts to escape after the alarm of fire had been sounded, for all bodies except that of a woman, were found in the hallways. The body of the woman was discovered in the McShane apartment on the fifth floor. The police believe that she was suffocated by smoke.

Dies in Long Plunge. From the roof of an adjoining structure firemen saw a man hanging from the sill of a fifth floor window. Below him was a vacant lot. A life rope was let down to him and the firemen called to him to knot it about his waist. Instead of doing this he grasped the rope and started to climb hand over hand to the roof. Already seriously burned, and his strength weakened by hanging to the window sill, he had climbed only a few feet when his grasp on the rope loosened and he plunged to the ground. He was killed.

The body was partly identified as that of a man whose name was Russell. His sister, Mrs. Anne Nugent and her three children, Barbara, 18, Antoinette, 22, and Fred, 16, made their way to the ground down a fire escape. Mrs. Nugent and her son were slightly burned.

Tried to Save Insurance Papers. Mrs. McShane, believed to be one of the dead women, would be alive, her husband said, had she not gone back to get fire insurance papers which were in their rooms. McShane said he, his wife and their two children, Florence and William, 12 and 17, fled in their night clothes to the fire escape. Once outside, and with safety at hand, McShane said that his wife suddenly remembered that insurance policies covering their furniture were in a tin box in their room.

For a time there was a near-panic among patients in the Mount Sinai hospital nearby. Nurses and internes went from room to room, reassuring patients that there was no danger, and pulling down window shades so the patients could not see the fire.

Investigation by the authorities revealed that the fire started in the room of Joseph Ackerman, a lodger in an apartment on the ground floor.

## MINERS OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS WORK TWO DAYS A WEEK AND GIVE ONE DAY'S PAY TO DAILY WORKER

The coal miners of Southern Illinois are responding heroically to the campaign to insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925. Unemployment has prevailed in the mid-western coal fields almost continuously for the past two years. Workers who are digging coal only one or two days a week are sending a day's wages to their working class daily newspaper. Coal miners who have been out of work for many months have pledged a part of their first pay to insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925.

The following is a typical letter from Andrew Young, O'Fallon, Illinois, and demonstrates that the coal miners are determined to make the DAILY WORKER a better and bigger fighter for the workers next year.

Pledges First \$5 to DAILY. Editor of the DAILY WORKER:—I am the sorriest man in this country today because I am not in a position to insure the DAILY WORKER for

## FOSTER RAN SECOND WITH THESE FARMERS OUT IN NORTH DAKOTA

That the poor farmers are not afraid of voting for the Communists under their right name and their own banner and will give the Workers Party their support as against LaFollette, is indicated by the report from Comrade W. J. Husa, branch secretary at Belden, North Dakota.

Comrade Husa writes: "In this county of Mountrail, only 48 votes were found for Foster, and we believe that it is correct. Of that number Sikes township, where this inland town is located, the vote was as follows: LaFollette, 36; Foster, 29; Coolidge, 3; Davis, none. This isn't so bad at that.—Signed, W. J. Husa."

## SEND HATHAWAY, COMMUNIST, TO LABOR COUNCIL

### Machinists Do Not Fear Gompers' Terror

(Special to The Daily Worker)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Dec. 16.—C. A. Hathaway, district organizer of the Workers Party, was unanimously re-elected as a delegate from the Machinists' Union, local 91, to the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Council after that body rejected Hathaway solely on the grounds that he is a Communist.

Vote Confidence in Hathaway. The union approved a statement, drawn up by a committee of three, expressing complete confidence in Comrade Hathaway.

When Hathaway at first presented his credentials, Paul Smith, "special representative of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor," refused to seat Comrade Hathaway. Smith overrode the will of the large majority of the delegates present who wanted to seat Comrade Hathaway. Smith threatened to revoke the charter of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly if Hathaway were seated.

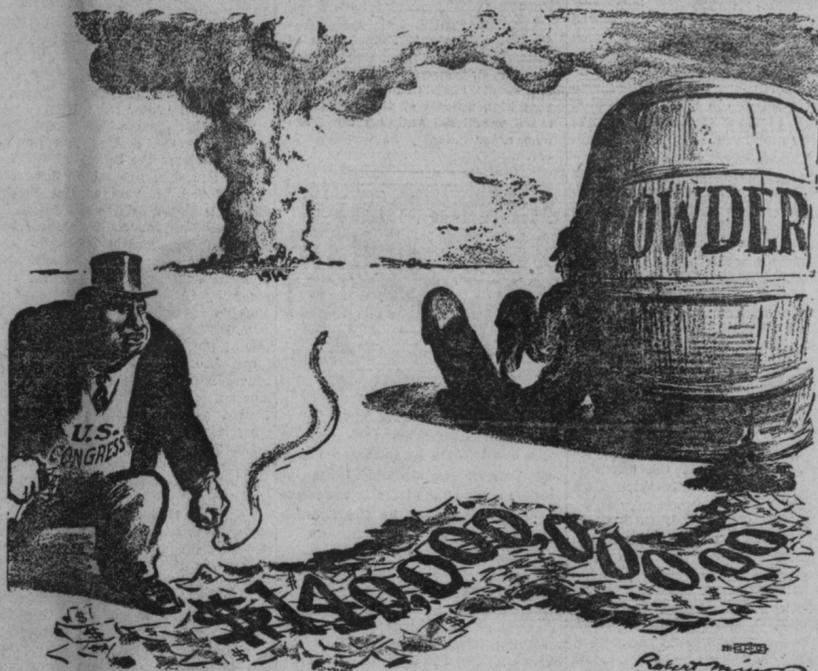
Can Only Revoke Charter. Smith admitted there is no rule of the A. F. of L. by which he could legally prevent Hathaway from being seated. He declared: "The American Federation of Labor has no authority or regulation which can be used to prevent the seating of any delegate elected from any local union, but we can revoke the charter of the central body as a last resort."

Finding that the Minneapolis trade unionists resent his uncalled interference, Smith is planning to wreck, if possible, the entire organized labor movement of the city.

Hopes to Exclude Militants. Smith plans, it is declared, in following out Gompers' policy of retaining the conservative rule at all costs, to revoke the charter, and re-organize the assembly, excluding the most virile elements which either belong to the Workers Party or are favorable to the Communists.

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

## THE INCENDIARY



CONGRESS speaks of Peace, and Coolidge speaks of Peace, but only to cover their preparations for war. The naval appropriation of \$140,000,000 for warships is made both in anticipation and in provocation of the deadly universal "War of the Pacific," which Wall Street intends shall mean the military conquest of the world by American capital.

## U. S. WAR DEPT. MOURNING FOR SAM GOMPERS

### Recognizes His "Conspicuous Service"

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 16.—Samuel Gompers came back to Washington yesterday, Washington the scene of many betrayals of labor to the interests of capital. The body arrived at 3:15 p. m. and was taken to the Federation building where it laid in state until night, when it was removed to New York City.

Altho the capitalist government itself pretends to be taking no part, a military guard of honor, composed of a sergeant and ten soldiers, was ordered to accompany the body thru the streets of Washington yesterday.

The War Department Weeps. "In recognition of his conspicuous war service and at the request of officers of the A. F. of L.," said a statement issued by the war department, "the war department has detailed a sergeant and ten men to guard the remains of the late President Samuel Gompers from the union station to the headquarters of the A. F. of L. and on the return to the station."

Artillery and Labor Fakers. In New York City, the program now provides that when the body arrives over the "B. & O." at 7 a. m. today, it will be met by a composite battalion, representing the army, the navy and the national guard.

The bronze casket will be placed on an artillery caisson and with its military escort, and a delegation of labor officials, will proceed to the Elks' club on West 43rd street. There it will lie in state until the funeral services begin at 9 a. m. Thursday.

Assorted Sky Pilots. Masonic services at the grave in Sleepy Hollow cemetery, at Tarrytown, will be conducted by the Very Rev. Oscar F. R. Treder, chaplain of the grand lodge of the state of New York and dean of the Pro-Cathedral at Garden City. St. Cecile lodge No. 500, the actors' and newspaper men's lodge of this city, is in charge of the service and the Elks' ritual.

Play Hairy Ape in Moscow. NEW YORK.—The Hairy Ape, Eugene O'Neill's play of the stokehole of a ship, has been playing in the Kamerny Theater of Moscow, according to the management of the Provincetown theater.

## RED FLAG OF SOVIETS RAISED OVER RUSSIAN EMBASSY IN FRANCE

PARIS, Dec. 16.—The Red Flag of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was raised over the Russian embassy.

Leonard Krassin, the Soviet Russian ambassador, made the principal speech. Every citizen of Soviet Russia residing in Paris was present, Krassin announced. The red flag was raised to the tune of the "Internationale" played by a large band. A crowd gathered to watch the ceremonies, but was dispersed by the police.

## HUTCHESON'S PLOT TO DROP CARPENTERS

The reactionary henchmen of President Hutcheson and District President Harry Jensen in Carpenters' Union No. 181 are in such desperate straits that they appealed to the international headquarters in Indianapolis for somebody to help them conduct their meetings on the ground that the action of the membership of the local prevents them from conducting the business of the organization.

The troubles of these fakery began when they had several members of the union expelled for signing a resolution protesting against the signing of a scab agreement by Hutcheson and Jensen which allowed for the use of scab material by the members of the carpenters' union. It was a Landis award contract.

The expulsion of these militants aroused the anger of the members of the local, and when the officers denied the accused or their supporters the floor to defend themselves their anger could not be restrained.

Policemen Defied. The attempt of the reactionaries to have the militants expelled from the meeting place was prevented by the rank and file despite the presence of a small army of policemen. The officers therefore wrote to Hutcheson requesting the "Czar" to send them assistance.

Hutcheson was afraid to face a local that is practically unanimous for the expelled members but wrote a letter advising that the victims of the reactionaries (Continued on page 2)

## BRITISH TORY GOVERNMENT IN LEAGUE SCRAP

### Irish Free State Cause of Trouble

DUBLIN, Dec. 16.—Ireland still continues to be a thorn in the side of British imperialism despite the fact that the Irish Free State is a creature of the British government. But circumstances over which these funkies have little control force them to take actions that sometimes run counter to the plans of the Tories now at the helm of the British ship of state.

The most recent action of the Irish Free State to acquire international importance was the registering of the Anglo-Irish treaty with the league of nations. This was done during the premiership of Ramsay MacDonald and no notice was taken of the incident by the government of the day.

But no sooner had the Tories assumed office than all these petty details assumed importance and Austen Chamberlain began to straighten them out. The Tories do not intend that the empire shall be shorn of any of its power during their incumbency. Austen Chamberlain protested to the league of nations against the registration of the Anglo-Irish treaty with the league. The British foreign secretary claims that the relations between the British empire and any of its parts are no concern of the league. This places both the league and the empire in a rather embarrassing position.

But Ireland has no objection to seeing the empire in an embarrassing position, and makes matters worse by insisting that, if the British contention is upheld, that the dominions have no right to membership and voting privileges in the league councils. This would eliminate the six votes which Britain usually counts on at league meetings.

Canada Has Ambitions. The other dominions are more likely to side with Ireland than with the empire on this question, particularly Canada which has a desire to follow the Free State government in sending an ambassador to Washington to represent Canada directly.

The Irish treaty was registered in conformity with article 18 of the league covenant which says that treaties shall not have international validity until they are registered with (Continued on page 2)

## SPLIT QUARTER BILLION OUT OF THEIR PLUNDER

### Parasites Spend While Millions Are Idle

By LELAND OLDS.

(Federated Press Industrial Editor)  
Christmas dividend and interest payments of between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000 mailed Dec. 1 by 114 leading New York corporations will mean full Christmas stockings for the children of the idle rich.

But what about the children of the involuntarily idle poor whose meager savings have been exhausted by unemployment?

Dividend announcements for 1924 announced a flock of extras which although small in dollars and cents per share mean thousands of dollars additional income to the millionaire whose holdings are reckoned in thousands of shares.

Among the extra dividends recently announced are U. S. Gypsum, the building material trust, 5 per cent extra in cash and 35 per cent in stock; American Radiator, another profiteer at the expense of the American home, 50 per cent in stock; General Gas & Electric, one of the big public utility combines, \$33.25 per share of preferred stock; American Gas and Electric of the same family, 50 per cent in stock; Crane Co., manufacturers of goldplated lavatories, 1 per cent in cash; Lehigh & Wilkesbarre Coal, \$3 in cash; Island Creek Coal, \$1 on stock of \$1 par value.

The extra 1/4 of 1 per cent declared by U. S. Steel means an extra \$29,325 Christmas money in the pocket of George F. Baker, dean of New York bankers, who owns 58,650 shares of steel corporation stock.

The pockets of the owning class are already bulging with the dividends and interest payments of preceding months. These are reported by the department of commerce for the first 10 months of 1923 and 1924 as follows:

First 10 months 1923	1924
January \$49,465,000	\$420,025,000
February 175,905,000	185,565,000
March 283,645,000	319,041,000
April 374,286,000	384,350,000
May 253,425,000	316,565,000
June 295,050,000	305,740,000
July 366,025,000	396,880,000
August 187,550,000	198,370,000
September 259,636,000	313,840,000
October 357,215,000	397,760,000

Here with two months yet to go is a record of \$2,238,136,000 paid in cash in 1924 to the owners of stock and bonds. For the same period of 1923; total disbursements were approximately \$200,000,000 less, amounting to \$3,042,202,000. This gain stands in sharp contrast with total wage payments running about 13 per cent behind a year ago.

The huge outpouring of wealth to the wealthy comes in a year in which well over 2,500,000 wage earners have been constantly unemployed while other millions could only work 2 or 3 days a week. Clearly any identity of interest which may once have existed between employers and workers has vanished. The idle rich don't suffer from depressions any more. But the chronically unemployed poor are forced to stand by and see industrialism dispossessing them even of their jobs.

## MAGNUS JOHNSON BLAMES HOOTCH FOR HIS DEFEAT

### Claims Blind Opponent Favors Bootleggers

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—Senator Magnus Johnson, farmer-labor, will file a contest within a few days against his republican opponent, Thomas D. Schall, in the recent Minnesota senatorial election, it was announced at his office here today.

The contest will be based upon charges that Schall's managers collected a \$50,000 campaign fund from Minnesota "bootleggers" by promising criminal immunity. Schall, who is blind, will also be charged with circulating political falsehoods against Johnson in the campaign.

# OHIO LABOR TO OPPOSE STATE GOSSACK RULE

## Labor Forces in United Front on This Issue

By GEORGIE PAPCUN.  
(Special to The Daily Worker)

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 15.—Opposition to the proposed state constabulary bill that will be before the Ohio legislature at its session January 5, will be prevalent throughout the state on the part of trade unions and other working class organizations.

It is supported by the chamber of commerce and all other open shoppers.

There is no demand for passage of a state police measure on the part of the farmers. Farmers' organizations are not subscribing money to urge passage of a rural police measure. If the list of contributors to the state constabulary movement were made public, it would disclose the names of open shop manufacturers and those of a few rich farmers. Mine operators and steel corporations are financing the passage of the bill as it would aid in the open shop drive and help them to police their industry in time of strike.

The victory of the "flaming circle" at Niles Ohio, an anti-Klan organization, has taught the corporations a lesson. The "flaming circle," composed in part of foreign-born workers and the youth of foreign-born parents, many who have seen service in the world war, by application of war strategy, completely routed the strong Klan forces. The open shoppers who are pressing the Americanization plan are afraid of the strength shown by these foreign-born workers in their victory over the Klan, and therefore very desirous of an extra police force in the form of armed and mounted state constabulary.

Organized labor, Workers Party, Y. W. L. and working class organizations should combine their forces in a united front and fight against passage of this bill.

### Movies for Workers

- Working class motion picture programs will be shown at the following cities on the dates indicated:
- "The Beauty and the Bolshevik," a five-reel rollicking Red Army romance produced by Proletkino, Moscow, 1924; together with "Russia in Overalls," a three-reel inspiration of Soviet industrial life: Detroit, Mich., Royale Theater, Dec. 19.
- Saginaw, Mich., Scenic Theater, 311 Court St., Dec. 18.
- Dayton, Ohio, Ideal Theater, Dec. 19.
- Bentleyville, Pa., Miners Theater Jan. 9.
- Wheeling, W. Va., Jan. 10.
- Omaha, Nebr., Alhambra Theater, Jan. 12.
- Boston, Mass., Symphony Hall, Jan. 15.
- Cleveland, O., Jan. 17 and 18.
- Reading, Pa., Jan. 22.
- Chicago, Ill., Ashland Auditorium, Feb. 3 or 5.
- San Francisco, Cal., March 21.
- Polukushka.
- "Polukushka," a six-reel feature film from Tolstoy's immortal tragedy, played by the Moscow Art Theater, with Ivan Moskvine as the star; together with "Soldier Ivan's Miracle," a Russian two-reel slapstick that cocks an impudent eye at miracles and other superstitions, also "Russia Today," a one-reel educational showing the asbestos mining industry. Detroit, Mich., Medbury Theater, Dec. 16 and 17.
- Hamtramck, Mich., Caniff Theater, Dec. 17 and 18.
- Detroit, Mich., Royale Theater, Dec. 19.
- Rock, Mich., Workers Hall, Dec. 27.
- Los Angeles, Cal., Philharmonic Theater, Jan. 19.
- Russia and Germany.
- "Russia and Germany," eight reels contrasting developments during the seven year of Soviet Russia and the fifth year of Dawes plan Germany. Some very exciting scenes. Birmingham, N. Y., Jan. 9.
- "The Fifth Year," eight reels of Russian life during the crowded year of 1923. Army, May Day, famine victory, treason trials, war, sport, victory! The most popular labor film ever made in America. Frederick, S. Dak., Dec. 22.
- Life of Lenin.
- "Life of Lenin," one-reel showing scenes from life and death and underlying influence of the late leader of world's revolutionary masses. Show at memorial meetings: Reading, Pa., Jan. 22.
- Philadelphia, Jan. 24.
- If your town is not in this list it ought to be. For particulars have any economic, political or fraternal labor organization to which you belong, send for details to the International Workers' Aid, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

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

# HOT LOT OF SAVAGE PLUTES MOURN FOR "COMRADE GOMPERS" AS HIS HONORARY PALLBEARERS

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 16.—The Mexican workers who heard their leaders of the C. R. O. M. (the Mexican Federation of Labor) introduce the head of the American Federation of Labor as "Comrade Gompers" will be somewhat astonished at the flock of capitalists and capitalist tools gathered around the coffin of the defunct labor chieftain.

The pallbearers of "Comrade Gompers" who assist in an honorary way with his interment, are as follows:

Charles E. Hughes, secretary of state in the Coolidge cabinet; William Howard (Injunction Bill) Taft, chief justice of the supreme court of the United States, which Gompers was supposed to be fighting bitterly for declaring the child labor laws unconstitutional.

Expert on Imperialism Attends.

Major General R. E. Bullard, whose efficiency in the handling of imperialist oppression on weaker nations is exemplified by the fact that he served in Cuba during the Spanish-American war, then helped suppress the Philippines with rifles and the "water cure," becoming military governor of Lanao Moros, Mindanao in 1902-04, then back to Cuba to show the Cubans to run "schools and fire arts," then as "Comrade Calles" may have forgotten—commanded the mobilization on the Mexican border for the raids which violated Mexican territory in 1915-16. He also commanded the 2nd army of the A. E. F. in France.

Then there are Rear Admiral C. P. Plunkett, Governor Smith of New York, Lieutenant Governor Lunn, who is a renegade socialist; Mayor Hylan of New York City, U. S. Senator Royal S. Copeland, Edward J. Henning, assistant secretary of labor, who will assist Henry Curran, commissioner of immigration, to carry out Gompers' anti-alien policies on foreign-born workers.

Wall Street Turns Out.

George W. Perkins, the financier, leads a list of his kind, including John H. Finley John R. Alpine, Bernard M. Baruch, Will H. Hays, Oscar Straus, Samuel Untermyer, George Gordon Battle, Grosvenor Clarkson, Marcus M. Marks, Ralph M. Easley, head of the Civic Federation, V. Everitt Macy, Judge Alton B. Parker, Otto M. Elditz and C. C. Norman.

Dawes Plan Sheds Tears.

Another battalion of bourgeois is led by Nicholas Murray Butler, the famous professional protagonist of capitalism. It includes Martin Conboy, General J. G. Harbord, who openly announces his scorn for democratic government; Daniel Willard, head of the "B. & O." railroad, which is crushing the shipmen's unions with the help of Wm. H. Johnston of the Machinists; Elihu Root, the hard-boiled old reactionary of the U. S. senate; Bainbridge Colby; and Owen D. Young, who was the first Wall Street ruler of Germany and who comes to Gompers' funeral to show the regret felt by the backers of the Dawes plan.

Finally a group composed of an assortment of corporation lawyers and big industrial capitalists, among whom are George W. Wickersham, Henry W. Taft (Bill's brother), John Hays Hammond, Frank Vanderlip, who backed LaFollette in the past election and Cleveland H. Dodge, head of the copper trust, who is personally responsible for the illegal deportation of 1,200 miners from Bisbee, Arizona, into the New Mexican desert in July, 1917, because they were on strike.

Universal Mine in Indiana Begins Work On Part Time Basis

(Special to The Daily Worker)

DANVILLE, Ill., Dec. 16.—After a complete shutdown of over two years the Universal mine at Clinton, Ind. has re-opened on a part-time basis to supply the United States Steel corporation with 300 tons of coal a day.

The Universal mine is one of the largest and most modernly equipped mines in this territory. The Steel corporation has cancelled contracts in other mines in order to place this order for Clinton coal, and Kentucky mines formerly supplying this coal to the steel corporation will be forced to shut down, it is believed.

Bankers Ask Big Sum.

In an effort to determine how much the bankers are to charge for turning the stock of the Chicago surface lines over to the city, the local transportation committee of the city council met yesterday with bankers and traction officials holding these stocks.

An attempt was made by the city to induce the traction line representatives to agree on appraisers to determine the value of the surface lines. To date the bankers have held out for a sum which the city council has refused to agree upon.

Hooper Won't Give Up Job.

Ben Hooper, chairman of the United States railroad labor board, does not want to give up his job, according to a speech he made before the Michigan Alumni association. Hooper spoke against the Howell-Barkley bill, which proposes to abolish the labor board. The bill will be debated in the present session of congress.

Can't Let King Tut Alone.

CAIRO, Dec. 16.—Howard Carter, American Egyptologist and original investigator of King Tutakhamun's tomb, plans to resume his work on the tomb shortly, it was announced today.

New Jap Ambassador Coming.

TOKIO, Dec. 16.—Tsuneo Matsudaira who has officially accepted the post of ambassador to the United States, will sail for America early in January, it was stated today.

Barbaric Treatment For Insane.

AUSTIN, Tex., Dec. 16.—The insane of the state are not properly taken care of, Senator Robert A. Stuart of Fort Worth declared here. "At present the insane are huddled together and even kept in jails until it is too late to help them," said Stuart. No place has been provided by the state to observe and treat persons who have shown symptoms of insanity, and the treatment is often crude and barbaric, the senator added.

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# BRITISH COTTON KINGS ENSLAVE SUDANESE LABOR

## Stack Killing Pretext for Brutal Conditions

(Special to The Daily Worker)

TEXARKANA, Texas, Dec. 16.—The British imperialist government has used the killing of Sir Lee Stack to get cheap Egyptian cotton for British mills, produced by slave labor, Benjamin Marsh, managing director for the National Farmers' Council, stated at the convention of the Farm-Labor Union of Texas, in session here.

Stack Water from Nile.

"The ultimatum which Great Britain handed to the Egyptian government following the killing of Sir Lee Stack, governor general of Sudan, is part of the program of the British financial imperialists to get cotton for British mills, produced by slave labor exploited by British landlords and British financiers," Marsh said. One hundred and forty-one delegates representing 70,000 members, listened to Marsh's speech.

"A British corporation, in which the son of the famous Sir Asquith is interested, has secured an important concession in the Sudan to develop irrigation projects along the Nile. The British government lends this company several million pounds to develop this project and the Egyptian government has been obliged to let this corporation draw water from the Nile."

Suffer Under British Lash.

Marsh then painted the picture of the suffering to the Egyptian natives caused by the British policy of enslaving the Sudanese on the pretext of punishing them for Stack's murder. He declared that the basis for the British policy of force and oppression is the desire of the British capitalists to make more profits by means of the use of cheap slave labor.

Workers He Betrayed Will Not Mourn

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BERLIN, Dec. 16.—Whether the nationalists are included in the next cabinet or not is one of the most widely discussed possibilities in German politics today. The centrists who hold the balance of power are afraid to include the nationalists in the proposed coalition cabinet and what is still more important, the American financiers who hold the strings to the German money bag do not trust them.

Came Near Victory.

But the nationalists came within speaking distance of victory in the recent elections and if they cannot have their own way, they insist on making it uncomfortable for others. They are opposed to the Dawes plan, because it puts capitalist Germany in a humiliating position and reduces her to the position of a colony of the other powers. They are not concerned with its effect on the workers' standard of living.

The nationalists are also gunning for the head of the socialist president of capitalist Germany, Ebert, having done the dirty work for the capitalists, has almost reached the limit of his usefulness to them. At least they believe they can get along without him now.

He is charged by the nationalists and monarchists with being responsible for the munitions workers' strike in January 1918 and is guilty of high treason. Ludendorff is also after Ebert's scalp, claiming that the German revolution which occurred a few days before the armistice lost Germany the war.

Proud of His Perfidy.

But Ebert is fighting hard against the efforts of the monarchists to prove that he was loyal to the workers. His counsel read a letter in court, during the trial of the president's libel suit against a monarchist, written by Von Hindenburg, in which the latter gives credit to Ebert for the "unselfishness with which Herr Ebert is working as a true German for the salvation of the nation, forgetting all personal opinions and plans." This letter did much to prove that Ebert was a faithful tool of the capitalist class.

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# Wall Street Banker in Boost for the Fascisti, Mussolini and Dawes

By J. LOUIS ENGAHL.

TODAY, Benito Mussolini, the bloody dictator over Italy, adds another American capitalist to his list of supporters. The name of Otto H. Kahn, Wall Street financier, goes down with that of Elbert H. Gary, head of the steel trust; Julius Barnes, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other champions of the "open shop."

All the news from Italy indicates that Mussolini's fascism is on its last legs. But this does not prevent the banker, Kahn, from travelling to Ottawa, Ontario, and giving an inspired talk at a luncheon of the Canadian Club, in which he said:

"Italy . . . has made extraordinary progress under the clear-sighted and far-visions guidance of Mussolini, and is steadily forging ahead."

Mussolini did make some progress when he first assumed power. His gunmen marched over Italy, leaving a trail of arson and murder in their wake. Workers' organizations were destroyed. The Communist movement was outlawed. The torch was ever busy, setting fire to workers' co-operatives, libraries, labor temples, social clubs and even their homes. Death or prison awaited all who stood in opposition.

But this advance has been checked. Mussolini is now on the defensive, something Kahn is evidently ignorant of. Fascism is in retreat before aroused Italian labor.

It was Elbert Gary who wished for Mussolini rule in the United States. He evidently visioned new struggles of the workers in the steel industry, when the bloody attacks on labor at Homestead and McKees Rocks, in Pennsylvania; Cripple Creek and Ludlow, in Colorado; Cabin Creek and Logan County, in West Virginia; Centralia and Everett, in Washington, and hundreds of other battlefields of the class struggle would have to be repeated successfully if American fascism is to retain its present rather favorable position.

When American capitalism must invoke the spirit of the fascist dictator of Italy, it is a confession that it has no "strong man," so-called, to direct its own capitalist state for the suppression of the whole working class. At least Kahn mentions no candidates for the job in this country.

It is because he is in favor of Mussolini rule in Italy; also in the United States; that Kahn also champions the Dawes plan, not only for Germany, but for all of Western Europe, especially for the Balkans. At Ottawa, in Canada, Kahn suggested to the League of Nations, "in unofficial co-operation with the United States, to set up another 'Dawes Commission,' which shall apply to that complex situation and that 'impasse,' (in the Balkans) the same fairness, broad-minded comprehension, tact and resourcefulness that the members of the Dawes commission brought to bear upon the no less involved and difficult problem of reparations."

Of course, Kahn utters the pious wish of a Wall Street banker in all this solicitude for the Dawes plan. He is looking to his "interest." The Dawes commission showed its "fairness" toward international, and especially American capitalism. But it dealt a vicious blow to the whole German working class. German labor is still struggling against its class enemy supported by foreign capitalist allies.

When German labor throws off its chains, as it will, Kahn will have more to say about fascist dictators and Dawes schemes. But it will be a confession of their futility in stopping the march of the masses on their way to power.

# RUSSIAN NOTE LAYS DOWN THE LAW TO HUGHES

## Show America Violated Russian Authority

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 16.—Indiscriminate and unauthorized roving of United States war vessels in Soviet Russian waters will henceforth not be tolerated, George Tchitcherin, Soviet Russia's foreign minister, declared in a note received by Secretary of State Hughes.

Tchitcherin protested against the placing of a bronze tablet on Russian soil by the Bear, a United States coast guard vessel, threatening punishment to anyone molesting the tablet.

"This is a lawless act," Tchitcherin wrote, according to information given out in Washington. "The official responsible obviously was unable to distinguish where his own territory ends and another sovereign country begins." Tchitcherin added that a repetition of such an unauthorized naval visit will be sternly repressed by Moscow.

The plate of which the Soviet government has taken possession was clamped to a rock on the Cokotsk Peninsula, Siberia. It stated, "United States Geodetic Survey-Magnetic station. Disturbance punishable by a fine of \$250.00 or imprisonment."

This violation of international law, and the rights of a sovereign nation was excused by coast guard officials in Washington on the ground that the tablet was placed in 1920, before the far eastern republic was definitely affiliated with Moscow.

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

# FAKERS SQUIRM WHEN PAMPHLET SHOWS THEM UP

## Would Keep Members from Reading It

By ANDREW YOUNG.  
(Special to The Daily Worker)

O'FALLON, Ill., Dec. 16.—At a meeting of Local No. 705 of the United Mine Workers of America here, I introduced a pamphlet entitled, "On a Labor Faker's Trail."

A motion was made and seconded that we order 350 copies of this pamphlet for distribution to our membership, to let them know the real facts about the worst enemies of our organization.

Farrington's main supporter in denouncing this pamphlet, was Dave Wilson, who broke the strike for Farrington in 1919 in this district while he was a board member. On account of Wilson's drastic action in driving the rank and file back to work, the miners voted him out of office.

Outed by Membership.

But Wilson's loyal friend, Frank Farrington—who at one time said that John L. Lewis had descended to the level of a louse-appointed Wilson back in office to serve the same members who had just voted him out of office. Wilson is now legal investigator at the same salary he drew as board member.

Another member of Local 705 who voted to keep the rank and file from reading their district president's dirty record, was Dan L. Thomas, president of this sub-district, No. 7. Thomas pleaded that Farrington should have a chance to defend himself, altho Farrington has his own paper—the Illinois Miner. The Illinois Miner is edited by Oscar Aminger, the man who once wrote a pamphlet called "The Farmer that Farms the Farmer," and who is himself, at the present time, the farmer that farms the coal digger.

Of course these men all supported LaFollette and their gestures are in accord with those of Gompers, Olander, Walker and Farrington. They are servants of the bourgeoisie and the enemies of the working class.

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

(Continued from page 1)

position, as head of the A. F. of L., compelled him to do things at times that would deceive the workers into believing he was a labor leader and not a labor traitor.

ONE year ago the author of the Tribune's Line O'Type column poured ridicule on Gompers because of his hot words—the meaningless—to the garment workers who were hampered by the injunction issued against them by Judge Carpenter. Gompers is characterized as the white haired boy of the Wilson administration. He then got accustomed to power and influence and had not yet sobered up. When the masses began to clamor for some policy on Soviet Russia did not Secretary of State Hughes write a letter to Gompers explaining why Charlie did not recognize Soviet Russia. The result of this catering to Gompers in the opinion of the Tribune writer, was that Sam got an inflated idea of his own importance so much so that he flouted the injunction.

In view of the Tribune's fulsome eulogies of the dead labor faker, the following excerpt from an article published on its editorial page will prove of interest: "As a patriarch with extra-legal privileges he (Gompers) is the berries when he roars out damnations and rends his garments like the prophets of Scriptures; but the boys who call the strikes, make the settlements, work the habeas corpus and go most frequently to the bank—to put in, that is—proceed blithely without him. There's hard coal to be dug or not to be dug in the east; and Gompers is out in Chicago telling some unionized and bewildered immigrants that Judge Carpenter is playing for the laughs."

POOR OLD SAM had a tough time with some of his capitalist friends. They did not realize that he had to show his teeth once in a while to the employers in order to retain the confidence of the workers. Naturally he could not explain this to everybody, but the wise ones and those who counted most understood. Gompers was an officer in the Civic Federation and so was, and is, Judge Gary. These two were supposed to be mortal enemies, yet they wined and dined together, but made faces at each other in public to help preserve the fiction that they were engaged in a real scrap. Just like lawyers shadow boxing in court for the sake of their fees. Gompers is dead. The capitalists will find it difficult to secure another president of the A. F. of L. as competent and loyal.

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

Your Policy must Be Buy a Policy

# Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

## Menacing Symptoms

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

If you want to know what the real position of the minority is, read the articles of the followers of the minority and not of the leaders. The latter are sufficiently trained in party controversies to know what not to say. The leaders of the minority, whatever their Marxism and Bolshevism, have been long enough in our movement to understand that certain things are simply incompatible with a Communist conception of our tasks. But the followers don't know all these things, and when they attempt to express an opinion as to what they understand the position of the minority to be, they frankly and openly tell the whole truth. It is therefore, thru these open statements of the followers of the minority that we learn of the really menacing nature of the minority position.

### Capitalism is in Existence, Therefore We Must Have a Farmer-Labor Party

Read the article by Comrade W. J. White, entitled "The Defeatist Thesis of the Majority," published in the DAILY WORKER on Dec. 11. Read it carefully and try to understand the psychology of the comrade. He is so much overwhelmed with the magic slogan of the minority that he simply cannot imagine the class-struggle in America without a farmer-labor party. To him class-struggle and farmer-labor party have become one and the same thing. His reasoning runs, therefore along a short, straight line. If you are opposed to the farmer-labor slogan, you are opposed to the class-struggle. I maintain that when Communists get into such a state of mind, there must be something radically wrong with them.

Listen to the question that Comrade White asks of the majority:

"Has this election (presidential election) given the landless farmers back their land? Has the pressure of capitalism been removed from the shoulders of the proletariat in the mills and mines? Is the robbery of these workers any less today than it was before the votes were cast?"

This is the question. You would imagine by the nature of the question that Comrade White is trying to convert a worker in his shop to the idea of class-struggle. You might also imagine that Comrade White is trying to prove the existence of capitalism and the necessity for an organized struggle against it. And, finally, you might also get the idea that Comrade White is putting up this question in order to prove the necessity of the Workers (Communist) Party as the only possible leader of the proletarian struggle against capitalism.

But, no! This is not Comrade White's intention. Comrade White has already outgrown the illusion that the Workers (Communist) Party is the leader of the proletarian struggle against capitalism. Comrade White knows better. He has another party—a farmer-labor party—to conduct these struggles. Comrade White shouts at the majority the above question in order to destroy the majority thesis which denies the usefulness of the farmer-labor slogan in the given situation.

Comrade White is not a defeatist. No. He is buoyant, hopeful, and optimistic for the farmer-labor party. But the C. E. C. is defeatist because it is buoyant, hopeful and optimistic for the Workers (Communist) Party. This is the substance of Comrade White's article.

**Diluted Communism for the Masses**  
Comrade Anton Bimba is following the minority. He published an article in the Daily (December 10th) entitled "Where do You Stand?" And among other things, this is what he says:

"By raising the slogan 'for a farmer-labor party', which is much easier for the masses to digest at the present time, we, the Workers Party and under the name of the Workers Party immediately advance to them and acquaint them with the leadership of the Workers Party."

Comrade Bimba may not know it as yet, but a little thought will convince him to the truth of the following proposition: That the position of the minority is nothing else but a proposal to fool the masses into following our leadership by giving ourselves another name.

According to Comrade Bimba the masses will digest easier the slogan "for a farmer-labor party" than they will the slogan "for a Communist Party."

Party." The difference here is merely in name, isn't it? Because the slogan "for a farmer-labor party" is raised by whom? By the Workers Party. Who is going to advocate it and fight for it? Again, the Workers Party. Now, then, why does it not enter Comrade Bimba's mind that under these conditions, the slogan "for a farmer-labor party" will immediately become identified with the slogan "for a Communist Party," and that whatever objections the masses have to following the lead of the Workers Party these masses will equally have to following the lead of the farmer-labor party. Comrade Bimba knows that this is so. Only he believes that somehow and in some mysterious way the sound "farmer-labor" will be more pleasing to the ears of the masses than the sound "Workers Party."

It is very, very funny. We seem to be reaching a stage when our policies are to be determined by musical mysteries instead of by an analysis of social forces and political situations. The logic of the minority, expressed very simply by Comrade Bimba, is merely this: The combination of the words farmer-labor will be digested by the masses easier than the combination of another group of words. Therefore, a farmer-labor party.

And, mind you, Comrade Bimba is not totally blind to facts. He sees, for instance, the important fact "that a great many workers voted for Mr. LaFollette because they were told and they themselves believed that they were voting for independent political action." In other words, those workers who felt the need for a new party believe that the LaFollette movement is going to bring them that party. Comrade Bimba will have to agree that these workers are wrong only in one thing, namely, in their expectation that a LaFollette party will be beneficial to the workers. But how are you going to disabuse the minds of the workers from this illusion? Surely not by preaching the abstract idea of a class farmer-labor. Why? Because to advocate now a farmer-labor party as against a LaFollette party is the same as advocating the Communist Party. And if the slogan "for a Communist Party" can have no mass appeal how will a Communist farmer-labor party have such an appeal?

Comrade Bimba would do well to read again the thesis of the C. E. C. He will find there that the way to drive a wedge between the workers and LaFollette is not by advocating another name for the Workers Party, but by mobilizing the masses for struggle for such economic and political demands as will expose LaFollette's hostility to the workers. Not by changing names but by engaging in elementary struggles will you raise the consciousness of the American workers and build your own party.

**LaFollette is "Already" Discredited.**  
You, comrades, may not know it that "the LaFollette movement is already discredited in many ways," but Comrade Candela knows. He says so in his article, "Why I am for the Minority," published in the Daily on December 11th.

Now, this is a totally different proposition. If the class-struggle in the United States has gone so far as to discredit in many ways the LaFollette movement in the eyes of the workers, then we are actually nearing a revolutionary situation in America. Comrade Candela simply failed to draw the proper conclusions from his analysis of the political situation.

The Communist International adheres to the following theory that when the petty-bourgeois, reformist illusions become discredited, or are beginning to become discredited in the eyes of the workers, this is a sure sign of the beginning of a revolutionary situation. Comrade Candela should know that. And since he was able to detect the fact that "The LaFollette movement is already discredited in many ways," he should have proposed another slogan, one that would be more suitable to a developing revolutionary situation, for instance, for a farmer-labor government, instead of for a farmer-labor party.

The followers of the minority have a difficult task to perform. They have got to re-educate themselves from farmer-laborism into Communism. The sooner they do it the better for Communism and for the Communist Party.

## FIRST CALL FOR HELP

We have built. For nearly a year we have painstakingly fashioned a weapon every component part of which we tested and proved. Expenses—down to the bare bone. Service to the working class—absolute maximum. Attacks upon the enemy—the limit. For nearly a year we have labored unceasingly with a bucket of red paint in one hand, and a large-sized brush in the other.

IN ALL THIS TIME WE HAVE NOT SENT OUT A SINGLE CALL FOR HELP! But today we shout, HELP YOUR DAILY.

Your Policy must Be  
—Buy a Policy—

## UPON ONE POLICY WE ARE ALL UNITED and that is to

### Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

A MOST complete discussion upon future party policy is possible today because we have the DAILY WORKER. Every party member who reads the DAILY WORKER, yes, and every one that does not because he cannot read English, will understand this to be an advantage of prime importance to the theoretical development of our members.

But the DAILY WORKER serves the party in many other ways. It is an all the year around weapon against the foe, it is an educator, it is a propagandist—and also, it is a bond, a chain, which ties member to member, city to city, district to district. It is the DAILY WORKER that helps to centralize our party into the effective machine it should be.

We must keep the DAILY WORKER and make it safe for 1925. To do this we must give our dollars generously today. If we expect to win, then the DAILY WORKER must live and prosper. With the DAILY WORKER, forward to victory, or—nothing. It should be easy to choose.

INSURANCE POLICIES are in the hands of the branches. They are priced \$10, \$5 and \$1. The Central Executive Committee has decided that every member shall buy. Every member should buy no less than a \$5 POLICY.

And while the party seeths with discussion over our future policy and tasks, there is one Policy upon which there must be unanimous agreement. That is the POLICY to BUY A POLICY to INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
William Z. Foster, Chairman,  
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

## ILLINOIS EXPERIENCE SUBSTANTIATES THE MAJORITY POSITION

By ARNE SWABECK.

At the height of our farmer-labor maneuvers, we organized the Illinois labor party. It was made to order like most of such parties were. Also, even at a time when there was a movement making toward the formation of such party, the Illinois labor party never succeeded in rallying great masses of workers despite the sincere efforts for a united front displayed by our comrades. Nevertheless, it became recorded in our annals as another "conquest."

To our party the dangers were great in this experiment; the advantages were nil. Farmer-labor parties without mass support do not offer a field for maneuvering to broaden and deepen the struggles of the workers and our participation therein tends to seriously obscure the Communist aim in the class struggle, even from the view of our own comrades.

The Illinois labor party had to be extremely carefully nursed for fear that it would remain still-born. The provisional committee launched to form the party invited all labor and fraternal organizations of the state to participate. Some 3,000 local organizations were invited. About 25 local unions responded, of which 25 were of the United Mine Workers, some workmen's circle branches and other fraternal groups. With few exceptions the delegates who attended the Peoria convention, at which the party was formed, and who had also fought in their locals to put the response across, were either Workers Party members or close sympathizers. The fact that this convention was arranged simultaneously with, and in the same city as the convention of the United Mine Workers, District 12, helped to bring the delegates there. And naturally, great care had to be used to retain these few non-sympathizing elements, in order to maintain the farmer-labor appearance, which was destined to rally the masses.

Care became so much more necessary because immediately upon the issuance of the call for the formation of the party, it became branded by the reactionary trade union officials as another attempt to split the labor movement and to form another "branch of the Communist Party," and one Chicago carpenters' local union even withdrew its elected delegates. The situation was delicate. To really interest the delegates—exceptions as well as party members and sympathizers—and the unions which had responded to the necessity of the labor party it became necessary to attribute to it the qualities of fighting the battles of the workers and to make it appear the real leader in the class struggle. It was a natural opportunistic outcome of our general opportunistic method of applying the united front tactics in this movement.

We were faced with a practical problem. We attempted to form a state farmer-labor party and the outcome corresponded with the material conditions available. The program adopted, although an improvement over the many which our party at the time was manufacturing wholesale, expressed not only the dangerous illusion of a parliamentary emancipation of the workers, but also the possibility of a farmer-labor party leading the struggle for emancipation.

One delegate at the convention made the statement in a committee that, in considering the program, one vital point was overlooked, namely, that of proposing an amendment to the United States constitution which would provide for the enactment of the laws demanded. Undoubtedly, this delegate, with many other workers, was led to believe, helped along by our policies, that emancipation by way of parliamentary activities thru

a farmer-labor party was quite a simple matter.

Our immediate practical experience amounted to this. Our farmer-labor party united front was at its very best a parliamentary unity. The Illinois labor party was organized while the old farmer-labor party (Fitzpatrick group) was still in existence. There could be little difference between the two as long as the farmer-labor veneer had to be maintained. The rank and file workers could discern no difference, except that the Illinois labor party had been branded Communist and we appeared as the splitters of the labor movement who had to have our own little labor party the same as the Fitzpatrick group. The old farmer-labor party was discredited. The Illinois labor party never succeeded in rallying the masses of workers and farmers; it did not give our party connection with the wide masses. The only active section keeping the Illi-

## OPPORTUNISTIC CONCEPTION OF POLITICAL ACTION

By JOHN WILLIAMSON.

WHERE are the minority members of the C. E. C. leading their followers with their confused theories? We find an illuminating example in the article of Comrade Karl Reeve, printed in the Dec. 4, issue of the DAILY WORKER. Let us quote a few of its gems:

"The C. E. C. majority statement would lead us to believe that we must have faith in the Workers Party only on the industrial field." And again:

"For the C. E. C. majority thesis broaches no effort to win the leadership of these misguided workers and poor farmers thru the united front on the political field." And in conclusion:

"The majority emphasizes 'the united front from below.' We must have a united front to combat child labor exploitation, 'the Dawes' plan,' for nationalization of mines, etc., we must have a special C. E. C. sub-committee to restate the old ways and to ferret out new ways of applying the united front. But we must desert the united front on the political field."

The most illuminating thing about Reeve's article is his utter misconception of political action and what comprises political demands. We find him stating that attempts at formulating the united front on such issues as "child labor, the Dawes' plan and the

## UP WITH COMMUNISM! DOWN WITH FARMER-LABORISM!

By J. B. WIRKULA.

NEVER since I have been in the labor movement, which has since I was old enough to actively participate in it, have I been confronted with such a contrast as the present controversy in our party, or Communism vs. farmer-laborism. It is so ridiculous. I cannot fathom it in any other way than that in our party there exists a certain element which is utterly non-Communist. This is being demonstrated in the discussion.

Now, when we once have the Workers (Communist) Party, even to think of us advocating some liberal or any other party but our revolutionary party, is a step aside from the correct route—let alone to actively participate in such foolish "maneuvers." I, as a rank-and-filer, look to any advocate of coalition government (a party is a basis for a government) as an utterly dangerous political opportunist for our party. I maintain that

nois labor party alive for the period of its duration was the Workers Party; it paid the bills. The sympathetic elements took part because of the Workers Party and could just as easily have rallied for the struggle directly under our own banner.

The Illinois labor party seemed to fit the description of the thing the minority proposes to rear, the "left block radical farmer-labor party," and yet the short experience was enough to demonstrate that such party could never give class political leadership or fight for the class interests of the workers, as also being proposed by the minority. Such leadership can be furnished only by a centralized, disciplined party, based upon individual membership, united ideologically for a common goal—a Communist Party. The Illinois labor party like all other such parties would have been shattered at the first pressure of a real struggle. It could not even withstand the pressure from the appearance of LaFollette on the stage. It disappeared. Today it is non-existent, while the Workers (Communist) Party lives and grows stronger.

A few days after our party had decided to enter the presidential election campaign under its own banner, the Cook county branch of the Illinois labor party held a conference. It registered the fact that LaFollette had announced his candidacy and that the national committee of the national farmer-labor party (organized at St. Paul, Minn.) had withdrawn its candidates. Our party members, who came there as delegates, had finally come into their own. No longer were they compelled to propose a farmer-labor party solution. They could now make a Communist criticism of the LaFollette movement and also propose a Communist solution—the Communist candidates and the Communist program.

An appeal for a farmer-labor party at this juncture would have been a dead slogan. It remained dead during the election campaign in spite of our efforts to revive it. Nothing has happened since which could revive it, except that our minority comrades are set upon it. To the working masses it is dead. "But," say the minority comrades, "the class struggle continues and will become ever more intense."—Surely, and that is just one more reason why the Workers (Communist) Party should consciously strive to gain the leadership of the proletariat in these struggles, directing them towards a real struggle for their class-interests.

"nationalization of mines" is limiting our united front tactics only to the industrial field. Anyone with the slightest conception of Marxism or the elementary concepts of Communism knows that the greatest international political issue facing the world proletariat today is the attempt of American capitalism to enslave the German working class thru the Dawes' plan.

Need we go further to show the utter bankruptcy and misunderstanding of the minority thesis when such particularly obvious political issues as those as concrete issues upon which we can form the united front, are termed "deserting the united front on the political field"?

The C. E. C. majority thesis states very definitely that our united front efforts must be from below and it does not behoove Comrade Reeve to sneer at this statement as this is the basis of the united front as expounded and understood by the Comintern.

This is only another indication of the idea of the minority that the farmer-labor party slogan is the only form of the united front on the political field. This theory leads directly to a mere parliamentary conception of political action, a very opportunistic and dangerous tendency, that wants to limit our conception of political action to a farmer-labor party or such a slogan.

there can exist only two kinds of governments and they are: a government based on proletarian dictatorship or a capitalist government based directly or indirectly on capitalist dictatorship. Mid-way governments are out of date. "Big biz" is too strong for them. We can't go back to '76, thus no midway government can serve the workers.

Should we, therefore, kid ourselves and the working class with some other form of working class rule than the dictatorship of the proletariat? I say: No! We must build up the Workers (Communist) Party to a Communist mass party by carrying on united front campaigns "from below," i. e., to secure influence and members from among the actual wage workers and poor farmers and not maneuvers "from the top" by trying to capture some political party from the hands of professional politicians. Such adventures are too hard on the poor workers' purse and we have very

## Facts For Communists

### The Foster-Lore Alliance and the Communist International

Article II.

By JAY LOVESTONE.

IN our first article on the Foster-Lore alliance we tabulated the number of votes cast for and measures proposed in behalf of Lore by the Foster-Cannon group. In this article we tabulated the consistent voting of Lore for measures proposed in the central executive committee by the Foster-Cannon group and against proposals and policies of the Ruthenberg group.

The Foster-Cannon group is now throwing about such epithets as "social-democrat" and "right wing opportunists." The Comintern has branded Lore and his followers as a social-democrat group. It is interesting to note that Foster and Cannon are not calling social-democratic and opportunists that group in the party which has been labeled as such by the Communist International. On the contrary the voting records of the central executive committee show that those who are now so lavish in evading a discussion of the fundamental issues thru hiding behind a smoke screen of this sort, have been and still are, despite empty pre-convention talk, in an organic alliance with the social-democratic and opportunist section of our party.

II. Lore (Two-and-a-Half International tendency) votes for measures proposed by Foster-Cannon group and against Ruthenberg-Pepper policies.

Date.  
No. 1—January 3, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
American delegation to Communist International.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Foster slate.

Date.  
No. 2—February 16, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Foster—Thesis regarding party farmer-labor party policy towards proposed May 30 convention refusing to pledge party to go ahead with this convention despite opposition of some "progressive" leaders frightened by LaFollette.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Foster motion.

Date.  
No. 3—February 16, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Proposal to have Lore go to Communist International and defend his case.

Vote.  
Lore votes with Foster group against this motion.

Date.  
No. 4—February 16, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Election of new party chairman.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Foster.

Date.  
No. 5—February 16, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Election of acting executive secretary in absence of Ruthenberg.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Bittelmann and against Bedacht.

Date.  
No. 6—February 16, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Cannon—Motion to make Dunne joint editor with Engdahl.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Cannon motion.

Date.  
No. 7—February 16, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Bittelmann—Motion to table Pepper motion expressing confidence in Gitlow and continuing Freiheit as organ of central executive committee.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Bittelmann-Foster proposal.

Date.  
No. 8—February 16, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Plan for unemployment campaign.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Foster group propaganda proposal and votes with majority to refer the whole question to political committee.

Date.  
No. 9—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to make unemployment a major party issue.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Browder propaganda thesis.

Date.  
No. 10—March 18, 1924. Central

Executive Committee.  
Motion.  
Cannon—Motion to have Lore ("Loreite") be sent as delegate to Berlin conference.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Cannon motion.

Date.  
No. 11—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to refer this question back to preparatory department for further consideration.

Vote.  
Lore votes with majority to defeat motion.

Date.  
No. 12—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to disapprove Cannon's conduct at Jewish convention.

Vote.  
Lore votes with Foster majority to defeat this motion.

Date.  
No. 13—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Foster—Motion to have Johnstone be acting secretary of Trade Union Educational League. Amendment by Pepper to have Gitlow.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Foster motion.

Date.  
No. 14—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to add Engdahl to political committee.

Vote.  
Lore votes with Foster to defeat this motion.

Date.  
No. 15—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to add Lovestone to organization committee.

Vote.  
Lore votes with Foster to defeat this motion.

Date.  
No. 16—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Cannon—Motion to make Bittelmann editor of magazine section of DAILY WORKER. (Up to this time Lovestone had been editor.)

Vote.  
Lore votes for Cannon motion.

Date.  
No. 17—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Foster—Substitute for Ruthenberg motion to change name of party to Communist Party. Foster proposes to seek advice of Communist International.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Foster motion.

Date.  
No. 18—May 2, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Bittelmann—Series of motions as against Ruthenberg proposals regarding national and state labor party policies.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Bittelmann.

Date.  
No. 19—May 2, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Cannon—Motion to have subcommittee examine Brom documents.

Vote.  
Lore votes with majority to defeat Ruthenberg motion.

Date.  
No. 21—May 3, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Election of DAILY WORKER management committee.

Vote.  
Lore votes with Foster group to defeat Engdahl.

Date.  
No. 22—May 3, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Ruthenberg—Motion to have temporary Red Aid section for propaganda purposes.

Vote.  
Lore votes no with Foster group.

Date.  
No. 23—May 3, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Bittelmann—Motion to defer action on Philippine program proposed by Lovestone by referring same to political committee.

Vote.  
Lore votes for Bittelmann motion.

Date.  
No. 24—May 3, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

(Continued on page 4)

# Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

## FACTS FOR COMMUNISTS

(Continued from page 3)

**Executive Committee.**  
**Motion.**  
 Cannon—Motion to instruct Lovestone to send his Pan-American report and material to Comintern delegates and that no delegates be sent to Communist International.  
**Vote.**  
 Lore votes for Cannon motion.  
**Date.**  
 No. 25—June 8, 1924. Central Executive Committee.  
**Motion.**  
 Sub-committee report on party presidential candidate for probable St. Paul nomination.  
 Lovestone—Amendment for Ruthenberg.  
**Vote.**  
 Lore votes for Foster.  
**Date.**  
 No. 26—June 8, 1924. Central Executive Committee.  
**Motion.**  
 Cannon—That Dunne be chairman of American delegation to Communist International Congress.  
**Vote.**  
 Lore votes for Cannon motion.  
**Date.**  
 No. 27—June 8, 1924. Central Executive Committee.  
**Motion.**  
 Browder—That Aronberg be given credential as delegate to Communist International Congress.  
**Vote.**  
 Lore votes for Browder motion.

**Date.**  
 No. 28—October 11, 1924. Central Executive Committee.  
**Motion.**  
 Bittelmann—Series of motions regarding woman's work.  
 Ruthenberg—Amendment—Series of motions differing from Bittelmann proposals and providing for continuation of existing proletarian women's organizations as one of mediums through which party work in this field is to be continued.  
**Vote.**  
 Lore votes for Bittelmann motion.  
**Date.**  
 No. 29—November 6, 1924. Polcom.  
**Motion.**  
 Browder-Foster-Cannon election statement proposed in which farmer-labor party slogan and campaign are ordered dropped.  
 Ruthenberg proposes minority election statement to continue use of slogan and united front farmer-labor movement tactics.  
**Vote.**  
 Lore votes for majority election statement as against the minority statement submitted by Ruthenberg.  
**Recapitulation.**  
 Total number of times Lore (Two-and-a-Half International tendency) voted for measures and policies proposed by Foster-Cannon group against measures and policies proposed by Ruthenberg-Pepper group is 23.  
 Subscribe for the DAILY WORKER.

spontaneously develops, then and only then will they favor the farmer-labor party policy.  
 This opportunist line of thought is characteristic of the majority. In their thesis they say, "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 itself to raise the slogan of a farmer-labor party and participate actively in the movement for it. When as became apparent in July, 1924, and as it is apparent now, the idea of a farmer-labor party lacks mass support and appeal among the industrial workers and poor farmers, the basic reasons are not in existence."  
 Commenting upon this attitude of "following the masses," Comrade Stalin says in his book on "Lenin and Leninism," "The theory of spontaneity is a theory of opportunism, the theory of bowing before the spontaneity of the workers' movement, the theory of actual denial of the leading role of the vanguard of the working class, the party of the working class... The theory of spontaneity is the ideology of trade unionism."  
 This idea of "following the masses" was combated by Comrade Lenin, and called "Chvostism," a real menshevist position.  
**Mistakes of the Past.**  
 So deep is the respect and worship of the majority for the "sentiment" of the masses, that it has led them to commit a number of grave errors in the past in the employment of the united front tactics. Comrade Bittelmann in his speech at the German convention makes this demand in regard to the present policy of the party. "Not negotiations with farmer-labor leaders around the conference table as was the case in about one-half of our work for a farmer-labor party, but actual struggle in the unions and the shops and among the unemployed directly against the capitalists and their servants, the reactionary labor bureaucrats." This is an admission that our united front tactics were not conducted until now in the unions, in the shops and among the unemployed. Therefore, we must state openly that our C. E. C. and the T. U. E. L. did not understand the decisions of the Comintern and the Profintern on tactics of the united front. But to sit at the table with farmer-labor leaders was not such a grave mistake. Comrade Losovsky in concluding his report at the Fifth Congress states, "do not sit down at the same table with him (Jouhaux) for the sake of his beautiful eyes" but because there are millions of workers who followed him and because there are tens of millions who are neither with us nor with him." Saturated with the ideology of "Chvostism," our C. E. C. failed to criticize the leaders, (like Fitzpatrick, Hillman, Mahoney, etc.), with whom they sat at the same table whom the masses followed. Thus, they failed to prepare the masses for the time when these leaders would betray the workers, so that instead of winning over these masses through the united front tactics, we remained isolated after the June 17 convention.  
 For instance, the statement issued by Mahoney in regard to the St. Paul convention was printed in our official organ, the DAILY WORKER of April 17, without any challenge, or criticism, regardless of the fact that comrades from New York and other cities demanded immediate action. Let us repeat a few extracts from this statement. "There will no doubt, be Communists as there will be other schools of thought represented at the convention, but they will represent such a small fraction that even if they so desire, they would make no impression on the great mass of farmers and of workers who are interested in practical legislative measures and not in visionary doctrines... The June 17 convention has been sponsored by the farmer-labor movement of Minnesota, which is in charge of a committee of arrangements which is not controlled by the Communists... It will be impossible for any one group to control these proceedings and the leaders in Minnesota and the northwest have sufficient practical political experience to defeat any attempt at the capture of the convention of any element." This statement was also signed by the secretary of the committee for the St. Paul convention, Comrade Hathaway, a member of the Workers Party, and an alternate to the C. E. C. This shows that Mahoney knew better than our C. E. C. how to capitalize the united front, by utilizing our own official organ as well as the official representative of our party, for the purpose of discrediting us and winning over the masses.  
 The C. I. severely criticized the failure of the C. E. C. to challenge the Mahoney-Hathaway statement. The explanation given by our C. E. C. to the C. I. was, that Comrade Hathaway signed this statement as a routine matter. There is ample reason to believe that Comrade Hathaway's signature was not a mere matter of routine, but that he as a member of the majority group, was in agreement with the sentiment expressed in the Mahoney statement.  
 Here is what he wrote in December, 1923, in the Labor Herald, official organ of the T. U. E. L., of which Foster was then editor, "It is true

that a few reactionaries have hurled charges of Communism. The Minnesota Daily Star ran a series of articles attempting to show Communist domination of our recent convention, but this has been laughed out of court by the trade unionists and farmers alike. Many letters of protest have been sent to the Star from all over the state. The movement in Minnesota has always been a constructive, aggressive movement." Does the sentiment expressed here differ in any fundamental respect from the Mahoney-Hathaway statement of April 17, 1924?  
 Another example of the same tendency is to be found in the statement of Comrade Swaback, district organizer of Chicago, in his report to the C. E. C. on the June 10, 1923, convention of the Cook county labor party: "We had decided and did pursue the method of as much as possible following the lead of the national officers of the F. L. P. and mainly stressing the necessity of unity." It is true that Comrade Foster was forced to admit at our last party convention that the district committee of Chicago, led by him, "did not direct any criticism against the Fitzpatrick group," but his attitude towards leaders remains the same.  
 In other words, the quotations given above as well as the past activity of the majority and its leading spokesmen, show very clearly, (1) That the majority and its responsible spokesmen are willing to sacrifice and belittle the role of the Workers Party, in favor of maintaining the united front as an end in itself. (2) That because the masses follow certain leaders, the majority believes that we must not criticize these leaders for their shortcomings, in order to maintain unity. (3) That this tendency of "following the masses" and their opportunist leaders is nothing less than the policy of Chvostism.  
 The fight against this attitude of our majority, (Foster, Cannon, Brow-

der, etc.) was conducted by Comrade Pepper and this fight against the opportunism of the majority prompted them to use every possible means to get rid of a comrade who helped substantially to build the Workers (Communist) Party.  
 The majority never learned to understand and correct its mistakes. At this time when the prime duty of our party here and throughout the world, is to Bolshevize and Leninize it from top to bottom, it would be appropriate to listen to what Lenin has to say on this question, "The attitude of a political party towards its errors is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party, and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and towards the laboring masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyze the surroundings which created it, to study attentively the means of correcting this mistake—these are the signs of a serious party, this means a performance of its duties, this means educating and training the class and consequently the masses," (Infantile sickness of "leftism" in Communism).  
**A Marxian Analysis.**  
 The majority does not analyze its past errors in accordance with the teachings of Lenin and does not disclose the reasons for our present isolation. The majority says, "As the farmer-labor movement developed, the LaFollette third party movement developed simultaneously and threatened to absorb it." . . . And later, "It was a recognition of the fact that the farmer-labor movement was being absorbed by the LaFollette movement, and that the former no longer had the proportions of a mass movement, that dictated the actions of the Workers Party on July 8, in withdrawing its support from the farmer-labor candidates and nominating candidates of its own. . . . The Workers Party, therefore, cannot advantageously promulgate the slogan of a 'farmer-labor

party' at the present time." This is merely a statement of what happened without attempting to give the underlying reasons and causes for the desertion of the masses to LaFollette. On the other hand the minority gives a Marxian explanation and analysis. They say, "One of the most important factors which made this possible was the error of our party after the convention of July 3, 1923, in which the F. F. L. P. was organized, in not carrying on an energetic organization campaign and actually creating an organizational basis for the farmer-labor movement. Had we crystallized and organized the sentiment, before the LaFollette movement had developed in definite form, we would have undoubtedly been successful in preventing the LaFollette movement from establishing its leadership over the farmer-labor forces, which stood for a class party to such an extent as to leave us isolated during the election campaign. Opposition to the organization of the F. F. L. P. based upon a misconception of the united front tactic on the part of the Foster-Cannon group in the C. E. C. of our party, was responsible for this failure." This policy of crystallizing and organizing the sentiment of the masses, is a real Bolshevik, Leninist policy in direct contrast to the majority policy of "Following the masses" or pure Chvostism.  
 As to the correctness and advisability of the formation of the F. F. L. P., Comrade Zinoviev in answering the majority representative in the American commission, where the latter submitted all his facts, said, "We must not regret that we formed the F. F. L. P. We are glad about this fact, that we have a farmer-labor party as the basis for our movement."  
**Build the Workers Party.**  
 "The campaign for a farmer-labor party was a correct estimation of the situation in the United States." (Program of action of the C. E. C. before the presidential election campaign).

it helped to build the Workers Party. It made our party stand as the leader in the struggle in the interests of the workers and poor farmers. Today we must carry out the promise given in the program of action, "that the campaign for the farmer-labor party must be continued and will be a major campaign of the party in the future." The economic and political conditions at present are more favorable now than they were a year ago for the crystallization of the sentiment for independent political action of workers and poor farmers. Reaction is growing throughout the world. Capitalism is on the decline and this is the time when the political consciousness of the masses is awakening. The fact that two resolutions for a labor party were presented at the recent A. F. L. convention by two important national unions proves that there exists a basis for the crystallization of the labor party slogan. The stand taken by the progressive miners gives additional evidence of my contention. Their program, which was sent by Comrade Foster to all party editors with instructions to give proper publicity, calls for independent political action. Regardless of the fact that the reactionary clique has betrayed the movement for the organization of the labor party, the progressive miners are "convinced that the organization of a political party of the working class and the exploited farmers is more necessary now than ever before." We must continue the use of the farmer-labor party slogan, on the basis of immediate demands in the shops, unions and among the unemployed, carefully avoiding the Chvostist tendencies of the majority. This will help us to rally the workers around the Workers (Communist) Party and will build up the party of the Communist International in this country.  
 \*Chvosticism comes from the Russian word "chvost," which means tail.

## LENINISM OR DeLEONISM?

By JOSEPH SIMINOFF.

CONSISTENCY you are not found in the majority theses. I quote from the majority theses "The further development of the class struggle will eventually again create a mass sentiment for the formation of a farmer-labor party." Then further on in their theses they speak of farmer-labor Communists. Here the Foster-Cannon group want to impress us that LaFolletteism has swallowed up the farmer-labor party movement and therefore we must fold up our arms and wait until the farmers and workers free themselves from the LaFollette illusion. The first is not correct and the second is pure DeLeonism.  
 When we glance over the last elections we find that where the farmer-labor party ran candidates as such we find that they have polled a large vote. Minnesota is a very striking example. In this state we find that the farmer-labor party state ticket ran ahead of LaFollette. The majority that Coolidge beat LaFollette was much larger than the farmer-labor party candidates, Mangus Johnson and Olson. Another example is here in Buffalo. The other day I spoke with a worker who ran on the LaFollette ticket in Erie county and he is thoroughly disgusted with the LaFollette movement and maintains that no one leader can beat the capitalist machine but a class farmer-labor party. He as well as thousands of other workers believed that LaFollette could deliver the votes in the past elections and on the basis of that would proceed to the formation of a farmer-labor party. In my connections as an active trade unionist in my local union and the Central Labor Council of Buffalo know it to be fact.  
 Here in Buffalo we organized the Buffalo labor party which was endorsed by the Central Labor Council and every important local trade union. The Buffalo labor party was a mass movement. In the county elections of 1923, we ran candidates. The candidate for sheriff received 2,500 votes which was acknowledged by the board of elections and many more votes that is known was stolen. Why has the Buffalo labor party gone out of existence? It was largely due to the sabotaging methods of the majority. The same thing happened to the Buffalo labor party that occurred to the F. F. L. P. In spite of the fact that the C. I. has recognized at the last congress that the formation of the F. F. L. P. was a victory for the Communists, we find Comrade Foster and the majority to date criticize the F. F. L. P. I quote from an article written by Comrade Foster in the DAILY WORKER of Dec. 4. "This debacle which left the Workers Party in a serious crisis, cost us the loss of many valuable sympathizing elements in the trade unions and elsewhere among the workers." Yet Comrade Foster and the majority maintain that there was a sentiment for a farmer-labor party and when eventually this sentiment is created again venture in this "debacle." Consistency where are you? Yet the majority affords themselves the rather expensive pleasure of calling the minority the farmer-labor Communists. It was only a short time ago that the C. I. said that the major

ity in the united front maneuver have failed to maintain their Communist principles. It comes will ill grace from the majority.  
**Trade Union Activities.**  
 Comrade Foster in his article of Dec. 4 points with pride to the united fronts on the industrial field. He cites amalgamation as a glaring example. Yes Comrade Foster, amalgamation is an important slogan. But what has the majority to show in their work on this slogan? Oh yes, sixteen state federations of labor have passed a resolution for amalgamation, a few international conventions, central labor bodies and so many local unions. But how about some constructive amalgamation work? Oh no, that would be dual unionism. But we must stay within the A. F. of L. and organize for conventions. Last year when we had the outlaw shoe workers' strike in Brockton, Mass., which offered the party a glaring opportunity to amalgamate the Brockton District Shoe Workers, Amalgamated Shoe Workers, and the Haverhill Protective Union in a united independent shoe workers' union. While organizer of the T. U. E. L. I have sent report after report to the national office for policies in the situation, but they are still forthcoming. Here were 30,000 shoe workers revolting against the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. But of course, this was a dual union.  
**On Unemployment.**  
 When millions of workers in the textile, shoe, railroad, and mining industries were walking the streets, the majority did not only fail to formulate a policy to organize the unemployed, but have actually denied that such an unemployment existed. When Comrade Pepper wrote an article pointing out the unemployment situation in this country, Comrade Browder answered with an article denying it. The result was that the Profintern in its last congress maintained the position of the minority on the trade union policies as correct.  
**Loisism.**  
 In conclusion I want to write a few words on the Two-and-a-Half International tendency in the party as represented by the Lore group. It did not come as a surprise to me, the Olgin article on Lore only on the eve of a national convention of the party. The C. I. at the last congress said that the Lore group is a non-Communist group and that the C. E. C. of the Workers Party should carry on a vigorous ideological campaign against this Second-and-a-Half International tendency in the party. Of course, the majority maintains that has nothing to do with maintaining organizational alliances with the Lore group. For six months after the decision the majority still kept members of the Lore group in responsible party positions. It also required the majority to meet with Lore and his group in caucus to decide that Comrade Gitlow could not step into the T. U. E. L. office. This is the promise of unity with the left wing of the party as represented by the Ruthenberg-Pepper group.  
 Comrades! The issue of the minority is very clear. The minority is raising the slogan of a Leninist Party, a party of action.

that a few reactionaries have hurled charges of Communism. The Minnesota Daily Star ran a series of articles attempting to show Communist domination of our recent convention, but this has been laughed out of court by the trade unionists and farmers alike. Many letters of protest have been sent to the Star from all over the state. The movement in Minnesota has always been a constructive, aggressive movement." Does the sentiment expressed here differ in any fundamental respect from the Mahoney-Hathaway statement of April 17, 1924?  
 Another example of the same tendency is to be found in the statement of Comrade Swaback, district organizer of Chicago, in his report to the C. E. C. on the June 10, 1923, convention of the Cook county labor party: "We had decided and did pursue the method of as much as possible following the lead of the national officers of the F. L. P. and mainly stressing the necessity of unity." It is true that Comrade Foster was forced to admit at our last party convention that the district committee of Chicago, led by him, "did not direct any criticism against the Fitzpatrick group," but his attitude towards leaders remains the same.  
 In other words, the quotations given above as well as the past activity of the majority and its leading spokesmen, show very clearly, (1) That the majority and its responsible spokesmen are willing to sacrifice and belittle the role of the Workers Party, in favor of maintaining the united front as an end in itself. (2) That because the masses follow certain leaders, the majority believes that we must not criticize these leaders for their shortcomings, in order to maintain unity. (3) That this tendency of "following the masses" and their opportunist leaders is nothing less than the policy of Chvostism.  
 The fight against this attitude of our majority, (Foster, Cannon, Brow-

der, etc.) was conducted by Comrade Pepper and this fight against the opportunism of the majority prompted them to use every possible means to get rid of a comrade who helped substantially to build the Workers (Communist) Party.  
 The majority never learned to understand and correct its mistakes. At this time when the prime duty of our party here and throughout the world, is to Bolshevize and Leninize it from top to bottom, it would be appropriate to listen to what Lenin has to say on this question, "The attitude of a political party towards its errors is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party, and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and towards the laboring masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyze the surroundings which created it, to study attentively the means of correcting this mistake—these are the signs of a serious party, this means a performance of its duties, this means educating and training the class and consequently the masses," (Infantile sickness of "leftism" in Communism).  
**A Marxian Analysis.**  
 The majority does not analyze its past errors in accordance with the teachings of Lenin and does not disclose the reasons for our present isolation. The majority says, "As the farmer-labor movement developed, the LaFollette third party movement developed simultaneously and threatened to absorb it." . . . And later, "It was a recognition of the fact that the farmer-labor movement was being absorbed by the LaFollette movement, and that the former no longer had the proportions of a mass movement, that dictated the actions of the Workers Party on July 8, in withdrawing its support from the farmer-labor candidates and nominating candidates of its own. . . . The Workers Party, therefore, cannot advantageously promulgate the slogan of a 'farmer-labor

party' at the present time." This is merely a statement of what happened without attempting to give the underlying reasons and causes for the desertion of the masses to LaFollette. On the other hand the minority gives a Marxian explanation and analysis. They say, "One of the most important factors which made this possible was the error of our party after the convention of July 3, 1923, in which the F. F. L. P. was organized, in not carrying on an energetic organization campaign and actually creating an organizational basis for the farmer-labor movement. Had we crystallized and organized the sentiment, before the LaFollette movement had developed in definite form, we would have undoubtedly been successful in preventing the LaFollette movement from establishing its leadership over the farmer-labor forces, which stood for a class party to such an extent as to leave us isolated during the election campaign. Opposition to the organization of the F. F. L. P. based upon a misconception of the united front tactic on the part of the Foster-Cannon group in the C. E. C. of our party, was responsible for this failure." This policy of crystallizing and organizing the sentiment of the masses, is a real Bolshevik, Leninist policy in direct contrast to the majority policy of "Following the masses" or pure Chvostism.  
 As to the correctness and advisability of the formation of the F. F. L. P., Comrade Zinoviev in answering the majority representative in the American commission, where the latter submitted all his facts, said, "We must not regret that we formed the F. F. L. P. We are glad about this fact, that we have a farmer-labor party as the basis for our movement."  
**Build the Workers Party.**  
 "The campaign for a farmer-labor party was a correct estimation of the situation in the United States." (Program of action of the C. E. C. before the presidential election campaign).

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## "CHVOSTISM" IN OUR PARTY

By GEORGE ASHKENUDSE.

GOODBYE 'class' farmer-labor party," says Comrade Manley, the leading spirit of the majority in New York City. I would suggest that Comrade Manley read more carefully the thesis of the majority, which he represents, for in this document he will find the following quotation, "The

further development of the class struggle will eventually again create a mass sentiment for the formation of a farmer-labor party." To be consistent with the policy of the majority, Manley should say, "Auf wiedersehen!" This statement means that when in the opinion of the majority a sufficient sentiment for a farmer-labor policy

that a few reactionaries have hurled charges of Communism. The Minnesota Daily Star ran a series of articles attempting to show Communist domination of our recent convention, but this has been laughed out of court by the trade unionists and farmers alike. Many letters of protest have been sent to the Star from all over the state. The movement in Minnesota has always been a constructive, aggressive movement." Does the sentiment expressed here differ in any fundamental respect from the Mahoney-Hathaway statement of April 17, 1924?  
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 The majority never learned to understand and correct its mistakes. At this time when the prime duty of our party here and throughout the world, is to Bolshevize and Leninize it from top to bottom, it would be appropriate to listen to what Lenin has to say on this question, "The attitude of a political party towards its errors is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party, and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and towards the laboring masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyze the surroundings which created it, to study attentively the means of correcting this mistake—these are the signs of a serious party, this means a performance of its duties, this means educating and training the class and consequently the masses," (Infantile sickness of "leftism" in Communism).  
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## Party Activities Of Local Chicago

City Central Committee meeting on Wednesday, December 17 8 p. m., at 722 Blue Island Ave. All delegates attend!  
 Browder's Class in Elementary Economics, 2613 Hirsch Blvd., 8:10 p. m., Wednesday, Dec. 17.

## North Side English Branch Overwhelmingly For Majority Thesis

At the regular semi-monthly meeting of the North Side English Branch, Workers Party, Local Chicago, held Monday, December 15, the branch overwhelmingly endorsed the position of the majority of the C. E. C. on the question of the immediate tasks of our party, after a thorough discussion of the theses of both the minority and the majority of the C. E. C.—Signed: William Kuperman, Secretary, North Side Branch, Workers Party, Local Chicago.

## New Italian Branch, Philadelphia, Gives Dance, Sat., Dec. 20

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Dec. 16.—The newly organized third Italian branch of the Workers Party of West Philadelphia is celebrating its joining the Communist ranks by giving a dance on Saturday, Dec. 20, 8 p. m. at Cusano Hall, 4862 Lancaster Ave.

## Russian Mass Meeting.

A mass meeting with a musical program is called by the Russian branch of the W. P. for next Saturday, Dec. 20, at 8 p. m., at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St. Speakers will talk on the situation in the United States and the program of the Workers Party. Admission free. Send your friends who speak Russian to this meeting.

## Klan Routers Arrested.

NILES, Ohio, Dec. 16.—Eleven more persons were arrested here charged with taking part in the riots caused by Ku Klux Klansmen. Thirty-nine persons have been arrested charged with rioting to date.

## EVANS, ATTENTION!

The Chicago Bazaar Committee, Room 307, 166 W. Washington St., wants to get in touch with—"Evans, 6908 W. Harrison St." owner of traveling set.



## COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S COLUMN

**We Receive a Letter!**  
 Dear Juniors:—I know all of you will be happy to hear that we, the readers of the junior column, have received a letter from Odessa, Russia. It was sent to us by the editor of Molodaya Gvardia, (the Young Guard) the daily newspaper of the Odessa Young Comrades. Take out your atlas or geography book and look up Odessa. Not that you have the location clearly fixed in your mind, let us proceed with the letter.  
 The letter tells us that our Russian comrades are eager to learn more about the Pioneers (Juniors) in the United States. It says that Russia wants to keep in close contact with every Communist children's movement in every part of the world. It asks the children to write to the editor of the Molodaya Guard telling how they live, work and fight for the workers' cause. The editor promises to publish all the letters that we send and furthermore, we will receive a letter from him telling us about the

children's movements and activities in Russia. The editor further states that he would especially be delighted to receive cartoons by the children.  
 Of course, this letter, the coming from the editor of a Communist paper, tells us that the Communist children of other countries want to get acquainted with us. And we want to get acquainted with them too, I am sure. So we will correspond with them, not tomorrow, not next week, but today, now, because it takes a long, long time for a letter to reach Russia and they are anxiously waiting to hear from us.  
 All right then, let's go!  
 Address your letters and drawings to the editor of the Children's Column, DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Be sure to say that the letter is for our Russian comrades, not on the envelope, but on the top line of your letter. The most interesting letters and the best cartoons will be sent to Russia and the names of the juniors who sent them, will be printed in our column.

## Chicago Lettish Branch Endorses Minority Thesis

The Lettish branch held a special membership meeting, Friday night, Dec. 12, to discuss the thesis as presented by the majority and minority of the C. E. C.  
 At this meeting representatives from both fractions were invited. Comrade William Z. Foster spoke for the majority of the C. E. C. and Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg championed the minority.  
 After both comrades had spoken the discussion was continued by the branch members, the main issues thoroughly discussed, and the following motion unanimously adopted:  
 The Lettish branch endorses the minority thesis and instructs the branch executive committee to prepare an article in which they endorse the principles of the minority thesis and outline the branches position in the party controversy.  
 At the same meeting a motion was carried to send one hundred dollars from the branch treasury to insure the DAILY WORKER'S existence and fighting spirit for 1925.  
 F. Zelms, Branch Secretary.

## Meat Cutters Gain Wage Increase in New Agreement

(Special to the Daily Worker)  
 SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 16.—The Meat Cutters' Local Union, No. 61, signed an agreement with the Springfield Master Butchers' Association here, which granted the meat cutters the closed shop, and a wage increase of \$2.50 per week.  
 The Saturday night closing time was changed from 9:30 to 9:00 p. m. The meat shops are to remain closed on New Year's Day, Memorial Day, July 4, Labor Day, Armistice Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas.  
 The agreement with the meat cutters ran out on Dec. 1. While the butchers were individually dealing with the union, they banded together in the master butchers' organization.

## Subscribe for "Your Daily," the DAILY WORKER.

## COMRADE CUTLER

Phone Lakeview 7282 between 7 and 8 p. m., Wednesday. Ask for Room 38.

## PITTSBURGH, PA. DR. RASNICK DENTIST

Rendering Expert Dental Service for 20 Years.  
 445 SMITHFIELD ST., Near 7th Ave. 1627 CENTER AVE., Cor. Arthur St.

## HELP! HELP! Give Us a Hand—

We are swamped again. There is just a load of work piling up in our office and our small force is struggling hard to get it done. If any comrades have a day, an hour or a minute to spare, COME ON OVER—GIVE US A HAND!

## betrayed

CHRISTMAS REMEMBRANCE FOR CLASS WAR PRISONERS URGED BY DAILY WORKER

There are 128 political prisoners in the United States whose names are registered with the DAILY WORKER. We know that there are hundreds of readers who will be anxious to join in a little Christmas remembrance to those men who are in prison for the cause of the proletariat.

If you have ever been in prison you will know that the great hunger of those inside is for contact with the world, for news, and for reading matter that will fit them to better carry on the struggle when they come out again.

Most of them have been getting the DAILY WORKER by co-operation of our readers and the paper, but these subscriptions are now most of them expiring. They must be renewed for the coming year and subscriptions to the Workers' Monthly added.

One year's subscription for both publications amounts to \$3.00. The DAILY WORKER agrees to contribute one-fourth of this amount on each subscription for the political prisoners if our readers will among themselves assume the three-fourths.

Here is the list of political prisoners. You can help, either by picking out some particular name and sending in \$6.00 for one year's subscription, or \$3.00 for six months. Or you can send in the money, and we will assign it for you to a prisoner who has not yet been cared for, and notify you who receives your Christmas presents.

List of Political and Class War Prisoners.

- Thomaston, Me., Box A.—Peter Clausen, Peter Dirks, Dan Fallon, Tom Hardy, Jack Lucelle, Winfred Parent, Bob Pease, Nellis Randquist. Norfolk County Jail, Dedham, Mass.—Nicola Saeco. Charlestown, Mass., State Prison.—Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Moundsville, W. Va., 818 Jefferson Ave.—George Barrett No. 12768; Toney Stafford No. 12126. Sioux Falls, S. D., Box 911.—God-lasky. Lansing, Kan., Box 2.—Joe Neill. McAlester, Okla., State Prison.—Arthur Burg No. 12896; Homer S. Wear No. 13594. Huntsville, Tex., Wynne State Farm, Box 1, Route 1.—Abraham Cisneros No. 37486; Box 32.—J. M. Rangel. Midway, Tex., Ferguson Farms, Route 1.—Charles N. Cline. Hobbs, Tex., Blue Ridge State Farm.—Pedro Paroles. Hobbs, Tex., Senior State Farm.—Jesus Gonzales No. 26458; Leonardo Vasquez No. 37245. Boise, Ida., Box 58.—A. S. Embree. Walla Walla, Wash., Box 520.—Eugene Barnett No. 9414; Ray Becker 9413; Bert Bland 9411; O. C. Bland 9409; John Lamb 9412; James McInery 9410; Loren Roberts 9100; Britt Smith 9431. Stellasoom, Wash., McNeils Island, Box 500.—Anton Karachin. Eureka, Cal., Humboldt County Jail.—Jack Beavert. Repress, Cal., Folsom Prison.—Louis Allen, Warren J. Billings, Joe Clohesy, H. C. Duke, Earl Firey, Richard Ford, P. J. Gordon, John Hiza, James McLaughlin, James Price, Leo Stark, Herman Suhr, C. J. Sullivan, Joe Wagoner. San Quentin Prison, San Quentin, Cal.—(Be sure to put the registration number on the address.) Pat Casey, 35563; Mickey J. Dunn, 35564; John Hannon, 35565; George Ryan, 35567; William Baker, 35713; Henry Matlin, 35717; James Olson, 35718; Frank Sherman, 35768; Jim Roe, 35765; W. I. Fruit, 35715; Omar J. Eaton, 36627; R. W. Minton, 37492.

Your Union Meeting

- THIRD WEDNESDAY, DEC. 17, 1924. 38 Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 1564 N. Robey St. 179 E. & S. I. W., Stone Derrick, 180 W. Washington St. 131 Belt Line Federation, 62nd and Halsted. 2 Brick and Clay, Village Hall, Lansing. 10 Carpenters, 12 Garfield Blvd. 21 Carpenters, Western and Lexington. 242 Carpenters, 5443 S. Ashland Ave. 280 Carpenters, Blacker's Hall, Lake Forest. 643 Carpenters, 180 W. Washington St. 1693 Carpenters, 505 S. State St. 1784 Carpenters, 1638 N. Halsted St. H. Fehling, Rec. Sec'y., 2253 Grace St., Irving 7597. 1922 Carpenters, 6432 S. Halsted St. 2289 Carpenters, 113 S. Ashland Blvd. Carvers (Wood), 1619 N. California. Conductors (R. R.), 127 N. Francisco Ave., 7 P. M. 788 Electricians, 127 N. Francisco Ave. 85 Engineers, So. Chi., 11405 Michigan Avenue. 47 Firemen and Enginemen, 7429 S. Chicago Ave., 9:30 a. m. 275 Firemen and Enginemen, Lake and Francisco, 9:30 a. m. Mod Carriers District Council, 814 W. Harrison St. 10 Janitors (Mun.), Kedzie and Belmont. 5 Ladies' Garment Workers, 323 W. Van Buren St. 366 Machinists, 815 W. 55th St. 478 Machinists, 3532 S. Ashland Blvd. 830 Machinists, 1182 Milwaukee Ave. 515 Maintenance of Way, 5324 S. Halsted St. Marine Cooks, 357 N. Clark St. 23 Moulders, 2800 W. Madison St. 34 Painters, Sherman and Main Sts., Evanston, Ill. 684 Painters, 180 W. Washington St. 892 Painters, 1032 S. La Grange. 972 Painters, Odd Fellows Hall, Blue Island. 5 Plasterers, 910 W. Monroe St. 16853 Poultry and Game, 200 Water St. 236 Railway Clerks, 549 W. Washington. 225 Railroad Trainmen, 812 W. 50th St. 900 Railroad Trainmen, 64th and University. 73 Sheet Metal, 714 W. Harrison St. 723 Teamsters (Soda), 220 S. Ashland Blvd. 723 Teamsters, 220 S. Ashland Blvd. 729 Teamsters, 6359 S. Ashland Ave. 247 Typographical, 5015 N. Clark St. 8 Wall Paper Crafts, Chicago and Western Aves. (Note—Unless otherwise stated all meetings are at 8 p. m.)

ROGERS POKES FUN AT BOSSES FOR A LIVING

But Even Kings Had Their Court Jesters

By ESTHER LOWELL. (Federated Press Review.) Cal Coolidge never gets in bad, says the irrepressible Will Rogers, because "if a man will just stay hushed he is hard to find out." The cowboy humorist of stage, screen and press saves the Scandals of 1924, including the famous oil lease investigation of the senate, from the complete oblivion in which contemporary historians have shrouded them.

Now to Get Soup.

Will says "you got to admit that each party is worse than the other." He would have Henry Ford run the government along with his factory "and instead of seeds every spring mail out those Things of his." In talking one of New York's critics to task on soup-eating he reminds him, "Pers that the question of the world today is, not how to eat soup, but how to get soup to eat."

N. Y. Young Workers League Membership Meeting on Dec. 18

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.—The Young Workers' League of District No. 2, will hold a membership meeting on Thursday, December 18, at Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Ave., near 9th St. The meeting will in addition to taking up the problems of the Y. W. L. particularly those dealing with the present campaign that the league is conducting, (membership drive, shop nucleus organization drive and fund for Weekly Young Worker drive) also take up the problem now being discussed in the Workers Party, the farmer-labor party slogan and our attitude toward this movement.

Every member of the Y. W. L. of District No. 2 must attend. Out of town branches should be represented at this meeting. Workers Party members are welcome.

\$8.50 Weekly Textile Minimum. LONDON.—Minimum wages of 37 shillings (\$8.50) a week for adult women workers in the London textile district and of 63 shillings (\$14.49) a week for adult men were ratified by the organized workers enrolled in the London Wholesale Textile branch of the Shop Assistants' Union. The new wage rates, minimum and maximum give increases of 17c to \$1.15 a week

NEW BILL FOR POSTAL CLERKS BEFORE SENATE

Newspaper Antagonism Banked on to Kill It

(Special to The Daily Worker) WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 16.—An attempt will again be made to kill the postoffice workers' salary increase bill in the senate tomorrow, when Senator Sterling, chairman of the post-office committee, at the wish of President Coolidge, combines the bill with Coolidge's intended postal rate raise.

The bill, according to Sterling, will be introduced as a joint measure in the senate Tuesday.

Bill Affects Newspapers Mainly. Postmaster General New has recommended the raise in the rates of second, third and fourth class mail service, to total \$68,000,000. This is another step of Coolidge in the attempt to prevent the postal bill from passing the senate over his veto of the bill.

The proposed raise in postal rates, announced by Coolidge as necessary to meet the pay increase of postal employees, affects mainly the mailing charges on newspapers. It is planned by the Coolidge administration to introduce the bills jointly, and thus swing the newspapers of the country both against the postal rate raise and also against the raise in postal employees wages.

Coolidge and Butler have been working on Edge ever since election. They finally induced him to take the decisive step of seeking to delay action until Coolidge should swing enough patronage controlled votes in congress to insure its defeat.

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

Subscribe for "Your Daily," the DAILY WORKER.

Our Daily Pattern

A SIMPLE OUTFIT FOR A "SMALL" GIRL



4948. This set of garments comprises a neat dress, a simple petticoat in "slip" style, and comfortable one-piece drawers. The dress may be made of voile, batiste or crepe. It is also good for gingham and wool rep. The petticoat and drawers may be of nainsook or cambric.

The pattern is cut in five sizes: 6 months, 1 year, 2, 3 and 4 years. For a 2-year size it will require 1 1/2 yards for the dress, 3/4 yard for the petticoat, and 3/4 yard for the drawers, of 36-inch material.

Pattern mailed to any address on receipt of 12c in silver or stamps. IN ORDERING YOUR PATTERN BE SURE TO MENTION THE SIZE YOU WANT IT IN. Send 12c in silver or stamps for our UP-TO-DATE FALL & WINTER 1924 Address: The DAILY WORKER, 1115 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

These are DAILY WORKER Agents—the Captains and Lieutenants in the Army of Builders.

If you don't see your branch mentioned—it means your branch has no DAILY WORKER Agent to mobilize the comrades to "Build the DAILY WORKER."

Get one elected at the next branch meeting and send us his name and address!



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ROLL CALL OF The Daily Worker Army of Builders PRESENT!

ILLINOIS

- Benid ..... A. J. Cochenak. Benid ..... Louis Monasterola. Buckner ..... Joe Pintor. Carlinville ..... T. J. Mitchell, Sr. Coella ..... Aime Haudgaard. Collinsville ..... Sam. Masules. Dowell ..... Gilbert Roger. Johnson City ..... S. Zireda. Joliet ..... Al Schustler. Livingston ..... Thomas Otavirk. Madison ..... Steve Urlich. Moline ..... Victor Lindquist. Mullettown ..... R. Simac. Nokomis ..... Frank Epstein. Oak Park ..... Eric Wickstrom. O'Fallon ..... Andrew Young. Orient ..... Jos. Draslich. Rockford ..... M. Lundquist. Royaltan ..... F. H. Idick. Staunton ..... Alois Totoschan. Valier ..... Julia Cregalier. West Frankfort ..... Dick Swift. Waukegan ..... Valno F. Lehto.

INDIANA

- South Bend ..... D. Kazachuk. Terre Haute ..... John Tezia. Terre Haute ..... W. F. Schuhardt.

IOWA

- Centerville ..... Jos. Ozanich. Davenport ..... Robt. K. Kahle. Mystic ..... Tony Stanfi. Mystic ..... W. M. Marshall. Sioux City ..... Walter Sweazy.

KANSAS

- Girard ..... H. Degrussen. Kansas City ..... Mike Sarar.

KENTUCKY

- Highland Park ..... J. R. Watkins.

MAINE

- Long Cove ..... A. A. Erklia.

MASSACHUSETTS

- Allston ..... A. Kajander. Chelsea ..... C. J. Roelich. Dorchester ..... Frank Carlson. Dorchester, Scandinavian ..... G. Kinlund. Fitchburg ..... S. S. J. Osasto. Readville ..... Elsie Pulter. Haverhill, Armenian ..... N. Kaehadurian. Haverhill, Russian ..... J. Podgokny. Maynard ..... John Sains. Maynard ..... Jonas Koskela. Roxbury ..... Ph. Kaminsky. Springfield ..... I. Ewelsky. Roxbury, Estonian ..... P. Luke. Springfield ..... Emil J. Rajala. Worcester ..... Michael Zieper.

MICHIGAN

- Battle Creek ..... John Biehek. Bay City ..... Hugo Berman. Battle Creek ..... R. C. Claffin. Iron River, Finnish ..... Aug. Backman. Ironwood, Finnish ..... Toivo Alho. Mass ..... Arvie Pennala. Muskegon ..... Walter Johnson. Pontiac ..... G. Penoff. Sault Ste. Marie ..... Mrs. Sanna Johnson.

MINNESOTA

- Chisholm ..... John Wuollet. Cloquet ..... Tyyne Kluttu. Faribault ..... E. B. Ford. Nashauk ..... Matt F. Lehti. New York Mills ..... K. E. Heikkinen. Orr ..... H. Dantes. Palisade ..... C. O. Laine. Rochester ..... Geo. Pattridge. Rochester ..... Nels M. Nelson.

MONTANA

- Klien ..... J. Biesko. Plentywood ..... O. J. Olson. Roberts ..... Matt Koski. Roundup ..... Joe Blazina.

NEBRASKA

- Omaha ..... Leo Worzel. York ..... J. W. Lankin.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

- Keene ..... Hilma Lindfors. Penacook ..... Walter Paananen. Newport ..... Knosta Korpi. West Concord ..... B. Szorkbacka.

NEW JERSEY

- Arlington ..... H. Sazer. Bayonne ..... M. Panella. Camden ..... Roe Felleiman. Fords ..... E. Puastal. Jersey City ..... Henry Silta. Newark ..... P. Kaupa. Newark ..... K. Noraites. Stelton ..... J. Lehrter.

Outgrown Its Quarters! By January 15 the Amalgamated Trust & Saving Bank (Now at 371 W. Jackson Blvd.) WILL MOVE to new and more attractive quarters in the Austin Building at Clark and Jackson. Patronize Chicago's Growing Labor Bank!

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

Watch for your local—and if your branch is not mentioned—remember—elect one at your next branch meeting. We Need His Help to

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925 and BUILD ON IT!

THE DAILY WORKER

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J. LOUIS ENGBAHL, WILLIAM F. DUNNE, MORITZ J. LOEB. Editors, Business Manager

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Advertising rates on application

The Miner's Fate

A powerful propaganda document against the ravages of capitalism is what the critical worker will find in the latest annual report of the director of the bureau of mines.

Of course, Director H. Foster Bain has not written the report as an indictment of American capitalism. In fact he has written it from the point of view of an eloquent defense of the private capitalist ownership and operation of the coal mines.

For the thirteen-year period, 1911 to 1923, the bureau's records indicate that 23,822 miners lost their lives in the bituminous pits. In this period many times this number of mine workers lost their limbs or were otherwise injured.

Explosions of gas and coal dust were responsible for 3,185 deaths. It is instructive to note that the government bureau considers that a good portion of the latter deaths could have been avoided if the principle of rock-dusting the mines would have been followed. Of course, the bureau does not dare to point out the why and the wherefore of the employers' failure to adopt this practice.

Mining is perhaps the most hazardous occupation. The dangers confronting the workers in other industries differ only in frequency and perhaps in seriousness. But the cause of these dangers is the same in all industries. The capitalist greed for fabulous dividends is the primary source of the evil.

When Murder Is Not Murder

The spokesmen abroad of the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic, Soviet Russia, the Soviet ambassadors, are men and women who take their lives in their hands the moment they leave the boundaries of Russia.

The recent attempt on the life of Krassin in Paris recalls the murder of Vorovsky in Switzerland—as cold-blooded a piece of capitalist vengeance as history records. Only the fear of mass outbursts among the workers stands between Soviet ambassadors and death in every country, nations which boast of their civilization and which denounce the government of Soviet Russia as a government of savages.

"We cannot shake hands with murderers," says the righteous Baldwin, but forgery and murder are commonplaces of British diplomacy everywhere. Had the attempt on Krassin's life succeeded there would have been great rejoicing in Downing street and something said about reaping the harvest, etc. Murder is not murder when a Soviet ambassador is the victim.

The workers and peasants of Russia have not allowed the murder of their spokesmen to go unnoticed. In Moscow, the street on which are all the foreign embassies, has been named Vorovsky. It is an endless reminder to the capitalist diplomats that the workers and peasants remember Vorovsky and those whose hands are stained with his blood.

The murder of Soviet ambassadors does not retard the revolution but hastens it. That is probably why more of them have not met the fate of Vorovsky.

The "Friends" of the Farmers

One of the most powerful open shop agencies in the country, the United States chamber of commerce, is again making a pretense of being interested in the relief of depressed agriculture. The other day its president and ex-president were closeted for hours with Coolidge in order to help the latter "solve" the farm crisis.

First of all, we wonder what happened to all the talk about agricultural prosperity that we heard on the eve of the last election. Apparently the farmers shared very little in the price rise of wheat.

The suggestions of the United States chamber of commerce for farm relief are instructive and shed welcome light on the real character of its aims. The chamber is prepared to use lighter farm taxation. Everybody knows that this is only being used by the open shoppers as an excuse for securing a cut in their own tax bills. The financiers' plan tells

the farmers to continue waiting for the "favorable" play of natural forces.

But when the question of the reduction of railway freight rates is dealt with, we find that the chamber is one of those deadly enemies that the farmers must destroy in order to avoid total degradation. Says the chamber of commerce: "We believe that every possible aid should be extended to farm co-operative organizations, EXCEPT that government financial assistance should not be used to displace the tried and proved facilities of established industry."

Here we have the pith of the whole question. Big business will see to it that not a cent will be voted by the government for farm relief. Big business must enforce a niggardly governmental policy towards workers and poor farmers in order to avoid the danger of increased tax levies and in order to ensure the existence of a huge fund with which to provide for increased military and naval machines and with which to guarantee the maximum efficiency for the gigantic strikebreaking apparatus.

We have no doubt that the exploited farmers will sooner rather than later join hands with the workers in the cities in self-defense and for a united assault against their common enemy—the railway bosses, the coal magnates, the oil barons and the money kings.

The Dawes Era

Owen D. Young, the temporary and first agent general of reparation payments, has just been tendered a testimonial dinner by the elite of the employing class of the United States.

In this gathering there were found the leading spokesmen of every battalion of American reaction and capitalist imperialism. Elbert H. Gary, of the life crushing steel trust, represented the extreme right wing and several hand-picked labor lieutenants of capital represented the left wing of the guardians of the capitalist institutions.

Mr. Young, who is a close business associate of J. P. Morgan, declared that the Dawes plan is leading to a new era. Mr. Young insisted that the United States adopt a strong farm policy for this new era and that foreign relations should be freed from the "horseplay of domestic politics."

Mr. Young is right. The Dawes plan adoption does mark a new era. It marks the open entry of the American imperialist clique into politico-economic world affairs as the ruling junta. For a few years American capitalists have been the dominating spirit behind the backdrop of international affairs. With the adoption of the Dawes plan American capitalists have become not only the formal receivers of Germany but in fact the virtual receivers of all European capitalism and hence almost of world capitalism.

Coincident with the adoption of the Dawes plan there has been developed artificially and otherwise a huge demand for "adequate" naval, aerial and military preparedness. Recent months have seen a rapid increase in the number of admirals and generals mounting the public rostrum in behalf of increased appropriations and against every force that might in the least attempt to interfere with the development of militarism in the United States.

The Dawes era is the period in which American imperialism is openly recognized as the ruling imperialism. It is the era in which Yankee capitalism is waging a relentless campaign to maintain and intensify its world supremacy. We are now being prepared for Dawes plans, for France, for China and for other countries. The Dawes era is an era of bloody wars.

Soviet Russia Goes Ahead

The black capitalist press is working at feverish pace painting lurid pictures of chaos and counter-revolution in Soviet Russia. We are being told that the Red Army is shooting down workers, that industry is going to pieces and that the Soviet government is on its last legs.

These are tales woven out of the whole cloth. The Chicago Tribune, for instance, now that its correspondents have been banned from Soviet Russia, as plain liars, is purchasing most of its Russian "information" from Scotland Yard agents. The facts are totally different. Soviet Russia is on the upward grade. All the imperialist schemes hatched by the Baldwin government and wholeheartedly accepted by the Herriot government will prove of no avail to the exploiters in their dastardly efforts to undermine the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The official report of the supreme council of national economy just made public by Dzerzhinsky, its president, puts to rout these fraudulent rumors. The annual report on the railway and steel industry is instructive. It shows a marked improvement for the country.

At the same time the Soviet government has entered into a favorable arrangement with Italy regarding the disposal of Russian petroleum. Soviet engineers are making rapid headway in the reconstruction work of the great Georgian military highway which runs from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis and connects Soviet Russia with the Caucasian states. The surplus of exports over imports for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1924, is more than 134 million gold rubles.

The task of Soviet reconstruction is no easy one. The Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic is as much as ever before surrounded by imperialist enemies. Many of these are not as aggressively hostile today as they were a few years ago simply because the Soviet power has taught them painful and costly lessons, has vanquished or decisively defeated them.

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is going ahead. Millions of workers throughout the world are its friends and will stay the murderous hands of the imperialist

Gompers—"Social Democrat"

By Robert Minor

IT'S a tale they used to tell in the days before prohibition. It was in California that I heard it—California when P. H. McCarthy was still a labor king. "Old Triet" was working for drink money under the whip of "P. H.," who in turn was working for the chamber of commerce and hadn't yet been caught with the ten thousand dollar bribe.

They were trying to hang Tom Mooney; the chamber of commerce was, and Hiram Johnson and Archbishop Hanna and McCarthy, president of the Building Trades, together with Tom Finn, the "labor" sheriff, and Brouillet, president of the Labor Council, were greasing the rope for Tom so as to carry out their agreement with the traction gang that the street car men should not be organized.

I had been sent to the state convention of the Building Trades by the workers' defense league to make an attempt to halt the hangmen's drive. We were in a desperate fix; Mooney was facing the gallows; Gompers and his California agents were holding labor down; a lady socialist leader of California was writing "poison pen" letters telling socialists to lay off the Mooney case—and among the socialists only J. E. Snyder, now a member of our party, and old Gene Debs, who was not yet a red-baiter, could be heard in Mooney's defense.

Gompers, the "Anarchist."

It was the good old time when whisky capacity (in the open bar, not yet the bootleg joint) was the only talent required of the second and third ranks of labor leaders. All business of the convention was transacted in the saloon of the headquarters hotel.

All who wanted the floor of the convention had to beg for it, and drink for it, with "Old Triet," McCarthy's fixer. It was there, also, that all the resolutions were written, all the tricks were pulled and all the tales were told. It was there I heard the tale: "Sam Gompers! Hell, god-dammit; Sam? Why Sam's all right. Give him time, and don't criticize him, and he'll get Mooney out. Why, hell, god-dammit, you don't know Sam. I'll tell you a story: I've sat and had my drinks right by the side of Sam, and god-dammit, don't you tell anybody, but Sam, when he drinks, he tells the boys, god-dammit: 'This is the straight goods, boys—I'm an anarchist!'

For those whose acquaintance with Gompers is confined to modern times, this has a strangely incongruous sound. But when it is recalled that the American labor movement a half or three-quarters of a century ago, in which period Gompers began his climb to the saddle, was vastly different from now, and was strongly tinged here and there with groups to whom the terms "socialist," "anarchist," and "revolution" were held dear, this story told by an old-timer, is easily credible.

"Old Triet," the "radical"—"a sort of an anarchist"—steered the convention thru for "P. H.," not succeeding in keeping the subject off the floor, but easing it down so that no action was taken, and the convention broke up, drunk and happy; and Tom Mooney remained in the death cell.

The Old Game. So the game was played in the old days. Sam was secretly, over the drinks, an "anarchist," "Triet" was "an anarchist at heart," "P. H." was "sympathetic," Paul Scharrenberg, president of the State Federation of Labor, tipped into the jail one night after the death sentence came, to whisper to Tom that he was only "waiting for the proper time to speak out," and Andy Furuseth made a speech in the Labor Council just in time, not to save Mooney, but to save his own reputation as a "radical."

Many a time I have heard yellow socialists in America—and even some naive Communists—express their wonder at the fact that the Communist International, in summing up international situations, always classified Samuel Gompers as among the world's "social-democrats," whereas Sam always thundered against "socialism" and socialists. . . . And yet, there is nothing truer than that Samuel Gompers lived and died a "social-democrat." In a strictly scientific historical sense Sam Gompers was—not what the social-democrats call themselves—but what the social-democrats are.

It is easier to see this in retrospect than it was when Sam was alive and speaking. The hands of the clock of Time in even a technical sense brought Sam around, and all the "good anarchists" around, and brought the "socialists" around, and left them all high and dry in exactly the spot which History has marked "social democrat." A curious irony of fate, it was, that made Sam before he died, stand before the agent of American imperialism in Mexico and say: "Comrade Calles."

It was no accident that placed Hillquit and Berger and the fallen Debs and E. B. Morton (the California "an-

archist") and Yanofsky (the New York "anarchist"), with "Comrade Gompers" in the same political boat in 1924. The thunder of the great Russian revolution drove them in the same direction (tho Debs and such "anarchists" as Morton hung back for a while), and its lightning, the Communist International, flashes upon them now huddled together in the same corral of capitalism.

The red baiters, the anti-Bolsheviks, the defenders of abstract "liberty," the "democrats," the "anti-socialists" and the "socialists" alike—one and all are the same; the left wing of the bourgeoisie, the last refuge against the revolution whose name is "Bolshevism." History has written their collective name: "The social-democrats." Their brother, Noske, cemented the name with blood. There is absolutely no generic difference between the part played by the Gompers bureaucracy in America and that played by the "social-democratic" trade union bureaucracy in Europe. And the seeming gap between the American socialist party and the Gompers bureaucracy has now completely closed.

Upon Gompers' tombstone we might write: "Anarchist of the Beer-Hall"; or we might just as truly write: "Social-Democrat"; or "democrat"; or "anti-Bolshevik"—it is all the same.

Wanted—Another "Sam."

And now there is a search for one to succeed him.

What is the nature of this position that is to be filled? Is it a labor leader that is to be found? Was Gompers a labor leader?

Gompers was a labor leader only in the sense that a foreman of a sweatshop is a labor leader. Gompers "led" labor for the benefit and profit of the employers of labor; he led or drove labor almost literally and frankly as a chief agent of the capitalist class within the sphere of "handing" labor. If he spoke for a concession to labor, he had in mind invariably not the maximum that could be done for labor, but the minimum of sops necessary for the safety of the capitalist class. If he maneuvered for advantages of position, it was always for advantages for his and his bureaucracy's position of foremanship over labor.

That is not to say that organized labor did not wring from capitalism some temporary gains in the pre-war period when capitalism could still throw out some sops to labor. But Gompers and organized labor were two different things, and Gompers' role was always that of holding labor down to the lowest position possible. And in the after-war period, when capitalism in its decline can no longer produce its ransom from labor's attacks but must openly crush labor or be itself destroyed, Gompers' role became openly the role of deliberate destruction of the labor movement.

Gompers, dead, is universally hailed, not as a man who won this or that for the working class, but solely as

the man who fought this or that aspiration of labor. Before the war we often saw attacks upon Gompers by the more reactionary stratum of capital as a fomenter of labor trouble. During the war, and more especially after the war, when Gompers' role became more clearly that of a destroyer of the labor movement, the attacks of the most reactionary capitalist organs gradually ceased and blended into a rising hymn of praise. The Counter-Revolutionary Dynasty.

For what is Gompers remembered now? The naive capitalist press answers loud: "For Fighting the Reds!" In the epoch of the revolutionary rise of the working class to ruling power, Gompers and the Gompers dynasty receive their recognition.

In the scramble among his heirs to succeed Gompers, what are the qualifications that are offered by the different candidates?

In the Chicago Tribune of last Sunday the qualifications of the candidates are summed up painfully well: "All of them have been ardent followers" of the policies of Gompers who "has practically saved the organized labor movement from falling into the hands of a group of irresponsible radicals led by such men as William Z. Foster and John Johnstone."

John L. Lewis is mentioned, and the qualifications offered for him are but two: That he may receive the favor of the strikebreaker Coolidge by appointment to the cabinet, and that "he is the man" who forced our comrade, the Communist William F. Dunne, out of the Portland convention.

Tom Rickert is mentioned, and implicit in the recommendation is the one fact: That he destroyed the United Garment Workers as a real organization in 1914 by forcing out the masses of the membership who later became the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

James Duncan is mentioned, for the single reason that he is but a sordid ape of Gompers' treason.

And last, but not least, Matty Woll, the same.

The position of head of the American Federation of Labor in this after-war period, is by all pro-capitalist sources universally conceived as having the sole function of impeding the revolutionary rise of the working class.

The last chapter of Gompers' life is

as written by the hand of Anatole France in some piece of historical satire. For the last act of Gompers was an international act in this now internationalized world and in the internationalized struggle of capitalism: The act of striving to fasten the imperialist hangman's noose upon Mexico. Morgan, the head of the oligarchy, was maneuvering to lock the shackles upon Mexico; and the circumstances required as a first move the sending of an enormous "loan" to pave the way for virtual American occupation of Mexico. Yet the menace of revolution impeded the way. A rebellious spirit of Mexican laborers was the obstacle. . . . None but a "labor leader" could pave the way. Gompers went to Mexico to fasten upon the Mexican working class the miasmatic spell of "Gompersism." It is now even conceivable that the place for holding the American Federation of Labor convention this year was fixed a year ago in the offices of New York bankers.

"Comrade" Gompers, standing before "Comrade" Calles, closed a yellow career in the truly international role of a "social-democrat."

Oh, Comrade God, if you be, as they claim, a social-democrat—then take "Comrade" Gompers to your bosom; and the red flames of proletarian revolution lick at his shroud as he passes.

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.

New York Workers' School. Register Now—208 E. 12th St.

SIXTH ANNUAL YULETIDE FESTIVAL

Given by UNITED WORKERS SUNDAY SCHOOLS OF CHICAGO

WICKER PARK HALL, 2042 W. North Avenue

Sunday, December 21, 1924, 3 P. M.

Children's Program, Concert, Theatre During Afternoon

DANCING DURING EVENING IN LARGE HALL

Tickets in Advance, 35c At the door, 50c a Person

We are mailing it to YOU!

In a neat little envelope marked:

RUSH!

High-Speed Tools Enclosed For a Big Construction Job

We are mailing it to every branch of the Workers Party and to every subscriber of the DAILY WORKER and it contains:

- A CALENDAR—You'll need it to set your meeting; IMPORTANT DATES—in American and world working class history; INFORMATION—on the Workers Party, Young Workers League, and all their publications; MEMBERSHIP AND SUB BLANKS—with prices, of course; A LIST OF COMMUNIST PAPERS IN AMERICA—in all languages, with prices; MEMO BLANKS—for addresses, notes and telephone numbers—handy at convention time; TWO SHEETS TO SCORE—when a speaker makes a fine point; A POCKET—to carry your union and party cards.

These and other tools to assist in the building of your party, your union—the labor movement; all the tools for a worker in the DAILY WORKER ARMY OF BUILDERS.

If you don't get it in a week, be sure to write for it. And when you get it—

Get On The Job!

WE ARE GOING TO INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925

and to

BUILD ON IT!

