

The DAILY WORKER
Raises the Standard for
a Workers' and Farm-
ers' Government

THE DAILY WORKER

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WILBUR BOOSTS MORGAN'S NAVY

MOST SAVAGE ENEMIES OF LABOR ALONE HAVE CAUSE TO MOURN PASSING OF GOMPERS

The membership of the labor unions of America which take the viewpoint of the Trade Union Educational League are shedding no crocodile tears over the death of Samuel Gompers.

They see that their most savage enemies in industry, politics and government are those who have cause to mourn.

The DAILY WORKER gives below, a statement issued by the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League to the workers of America. It is as follows:

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

In an article entitled: "Shall the Progressives Organize?" the editor of The Nation, Oswald Garrison Villard's weekly, patronizingly offers "labor" a place in the new movement which Villard is so anxious to see set on foot. Dealing with the proposed convention of the C. P. P. A. which will be held in Chicago on Feb. 21, Villard says: "One of the difficult questions which will arise at the coming . . . convention is as to the respective roles to be assigned to the several elements in the movement. Labor should, of course, be the nucleus and take a leading part but not a dominating part. We cannot feel that all its leaders are sufficiently educated politically and politically trustworthy enough to take the lead."

"WHAT place the socialists will take is for them to say. They fought well for the ticket, showing loyalty everywhere and a readiness to subordinate themselves. . . . What our condescending intellectuals want is an organization to which labor would supply the ballast and the cash while the liberals would do the talking and the leading. The only section of the labor movement that is "educated politically" is the radical section led by the Communists. And it is safe to say that the liberals would rather trust to the political immaturity of the labor leaders than to the Communists. "Untrustworthy" labor leaders are preferable to revolutionists who believe in the class struggle and who hold that only thru the overthrow of the capitalist system can the workers be freed from their chains."

THE Nation boldly plunges into the task of building a platform for the new party. A few "fundamentals" are stressed, such as, the conservation of national resources and perhaps a free trade plank, but if the latter would look too "revolutionary" it could be dropped for the sake of harmony. The party might also be asked to declare for "peace, disarmament, and the complete reversal of our anti-imperialist policies in the Caribbean and elsewhere." This is Oswald Garrison Villard's conception of a program for the farmer-labor-intelligentsia-petty bourgeois, etc., party which he hopes will be formed at the Feb. 21 convention of the C. P. P. A. Class conscious workers who have seen the British labor party in action will look with green eyes on this abortion. The Workers Party is here in the flesh; it is the party of labor. There is and can be no other.

EMMA GOLDMAN, anarchist and darling of the bourgeois intellectuals, is hibernating in London. She is anxious to make headway in England but the path of the renegade is not easy. The workers have contempt for her and the capitalists treat her as a political prostitute who has sold herself and can now be handled without gloves. The revolution that Emma Goldman talked so long about came and she did not recognize it. As (Continued on page 2)

TOLEDO COMRADES SAY EVERY TRUE COMMUNIST SHOULD RUSH TO AID OF DAILY WORKER DRIVE

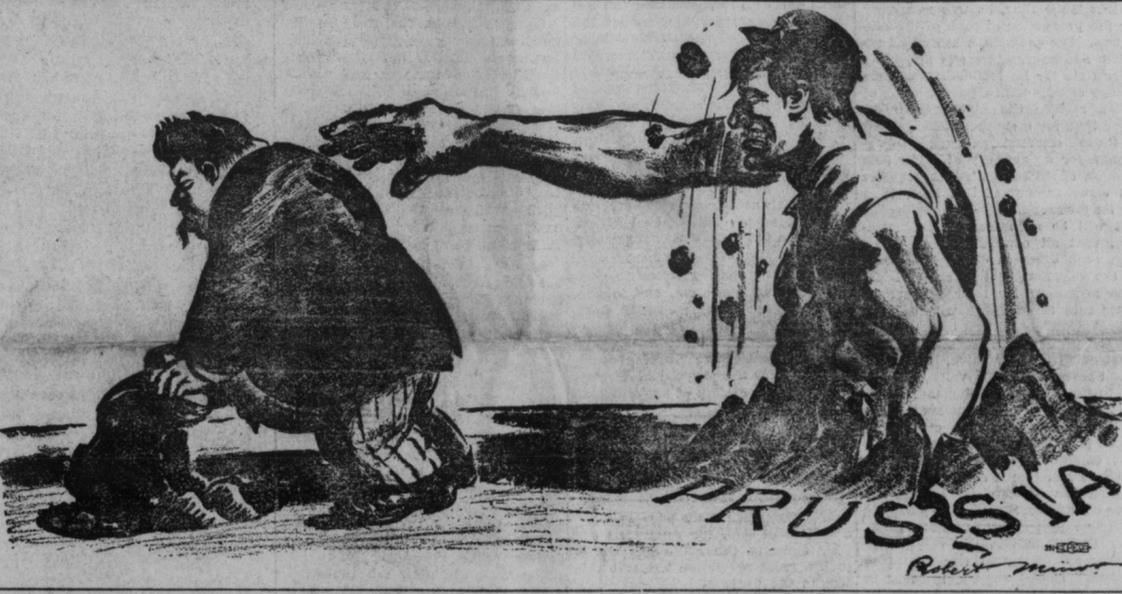
(Special to The Daily Worker)
TOLEDO, Ohio, Dec. 15.—Comrade Alfred Wagenknecht spoke here before the local Toledo membership meeting and now our comrades realize more fully than ever before the absolute importance of the DAILY WORKER not only to the American movement but also to the international movement as well.
We have not only pledged ourselves to raise the quota assigned to us which we have already done but we are also determined to double that amount.
Expressing the sentiment that the comrade who does not rush to the aid of our DAILY WORKER at this time to insure its existence for 1925 is no Communist, every comrade in local Toledo has taken it upon himself to do his share to put this job over big.

BANKER SAYS DAWES AND MUSSOLINI ARE NICE—FOR BANKERS

OTTAWA, Canada, Dec. 15.—Otto H. Kahn, international banker, who is making money out of the European financial transactions of the Morgan clique of bankers, praised the Dawes plan in a speech here. Kahn also heaped unstinted praise on Mussolini for his work in crushing workers' organizations in Italy.

Gunman Shoots Union Worker.
SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 15.—The withdrawal of union molders from open-shop plants continues in the bay district. The latest development is the shooting of Frank Brown, business agent, Molders' Union, by an unknown person. Brown was shot four times as he entered his home, and is in a serious condition, the doctors say he will recover. He states he has no personal enemies, and that his assailant must have been a gunman hired by anti-union forces.

Herr Ebert Buries the Communists.



MOORS PUTTING FRANCE, SPAIN IN NEW DILEMMA

Rivera Dictatorship in New Setbacks

(Special to The Daily Worker)
TANGIER, Morocco, Dec. 15.—The Anjara tribesmen of Abdel Krim are putting the imperialist positions of both France and Spain in a bad fix.
By the retreat of the Spaniards, acclaimed by the military dictator of Spain, Primo de Rivera, as a "strategic retreat," a new position was taken which was thought secure.

Face New Uprising.
Now an uprising has taken place behind the new lines and the whole Spanish army is in peril. Moreover, it menaces the Tetuan-Tangier road and the Tetuan-Ceuta railway.
The natives have already taken the Spanish post at Alcazar Kibir and are holding the officers as hostages while offering the private soldiers positions in their army, in which they are must better treated than in the Spanish army. Steamers have ceased calling at the post of Tetuan which is under fire of the rebels. Other posts have been reported fallen. Many are known to be besieged.

The consequences of this collapse may have political reverberations on the European continent. The Spanish dictator has proven himself as incompetent as Mussolini, even in his chosen business of fighting a weaker enemy. Everyone laughs at Primo de Rivera's speech praising his soldiers for the retreat. He said, "This retreat was far more difficult than an advance and required more sacrifice" (Continued on page 2.)

"AMALGAMATED" MILITANTS URGE MEMBERSHIP CONTROL OF UNION; SHOP COMMITTEES AS BASIC UNIT

The left wing in the Chicago Amalgamated Clothing Workers has formed a progressive campaign committee to conduct the left wing fight in the coming election. This committee has issued a leaflet that outlines the policies of the left wing as against the class collaboration policy of the administration. Particularly important is the demand for membership control of the union by the introduction of shop committees as the basic units of the organization, and "no secret diplomacy with the bosses" in the wage negotiations which will soon begin. The leaflet reads as follows:

Members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers! Fight with the Left Wing for Militant Unionism!

While thousands of our members are today walking the streets, the majority of those employed are working only part time. Yet the profits of the manufacturers are increasing, aided by the collaboration policy of our officials. The militant policy of fighting the bosses, which built up our organization in the past, has been substituted by the method of aiding the employers at the expense of the workers.

Co-operation with Bosses Betrays Interests of Workers.
This unemployment situation is mainly the result of this policy of class collaboration. Adjustments in rates of wages and methods of work have been consented to by our officials, which turned out to be to the full advantage of the bosses, enabling them to get more production out

WORKER FALLS IN STREET WHILE OUT HUNTING FOR JOB

REVERE, Mass., Dec. 15.—William Baen, unemployed worker, collapsed here while looking for work and is now in the Massachusetts general hospital in Boston in a serious condition. Baen fell unconscious at Broadway and Center street, after looking vainly for work for many days. Baen told the police he has been ill since suffering a drenching while working on a building on Hanover St., Boston. He has no relatives.

Soviet Aviator Makes Record.

MOSCOW.—A new record was set by Hans Lange, pilot of the "Deru-luft" (Aviation) company in passenger transport aviation when he covered a distance of 124 miles between Kovno and Dvinsk in 29 minutes. The whole route between Kovno and Moscow, (744 miles) was covered in somewhat under five hours.

SECRETARY OF NAVY DEMANDS WAR ON JAPAN

Makes Secret Report to Senate Committee

(Special to The Daily Worker)
WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.—Secretary of the Navy Wilbur is enjoying extraordinary immunity in his fire-eating speeches against Japan, nowadays.
It will be remembered that prior to the election he was recalled from a speechmaking tour because of his unbridled language in boosting a large navy for the purpose of contesting the supremacy of the Pacific Ocean with Japan.
A Piece of Bluff.
The capitalist press pointed out that his recall was due to differences of opinion between the navy secretary and Calvin Coolidge, but the DAILY WORKER held that there was no fundamental difference between the attitude of Coolidge on the question of naval forces and that of Wilbur.

His recall was a political maneuver in order to maintain the fiction that Coolidge was deeply interested in the maintenance of peaceful relations between Japan and the United States.
Now that the election is over, the burning issue of economy is not allowed to interfere with the task of increasing the size and efficiency of Morgan's navy. The big \$140,000,000 appropriation was slipped thru without a murmur of opposition, while "Cal's" press agents boasted about his saving the treasury a small sum in traveling to the Chicago stockyards in a pullman instead of in a special train.

At Secret Conference.
At a recent meeting of the house committee on appropriations, Secretary of the navy, Wilbur, declared that war between the United States and Japan was not alone inevitable but imminent.
In arguing for the proposed naval maneuvers around Hawaii, which are the object of attack in Japan, he asserted that the Japanese navy, recently, as a cost of over two million dollars, engaged in maneuvers on a large scale involving the use of the entire navy.

No Talk of Peace.
Secretary Wilbur also declared that all the leading nations of the world are increasing the efficiency of their naval contingents. According to the secretary, Japan is building a fleet designed to surpass that of the United States within a few years. Captain Henry H. Hough, who is in charge of the espionage department of the navy, told of inside information gathered by his spies in Japan.

Oil Boom Town Burns.
CROMWELL, Okla., Dec. 15.—Guards this morning were patrolling the ashes of Cromwell—famous boom town of the oil fields—as most of its business district lay in ruins after a disastrous fire which began yesterday morning and burned thruout the day.

Marx Cabinet Quits.
BERLIN, Dec. 15.—President Ebert this evening accepted the resignation of Chancellor Marx and his cabinet. The ministers were requested, however, to continue their duties temporarily.

Funeral Finally Set for Thursday Morning
(Special to The Daily Worker)
NEW YORK, Dec. 15.—The body of Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, who died in San Antonio Saturday, will lie in state in the Elks Clubhouse here, following the arrival of the funeral train from Washington Wednesday morning.

Funeral services will be at 9 o'clock Thursday morning. Interment will be in Sleepy Hollow cemetery, where there will be masonic committal services.
Bankers, Lawyers, Politicians Are Pall Bearers.
James Duncan, first vice-president of the Federation, will deliver the eulogy. The Elks' ritual will follow. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the free synagogue, will conduct the services. The honorary pall bearers will include Gov. Alfred E. Smith, Mayor John F. Hylan, Alton B. Parker, Bernard M. Baruch, Ralph Easley and Samuel Untermyer.
The executive council of the Federation will serve as active pallbearers.

Believe Ship Wrecked.
EAGLE HARBOR, Mich., Dec. 15.—Coast guardsmen here were keeping constant watch on the horizon of Lake Superior today for the survivors from one or more freighters believed to have sunk in Saturday's terrific gale, which swept the lake at 70-mile velocity bringing with it below zero weather.

THE AMERICAN LEGION MOURNS GOMPERS, AND SO WILL "FINK" BURNS

(Special to The Daily Worker)
BLOOMINGTON, Ill., Dec. 15.—The American Legion, the aspirant to the role of white guardism and one of the leading forces in crushing strikes of organized labor, at a special meeting of its Illinois executive committee, has adopted a resolution regarding the death of Gompers.
It says, "The removal from the nation's service of this man is a loss which will be felt in the nation for many years, due to the fact that he has always been a loyal supporter of the nation's ideals and institutions."

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of the workers, and increasing the unemployed army. Our officials also permitted the employers to shut down shops and get their work done in contract shops.

Instead of making a militant fight against these wage cuts, increased exploitation, and infringements upon the rights of our union, our officials submitted to the wishes and dictates of the bosses.

Instead of fighting against unemployment our officials are actually sabotaging the union's Employment Exchange, by job juggling handing out jobs to whatever member meets with their personal favor, instead of having such transactions go thru the Employment Exchange regularly established by the union. While members who seek jobs outside the regular channels are rightfully disciplined, yet the business agents are permitted to dispose of jobs privately.

Fake "Unemployment Insurance" Schemes.

Instead of leading the fight against the encroachment of the bosses, our officials busy themselves with devising petty insurance schemes. We all know that these schemes are fake, and do not materially aid our membership. The sums received by partially employed members under the schemes are so small as to be of no use at all, and only those who have a boss get insurance; those who are totally unemployed get nothing.

Our active union members are constantly discriminated against. The bosses know that a militant union is a menace to their profits and their power of exploitation; hence they spare no efforts to win the union officials for their plans of co-operation. The employers recognize the class struggle and act unilaterally in behalf of their class. By co-operating with them, our leaders betray the membership of the union. It is necessary for the membership to adopt the fighting left-wing policies which the officials have repudiated.

What the Left Wing Stands for:

Only Militant Policies Can Build and Strengthen the Union.

The left wing recognizes that the class struggle is a struggle for power. That all the gains made by the workers are made thru a fighting policy. The duty of union officials is to lead the fight against the bosses, not to devise ways and means for aiding the bosses to squeeze more profits out of the workers.

Down with class collaboration!
Support the militant policies developed by the left wing in the Trade Union Educational League!

Direct Negotiations with the Bosses by the Workers.

The left wing opposes the present method of secret diplomacy with (Continued on page 2.)

Notice! Carpenters and Miners!

It is essential that we have information as soon as possible regarding the vote cast for the left wing candidates in the recent elections in the carpenters' and miners' unions. The reactionaries at the head of these organizations may be depended upon to rob us of our vote wholesale and thus to minimize our showing. Therefore, it is the duty of every left-winger in these unions to let us know at once how his local voted. You should take this matter seriously and act upon it without delay. Please let us hear from you.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, T. U. E. L.

LEWIS WORKS RED BOGEY ON COAL STRIKERS

Capellini Thinks He Has Been Framed

By THOMAS MYERSCOUGH.
(Special to The Daily Worker)

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 15.—After definitely refusing the proposal of Rinaldo Capellini, president of District No. 1, that they select one of their number to be appointed by him as a district organizer, this being recognized as a ruse to defeat their aims, the general grievance committee of the local unions on strike here, made a counter proposal that a sub-committee of ten meet with the district officials and the international board members sent here by Lewis, to consider all the grievances at issue and effect a satisfactory settlement.

It is understood that this sub-committee will be made up of the presidents of all the striking locals. The decision to make this their counterproposal was reached at the meeting on Wednesday, but it was reported that the officials had refused to consider it.

Strikers Meet Again.

Today the committee of strikers met again and word has reached them from some source, that the officials have decided to meet with them tomorrow. Anyway, the decision of a short meeting here today was that the sub-committee would proceed to Scranton tomorrow to lay all the facts at issue before that august body of officials, who are so anxious that the profits of the Pennsylvania Coal Co. again begin to roll in.

For two days long sessions were held by the district and international officials in the Labor Temple at Scranton, but no news except that it was impossible for a fly to sneak in the meeting, came from there. It is claimed that Capellini blames the present and other strikes on some of Lewis' appointees in this district, and that they are created for the purpose of discrediting his administration.

Blames Lewis' Tools.

It is said that he places most of the blame at the door of one William Brennan, who, it will be remembered, was his opponent at the time of his election to the presidency of this district and who was appointed organizer by Lewis as part of the peace terms with Capellini. It is at least admitted that the secret meetings were held to iron the dirty linen, and it is said that Capellini is going to prefer charges against Brennan and others for disloyalty to the organization.

Lewis Blames Radicals.

Aside from these charges, it is said that the commission sent here by Lewis seeks to place the blame on the progressive international committee for the recent strikes, as well as for the apparent mistrust that is beginning to manifest itself in this district. Without using names, this inference was made by its chairman, Neal J. Ferry, the international board member of district seven, anthracite region, in his first interview with the newspapermen on his arrival here, saying that it was known to them that an agent of this group was in the region and had been for some time.

This belief is confirmed by members of the strikers' committee, who say that the charge is repeatedly made to them that the strike is the work of the so-called "progressives." While interviewing a prominent member of the grievance committee this morning, he was called aside and told that he was being watched talking to me, but he said that although it is the first time he has ever met me that he is over the age of twenty-one and will talk to me as long as he wants to, providing I am agreeable.

The Ultimate Aims.

The pity in this situation, as in most others, is that the men affected see only their immediate aims, but the task of teaching them that it is only one of many incidents in the class struggle and that the settlement of their immediate aims will only effect a temporary lull, to be followed by a more bitter struggle, will be made easier in the degree to which we succeed in winning their confidence. It was easy to observe from the facial expressions of some of those I have met that they had drawn some terrible mental picture of radicals, as a result of the things that were said by Lewis in the Scranton and Indianapolis conventions. This wall of fear, however, will soon be broken down and when it is, the days of Lewisism and the accompanying treachery will go for ever.

ELEMENTARY MARXIAN ECONOMICS

Editor's Note: We publish today a review on Karl Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" by William Edwards, student in Earl Browder's class in elementary Marxian economics. Comrade Edwards' review is the best handed in by the class so far. Others will follow.

REVIEW OF "VALUE PRICE AND PROFIT."

By WILLIAM EDWARDS.

MARX'S book, "Value Price and Profit" was written in 1865 in answer to Weston's argument that it was useless for the workers to organize for the purpose of raising their standard of living. Weston advanced several reasons for his argument, among which was the assertion that the amount of production, the currency and the real wage, were all fixed quantities. He contended that the real wage could not be raised because if the workers received more money, the capitalists would immediately raise the price of commodities, so that their real wage would remain the same. We are not so much concerned with Weston's arguments, especially the first two, as we are with Marx's answer, which is in part an analysis of the capitalist system of wealth production.

The wealth of our present-day society consisting entirely of commodities, we will begin by defining a commodity, and showing how its value is arrived at. A commodity is an article that satisfies some human want, and is produced for the purpose of sale or exchange. The value of any commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor time required for its production. Any two commodities which require the same amount of this labor time for their production, will exchange equally for each other, and they will each exchange for a third commodity which was produced by the same amount of this labor time, as was necessary for the production of each of the other two. For example, a hat which requires five hours of socially necessary labor time for its production, will exchange equally with a pair of shoes of which require the same amount of labor time for their production. Each of these commodities will also exchange for a quantity of gold (the medium of exchange) which requires the same amount of this labor time for its production.

It will be seen from this illustration, that all commodities exchange with each other in direct proportion to the duration of this social labor time necessary for their production. Their rate of exchange with gold is their "price." The price of the different commodities is seldom the exact equal of their value, but fluctuates above and below value, according to the supply and demand. Over a long period of time, however, these fluctuations balance each other, and for all practical purposes, we may say that commodities are sold at their value. From this it can be seen that nothing can permanently change the price of commodities except a change in their value; and it is equally clear, from the definition of value, that neither an increase in wages (the workers' share) nor an increase in profits, (the capitalists' share) can have any effect upon their value. Their value can only be changed by changes in the methods of production which change the amount of socially necessary labor time required for their production. This clearly shows the fallacy of Weston's assertion that an increase in wages would cause a corresponding increase in the price of commodities.

The actual result of a raise in wages for the working class would be to decrease the profits of the capitalists. This can be proven in the following manner: The capitalist class, owning the machinery of production, the working class must sell its labor power to the capitalists. Thus human labor power becomes a commodity, bought and sold on the market like any other commodity. Being a commodity, its value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor time required for its production, and expressed in the amount of other commodities necessary to keep the worker in working condition and to raise a family to work when he is gone. The modern labor-saving machinery enables the workers to produce the value of these commodities in a very few hours each day; in other words, they produce the value of their labor power, or wages, in the first few hours that they work each day. But they do not stop then, for the capitalist has bought their labor power for the day, so they keep on working, producing a surplus over and above their wages, the value of their labor power, which is only limited by the physical endurance of the workers. Marx calls this "surplus value."

And here Marx brings in another point; if the workers in their struggle with the capitalists can secure a shorter work day, it means a decrease of this surplus value for the capitalists, and thus lessening their power in relation to that of the work-

ing class. The shorter work day will also put more workers to work, creating a scarcity in the labor market, which of course, will result in higher wages.

But to return to our contention that the only result of a raise in wages is to decrease the profits of the capitalists. The capitalist employer realizes his surplus value by selling the product of the workers' labor power at value, after paying the workers the value of their labor power, the difference being surplus value. Not all of this surplus value is profit, however, as the capitalist must pay interest to the finance capitalist, (banker) for the use of borrowed money, and rent to the landlord for the use of buildings, land, etc., but what is left over after rent and interest have been taken out, is the capitalist's profit, which Marx calls "commercial" or "industrial" profit.

We see therefore, that the amount of profit, rent and interest is dependent upon the amount of surplus value available to the capitalist class. And it is over this surplus that the struggle between the workers and the capitalists takes place; if wages are increased, it can only be at the expense of the profits of the capitalists, and if wages are lowered, the profits will be greater. This shows that the only effect of raising wages is to lower the amount of surplus value available to the capitalist class, and can have no effect whatever upon the price or value of the commodities produced by the workers receiving the increase. From the foregoing it will be seen also that an increased rate of profit can have no effect on either the price or value of commodities.

Marx's analysis of the working of this system shows very clearly the exploitation of the workers by the capitalist class. Labor has always been exploited by a master class, but in former systems, the exploitation is much easier to understand and see thru. Under slavery, for instance, the entire amount of the workers' labor appears to have been unpaid labor, but the slave got his food, clothing and shelter, and so received the value of his labor power, the same as the wage-workers. Under feudalism the serf worked for himself a part of the time, thus getting the value of his labor power, (his living) and the rest of the time, he worked for the feudal baron without any pay. Under this system also, the fact of exploitation, as well as the method was very clear.

It is our task to explain the method, as well as the fact of exploitation under the present system, and to educate and organize the working class. To organize them not only for the purpose of getting higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, but for the purpose of destroying the whole system of exploitation.

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

(Continued from page 1)

As a matter of fact, the anarchists are very close to the capitalists but it took a great revolution to prove this fact to the workers.

THE Brooklyn man who sold his blood to hospitals at the rate of \$75 a quart, when his cattle business failed, died recently in Passaic, New Jersey, death resulting from a thinning of the blood stream. Once a man of fine physique, when he died his body had shrunk to emaciation. This man's life is symbolic of the role the workers play in society, under capitalism. They turn their bodies into gold for their bosses, who live in luxury and ease while their slaves go to their graves before their time and live miserably during their existence.

A WASHINGTON despatch informs us that the wife of the "Grand Duke Cyril of Russia" is having a jolly time in Teapot Dome, an alias for the Capitol. Mrs. Cyril visited the grave of the "unknown soldier" and insulted that poor devil by hoofing around his tomb. While Mrs. Cyril's visit "has no political significance," so we are told, a dinner given in her honor by Mr. and Mrs. John Hays Hammond was attended by prominent luminaries in the political world. Secretary of War Weeks was there—unofficially, it was stated. There were also present, Senator and Mrs. Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming; Senator William B. McKinley, of Illinois; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lansing, former secretary of state under Wilson; George T. Mayre, former ambassador to Russia; Rear Admiral Long, Richard Tobin, minister to the Netherlands; John Barton Payne and members of the entourage of the Grand Duchess.

THE "grand duchess" visit is not political, but at one of the fetes given in her honor, Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, and Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, were present, and so was Senator David A. Reed, of Pennsylvania. The two former are members of the senate foreign relations committee. What the duchess will whisper into the ears of the senators will not be friendly to the interests of the workers and peasants of Russia.

Irish Journal Changes Hands.

DUBLIN.—The republican party has taken over the Freeman's Journal and will publish it with the Countess Markiewicz as editor and Mary Mac Swiney as assistant, according to report here today.

MOST SAVAGE LABOR ENEMIES MOURN GOMPERS

T. U. E. L. in Statement on Labor Outlook

(Continued from page 1)

any conception of the labor unions as schools for Communism and organs of struggle which must ultimately aid in the overthrow of capitalist rule, and to the extent that he was able to hold them back from this historical mission, he made the unions into auxiliary bodies to the capitalists' productive and governmental machinery.

He was vice-president of the national civic federation, to preach the "harmony" of labor and capital in industry. He was on the council of the national defense to mobilize labor for cannon fodder on the fields of France. He represented "labor" at the conference of ghouls which as a "peace conference" continued the war under the Versailles treaty.

In the interest of Wall Street imperialism he withdrew the A. F. of L. from the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions when American capital adopted a policy of "independent action." He was, at the time he died, maneuvering to return to Amsterdam to follow the Dawes plan when Wall Street imperialism had conquered a leading position over western European capital in order that he might, by fighting unity of the Amsterdam unions with the revolutionary unions of Soviet Russia, throttle labor resistance against the enslaving Dawes plan. He was the most vicious enemy of Soviet Russia and all it means to the workers of all the world.

Gompers fought the Red International of Labor Unions internationally just as he fought the Trade Union Educational League in the United States. In both cases he followed the lead of the capitalists. His trip to Mexico was marked by his subjugation of the Mexican and Central American unions to his reactionary policies. On the same day he visited President Calles, and pinned upon him an emblem of "labor," the Calles government negotiated a huge loan with J. P. Morgan's bank in Wall Street.

Gompers is dead. Even his pal-bearers symbolize his capitalist connections. They are Governor Smit and Mayor Hylan, of Tammany Hall. Besides, there are Alton B. Parker, and Bernard M. Baruch, the democrat, wing of J. P. Morgan's bank, so faithfully served by Gompers. Head of these, is Ralph M. Easley, head of the civic federation.

Gompers himself selected his place of burial. It, too, represents his unshakable affinity for companionship with the enemies of labor. He will lie quite appropriately, between Andrew Carnegie and William Rockefeller, after being prayed over by Jewish rabbis, catholic priests and protestants, and after the mummery of Elks, Odd Fellows and Masons has been ended.

Gompers is dead. But the "evil" that he did lives after him." He polluted the American unions with class collaboration. He fought for class separation against industrial unionism. He built a tyrannical machine of parasites and grafters, typified by huckster as Berry of the Pressmen, who plundered his union treasury of greasy; Brindell, the corrupt czar of the New York Building Trades; Tim Murphy, whose career is one long trail of corruption from congress to banditry with labor unions as a side line, and these were all supported by swarms of sluggers and gunmen that stifled every rebellious expression of the rank and file. Gompers fought every sign of working class political action. He succeeded in conquering the whole socialist party, including Debs.

Gompers is dead. Let the ranks of the left wing clear decks for action. Forward under the slogan, "Down with class collaboration!" Against the reactionary machine, advance "Contract of the union by shop committees: Forward against all bourgeois political parties, big or little, disguised or open! Let the battle cry be "On! the revolutionary left wing can fight the battles of the workers!" Against the upholders of capitalism in the army of labor, advance the slogan "Forward to a workers' and farmers government!"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

"Bomb Plot" in Cuba.

HAVANA, Cuba, Dec. 15.—Cuba sends to the world a "bomb plot" story. It is claimed a bomb was placed on the railroad tracks a few hours before the presidential train, containing the president, his cabinet and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt was scheduled to pass. The presidential train was enroute to the unveiling of a monument to Theodore Roosevelt at Santiago.

These Bandits Won't Divide.

Burglars, believed to have been searching for the proceeds of a Christmas benefit given three recently today broke into Dreamland, a west side dance hall, and carried away a safe containing \$2,500.

Europe's Fascist Press Also Mourns Passing of Its Ally, Sam Gompers

By J. LOUIS ENGDALH.

TODAY, American labor looks into the mirror, held-up by the death of Sam Gompers, and beholds the reactionary face it presents to the world. It is not sufficient that the blackest American reaction joins in unanimously lauding the "conservatism" of the late head of the American Federation of Labor. The fascist press of London, Paris and Berlin shouts loud "Amens!" in approval of the "moderate tendencies" of the Gompers' policies.

It was only a few days ago that the remains of Jean Jaures, assassinated by a jingo fanatic at the outbreak of the world war, were carried thru the streets of Paris to their last resting place under a forest of Red Flags, with the massed workers thundering "The International."

Communist workers led in the demonstration for Jaures, who had fought the onrushing imperialist war wave. So powerful was the strength shown by the Communists, that this was the beginning of the repressive steps launched by the "radical-socialist" Herriot regime.

What a difference! For one the Red Flag is flaunted in the face of capitalism. Jaures fought the class enemy. Jaures raised the cry for the new day. Jaures was against the capitalist war.

Gompers was in favor of the capitalist war. The journals of capitalist France, like the Paris Intransigent, now speak of Gompers as "always a staunch friend of France during the war," and by "France" it means the big exploiters, the open shoppers, the imperialist interests that speak for the dominant power in the French capitalist republic.

French socialists, allies of this same capitalist regime, have no word of criticism for Gompers. This is left in very small measure to the German socialists, staunch upholders of German capitalism. The Vorwaerts, organ of the German social-democracy, joins its praise with that of the bourgeois press, the Tagblatt and Vossische Zeitung, but it finds fault with his aloofness toward the yellow Amsterdam Trade Union International. Socialist chauvinism in Germany never forgave Gompers for aiding the war against its pet capitalism.

It is the British capitalist press that gives loudest praise to Gompers' opposition to independent political action for the workers. "The Standard," of London, rejoices that it was Gompers who put his foot down when he felt the workers "drifting toward Bolshevism," and adds that it was Gompers who never allowed trade unionism in America to become a political movement. The Evening News and the Sunday Observer join in this chorus; a double-edged attack on both the Communist Party and the Labor Party in England.

Thus the world mirror reveals the Gompers' leadership, accepted in great part by America's organized workers, as possessing a "vision that never extended beyond the borders of capitalism." It never even sensed the class struggle for the ending of capitalism. Gompers died with praise for American capitalist institutions upon his lips. Capitalist spokesmen from the strikebreaker, Coolidge, to the open shopper, Ralph Easley, chairman of the National Civic Federation, sing his praise. He will maintain his associations even after death. His remains will be buried with those of capitalism's aristocratic dead.

This is a good time for all American labor to take stock of its position. Its great weakness under the Gompers' regime has been due, in very great part, to the collaboration of its officials with the enemy. It is time to make the change to a real class fight against oppression. The class traitors must be weeded out. The class fighters must be thrown into the breach in every struggle. The fight against the Gompers' policies is the fight for the interests of the whole American working class. That is the fight of the Communists that will gradually win the support of the toiling masses.

"Amalgamated" Militants Appeal

(Continued from page 1)

the bosses in wage negotiations. It maintains that the only successful way to carry on such negotiations and to help win the demands of the workers is thru a committee composed of representatives of the locals. In this way the membership is kept in touch with every development and a more determined struggle for the demands of the workers is assured.

Week Work as Against Piece Work.

The left wing recognizes that piece work is a method of speeding up production and breaking down the standard of wages. In place of that it proposes week work, a maximum standard of production with a minimum scale of wages.

No Suspensions by the Manufacturers.

The left wing maintains that the impartial machinery established must function to try grievances of the members. The present system of bosses suspending members without first preferring charges against them should be abolished.

Down with Fake Insurance Schemes.

The left wing maintains that the insurance scheme devised by our present officials only serve to weaken our union and to turn the attention of our members away from the need of building the kind of a union that will make such regulations which will as far as possible avoid unemployment and put the burden of maintaining those for whom jobs cannot be found upon the industry itself. Full maintenance of the unemployed at the expense of the bosses!

Shop Committee Control of the Union.

The left wing stands for the complete establishment of shop committees. This principle has already been endorsed by the convention of our union. Nothing has been done by our officialdom to put it into effect, which in reality amounts to sabotaging the whole proposition. A DETERMINED STRUGGLE ON THE PART OF THE RANK AND FILE IS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO INTRODUCE SHOP COMMITTEES AS THE BASIC UNITS OF OUR ORGANIZATION.

We demand that the establishment of shop committees be written into the new agreement. That the bosses recognize the shop committees as the representatives of the union, empowered to conduct all negotiations for the workers.

Support These Demands for the New Agreement.

Forty-four hour week. Unemployment can only be reduced by reducing the hours of work.

Week work instead of piece work!

Forward to the building of a powerful union under militant leadership! Support the Progressive slate!

PROGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

NO REAL PAY INCREASE FOR TRACTION MEN

Agreement Gives Them Increase for Overtime

Trains were again running over the Illinois Traction system throughout southern Illinois, following a compromise agreement between representatives of the 350 strikers and the company.

The employees dropped their demand for a pay increase, but received ten cents an hour extra for overtime pay. The traction company was forced to grant the demand for a closed shop.

Freight Employees Gain by Increase.

The freight employees, comprising half of the workers on the system, are the principal gainers by the settlement, as they work long periods of overtime, and until the strike, received the regular 65 cents an hour rate of pay. The passenger trainmen had been receiving a slight overtime pay on mileage basis. Their rate of 62½ cents an hour remains the same, but the overtime pay of ten cents an hour will slightly increase their wages.

The strike tied up all freight and passenger traffic between Decatur, Danville, Peoria, Stanton, Bloomington, St. Louis and many southern Illinois towns at the busiest time of the year—during the Christmas shopping rush.

Springfield and Peoria business men lost hundreds of dollars, due to the cutting off of the small town shopping trade and the freight tie-up. For that reason, the Springfield chamber of commerce took a leading part in trying to induce the men to accept the compromise.

The strike had lasted a week, and had entirely stopped traffic over the Illinois Traction system. Only one attempt was made to run a car, out of Litchfield, and sentiment expressed by strikers and sympathizers caused the company to hurriedly return the car to the barns.

FOUR HUNDRED MEN LAID OFF IN CAR SHOPS

Union Officials Spurn Unemployment Relief

Four hundred men have been laid off at the Northwestern Railroad car-building shops. The layoff is indefinite. Although the company announces that some of the men may be taken back after a week's layoff, the most optimistic of the employees do not hope for a resumption of work on a normal scale until the end of January at the earliest.

Those laid off include 75 members of the International Association of Machinists, Boiler-makers, roundhouse helpers, laborers, steel workers, and many workers, steel workers, and trades are affected by the layoff.

One of the shop chairmen of the Machinists' Union favored the calling of a meeting of all employees laid off, and their continuance at work, the DAILY WORKER learns. He wanted the employees to demand unemployment relief during the layoff, but declared he could not get the union officials to back him.

The Northwestern car shops include many separate craft unions, and it is difficult to secure united action.

Kerosene Blast Finds Many Victims Among Workers' Families

Five persons were burned, three perhaps fatally, and six families were routed here today by fire starting from the explosion of a can of kerosene in a three story flat building.

The victims were Kelly Spaulding, 29, his wife, Ruby, their two children and Earl Carrico a roomer.

Spaulding and the two children were sprayed with the blazing fuel which ignited while Spaulding was using it to ignite a fire in the kitchen stove. Their condition is considered serious.

Moors Putting France and Spain in Big Dilemma

(Continued from page 1)

and discipline. Bravo, generals, officers and soldiers!

French Imperialism Worried.

French imperialism is much worried for fear that as the natives take possession of the whole territory between the French part of Morocco and the ever-narrowing strip held by the Spanish on the Rifian coast, that a strong native republic will be built up there to put France's colonial slave-driving business out of business. France has sent a note to Spain about this, and is expected to attack the natives rather than yield to their demand for rule in their own land.

15,000 QUARRYMEN IN ITALY GO ON STRIKE FOR RAISE IN WAGES

(Special to The Daily Worker)

CARRARA, Italy, Dec. 15.—Fifteen thousand quarrymen of the famous Torano quarries and other works were on strike today for a ten per cent increase in wages. Shops were closed and tram lines were idle by order of the workers, who have permitted only pharmacies to remain open.

Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

United Front From Below VS. United Front From Above

By WM. F. DUNNE.

Two tendencies in the application of the united front policy appear crystal clear in every article in the party discussion. One, the tendency towards the united front from below contained in the articles of the C. E. C. and its supporters—the correct line of the Communist International.

The other, that of the minority, is the united front from above—a united front not with the masses but with a chosen few who call themselves leaders of the masses.

This tendency appears in all its carmine splendor in the loud wall of the minority over the fact that the C. E. C. refuses to "endorse the policy of penetration within the C. P. P. A." and in a still more pronounced form in its tears over the C. E. C. resolution submitted at the A. F. of L. convention outlining a program of struggle and specifying the mass organizations to be used for this struggle against wage cuts, unemployment, injunctions, etc., instead of raising the sterile slogan of a farmer-labor party. The C. E. C. laid down a full program of immediate demands for the A. F. of L. convention, which will bear fruit as the class struggle becomes ever sharper.

Has there ever been in any party of the Comintern a more humorous and at the same time tragic spectacle than that of the minority of the American party bringing American capitalism tottering to its knees in the journalistic overture to their thesis followed by the slogan, "Capitalism is falling! Long live a 'class' farmer-labor party!"

This is a sight that brings no joy to the heart of any worker who is proud of his party, but it is the inevitable outcome of an opportunist policy springing from a wrong tendency in the united front tactic.

The C. E. C. believes and the Comintern believes, that during crises of capitalism it is the task of Communist Parties to rally to themselves every worker who accepts their slogans and program.

The minority, however, apparently wants to build another roadhouse on the road to Communism, and if its high-sounding phrases of "leadership of a 'class' farmer-labor party" means anything at all, it intends to play the role of landlord and entertain the weary travellers toward Communism until they are ready for more lavish hospitality in the little matter of revolution.

The possibility that most of the footsore wanderers might decide to stay in the modest but comfortable "class" farmer-labor roadhouse evidently has not occurred to the minority.

Neither has the possibility occurred to them that they, as the hosts, might find the business so profitable and the environment so pleasant that they would forget entirely the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party at the end of the road.

After all, the work of gathering together the elements that would make a "class" farmer-labor party—in a period when there is no mass sentiment for it—is not unpleasant.

The minority needs only to hold a number of the conferences in which its collective soul delights, get a "respectable" program that will not frighten the timid liberals and semi-hemi-Communist, put a seven-column line in the DAILY WORKER "Class Farmer-Labor Party Formed," announce that the conference elected William Mahoney chairman, and C. E. Ruthenberg (the name of Jay Lovestone may also be used) secretary, and the child is born.

Comrades who feel that this is not an accurate description of the birth-process of "class farmer-labor parties" have not followed closely the Arabian nights episodes in which our party played the part of the genie of the lamp.

If one is not particular about having masses in the party described above—and it is noticeable that the minority does not say "mass class farmer-labor party," one of these parties can be formed every day, or just as long as there are "leaders" with whom to hold conferences and Comrade Ruthenberg does not get tired of writing manifestos.

This is one of the outstanding tendencies of devotees of the united front from above—a predilection for paper organizations, interminable confer-

ences, substitution of powerless groups of parliamentarians for workers in action, manifestos that may raise fighting slogans but which attract workers—if any workers are attracted at all—not into the Communist Party, but into halfway havens that are fertile breeding places for opportunism and reformism.

There is another characteristic, far more dangerous and inexcusable, that a false conception of the united front tactic develops in its devotees, a characteristic that every distorter of Marxism-Leninism has in common. It is the use of quotations from the great teachers of the working class and the use of these quotations for the purpose of giving a Communist color to an opportunist policy.

The worst offender in the discussion so far is Comrade Lovestone. In his article in the DAILY WORKER of Wednesday, Dec. 3, under the sub-head, "Skepticism—A Menshevik Disease"—Comrade Lovestone quotes Lenin as follows:

"The Marxian doctrine has welded the theory and practice of the class struggle into an INDIVISIBLE WHOLE. He is no Marxist who, to justify existing conditions, distorts the theory which soberly confirms the objective situation, who goes so far as to adapt himself with the greatest possible speed to any temporary lull in the revolution (1) to throw quickly overboard his 'revolutionary illusions' and to set about collecting the 'realistic' shreds."

Comrade Lovestone, with a not surprising Jesuitism, attempts to use this quotation to justify what? His desire to build a "class" farmer-labor party—a substitute for the Workers (Communist) Party in the daily battles of the working class.

If ever an advocate of the united front from above was hoist with his own petard it is Comrade Lovestone. Was there ever a more apt quotation to describe a minority that states plainly its disbelief in the ability of the Communist Party to fight, in its own name, for and with the working class in every daily struggle and bring directly into its own ranks the more militant of the workers?

"He is no Marxist who, to justify existing conditions, distorts the theory which objectively confirms the existing situation, who goes so far as to adapt himself with the greatest possible speed to any temporary lull in the revolution, to throw quickly overboard his 'revolutionary illusions' and to set about collecting the 'realistic' shreds."

These are strange words in the mouth of one who speaks for a minority that bases its "realistic" policy on not one single objective fact except its own opportunist tendency and which brands as "skeptics" a C. E. C. that bases its policy on a revolutionary situation in the whole capitalist world and which does not share—we accept Comrade Lovestone's own definition of the minority policy—the "menshevik skepticism"—of the minority as to the importance of the Communist Party in the class struggle and its ability to attract the masses of America.

It takes the brazen egoism which is another characteristic of opportunist individualism, to quote the master Lenin in support of the minority position in a discussion where the Communist Party is opposed to a hybrid "class" farmer-labor party that the minority visualizes as an indispensable organ in the revolutionary struggle.

It is just exactly that the minority thinks it sees—in spite of lip service to Communist theory—that there is a "temporary lull in the revolution," that is their real reason for advocating a substitute for the Communist Party. In this they are not alone.

In almost every party of the Comintern there is or was a rightist group whose disappointment with what they term the "slow development of the revolution" led them to revisions of Leninism.

In the British party this group became clearly defined and most of them finally left the party—Walton Newbold among them. This group lost faith in the British Communist Party, it did not develop a mass character fast enough to satisfy them—it should be noted here that a mass party to this type of individual means a "big" party that gives them a sense

of importance and has little to do with the mass character of its activities), so they openly advocated liquidation of the Communist Party and the establishment of a loose left wing group inside the independent labor party.

It seems to me that when the minority advocates, not a united front with a worker and farmer party, but the organization of its "class farmer-labor party" as a Communist principle without which the united front is impossible on the "political" field, they come dangerously close to the Newboldites.

They do not attempt to show and they cannot show where the Comintern has instructed the American party to enter into such a maneuver when no mass movement existed.

On the contrary, Comrade Lenin wrote that in the case of the British Communist Party that its task was to split the British labor party—to make the Communist Party the party of the British proletariat.

"But," say the minority comrades, "the British labor party was organized in a period of capitalist strength while here in the United States our 'class farmer-labor party' develops during the decline of capitalism and will therefore take a different form and play a different role."

They are modest, these minority comrades. All they claim is that they have discovered a new instrument of revolution outside of the Communist Party.

This new instrument is nothing less than their "class farmer-labor party" that they organize during a period of "capitalist decline," and which is to form the united front on the "political" field.

We must leave England and go to Germany to find a parallel for this tendency. We find it there in the conception held by the right leadership of the German Party, of the "workers' and farmers' government" as an instrument of revolution—a conception and tendency that the C. I. condemned in unmeasured terms.

The minority comrades will feel outraged by these comparisons but they are drawn logically from their thesis—a thesis which puts forward a "class farmer-labor party" as a Communist principle—a "class farmer-labor party" that they state in article after article is the only form of united front on the political field.

Let the minority comrades protest their good intentions. Policy and not good intentions is what determines the fate of Communist parties and the majority believes with Comrade Zinoviev that "theses, resolutions and king. 'Old Tivel' was working for articles are the best basis for forming opinions."

Going hand in hand with Comrade Lovestone's attempt to pervert a quotation from Lenin, his attempt to label a C. E. C. that carried out the instructions of the Comintern in the election over his protest, as "menshevik skeptics," is the arrogation of the minority to themselves of the title "old Bolsheviks."

The minority cling fondly to their "class farmer-labor party" and therefore they are "old Bolsheviks." Their formula is:

"Without a 'class farmer-labor party,' which we must organize, 'even the it has but 5,000 members' as that old Bolshevik Comrade Nat Kaplan states—"we can have no mass Communist Party."

The minority cannot point to one single authentic movement for a "class farmer-labor party" even to any sentiment for it among the masses.

But to them the formula is too precious to discard. The slogan of the C. E. C., "The Workers (Communist) Party against the LaFollette party" does not appeal to them—nor does the daily struggles for leadership in the unions and industries.

Their formula has no connection with reality but they say affectionately, "It is a poor thing but mine own!"

We recall here something written by Comrade Lenin during the strenuous days of 1917. It is from his "Theses on Tactics" published in Pravda, April 29, 1917.

"Bolshevik slogans and ideas IN GENERAL have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have developed somewhat differently than was expected, assumed a more original, peculiar and varied form. To ignore, to forget this fact, would be to resemble those . . . of our party by repeating senseless 'learned formulae' instead of STUDYING the peculiarities of the new, the living reality of things. . . . A Marxist must take into consideration the true facts and living reality of today, and not continue clinging to the theory of yesterday, which, like every other theory, at its best only outlines the fundamental and general, only approaches a conception of the complexity of life."

Comrade Lenin was not afraid to take issue with comrades when they clung to a "senseless learned formula."

Neither is the C. E. C.

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

"WHICH CHANGE?"

By EARL R. BROWDER.

Our right wing minority tries to put the question: "Shall we change our policy, or shall we keep the old one." And Comrade Powell, in the DAILY WORKER of Dec. 6, raises a point of order against the C. E. C., declaring that it has no right to say the labor party movement has disappeared from the political arena until the last convention decision has been changed. Both the minority and their champion, Comrade Powell, ignore one factor very essential for Marxists—the objective conditions. A policy formulated for a certain situation when carried over to a later period becomes a different policy in everything except the paper and ink which states it. Our labor party policy under the conditions of last year becomes a very different thing under the conditions of this year. Even such a formalist as Comrade Powell could not evade this fact if he were faced by a revolution which had not been prophesied by the party convention. "Points of order" are no barrier to the march of political events.

But the Minority Also Wants a Change. When the minority proclaims their desire to "keep the old policy" they are, however, guilty of something more than ignoring the above-mentioned very important fact. They are guilty of misrepresenting their own position as stated in black ink on white paper.

The minority advances the slogan for the present period, of:

For a Class Farmer-Labor Party. But I happen to have in my membership book a little stamp which I cannot forget because I paid a dollar for it—one of the \$50,000.00 that we spent last year on building a farmer-labor party. On it is the slogan that expressed the party policy laid down by the last convention. The slogan is:

For a Mass Class Farmer-Labor Party. So we see that the C. E. C. and the minority are united on at least one thing: they both want to change the policy. While the C. E. C. wants to find more effective ways to reach the MASS, the minority clamors for a policy that drops the MASS.

So We Agree That Conditions Have Changed. In spite of all the protestations of the minority that conditions are just the same today as a year ago, we find on examination of their present slogan than they, also, actually recognize the change. By dropping out the word MASS from the slogan they admit the most vital political change which the C. E. C. has been pointing out in its thesis and articles.

THE WORKERS PARTY IN ACTION.

By A. OVERGAARD.

In the discussion on the thesis of the C. E. C. and the Lovestone-Ruthenberg thesis, it will be well to consider the practical application of the two policies in the field of struggle in order to come to a correct conclusion. It is not enough to consider such an important political question over a cup of tea in social settlements in New York or on the basis of "facts" gathered in a research office but on the basis of actual contact with the masses and our experience in the struggles of the working class.

According to the Lovestone-Ruthenberg thesis we are to create a special non-Communist party in order to attract wide masses. This theory smells too much of the ideology of the Second-and-a-Half International. The political consciousness of the masses develops out of the struggles against the capitalist class and we cannot awaken this consciousness by just giving them new parties or by throwing slogans to them, unless these slogans are based on the actual needs of the workers. We must also examine carefully whether there is actually movements towards the realization of these demands.

The United Front and a Farmer-Labor Party.

According to the Lovestone-Ruthenberg thesis the united front can only be realized thru the formation of a farmer-labor party. This is sheer nonsense and not in line with the policy of the Communist International. The minority wants a left wing labor party or sort of Number Two, which shall take in all the disillusioned workers in the LaFollette camp and the Workers Party shall be the Number One; we shall then proceed to disillusion these workers into the Number One, the Workers Party. What will be the result?

This policy will no doubt lead to the weakening of the Workers Party by taking from it all the functions of leading the working class in the struggle for immediate demands and these functions will be taken care of by this substitute, it will also tend to liquidate the Workers Party.

According to the minority the Workers Party can not be used to fight for the immediate needs of the working class. That will be taken care of by the so-called "revolutionary" class farmer-labor party as Comrade Auster chooses to call it in a recent number of the International Press correspondence. I would like to know wherein such a party will be other than the

Workers Party. Traenmael in Norway wants such a party because he is disappointed in the Communist International. I wonder if the comrades of the minority can not be styled disappointed Communists who have lost confidence in the ability of a Communist party to organize the masses for struggle under its own name.

Now let us examine a few facts. Let us take our experience for example in the Machinist convention. In the struggle against LaFollette did we put up the farmer-labor party? No there was only one party in the field for independent political action, the Workers Party. Was it possible to have a united front on other issues in the convention with non-Communist workers? Yes of course, Amalgamation of the Metal Trades' Unions, which is so vitally necessary for these workers, was one of the issues upon which a great fight took place in that convention. In that fight the small force of Communists were able to mobilize the majority of rank and file delegates in the convention. In the struggle for a two-year convention and two-year election of officers the united front of various forces smashed the bureaucracy. In the struggle against class collaboration, the Workers Party and the T. U. E. L. were the recognized leaders.

That the LaFollette movement had swallowed up the farmer-labor party was clearly demonstrated in the convention. Who were the ones that fought for the labor party resolution? The Workers Party. But what was the vote? The same as the vote cast in a straight Workers Party fight against LaFollette, the majority of the delegates were satisfied that LaFollette was taking care of their political needs. Our principal task was to disillusion the rank and file delegates in the LaFollette bugaboo and against that we put our united front program for immediate action and the Workers Party.

Let us ask the minority, who is leading the workers in Paterson in their strike against the silk manufacturers? Their answer can only be: the Workers Party. Who was leading the struggle of the unorganized workers against the Pullman company and the West ern Steel company in the sporadic strikes in Pullman and Hegewich? The Workers Party. The minority thesis fails to state whether or not we were correct in entering the election campaign in the name of the Workers Party. Let us examine what would have happened if we had gone

No Disagreement Here!

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

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

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

THE WORKERS PARTY:

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

ahead under the name of the farmer-labor party. I can well remember the famous mass meeting in Chicago under the auspices of the farmer-labor party where we launched the campaign for MacDonald and Bouch with farmer-labor speakers. Then the following meeting under the auspices of the Workers Party where the election campaign was launched for Foster and Gitlow. In the former who were participating? Members of the Workers Party and Y. W. L. and a number of sympathizers. In the latter we found the same audience with much greater enthusiasm.

CALIFORNIA PROVES MAJORITY POSITION.

By DAVID A. GORMAN.

In discussing the thesis of the C. E. C. that is the majority thesis and the reason for my approval of the majority position, it is well that I relate the experience we had in Los Angeles, Cal., immediately prior to the formation of the Los Angeles labor party, during its existence and after.

Like in all other centers the political policy pursued by the local labor movement was the endorsing of good candidates. That was done thru a joint executive board. Many of the politicians endorsed by the joint board were also endorsed by the chamber of commerce and the Los Angeles Times. Particularly so in the local city elections which the rank and file took more interest in than in other campaigns. The opposition of the rank and file against such treachery expressed itself in the labor council thru their delegates.

Early in January of 1923 the labor council passed a motion calling upon the joint board to invite all working class political parties to send representatives to its meeting for the purpose of creating a united front in the approaching city election. At the next meeting of the board the S. P. had two spokesmen. The Workers Party was represented by the writer. The socialist position was to form a loose alliance between themselves and the trade unions for the city election. I presented our party position to immediately form a labor party. Being a member of the joint board, I proposed the calling of a convention of trade unions to decide the future political policy of the local labor movement. A motion carried to call a convention for March 8, 1923. As the call was being sent out to the unions, our labor party resolution passed the Machinists' Union and that resolution was sent to every A. F. of L. union in the city for endorsement.

On March 8 the convention opened with about 175 delegates representing 55 unions. The labor party was formed. The writer was elected chairman. At the next meeting of the L. P. many independent unions joined along with the S. P., W. P., Workmen's Circle and even the proletarian party. The united front was complete.

We entered the city election campaign and we failed to nominate our candidates in the primaries. The unions that remained in the L. P. after the election represented 11,000 members paying per capita tax on the basis of one cent per member per month.

When the call was issued for the July 3 convention the L. P. sent two delegates. We later affiliated with the Federated, which resulted in the withdrawal of the S. P., the proletarian party and many unions. The L. P. later issued a call for a state convention to form a state labor party.

This convention was called off in order to first fight within the state C. P. P. A. Being defeated in the C. P. P. A., we formed a provisional committee for a state F. L. P. Several months later at a state convention the C. F. L. P. was formed. The state F. L. P. and the Los Angeles L. P. send delegates to St. Paul.

After St. Paul the rank and file of the unions went over to LaFollette. The L. P. ceased to be a mass organization. Before the LaFollette wave many workers expressed their opposi-

tion to the old parties thru the labor party. It is obvious to every one now that those workers who broke with the old parties are accepting the LaFollette movement instead. Where is the basis for a F. L. P. slogan? Prior to the LaFollette wave those workers who accepted the L. P. were willing to accept our leadership and we were successful in isolating the reactionary officials from the rank and file. Now it is impossible to do that with a F. L. P. We must adopt slogans that the rank and file will fight for, and on that basis destroy the leadership of the labor fakery. Furthermore the masses can be moved effectively with political parties whose program is parliamentary only during parliamentary campaigns. We had that experience in Los Angeles. Immediately after the city elections our L. P. meetings were attended by a handful of people. Many unions dropped their affiliation. When mass meetings were called, they were a complete failure. The rank and file of the trade unions did not attend and the militant workers ignored them because they were not revolutionary enough.

Today the F. L. P. slogan will not create any enthusiasm amongst the masses. In fact the common expression amongst workers today is: Wait until 1928 and we will put LaFollette over. We can only fight this LaFollette illusion with united front slogans that touch the immediate needs of the workers and not with abstract slogans for new parties.

Today the F. L. P. slogan will not create any enthusiasm amongst the masses. In fact the common expression amongst workers today is: Wait until 1928 and we will put LaFollette over. We can only fight this LaFollette illusion with united front slogans that touch the immediate needs of the workers and not with abstract slogans for new parties.

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The Daily Worker
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Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE C. E. C. MAJORITY POLICY

By C. E. RUTHENBERG.

THE most illuminating test of any policy is in its application. Judged in the light of such a test the policy set forth by the majority of the central executive committee, which it is not only proposing to the party but applying in practice at the present time, has already done great harm to our party and threatens the party with even greater injury.

In order to make clear the injury which has already been done the Workers Party thru the application of the majority policy and the danger which threatens the party thru the continued application of this policy, it is necessary to restate a few fundamentals. It is the error of the majority that it is basing its policy upon temporary surface conditions in relation to the movement toward class political action and not upon the stronger, underlying forces which have produced and are developing this movement.

The movement for independent political action by the workers as a class has been slow in developing in the United States. While practically every developed capitalist country of Europe has had class political parties of labor supported by masses for decades, in the United States no such party has developed. The historical reasons why no such party has developed in the United States have often been stated and I need not go into them here. The fact which we have to deal with is, that since the end of the war, thru the intensification of the class struggle which has grown out of the war, a movement by the workers and at the same time a movement by the exploited farmers, toward independent political action and for the formation of a party representing the class interests of these two groups, has arisen.

The fact which we must bear in mind in discussing the question of our party policy is, that this movement is not a chance thing growing out of temporary conditions which may quickly disappear. As Marxists we recognize that the development of a movement among the working masses toward a political class struggle is a logical and inevitable outcome of class relations under the capitalist system.

It was upon the basis of the fact that this movement had begun and was developing that our party, two and a half years ago, formulated its united front labor party policy. What was the problem which we as Communists, organized in the revolutionary Workers Party, faced at that time?

We had organized the vanguard of the working class, the revolutionists, the Communists. In our party, but the masses of the American workers were still supporting the parties of their class enemies—the capitalists. Our aim was to build our party of the vanguard, of the revolutionary workers into a mass Communist Party. We rejected the theory that our party could be built into a mass Communist Party thru abstract propaganda of our principles. We accepted the Communist concept that a revolutionary mass party of Communists can only be created thru the revolutionization of the working masses. We saw the beginning of the process of the revolutionization of the working masses in the movement for independent political action.

We argued: In this movement toward independent political action by the workers and exploited farmers there is our point of contact with these masses. We will enter into this movement. We will endeavor to hasten the development of this movement. We will seek to become the leaders of this movement and thru our leadership we will make it more conscious and drive it forward. We will crystallize this movement by organizing delegated bodies consisting of delegates from the organizations of workers and exploited farmers who become politically conscious of their class interests. We will enter into common struggles, not merely election campaigns but struggles upon all issues arising in the class struggle, with these workers and exploited farmers, struggles in which we will play the part of the initiators and driving force. Thru this policy we will fulfill our duty as a Communist Party—we will be carrying on the work of revolutionization of the masses and in the process we will build our party into a mass party of revolutionary workers.

The slogan which we raised to express the crystallization of the movement for independent political action was, "For a farmer-labor party," and later, when the LaFollette movement took form, in order to sharply distinguish our aim from the petty bourgeois character of the latter, "For a mass farmer-labor party." This slogan historically and thru the content we have given it has come to stand for the first step in the revolutionization of the working masses, the development of political action on the basis of their class interests.

In my article in the Workers Monthly, directed against the policy of the majority of the central executive committee, I asked, in considering the present situation of the movement toward independent political action described above: "Is the movement toward class political action dead?" Various supporters of the

central executive committee majority have risen to give the childish answer: "Of course not, because the Workers Party is not dead." Such a silly answer shows a lack of understanding of the whole problem. We are not considering in the party discussion whether there exists in the United States a Communist Party which has as its aim the mobilization of the working masses for a revolutionary class struggle against the capitalist state power. It ought not to be necessary to remind ourselves of that fact in every second sentence. We are considering thru what strategy and tactics can our Communist Party revolutionize the masses and thus build itself. It seems, however, that for the supporters of the majority thesis it is necessary to formulate the question in every detail, thus: Is the mass movement toward class political action, which has developed in the United States thru the intensification of the class struggle since the end of the war, dead?

The minority thesis emphasizes that the economic conditions which produced this movement do not only exist but will be intensified and will produce even a greater movement for class political action. The majority agrees that the economic conditions which developed the movement still exist and will be intensified, but that the movement of the workers and exploited farmers resulting therefrom has been "swallowed up" or "come to rest" in the non-class, third party LaFollette movement, and that the slogan, "For a class farmer-labor party," has lost its potency as a means of developing class political action on a mass scale, and for building the Workers Party in the process of developing such class political action.

With this review of basic reasons for our policy and the forces underlying the movement for class political action we are in a position to apply the test of actual application to the present situation of the policies proposed in the central executive committee majority and minority theses, and thus come to a conclusion as to the present potency of the "For a class farmer-labor party" slogan for the development of class political action and the building of our party.

The A. F. of L. Convention. The question of independent political action by labor was an issue in the A. F. of L. convention. The Potters, Molders and Stonecutters, three international unions, had resolutions before the convention calling for the endorsement of the formation of a labor party. That in itself is good proof that the movement for the formation of a labor party is not dead.

What was the position of the majority of the central executive committee? It voted down the proposal of the central executive committee minority that we introduce and champion a resolution calling for the formation of a class farmer-labor party. In place of such a resolution it proposed a resolution calling for a general labor congress. The minority proposed an amendment to the general labor congress resolution, that there be inserted as one of the points of the program of such a general labor congress the formation of a farmer-labor party. Two or three weeks later, as an afterthought, the majority inserted in its general labor congress resolution a clause calling for support of the Workers Party.

What was the consequence of this abandoning of the slogan "For a class farmer-labor party"? The Molders, the Potters, the Stonecutters appeared at the A. F. of L. convention as the exponents of independent political action by labor, the general labor congress resolution was not heard from and the Workers Party abdicated its position as leader of the movement of the workers toward class political action.

Which course would have brought the greatest results for building the Workers Party, the introduction of a meaningful general labor congress resolution in which no one was interested and which was in no way a live question; or a militant espousal before the convention by our party of the slogan "For a class farmer-labor party"? Which tactic would have promoted most what is and must be our major strategy, to develop class political action, and eventually revolutionary political action by the worker?

The question answers itself. The tactics in the A. F. of L. is point one indicating the bankruptcy of the majority of the central executive committee.

The Massachusetts C. P. P. A. On Saturday, Dec 13, a telegram was received by Comrade Foster from Comrade Ballam, advising that the conference for progressive political action was holding a convention in Massachusetts to which quite a number of members of the Trade Union Educational League and party members had been elected as delegates from their unions. The telegram further advised that a conference of the members of the Trade Union Educational League in Boston the members had voted to introduce a resolution in the C. P. P. A. convention calling for the formation of a class farmer-labor party, and if the resolution was defeated to lead a split from

the convention of all the elements favoring the formation of such a party.

The majority of the central executive committee sent instructions to Comrade Ballam that the resolution for a class farmer-labor party must not be introduced but that a resolution criticizing the LaFollette movement and calling for endorsement of the Workers Party be introduced. The minority of the central executive committee proposed that our policy be to introduce a resolution for a class farmer-labor party, and split if it was defeated and organize group splitting away into a provisional committee to carry on a campaign against the C. P. P. A. and LaFolletteism in the Massachusetts trade unions.

Here again we have proof, first, that the movement for a class farmer-labor party is not dead. If a considerable number of delegates can be elected from the Massachusetts trade unions pledged to fight a farmer-labor party against the C. P. P. A. and LaFolletteism that is the best evidence of the potency of the slogan. Second, we have again the bankruptcy of the central executive committee majority policy for the central executive committee majority did not and could not, following its policy, give any organizational expression to demand for class political action of the trade unions represented in the C. P. P. A. convention.

The Minnesota Situation. In the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Federation was organized largely thru the efforts of our party, as a means of giving expression to class party elements in the Minnesota farmer-labor party. The petty bourgeois elements in the Minnesota farmer-labor party are at present waging a campaign to throw the Communists out of the Farmer-Labor Federation. What is the policy of the central executive committee majority? It has not dared to make a declaration of policy on this situation. If it follows the logic of its thesis it will voluntarily withdraw our members from the Farmer-Labor Federation and thus isolate us from the mass movement of workers and exploited farmers in Minnesota, and thus make another confession of bankruptcy. Incidentally, it might be mentioned that it is in Minnesota, where we have been most active in the farmer-labor party, that our party polled proportionally the largest number of votes for the Workers Party presidential ticket. That in itself is good evidence of the effectiveness of the farmer-labor party campaign for building the strength and influence of the Workers Party.

The Coming C. P. P. A. National Convention. The strongest evidence of the bankruptcy of the policy of the central executive committee majority comes to light in the application of its policy to the situation we will be faced in relation to the coming convention of the C. P. P. A. The national committee of the C. P. P. A. has called a national convention to be held in Chicago on Feb 21 for the purpose of organizing the third party. The third party is not yet organized. It merely built machinery for an election campaign. The issuance of the call for the convention Feb. 21 brings the question of the form of political action which the workers and farmers are to take before every trade union and organization of exploited farmers in the United States in the sharpest form imaginable. In every such organization this issue will be fought out. For the next two months the issue of independent political action, of a LaFollette third party or a farmer-labor party, will be the biggest question which will come before the trade unions and organizations of farmers.

What are our tactics in this situation? The only tactic possible under the policy of the central executive committee majority is to offer resolutions for the endorsement of the Workers Party against the call for the C. P. P. A. convention. Endorsements of the Workers Party are very fine, but in the first place they will be few and far between, and secondly, they will leave us in the same position that we are left in by the paper endorsements of amalgamation by two million trade union members which Comrade Foster boasts about. We cannot affiliate trade unions and farm organizations with the Workers Party. Our party as a Communist Party is based upon individual membership. It is a utopian notion to believe that we can during this campaign move more than a few thousand of the quarter or a half million members of the trade unions and farm organizations who might be put on record against the LaFollette third party and for a class farmer-labor party thru a militant campaign by our party, to join the Workers Party as individual members.

It is a Communist tactic to build a united front in order to enter into a common struggle with such organization. The farmer-labor party slogan expresses the form of the united front we can build with the elements which we could win in such a campaign against LaFolletteism. The raising of the slogan of "For a Class Farmer-Labor Party" would be our most effective means for fulfilling our major task, the development of class political action and our campaign in support of that slogan would do more to build the Workers Party than any number of sterile resolutions for the endorsement of the Workers Party.

It is only necessary to study the situation as here outlined in regard to the C. P. P. A. convention to see that the policy of the central executive committee majority is sectarianism and a repudiation of the united front tactic in relation to the most significant development of the American labor movement, the movement toward class political action.

The central executive committee majority says: Oh, but we propose united front on other questions, unemployment, child labor, etc. Well and good. We have had such united front and we must continue to enter such campaigns as often as possible, but such united front campaigns are not an answer to the requirements of the development of the movement for class political action. The C. P. P. A. LaFollette movement is offering an organizational crystallization to workers and farmers organizations in the folds of the petty bourgeois third party. Shall we abandon the field and permit this crystallization to take place? That is what the abandonment of the slogan "For a Class Farmer-Labor Party" means. The raising of the slogan means to offer to the most conscious elements a crystallization around the Workers Party in a united front organization. The central executive committee majority policy advocates our leadership and hands it over to LaFollette, to permit the workers and exploited farmers to remain "at rest," in the third party.

The few facts cited show where the central executive committee majority policy is leading us to. It is taking us out of the main stream of the movement for class political action by the workers and exploited farmers which has sprung out of the life experiences of these classes in new epoch of capitalism brought by the world war. The majority policy spells bankruptcy both in leadership in developing class political action by the working masses and in building up our party into a mass Communist Party.

From the Bottom Up. The majority favors abandoning the struggle to create a farmer-labor party and asserts that it will devote its time to applying the united front "from the bottom." But, the we do apply the united front from the bottom, is that any valid reason for scrapping the slogan for a labor party? A perusal of the thesis and polemics of the majority is illuminating in this connection, inasmuch as it reveals their whole conception in relation to the labor party united front and explains their signal failure properly to carry out a Communist policy in their maneuvers during the eleven months of their control of the party.

Whereas the present minority, last year known as the Pepper group, viewed the united front as a mass movement from the bottom and exerted great efforts to gain influence over the majority of the rank and file of labor, the Foster-Cannon group devoted its time to compromises, negotiations and vacillations with the so-called left leaders of labor. Let us review, briefly, a bit of history.

I will cite the two instances of creating labor parties that I was charged with directing for the then central executive committee. First, the or-

ganization of the Buffalo labor party was distinctly a movement from the bottom. Instead of dickerings with the labor leaders, the Buffalo comrades assisted me in reaching every local union in the city. We went direct to the rank and file, appearing night after night before scores of local unions and, after winning them to our position, deliberately forced the politicians of the central labor council to yield to our demands. The result was a real united front party embracing over 50,000 organized workers and composed of the local trade unions, a number of workmen's fraternal societies and the Workers Party. Today, according to information at hand from Comrade James C. Campbell, the leader of that party, there is a demand for its revival, which tends to discredit the claim that LaFollette swallowed the whole movement.

Secondly, the creation of the Minnesota farmer-labor federation, which was assigned to me by the C. E. C. was, for the most part, a movement from the bottom. During the time I was in Minnesota, our comrades lined up many of the local unions and other organizations in support of the creation of such a movement, and succeeded in winning influence and membership for our party. The rank and file support was the basis of our negotiations with Mahoney and others in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Unfortunately some of the Minnesota comrades, who are now in the majority, entirely lost sight of the rank and file support and considered the end and aim of the movement as based upon the success of placating Mahoney. The Minnesota comrades will well remember my vigorous objection to the refusal of our delegates to take issue with Mahoney on the question of sending delegates to a proposed convention of the federated farmer-labor party that was to have been held in Chicago the early part of this year. In spite of my instructions to the contrary those enamored of the united front from the top, refused to fight for this measure at the September, 1923 convention that organized the Minnesota farmer-labor federation.

Both Buffalo and Minnesota were bona fide movements from the bottom up and were real, and not imaginary, organizations. That may not have been the case with all our labor party organizations. The majority claims such was not the case with others, but they cannot dispute the fact that in these two instances the motivating force came from the bottom under our direction. As a matter of fact, some of the majority brazenly proclaim the fact that they organized "fake" labor parties. If that is true, they concealed the fact from the membership by numerous subterfuges. Such admissions are distinctly shocking to those who take the movement seriously and consider the future of the movement rather than the temporary victory of a faction in the party. With such admissions as this, how is the working class to judge us in the future? I, for one, refuse to malign our party with the charge that we did organize "fake labor parties." That unenviable achievement may remain the distinction of the majority, but it never came to my notice, as a member of the former C. E. C., otherwise there would have been an explosion.

United Front With Leaders. There was certainly a serious error made in the Minnesota situation because some of our leading local comrades had too much confidence in Mahoney, an attitude I personally warned them against. Their error, however, was not confined to them alone but was shared by the present majority of the C. E. C. After the organization of the farmer-labor federation the center of gravity of the labor party movement shifted to Minnesota and finally culminated in the June 17 convention.

At that convention every effort was made to conciliate Mahoney and Co. "Splitting tactics," according to the majority, were decisively repudiated. Peppercorn, which was responsible for the split at the July 3, 1923, convention at Chicago, was deeply buried. The majority bitterly complained about the split with Fitzpatrick at Chicago. They were determined that there would be no further splitting on their part.

The majority failed to understand the united front. They failed to perceive that there must inevitably come a time when splits are necessary, especially when dealing with leaders. Some of them will go a short distance with us, others quite far. But on the path of revolution there inevitably comes a time when even the most sympathetic must make the choice between going forward with us or backward into the camp of the reactionaries. Failure to estimate the decisive moment is frequently fatal.

So anxious were the majority to maintain unity with the leaders that they completely forgot the masses on the outside. So depressed were they after the Chicago convention that they made no serious effort to consolidate the brilliant victory of our party at that convention by building up the federated farmer-labor party. When, a short time after the convention at Chicago, Comrades Ruthenberg, Pepper and the present minority advocated taking energetic steps toward building the federated, as a mass movement thru which we could wield

influence as a Communist vanguard and bring thousands upon thousands of workers under our influence, we were bitterly opposed by the Foster-Cannon group.

It is precisely this policy of trading with leaders, of yielding to their demands, of failure properly to apply the united front that did dominate and still dominates the majority's conception of this tactic in relation to the labor party movement. Since, in their labor party tactics, they never attempted to build the united front from the bottom, they imagine it cannot be achieved. That is why they visualize any movement for a farmer-labor party as the united front "from the top."

But because they themselves failed to carry out the united front from below is no good reason why they should accuse the Marxian group in the party of inability to apply this tactic correctly.

Error Still Prevails.

Because, in this election, the leaders of labor were able to swing the farmer-labor movement behind LaFollette the majority then proclaims to the world that LaFollette has swallowed the whole farmer-labor party movement. Again they see the actions of the leaders and fail to perceive the movement of the masses. Since the leaders went into the LaFollette camp the majority asserts that the movement has been annihilated, or that it will rest for a long time content with LaFollette, altho admitting in their thesis that industrial depression, which forms the economic basis for such movements, will intensify in the near future.

Here is revealed a faith in the ability of leaders to control whole movements that is appalling. The majority actually believes in the ability of leaders to divert the labor movement into channels at variance with the economic conditions in which it functions. The leaders have misled the workers into the LaFollette camp where they have been swallowed. This is proclaimed in the thesis of the majority. It is defended in their polemics.

In their thesis they assert that "1925 holds the prospect of repeating the experiences of 1920-21, when 6,000,000 workers were unemployed."

Majority Leninism.

The majority pays lip service to Leninism; always admonishing the members to Bolshevize the party. Yet the essence of Leninism is realism in a given situation. Every Marxist (and therefore, every Leninist) knows that periods of industrial crises furnish the bases for the rise of working class political parties. We know that the workers, no longer able to achieve victories thru their trade unions, turn to parliamentary action, so long as they are under bourgeois-democratic illusions. This has been and is the case in every capitalist country in the world. Yet the majority, admitting also that vast masses of farmers and workers did break away from the two old parties because of the prevailing economic conditions, claims that the workers will not in the future react to those conditions as they have in the past. No longer will a given economic condition produce a given reflex, but something entirely different.

And all this just because LaFollette has swallowed the whole movement! In such a conception of historical movements there is not a scintilla of Marxism. With what withering scorn did Marx exhort those participants in the February action of 1848 in Germany who explained their failure on the grounds that leaders had betrayed them. The important task is discovering how the betrayal was possible.

The political immaturity of the masses, the recent emerging of the United States from a predominantly agricultural country to a condition where the majority of the population are wage workers in industry, the weight of traditions of the past, the utter confusion between the third party movement and the labor party movement all are ignored or minimized. The workers fell for LaFollette and there they will remain.

The bete noire, the malignant monster, that has stifled the farmer-labor movement is LaFollette. This conception on the part of the majority is not accidental, nor is it new in their "theoretical" arsenal. It is the same erroneous notion that attributes the failure of the revolution in central Europe solely to the treachery of the leaders, while ignoring other fac-

tors, especially the war-exhaustion of the masses. So also is it part and parcel of that delusion that the pathetic condition of the American labor movement can be attributed to Daniel DeLeon's dual unionism. It is an individualistic non-Marxism conception of historical movements.

The Task of Leadership. In such a situation as the present we have the real test of leadership. Are we, as Communists, going to stand aside and permit the same elements that led the workers into the LaFollette movement to maintain control over them? Shall we surrender the leadership for a class party of labor exclusively to them?

Here the Foster-Cannon group demagogically bellows: "There is already a class labor party—the Workers (Communist) Party."

Of course, we are a class party. We are the revolutionary party of the working class in this country, the party that must eventually secure leadership of the masses and lead them to the final assault against capitalism. But that does not mean there cannot also be a labor party composed of groups of workers that can be stamped as a distinctly class party. On a local scale the Buffalo labor party was such a party. Can anyone deny that it was a class party? Also did not our party function more effectively within it than ever before? No honest person can deny that! And our relation to that party was the same as our relation ought to be to a class farmer-labor party—we were the vanguard.

If the movement to revive the Buffalo labor-party now exists, can anyone claim that it is not our duty to try to accelerate it? If the question comes up again should our comrades in the central labor council arise and invite the affiliated unions to join the Workers Party? To state the question is to realize its absurdity. That party was based upon trade unions; a group organization composed of members of the working class. Our party is a Communist Party based upon individual membership of those who accept our principles and program.

Thruout the nation there are many symptoms of breaks within the LaFollette movement. Many farmer-labor groups claim that LaFollette has hindered rather than helped them and they are preparing for a break. If any appreciable number of such organizations break away, should not we, as the vanguard of the working class, endeavor to galvanize them into a class labor party? Must we not, as a matter of Communist strategy, help them break?

To claim that just because they stand for a class labor-party they can also be brought into the Communist movement is absurd. They still suffer from a blind faith in the efficacy of parliamentary action; they still believe the capitalist state an instrument thru which they can achieve their aims. It is our mission to dispel these illusions. How are we to proceed about this task?

In their arguments the majority asserts that we will achieve this by participating exclusively in the various other applications of the united front and wait for the mass movement of the workers toward the farmer-labor party to develop. In plain words we must wait until such a party is actually in process of formation, then we will take our places at the head of the procession and solemnly assure them we are their leaders—the vanguard. Surely we would presume too much if we expected them to take our attitude seriously on such an occasion. Should we tell them we were waiting for them to discover the error of their way they would laugh at us. Yet that is the wonderful strategy of the majority. What a pitiable, a puerile conception of Communism!

The function of a Marxian, a Leninist, leadership is to carefully analyze economic conditions and be able to anticipate the movement of the masses in response to these conditions. Not to wait until the movement has developed spontaneously, but to understand its direction and endeavor to develop it along lines favorable to the revolutionary movement.

In the present controversy the minority can rest assured that history is on our side and that the forces that are now developing in the womb of social forces in this country, will furnish the final refutation of the Foster-Cannon illusion, just as surely as the comet justified the contentions of the astronomers against the pope of Rome.

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Thruout the nation there are many symptoms of breaks within the LaFollette movement. Many farmer-labor groups claim that LaFollette has hindered rather than helped them and they are preparing for a break. If any appreciable number of such organizations break away, should not we, as the vanguard of the working class, endeavor to galvanize them into a class labor party? Must we not, as a matter of Communist strategy, help them break?

To claim that just because they stand for a class labor-party they can also be brought into the Communist movement is absurd. They still suffer from a blind faith in the efficacy of parliamentary action; they still believe the capitalist state an instrument thru which they can achieve their aims. It is our mission to dispel these illusions. How are we to proceed about this task?

In their arguments the majority asserts that we will achieve this by participating exclusively in the various other applications of the united front and wait for the mass movement of the workers toward the farmer-labor party to develop. In plain words we must wait until such a party is actually in process of formation, then we will take our places at the head of the procession and solemnly assure them we are their leaders—the vanguard. Surely we would presume too much if we expected them to take our attitude seriously on such an occasion. Should we tell them we were waiting for them to discover the error of their way they would laugh at us. Yet that is the wonderful strategy of the majority. What a pitiable, a puerile conception of Communism!

The function of a Marxian, a Leninist, leadership is to carefully analyze economic conditions and be able to anticipate the movement of the masses in response to these conditions. Not to wait until the movement has developed spontaneously, but to understand its direction and endeavor to develop it along lines favorable to the revolutionary movement.

In the present controversy the minority can rest assured that history is on our side and that the forces that are now developing in the womb of social forces in this country, will furnish the final refutation of the Foster-Cannon illusion, just as surely as the comet justified the contentions of the astronomers against the pope of Rome.

SAY RIGA—AND WE DOUBT!

Riga is in Latvia. It is here that we find one of the first outposts of the whites, the counter-revolutionaries who await the overthrow of Soviet Russia like a pack of hungry wolves.

It is the whites that inspire news dispatches that come from Riga. And so again, the other day, a Riga dispatch told us that the Soviet is alarmed at the Russian situation, that hard times and discontent may cause revolt.

It's quite fortunate that we have the DAILY WORKER, isn't it? It gives us the truth about our side in this struggle for mastery of the world. You wouldn't want to lose the DAILY WORKER, would you? You'd like to make it safe, surely? Then buy your INSURANCE POLICY and

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

The World of Labor • Industry & Agriculture

FIND COMMUNIST LITERATURE AND ARREST 21 I. W. W.

Leaflet Was Issued by Workers Party

(Special to The Daily Worker)
SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 15.—Receiving complaints that "school children were being urged to join the Communist International," thru the spreading of literature in the public schools, the police swooped down on the I. W. W. hall here and arrested 21 I. W. W. members.

They were charged with "vagrancy" and their bail was fixed at \$1,000.

Leaflet Denounces Profit System.
 Newspapers have been carrying eight-column front page headlines declaring that "Reds Invade San Francisco schools." "The extent of the Soviet plot against which authorities are fighting is indicated by the fact that an organization called the 'Young Workers' League' has been formed among school children" says the San Francisco Chronicle. This news has shoved President Coolidge off the front page.

The police here were angered that the Communists would dare to distribute literature denouncing the profit system and praising a government run by workers and farmers. They smashed in the doors of the Marine Transport Workers hall in spite of the fact that the I. W. W. had nothing to do with the distribution of the Communist "anti-Coolidge education week" program, and arrested 21 men who did not know what it was all about.

"The I. W. W. is trying to make the public schools a training school for their organization," said one of the school officials here. The police objected particularly to the fact that telegraph poles around the schools, according to their version, were plastered with posters advertising that "Mother Bloor" was going to speak on "How boys and girls of Russia live." The police were also incensed that Miss E. Bassi, was going to speak. Miss Bassi, it is admitted by the Mission High school dean, Miss Ada Goldsmith, is the star debater of the high school debating team.

The police, in a statement widely quoted thruout the Pacific coast, declare, "A plot for the spreading of Communism among the thousands of high school students in this city has been under investigation for weeks. There is an insidious campaign of

HIGHER FOOD COSTS SHOW WHERE MONEY IN PAY ENVELOPE GOES

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.—Wholesale prices of commodities averaged one-half of one per cent higher in November than in October, the department of labor announced today. They were higher than in November last year.

Food articles in November were 1 1/2 per cent higher, due to increases in butter, coffee, eggs, our and vegetable oils. Clothing materials, metals and chemicals and drugs also averaged more than 1 per cent higher than in October, while in the group of miscellaneous commodities, including such important articles as cattle feed, leather, wood pulp and wrapping paper, prices were 2 1/2 per cent higher.

handbills, posters and mass meetings, Searched Red literature has been found among school pupils.

Charge is "Vagrancy."
 The 21 I. W. W. members, charged with "vagrancy," will be lined up before a committee of teachers from Mission, Galilee and other high schools "in an effort to identify the Reds who have been peddling anti-American handbills to school children." What this matter has to do with vagrancy the police did not say.

The leaflet which angered the police was issued by the Workers Party of America. Among the paragraphs objected to were the following, "Workers of the United States, do not permit Coolidge's American Education Week to fool you into believing that the constitution and American government exist to give you life, liberty, security and opportunity. They exist to make secure the right of the capitalists to exploit you and amass enormous fortunes out of your labor."

"The form of the workers government is not the form of the American constitution. The workers can rule only thru creating their own organ of government. The Soviet or workers' councils."

The constitution stands for the rule of the capitalists, the Soviets stand for the rule of the workers—forward to the Soviets."

Miss Goldsmith kept her pupil Miss Bassi away from the meeting she was to address, it was learned later.

The police raids were made at the instance of Superintendent of Schools, Joseph M. Gwinn, the McAndrew of San Francisco.

The raiders damaged the headquarters of the Marine Transport Workers' Union, located at 84 E. Barbadero.

British Pay \$91,000,000.
LONDON, Dec. 15.—Great Britain prepared today to make a payment of \$91,000,000 to the United States as an installment on the four billion war debt.

'COME OUT OF THE KITCHEN' RUSSIA CALLS TO WOMEN

Chain Restaurants Take Cities Like Wildfire

By ANISE.
 (Special to The Daily Worker)

KIEV, Nov. 20.—(By Mail)—I had dinner yesterday at a narpiet, it cost me 17 1/2 cents and it was a good dinner. Borscht, a nourishing cabbage soup with meat, then round beef balls, with kasha, carrots and cabbage. All the bread I could eat thrown in.

And what is a narpiet? It is a government owned chain restaurant, which is attempting boldly to compete with home cooking and so to ransom women from drudgery in the very inconvenient kitchens of Russia. The literal translation of its name means people's eating. There are hundreds of them already, sweeping like wildfire thru the Soviet Republic.

I saw the sign over an entrance to a court on the main street of Kiev. Back thru the court, up half a flight of stairs, I came to it—a large, light room well filled with people. Working people, most of them, from the obvious looks of them. Tables covered with white cloths, and again with white paper.

Lenin Quotations on Wall.

As I was eating I looked up at the signs on the wall. "Every new general dining room is another argument for the social revolution," a quotation from Trotsky. And beside it these words from Lenin: "Housework is the most unproductive and primitive work which woman can do."

It was evident that this narpiet was founded on some general principle, so I went back to the director to ask about it. "Yes" he said, "we plan to compete with the home, so that the man and wife and his whole family will find it easier to eat with us. At present many women who are working must come home and work for hours in the evening. In many other families, they eat only cold food all the time because of this."

"Well Fed Workers" Is Aim.

"Our first aim," said the manager of narpiet, "is to feed workers so that they shall be well fed and contented. Our next aim is to make it cheap. We get low taxes and low rents from the government, and cut our price so that it just covers cost of materials and wages, with a little over for upkeep and improvements. In this restaurant we feed 500 people a day; but we have only been running for three months. In England there are restaurants that feed thousands a day, but Russian workers are not used to eating in public eating places.

There are now ten narpiets in Kiev and two tea houses, in many parts of the city."

"But," I protested, "you're marked Dining-Room No. 1 on the sign, and you have only been running three months."

"Yes," he replied, "the others started only two months or even one month ago. We shall open several more this coming month." He explained that they did not take profits from one restaurant to open another, as this would make prices too high and unpopular. They got new capital for each restaurant.

Meals 15c at Factory Narpiets.

"The workers all over town are asking for them," he said, and when I asked for a list of the various narpiets, I found it was indeed a survey of the working life of Kiev. There was one at the Red Arsenal, and one at the electric station, and one near the Telegraphers' Club, and one at the Bolshevik steel factory, and one at the Lenin iron works, and one at the Red Army barracks, and one near a big shoe factory, and one at the Communist club. There was also one near the famous big bridge which was destroyed by the Polish invasion and is now being rebuilt; this narpiet serves the bridge workers. The two tea-houses in the center of town cater to office workers, serving tea, coffee, cocoa, pastry, cold meats and various lighter dishes.

"A new narpiet starts in this way: The workers of some factory send a delegation saying that it is hard to go home for dinner and that they want a narpiet. If there is a room available in the factory itself, this is given to us free of rent. Very little capital is needed; this is subscribed by different government trusts and departments and unions. The meals in the factories cost only 15 cents, because we have no rent to pay."

"We intend to expand" he concluded, "to serve all the working class districts. In Russia they have had narpiets for a year now, but they have only begun in the Ukraine. They are going like wildfire."

PITTSBURGH, PA.
DR. RASNICK

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

Your Union Meeting

THIRD TUESDAY, DEC. 16, 1924.

- Name of Local and Place of Meeting.
- No. 21 Bricklayers, 912 W. Monroe St.
 - 58 Carpenters, Diversey and Sheffield.
 - 141 Carpenters, 1023 E. 75th St.
 - 272 Carpenters, Moose Hall, Chicago Heights.
 - 1785 Carpenters, Springfield and 26th.
 - 402 Engineers, 180 W. Washington St.
 - 535 Firemen and Engineers, 543 S. Halsted St.
 - 542 Federal Employees, Great Northern Hotel.
 - Glove Workers' Joint Council, 1710 N. Winchester Ave., 5:30 p. m.
 - 5 Hod Carriers, 225 E. 15th St., Chicago Heights, Ill.
 - 6 Hod Carriers, 814 W. Harrison St.
 - 81 Ladies' Garment Workers, 528 W. Van Buren St.
 - Marine Fire and Oilers, 357 N. N. Clark.
 - 147 Painters, 20 W. Randolph St.
 - 180 Painters, N. E. cor. California and Adams St.
 - 184 Painters, 6414 S. Halsted St.
 - 191 Painters, N. W. cor. State and 65th.
 - 275 Painters, 220 W. Oak St.
 - 521 Painters, Trumbull and Ogden Ave.
 - 502 Plasterers, Monroe and Randolph Sts.
 - 4 Printers and Die Stamps, 19 W. Adams St.
 - 724 Railway Carmen, 75th and Drexel Ave.
 - 1047 Railway Clerks, 9 S. Clinton St.
 - 2219 Railway Clerks, 509 W. Washington.
 - 705 Teamsters, 155 N. State St.
 - 7 Walters, 234 W. Randolph St.
 - 111 Upholsterers Union, 180 W. Washington St.
 - 59 Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Kedzie and Ogden.
 - 182 Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 1534 N. Robey St.

(Note: Unless otherwise stated, all meetings are at 8 p. m.)

'ZINOVIEV' NOTE FORGERY, SAYS UNION CHIEFS

Express Satisfaction with Soviet Progress

(Special to The Daily Worker)

LONDON, December 15.—The Trade Union Congress delegation to Russia in a telegram to the Daily Herald brands the "Zinoviev letter" a forgery. The message declares that the delegation was allowed to look over the confidential files of the Communist International. It reads as follows:

"The British delegation has had striking evidence of the bad impression produced by the arrogant tone of the British notes on official and public opinion in Russia.

"It is looked on here as an attempt to prevent any further impartial inquiry into the evidence of the authenticity of the Zinoviev letter, such as is justifiably desired by Russia.

"The delegation has gone into the matter with Zinoviev. He maintained strongly that the letter was a forgery, and actually placed at its disposal the confidential records of the Communist International.

"The delegation is bringing home the full results of its detailed investigations.

A Palpable Forgery.

"As a result, the delegation is absolutely satisfied that the document is a forgery, that no evidence of the contrary can be produced, and that the refusal of the Russian offer of arbitration can only be explained on that ground.

"The delegation is convinced from conversations with prominent members of the Russian government, that unless an impartial inquiry is accepted the conservative government will stand condemned in the eyes of all Russia as having used a forged document for party purposes.

Wants Good Relations.

"These conversations have also satisfied the delegation that the earnest desire of the Russian government for good relations with Great Britain would of itself preclude the possibility of any such aggressive action in the circumstances by the Communist International.

"Signed: John Bromley, Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; Allan Findlay, Patternmakers; Ben Tillet, Transport and General Workers; John Turner, Shop Assistants; Herbert Smith, Miners' Federation of Great Britain; A. A. Purcell, chairman of the delegation, and ex-chairman of the T. U. C.; Fred Bramley, secretary, Secretary to the General Council to the T. U. C."

Great Improvement.

The British delegates in letters to friends in this country express great enthusiasm over the improving conditions of the workers in Russia. While the Soviet government is making strenuous efforts to improve the workers' and peasants' standard of living, the Tory government in England is threatening to make an assault on the trade unions by reviving the old law which held the unions responsible for the acts of individuals.

News that an Anglo-Russian committee for world trade union unity has been set up, is received with rejoicing in labor circles thruout England. The British delegates made it quite clear that they were out for real unity and would oppose placing any obstacles in the way of a united front of world labor to fight capitalism.

Subscribe for "Your Daily," the DAILY WORKER.

How We Live and Work

Editor's Note:—This paper is printed for the workers, poor farmers and those who work and sweat under the present system of society. It is a paper of the workers, by the workers and for the workers. We want to reach every corner of this country where labor is being exploited for private gains, for profit. We want the workers and farmers all over the country to read the DAILY WORKER. In order to make it more interesting and be able better to reflect the life of the wide laboring masses, WE WANT OUR READERS TO WRITE TO US. This new department "HOW WE LIVE AND WORK" will appear as often as there will be sufficient letters from our readers about the life and working conditions under which our masses struggle. Try to make the letters interesting bringing out facts which may not be known to workers in other sections of the country. Try to make them short and to the point.

How They Put "Cal" Over.

To the DAILY WORKER: We, workers of the steel mills, are already beginning to feel the effect of the election of "Silent Cal Coolidge," but not as the press of big business says. We are not getting more work or more money, but we are getting laid off in hundreds or being put on slack time more than before the election. About two weeks before the balloting took place, there came a great rush of work in the mills here, and they started hiring to beat the band. In one section alone they hired from two to three hundred men between the three shifts which they work in that section.

Told Must Vote for "Cal."

A few days after these men had started, a meeting was called. It was supposed to be a safety first meeting, but in reality it was a political one. One speaker got up and gave the usual line of bull about "Silent Cal" and attacked the "reds." Of course Foster came in for a good bit of it, but the climax came when when the general manager got up and stated quite plainly that if the men wanted to work in that mill they had better vote for "Cal." He stated that the mill would shut down if any of the other candidates got in but that there would be work for all and some to spare if Coolidge got in.

Well, Coolidge got in, but did we have the promised work? No. A great change came over that place. Everything went slow, furnaces were shut down and the second day after the election the foreman called all the men together and told them that he would have to lay off all the new men, the reason given was that they had not produced good work and that the company had lost a bunch of orders three bad work. None of these new men were on jobs where they could have done bad work. That part of the work left to the older men, some with twenty-five and thirty years experience. The new men were loading cars and doing all kinds of laboring work, so that shows how foolish their excuse was.

Cut in Wages Certain Jan. 1.

There is a lot of talk here that the company is going to cut down the wages at the beginning of the new year which to me seems very probable, owing to a statement made by the superintendent at another safety meeting that they had orders, but were waiting developments which were to take place at the beginning of the new year. He also told the new men to come around at that time as he may need them. These two statements make it look very probable that there will be a reduction in wages. The fact that he will have a bunch of men outside the gates ready in case some of the slaves will kick over the traces will help them to do as they please.

After making the above statements a great appeal was made to us to be willing and obedient workers. While we are in the mills we should put out every ounce of energy for the sake of the company. That they were our great benefactors. Some benefactors—workers have been taking home \$12.00 a week for last three months, previous to the gigantic bluff which they pulled off just before.

Slave for Bare Existence

There are about twenty young men working here who fought in the "War to End War" and now they have to fight for food and clothes for their wives for children as I don't believe they can live on what they get here. These men are doing the work of three. In one section (The Mine Life Section) there used to be 15 men working. Now there are only six and these men are forced to do the same amount of work as the full crew used to do. Of course if you don't do it they tell you to get out, as they could get somebody who could do it, and they keep the men scared with this threat of throwing them out of work.

Worker Maimed and Thrown Out

Another thing that goes to prove that their idea of safety is all bunk. One of the workers had cut his fingers very badly. He had to attend the company hospital for treatment. He was allowed to go from his place of work. The rule is that no worker

shall lose any time with an injury unless he is almost dead. Well the worker had just come back from getting his fingers treated, when the foreman ordered him to go into a box car and load splice bars, each load weighs about twenty pounds. The worker refused to do this as the load was too heavy for his fingers. He could lift nothing with his sore hand. The foreman reported him to the superintendent, who fired him straight away.

Doctors Work for Company.

The worker went to get the doctors' word to prove that he was not fit for that work, but he was not quick enough, the phone had been at work before he got there. He was told by the doctors that his hand was fit and that he had been declared off the hospital books that morning, despite the fact that they had told him that morning to be sure to report every morning for the next week. That man has been thrown out on the streets with a ruined hand which will take three months in the least to set, that is, if nothing else set in. Besides a doctor bill of about \$200.00. I do not know whether he is married or not, but then if he is, God (?) will take care of his wife and children. It is a common thing to see men get fired here and not know what for.

Wounded Must Work

The sight of the parade of injured that go into the works every morning is the most cruel sight that one could wish to see. Men who should be at home resting their injuries have to struggle into work to lay around for eight hours doing nothing with no rest for their bodies, just so there won't be any lost time cases in the mill. I have seen an ambulance car go for men who live a good distance away to fetch them to work, that is the reason why the accident lists of the steel works are so low. They try to make use of that for anti-union propaganda. We get figures given to us every week, of how many deaths and accidents took place when it was un-ionized and how many there is now. You no doubt will guess that the union record will win, the that the union had to do with their accident list: I have yet to find out. I believe that if we could only get the correct figures for now and twenty years ago there would not be much difference in the toll of workers lives going to make the profits for the parasite class. Here is hoping we will soon get a real workers' government.

PARIS, Dec. 15.—Henry Blackmer,

of Denver, Colo., said today that he had not as yet received official notification from Washington that he was wanted to testify in the Teapot Dome oil lease case.

OUR DAILY PATTERNS

POPULAR WITH NEW FEATURES

A "SMART" COAT FOR THE GROWING GIRL



4961. This is a good model for satin, faille, and flannel as well as for figured crepe or serge. The collar is convertible.

This pattern is cut in six sizes: 34, 36, 38, 40, 42 and 44 inches bust measure. A 38-inch size requires 8 3/4 yards of 44-inch material. For collar and cuffs of contrasting material 3/4 yard is required. The width at the foot is 1 1/2 yards.

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 1924-1925 BOOK OF FASHIONS.



4971. Homespun, velours, "Teddy Bear" or fleece coatings could be used for this style. It is also attractive in velvet and other pile fabrics. The collar may be closed high at the neck edge, or, rolled open as shown in the small view.

This pattern is cut in four sizes: 8, 10, 12 and 14 years. A 12-year size requires 2 3/4 yards of 40-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 1924-1925 BOOK OF FASHIONS.

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!



THE DAILY WORKER

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J. LOUIS ENGBAHL (Editor) WILLIAM F. DUNNE (Business Manager) MORITZ J. LOEB (Business Manager)

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Advertising rates on application

Gompers' Successor

The capitalist and reformist press is greatly exercised over the choice of a successor to Gompers, but we Communists are not so interested in the individual who will step into the dead man's shoes, as we are in the fact that, whoever he may be, he will continue the policy of class collaboration and servility to imperialism that makes of the A. F. of L. machine the most reactionary combination with a labor label in the whole world.

There is not a single official among those from whom the next president of the American Federation of Labor will come but that is as wholly reactionary as Gompers was. There is not a single member of the official family that does not worship at the shrine of American capitalism, not a single one that is not against the doctrine of class struggle, not a single one that is not as devoted an upholder of the existing order as Gary or Rockefeller.

From this precious crew the workers of America can hope for nothing but betrayal—betrayal studied and constant. The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor has embarked upon a conscious policy of imperialist activity that expands in proportion to the aggressions of the American ruling class.

The American labor movement was left by Gompers at the bottom of the pit. It can sing no lower but it will continue to play the role of watchdog for American imperialism at home and in the subjugated nations. There is no successor to Gompers that will make the slightest effort to change this role.

The only result that may come from a change in individual leadership is that internal rivalries and dissensions, a struggle for power among the bureaucrats, may disrupt the official machinery and make it less efficient. There may set in a process of decay that the aged but firm hand of Gompers was able to check.

The tendency in the American Federation of Labor is towards closer unity of the most reactionary sections internally and internationally towards unity with other reactionary groups in the Amsterdam International. It would not be surprising therefore if the railway brotherhoods came into the A. F. of L. to consolidate behind the successor to Gompers a solid bloc of the labor aristocracy that would tend to make the A. F. of L. a more efficient instrument of imperialism.

These then are the two possibilities—a struggle for leadership that may weaken the bureaucracy or a compromise that will line up the most backward elements in the organized labor movement.

The latter is the more probable because American imperialism needs the A. F. of L. to block the rise of a fighting labor movement.

The task of the left wing organized around the Workers (Communist) Party will not be changed by a change of leadership of the trade unions. Its task of breaking the grip of reaction on the organized workers may be made easier by a weak successor to Gompers, but back of him, whoever he may be, there will stand the full power of American capitalism.

The Capitalist Assassins

The attempt to assassinate Leonid Krassin, Soviet ambassador to France, was dismissed by the capitalist press with very scanty notice. But the news that filtered into the papers from Paris sought to justify the act of the would-be murderer by mixing the news of the attempted assassination with a hash of atrocity yarns supposed to have been seen by the female killer. A similar effort was made to justify the dope fiend who murdered Comrade Voritsky in Switzerland.

While the capitalist press indulged in an orgy of big headlines over the imaginary "red plots" that convulsed the panicky French bourgeoisie, and pointed out the coincidence of these "plots" with the arrival of the Soviet envoy, dismissed the assassination plot, a very real thing, as a matter of no importance. It did not happen to suit their main purpose, which is defaming Soviet Russia.

The capitalists will never let up in their fight against Soviet Russia. The workers' republic stands as a perpetual challenge to the dark forces of capitalism. They try mass force and they try starvation and the boycott. They are not beyond using the assassin's dagger and the bullet.

But all their attempts will fail. Behind the Soviet government there is the immense power of the millions of workers and peasants while within each capitalist nation there are in reality two nations, the capitalists on one side and the workers on the other. It is this fact that stands like a dreaded ghost over the couch of the bourgeoisie. It is this fact that is responsible for their panic, which manifests itself in "red fables" and assassination plots against the leaders of the workers' revolution all over the world.

Proud of Their Treachery

Fritz Ebert, socialist president of capitalist Germany, is growing offensive to the monarchist and extreme nationalist elements of that country, now that they are somewhat less nervous over the inner political situation than they were at any time since the defeat of the imperial armies on the western front in 1918 sent the kaiser on an extended pilgrimage to Holland.

In justice to Ebert, it must be said that he has done his level best to serve his masters and it must also be admitted that he pulled out of a nasty hole when he and his party prevented the German workers from following in the footsteps of their Russian comrades and erecting a Soviet Republic on the ruins of capitalism in 1918. But the big capitalists and landowners of Germany, like their prototypes in England, do not consider gratitude a servicable virtue. Ebert having, in their opinion at least, outlived his usefulness as a decoy duck with which to deceive the masses, they decided to confer the order of the boot on him.

The monarchists charge the socialists with having aided the munition strikes in 1918 and thus helping to defeat the German armies. To this charge Ebert and Scheidemann enter vigorous denial, offering proof that the executive committee of the social-democratic party refused to support the munitions workers' strike and urged them to obey the conscription laws. In order to completely knock out the monarchist charges, Ebert read a letter from Von Hindenburg, praising the socialists for their services to the kaiser during the war.

After reading the letter, Ebert leaned back with a satisfied smile on his greasy countenance. In the face of such a recommendation from the leader of the German armies during a period of the war, what more could be said in the way of testimony to the loyalty of the yellow socialists to the German plunderbund and their treachery to the German working class?

And it is because Ebert is showing his true face more and more to the workers as their enemy that his usefulness to the big capitalists is decreased. The evidence that may acquit him of the charge of treason to the German government during the war, will automatically convict him of treason to the German working class.

Democracy at Its Best

Those who glorify American pure democracy usually do so with considerable volume of speech. Nearly every effort made by these defenders of the most notorious fraud in existence aims to hide the real character of our employing class dictatorship behind a smoke screen of meaningless abstractions.

The loyal lackeys of our capitalist system are especially vociferous in their praise of the extension of American democracy as a civilizing force among the so-called backward colonial peoples.

We have in mind a genuine manifestation of the kind of democracy our ruling class transports to the economically weaker lands. We have in mind the last election in Porto Rico. American sugar interests and Yankee tobacco interests have for many years been raising havoc with the will of the mass of Porto Ricans. Even the slightest pretense at liberalism in politics was bitterly fought by our capitalist group. The matter has now assumed a character which is forcing the Porto Ricans, even the meekest of them, to protest vehemently.

In Washington, the headquarters of our bosses' democracy, the Porto Ricans have established a protest committee. These Porto Ricans are still illudged as to the place where they can get help for their national freedom. Their statement characterizes the last election in Porto Rico as reeking with "fraud, violence, corruption and wholesale robbery." These elections held on November 4 are branded as "the greatest outrage upon American citizenship ever committed."

Washington is the last place on earth where these wrongs will be righted. Washington is the city where all the criminals who perpetrated the ghastly crimes against the Porto Rican masses draw their inspiration. If the Porto Ricans ever hope to win national freedom they will have to fight to the bitter end against those who dominate Washington. They will have to ally themselves with the working and poor farming masses of this country who are fighting the very same enemy.

The sham of American democracy is a menace to the workers at home as well as the masses abroad.

Insuring "The Daily"

Comrade Alfred Wagenknecht, who is on tour for The DAILY WORKER campaign to raise funds so that it can be developed into a bigger and better paper in 1925, is meeting with success. At a meeting of Workers Party locals in Youngstown, Ohio, representing a membership of 308, one thousand dollars was pledged and this money is to be paid to the DAILY WORKER within thirty days.

This enthusiasm for our daily is typical. From every section of the country our members are rallying in a most satisfactory manner to the call of the Central Executive Committee to make the DAILY WORKER campaign the first order of business at all Workers Party meetings. The increase in circulation made by the first Communist daily in the English language since it was founded and particularly during the election campaign, is a healthy sign and proves that with more effort our paper can become a tremendous weapon for bringing the message of Communism to the masses. It is the best weapon in our arsenal for making contact with the masses. Get behind it.

Get a member for the Workers Party and a new subscription for the DAILY WORKER.

Organize the Party

By Wm. Z. Foster

In these days of intense party discussion on the theses of the C. E. C. and the minority we must not overlook the important task of building our organization. On the contrary, we should take advantage of the situation by bringing to the forefront the necessity of bending every effort towards building the Workers Party in a mass Communist party. The task of getting new members should be one that is never lost sight of.

In the program of action, which was adopted unanimously by the C. E. C. several months ago, and printed in pamphlet form, one of the most important items was exactly this: strengthening of our party membership. The program of action proposed that in every unit of the party there

should be membership committees created. This was intended to be taken seriously by our party and it should be put into effect everywhere. Up to date, however, most of the branches have not given this vital matter the attention that it deserves.

Another principle of the program of action was that the mere creation of committees to carry out certain functions, such as membership committees to get members, was not sufficient. These committees had to be made to function. Hence, at every branch meeting a call should be made upon the membership committee to make a report of its activities. In case the committee does not function liver elements should be injected into it. Under no circumstances should it be allowed to degenerate into a paper organization. The life of such committees depends upon demands being made upon them for results.

The Communist International has emphasized time and again that the great task before the Workers Party is to build itself into a mass Communist party. The Workers Party fully aware of this necessity, has likewise repeatedly urged the members to give this matter of getting new members more consideration. One of the leading points to be borne in mind in the membership campaign is to utilize all our party movements around the various slogans for the securing of new members for the Workers Party. It is not enough simply to advocate class political action, amalgamation, organization and relief for the unemployed and the other various campaigns of the Workers Party. The very essence of these is that they shall be utilized for the building of the Workers Party. If we fail to use them for this purpose, we fall in our Communist duty. We must build our membership. An

increased strength to the party means greater power in every direction. And the material is at hand for us to do this building. There are large numbers of close sympathizers who should be brought into our party, there are many former members who have allowed themselves to drop out for various reasons. The available elements amongst these should be brought into the party. Every worker has a circle of friends. He should carry out a systematic campaign to bring them to our party. Our slogan should be "Every Member Get a Member." Just a little activity in this direction by the masses of the rank and file will mean a tremendous strengthening of the Workers Party in every direction. Let us therefore put on the first order of business in all our activities the constant and systematic building up of the Workers Party into a mass Communist party.

CAL SCHEMES TO FORESTALL VOTE ON POSTAL RAISE

Higher Rates for 2nd Class Mail Subterfuge

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 15.—President Coolidge is working hard to prevent a vote recurring in the senate on the bill providing pay increases for postal employes, which he vetoed. It is known that the vetoed bill is likely to pass over Coolidge's veto, and in order to forestall a vote, Coolidge held a conference with two favorable senators.

New Takes Fight Out of Senate.

Postmaster General New is trying to rescue Coolidge from this political pitfall by advocating advances in postal rates on second class mail. The newspapers of the country are protesting against this increase, however, and it is hoped by Coolidge backers to keep the discussion going until it is too late to take a vote.

Coolidge told the senators that he fears another attempt will be made to arrange a date for voting on the bill increasing the postal employes' salaries. Coolidge is not going to raise their pay if he can help it.

Senators Reed of Missouri and Dill of Washington blocked an attempt to postpone vote on the bill until January 8, charging it was "subterfuge attempting to prevent the senate from overriding the president's veto."

150,000 Workers in New York Lose Jobs Since October, 1923

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 15.—About 150,000 workers who were on the payrolls of factories in New York state in October 1923 are on the streets looking for work today, according to the November employment report of industrial commissioner, Shientag. His report shows that changes in employment since September have been merely seasonal with no effective break in the depression which hit wage earners in the spring.

Shientag's statement contains a chart which shows that this employment slump which reached the low point in July and August was far more serious than has generally been admitted by the capitalist press. The line falls rapidly from a level nearly 3 per cent above the average of 1923 to a level more than 15 per cent below that average. This represents a 12-month decline of about 17 1/2 per cent.

Factory employment in New York state, says Shientag, showed practically no change in volume from October to November. The usual seasonal decreases in some lines tended to effect improvements in textiles, wood manufacture and some metals.

Changes of importance noted in the report are increase of 1,500 employed by railroad equipment manufacturers; reporting to the commissioner; gains of several hundred workers in both textile and furniture industries; addition of 1,900 in the last two months to the forces employed by steel mills in the vicinity of Buffalo; decrease of 1,500 in sugar factories; and layoffs in the clothing industry including more than 1,000 workers in the women's garment trades.

British Miners Defend 7-Hour Day.

LONDON.—Not a chance in the world of getting the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to give up the 8-hour day, declares Gen. Secy. A. J. Cook. Before the employers can restore the 8-hour day there will be the fiercest strike in the history of British mining, Cook promises. When the contract expires in June 1925 the miners will demand continuance of the 7-hour day with increased wages.

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

GOVERNMENT IS URGED TO DEPORT LASSEN, HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST, TO DIE AT HANDS OF HORTHY

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK, Dec. 15.—The United States government, which recently made a loan to the Horthy fascist government, is now ready to assist that government once more.

The defeat of the Hungarian proletarian revolution in 1919 was followed by a government which began a systematic campaign to root out, not only the Communists, who had led the revolution, but every working class organization. Horthy's regime has been one of blood.

The heel of the dictator—whose government is under the control of the league of nations—has been felt by every member of the working class who showed any militancy.

The Communists did not cease their activity in behalf of the oppressed workers. Many of them were shot, many sent to prison for long terms. Many of them were forced to flee from the white guards, who hounded them all over Europe. The trade unionists were persecuted: all the active workers were terrorized. The social-democrats worked openly with the government, denouncing the Communists and revolutionary workers.

Among the active workers in this period of the history of the Hungarian working class movement was John Lassen. Lassen was not a man of words alone—he was a man of deeds. As a consequence, he was forced to flee from Hungary and came to the United States. The Horthy fascist government would like to put its hands on Lassen, for since his coming here he has been active in editorial work, being editor of the UJ Elore, the Communist Hungarian paper. This paper has helped to keep the revolutionary movement alive in Hungary, at a time when all Communist and revolutionary papers were forbidden. Hence the Horthy government hates and fears Lassen. The UJ Elore has also been most effective in revolutionizing the Hungarian workers in the United States and bringing them into close touch with the Communist movement. For this reason the UJ Elore and its editor, John Lassen, are hated by the capitalist-controlled American government.

No wonder, therefore, that the American government sought an opportunity to stop Lassen's effective work both in the United States and in Hungary. Horthy would like to lay his hands on Lassen—it seems there is no friend more willing to help him in this case than the United States government. Just before the elections, Lassen wrote a poem on the significance of the ballot. Lassen is a poet known on both continents. For the content of this poem Lassen was arrested and now stands before the capitalist court charged with stirring the masses to violence. This looks like a trick of

the government, playing hand in hand with the Horthy fascist government.

The Hungarian workers in the United States know what Lassen means to the revolutionary movement of this country. This is a matter, however, that affects not only the Hungarian workers, but the WHOLE American working class. LASSEN MUST BE DEFENDED BEFORE THE CAPITALIST COURT. The American workers must demonstrate that neither the capitalist class of the United States nor the fascist dictatorship of Hungary can make a victim of John Lassen. This case must be fought thru the courts—but that will mean a large sum of money if Lassen is to be saved for further work in the labor movement. If the government succeeds in convicting Lassen, it will be easier for them in the future to intimidate and persecute the revolutionary and labor press of this country.

The workers Party calls upon all revolutionary workers and sympathizers with the militant and revolutionary labor movement of this country to assist in the defense of this comrade. Thousands of dollars will be required—hence every worker and militant in the labor movement must assist. The legal defense of Comrade Lassen is being handled by the Labor Defense Council. Send all contributions to the Labor Defense Council, New York Division, 208 E. 12th St., New York City, (or to Room 307, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.)

Skilled Workers Fill Unemployment Lines in Tacoma, Wash.

TACOMA, Wash., Dec. 15.—Unemployment has increased sharply here. An average of 500 unemployed workers seeks jobs in the city-state free employment office daily. This does not include the hundreds who wait at the gates of factories and sawmills in this town every morning. The Todd steel shipyard recently closed down, throwing nearly 1,000 skilled men out of work.

Views of Our Readers

To The DAILY WORKER:—As a worker like millions of others under the capitalist system, who go from place to place with the jobs, I was lucky enough to secure a job around Oakridge, Oregon on a construction job.

All I want to write about is something of the officials of the I. W. W., or rather the anarchists who work inside the I. W. W. whom I consider the most reactionary element in the class struggle. I do not mean to say anything about the members of the I. W. W., as they are as good as any workers anywhere. But I do dare to speak against the editor of the Industrial Worker, whom Harrison George rightly calls the "funny editor."

If you get the Industrial Worker for November 15, you will find on the first page an article entitled "Camps on the Natron were hell holes." In that it says:

"Trouble has also come because of the greed of the steam shovel men who are continually seeking overtime. These men are organized in the A. F. of L. and have what they call a basic 8-hour day, but these steam shovelers in every camp asked for overtime, and they are ones responsible for the 10-hour day on the Natron Cutoff. It was impossible to give them their overtime and not have the muckers work longer shifts. Do these steam shovel men believe in the 8-hour day?"

In this, as in other things, the editor of the Industrial Worker is lying. The trouble did not come because some of the workers have been working overtime thereby forcing other to do the same. There were not only non-union men, but members of the I. W. W. also working overtime and anxious to do so.

When I asked some of the members of the I. W. W. "Why do you go out of the camps, fellow workers, before the time?" And when I told some of them, "Come, sit down here, wait for the time to come." Then a fellow worker whose name I give here as Pete Merry, told me, "It's none of your business."

Now you can see who is acting like the A. F. of L. Yours for the Workers Party,—S. G. G.

Claim Lewis Re-Elected.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Dec. 15.—Altho the official canvass of the votes has just begun, the Lewis headquarters claims that John L. Lewis has been re-elected president of the United Mine Workers of America, together with his entire ticket. The vote is not given.

MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

ENRICO TRAMONTI, first harpist of the Chicago Symphony orchestra, made his annual appearance with the orchestra on the regular program of Dec. 12 and 13. He played a chorale and variations by Charles Marie Widor. No week ever goes by without some rusty organist in a church of God playing one of this man Widor's mediocre symphonies for organ. He is still grinding them out, but he occasionally changes the instrumentation a bit, as in this harp work. Mr. Tramonti surely could have picked something better to play.

Ferruccio Busoni died last July. As a memorial to him Mr. Stock opened this program with the Italian musician's "Berceuse Elegiaque," a lullaby sung by a man at the coffin of his mother. Busoni's treatment of the theme is quite simple and severe but conveys in a deeply affecting way the sense of the stillness and the majesty of death. The only work that comes near to it in power of expression is Rachmaninov's "Island of the Dead."

Busoni was one of the great men of the day, and his passing is greatly to be regretted. As a pianist, arranger and editor, teacher and composer his ability was preeminent. A new suite in four movements called "From Finland," by Selim Palmgren was given its first Chicago performance on this occasion. The music

as indicated by the titles of each movement, ("Spring Dreams," "Minuet in Popular Style," "Dance of the Falling Leaves," and "Sleigh Ride") is anything but the work of an over brilliant imagination. The suite might be vastly more effective if arranged for piano solo.

Music with a social significance is Alfredo Casella's Italian rhapsody which wound up the program. Casella did not take a couple of dance tunes and shove them at us as representative of his country. But he took a grim, acrid tune of the slaves who work in the sulphur mines of Sicily, a hopeless, beseeching prayer of fishermen and a pitiful little melody sung by the women who work in marble quarries near Palermo and built up an opening slow movement on them. And the rhapsody winds up with a brilliant use of the Neapolitan song "Funiculi-Funicula" and as it never has been handled before. This rhapsody is one of the big contributions of the new Italian school.

The Beethoven eighth was the symphony of the week. And that is too well known to require comment here.

Your Policy must Be Buy a Policy

HUMAN EMOTIONS.

Book Review.

"Crime, Its Biology and Psychology" by Duren J. H. Ward, is a little pamphlet which undertakes to explain the true nature of crime and the reason why crimes are committed. Ward's purpose in writing this booklet was advocating prison reforms. He argues that the criminal instead of being locked up in our present form of prisons, should be removed from the society whose laws he violated to an institution which is an organized society of its inmates and undertakes to train men how to function as citizens in an organized society. As soon as he enters this new "society" he is at once to be made a responsible participant in its civic duties and social functions.

The pamphlet insofar as it is scientific contains a valuable analysis of human instincts, their influence on behavior under normal conditions and how extreme emotions cause perversions. For instance, the instinct of feeding is expressed in chewing, the usual feeling is appetite, but the extreme emotion of that instinct is gluttony. The instinct of roving is expressed by migration, the usual feeling is wanderlust. The extreme emotion is vagabondism.

Anyone interested in psychology will find this pamphlet a handbook of useful information.