

Some Facts and Figures

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS.....BY WM. Z. FOSTER
 LATIN-AMERICA PREPARES FOR GOMPERS.....BY BERTRAM D. WOLFE
 STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.....BY A. LOSOVSKY
 THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN MINERS.....BY JACK LEE
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DECEMBER, 1924



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The Significance of the Elections Three Stages of Our Labor Party Policy

By Wm. Z. Foster

IN the months preceding the election, as the LaFollette movement was taking shape and volume, the leaders in it made the most extravagant prophesies relative to its prospects in the struggle against the two old parties. Many of these declared that LaFollette would certainly be elected. Others expected he would carry the entire West. Even the least optimistic believed he would win enough states to throw the presidential election into Congress. The country was psychologized with the idea that LaFollette would make a great sweep, even the representatives of big capital conceding that he was the man that Coolidge had to beat.

The election results have dispelled these exaggerated hopes and fears. Although 5,000,000 ballots cast amount to a large vote, the outcome in reality constitutes a serious defeat for the LaFollette movement in view of the previous overestimates of its strength. The election shows again the tremendous power of the capitalist dictatorship, which by its skillful playing up of the "red" scare, and by its ruthless use of economic terrorism, literally forced millions to vote for the representative of big capital, Coolidge. The Progressive Movement, and with it the labor unions that took part, have suffered a major political defeat.

The spectacular appearance of the Progressive Movement in its independent role and the consequent absorption by it of the farmer-labor party movement make it necessary for the Workers Party to reconsider its labor party policy. The question raised is whether our Party shall continue to carry on a militant campaign under the slogan of "For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party." The Central Executive Committee, in a statement published in the Daily Worker on Nov. 7, answers this question in the negative. It declares that it "completely eliminates the immediate possibility of the growth of a mass farmer-labor party of indus-

trial workers and poor farmers, distinct from the Workers Party. A general agitation campaign by the Workers Party under the slogan of 'For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party,' would not be profitable or successful. Our chief task in the immediate future is not the building of such a farmer-labor party but the strengthening and developing of the Workers Party itself as the practical leader of the masses and as the only party that represents the working class interests and knows how to fight for them."

This constitutes a reversal of the previous policy, and in order for us to understand its causes and implications, it will be well to examine our labor party policy to date in its three political stages: (1) the entrance of the Workers Party into the movement for a labor party; (2) the withdrawal of the Workers Party from the labor party as a definite organization; (3) the discarding of the labor party slogan.

Adoption of Labor Party Policy

When in 1922 the Workers Party declared in favor of participating in the effort to build a labor party, we were confronted with a developing movement of the working masses for political expression independent of the two old parties. Under the pressure of the "open shop" drive and the complete and constant betrayal of their interests by the Republican and Democratic parties, which the masses had supported under the old Gompers policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, great numbers of organized workers were awakening to the need for some kind of a labor party. For four years the number of state and local federations of labor on record for such a party was rapidly increasing. The growth of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States and the Conference for Progressive Political Action were but two manifestations of the general movement in favor of independent political action by the workers. The



Kate Kollwitz

Germany Under the Dawes Plan



SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI

Wm. S. Fanning

oppressed masses were seeking a political instrument to use in their own behalf.

This movement of the workers for a political organization of their own offered great advantages to the Workers Party. The duty of Communists and the general principle by which a Communist mass Party must be built is the participation in the daily struggles of the workers against the capitalist class. The growing labor party movement offered us an excellent means of reaching the masses with our propaganda and of furnishing them with practical leadership in this, their first important step towards definite political organization.

Some elements in our Party looked askance at the proposition of working for the formation of a labor party, but the advantages were so patent that their opposition was broken down and the Party launched into the campaign. This campaign was waged with vigor. It was not long until the Communists became the acknowledged leaders of the labor party movement everywhere. Every place that sufficient consciousness developed amongst the workers and poor farmers for a political organization of their own, our hand was in evidence. The consequence was that our Party derived the most substantial advantages. The Workers Party became a definite and recognized factor

in the labor movement. Its gain in experience, prestige, and influence was invaluable.

Withdrawal from Farmer-Labor Party

The first stage of the W. P. labor party policy, that is active participation in the struggle to build a farmer-labor party, came to an end with the development of the LaFollette movement as distinct from the two old parties. This was caused thru the swallowing up of the Farmer-Labor Party generally by the LaFollette movement. The first active manifestations of this took place at the St. Paul convention of the Farmer-Labor Party on June 17 of this year. The growth of sentiment for LaFollette to take the field and the likelihood of his doing so upon an independent ticket tended sharply to cut to pieces the June 17 convention. LaFollette completed the job by his denunciation of that gathering. He succeeded in driving out of it most of the mass elements and attracting them to the July 4 conference of the C. P. P. A., where they were quickly absorbed into the general LaFollette movement. The National Farmer-Labor Party, born at the June 17 convention, was the merest shell of an organization.

This situation made necessary a rapid change of policy by the Workers Party. The only basis upon

which our Party can afford to participate in a farmer-labor party is if this party puts us in contact with great masses of workers to whom we can propagate our Communist program effectively. This the National Farmer-Labor Party emphatically did not do. It was composed only of the Workers Party and more or less vague numbers of sympathizers. The masses had gone to LaFollette. Under these circumstances for the Workers Party to support McDonald and Bouck, the candidates of the National Farmer-Labor Party, would have been a serious error. It would have meant the Workers Party doing almost all the work of the campaign and getting none of the credit for it. It would have amounted to what was practically only the Communist movement making the fight on behalf of non-Communist candidates and slogans.

Confronted by this condition, the Central Executive Committee, after extended debates, unhesitatingly cut loose from the National Farmer-Labor Party and placed its own presidential candidates in the field. In substance, the farmer-labor party movement in its organized form had become useless to the Workers Party as an organizing and propaganda instrument, so it had to be dropped. The experience of our Party in the campaign showed this policy to be a wise one. As it was, the Workers Party was able to place a clear-cut Communist program before great masses of workers for the first time. Invaluable political experience was gained in many directions. The casting off of the dead body of the Farmer-Labor Party, killed by the LaFollette movement, was absolutely essential to the life of the Workers Party.

Discarding Farmer-Labor Party Slogan

The Workers Party is now entering upon the third stage of its policy regarding the farmer-labor party movement. This consists in going one step further than dropping the farmer-labor party as an organization and also dropping it as a slogan. This is necessary because the farmer-labor movement, due to its absorption by the LaFollette movement, is no longer a living factor in the workers' struggle, at least for the time being. The farmer-labor party movement has been destroyed root and branch by the LaFollette movement.

In order to understand this it is profitable to glance a moment at the evolution of the modern labor party movement in the United States. It is not necessary to examine here labor party movements that took place in the early days of trade unionism. The one that is important to us began to take shape about 1918. It consisted almost altogether of trade unions, various city and state bodies voting to go into politics as organizations. Thus it was almost entirely proletarian in character—a real labor party movement. In 1920 this movement, finding its principal center in the Labor Party of the United States, headed by John

Fitzpatrick, held a convention and broadened its social base by setting up an alliance with the more conscious elements among the farmers. It became, consequently, the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States. Thenceforth, all over the country, wherever the workers went into politics in masses their organizations took the form of alliances with the farmers. They established farmer-labor parties.

Now this evolution has proceeded a step further. The farmer-labor elements have joined forces with the petty bourgeoisie generally and have merged into the Progressive Movement under the leadership of LaFollette. At the 1920 convention which founded the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States various sections of the petty bourgeoisie, organized in the Committee of 48, were present and tried to establish an alliance with the workers and farmers. But in this they failed, although even in that convention they proposed LaFollette as the candidate for president. Parley Parker Christensen was nominated. It was not until the July 4, 1924 conference of the C. P. P. A., which endorsed LaFollette, that the farmer-labor elements and their organizations were definitely and nationally amalgamated with the petty bourgeois elements into the Progressive Movement. In thus extending their base to include the petty bourgeoisie generally the conservative workers in this country are simply doing what has been done in Europe. The difference is that, whereas in most of the European countries the workers have first built up proletarian, or near-proletarian organizations, and then entered into alliances with petty bourgeois organizations, here in this country they are attempting, in the LaFollette movement, to build this alliance with the petty bourgeoisie from the ground up in the one organization.

So long as the mass political movement of the workers remained in the labor party stage, that is merely the labor unions in politics, it offered an excellent field of propaganda for Communism. But when it reaches the stage of a farmer-labor party, the Communists had to wage a war against petty bourgeois influence by demanding the limitation of the organization simply to industrial workers and poor farmers. And finally, as it has now passed from the farmer-labor stage into that of the Progressive Movement, the center of gravity is shifted to the petty bourgeois elements. The organization loses its proletarian character and adaptability to proletarian ends. The Communists are forced to withdraw. The Workers Party could not follow the farmer-labor movement into the trap of the petty bourgeoisie.

Now we come to the crux of the situation. This alliance of the labor officialdom with the petty bourgeoisie, supported by the workers, is an established fact. It is true that the Progressive Movement has received a setback in the elections. This will hinder its development. Gompers will run back to the old parties and

most of the bureaucracy in the unions will do likewise. Pessimism will seize upon the "progressives" who will hesitate to form a third party in this situation. But the movement, representing as it does the discontent of the broad masses of petty bourgeoisie and workers, will live, even though it does not crystallize definitely into a party immediately. In the near future insofar as the masses of workers take any political action at all, it will be in the shape of this alliance with the petty bourgeoisie.

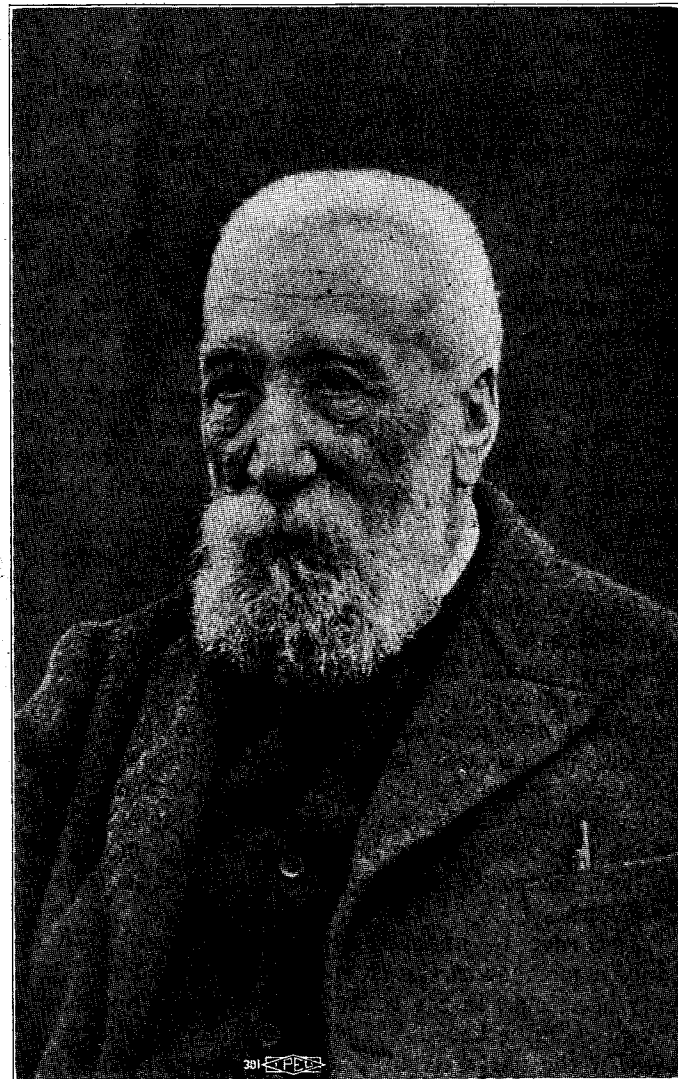
To break this alliance and to bring the workers into political action on their own behalf, is one of the big objectives of the Workers Party. This cannot be done by the formation or attempted formation of a mass farmer-labor party. Only a very small percentage of the workers, and these the most radical, are now prepared to break the alliance with the petty bourgeoisie. To attempt to form these into a party would be merely to set up a rival to the Workers Party. This would be sheer folly. The Workers Party must absorb these advanced elements directly into its own ranks or, where this cannot be done, to form united fronts with their organizations upon vital issues of the everyday struggle.

In the era of the developing farmer-labor party movement, when masses of workers all over the country were demanding a party of their own and before this movement was swallowed up by LaFollette's organizations, the advocacy of the slogan "For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party" was practical and beneficial for the Workers Party. But now, when such a mass farmer-labor party is out of the realm of possibility for the near future, the advocacy of the slogan in a general campaign becomes distinctly detrimental to the Workers Party. It would sabotage our organization. In the future, as the Progressive Movement runs its course, the Workers Party will criticize its policies from a Communist standpoint. After doing this, then to tell the workers that what they have to do is to form a farmer-labor party would not only be ridiculous but would shove the Workers Party into the background and ruin its interests. In our fight against LaFollettism we must not only propose to the workers a Communist program but also a Communist organization.

When the LaFollette movement swallowed up the farmer-labor party movement in the months preceding the election it left us with two dead things on our hands. One of these was a dead organization, the National Farmer-Labor Party, and the other was a dead slogan, "For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party." The Central Executive Committee was quick to see the necessity of ridding the Workers Party of the dead organization, and now it has also rid the Party of the dead slogan. As against the LaFollette movement we must raise the slogan not of an impossible farmer-labor party but of the Workers Party. Now, more

than ever, the Workers Party must throw itself into all the struggles of the working class, political and industrial, establishing the widest mass contacts and leading those struggles into ever-widening fields and for ever-growing demands. Not a retreat to sectarianism, nor the creation of opportunistic substitutes for Communism, but immediate and direct participation of the Workers Party in all phases of the class struggle.

Anatole France



"THE GREAT ARTIST WHO HAS JUST PASSED FROM OUR MIDST, THE CLEVER AND GOOD MAN, WHOSE WORKS WILL IN THE FAR-OFF TIME BE THE APOLOGISTS OF THE CAPITALIST CULTURE OF THE 19TH CENTURY, CARRIES IN HIS FRAIL AND AGED ARMS ALL THAT IS BEST IN DEMOCRACY IN ITS CLOSING EPOCH."

Victor Serge.

A Visit With Sun Yat Sen

By Alfred Wagenknecht

ACCORDING to the best circles in Shanghai, Dr. Sun Yat Sen was dead. International imperialism hugged this rumor to its bosom and hoped for days for its verification. The foes of imperialism also hoped and wondered whether a dirty thirty pieces of silver had at last reached a Judas and robbed them of their foremost leader.

In Canton, a few weeks later, we were visited one sunny afternoon by Liao Chung-hai, the Civil Governor of Kwangtung province. Thus officially the labor representatives of the Philippine independence movement, and I, were invited to visit Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

The trip to Honan, where the Generalissimo has his headquarters, for Dr. Sun is the head of the South China army, has its military aspects. Canton and Kwangtung was under martial law. The merchants and compradoras, whom imperialism was feeding with profits and commissions, had organized successive strikes against the Sun Yat Sen government. Merchant's Volunteer Corps, true fascist bands, had been organized by them, armed by them, drilled by them.

The automobile which awaited us in front of our hotel was guarded by soldiers. We stepped into the car, the soldiers mounted the running boards, revolvers were drawn, and amid continuous piercing shrieks of the auto-horn we raced down the Bund, traffic scattering to the curbs.

Two miles behind us. We stepped from the automobile aboard a speed-boat which literally shot us across the Canton river. Upon the floating wharf immediately facing the entrance gate of the headquarters of Dr. Sun, we were confronted by the first detachment of his body-guard. The command of "Attention! Present arms!" was responded to by Governor Liao with a deep bow and the removal of his hat to the soldiers. We, each in our own way, attempted similarly to convey our high regard to a soldiery armed to fight against the imperialist plunderers who hope to suck China bone-dry.

A wait of five minutes brought Dr. Sun Yat Sen from some distant inner recess into the reception room to which we had been conducted. His walk was firm, his carriage erect, his eyes clear and friendly. Without a word having been spoken he became one of us, a *massenmensch*, dangerous if a demagogue but invaluable if a true leader in a revolutionary mass movement.

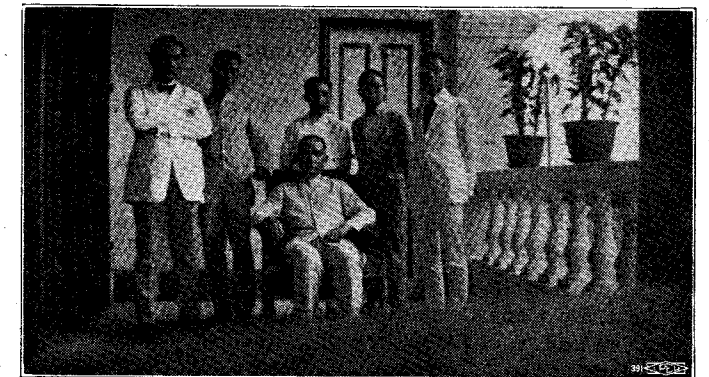
A hand-shake all around and we took our places at the conference table. "What do you think of Philippine independence, Dr. Sun?" was the question immediately asked by one of the Filipino representatives. Dr. Sun, in a brief ten seconds, looked keenly at each of the five Filipinos present and then answered by asking, "How large is your army?"

To the Philippine representatives, who had for years been attempting to win their liberation by peacefully penetrating the bourgeoisie of the United States and its parliamentary machine at Washington, this answer caused surprise. They at once and very forcefully entered into long explanations, centering around the impossibility of the Filipinos ever winning their independence by the methods America used against England in 1776. Dr. Sun listened and when argument had at last been completed, curtly, but with an indulgent smile, replied: "Every state is predicated upon force."

The development of people's revolutionary parties in all the colonies and semi-colonies of the orient, their mass composition and discipline, the need for an alliance between such liberation parties so that all suppressed peoples of the Far East might make common cause against international imperialism, close cooperation with revolutionary workers' and peasants' parties of the Occident, one mighty organization of the proletariat of the world, all the oppressed in a victorious battle against the oppressors—these constituted the subjects of conversation for the next hour.

It seemed to me that the old Sun Yat Sen that Shanghai and Hong Kong knew was dead. But in his place stands a new Sun Yat Sen, more formidable and powerful than the old. It is a Sun Yat Sen, so I surmise, who having discovered the significance of November 7, having studied the strategy of the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers in their victory over the imperialists of the world, now knows how.

It was in this spirit and as a message to the revolutionary masses of America, that I accepted from him his autographed photograph.



DR. SUN YAT SEN, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH CHINA AND LEADER OF KUO MIN TANG, PARTY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS OF CHINA, SURROUNDED BY FILIPINO REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF KUO MIN TANG, CANTON.

Latin-America Prepares For Gompers

By Bertram D. Wolfe

THE left wing of the Mexican Labor movement and the Communist Party of Mexico are laying their plans for a "warm" reception to Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor and of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, when that worthy comes to Mexico on November 31, to grace the ceremony of inauguration of the new "labor government" under President Calles, and to preside over the fourth Congress of the Pan-American Federation.

The walls of the City of Mexico will be plastered with placards reading: "Down with the Agent of Yankee Imperialism in the Latin-American Labor Movement;" "Gompers is America's Greatest Strikebreaker;" "Gompers Favors the Occupation of Haiti;" "25 to 35 Per Cent More Wages for Americans than for Latin-Americans in the Canal Zone—recommendation of Gompers;" "Gompers Opposes Socialism;" "Gompers is the Enemy of Workers' Russia," etc.

In the Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, he will find a left-wing group determined to prevent his re-election as president of that body. That left-wing group, in spite of the decision of most left-wing labor bodies in Latin-America not to send delegates to "Gompers' Federation," and in spite of the hand-picked delegates whose expenses are paid by the purchased governments set up by the American marines in Central America, and in spite of the treacherous collusion of Luis N. Morones and other Gompers henchmen in the Mexican Federation of Labor—that left wing group may develop a strength that will surprise Samuel.

Gompers Organizes the Pan-American Federation.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor is Gompers' substitute for Amsterdam. It is the Monroe Doctrine applied to the American labor movement. Gompers organized it during the administration of President Wilson to aid that altruistic gentleman in his designs for the "pacification and civilization" of Latin-America. While Wilson sent troops to Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Nicaragua, Mexico, etc., he sent Gompers to talk to them about the benevolent intentions of the United States, the glories of American Democracy and the greatness of President Wilson. Also he was to persuade the Latin-American workers to favor entrance into the war on the side of the Allies, to favor the fourteen points and the many-pointed Versailles treaty, and he was to be so "big-brotherly" that the Latin-American workers would not unite against American Imperialism and organize a continental labor revolt against its brutal attacks.

In these plans Gompers found willing tools in the conservative leaders of the supposedly "socialist" Mexican labor movement. Luis N. Morones, first General-Secretary and big chief of the Mexican Federation, became his chief supporter, and later Roberto Haberman, former California Socialist, became errand-boy or go-between for Gompers and Morones, getting a sort of commutation ticket between Washington, D. C. and Mexico, D. F. where the two great labor leaders "direct" their respective movements. Haberman also be-

came a sort of publicity-man to explain how Gompers was "fighting" American Imperialism and aiding Latin-America. His "copy" consists of a wild tale as to how Secretary of State Hughes withdrew battleships from Mexican waters in twenty-four hours, when Gompers tipped him off that they didn't belong there.

Let us examine Gompers' "services" to Latin-America and see why he is to get such a rousing reception when he comes down here at the end of November to preside over the fourth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

How Gompers "Fought" American Imperialism.

After many preliminary conversations during the war-period, the Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized in Laredo, Texas, in a conference that lasted from November 13 to 16, 1918. There were seventy-five representatives present from the American Federation of Labor, from the Mexican Federation, and from more or less imaginary labor movements of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Salvador and Colombia.

William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor in the American cabinet, represented Woodrow Wilson officially. Sam Gompers represented him unofficially. Pablo de la Garza represented President Carranza of Mexico officially. Luis N. Morones represented him unofficially. Governor Hunt of Arizona also graced the ceremonies. The representatives of the little Latin-American countries under the control of American marines, also represented their governments. All in all, it was like a pocket-edition of the Amsterdam international, except that its delegates, in place of representing so-called "Labor Governments," represented frankly capitalist governments. (This year Morones will represent the "Labor government" of President Calles.)

The Way of an Imperialist Is Hard.

Even as in Amsterdam, hesitant left wing and rank-and-file expressions sometimes disturb the peace and quiet of the great European labor statesmen, so here, from the very first, similar conflicts arose and disturbed the quiet happiness of Gompers, bound on his noble mission of peace and civilization.

In Amsterdam the bombshell that broke up the fun was the question: "What have you done with Liebknecht and with Luxemburg?" In Laredo: "What have you done with the I. W. W.?"

The Mexican delegates proposed a resolution for the release of the I. W. W. war-time prisoners. Gompers was indignant and roared forth his righteous wrath against the resolution and against the I. W. W. who were supposed to have committed the crime of opposing the war or the worse one of striking for better conditions during the war. The astonished Mexicans promptly forgot their resolution.

Gompers, as befits a great labor statesman and an agent of the House of Morgan, proposed a resolution approving the peace terms, the League of Nations and its proposed Labor

Code. He forgot the fact that the Latin-American countries had not participated in the war. The Mexican delegates pointed this out, but finally voted for the resolution "subject to subsequent ratification by the Mexican Federation of Labor," and the shameful peace-treaty and the bandit League were endorsed.

A permanent federation was voted, to include the United States, Canada, Mexico, Central America and South America. The objects stated were:

(1) To better conditions for emigrants from one country to another. (To this day the Mexican workers are exploited shamelessly in the beet and cotton fields of the United States and Gompers does not lift a finger. The Mexican government sanitary officer at Juarez reported at the end of 1923 that all of the large number of Mexican workers deported from the United States as insane were driven insane by cruel exploitation.)

(2) To promote a better understanding between the nations of the two Americas and their peoples. (It's only unreasonableness or lack of education that makes Latin-America fail to "understand" why American troops should be in Nicaragua, Honduras, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Cuba and Mexico!)

The other objectives are similar.

Thanking Wilson for Santo Domingo.

The second Congress in 1919 was uneventful. Again the big federations of Argentine, Chile, and others, remained away. Gompers was elected president, Canuto Vargas of Arizona, Secretary, and James Lord, "expert on Mexico," was elected treasurer.

The third Congress, held in January, 1921, in Mexico City, brought a new storm. Argentinian workers again sent



Vargas Rea
Mexican Communist
K.A.P. Mexico, 1923

a contemptuous answer to the invitation. Chile, Uruguay, and others were conspicuous by their absence. But in spite of the absence of powerful mass organizations, the Latin-American delegates were so up in arms against the continued occupation of Santo Domingo by American troops that they demanded a protest to the American government. This is not surprising because even the governments these "labor delegates" represented, were outraged, and attacked the occupation.

But Gompers, loyal battler for the House of Morgan, fought the protest resolution with all the arts at his command. It passed. As President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers was ordered to send a telegram of protest, signed by him, to the American president. He did not send it.

The convention lasted nine days, and near the end, a delegate demanded to know why the telegram had not been sent. "I don't like the wording; the text must be modified," said Gompers. As it was near the close of the convention, there was no time to "correct" the telegram to suit the tastes of his excellency. So the editing of it was committed to his tender mercies. The cable he finally sent thanked the American government for having sent troops into Santo Domingo and having "restored order," and added a request for the withdrawal of those troops now that the United States had done all the good it could for that hapless island. (Needless to say, the troops were not withdrawn.)

Gompers' "Services" to Latin-American Workers.

The Communists and the left wing elements generally in Latin-America are making every effort to prevent Gompers from being reelected again in December, 1924 as President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In this they have an easier task than the Communists in the United States have in their efforts to prevent his reelection to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor. The presence of the representatives of Latin-American workers, gives the Communists a powerful weapon in the exposure of Gompers' record of repeated services to American imperialism and repeated injuries to Latin-American workers.

Wide-spread publicity is being given the Santo Domingo incident, telling how Gompers thanked the American government for sending troops to Santo Domingo when he was ordered to denounce it for the same act.

Gompers, as usual, is also providing fresh ammunition. In the American Federationist for March, 1924, he publishes his report of an investigation made by him of conditions of labor in the Panama Canal Zone. In spite of the fact that the Zone in question is a strip of land stolen from a Latin-American country (Colombia) by force thru the fake revolution engineered by President Roosevelt and carried thru by the American marines, Gompers calls all Latin-Americans in the canal area, "aliens." He recommends that "aliens" be not employed except in unskilled labor; that all other positions be filled by citizens of the United States; and where it is impossible to secure "all-American" labor that the Latin-American "aliens" should be paid from 25 to 35 per cent less than the citizens of the United States working at the same jobs. That is the friendship for Latin-American workers on the part of Gompers of which Calles and Morones and even Gompers boast.

In the same report Gompers adds a gratuitous insult to the Latin-American and Negro population of Haiti struggling

for its independence and longing for the day when the workers of the United States will compel their government to withdraw its troops from that unhappy island country. Gompers was seized with the bright idea of stopping in Haiti and asking General Russel, American Charge d'Affaires and Consul Ray how Haiti liked being invaded. He also asked the dummy president, ruling by the grace of the American troops. Naturally, he is able to report that Haiti is delighted with the invasion. But let Gompers talk for himself:

"At Haiti," he naively reports, "the vessel stopped for a few hours." (Lots of time for Sammy to whitewash an invasion which he approves of in advance.) . . . "I called upon General Russel and Mr. Bray, American consul. General Russel told what the Americans had done to make the country safe for its inhabitants" (3,000 of them have been killed by American troops) "and to advance it from its primitive state. A road has been built over the hills for 70 miles into a territory almost unknown." (The Roman conquerors also used to build military roads.) "I asked General Russel what was the feeling of the Haitians toward the United States. He said it was excellent.

" . . . I then asked President Borno (of Haiti) the same question: 'What are the relations between the United States and Haiti?' President Borno said they were very friendly. I then mentioned that from time to time there appeared in the press of the United States denunciations of the American government and demands that the marines be taken from the island. President Borno smiled and said: 'It is only the outs that are dissatisfied.'" (Only the disinherited and the despoiled, Mr. Gompers, are ever dissatisfied. That's why President Gompers and President Borno are satisfied with American capitalism and American imperialism.)

The president of Haiti continued enlightening Gompers. Of the protests of the bleeding Haitian people he explained:

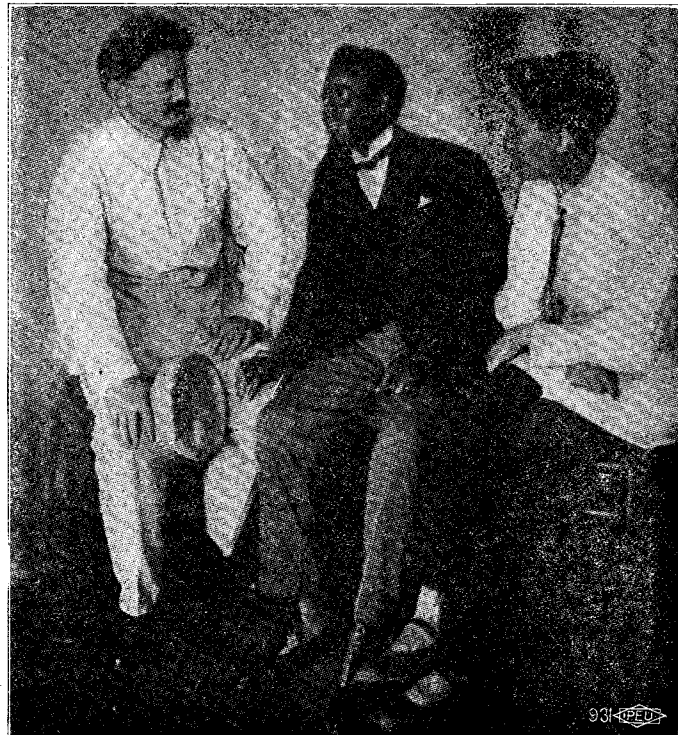
"One, two, or three men might some day send out a statement contrary to what is the opinion of the great majority of the Haitian people. Naturally, people in the United States may think that there is some basis for the charges made. But there is not. We have the most friendly relations and General Russel has proved a great friend to Haiti."

It is publicity given to facts like these that may cost Gompers the presidency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor when it meets in Mexico City in December. He nearly lost it in the Congress of 1921, when the opposition to him was so strong that almost all Latin-Americans wanted to prevent his reelection. They united on Morones, president of the Mexican Federation of Labor and tool of Gompers. Morones was clever enough to keep quiet until after the nominations were closed, and then resign, leaving Gompers as the only candidate. Even at that, Gompers received only the votes of the delegates from Santo Domingo (picked by the American government), Porto Rico (American colony) and the United States. The others did not vote.

To save Gompers, Morones is likely to point out that Gompers supported the Obregon government against the De La Huerta revolt in 1923. But so did the National City Bank. So did Mr. Hughes. So did the house of Morgan. So did the oil interests. They supported Obregon against the Fascist revolt of De La Huerta because (1) the latter was backed

by British oil interests; (2) Obregon had recognized the tremendous debt which, with interest, will amount to \$2,000,000,000; (3) Obregon had agreed to emasculate Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, which protects the natural resources from foreign imperialism. He agreed to nullify it by declaring it non-retroactive in respect to oil and mineral steals already made by American interests. (They own two-thirds of the oil lands and four-fifths of the mineral lands now under exploitation.) And (4) Obregon had agreed to recognize the claims of American citizens for damages suffered in the Mexican revolutions. For these reasons of great weight to labor statesmen such as Gompers, he, along with Morgan, Rockefeller (National City Bank), Coolidge and Hughes, supported Obregon against De La Huerta.

And as to the childish story which Haberman circulates to the effect that Hughes does what Gompers tells him and withdraws battleships at the command of the "labor dictator" of the United States, we shall turn that legend inside out and point out that Hughes does what Morgan tells him to, and Gompers does what Hughes tells him to. Hughes does not oppose recognition of Russia, or favor Obregon, or send or withdraw battleships, or keep troops in Haiti or Santo Domingo, because Gompers tells him to, but Gompers supports Obregon or opposes Russian recognition or praises the occupation of Haiti because Hughes tells him to. Or, more correctly, both of them do what Morgan tells them to, and Gompers is the agent of Morgan in Latin-America. Unless the Communists succeed in December, Morgan will continue to be the real boss of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.



UNION OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE
Trotsky with Lunion, French Negro, and
Nguen-Ai-Quack, China.

Struggle For Unity in the World Labor Movement

By A. Losovsky

IN its development the labor movement has undergone very many crises. One of the most important crises, from the point of view of its character and effects, was the split of the national and international labor movement. The roots and source of the split can be found in the European war when the leading elements of the socialist parties and labor unions tied up the destinies of the labor organizations with those of their native capitalism. That is where the chronology of the split in the labor movement should be begun, that is where the cause of the long and bitter struggle within labor lies.

Four years of war and six years of peace opened the eyes of the working masses to the source of the weakness of labor. Experience has shown that the more submissive the socialist parties and the trade unions were to the bourgeoisie, the more enthusiastic the labor leaders were in defending the capitalist system, the more deeply did they drive the wedge into labor, and the weaker did it grow in face of the native and international bourgeoisie. The history of the last ten years is the history of the fall of the social-democratic parties and reformist unions, the history of the slow regeneration of the proletarian forces through the creation of Communist Parties, revolutionary unions and minorities. *The split of the political parties, the separation of all the healthy proletarian elements were preliminary conditions for the liquidation of the crisis.*

The process of the formation of Communist Parties began in every country, with the exception of Russia, together with the outbreak of military action and found its international expression in the formation of the Communist International, whose Fifth Anniversary and whose successes we have recently celebrated. While the political labor movement put the question of the speediest formation of Communist Parties point blank before all the revolutionary elements, the interests of the labor movement demanded the maintenance of a united trade union movement at any price and a struggle within it for a revolutionary program and revolutionary tactics.

There was no contradiction in the fact that the revolutionary workers split on the one hand the social-democratic and the so-called independent parties in order to create revolutionary Communist organizations, and on the other hand struggled with all their energy against those Communists who were determined to split the trade unions at all costs. The difference in the characters of these two labor organiza-

tions forces the Communists to adopt different policies towards them in order to gain one and the same end, the conquest of the masses. In any case, the birth of Communist Parties has been accompanied everywhere by the slogan: "Struggle for united trade unions, struggle against the theory of the destruction of the unions," and where such ideas did arise, the Communist International declared a most relentless war upon them.

But if the Communist International has always struggled against the splits of the labor movement, why has the Red International of Labor Unions been created? The Red International of Labor Unions was created *after* the Amsterdam International had thrown in its lot with the League of Nations, *after* the Amsterdam International, together with the representatives of the biggest employers' organizations, had begun to strangle the revolutionary labor movement in every country, *after* the Amsterdam International had declared a ruthless war upon the Russian Revolution and the Communist International. At the beginning of 1920, the discontent with the old program and tactics had already taken shape, but this discontent was still insufficiently clear and ideologically indefinite. It was necessary to introduce unity into this variety, to gather the revolutionary forces of the world labor movement around an ideological and organizational center, to work out a clear line and establish a joint revolutionary front in the fight against the corrupting influence of reformism. Hence the organization of the R. I. L. U. in 1920 and its further growth. From its very inception the R. I. L. U. emphatically opposed the split of the trade unions. This can be seen from the following facts:

(1) The R. I. L. U. opposed the slogan of the destruction of the unions.

(2) The R. I. L. U. has proposed to the Amsterdam International to re-establish the unity of the French and Czecho-Slovakian labor movements.

(3) At all of its Congresses, the R. I. L. U. has adopted decisions urging all the revolutionary unions to join the respective industrial internationals.

(4) The R. I. L. U. has openly declared on several occasions that as soon as the revolutionary unions are admitted to the respective industrial internationals, the International Propaganda Committees would be dissolved.

(5) At its Second Congress the R. I. L. U. raised the slogan of the united front and it has since repeat-



RUSSIAN AND BRITISH TRADE UNION LEADERS FRATERNISE AT HULL, ENGLAND
Second from the left is M. Tomsky, Chairman of All-Russian Council of Trade Unions; third is George Hicks, President of British Building Workers' Union.

edly urged joint action upon the Amsterdam International.

(6) At the Hague International Peace Congress the R. I. L. U. attempted to propose the united front with the Amsterdam International. Similar attempts were made after the occupation of the Ruhr, and prior to and after the Frankfurt conference.

(7) The R. I. L. U. has always considered the united front in the trade union movement as a first step towards organizational unity of the broken sections.

(8) Whenever a tendency to split the trade unions began to develop within the Comintern and R. I. L. U., the latter always emphatically opposed this tactic, championing the unity of the labor movement by all the means and forces available to it.

All these facts are known to anyone who has followed more or less attentively the activity of the R. I. L. U., who is acquainted with the decisions of its Congresses and of its Executive Bureau. In fighting for

unity, the R. I. L. U. was not based upon any abstract considerations, but upon a desire to enhance labor's capacity of resisting advancing capital by means of united labor organizations.

How did the Amsterdam International and the organizations affiliated to it respond to the action of the R. I. L. U.? By frantic baiting and expulsion of Communists from the labor unions. Had the R. I. L. U. guided itself by the same motives as the Amsterdamers, that is, by a desire to rid itself of its opponents by any means, a split all along the line would have been an accomplished fact. However, in this question the R. I. L. U. did not base its decision upon the sentiments of individual revolutionary workers, but upon the interests of the class struggle, and therefore, in spite of all provocations, it has remained at its old position, *against splits and for unity*.

The Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. drew a logical conclusion from the four years' struggle for unity. The external situation has become more favorable to

unity in spite of the increasing destructive tendencies on the part of the reformists. The situation became more favorable because the realization of the necessity of unity penetrated the minds of the broad masses. It has found a reflection, incomplete and distorted as it may be, even in the heads of many of the leaders of the Amsterdam International. In connection with the bourgeois policy of the Labor Government of Great Britain, a change has taken place in the labor movement of that country. All this together creates a favorable situation for the successful prosecution to the logical end of the struggle for a united world labor movement. It was such a logical conclusion that the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. made in proclaiming the slogan of the merging of the two Internationals by means of an International Unity Congress.

It should be admitted that both at the congresses of the Comintern and R. I. L. U., this question aroused opposition, due chiefly to the fact that the opponents of this slogan had not fully comprehended the tactic of the R. I. L. U. and Comintern in the trade union movement. It met with special opposition on the part of the German delegation, which saw in the slogan of the merging of the two Internationals "opportunism" and even "Menshevism." May we not ask these comrades, why Communists may be in one national organization with reformists, and not in an international one? Those opposing it paid a tribute, without realizing it themselves, to the splitting tendencies manifested by a certain section of the German workers. Approaching this question seriously, it is perfectly obvious that the fears have absolutely no ground. Our desire for unity must be shown by deeds, and the proposal for the calling of an international unity congress is the best proof that to us unity is not an empty phrase or maneuver, as some "wise" comrades think.

The Central Council of the German Communist Party adopted a resolution on this question which has everything but clearness. It is said there that the slogan for amalgamation of the two internationals should be understood in the sense that such amalgamation can take place only on the basis of the program of the R. I. L. U. *All great things are simple, but not all simple things are great.* I must disillusion the German comrades and tell them that to understand the decision of the R. I. L. U. and of the Comintern in this way is not to understand it at all. Of course, it would be best had everybody recognized the R. I. L. U. platform, but what need would there be of talking of amalgamation of the two Internationals? Were all to recognize the R. I. L. U. platform there would be nothing to discuss. Are not we proposing amalgamation of the two Internationals, the creation of a united international, *in spite of the fact that half of the workers organized in the trade unions do not recog-*

nize the R. I. L. U. platform? We have not the least fear of finding ourselves in one international organization with those who do not recognize our platform. *Our program has been recognized by history, and it will be ultimately recognized by the whole working class.* This is entirely sufficient to make us perfectly unafraid to conduct a struggle for our ideas on the wide arena of a United International. This proposal of unity is not, as some comrades think, an exclusive combination of the leaders of the R. I. L. U. and of the Amsterdam International. No, such things are not done by means of exclusive combinations. Unity in the world labor movement can be established only if we succeed in arousing tens of millions of proletarians, in getting them interested in this campaign.

Some comrades have been so fearful of reformism that they ask anxiously: "And what will happen if the Amsterdam International accepts our proposal and agrees to an international unity congress?" To this we reply: "Splendid, we will be the first to hail the acceptance of this proposal by the Amsterdam International, for our unity resolution is intended to *establish* such unity." "And if you are in a minority in the United International?" ask these same comrades. "If we are in the minority, we will fight for a majority, and we hope to win such a majority." "Are you ready to attend an international unity congress without any preliminary conditions?" the comrades fearing opportunism continue to ask. "Yes, we are ready to go to an international unity congress without preliminary conditions. The relation of forces at the unity congress will determine the program and tactics of the United International." "But should the Amsterdamers raise preliminary conditions, what then?" "The negotiations will show, if such will take place, which of the preliminary conditions raised by *both sides* are acceptable to *both sides*, and which are not. The working masses will judge between us." "But should the Amsterdamers reject all negotiations?" our comrades persistently continue to question. "So much the worse for them. We will not give up our struggle for unity. The Amsterdamers did not want the united front but this did not cause us to give it up. The same is true of this question."

Our struggle for unity is calculated upon the masses and is based very little upon the good will and sentiments of the leaders. Inasmuch as unity of the world labor movement is what the masses need, we must fight for it and mobilize the great masses against those who obstruct it. And that unity is menaced is beyond doubt. There is danger from various sides. First, from the right wing of the Amsterdam International. This was manifested at the Vienna congress, where the right Amsterdamers endeavored to make the resolution as obscure as possible in order to leave themselves all sorts of loopholes. After the Vienna Congress the Bureau of the Amsterdam International



TRADE UNION STUDENTS IN MOSCOW UNIVERSITY
A section of a meeting addressed by A. Losovsky on the subject of the Trade Union Unity Movement

sent a letter to the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions proposing to open negotiations on the basis of the Vienna decisions, naively assuming that the Russian unions would fail to note the trick.

The Amsterdamers propose to conduct negotiations on unity on the basis of two preliminary conditions:

(1) They are prepared to negotiate *only* with the Russian unions and only on the *affiliation* of the Russian unions to Amsterdam.

(2) The negotiations on affiliation must be based upon the program and constitution of the Amsterdam International.

That the right wing Amsterdamers raise such conditions is natural. They continue the sabotage which they began at the Vienna Congress. They continue the line followed by them for a number of years. If we take the correspondence between the Amsterdam International and the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions for the last two or three years we will find that their latest proposals contain nothing new—all these proposals have been made repeatedly, and the A. R. C. C. T. U. has invariably replied that it did

not participate in the working out of the program and constitution of the Amsterdam International and has no reason for accepting them as preliminary conditions.

Thus the right Amsterdamers are engaged in sabotage. There is nothing strange about this, as sabotage of the unity of the world labor movement is their profession. Such activity is quite understandable. But what is less understandable is the participation in such combinations of representatives of the left wing. Do the leaders of the left wing of the Amsterdam International suppose that this is the shortest road towards the establishment of unity in the world labor movement? If they think so, they will soon become convinced of the erroneusness of their point of view. Some of the leaders of the Amsterdam International apparently suppose it possible to *dictate conditions*, forgetting that conditions are worked out in accordance with the real relation of forces. The real relation of forces in the labor movement is far from what the right and even the left wing Amsterdamers think. That is why *both the former and the latter may be advised to throw out of their heads the idea that they can force their will upon the revolutionary move-*

ment. Nothing but confusion will result for them from this sort of policy.

What is the explanation of this policy of the Amsterdam International? The explanation is that there are a number of people within the Amsterdam International who are ready to split it rather than agree to unity with the revolutionary workers. At the international congress of metal workers, the French representative stated that should the Russian union be admitted into the International, the French union would withdraw from it. To those who formed a life and death alliance with the bourgeoisie, to the undertones of the left bloc, to those standing on their hind legs before Herriot and occupying the footboard of the government chariot—to those of course, a split is preferable to unity. It is necessary at all costs to break the will for further splits and destruction of the labor movement existing among a considerable section of the Amsterdam International. How can this be done?

This can be done only if all the revolutionary organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. and all the Communist Parties realize that the struggle for unity of the world labor movement is a struggle to be waged *seriously and for a long time to come*, that it is not a manoeuvre, not a chess move, but a real desire to establish unity in the world labor movement in accordance with the demand of the masses. This unity cannot be established by mere negotiations between the leading elements of the R. I. L. U. and of the Amsterdam International. *Unity can be the result only of long, determined, systematic work among the masses.*

Progress of the International Unity Movement

THAT the movement for international unity, initiated by the Red International of Labor Unions, is profoundly affecting the labor movement is demonstrated by the correspondence now going on between the Amsterdam International and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. Below we reproduce the letter sent to the Russian Unions by Amsterdam under date of September 11, and received in Moscow on September 20, together with the reply of the Russian Unions.

Letter From Amsterdam to Moscow.

Our Executive Committee at its meeting of Sept. 11, considered your communication of the 26th, and authorized us to send the following reply:

It was always our desire which we expressed on several occasions to restore the organizational unity of the trade union movement for the splitting of which we assume no responsibility. We are also in agreement with you when you say that "the struggle between labor and capital, which is becoming ever sharper, can succeed only when the forces of the economic proletarian organizations will be concentrated and when the unity of the international trade union movement will become an accomplished fact."

It is necessary, however, to understand clearly that there is a fundamental difference between the policies which you

It is necessary to make millions and tens of millions of proletarians take a stand on whether they prefer unity to a split. It is necessary to explain in the every day work of the R. I. L. U. adherents (the struggle for shop committees, for the eight hour day, the organization of the unorganized, the creation of militant leadership, the work among the youth and women, the struggle against reparations and the Dawes plan, the anti-militarist work, the fight for the liberation of the colonies, etc.) that the principal condition for the success of the struggle is the creation of unity in the national and international trade union movement. Of course, if we merely talk of unity without linking it up with the everyday struggle of the masses, we will not move a step forward. But if we link up our everyday struggle against national and international capital, our battles for the eight-hour day, the better condition of labor, our defensive and offensive action, with the question of the unity of the labor organizations, we will rally the masses round this slogan and make it the militant cry of tens of millions of proletarians.

How much time will be needed to establish unity, it is difficult to state. If this depended only upon us, very little time would be required. But since this depends upon the reformists, it is possible that it will require much time, for we shall encounter desperate sabotage on the part of all the deadly enemies of Communism. However, no matter how many efforts may be required, the Comintern and the Red International of Labor Unions will follow the chosen path and will secure, in spite of the sabotage of the reformists, unity in the national and international labor movement.

recognize as basic to your activities and the policies which we are following, a difference which is much more than one of degree. It is very difficult therefore, to harmonize these two so widely-departing points of view. But we are ready to make all efforts to solve this problem.

However, before we feel in a position to enter into negotiations as you propose, it is our desire to have you give us in written form something concrete to serve as a basis for discussion, and in order that we may see upon what points of principle and tactics an agreement would be possible. We therefore request you to send us such a written proposal by which we could judge whether there is a common basis for agreement.

As you know, we received from the Vienna Congress very definite instructions as to the conditions upon which we can enter with you into any sort of negotiations. But this question must not be raised at present. We need not emphasize the fact that our Executive Committee could **not** accept any decisions on the question of unity which go beyond the instructions of our congress, without consultation with our General Council and possibly with another congress.

In the expectation of your reply, we remain with fraternal greetings,

Chairman: Purcell,

Secretary: Oudegeest.

Letter From Moscow to Amsterdam

Your letter of Sept. 11 was received on Sept. 20, could not be taken up earlier than Oct. 23 at the full meeting of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

We read with satisfaction your declaration that you too are desirous of creating organizational unity within the trade union movement.

We do not believe this is the time to enter into a detailed discussion as to who is responsible for the split in the international trade union movement. We must point out, however, that generally speaking, there was never in existence such a thing as a real unified concentrated and all-inclusive international trade union movement. We believe that our present common desire may lead to the ending of the split in our movement, and we are very glad to meet your request for a written statement to serve as a basis for future negotiations.

We, on our part, desire the creation of a unified trade union movement, nationally and internationally, the maximum possible unification of all trade unions, those affiliated with the Profintern, those affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, as well as the unions standing outside both these organizations, upon the condition of the acceptance of the principle of class struggle.

We need not go into detailed explanation as to why we are struggling for such unity, the unity of all trade unions which accept a real anti-capitalist orientation. You know just as well as we do that the unity of the International Trade Union movement is a basic condition for a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, the Fascist reaction, as well as against the capitalist system as a whole.

The best means of arriving at such unity and the creation of one unified trade union international we consider the joint calling of an international labor congress. The question of how, when, and where, such a congress could take place would be easy to settle in the course of negotiations. We take note of your opinion that there is a basic difference between the policies and tactics upon which we base our work in the unions, and your own policies and tactics and that the difference is "much more than one of degree."

The significance of this phrase is not very clear to us. The fact is that there is nothing new in the differences existing between us. They have been known for years and have certainly been taken into consideration by the Vienna Congress of your Federation. In the proper time and at the proper place we shall be perfectly ready to discuss in detail our differences. But for the present we want to say that whatever our real differences of opinion are, we are perfectly willing to do all in our power to find a common basis.

We declare that the chief, most important, guiding principle of the trade unions we consider the irreconcilable contradictions between capital and labor, a consistent class struggle between the class of wage workers and the class of capitalists for the complete abolition of the system of capitalism and the liberation of the proletariat from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and its resultants of poverty, ignorance and slavery.

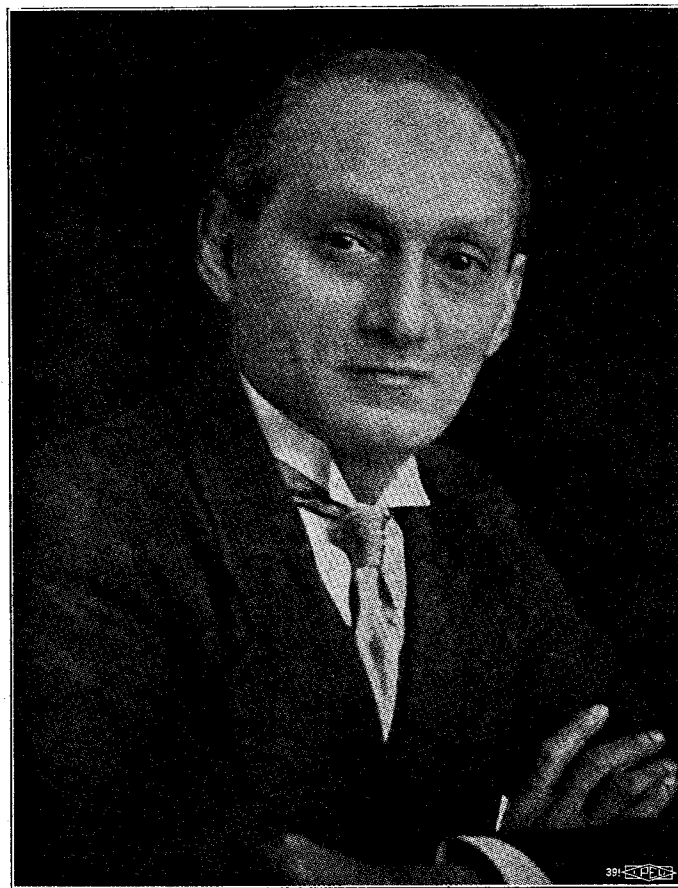
On the basis of this we propose the following: A break with all kinds of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a united struggle of the workers and their organizations, nationally and internationally, against world capital. The acceptance of this condition would make possible the unification of all those labor organizations which are really struggling for the liberation of the working class.

We shall expect your reply and particularly a notification regarding the time and place of the first meeting of the representatives of the two organizations.

Although we are perfectly ready when necessary to continue our correspondence on the question of unity, yet it appears to us desirable in the interests of the cause to enter as soon as possible into a direct exchange of views, thus preparing the way for further steps that will lead to the desired end.

With comradely greetings,
Chairman All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions,
Tomsy,
Secretary: Dogadoff.

The prosecution of the international unity program is an application on the international field of the program long applied nationally and industrially by the Trade Union Educational League in America, with the approval and support of the Red International of Labor Unions. And just as the Trade Union Educational League has been the principal fighter for national and industrial unity, so is it today the only force fighting for the application of the international unity program to the labor movement of the United States. Under the deadening regime of Gompers the American labor movement has cut its connections even with Amsterdam, but the progress of the world labor movement in the direction of unity and class struggle will make easier our task in America.



S. SAKLATVALA
Communist Member of Parliament

The Labor Party Conference

An Unreal Assembly

By Harry Pollitt

THE Labor Government is out of office. That is the outstanding result of the British elections. The Labor Party, which must not be confused with MacDonald's government increased its total vote, however, and the conservative victory was won at the price of the demoralization of the Liberal party, which went partly to the Labor party and partly to the Conservatives. Having achieved their principal object, the carrying into effect of the Dawes plan, for which the Labor Party was allowed by the capitalist parties to enter office, MacDonald was promptly kicked out.

During the elections MacDonald again demonstrated his petty-bourgeois orientation, befuddled the issues, and tried to obliterate as much as possible the distinction between the forces of labor and the capitalists. The most spectacular instance of this was the "exposure" of the fake Zinoviev letter. Learning that the Tories were about to spring it as an election canard, MacDonald himself published the forged letter in an attack upon Soviet Russia and the Communists. How little political profit he got out of this is seen in the fact that the Communist Party of Great Britain was able to call a mass meeting of more than 8,000 persons in Trafalgar Square, London, in protest against the unsavory incident.

More important than the loss of office by the Labor Government, more important than the growth in the Labor Party vote, is the gradual development of a left-wing section within the British labor movement and, thence, in the British Labor Party. As yet indecisive and faint-hearted, it is still the sign of deep stirrings going on within the British working class. The stories by Harry Pollitt and Tom Mann, in this issue, take on added significance in the light of the events in Great Britain since they were written.

* * * *

THE Twenty-Fourth Annual Conference of the Labor Party was held in an atmosphere of unreality and emotionalism. It was clear from the start that the delegates and the Executive were dominated by the political crisis, and that any attempt at facing the real fundamental issues which confront the workers, and which, if faced, would have resulted in strong criticisms of the government, would be suppressed.

In Mr. MacDonald's opening speech there was no attempt to give an analysis of the economic and political situation that we find ourselves in and what the next steps are. Nothing but platitudes and high-stepping, and above all, under all the bravado, a strong feeling of personal pique running all the time. That Mr. MacDonald is surely the most commanding figure in the British labor movement, so far as the off-

cial type of delegates are concerned, was seen in the slavish adulation that was lavished on his every sentence and gesture. If the working masses think they are ever going to smash their oppressors by eloquence and high moral talk and ideals, they are in for some sad disappointments. Especially when these things are only the cloak under which capitalist rule is still being carried on. MacDonald's letter to Zaghlul Pasha, and his adoption of the Experts' Report, are the real guides to what MacDonaldism really means in action, not in phrases.

Because the general election dominated the whole conference the Executive were not only anxious to suppress criticism, but were doubly anxious to expel the Communists from the Labor Party. They felt this necessary in order that the middle-class politicians now dominating the Party could carry still further the policy of "liberalizing" the Party, and making it easier to appeal to the petty-bourgeoisie and renegade liberals, by throwing out of the Party the only real revolutionary forces in Great Britain.

This issue thus became the main question at the Conference. The debate was the best I have heard at any conference. Of course, it was known that the Communists were going to be defeated, so Mr. MacDonald very astutely let the debate have full rein. The discussion took place on the following recommendations of the Labor Party Executive.

(1) That the application for affiliation from the Communist Party be refused.

(2) That no member of the Communist Party shall be eligible for endorsement as a Labor candidate for Parliament, or any local authority.

The Executive would have liked to have gone much farther. In fact, they would have done so, but they were afraid that the trade unions would object. However, a very small local Labor Party, the Sutton Divisional Labor Party, had placed on the Agenda the following resolution:

"That no member of the Communist Party be eligible for membership in the Labor Party."

Now this resolution hadn't a dog's chance of passing if it had been left to the Sutton delegate to fight thru. So by a really magnificent piece of strategy, MacDonald decided to tag it onto the end of the discussion that was taking place on the report of the Executive Committee. This meant, of course, that it had a better chance of being accepted, and if any criticisms were levelled against it afterwards, the Executive would say it was a conference decision arising out of a resolution placed on the agenda by an affiliated organization.

The result of the debate is, of course, known. We were defeated on all three issues. How that will work out remains, of course, to be seen. To my mind one fact stands out as clear as daylight. These decisions represent the first open steps being taken by the leader of the Labor Party to exclude Communists, not only from the Labor Party but the trade unions as well. So long as the Labor Party is built up

on the basis of the trade unions, so long is it impossible to keep the Communists out of the Labor Party. Mr. Hodges and Mr. Morrison both knew this, that is why they were so paternal and anxious that we should "go into the highways and byways," to "fight for our principles." True, this advice comes a little strange to a Party whose work is carried in every workshop and every trade union branch in this country. And these men know it and under the cover of fine phrases they are slowly preparing the way.

But the comments of all the press on these decisions make interesting reading. The leader writers knew that this issue is not a sham issue. It is the fight for the leadership and direction of the labor movement that is at stake. And that fight so far, as both the capitalists and the right wing labor leaders are concerned, can but be impelled by pursuing the policy of exclusion to the bitter end. The following two extracts are a clear indication of what may come, for they only express publicly what the reactionaries think privately.

"For self-preservation either the unions will follow the Labor Party in repudiating the Communists,

or they must accept the risk of seeing their funds used for purposes utterly foreign to the objects for which they were created. The struggle which began on Tuesday is certainly not finished, and it will be curious to watch its development in the coming months; or rather, for it is not a matter which will be decided in a few months, in the coming years, in the years which will make the next generation."

"The Times," Oct. 8, 1924.

Or to see the same thoughts more brutally expressed:

"When we perceive them (the labor leaders) actually expelling the Communists from their ranks we may believe in the sincerity of the disclaimer."

"The Morning Post," Oct. 8, 1924.

When the voting on the resolution took place it was very curious to observe in the first two resolutions, that the bulk of the votes against the Labor Party Executive's recommendations came from the Trades Councils and Local Labor Parties. This is not surprising, and it provides the key to our future tactics. These are the organizations direct from



DEMONSTRATION OF 8,000 WORKERS ADDRESSED BY COMMUNIST SPEAKERS
In Trafalgar Square, London, in protest against MacDonald's forged Zinoviev letter. Comrade A. M. Wall, speaking.

the localities where Communists carry out their daily work in the labor movement, and they are the places where we must intensify our work, and we can, in twelve months, beat the Labor Party Executive at their own game. Mr. Hodges and Mr. Morrison will regret their kindly invitations to "fight for a place" in the labor movement. The truth is, we cannot be shut out by the compromisers and vote-catchers at present in command.

The discussion on the Annual Report of the Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labor Party came in for fierce criticism. The Communists led the attack on the whole policy of the Party and the government. Russia, the budget, armaments policy, unemployment, foreign policy, all these questions were raised, and the significant thing was the general feeling and undercurrent all the time, that the government had not made the most of its opportunities. This was perhaps best expressed by T. Kenneburgh, of the Electrical Trades Union, when he declared "some of us are getting sick of hearing that the government is only in office, and not in power."

When any resolution appeared likely to be construed as a censure on the government or the Executive, appeals would be made to withdraw it in order to preserve unity in face of the election, and this stuff went down, despite the fact that the previous day, on the initiative of the Executive, the Conference had expelled the Communists in order to catch votes and placate a certain section of the enemy.

One other small thing, but very significant, the Executive Committee made desperate efforts to get the eight organizations, which had resolutions down about court functions and the flunkeyism of the Labor ministers, to withdraw these resolutions. Unfortunately, they did, but this will give the reader an idea, of how much the democratic leaders like to hear their democratic followers express themselves in their own democratic way.

On Thursday morning came the news of the government defeat. "Back again to emotionalism," was the slogan. Every-

thing and everybody was cheered. The Conference that expelled Tom Mann, the workers' fighting leader on the Tuesday, sang "For he's a jolly good fellow" to Sir Patrick Hastings on the Thursday. Then came Mr. MacDonald. The Communists led the way in the singing of the "Red Flag" and "The Internationale," much to the disgust of many leaders on the platform, who would have preferred "Lead Kindly Light." And so it all ended. The Conference is a machine. It does not represent the workers. It is dominated by Parliamentary candidates, Labor Party and trade union officials, and intellectuals, all of whom have forgotten the bitterness of the class struggle. Consequently, an air of unreality, intrigue and compromise is ever present. Resolutions are passed without any intention of trying to mobilize the masses to struggle for their realization. The class struggle is suppressed because it isn't gentlemanly.

The Communists are expelled because they are a growing menace to the present leaders and because their influence among the masses is rapidly increasing. Every day the Communist issue in British politics becomes more and more the main issue. The Labor government which had given the word that the Communists must be expelled will now have had this lesson. We are not living in 1914. There has been a revolution in Russia, and that is still supreme. So much so, that it has been found necessary by the government to make a treaty with the Russian Soviet government.

In Britain, there is for the first time, a well-disciplined revolutionary Party, the Communist Party. Its anti-war propaganda has resulted in the Campbell case.

The shadow of Communism is over the British labor movement.

All efforts to banish Communism and Communists are bound to fail. The good old times of playing at politics are gone. Revolution has stepped upon the stage.

That is probably why the "great" Labor Conference ended with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne," instead of the workers' battle cry "The Internationale."

Roots of the British Minority Movement

By Tom Mann

THE minority movement in Great Britain is not so new as many seem to think. Special activity has been shown recently, and considerable changes are taking place in the trade union movement as a result of these activities of the revolutionary minorities. The beginning is to be found, however, many years in the past.

In the year 1910, fourteen years ago, the present writer, then as now a member of the Amalgamated Engineers, was identified with kindred spirits who associated together to form an Industrial Syndicalist League. This was done because the trade union movement was badly organized numerically and objectively, and increasing reliance was being placed upon parliamentary action. The League issued a monthly pamphlet—"The Industrial Syndicalist," the first of which appeared in July, 1910.

I have said reliance was placed on parliament; it is necessary to say also that among the more militant of the workers increasing dissatisfaction with the results of par-

liamentary effort was expressed, as no rise in the standard of life took place and the associations in connection with the parliamentary institutions had a detrimental effect on the characters of the workmen members returned to parliament. In short, neither by political nor by industrial action was any real militancy shown. The term syndicalist was used to popularize the industrial movement on the lines that the French movement was then growing. As the French at that time were attaching less importance to legislation and increasing importance to industrial organization, so in England there were those who felt the necessity for similar action.

We were not anti-Parliament, but indifferent to it, holding that the first essential was a revolutionary objective, and solidarity on the industrial field to achieve this. We were entirely opposed to the starting of new unions, contending that rank and file activity of the right kind and right amount would make the unions what they ought to be. In setting

forth the aims of the I. S. L. (Industrial Syndicalist League) we put the matter thus in the first number of the magazine:

"But what will have to be the essential condition for the success of such a movement? That it will be avowedly and clearly revolutionary in aim and method. Revolutionary in aim, because it will be out for the abolition of the wages system and for securing to the workers the full fruits of their labor, thereby seeking to change the system of society from capitalist to socialist. Revolutionary in method, because it will refuse to enter into any long agreements with the masters, whether with legal or state backing, or merely voluntarily; and because it will seize every chance of fighting for the general betterment—gaining ground and never losing any. Does this mean that we should become anti-political? Certainly not. Let the politicians do as much as they can, and the chances are that once there is an economic fighting force in the country, ready to back them up by action, they will actually be able to do what now would be hopeless for them to attempt to do . . . Those who are asleep had better wake up or they'll be kicked out of the way. Those who say it can't be done are hereby invited to stand out of the way and look on while it is being done."

A vigorous campaign was carried on thruout the country and on November 26 of that same year was held the First Conference on Industrial Syndicalism. This conference was held in the Coal Exchange, Manchester, and was attended by 198 delegates. The conference was presided over by Albert A. Purcell of the Furnishing Trades, the same Mr. Purcell who presided over the recent Trades Union Congress at Hull, and who is chairman of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and member of Parliament for Coventry. One of the resolutions carried at that conference will show the motive; it was as follows:

"That, whereas the sectionalism that characterizes the trade union movement of today is utterly incapable of effectively fighting the capitalist class and securing the economic freedom of the workers, this conference declares that the time is now ripe for the industrial organization of all workers on the basis of class—not trade or craft—and that we hereby agree to propagate the principles of syndicalism thruout the British Isles, with a view to merging all existing unions into one compact organization for each industry, all laborers of every industry in the same organization as the skilled workers."

Such was the effect of this movement that early in the following year a general restlessness began to manifest itself among many sections of workers. Special attention was given to transport workers, and in June, 1911, began the great strike of sailors and firemen at all British ports, and which soon included all other sections of workers connected with water transportation: dockers, lightermen, carters, warehouse workers, and ultimately the railwaymen. Considerable demands were made and obtained, an enormous impetus was given to industrial organization, a million members were added to the trade union movement, and sectionalism was effectively checked, though certainly not destroyed. But in connection with railway employees, the three unions, known as the Amalgamated Society of Railway Men, the General Railway Workers Union, and the Signalmen and Pointsmen, dropped their individual existence and merged into one organization, since that time known as the N. U. R., or National Union of Railwaymen.

In the period that has elapsed since the special activi-

ties described, there has been the world war and its tragedies and lessons. In Great Britain we still have eleven hundred trade unions, and those of us who have been identified with the Red International of Labor Unions have in season and out kept up the agitation for amalgamation, for one hundred per cent organization in the unions, and for industrial solidarity over the whole industrial field.

Owing to the fact that many syndicalists of the continent hesitated and, in some cases, refused to make common cause with the Red International, we in Britain ceased to use the term syndicalist to describe ourselves. The achievements of the Russian revolution, the establishment of the Soviets, the formation of the Red International, were in our judgment all vitally essential to insure the success of the world revolution. Becoming identified with the R. I. L. U. and keeping up a propagandist campaign among the unions and trade councils we aimed at encouraging the men in any locality to take the initiative and to formulate plans of campaign. With the South Wales Miners who had passed through various phases of agitation and organization, the term that they made most frequent use of to describe themselves was the Minority Movement. In the space of a year this term became general in the coal fields, and increasingly so in other industrial districts.

So it came about when we were organizing a National Congress the greater part of our members and sympathizers were already known as connected with the Revolutionary Minority Movement. So this is now the accepted term and there is a big program of work to be achieved. This Conference has already been reported. (See The Labor Herald, October, 1924.) Included in the work of the Minority Movement are systematic visits to trade union branches to give brief explanatory addresses, to take an active part in the work of the unions, to act as delegate from the union branch to the Trades Council, to vigorously urge on and to actually help in bringing about amalgamation of unions in the same industry, to advocate and demonstrate the necessity for international organization, to explain the class struggle and the international aspect of it, to expose the Second International of reformists and to work assiduously for a united front on the basis of the class war.

Already there is evidence of the good effect of the work done. The Trade Union Congress held one month ago at Hull came substantially nearer to us than any previous Congress ever has. It was a great thing that a resolution was carried authorizing action to be taken by the General Council to take all necessary steps to reorganize the machinery of trade unionism on the basis of real industrial unionism. Already definite action has commenced in this regard. We of the Minority Movement have been very persistent in demanding that powers should be given to the General Council to take action in the name of the whole movement and arrange for national solidarity in the event of big struggles.

Given good tactics there are great opportunities for the Minority Movement to stimulate, and to educate on class conscious lines the great and (again) growing trade union movement. The reception that was given to Comrade Tomski at the Hull Congress, when our Russian comrade rose to give his speech, was very significant. It was by far the most enthusiastic five minutes of the Congress, and now seven have been appointed by the General Council to visit Russia, having accepted the invitation of the Russian Trade Unions. We are traveling fairly rapidly towards the great goal.

The Wobblies Meet Again

By Harrison George

THE sixteenth general convention of the I. W. W., which met at Chicago on October 13, was like a Spanish question. It began as well as ended with an interrogation mark. After 26 interminable days it ended with the answer still unwritten, which must be written before the I. W. W. finds out what its real place and function is in the labor movement, resolves to take that place and fulfill that function—and nothing else.

There would have been no convention this year had not a crisis, foreseen in its general outline by the adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions (R. I. L. U.) and explained by the writer in the September number of the Labor Herald, developed suddenly in the last days of July. A majority of the General Executive Board (G. E. B.) applied to a capitalist court for an injunction to obtain possession of headquarters and its funds after they had been ejected by the minority and the general secretary and the general organizer backed by a very loosely grouped rank and file committee.

This injunction, however, which is even yet unsettled, altho it has successfully locked up the central offices by temporary order, is by no means the fundamental cause of the crisis. It is only a symptom of disease. This disease is the traditional syndicalist contradiction of attempting in one organization the double function of a union and a political party, joined to a craze for formal, yet indifference to actual, democracy, the studied destruction of any leading stratum, pacifism instead of the class struggle, a growth of federalism which gradually ate away centralized action and class solidarity, and the generally negative or even hostile attitude toward all other workers' organizations of whatever nature.

But even the ejection and the injunction crisis did not at once impress the I. W. W. officials as of importance enough to warrant a convention. The G. E. B. under the federal form, consisted of representatives from several industrial unions, all sectionally selfish for their own unions. When James Rowan of the lumber workers, Fred Bowerman of the metal workers, Charles Anderson of the miners, Harry Trotter of the railroad workers and P. D. Ryan of the general construction workers were ejected from headquarters, the last thing they thought of was a convention of the whole I. W. W. They appealed instead to the capitalist court.

But neither did the officers elected by the whole I. W. W., Tom Doyle, general secretary, and Joe Fisher, general organizer, consider a convention necessary. So far has the I. W. W. degenerated that its highest officials are almost uniformly incompetent, irresolute and ignorant to such a degree that they never act except on pressure, yielding to any pressure in the most opportunist manner, making petty intrigue serve instead of a sound sense of political policy, and discouraged from fighting for improvement by an idiotic rule limiting their tenure of office to one year.

Only the members organized in the Red International Affiliation Committee recognized the vital need for a convention if the I. W. W. was to be saved from a split. On August 13, it issued a statement to that effect, cautioning, however, against a convention which would only tinker with

the constitution. "Until the revolutionary minority organizes in the same manner as the T. U. E. L. groups in other unions, and until they fight under the banner of the R. I. L. U. for world unity and Communist clarity, their present efforts will be futile and the present upheaval will be evidence, not of returning health, but of disintegration and decay," the writer said at that time, and the R. I. A. C. urged that unless the convention critically overhauled traditions and discussed ideological matters, nothing would be settled.

When, a month later, both factions yielded to pressure for a convention and issued separate calls for delegates to meet at two different halls in Chicago, the R. I. A. C. again cautioned the delegates on the eve of the convention not only that they must ignore both sets of quarreling officials and hold a pre-convention meeting to unite their forces, but that revolutionary principles must be clarified in the light of the R. I. L. U. program.

Now that the convention is ended, the more clear elements even among the delegates are admitting that the convention actually settled nothing. Reluctantly they agree, some of them, that this failure was caused by evading the issues of unity and revolutionary principles as fought for by the Red Internationalists. The left wing, composed though it was of earnest revolutionary workers, was so infernally afraid of being accused of being "Communist" by the better organized right wing, that it would not organize itself, formulate a revolutionary program and fight for it as a disciplined bloc. This was a "Communist program," a plan of the R. I. L. U., and they blundered along, more afraid of being termed "Communist" than of losing out all along the line to the decentralizing, anarcho-syndicalist right wing.

The attack of the injunction and the threat of a split from the Rowan group, the convention considered with the greatest reluctance. Though formally condemning the injunction, it left the door open for compromise. It expressed resentment when the Communist Daily Worker said Rowan had made "demands" upon the convention and quoted Doyle as stating that some delegates came into convention to "make trouble." It did everything possible to grovel to Rowan without seeming to do so. When, after weeks of dilly-dally, the matter could no longer be postponed, the motion to expel those who applied for an injunction, attacked the convention and called for a split, was passed only provisionally upon its submission to referendum.

The joker of this referendum lies in the fact that, firstly, the membership is cut off from information upon any internal discussion of policy by a universal gag rule that no "controversy" must be allowed in the regular press. Internal bulletins reach no more than ten per cent of the members. Besides, the heaviest vote is returned from the reformist union district of the Pacific Northwest, control over which is relied on by Rowan.

This gag rule has been the subject of unremitting attack by the Communists and Red Internationalists of the R. I. A. C., who have continually pointed out that all matters of policy should have the freest possible airing in the press. Otherwise no healthy and intelligent action is possible from the membership. Here, too, the left wing, more scared of

being called "Communists" than anxious to do what they knew was correct, failed shamefully. They avoided raising the issue, and when it was forced by complaints against some editors, they allowed instruction to the incoming G. E. B. for even more vigilant censorship to pass the convention without a fight.

Only on slight and immaterial matters did the left overcome the right wing. The margin was heavily in favor of the right wing. Federalism retains its grip as against centralization with slight modification. The dues, which needed to be raised to make up the deficit of reckoning in dollars which are worth only 66.3 cents against 1913 prices, were retained at low figure, and the per capita payment to the general organization was cut from 15 to 7½ cents per member per month.

Slight hints of sense, such as permitting officials to run for re-election, were over-shadowed by unreasoning adoption of anything that appealed to prejudice. A negative attitude ruled toward all the vital problems of labor. Toward other workers' organizations hostility was the keynote. Any officer of a political party, as well as any officer of any craft union, is now forbidden membership in the I. W. W.

In the face of oncoming crisis, unemployment, the menace of the Ku Klux Klan, the open shop and blacklist, the drive against wages and hours, the threat of a new world war, and even the split in the organization, the convention was devoted to petty squabbles over the auditing of books, tinkering endlessly with the constitution and examining with serious mein the surface of the controversy. To anyone who proposed that a plan of practical struggle should be laid down and unequivocal revolutionary principles enunciated, reference was made to the preamble, an interpretation of which was promised but never made.

So long did the convention last that titters were often heard among the audience when, some subject being proposed, a delegate would rise to inquire, "Wasn't it moved here three weeks ago?" etc.

On only two or three occasions was the convention shaken free from routine. The message of the Workers Party offering to make a united front for struggle upon specific points for the release of class war prisoners and inviting conference upon any ways and means to be suggested, was not given the grace of a reply. It was ordered "filed" after a motion to return it had lost, and Mann of the agricultural workers had objected to the insult of such a motion.

When the writer and Mike Nowak appeared in the convention hall and requested the privilege of the floor in the name of the Red International of Labor Unions, the magic and discomfiting problem of revolution turned the droning assembly into a very vocal group of anxious syndicalists intent upon proving that they were not "influenced by Communists."

Pointless attacks on "politicians" were followed by a motion "to file." It was pointed out that it was hardly possible to file a credential issued by another organization. An amendment was offered to return it, and S. J. Cole of the agricultural workers, moved to amend the amendment—that the writer be given the floor for fifteen minutes. Attack was made upon the R. I. L. U. for credentialing Mike Nowak who had been expelled for R. I. L. U. activity two years before. Delegate Mann favored a hearing as a matter of courtesy to the R. I. L. U. Cole was the only one who spoke in favor of giving the floor to the R. I. L. U. representative as a matter of revolutionary principle. A roll call vote de-

feated Cole's amendment 19 to 6, the affirmative coming as five from the agricultural workers with one affirmative vote from Mattson of the miners.

It being reported that the I. W. W. has "administrations" of a rather nebulous kind in sixteen different countries, wholly out of touch with the I. W. W. and some being discovered as affiliated to the Berlin anarchist international, the convention instructed the incoming officers to call a conference when convenient to find out what principles these "administrations" have in common with the I. W. W.

Near the end of the convention a lively tilt took place which showed that the delegates would not formally and officially renounce a militant fighting program, even though they could not relieve themselves from syndicalist confusion and concede that only the Communists have a clear revolutionary program of action. Vern Smith, editor of both the weekly "Industrial Solidarity" and the monthly "Industrial Pioneer" was summoned to answer charges presented by Delegate Claude Erwin of the oil workers.

Smith was charged with writing an editorial calling on workers to "assault, overturn and entirely destroy" the capitalist system and, in another place, urging "thousands of workers to go to Southern California and violate the Busick injunction" which forbids not only the customary list of crimes such as arson, but also the "taking over of the industries." Thousands who knew the I. W. W. of old, will be amazed why these editorials could be made the bases of charges for which to expel an I. W. W. editor. The answer is that the I. W. W. is largely becoming a reformist and pacifist union.

Of all the delegates, officials and members who got the floor of the convention, Vern Smith was unquestionably the superior intellect. Erwin was crushed. He tried to play the demagogue by asking, "Which do you think is the more revolutionary, for editors to sit in Chicago and write stuff in the papers, or for members to go to jail in California for selling papers on the streets?" "It depends altogether," said Smith, "upon what the editors in Chicago put into the papers as to whether selling them in California is a revolutionary act or not."

Smith proved how the pacifism had grown upon the organization until the membership is paralyzed by the idea that being martyrs is much better than being victors. They do not think of resisting mobs and have given up militant mass defiance of injunctions. "The general who would fight as the I. W. W. pacifists have in California," he said, "and who would send little detachments separately to the firing line to be killed off, would not be complimented, but shot for treason." The "pure industrialists" and revolutionary utopians were driven into a corner. The vote stood 23 to 3 in favor of Smith. His report also raised the issue of revolutionary principle, and to dispose of it without decision it was referred to the committee on policy.

This committee on policy which should have been the first committee to report, was dismissed when, after hearing three reports, the convention became confused by the involved and abstract arguments and decided to refer the matter to the incoming G. E. B.

In the year past the membership has declined from 38,000 to 31,000. During the convention, the injunctionites attacked it continually and on October 27, sent out a frank and open call for a split. The response that call will get among the membership is problematic, but it will not be without support. In spite of all this the convention was too

cowardly to act with decision. At the time this is written the headquarters has been locked up for three months by the injunction order. The convention met, sat for a month, and adjourned. But the lock is still on the I. W. W. headquarters.

The Red International Affiliation Committee has taken active part in every development. It has succeeded in dissolving the great barrier of unthinking prejudice against the R. I. L. U. and the Communist movement in the minds of the I. W. W. membership. This prejudice was the harder to erase because the I. W. W. had become possessed with the fixed idea that the R. I. L. U. wished to "liquidate" it. This delusion is vanishing now, owing to the unequivocal attitude and action of the R. I. L. U. It remains to have the friendly response to the activity of the R. I. L. U. register itself organically.

The course of the organization can only be the subject of conjecture. It may split over the injunction issue and the right and left tear the "universal chart" in two. The

reformist wing may be forced to discard Rowan, but may win control in time and abandon all revolutionary pretense. The organization may try to maintain its unity of organism and its duality of function, grow more confused and worse isolated from the realities of revolutionary struggle and go the sectarian way of the W. I. I. U. Or, as the R. I. L. U. hopes, the I. W. W. may without delay unite with the other revolutionary workers in America and thruout the world, and with them go out to organize the unorganized millions of workers awaiting such a movement in the basic industries.

Whatever the course may be, however, the Red International Affiliation Committee can claim that it has broken the resistance previously existing in the minds of revolutionary I. W. W., and whichever the course of the I. W. W. as an organization, the revolutionary workers belong and are coming to believe in the movement which holds aloft the revolutionary banner of the Communist International.

Next Month

The January issue will be packed full of interesting material. Observing the anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, will be several features, including:

Lenin, Leader and Comrade

By Alexander Bittelman

A Children's Memorial to Lenin

By Leon Trotsky

* * * *

The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was attended by J. W. Johnstone, of the Trade Union Educational League, who will draw the balance sheet of that gathering for THE WORKERS MONTHLY.

* * * *

The Fraud of "Workers' Education"

By James P. Cannon

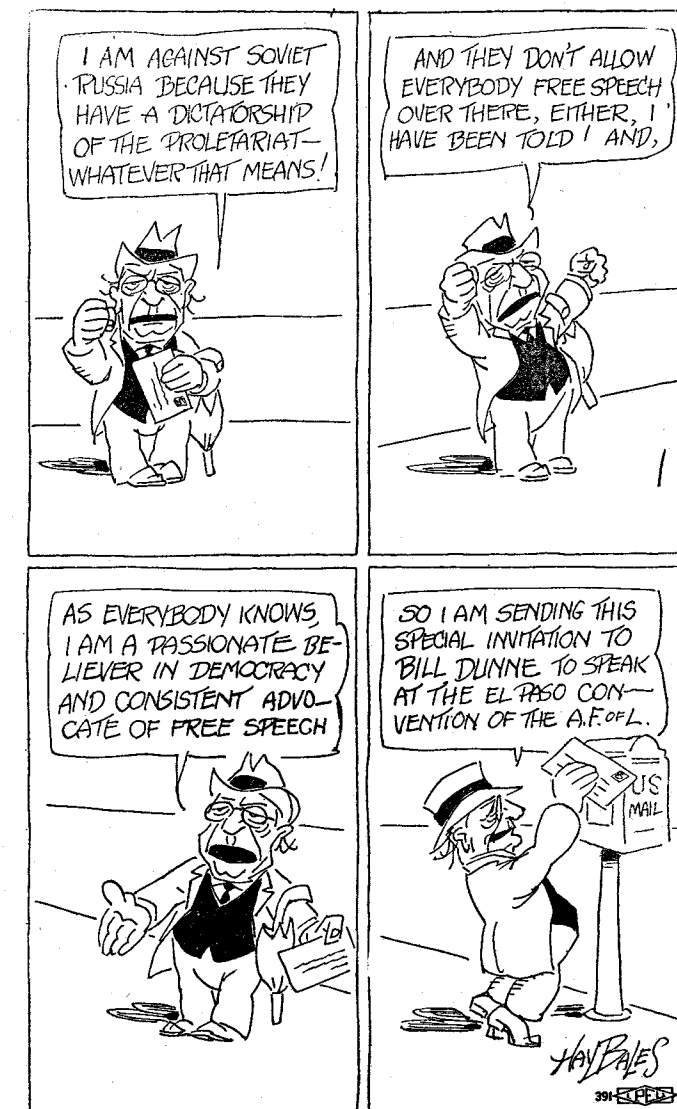
Is the title of a scathing exposure of the systematic corruption of the labor movement now being carried out under the guise of "workers' education."

* * * *

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

This classic of Communist literature, unfortunately missing from this issue because of difficulty in obtaining competent translators, will be resumed next month and continued thereafter until completion. Alexander Bittelman is now making the translation from the Third Russian Edition which has just arrived in this country, thus guaranteeing a translation worthy of this great book.



"IMPOSSIBILISM"



The Burden-Bearer of Imperialism in the Pacific is in Revolt

Fred Ellis

The Rocky Mountain Miners

By Jack Lee

IMAGINE a desert region with long, flat, sandy valleys between low ranges of hills. The plain between the hills is treeless, and is cut by dry water courses—down by the Mexican border they call them arroyos, and farther north they call them wash-outs, but they are all the same—sharp, narrow, steep-banked things—very awkward to run into with a Ford. Transportation is rotten. There are no real roads, except near the cities, but there are sign boards standing lonesome-like in the plains, and wheel tracks going this way and that, where Fords or trucks commonly run to some mining camp or other.



You can watch distant dust clouds, where supplies are going to camp, as you sit on the hillside in the cool of the summer evening and look across the sage, which is purple when the light begins to fade, and see other hills—lavender hills, these are—with a greenish colored sky behind them.

I think it must be the amazing color schemes in this plateau region (which is most erroneously marked on maps, "The Rocky Mountains") that makes people go back to it the way they do. I can't see any other reason, unless, of course, they own a mine. For this stretch of hills and high barren plains, running from Arizona to Canada, is one of the world's treasure chests. The greater portion of the copper produced in the United States comes from here, and practically all of the silver, lead, platinum, zinc, and tin. Millions of dollars worth of gold comes out of here every year—much more, contrary to the public impression, than Alaska yields. Sometimes all of these metals are mixed together in the same mine, and gold, silver, lead, zinc are usually found together, and principally in the southern half of the region I have described. Copper is found mostly in the north, where there are a few real mountains.

The "Promoting" Industry.

Some of the mining, particularly copper mining, is done in little cites, like Butte and Helena, towns that are surrounded and supported by mines, but which are considerable settlements, for all that. But much of the mining, and all of the prospect work, is still carried on in distant canyons, twenty, fifty, one hundred miles from the railroad, and it is done by methods that would not justify the existence of these enterprises in a soviet system of economy.

A surprisingly large number of mining enterprises do not produce anything at all. The Bureau of Census Mines and Quarries Handbook states that in 1919 there were five hundred enterprises, operating 512 mines, or one-fourth the total number of mines in operation, which did not produce anything at all. These mines are supposed to be "developing," that is, being dug down to the ore bodies. Most of them never find any ore bodies that it will pay to work. They run on for a year or two, and disappear, but others start up instead of them.

All Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado, and much of Utah is

lined with low grade silver ore. It is the easiest thing in the world to find a mine, if you don't mind staking out ground that it will not pay to mine in.

After the enterprising prospector locates the "ground," his next and hardest task is to find the "live one." The live one is somebody from the East who doesn't know anything about mines, and can be persuaded to finance a mining company. Usually some professional promoter starts a company, and those who finance it are \$12 per day (two months a year) New York bricklayers, or tired middle western farmers who think they can buy mining stock with their second mortgage, and thus get rid of their first one; or they are retired grocers in some small Ohio or Indiana town looking for an easy way to serve the Lord. All money is the same, and it all goes to give the promoter a little rake-off, and to the original prospector or the wise bird to whom he sold out for a song, a somewhat lesser reward, and it provides a few months' work for the common miners and muckers. The miners and muckers get cheated out of their last two months' pay when the company goes broke. The farmers and petty bourgeoisie and the workers who have taken a fifty-dollar flier in mining stock, get nothing. But some silver and lead is frequently produced, at a cost of two dollars for every dollar taken out, and the stock of such metals in existence is thereby added to. Much mining is swindling, even by capitalistic standards, and practically all small mining is swindling. Every miner knows this.

Freezing Out The Small Producers.

I can remember the first sight I ever had of a silver mine. It was at Tybo, seventy miles from Tonopah, Nevada. A tall, raw-boned shift boss stood leaning over the railing around the mouth of the shaft, waiting for the cage to come up. When it was hauled level, the first muddy, dripping miner stepped on the ground and announced, "A new vein in Number Three Winze."

Says the boss, "How wide is it?"

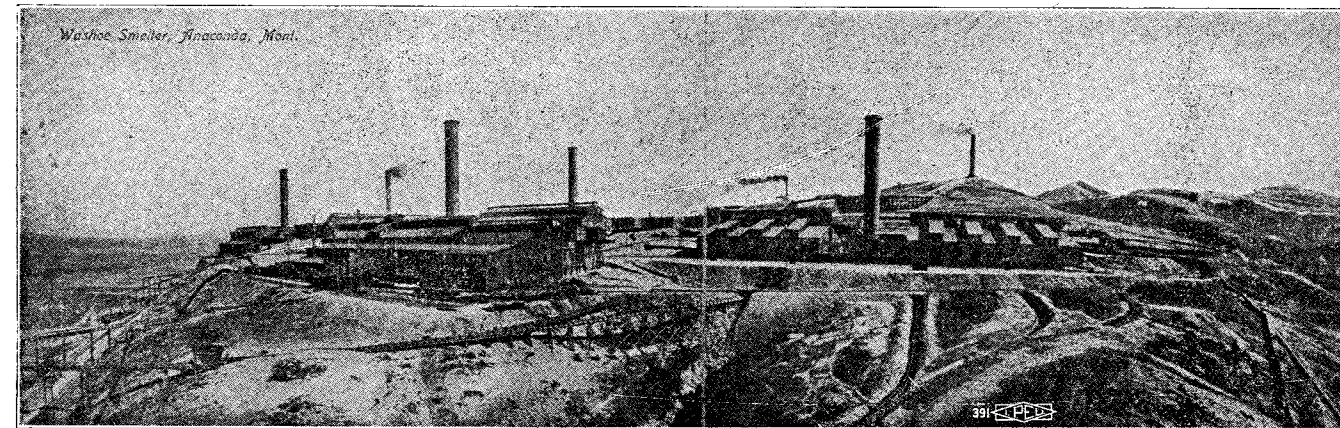
"About as wide as my hand."

"Wide enough, wide enough—and I know it runs clear back to New York." (New York was where the "live ones" lived, in this particular case.)

That is the general attitude; and this universal atmosphere of fraud, "high-grading," petty graft and big graft, "salting" of mines, murder of unwelcome inspectors ("rolling them over with a short starter," the miners call it, meaning, getting the intruder killed by a purposely premature blast), may perhaps account for the rebellious and generally anti-capitalistic spirit of the metal miners.

When you see the time-keeper padding the pay-roll to get some graft for himself, and the mine superintendent stealing an occasional truck load of silver ore for his bucks, and the president of the company putting out the most ridiculous and exaggerated claims to get some sucker to buy stock, you know capitalism is rotten, and no one can convince you otherwise.

Time was when the individual miner might steal a few chunks of rich gold ore himself, every shift. That period is gone. You couldn't carry away in your pockets enough twenty-dollar-per-ton ore to help you much.



But for the man with a little money, opportunities for theft are still quite common. I have seen the most impossible things stolen. I knew one mine superintendent who regularly stole all his spare parts for mine and concentrating mill machinery, all his steel for new tools, all his small dynamos and motors and wire, from other and temporarily abandoned mines around the country. Some of the mines from which he stole were a couple of hundred miles away. Usually some watchman had to be either bribed or bumped off, as the virtue or lack of virtue of the man demanded. But the "super" always got the stuff he went after—he just sent a truck and got it—that was all.

I know of one case, near Salt Lake, where a group of ambitious workers put the lessons they had learned, to good use, and stole a smelter—pretty nearly the whole thing. They began in a small way, taking the brass parts and copper wire and selling them, from which they got money enough to buy a horse truck, after which they stole motors and pieces of pipe, and got money enough to buy a good four wheel drive motor truck, and in the end they were trying to get away with some of the big furnaces, when the owners interrupted. I believe these men have formed a company and own mines themselves now, proving that the Chicago Daily News is right, when it alleges that there is still room for hard working persons to climb to comfort and even affluence through the "Romance of Small Business."

The Real Exploiters.

Now, just because a good deal of the silver lead is produced by little mining companies, more or less wild-cat in nature, it should not be supposed that big business plays no part in the metal mining industry. Even silver lead has to be smelted, and much of the ore has to be concentrated first. The mills and the smelters are pretty much in the control of George Wingfield, of Salt Lake, and of the Guggenheim family, of New York. They get the really big profits, and in purely legitimate ways take much more than the little swindlers get in illegitimate ways. They buy the ore or the concentrates from the mining companies at the smelter's own price, and they come pretty close to selling the stuff, after it passes through their hands, at what price they please. Also, they do things like this: When galena ore is sold to them (most of the Nevada and Arizona ore is galena) they know it contains silver, lead, zinc, and gold. They buy it for the silver and lead it shows on assay, and refuse to pay for the gold, if that is in small quantity. They actually charge the mining company for all the expense of removing the zinc

from the rest of the metals. Then they sell the zinc—clear velvet. I have seen mining superintendents turn purple in the face and choke with rage when describing the extortion and greediness of the smelting trust, but I have never observed that it hurt the Guggenheims any.

As a result of their grasp on the smelting and refining end of the silver lead mining industry, Wingfield and the Guggenheims buy up for very little the best of the mines, the real mines, which it pays to operate. If you have a good mine, and one of these mining capitalists wants it, you might as well take his first offer, for he will never make another as good, neither will you sell any ore to amount to anything after the first offer is made. Moreover, if you are stubborn, your cars of ore will mysteriously go astray, and the railroad company will deny that they ever existed, and sabotage will break out in your camp; your working places will be flooded, and your employees will be poisoned, and your hoisting sheds will be burned. All these big pirates of the mining industry stand together, and their spies are everywhere.

Concentration of Capital in Metal Industry.

Such advantages, and the fact that the ores most easily worked have been used up, necessitating for the mining of lower grade ores more complicated technique and more expensive machinery, have resulted in the rapid concentration of the gold-silver-lead-zinc mine companies and the still more rapid centralization of ownership in the copper fields.

Let us take up the gold-silver, etc., mines first, and resort to government figures. According to the authority quoted above, in 1902 there were 2,017 gold and silver lode enterprises; in 1909 there were 1,616, with 2,011 proprietors or firm members, and in 1919 there were but 740 enterprises, with but 712 proprietors or firm members. Later figures are unobtainable, but the process indicated above is continuing. Notice that the number of proprietors was greater than the number of enterprises in 1909, but that in spite of the great concentration of enterprises in 1919, the proprietorship was still more concentrated, so that there were fewer proprietors than mining companies. It is true that the decrease in the number of mines may be accounted for by the fact that the value of the ore mined decreased from about seventy-seven million dollars in 1902 to about fifty million dollars in 1919. That is, the industry itself is smaller now than it was.

But when we take up the case of the lead and zinc mines (remember that this governmental division into gold-silver and lead-zinc groups is artificial and arbitrary, for all the metals are usually to be found in the same mines) we find

that the value of the product has enormously increased: in 1902 it was \$14,600,177, and in 1909 it was \$31,360,094, and in 1919 it was \$75,579,347. Nevertheless, in spite of this enlargement of the industry, there has been a concentration of control. In 1909 there were 977 enterprises with 1,947 proprietors or firm members, and in 1919 there were but 432 enterprises with 412 proprietors. Notice again that the proprietorship has concentrated faster even than the business units.

Many a man is still alive who can remember the time when George Wingfield was a "tin-horn gambler." Wingfield gambled in the way that never loses, and put the profits into banks and mining companies and smelters. Now he owns the Goldfield Consolidated Mines company, the Nevada Hills Mining company, the Buckhorn Mines company, and he is president of four big banks. He controls many more companies.

The Guggenheim brothers own both silver-lead and copper projects, among which are: the American Smelting & Refining company, Smelters Securities company, Braden Copper company, Guggenheim & Klein, Inc., Chile Copper com-

pany, Chile Exploration company, Braden Copper Mines, Nevada Consolidated Copper company, and a number of steamship lines and railroads. Morris Guggenheim is the treasurer of Gimbel Brothers department stores, and Simon Guggenheim was United States senator for six years, from Colorado.

These two are outstanding examples of the newer capitalism in the metalliferous lode mines. The Rockefeller family, too, is working in deeper all the time.

The Copper Trust

When one considers the copper mining field, he will, at first sight, believe that no concentration is under way. In 1909 there were 188 enterprises with 79 proprietors or firm members, and in 1919 there were 195 enterprises, with 103 proprietors. But there is centralization of power, just the same. About a hundred of these enterprises are in the Rocky Mountains. One of them is the Anaconda Copper Mining company, with headquarters in Butte, Montana. Most of the other ninety and nine are also the Anaconda Copper Mining company, hiding under different names.

(In the January issue Jack Lee will take up the conditions of workers in the metal mines, their social composition, their organizations, and their prospects for the future.)



THE APOSTLE

J. de Miskey

Is the Movement Towards Class Political Action Dead?

By C. E. Ruthenberg

THE Workers Party faces the problem of shaping the policy which it will pursue in order to develop class political action by the workers of this country. A group in our party, under the leadership of Comrade Foster, who presented his view in the November *Workers Monthly*, is of the opinion that the movement towards class political action by labor is dead and that therefore, the Workers Party must abandon the slogan "For a Class Labor Party."

In order to grasp the significance of the present situation, it is necessary to examine fundamentally the basis of the farmer-labor united front policy which has for two years been the major political policy of our party. Such an examination will give a clear answer to the question, "Is the movement towards class political action by labor dead?" and serve as a guide to our party in formulating its position.

The Basis of Our Farmer-Labor United Front.

What were the facts which in June, 1922, influenced the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party to adopt the slogan "For a Labor Party" which was later widened to "For a Class Farmer-Labor Party?"

The Central Executive Committee of our party at that time was considering the application of the united front policy which had just been formulated by the Communist International, to the conditions which existed in the United States. The policy of the United Front was and is that Communist Parties shall take up the immediate issues growing out of the class struggle, take the leadership of the struggle, and demand that other existing organizations claiming to represent labor shall unite in support of the immediate struggles of the workers. Thus, the united front policy is both a weapon for the mobilization of the workers for the immediate fight against capitalism, and a means of exposing the misleaders of the workers thru their refusal to join a united front fight on issues growing out of the immediate demands of the workers.

The Central Executive Committee of our party, in casting about to find the means of applying this policy on the political field in the United States, faced the situation that in this country no mass political organization of labor existed and that the workers were still supporting the parties of their class enemies, the Republican and Democratic parties. The problem of a united front politically, therefore, was not the question of manouvers against existing political parties of labor which were misleading the workers, but a question of slogans which would develop independent political action by the workers.

The forces which develop class political action by labor are the experiences of labor in its fight for more of what it produces and for better working conditions. It is a fundamental of Marxism that the development of capitalism brings about the intensification of the class struggle, that this intensified class struggle involves the open use of the state power against the workers and forces the workers into the political struggle as a class in their own defense. If this fundamental Marxian principle is not true, then our Communist hope of a proletarian revolution is an illusion.

In 1922, when the united front labor party policy was adopted by our party, it was apparent that we had reached

the stage of development in the United States which would produce a class political struggle by the workers on a mass scale. The development of capitalism in the United States, as a result of the war, has brought about an intensification of the class struggle here. The great industrial revolts of 1919 and 1922 were the expression of this situation. The more open use of the state power against the workers developed the idea of labor political action to take this weapon out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters. The demand for such labor political action took the form of a movement for a farmer-labor party.

It was thus no artificial slogan created by our party which was the basis of our united front farmer-labor policy, but the actual developments of capitalism and the workers' struggle in the United States. Our party adopted the slogan "For a Labor Party" as a means of crystallizing the sentiment for independent political action by labor which had grown up thru the life experiences of the workers. Therefore, the slogan "For a Labor Party" was not based upon mere ephemeral conditions, but upon the rock foundation that the developments of capitalism intensifying the class struggle, bringing with it the use of the state power against the worker, inevitably forced them into a class political struggle against the capitalist state power.

Divergent Views Within the Party.

Before taking up the present validity of the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" as a means of agitation and mobilization of the workers for the political struggle against the capitalist state power, it is necessary to examine the divergent views which developed within the party during the farmer-labor united front campaign. This examination will throw some light upon the basis of the present opposition of the Foster group to the continuation of the slogan "For a Class Farmer-Labor Party" as enunciated by the Communist International.

The differences of viewpoints in regard to the application of the farmer-labor united front policy developed in the Central Executive Committee of the party immediately after the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. There had been representatives of some 600,000 workers and farmers in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention. It was the view of the then majority of the then Central Executive Committee, expressed in a thesis and resolution by Comrades Pepper and Ruthenberg, that by an aggressive organizational campaign it would be possible to organize in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party from 200,000 to a quarter of a million workers, thus creating a left wing radical farmer-labor organization.

The group which supported this viewpoint contended that it was to the best interests of the Workers Party to organize such a left wing radical farmer-labor bloc around itself and under its leadership. This bloc, it contended, would strengthen the Workers Party. Thru a careful and systematic campaign of Communist education it could be developed closer to the Workers Party, with the ultimate object, after a period of such preparation, of absorbing the best elements in this bloc into the Workers Party and thus developing the Workers Party as a mass Communist Party.

The Pepper-Ruthenberg group also contended that the

formation of this left bloc farmer-labor party, under the leadership of the Workers Party, would give the Workers Party a powerful weapon with which to manoeuvre in relation to a broader farmer-labor united front.

This viewpoint and policy was bitterly opposed by the Foster-Cannon group. They contended that the formation of such a left bloc farmer-labor party under the leadership of the Workers Party was a misapplication of the united front policy. In a thesis submitted at the November meeting of the C. E. C. in 1923, it was argued that the policy of the Workers Party must be directed toward the creation of a broad all-embracing farmer-labor party. It was the view of the Foster-Cannon group that thru some magic the whole or a great part of the organized American labor movement would be organized in a broad mass farmer-labor party in which the Workers Party would assume the role of a relatively weak left wing and not the position of leadership and control.

The Pepper-Ruthenberg group declared that this wide all-embracing labor party was an illusion, and that the development of the working class of this country would not and could not be to enter the field of political struggle as a class thru one great stride forward which would carry with it the great bulk of the workers. It declared further that the policy of our party in carrying on the campaign for a labor party was not primarily to build up such a broad mass labor party but to strengthen and build the Workers Party as a mass Communist Party and if it was necessary to sacrifice the broad mass labor party for a mass Communist party, that it was our Communist duty to build the mass Communist Party.

Misconceptions of the United Front Policy

The policy of the Foster-Cannon group in directing the work of our party toward the creation of a broad all-inclusive farmer-labor party in which we would be a weak left wing and sacrificing the organization of a left bloc radical farmer-labor party around the Workers Party which would be under its leadership and control, shows a fundamental misconception of the united front policy.

The purpose of the united front tactic is to build up and strengthen the Communist Party. It must take every advantage of the situation during the united front manoeuvre in order to increase its prestige, its leadership and its membership. The united front tactic is the method of building a mass Communist Party.

In place of holding this view, the Foster-Cannon group seems to consider the creation of a broad mass labor party as a goal in itself irrespective of the relationship of the Workers Party and the effect upon the Workers Party. It was ready and did sacrifice the creation of the left bloc radical farmer-labor party under the leadership of the Workers Party for the illusion of an all-inclusive broad labor party. Its opposition and continued struggle against the organizing of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party around the Workers Party prevented the creation of such a left bloc radical farmer-labor party under the leadership of the Workers Party which, if created immediately after the Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention would have materially changed the position of the party in relation to the whole farmer-labor movement and later in relation to the LaFollette movement.

The same misconception which was manifest in its policy in relation to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party obtrudes itself in the slogan which it offers at the present time as a substitute for the slogan "For a Class Labor Party." The

slogan which is to succeed the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" is "Build the Workers Party."

If the Foster-Cannon group considers this slogan "Build the Workers Party" as a new slogan to succeed "For a Class Labor Party," then it must have held the opinion that in carrying on the united front farmer-labor manoeuvre we had some other purpose than to build the Workers Party. Its policy of sacrificing everything for the creation of a broad all-inclusive farmer-labor party was this other purpose. In opposition to this the Pepper-Ruthenberg policy was to build a left bloc farmer-labor party under the leadership of the Workers Party and thus ultimately to form a mass Communist Party. The Pepper-Ruthenberg policy in carrying on the farmer-labor united front, was always to build the Workers Party.

The Foster-Cannon group now proposes to abandon the slogan "For a Class Farmer-Labor Party" and substitute "Build the Workers Party" because of its erroneous ideas of the purpose of the farmer-labor united front manoeuvre. Those members of our party who have always seen clearly the farmer-labor united front policy was a manoeuvre to build and strengthen the Workers Party need not adorn themselves in sackcloth and ashes and repent for their past sins.

Will Labor Stand Still?

The argument of the Foster group against the continuance of the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" is that in the LaFollette movement "there has been submerged what promised to be the beginning of a mass party of workers and farmers upon a class basis with a class program, the rising farmer-labor party movement." I am suspicious that behind this viewpoint that the LaFollette movement has ended the usefulness of the slogan "For a Class Labor Party," there are some vestiges of a belief that in the LaFollette progressive party we have that broad mass all-inclusive labor party which the Foster-Cannon group advocated as the goal of the Workers Party policy.

Undoubtedly it is true that the formation of a broad all-inclusive farmer-labor party, with a program expressing the class interests of the two classes, is not likely for the immediate future. The illusion which the Foster-Cannon group had that such a party could be formed is still an illusion. The struggle which the Foster-Cannon group made in the past to direct the party policy toward the impossible goal of the realization of this illusion is very probably at the bottom of its present opposition to the continuation of the slogan "For a Class Labor Party."

The potency of the slogan, so far as this goal was concerned, is ended at the present time. The potency of the slogan still remains so far as the goal of those who used it as a means of bringing under the leadership of the Workers Party, the most conscious and radical workers in the labor movement and of thus building the Workers Party.

The reason why the slogan remains a potent slogan for our party to use as the basis of its united front manoeuvres on the political field is because capitalism and the intensification of the class struggle remain. The original policy was based upon the assumption that the intensification of the class struggle must develop class political action by labor. The Foster group, in their election statement, agree that the immediate future in the United States holds an intensification of the class struggle—that the Coolidge-Dawes administration means new attacks upon labor. The Foster group is compelled to agree that the LaFollette movement does not represent class action by labor. If the immediate

future holds intensified class struggles between the workers and the capitalists, if we agree that the LaFollette movement cannot express the class political struggles of labor, and if we agree with the Marxian principle that the intensified struggle between the workers and capitalists forces the workers into political class action, then there is no other conclusion than that the immediate future holds an even greater movement toward class political action by labor than we have had in recent years and that the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" remains the best slogan thru which to carry on the work of agitation for such class political action and the ultimate mobilization of the workers for class political action.

Our Policy.

Our party made its greatest gains thru its united front farmer-labor policy. It was the application of this policy that brought it in contact with the workers and established its prestige as a political party. Thru the application of the united front policy on the political field, it developed from a sectarian propaganda group into an actual factor in the struggles of the workers of this country. It strengthened itself and its leadership thru the united front manoeuvre. The party must continue to apply the united front tactic on the political field. The slogan "For a Class Labor Party" remains a potent slogan thru which to bring the workers who are developing towards class political action under the influence and leadership of the Workers Party. It must continue that slogan for the purpose of agitation against both the old parties and against the LaFollette movement.

The Big Stick Gets Bigger

By Jay Lovestone

"THE borders of the United States virtually extend to Cape Horn," declared William Howard Taft, sometime ago. In the eighteen years that have elapsed since this historic declaration was uttered, the directly economic and the indirectly political borders of the United States have been extended to the Cape of Good Hope, the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, the ancient Valley of Euphrates, and the Yangtze River in the heart of China.

American Eagle Supreme.

America has become the greatest reservoir of capital in the world. The economic primacy of the United States among the nations is now undisputed. The only question that remains to be answered by the imperialist world is whether this Yankee supremacy is indisputable. Our capitalists are working overtime acquiring the resources of the world. Pan-Americanization has been making terrific headway from the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan and from Queen Charlotte Sound to the Hudson Bay. A glance at the commercial map of the other continents will convince the student of international affairs that the stomach of the American eagle is now weighted with gold and that her talons are sticky with oil.

It has been said that the flag follows the dollar. This should be amended to say that the marines follow the dollar. Together these are now chiseling the face of the world.

Its aim in conducting the agitation under the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" must be the ultimate mobilization of the left wing radical bloc in the labor movement under the leadership of the Workers Party. It must be to penetrate this group which thru the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" it brings into action with itself and under its influence, with Communist understanding for the purpose of ultimately absorbing its best elements into the Workers Party.

The Foster group proposes as a substitute for this policy the direct attempt to draw into the Workers Party the workers whom capitalism teaches the necessity of labor fighting as a class on the political field. We shall abandon the slogan which in the past has enabled us to establish close contact with at least the left bloc of the labor movement and return to our former status of sectarian propaganda. That is the effect of the policy of the Foster group. It means the repudiation of the united front as a weapon of our party on the political field. The same reason exists today for the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" which existed when we adopted it. We cannot establish contact with the undeveloped workers who are still in the old parties or who have moved into the LaFollette movement by mere propaganda for Communist principles. We can, however, using the lessons of their experiences in the use of the state power against them in their immediate struggles, establish contact and our leadership by offering to unite with them under the slogan "For a Class Labor Party" and a class fight by labor.

The slogan "For a Class Labor Party" still is the best road open for the building of the Workers Party and making it a mass Communist Party.

Every dollar invested abroad is only another wedge for American intervention, political and military. In the present, the imperialist stage of capitalism, every dollar invested in the financing of industry, in the development of railways, in the exploitation of natural resources is a dollar invested in the maintenance of "law and order," "peace," and "progress." The wildest dreams of conquest and oppression of the Pizarros and the Cortezes of yesterday never approached in magnitude the subtle, life-controlling campaigns of the House of Morgan and the Standard Oil interests.

The World's Creditor.

In the last decade the United States has been turned from a debtor into the leading creditor nation. Before the Great Imperialist War the claims of foreign debtors against America totaled about seven billion dollars. Today, this sum is less than three billion dollars. At the same time the rest of the world owes American investors and the Washington government more than twenty billion gold dollars.

Striking evidence of the marked trend of this economic tendency is shown by the change in ownership of the common and preferred stocks of the United States Steel Corporation. From March 31, 1914, to March 31, 1924, the foreign holdings of common stock fell from 1,285,636 to 201,636 and the preferred declined from 312,311 shares to only 112,521.

The United States now holds more than four and a half

million dollars of monetary gold, or at least fifty per cent of the world's stock. New York has again outstripped London as the financial center of the world. While the amount of foreign and colonial loans floated in Great Britain is decreasing, the total floated in the United States is rapidly increasing. From an investor on the byways, the American capitalist has become the principal investor on the highways of the world. The investment outposts of the American bankers now cover the world. The Wall Street bankers are becoming the co-ordinators of international commerce, finance, and industry. It was the dollar that dictated the proceedings of the recent London Conference, framed the Dawes plan, and is now operating the receivership of Germany.

Three Stages of Economic Development.

Our capitalist economic development can be roughly divided into three stages. The first period ranging from 1763 to 1815, was the time when the American capitalists were struggling for the right to be "born," the right to be baptized, as it were, as a distinct national capitalist group. These predecessors of the Morgans and Garys of today talked about and worked for "the rights of independence," the rights of "sovereignty and nationality."

The second period covered the years 1815-1893. In this span of years the capitalists unified their ranks, consolidated their position as the ruling class thru their decisive conquest of political and military power, and centralized their control of the economic resources and the means of production and exchange. It was in this stage that the foundation was laid for the present highly centralized government in place of a decentralized governmental apparatus whose motive power rested in various states. It was in this period that the industrial and financial interests of the capitalist North vanquished the chattel slave aristocracy of the South. Particularly in the latter stage of this period do we hear about the "builders of the continent," the rise of a gigantic system of telegraphs and telephones, the beginning of national labor organizations, and the birth of many of the present monopolies.

The year 1893 ushered in the present—the imperialist—the final stage of American capitalist development. In the last three decades our ruling class has not been talking about or concerned with the problems of national independence, or the politico-economic consolidation of their class power. Now our exploiters are talking about "spheres of influence," about "investment areas" where they can sink for profits the surplus they have wrung from the exploited working class at home, about the "open door" in the Orient, and paramount rights in the Caribbean, Latin-America, and the Pacific. Today it is the independence of other nationalities and other colonial peoples that is bothering the American ruling class. We are now in the period of American political and economic life.

Growth of American Investments.

The Department of Commerce has estimated the value of the national wealth of the United States at about 325 billion dollars. The annual national income is now estimated at approximately seventy billion dollars.

Coincident with the rapid growth of American industry and production has been the swift growth of American foreign investments. In 1900 the United States held only 500 million dollars in foreign securities. The bulk of this investment was found in Canada, Mexico and Cuba. At this time American investors held only ten million dollars worth of European securities.

By 1909 American investments abroad rose to two billion dollars. Canada alone was in debt a half billion to the United States. In 1913 the total foreign investment rose to two and a half billion dollars. Nearly 80 per cent of this sum was invested in Canada and Latin-America. A little more than five per cent of the total was invested in Asia and slightly less than 15 per cent in Europe.

The Great World War brought marked changes in American economic and financial development. For the first time American capitalism was beginning to build up a world machine for banking and credit. Today American capitalists have huge holdings of foreign state, municipal and corporation bonds. The Yankee financiers now have large amounts of capital invested in real estate and mortgages, in mines, factories, electric power, timber lands, oil fields, and merchandise establishments the world over.

A conservative estimate of the total foreign investments of the American capitalists at this date would be close to nine billion dollars. To this there can be added the approximately 12,000 (11,800) million dollars that are due the United States government from various foreign debtors. Consequently, American investments in the industries, resources and governments—in the law and order and stability abroad are now well above 20 billion dollars. The British investments at the close of 1923 were estimated at only 17 billion dollars. Thus, though only about twenty years in the field of foreign investment, American capitalism has already outstripped British imperialism which has been a pioneer in this realm scores of years before the entry of the United States.

Geographical Distribution of American Investments.

It is very difficult to procure data giving an arithmetically accurate picture of the distribution of American investments.

In Canada the total American investments are estimated at a minimum of two and a half billion dollars. There are now from eight to nine hundred American branch factories in Canada. American capitalists have displaced British capitalists as the greatest foreign investors in the Dominion industries. The Canadian Bureau of Statistics reports that American capitalists own at least 31 per cent of the Canadian manufacturing industries.

The total American investments in Mexico are said to be about two and a half billion dollars. American capitalists own three-fourths of the oil wells of this republic.

The Department of Commerce estimates the total American investment in Cuba to be about a billion and a quarter exclusive of the more than a hundred million dollars worth of Cuban government bonds held in the United States.

In all Latin-America there are now more than four billion dollars of American capital invested.

Exclusive of the debts owed to the government, there are now invested about two and a half billion American dollars in Europe. In view of the Dawes program, this field of investment is expected to be a very lucrative and increasingly important one in the immediate future.

American investments in Asia are estimated at more than a half billion dollars and are steadily mounting. American capitalists are, comparatively speaking, newcomers as financial investors in this field.

1924—A Banner Imperialist Year.

This has been a banner year for American imperialists. So far more than a billion dollars worth of foreign loans have been floated in this country. Before the year is over, there is every likelihood that this giant sum will be in-

creased by another half billion. It will be recalled that last year American foreign investments totaled only \$242,845,000; in 1922 only \$431,305,000; in 1921 only \$379,270,000, and in 1920 only \$291,000,000.

It is significant that this year's foreign loans have been almost exclusively to governments. Apparently American capitalism is being led by economic and political forces to stabilize the weakened capitalist governments the world over.

With the adoption of the Dawes plan, the investment of American capital on a large scale in European private enterprises is a matter of only a very short time. Already American investors are financing French railways and steel plants, Belgian chemical companies, hydro-electric enterprises in Norway, Austria, Italy and Japan. Of course, the American capitalists are not neglecting the telegraph, telephone and radio in South America, the sugar and railway companies in Cuba, and the electric light and power systems, paper and lumber companies in Canada.

"Exporting" Financial Experts

American imperialism is now consolidating and extending its position thru exporting and placing strategically its financial experts.

In Hungary, Jeremiah Smith, Jr., Boston lawyer, financial expert and formerly counsel to the United States Treasury Department, is now receiver.

In Peru, Dr. W. W. Cumberland, appointed by Secretary of State Hughes, served as financial boss until January of this year. The American staff organized by this agent of Yankee imperialism now directs the public schools, irrigation projects, health service, the naval academy and the mines in which upward of one hundred million dollars are invested.

Mr. Hughes has also appointed a financial overseer for Persia. The American Arthur C. Millspaugh is now Administrator-General of Persian finances, drawing \$18,000 a year and expenses for a five year term. The American staff working under Millspaugh's direction runs the banks, taxation, and municipal and irrigation engineering projects. The Americans are also serving as farm advisers and handle revenues, disbursements, sanitation and engineering jobs.

When Bolivia wanted to borrow 24 million dollars with which to build railroads and other public works, it was compelled to allow the Equitable Trust Company of New York to appoint two Americans, Messrs MacGowan and Whittaker, to be in charge of the collection of taxes and revenues in Bolivia until such time as the bonds sold in the United States are redeemed.

Judge W. W. Warwick, formerly comptroller of the United States Treasury, is now financial "adviser" to Panama.

In Ecuador, Mr. John S. Hord, formerly financial adviser to Haiti, is now fiscal expert.

After an exchange of notes between the State Department and the Salvador government, the Metropolitan Trust Company of New York appointed W. W. Renwick to collect 70 percent of the Latin-American republic's customs in United States gold. In case of dispute, "our" Secretary of State is to have the American Supreme Court make final decision.

John A. McIlhenny of tabasco sauce fame is collector of customs and financial adviser for Haiti.

In Nicaragua there has been an American, Clifford D. Ham, serving as customs collector for the past ten years

in order to protect a refunding loan made to the little republic by the Yankee banking firm of Brown Brothers & Company.

Today, the reparations machinery of the German receivership is actually in the hands of American imperialist agents. The New York banker Gates M. McGarrah is on the general board of the new German bank of issue and S. Parker Gilbert, Jr., is permanent Agent General of reparations.

Since the terrible "Teddy" Roosevelt first enunciated his doctrine of "big stick" diplomacy, the American imperialist big stick has grown bigger—considerably bigger. In the last six years Congress has appropriated, for the Navy alone, close to four and a half billion dollars. The navalists and militarists are now clamoring for more money to build more ships, elevate the guns and increase the size of the army.

Thru a network of so-called unofficial observers American imperialism is more and more dominating the affairs of European policies and economy. At the London Conference the American Cabinet officers Hughes and Mellon, along with ten of the leading Wall Street bankers perpetrated the rankest type of secret, backstairs diplomacy displayed in many decades.

In South America, our capitalists are pitting one country against another, engineering a great race for naval supremacy, and sowing the seeds of war and dissension in order to prevent the unification of the Latin-American republics against Yankee imperialist aggression. American naval missions are now stationed in Brazil and Peru. Argentine's biggest battleship is at the same time being reconditioned and modernized in the United States.

American manned machine guns have been protecting Robert Dollar Steamships 1,600 miles inland in China up the Yangtze. Today the United States destroyers Steward and Pillsbury are protecting Standard Oil property at Hsinho.

In Hawaii the American Governor General, the notorious sugar baron Farrington, has organized a reign of terror against 20,000 striking Filipino workers on the sugar plantations. Many defenseless workers have been wounded and killed.

In Samoa the natives are protesting vehemently against the banishment of their native leader Tui-Manua by the American governor, Captain Edward S. Kellogg.

It was the marines landed from the United States battleship Galveston that broke up the Ceiba, Honduras, Union of Banana Plantation Workers and forced the natives to work sixteen hours a day for fifteen cents in order to enrich the United Fruit Company.

Internationalizing the American Class Struggle

It is plain to everyone that the operations of American capitalism are now international. In this imperialist stage of American capitalism the character of the class struggle in the United States necessarily takes on an international character and more and more rests on an international basis. This condition, this changed milieu of the class conflicts, in turn creates new problems for the working masses and lends new aspects to the struggles of our exploited masses.

What these new problems are and what new angle the class struggle in the United States is now assuming, the writer proposes to discuss in a subsequent article.

White Terror in Europe! Can America Be Far Behind?

By Rose Karsner

PRECISELY! That is the question. If White Terror spreads in Europe, can America be far behind?

This is a question which every militant worker and working farmer should put to himself very seriously.

In Europe there were men and women who saw the danger of White Terror coming years before it was on them. They steeled themselves to it and they met it when it came. They stood up like men and fought for the interests of their class. They fought against the annihilation of working class organizations. And because they fought, many of them were murdered, like Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

But others came to the front and in the spirit of these courageous soldiers of the proletariat, they took up the fight where the dead left off.

In consequence, they had their eyes burnt out with cigarettes. They had their heads bumped on the ground till the skull cracked. They were tied to the backs of automobiles and dragged along on stony roads until their clothes and flesh were torn off their backs. They were tied into wet sacks and beaten so that the lash clung to the body and brought blood with it as the whip was extracted. They were tied in burlap and thrown into the river alive. They were forced to witness sex outrages perpetrated upon their wives and breasts cut off their mothers. They had their tongues torn out of their heads if they protested. They were obliged to look on while their little ones were being killed and if they turned their heads their eyes were pierced. They were hung by their arms with feet in air for hours at a time. They were given fake trials and then beaten to death. They were tied against walls and shot.

Some got off easy. They were thrown into prisons. Lice-infested prisons. Prisons without the elemental sanitary needs. Foul smelling prisons with damp walls. In these prisons, they are subjected to vulgar abuses at the hands of the White Guardists who hold the keys to the gates. They are given poor food, thrown into the "hole" on the slightest provocation, beaten often and even deprived of water. For example: in the prison of Sonnenbourg, Germany, the guard in charge left the prisoners without water for the night. They protested and a cry of "water, water" went up. The White Guard came round and asked "If you are thirsty, why don't you spit in each others' throats?"

And this is not a story of yesterday. It is happening today in Europe. According to statistics gathered by the Red Aid International, there were up to May 1, 1923, a total of 380,200 workers and peasants rotting away in European prisons. More are being added daily. White Terror is spreading thruout Europe.

If White Terror spreads in Europe can America be far behind?

Take the Dawes plan as a concrete example.

American bankers have agreed to float a \$200,000,000 loan to German capitalists to help them build their industries. This loan carries heavy interest which has to be paid at regular intervals. And no stalling!

German capitalists will therefore immediately set to work with the help of their government, to abolish the eight hour day, to lower wages and to reduce the standard of living. In this manner they will be able to lead in the world market and make big enough profits to take care of their Dawes Plan loan.

Militant workers and peasants in Germany will protest. They will be imprisoned and murdered and their wives and children will be outraged. Just as is done in Bulgaria, in Poland, in Italy, in Roumania, in Hungary.

Working class organizations will be annihilated and the German government with the aid of Social Democracy will inaugurate a reign of White Terror. Already we hear the rumblings. Arrests occur daily. The Communists are being hounded and driven underground. And the socialists in the German government are helping.

But how does that affect America, you say.

When American capitalism finds itself outbid in the world market by cheap German products, what will American capitalism do with this Frankenstein it has created?

American capitalism will have two alternatives:

One—to forfeit profits. Two—to meet the German prices.

It is easy enough to guess which it will do. And how? In the only way that it can be done. By increasing the workday. By lowering wages. By creating unemployment. By reducing the standard of living.

And what will the militant American workers and working farmers do then? They will do what all militant workers and working farmers are doing in Europe. They will protest. And the American capitalists will do what all European capitalists are doing. They will use their governmental powers to prohibit strikes. To throw recalcitrants into prisons. To terrorize the foreign born with threats of deportation. To institute a reign of White Terror here in "free America" such as will put to shame even the White Terror of the Russian Czar.

They have the right President for the job.

We have already had a foretaste of what American White Guardists can do. Or have we forgotten Frank Little who was dragged out of his bed in the middle of the night and hung to a trestle because he was a labor agitator? And have we forgotten the treatment accorded the Conscientious Objectors during the war? Or the tar and feather outrages of the South? Or the May Day brutalities of a few years ago? And the deportations?

No, we have not forgotten. We must not forget! We must keep alive the memory of the past American outrages so we may poignantly be aware of what the White Terror will mean when it comes here in intensified form.

We must organize ourselves into a workers organization which will always be ready to come to the assistance of White Terror victims, in Europe or in America.

Red Aid International has already assisted 18,000 White Terror victims. Let us make it possible to help another 18,000 by Christmas.

Forward the International Workers Aid!

The Trades Congress of Canada and Our Future Tasks

By Tim Buck

ONE of the blackest pages in the history of the labor movement, will be that part dealing with the cynical disregard by its alleged "leaders" of the expressed desires of its membership. And the Canadian movement, organized in the Trades Congress of Canada, will run a very close second in every piece of treachery recorded.

Rule or ruin has been the established policy of the international officialdom in Canada since 1919, no less than in the States. The Trades Congress has been for them an iron-clad stronghold. The policy of either ignoring or riding rough-shod over the wishes of the membership, which has become such regular practice among the "business" men who control the international unions, is being carefully followed by their satellites, and is the outcome of the same well-considered policy of emasculating the trade union movement or turning it into an adjunct of capitalism.

In Canada this is producing a peculiar set of contradictions within the general movement, and such a feeling of impotence among the rank and file, as to make it possible for almost anything to happen within the next two or three years.

Workers Drift From Congress.

A sign of the trend of opinion is to be seen in the fact that while the labor movement as a whole halted the decline in membership and even regained a few thousand, all the gains went to the national organization, while the internationals reported a further loss of 29 locals, and 2300 members.

This is not the worst. As though to emphasize the fact that it is losing, the trades congress—which embraces only Canadian sections of the A. F. of L. and a few national organizations to which the executive of the A. F. of L. allows them to grant a charter—showed a further loss in membership of nearly five thousand, in addition to which the longshoremen, miners, postal workers, etc., all have heavy losses due to lost strikes, yet to be recorded.

This drift is the perfectly natural outcome of the loss of confidence of the mass of the workers, and the growing conviction that the everlasting and desperate opposition of the officialdom to all progressive activity flows from the unity of interest existing between them and the employers, rather than from any considerations of the welfare of the working class.

Another Year of Betrayals.

During the past eighteen months, this unity of action between the officialdom and the employers, has been demonstrated again and again. The black treachery displayed during the strike of the Nova Scotia miners and steel workers in 1923, has been duplicated in varying degrees, all over the country.

The longshoremen of Vancouver, one of the most solid and militant units in the Canadian government, were smashed in a bitter waterfront strike, and the Congress Executive did not so much as raise a finger to assist them in any way. The miners of Alberta have been out on strike against a reduction of \$1.10 per day since the first of April, and what little assistance they have received from the Canadian movement has all been due to the efforts of the radicals, while

the officialdom evidently derived great satisfaction from the fact that the strike prevented the radical miners' locals from sending delegates to the last congress.

Recently, there was a widespread strike of postal workers. They are organized in a purely national federation, affiliated directly to the congress, with no international ties or obligations, and, as though to give the Congress Executive no excuse for not helping them, they are under very conservative leadership.

This strike, the first movement of its kind, was lost. No interest whatsoever was shown in it by the congress officialdom, a request for a representative, to attend an emergency conference in Toronto, being ignored on the pretext that the president was out of town, and the secretary and first vice-president had to extend fraternal greetings to a convention in Montreal.

These are only the more outstanding of many demonstrations of cynical and callous disregard of the needs of the workers, the cumulative effect of which is to reduce the interest and confidence of the workers to the vanishing point, confirming the belief that the settled policy of the trade union officialdom is to eliminate all semblance of class activity, making the congress—as Tom Moore declared it already was—an organization of "good citizenship."

Restriction of Strength.

In line with this policy which demands only sufficient members to block effective organization, we find the officials accepting the everlasting defeats and loss of members with the greatest sang froid. While, as though to demonstrate their determination not to allow the Canadian workers to develop a powerful fighting central body, they refuse to accept into affiliation, even those organizations to which there is no constitutional objection.

Thus the Lumber Workers' Union, a radical organization with three locals in British Columbia and three in Ontario, was refused admission to the congress. The only excuse the executive bothered to give was that sometime maybe another international Timber Workers' Union may be organized, in which case the Lumber Workers' Union would be a dual organization.

The metal miners of Northern Ontario are likewise barred because of an imaginary organization maintained by the mill, mine and smelter workers, despite the fact that there is no conflict between the organizations in Canada. The Canadian Federation of Women's Labor Leagues, embracing twelve active local leagues of working women affiliated to their local central councils, are barred from the congress on the flimsy ground that they are not producers, while the exclusion of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the strongest single unit of railway workers in Canada, is an old story.

The unemployed workers who, during the past two years, have repeatedly endeavored to organize themselves on a national scale, are disesteemed at every turn. At the last convention, a resolution calling upon the congress to assist the unemployed was neatly turned into an adjuration to the local trades councils to do it, transforming the intent of the resolution from national to local efforts.

The Results of Impotence.

The fruits of this deliberate shackling of organizational efforts and the internal dissension which it renders inevitable, is a declining standard of living for the Canadian workers, in the face of conditions which enabled the majority of industrial establishments to report the past year as either a record, or very close to a record year, for business and profits.

The total value of mineral production was 20 per cent higher than for the previous year, coal production being the highest in the history of the industry. The lumber industry had one of its best years, the value of unmanufactured lumber produced being \$85,000,000 in excess of the year before, while the pulp and paper industry also had the biggest year in its history, increasing its exports by over 30 per cent.

Monthly production of pig iron came within 5,000 tons of the 1920 figures, which were the peak of the industry's production. The total value of merchandise exported for the year almost hits the billion dollar mark. It is more than 25 per cent greater than for 1922, greater in volume even than the record year, and puts Canada into third place among the countries of the world in exports per head of the population, and fourth among the nations of the world in total volume of exports.

Nothing was done during this fleeting period of trade activity either to improve the position of the workers or to build up the organizations. Now, with falling markets and increasing unemployment, the employers are preparing for fresh onslaughts upon the working class, of which the long-drawn-out struggle in Alberta, and the announced intention of the British Empire Steel Corporation to reduce wages in Nova Scotia are only the more striking examples.

The railways are preparing for a drive against wages and conditions by widespread lay-offs and a great publicity campaign to the effect that the exorbitant railway rates are due to the "artificial" wages and living standards enjoyed by the railway workers. Meanwhile, the International officials are so busy trying to foist the B. & O. plan upon the men, that they have no time either to offset the propaganda of the railway companies or to prepare for the inevitable struggle.

The anti-labor injunction, being cheaper than troops and mounted police, is coming more and more into favor as a weapon of the Canadian employers. This menace demands determined action by the labor movement to stamp it out now, before it becomes as firmly established here as in the states. Unions suffering from the effects of injunctions at the present time, urged the last convention of the congress to organize a one-day national demonstration against it; but true to their policy of respectable "statesmanship," the Executive will content themselves with the bunk of appealing for amendments to existing laws.

Our Tasks.

The growing discontent with the above described policy and activity is reflected in various incidents, each typical of many. In the West it is seen in the drift of sentiment toward the Industrial Workers of the World, in the East, in the vote cast by the conservative Pictou county miners' locals in favor of seceding to the One Big Union. In each of these cases, the underlying cause was disgust, the avenue of expression being due simply to the fact that the particular organizations had organizers on the spot to capitalize it.

Another, and better, reflection of it, is seen in the elec-

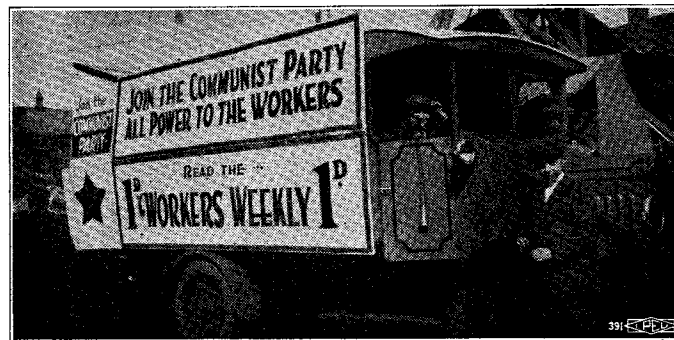
tion of a Communist to the presidency of the Canadian Labor party, and in the further fact that the Communist candidate for the presidency of the Trades Congress received 44 votes, as against 156 for Tom Moore, the reactionary.

The fight for world unity, amalgamation, and Canadian autonomy, has rallied a huge following thruout the country, and sentiment among the rank and file is all for progressive action. The machine-control of the congress, however, combined with the disruptive activities of some of the international presidents, (Lewis, Hutcheson, etc.) and the shameless flouting of all democratic procedure, render this developing sentiment of little effect unless assisted by organizational activities, by which to strengthen and consolidate the left wing.

One of our difficulties is to overcome the scattered nature of the general movement, and the distances dividing the various sections. More and more local and sectional conferences will have to be held in the future, and the militants must have a definite wages policy for every industry. Inasmuch as our great weakness today is the fact that, while the International treasury enables the officialdom to be well represented at the conventions, regardless of where they are held, while we have to rely upon the delegates from adjacent progressive locals, energetic efforts must be taken to make the local central bodies all-inclusive, and to develop them into local organs of struggle, in that way arousing the interest and confidence of the workers in their organizations.

To offset in some measure the terrible apathy among the unorganized workers, the Canadian section of the Trade Union Educational League is initiating a campaign for the organization of shop committees, representing both organized and unorganized, in that way bringing them into organic contact with each other in the daily struggle.

The real struggle, of course, and incidentally our immediate task, is the rallying of the organized workers for the fight for freedom of action for the Canadian movement, which will enable us to advance a step further on the road to the revolutionizing of the working class. Canadian autonomy is the bugbear of the officialdom today, and our task is to make this threat a fact. Forty-four votes to a Communist as president, and fifty-six to another Communist as vice-president, is not bad as a measure of the sentiment of the rank and file, and thru the organization of shop committees, development of central councils, and forthcoming minority conferences, we hope before long to make this protest vote the vote of the majority of the membership of the Canadian labor movement.



CAMPAIGNING FOR COMMUNISM IN ENGLAND

In Retrospect

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF OUR PAST LABOR PARTY POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

By Alexander Bittelman

ON November 6, 1924, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party made public a statement on the results of the presidential elections in which it says:

The demonstrated weakness of the LaFollette movement, as compared to the pre-election estimates of all sides, not only seriously retards the development of the so-called "third party," but also completely eliminates the immediate possibility of the growth of a mass farmer-labor party of industrial workers and poor farmers, distinct from the Workers Party. A general agitation campaign by the Workers Party under the slogan of "For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party," would not be profitable or successful. The policy of applying the united front tactic by attempting to form a mass farmer-labor party of which the Workers Party would be a part, is not adaptable to the present period. Our chief task in the immediate future is not the building of such a farmer-labor party but the strengthening and developing of the Workers Party itself as the practical leader of the masses and as the only party that represents the working-class, interests and knows how to fight for them. The best means to this end is to agitate and fight for the united front from below with the rank and file workers in their daily struggles, in the spirit of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.

This marks a departure in the tactics of our party. It means that we no longer hold to the idea that a farmer-labor party is the only or the most effective way of developing independent political action by the working masses of America. The November 6 statement of the Central Executive Committee says in effect that in the present situation, and in view of the political changes that have taken place in America during the last six months, the better way, the more effective way of developing and enhancing the class-struggle on the political as well as on the economic field is for the Workers Party itself to enter into United Front alliances with the rank and file of the workers and poor farmers on the basis of their immediate daily struggles against capitalist exploitation. Or, putting it somewhat differently, that the task of our party now is not to assist in the creation of a new political party—a farmer-labor party—but to popularize itself as the leader of the proletarian class-struggle by means of the United Front tactics applied mainly from below.

The Same Strategy But Different Tactics

This is merely a change in tactics, but not in strategy. The strategic aim of our party is now the same as it has been for the last two and a half years. What has been our main strategic aim? We all know it. It can be formulated in one short sentence. It is this:

To develop independent political action of the working

masses under the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party.

In pursuit of the above end the Workers Party had adopted some two and a half years ago the tactic of a Labor Party. That is, the campaign for a farmer-labor party was to serve as a means towards awakening the political consciousness of the working class, towards crystallizing this consciousness into organized struggles and towards establishing the Workers (Communist) Party as the leader of these struggles. In other words, the Labor Party policy was a tactical method, a means towards an end.

This end—-independent political action of the working masses under the leadership of the Communist Party—still remains the chief strategic aim of our party, only the tactical means must be changed because of the changed political situation. Our old farmer-labor party policy is no longer good. We must therefore find other tactical means for the achievement of our strategic aim. These new tactical means can be formulated as follows: **A united front with the rank and file from below on the basis of their daily immediate struggles, with the Workers Party itself, and under its own name, striving to win leadership.**

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into a detailed discussion of this main proposition, but rather to restore the historical background from which we started out on our labor-party policy. For it is only through a clear understanding of the origin and development of our old tactics that we can arrive at a correct formulation of our new tactics.

When and How Did We Get the Labor-Party Idea?

Thus the first question to be answered is, when and how did we arrive at our first labor-party policy?

It was in the winter of 1922. The Workers Party had then just been formed, which was the first successful breach in the wall of isolation that had surrounded the American communist movement since it had been driven underground by the White Terror of 1919.

Having made its first break into the open the American communist movement was confronted with the next task of establishing contact with the masses in their daily struggle. The first convention of the Workers Party, held in New York in December, 1921, had already formulated an industrial program which provided our party with an effective means for establishing contact with the masses mainly on the economic field. It was therefore necessary to devise some additional measures for establishing contact on the purely political field.

The first Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party was looking for an outlet to the main field of the class-struggle and it was asking itself: Where can that outlet be found? After a number of hesitating, half measure steps, we finally adopted, in the spring of 1922, our first labor-party policy.

Why a labor-party policy? There were four chief facts

that determined our action. I shall enumerate them in the order of their comparative importance.

First—The strong movement from below, from the ranks of labor and poor farmers, towards the formation of a farmer-labor party.

Second—The formation of the "Conference for Progressive Political Action" (C. P. P. A.) at a Conference of railroad and other unions held in Chicago in February, 1922.

Third—The United Front tactics of the Communist International.

Fourth—Lenin's advice to the British Communists to fight for admission into the Labor Party.

The first two facts—the existence of a distinct rank and file farmer-labor movement and the formation of the C. P. P. A.—were taken by us to mean, and rightly so, that there was on foot a mass-movement of workers and poor farmers, seeking independent political expression through some sort of a Farmer-Labor Party. The C. P. P. A., which was from its very inception a movement of labor leaders, we interpreted as a result mainly of the same rank and file pressure.

We were therefore confronted with the following problem. What shall be our attitude towards this movement for a farmer-labor party? Shall we remain indifferent to it, shall we oppose it, or shall we step into it?

It was the general feeling in the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party that we cannot oppose this movement because, whatever its shortcomings, it marks a step in advance by the working masses. We also felt that we cannot very well remain indifferent to a political mass-movement involving large masses of workers and poor farmers. Then the only alternative was to become part of it, and to fight within for the principles of class-struggle and Communism.

But to accept this latter alternative in the beginning of 1922, when our party was still half submerged in the sectarian prejudices of its early days, meant so violent a departure from accepted tactics that the Central Executive Committee did not venture to risk it. And only after the party became more intimately familiar with the United Front tactics of the Communist International, and particularly, with Lenin's advice to the British Communists, to fight for admission into the Labor Party, did the C. E. C. finally feel justified in adopting a complete thesis which committed the party to a labor-party policy.

The Essence of our First Labor Party Policy

I quote from the thesis on the United Front adopted by the Central Executive Committee in the early summer of 1922; Paragraph 9:

"The creation of a United Front of Labor on the political field in the United States is the problem of the development of independent political action of the working class. The working class of Europe has for a long time participated independently in political activities. Not so in the United States. Here the problem is not to unite existing political groups and organizations for common action but to awaken political class consciousness among the workers."

The above states our main strategic aim in terms of the United Front tactics of the Communist International. It is formulated correctly. The principle enunciated in this formula holds true to this very day. But taken by itself it does not yet mean that we must have a labor party. The

road to independent political action by the masses does not necessarily and under all conditions lie through a Farmer-Labor Party. It is only under certain specific conditions that a labor party becomes the possible and desirable channel for mass political action by the working class. These conditions are, roughly speaking, two. One is negative, the other is positive.

One—The absence of a revolutionary mass-party of the workers.

Two—The presence of a strong mass-movement toward a farmer-labor party.

The second condition is the most important, and it was strongly in evidence when we adopted our first labor party policy. I quote further from paragraph 9 of the thesis:

"The class struggle has reached such a degree of intensity here that every battle of the workers reveals the political character of the struggle that is teaching the proletarian masses the necessity for class conscious political action. The numerous efforts of all kinds of labor organizations to form a labor party in the United States is evidence of this fact. These efforts indicate a step forward in the progress of the class struggle toward revolutionary working class action. To oppose this tendency toward the formation of a labor party would be folly."

Mark the last sentence which says we cannot oppose the movement toward the formation of a labor party. It is the most vital point in the whole thesis. It means that in the beginning of 1922, we were confronted with a movement which compelled the Workers Party to take an attitude, and that the attitude could not be one of opposition. Consequently, when we now discuss the question whether we still need a labor party policy, we must bear in mind that there is at present no movement for a farmer-labor party to compel the recognition, support or opposition of the Workers Party. In other words, there is at present no such mass-movement as existed in 1922 to compel our party to assume an attitude. The problem of what we shall do with the farmer-labor movement no longer exists now. But it existed in May, 1922. There was in the field a strong labor-party movement. That's why the thesis said:

"To make the labor party an instrument of the class struggle and the revolution the participation of the Communists is an imperative necessity. It is not in the interests of the proletarian revolution nor can the Workers Party assume responsibility for the latent political power of the workers remaining dormant. The party must not oppose the coming to life of this power because it has not yet the standing and influence among the masses to set it at work in the name of and for the purpose of Communism."

The British experiences also had their share of influence upon our decision. We saw the coming into existence in the United States of a labor party of which we shall want to become a part. We also knew the difficulties that the British Communists were having in securing admission into the British Labor Party. To forestall such eventuality in the United States, we thought it the better part of wisdom to become part of the movement while it was still in its formative stages. We therefore said in our thesis:

"To promote the development of the political action of the working class into revolutionary action

the Communists must become factors in the labor party that may be formed. We can achieve this end only if we anticipate the formation of such a party and now adopt a policy thru which we will become established as a force in the political struggle of the workers and thus an important factor in the labor party. The participation in a United Front in local political struggles will give us a strong position in relation to the labor party."

A Party Based on the Unions

It was the general conception of our party that the Labor Party which we thought was coming into existence will be a political organization based upon and formed by the trade unions. Not necessarily by the Gompers crowd but by the bulk of the unions just the same. This was our basic idea of how the farmer-labor party will come into existence. Our party expressed that idea quite clearly in its statement "For a Farmer-Labor Party," written by comrade Pepper and issued in October, 1922. I quote from the statement.

"We understand, of course, by a Labor Party no renaming of bankrupt, disintegrating parties, nor a quiet refuge for effete politicians, but a great mass-organization formed by organized labor."

And further:

"A Labor Party will grow because of its formation by the organized workers. A Labor Party would deserve that name only if it were formed by the trade unions. A Labor Party of any other form would be a mere caricature, a political swindle, and a miscarriage. A Labor Party should be launched only if it is created by the trade unions."

The foregoing demonstrates the following propositions;

1. The main strategic aim of the Workers Party has been and is the development of independent political action of the working masses in the direction of the revolutionary class struggle and under its own leadership.

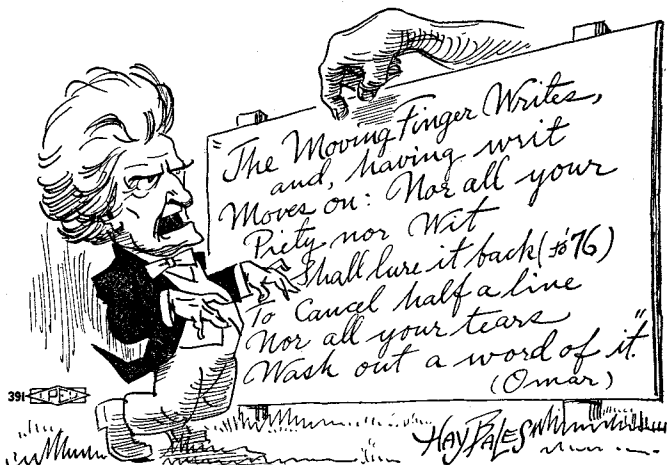
2. As a means towards this end the Workers Party adopted in the early part of 1922 a labor party policy, because there was then in existence a strong mass movement for a farmer-labor party.

3. This farmer-labor party was conceived by our party as an organization based upon and formed by the trade unions.

4. The Workers Party conceived of its immediate role in the farmer-labor movement as that of a left wing whose function it would be to drive the movement as a whole in the direction of more consciousness, militancy and determination in the class struggle.

5. The immediate tactical objective of the Workers Party under those conditions was to connect itself with the growing farmer-labor movement, to get on the ground floor of it, so that when the National Farmer-Labor Party is formed we can be a factor in it for the furtherance of the principles and policies of Communism.

It is well to recall these propositions now, when we are again discussing the question whether we must have a labor party policy. Go back to the origin of the problem. And when you will find that the whole problem arose out of an existing and growing movement for a farmer-labor party, you will undoubtedly ask yourself: What is the situation today? Is there at present such a movement, and if not, is



it likely to arise in the immediate future?

And since you are bound to come to the conclusion that there is no such likelihood, you will agree with the position of the Central Executive Committee that the present situation calls for neither a labor party policy nor a labor party slogan.

The "Chicago" Orientation

The first serious departure from our original labor party policy, as expressed in the thesis of May, 1922, was made by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party soon after the Cleveland Conference of the C. P. P. A. which convened on December 11, 1922. What did this departure consist of?

It consisted in this, that after the December meeting of the C. P. P. A. we began orientating ourselves on the Chicago Federation of Labor and on Fitzpatrick's Farmer-Labor Party. That is, we adopted a new conception of how the labor party was to come into existence. Prior to the December meeting we adhered to the idea that the Labor Party must be based upon and formed by the entire organized labor movement of America, not one section of it but substantially the whole. And our own role in this movement we conceived to be one of propaganda mainly, that is, the labor party to us was chiefly a propaganda slogan.

After the December meeting of the C. P. P. A. we began thinking in terms not of propaganda alone but also of organizational and political manoeuvres designed to bring about the actual formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. The tactical means to this end was to be an alliance or United Front between the Chicago Federation of Labor and Fitzpatrick's Farmer-Labor Party on the one hand and the Workers Party with its sympathizing organizations on the other hand. It is in this sense that I designate this period (January to September, 1922) as the period of our "Chicago" orientation.

The essence of this new orientation is well expressed in Comrade Pepper's analysis of the December meeting of the C. P. P. A. I quote from chapter VII of his pamphlet (second edition): "For a Labor Party."

"From the point of view of the class-struggle we have the following groupings within the labor movement, after the Cleveland Conference: 1. Gompers and the official A. F. of L., in alliance with the capitalists, in the form of support of the official Republican and Democratic parties. 2. The bureaucracy

of the railroad labor organizations, of the United Mine Workers and the Socialist Party, in alliance with the lower middle class and the well-to-do farmers, in the form of support of the LaFollette third party movement. 3. The Chicago Federation of Labor and a number of other state federations, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Workers Party and the poor tenant and working farmers dissatisfied with the lukewarm policy of both the LaFollette group and the Non-Partisan League. These are the forces for an independent class-party of the laboring masses, for a Labor Party."

The idea is very simple. Here is the organized labor movement of America. Gompers is with the capitalist parties. The bulk of the C. P. P. A. is with LaFollette and the third party. The only section of the labor movement that is in favor of a Labor Party is the Chicago (Fitzpatrick) group and the Workers Party. Let the two unite and form the Labor Party.

The thing that is wrong with this all-too-simple scheme is not the facts upon which it is based but its conclusions. Just think of it! When you find that Gompers, who stands for the ruling power of the A. F. of L., and the bulk of the C. P. P. A., which stands for the ruling power in the largest unions outside the A. F. of L., are both opposed to a Labor Party and are able to drag along with them or to prevent the expression of the rank and file, doesn't it suggest to you the idea that the organized labor movement is not yet ready for a Labor Party? Of course, it does. And the only justifiable conclusion to be drawn from this fact would have been the following: Either to discard the labor party idea altogether, or, if it still possessed appealing force to large masses, continue it merely as a slogan. The latter conclusion would have been the correct solution of the problem as it presented itself after the December meeting of the C. P. P. A. This correct conclusion we failed to make and by this failure committed a fundamental error in tactics for which the writer of this article is willing to assume as much blame as is due him as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

We made a wrong switch by imagining that the Workers Party and the Chicago group present a wide enough basis for the immediate formation of a Labor Party. All our other mistakes, such as the split at the July 3 Convention over the immediate formation of a Farmer-Labor party, were the logical result of this wrong turn, the premature departure from the May, 1922 thesis, taken by our Party after the December meeting of the C. P. P. A.

A Theory to Justify A Mistake

The mistake became apparent to nearly everyone in the party soon after the July 3 Convention. The minority in the old Central Executive Committee (of the term 1923-1924) was ready to retrench and straighten out the wrong twist in our tactics. But not so the majority. The latter was determined at all costs to justify the departure in policy begun in December, and completed in July, 1923, and went even to the extent of producing a new labor-party "theory" to justify its actions. This new theory was incorporated in the now famous "August thesis," which was adopted by the majority in the former Central Executive Committee at its full meeting on August 24, 1923.

What was this new theory? I quote the August thesis: "The development of the Labor Party in America takes

a different direction from that in Great Britain. The British Labor Party was formed . . . from above by the officials of the trade union movement."

Not so in America.

"The Labor Party movement in the United States today is a rank and file movement . . . The July 3rd convention revealed the fact that the big International unions did not come, that only local unions and city central bodies were represented, that in fact the labor party today is a rank and file proposition. It also showed another fact, namely, that the rank and file is permeated with communist influence."

The July 3rd convention also proved that:

"Not a single organized political group outside of the Workers Party exists today which wishes to take up the fight for the Labor Party on a national scale."

Consequently,

"The Workers Party has the historical task of becoming the leader of the labor party movement in America."

And as additional proof for this "theory" we find in the thesis the following statement:

"In America we have a number of political groups which fight for influence within the trade union movement. The attempt to gain influence upon the workers assumes in America the organizational expression of forming various labor parties. The Socialist Party tries to form a labor party. The old farmer-labor party tries to form another labor party, the Workers Party has helped in the formation of the Federated Party."

The above is the very heart of the new revelation. Each political group tries to build its own labor party. Therefore, the Workers Party must also have a labor party of its own. And what will the labor party be? Well, it may take either of two forms:

"Its development may be the nucleus around which the mass party of labor will be formed or as a mass Communist party."

That is, if luck is with us our Federated may become the real mass labor party, or if luck goes against us, no need to worry, we can take the Federated and make it a mass Communist party. The masses are there in both cases, on paper, at least.

I do not intend here to go into this theory of multiple labor parties further than to say the following three things. First, that it was a complete negation of our May, 1922, thesis and of our first statement "For a Labor Party" published in October, 1922, which were based on the idea that a labor party is a political organization based upon and formed by the organized labor movement. Second, that if this "theory" were put into effect it would have spelt the liquidation of our Workers (Communist) Party in favor of a non-Communist party. And, third, that this new revelation was fabricated for no other purpose than to justify an essentially wrong tactical move.

As against the liquidating tendencies of the August thesis, which were tacitly accepted by the former majority even at the November meeting of the Central Executive Committee, the minority presented a thesis of their own introduced by Comrades Foster and Cannon. In that document the minority took the following position. I quote from the Foster-Cannon November thesis.

"We hold that our most important revolutionary task is the building of a mass Communist Party,

based upon individual membership, which is the Workers Party. The building of a Labor party not only must not interfere with but must directly assist this process."

"The August thesis makes the argument that the F. F.-L. P. can be developed into a mass Communist party. There is no foundation for such an assertion. The conditions for the building of a mass Communist party are the existence of a closely-knit Communist nucleus operating within the broadest mass organizations of the workers, permeating them with its doctrines and sweeping the most advanced of them into its ranks. The Workers Party is such a Communist nucleus, and the naturally developing Labor Party movement is such a mass organization. By working within this mass organization and pushing it forward, the Workers Party is bound to expand and extend its influence. The organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party does not facilitate this development, but interferes with it. Wherever it takes organizational form it separates the Communists and their closest sympathizers, from the main body of the movement and creates the conditions for a sectarian Communist Party controlling a sectarian Labor Party."

And further:

"Our position is not based on the assumption that the entire labor movement must join the Labor Party at once, or that even a majority is necessary. But we hold that wherever it is formed, it must unite the Labor Party forces and have a genuine mass character. We want it to be organized upon as broad a base as possible with as large a mass of workers as can be gotten together upon the issue of a Labor Party, and not merely those who can be organized on the issue of Communism which is raised by the Federated Farmer-Labor-Party. Our militants should endeavor to take a leading part in all these mass parties, entrench themselves in strategic positions, and lead the workers by degrees to the platform of Communism."

After a long and protracted debate at the November meeting of the Central Executive Committee, resulting in a semi-official conference between representatives of majority and minority, it was finally agreed that a representative of the majority would make such a statement of interpretation of their November thesis as will definitely dissociate it from the August thesis and will thereby enable the minority to vote for the majority proposition.

The statement that was made was very unsatisfactory, yet the minority voted in favor of the majority proposal because, as Comrade Foster declared at the meeting (I quote from the official minutes of the November meeting of the C. E. C.):

"Although not in agreement with the Pepper-Ruthenberg thesis he thought that, in view of the interpretation put upon this thesis, it provided a working basis, and that for unity's sake no good would be served by continuing to insist upon the thesis of Cannon and himself."

Due to the criticism and pressure of the minority in the former Central Executive Committee (majority of

present C. E. C.) the August thesis was put in cold storage. The policy actually pursued between August, 1923 and January, 1924 was a sort of compromise between the views of majority and minority. It was a policy of retaining the Federated Farmer-Labor Party mainly as a propaganda instrument for a labor party and as a means of establishing organizational contact with other farmer-labor groups for the furtherance of the movement as a whole.

Naturally, we were looking for new allies. The break with the Fitzpatrick group removed the foundation from our old United Front which I designate as the "Chicago" orientation. And in this quest for allies it was also natural for us to turn to the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and to the other farmer-labor groups of the Northwest (North and South Dakota, Washington, Montana, etc.) These were the only organized farmer labor groups that were tending in the direction of a National Farmer-Labor Party.

Our Northwestern Orientation

Our base of operations was gradually shifting to the Northwest with Minnesota as the center. The tactics pursued by the Workers Party during that period (September 1923—June 1924) were based on the following idea: That the Workers Party, through the Federated and in alliance with the farmer-labor groups of the Northwest, would constitute a base wide enough for the creation of a National Farmer-Labor center to command the recognition of large masses.

The most vulnerable spot in this orientation was the predominance of farmers over industrial workers in the farmer-labor organizations of the Northwest. These organizations were incomparably closer ideologically to LaFollette and the third-party movement than to our conception of a class farmer-labor party. This we found out very soon and thereupon decided to organize, within the general farmer labor movement, distinct and separate blocks of industrial workers and the poorest farmers. The working out of this policy could best be studied in the functioning of the Farmer-Labor Federation within the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota.

Very soon we were confronted with the problem of combating the influence of LaFollette. Since practically the whole farmer-labor movement of the Northwest—and there was no other outside the Northwest—was ideologically a LaFollette movement, and since we were basing our labor party policy mainly on that movement, we were compelled very early in the season to consider the probable effects upon that movement should LaFollette be a candidate for president.

Our decision in November, 1923, somewhat modified in March, 1924, to enter into an alliance with the third-party movement, under certain specified conditions, even to the extent of supporting LaFollette for the presidency, was designed exclusively as a manoeuvre to combat LaFollettism and to save the farmer-labor elements for a farmer-labor party.

This manoeuvre was not carried out to the full extent. First, because shortly before the St. Paul convention of June 17, LaFollette declared open war upon the farmer-labor movement, thereby creating a situation totally incompatible with any alliance between the two. And, second, because our party accepted the advice of the Communist International not to enter into an alliance with the third

party movement nor to support the independent candidacy of LaFollette.

In the light of what transpired between June, 1924, and today, it is perfectly clear that our decision to enter into an alliance with the third-party movement was a mistake even from the point of view of tactics. Neither an alliance with the third-party movement, nor our willingness to support LaFollette, would have saved the farmer-labor movement from destruction by the LaFollette forces. Why? For one reason mainly. Because the farmer-labor movement, which we wanted to save from being swallowed by LaFollette, was substantially a LaFollette movement. To save it from LaFollette meant to win it for class-struggle which, under the prevailing conditions, was the same as accepting the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party. And such a step the farmer-labor movement of the Northwest, predominantly agrarian and petty-bourgeois, was very far from being ready to take. Our wrong decision with regard to the third party movement, later corrected by the Communist International, was a direct result of our orientation upon the farmer-labor movement of the Northwest which was substantially a LaFollette movement. We attempted to save a farmer-labor soul which didn't exist and in the process we nearly lost our own Communist soul.

The Orientation on the Workers Party

July 8, 1924, will stand out as a historic date in the annals of our Party. It was on that day that the Central Executive Committee decided, upon the initiative of Comrade Foster, to enter the election campaign as the Workers Party on its own program and with its own candidates. By this decision the Central Executive Committee gave recognition to the fact that there was no farmer-labor movement in existence to justify or demand a United Front in the elections.

We came back to firm ground. For once after a long, long while we were again operating with realities instead of with fiction. Behind this decision of the Central Executive Committee there was a deep realization of the truth that it is the duty of a Communist party always to stand in the forefront of class struggle and in its own name approach the masses with its message and slogans, that the United Front tactics were designed to bring us into contact with masses in their daily struggles and not with ourselves alone under another name. The decision of July 8 was a turning point in the direction of realism, self-criticism, and correct Communist tactics.

In looking over our labor party activities for the past three years, we find that we started out right. We didn't think it was our duty to form new political non-Communist parties. We were confronted with a strong mass sentiment, in some places even a movement, for a labor party, and we decided to join that movement and to function within it as its most conscious and militant wing. That was correct. To this idea we should have stuck.

But Fate and the former majority of the Central Executive Committee decided that, because John Fitzpatrick and his Chicago group were mildly in favor of a labor party, it was the duty of the Workers Party to begin a determined fight for the immediate formation of such a party. This was wrong. Instead of a labor party based upon and formed by the organized labor movement, it produced

the split of July 3 and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party which proved neither federated, nor farmer-labor nor a party. It produced an organization which threatened to liquidate our own Communist party. It also produced the August thesis.

The worst did not happen, because of the criticism and pressure of the former minority (now the majority), but our tactics continued twisted and wrong. Why? Because the debacle of July 3 drove us to the orientation on the Northwest and this in turn pulled us into the compromising policy of the third-party alliance. Which is the same as saying, that the rush of the former majority to "assume leadership" in the farmer-labor movement was the origin and main cause of most of our major mistakes on and since July 3.

We shall now have no labor party policy because there is no farmer-labor movement. We shall also have no labor party slogan because such a slogan will now have no dynamic appeal and will offer no basis of struggle to the masses of workers and poor farmers. But we will have United Front campaigns, on the political field (not only in elections) as well as on the economic field, on the basis of the immediate struggles of the working masses. Thus we shall build our own Workers Party into a powerful mass Communist Party.



ONE OF RUSSIA'S NEW RULERS.

A Young Communist acting as chairman at the great mass-meeting in Moscow on Youth Day.

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The Dawes' Plan at Work.

NOW that the British workers have swallowed the Dawes' pill because of its nice sugar coating of "Labor Government," MacDonald is incontinently kicked into the street. He is no longer needed by the capitalists; his work is done for the time. In Germany, also, reaction rules and the Reichstag elections are opened by the wholesale arrest of Communist members of that parliamentary body as well as party officials by hundreds. In America the author (supposedly) of that instrument of oppression, the Fascist Dawes, is elected together with Coolidge, the strikebreaker, to head the government of the United States with such an overwhelming vote that it will certainly be interpreted as a mandate for the destruction of the labor movement. J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. have firmly consolidated their dominion over Europe and America. The capitalist international has recognized its chairman.

But the Working Class Stirs.

WILL the Dawes' plan work as expected? The answer to this question must be made by the working class of Central Europe. Already it is beginning to be made; witness the strike of the Austrian railroad workers and the sympathy movement that stirs the German railroaders as European capitalism prepares its armed forces for the invasion of Austria to continue railroad operations. Whether the Austrian strike begins the great mass movement that will sweep European labor into one mighty protest against the Dawes' plan, or whether it is crushed by the might of military power, it still remains the symbol of proletarian reply to imperialism—revolt, strike, insurrection. Even in Britain, classic land of conservatism in the labor movement, the great miners' federation demands action to overthrow the Dawes' plan. American labor, still stupefied by the opium of Gompersism, and not realizing the terrible menace to its most primitive interests in the way of hours and wages contained in the Morgan project, remains indifferent. The "open shop" employers will not long allow this idyllic condition to exist.

Organizing the Revolution.

MEANWHILE the forces of the European workers crystallize their fighting program internationally, slowly when compared with the burning needs and desires of the working class, but with great speed when viewed in historical perspective. On October 9, there gathered in Cologne the Second Interparliamentary Conference of the Communists to organize the struggle against the Dawes' plan. Representatives of the Communist International, of the Red International of Labor Unions, of the Communist Youth, Communist members of parliament from Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, and representatives of the parties of those countries and England, Poland, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and the Balkans

took part. Reports on the political situation were delivered by Comrades Francois, representing the Comintern, and Ruth Fisher of the German Communist Party and member of the Reichstag. The burden of the reports was the necessity of struggle against the Dawes' plan all over the earth, the defense of the Russian revolution as the outpost against imperialism, the protection of the German working class against imperialist slavery as a defense of the interests of the workers in every country, the restoration of trade union unity, nationally and internationally, and the struggle against the White Terror. The program of action against the Dawes' plan calls for unified action by the entire working class. This requires the struggle for the expropriation and socialization of the mining and other monopolized industries, the banks, etc., and their operation by shop committees. This can be accomplished only through a dictatorial government of the toiling classes, in close alliance with Soviet Russia. For the immediate protection of the workers, struggle must be organized for the restoration and maintenance of the eight-hour day, for a minimum wage, against the sabotage of the employers, for providing work for all workers, for unemployment compensation at a subsistence level, for state housing and provisions for food, for removing taxes, direct and indirect, from the workers and poor farmers. Manifestos were adopted addressed to the workers of all countries, to the workers of the occupied regions, to the oppressed peoples of the semi-colonial countries, and against the White Terror. Thus is the international working class being organized for the revolution under the leadership of the Communist International.

Ferment in the Far East.

BUT it is in the Pacific (misnamed, most certainly, so far as the present historical period is concerned) that the next world war is being prepared. The defeat of Wu Pei Fu, representative of British and American imperialism, has caused much scurrying about in Washington and London. The walls of the Chicago Tribune about the "treachery" of Feng Yu-Hsiang indicate that Japan has won the first round of the struggle between rival imperialists. But the rapidly growing power of the revolutionary-nationalist movement, led by Sun Yat Sen and his party (Kuo Min Tang) is a more decisive factor than the victories of one imperialist over the others. It is the struggle of the Chinese masses against all foreign exploitation, threatening the exclusion of all the international brigands, whether of America, Britain, or Japan, that brings pause to the imperialists as they prepare to go to war to settle the question of who shall get the greatest share of profits from the Chinese markets. Balanced between their greed and fear of the revolutionary movement, the imperialist nations are struggling viciously thru their native tools and maneuvering for position in the inevitable world war. The nationalist-revolutionary movement of the Chinese masses has found one powerful friend—Soviet Russia. And the revolutionary working class throughout the world is rallying to the cry—"Hands Off China!"

Gompers Runs Errands For Hughes.

SAMUEL GOMPERS has long been known as the lackey of the Department of State of the United States, which is, in turn, the lackey of Morgan. Never was this more strikingly revealed than in the October issue of the *American Federationist*, Gompers' personal organ, in which he boasts of the latest errand performed for Hughes by his privately-owned and operated "Pan-American Federation of Labor." The Republic of Nicaragua, which is ruled by a president who

was hoisted into office with American bayonets, has a legislature that does not yet respond quickly enough to the orders from Mr. Hughes. So Gompers sent Mr. H. L. Brunson to Nicaragua to back up Hughes' orders with the prestige of "Labor." The report of this mission is brutally frank. "We proceeded on the President's car" says this ambassador of "Labor," from city to city, holding conferences with the president, agent of Morgan, and making public addresses arranged by that worthy. "President Martinez . . . suggested that an early return of the undersigned to the United States would be of great advantage," so the errand boy of Morgan runs back home again at once. His object in making the trip, he states, was to urge the adoption of certain laws, particularly one which "was drafted by a representative sent down there by the United States Department of State." The difficulty to be overcome by his trip was that while "the State Department is in accord with the legislation proposed," "notwithstanding the congress refused to enact the bill." To the report Gompers adds his own hypocritical buncombe about the powers of Wall Street corrupting that recalcitrant Congress of Nicaragua. All those who believe that Mr. Hughes is urging one law in Nicaragua, while Wall Street buys a congress to defeat it, should stand on their heads. Gompers finds it necessary to fume at his boss in public in order the better to serve him in private.

An Opportunity For Progress in The I. A. M.

THE referendum vote now being cast by the membership of the International Association of Machinists on the proposals of the recent Detroit convention presents an opportunity for some slight progress in that organization. The proposed two-year term for officers, instead of the present four years, is a decided change for the better and should be adopted. The cut in the exorbitant salaries paid to officials is a healthy proposal that deserves all progressive votes. The proposed "election board" to count the votes, instead of leaving it to the officials whose personal fortunes are involved, may perhaps (but not certainly) eliminate some of the most glaring abuses of official power by the reactionaries such as the wholesale vote stealing in the last election, which was freely discussed at the Detroit convention in private meetings of delegates. None of these measures, however, will bring the slightest progress to the I. A. of M. unless they are taken merely as the first steps toward the building up of a powerful left wing which will challenge the policies and leadership of the reactionary machine headed by Wm. H. Johnston. They should be adopted, but as the preparation toward nominating a full slate of candidates, of real militants who fight against the B. & O. plan, for amalgamation, for militant policies generally. For only with a fighting left wing can real progress be made.

Morris Rosen Vs. Hutcheson.

IN the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, one of the strongest and most important unions in the American labor movement, a splendid campaign is being conducted by Morris Rosen, left wing candidate for president of the organization. The candidate of the forces of reaction is the present incumbent, Hutcheson, who is also one of the principal cogs in the capitalist political control of the American labor movement, being so blackly reactionary that he considers Cal Coolidge a progressive. Hutcheson was personally

responsible for the signing of the infamous Chicago "scab agreement," which binds the carpenters to work with non-union men of other trades, and which establishes the principle of the Landis Award against which the carpenters of Chicago had led a successful fight for several years. The Chicago incident is important in itself, but of more importance in that it clearly reveals the whole policy of this reactionary labor official, a policy that threatens the labor movement with imminent destruction. The progressive candidate, Morris Rosen, places before the carpenters a program of class struggle, of fighting union policies, and constructive organizational measures. He stands for solidarity of the building trades unions, a burning need especially now that the building boom is over. He advocates affiliation to the Building Trades Department and the solution of the jurisdictional questions through a process of amalgamation, toward which affiliation to the department is to be the first step. His whole program has been sent to all carpenters' locals in a leaflet endorsed by his own local organization. One factor in the election that may confuse some progressives is the presence of another candidate against Hutcheson, by the name of Willis Brown. This candidate lays claim to the progressive vote but without committing himself to any progressive measures. The best construction that can be put upon his campaign is that he is a smaller edition of Hutcheson, while the worst is that he is only Hutcheson's stalking horse to split the progressive vote. Carpenters who wish to bring their union out of the swamps of reaction must work for and vote for Morris Rosen.

The Struggle in The U. M. W. of A.

THE miners of America are the most progressive workers in the country. But their officials are among the most reactionary. A large percentage of the rank and file are disfranchised in practice, because of their foreign origin which leaves them comparatively helpless. The corruption funds of the employers are always a terrible weapon against the workers in their efforts to obtain militant leadership. These things, together with the important position occupied by the miners' union, make the elections now going on of great significance. In District No. 26, Nova Scotia, the new officials elected upon the restoration of autonomy to the districts were all the old and tried revolutionists, headed by McLachlan. In District No. 12, Illinois, the largest in the union, a fighting progressive slate is in the field against the Lewis ally, Farrington. District No. 5, Western Pennsylvania, has a militant progressive slate of delegates in the elections. Kansas, the stronghold of Alexander Howat, fearless battler against the corrupt administration, will certainly elect a fighting administration. Nationally, the Lewis administration is opposed by the progressive candidates, George Voyzey for president, Arley Staples for vice-president, and Joseph Nearing for secretary-treasurer, all of them standing squarely on the militant program of the progressive miners' committee. The union is being covered with copies of the progressive program which is based upon the one adopted in the famous Pittsburgh conference of 1923. After the task of rallying the miners to vote progressive in this election, the next and harder one is to obtain a count of the votes. Lewis, a cog in the machine of Calvin Coolidge and the Republican party, won that position thru an ability to count votes in his own direction no matter how they are cast. Miners, protect your ballots!

The International

Germany **T**HE rank and file of the mining industry is beginning to awaken to the need of concerted action for the resistance of the offensive of the capitalists. A number of mass meetings of miners recently held in Rotthausen, Gelsenkirchen, Kraffeld, and Essen, unanimously decided to begin a struggle for the increase of wages, decrease of working hours, and for unity of the trade union movement. These decisions were passed in all instances against the expressed wishes of the reformist leaders.

The negotiations between the Wool Workers' Union and the employers for a new agreement to cover the entire German industry were broken off. The employers at their general meeting decided to decline all the demands of the union.

All the employes of the express and transportation offices of Berlin declared a strike (early in October) which created serious complications in the handling of freight on the railroads.

The employers' alliance of the metal industry of the Northwestern and Lower Rheinisch provinces violated the agreement with the union regarding the hours of labor, also declaring that there can be no talk at present about raising wages or shortening the workday. Because of the miners of those provinces also being involved in conflict with the employers on the same issues there are expected considerable conflicts between capital and labor.

There is noticeable all over Germany considerable closing down of factories in various industries, and as a result of it an increase of unemployment. By the middle of October the number of unemployed in all Germany was over 1,250,000.

France **F**RANCE was the only country that did not know unemployment for a long time after the armistice.

The French industries rather experienced a shortage of labor, particularly agrarian and mining labor. Because of this there was mass immigration of foreign labor into the country, which now has over 3,000,000 foreign workers.

During the last year the employers began utilizing the services of many foreign workers for strike-breaking purposes. Whenever there is a strike the employers threaten to import and employ foreign labor. To create a sufficient reserve of this foreign labor force, the government, jointly with the heavy industrialists, has organized systematic importation every week of 3000 to 3,500 foreign workers.

The majority of these foreign workers are Poles and Italians. The Polish workers alone number more than 500,000. In order to keep the foreign workers in check a law was passed severely punishing workers breaking their agreements. The French employers take good care to conclude such agreements with the foreign workers before they enter the country.

This situation has grown into a serious menace to the organized labor movement of France which compelled the executive committees of both confederations of labor to take up the matter at meetings held at the end of September.

The proposal of the revolutionary confederation is, that the trade unions control and regulate the importation of foreign labor, and that special measures be devised to draw the foreign workers into the French trade union movement, while the reformist confederation is satisfied to allow the labor departments of the government to control and regulate the importation of foreign labor.

The French Communist Party and Unity Confederation of Labor have been carrying on lately wide campaigns of revolutionary and cultural education among the Polish immigrant workers. Special attention has been paid to drawing them into the unions. There are already more than 10,000 Polish workers in the Unity Confederation of Labor which organized a special Polish section to carry on this work.

Czecho-Slovakia **T**HE General Congress of the Shop Committees, held in Prague October 4-5, was a great success in spite of the mad agitation of the social-patriots and the terrorist tactics of the employers.

There were present 1,334 delegates from 822 shops. Of these delegates 979 belonged to the Red International of Labor Unions federation, 59 of the independent Red unions, and 250 from the reformist trade unions. The textile industry was represented by 321 delegates from 177 shops. The mining industry was represented by 295 delegates from 158 mines. Metal industry by 246 delegates from 120 shops. Chemical industry by 128 delegates from 100 shops. And many more industries. The congress represented all nationalities: Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Poles and Ukrainians.

The manifesto issued by the congress to the workers called upon them to join their forces for a wide-spread campaign in favor of unity in the trade union movement of Czecho-Slovakia. The report submitted to the congress by the representatives from the shop committees dealt with the most important problems confronting the labor movement, such as the rising price of foodstuffs, and of the necessity of struggling for increased wages, also about extending the rights of the shop committees, and of organizing the defense of the eight-hour day.

The resolution on the rising cost of living emphasizes the fact that during the last three years the wages of the Czecho-Slovakian workers were decreased 40-60 per cent. The resolution explains the success of the capitalist offensive by the existing division in the ranks of the trade union movement and calls upon the shop committees to center their activities on the creation of a unified trade union movement in Czecho-Slovakia and the world over.

The resolution on the eight-hour day emphasizes the fact that the struggle to defend the eight-hour day is a revolutionary struggle and can be carried out successfully only thru a united labor front.

On the Dawes plan the congress adopted a resolution which says: "The Dawes plan means limiting the extent of Czecho-Slovak industry and the increasing of unemployment, which becomes a permanent factor. The way to defend the working class interests in this situation is by substituting the existing capitalist government with a workers' and peasants' government. The immediate struggles of the shop committees must concern themselves with resisting decrease of production thru workers' control of industry by the shop committees."

The Congress elected a Central Workers' Committee of 37 members, in which are represented all the important branches of industry, the provincial committees of the trade unions, and all existing trade union organizations. The chairman of the committee is Comrade Konsky, member of the Red Labor Union of the Metal Workers.

Committee for International Workers Aid, National Office, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago

CASH INCOME OCTOBER, 1924. Table listing donors and amounts, including German Hungarian Singing Society, L. Zulutsky, A. E. Phillipchik, etc.

STATEMENTS AND CERTIFICATE. STATEMENT "A". COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID. FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA AND WORKERS' GERMANY. National Office. 19 South Lincoln Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Used for: Relief and reconstruction, Gathering funds and clothes, and spreading information. CURRENT PERIOD: INCOME, partly from the local proceeds of informative films... GROSS INCOME \$127,048.08. EXTRAORDINARY: Removal expense (net) \$1,230.40. AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE. I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Committee for International Workers' Aid...

Wages—Addressers 5,101.24. Wages—Publicity 1,203.34. Traveling—Speakers and Organizers 775.80. Cuts, Mats, Cartoons, Etc. 686.56. Information Service 14.00. Advertisements—Newspapers and Periodicals 6,467.03. Leaflets and Circulars 6,134.39. Posters and Show Cards 233.30. Bulletins 502.78. Organization Supplies 13.00. Envelopes and Wrappers 1,558.07. Postage and Express 2,912.90. Shipping Supplies and Expense 159.51. Official Organ—"Soviet Russia Pictorial" Subsidy 7,706.97. First "Dollar Drive"—Free Trip to Russia awarded to John T. Taylor, Detroit, Michigan 507.15. Telegrams 117.15. Total \$34,308.19.

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSE STATEMENT "D". To Conduct the Organization. Wages—Secretary 2,225.00. Wages—Staff 7,159.99. Rent 2,225.00. Office Space—Alterations, expenses, etc. 286.35. Loss on Sale of Furniture, etc. 375.74. Depreciation of Furniture and Equipment 404.44. Repairs to Equipment 137.87. Supplies 976.13. Printing and Stationery 493.65. Outside phone calls, carfares, etc. 165.48. Postages 428.70. Telegrams 51.06. Telephone 190.08. Auditing and Accounting Charges 1,496.79. Total Ordinary \$16,616.28.

EXTRAORDINARY: Removal expense (net) \$1,230.40. CREDIT: Insurance refund \$59.81. Food Draft and Package Department Expenses refund (net) 570.35. Total Expense \$17,216.52. Of which the Official Organ—"Soviet Russia Pictorial" bears for proportion of office rent and upkeep 900.00. Total \$16,316.52.

(Referring to Statements "A," "B," "C" and "D") rate of wages has never exceeded \$50.00 per week.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE. I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Committee for International Workers' Aid (formerly known as Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany) Chicago, Illinois, for the three fiscal years from the date of organization, August 9, 1921 to July 31, 1924.

I have received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgement of his contribution should communicate with me. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not made a part of the financial statements.

The above statements, "A," "B," "C" and "D," are of the National Office only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgement and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above financial statements, "A," "B," "C" and "D" are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the transactions for the period, and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

J. B. COLLINGS WOODS, Chartered Accountant. 299 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. September 30, 1924.

October 21, 1924. GERMAN WORKERS RECEIVE LOCAL SHIPMENTS DIRECT.

Locals support the National Office by contributions. Locals support the National Office by contributions. Locals rally to the National Office through the solicitation of individual contributions for the National Office. IN ADDITION Locals send shipments direct to German Workers.

During the third fiscal year, August 1, 1923, to July 31, 1924, direct shipments by Locals have included the following: March 19, 1924 from San Francisco: 5 barrels of relief goods, insured for \$125.00. June 7, 1924, from San Francisco: 4 barrels of old clothing, 1 box of groceries, insured for 500.00. July 12, 1924, from New York: 8 cases of agricultural tools; insured for 1,000.00. July 17, 1924, from New York: 1 case of books; insured for 125.00. July 21, 1924, from New York: 4 cases of old clothing; no valuation given.

TOTAL (exclusive of items not valued in dollars) \$1,750.00. (Signed) ROSE KARSNER, Secretary. J. B. Collings Woods, Auditor. October 21, 1924.

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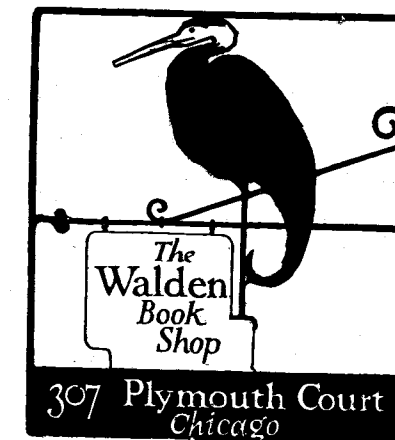
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