

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."  
—Karl Marx.

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# THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

The platform on which the Workers Party asks support of its candidates, outlines the one road the workers must travel in order to secure a higher standard of life for themselves.

The platform does not represent a plan conceived by some individual or group of individuals as a means of securing relief from the existing evils of the capitalist system. The program offered by the Workers Party is a Communist program rooted in the economic development of the capitalist system and pointing to the new social order indicated by the development of that system itself. The central point about the development of the capitalist system is the development of large scale production which brings thousands of workers together in industry and makes of production a collective work rather than individual work.

So long as our system of production consisted of individuals working alone or some employer working with a half-dozen employees in a small shop, a Communist system of production was impossible.

But capitalism itself creates the basis for the new social order. Capitalism, during the last half century particularly, has been developing greater and greater organizations for production of wealth. In place of a few workmen in small shops producing shoes, we have great shoe factories employing thousands of men who collectively produce shoes. In place of a tailor working alone producing garments, we have great garment factories employing thousands of workers who create clothing.

Sharpens Class Conflict

This development of the capitalist system has created an industrial machine consisting, on one side, of tens of thousands of workers engaged in a particular industry, who work for wages, and on the other side, the relatively few capitalists who own the industries and take the profits from them but who usually have no part in the work of production. They own stocks and bonds which give them a mortgage on the life and work of those who produce wealth in industry, but themselves contribute no thing to the work of production.

Given such an industrial system, there can be no other outcome than the continuous conflict between the workers employed in industry and the owners of industry. The bringing together of a thousand workers in one industrial establishment creates the condition for use of the workers' power against the capitalist owner. The very fact that these workers are forced into close relationship thru the collective processes of producing wealth teaches them to unite in the struggle against their exploiters.

Ten thousand workers scattered over a city or several cities in small shops employing five or ten workers, would find it very difficult indeed to unite for collective action against their exploiters, but bringing these workers together in one great industrial establishment, we have the conditions which will naturally develop solidarity and action as a group against their exploiters.

In other words, the capitalist system creates first the conditions for collective production in industry and at the same time creates the organization for struggle against private ownership of this collective system of production by bringing together masses of workers in industry.

**Collective Production and Distribution**  
If we acknowledge that these are the conditions which exist today in

the United States, and surely no one who considers the facts of American industry will dare challenge the statement that this situation does exist, the natural question which follows is, thru what program of action can the workers win the struggle against their exploiters?

We have today private ownership of industry which so far as production is concerned is becoming more and more a collective process of production. This great industrial machine exploits the workers and when they rebel against exploitation brings in the governmental power to maintain their exploitation and adds oppression to exploitation.

What is the workers' solution? Can they say with LaFollette, let us destroy this organization, let us break the trusts and go back to small business?

No one but a fool would make such a proposal.

The great industrial organizations of our time are the result of industrial evolution. It is a logical development of production from individual small

by a system of Communist collective ownership of industry. This is the platform upon which the Workers Party asks the support of the workers in the present election campaign.

**The Role of the Government.**

The role of the government in the capitalist system of society has already been indicated. Thru the control of political power and use of that power against the group which is struggling to emancipate itself from the exploitation of the capitalist system, the capitalists maintain the system which gives them great wealth.

The change in ownership of industry and the workers' control of industry can only be achieved if the workers first take over the governmental power. The first great struggle to achieve the Communist society is the struggle for control of the governmental power.

Once this power is in the hands of the exploited class, it has the weapon thru which it can transform the existing social system. The Workers Party therefore calls upon the workers to join in the struggle to es-

tablish a Workers and Farmers Government which will express the rule of the exploited groups against the rule of the capitalist class.

From all the above will be seen that the platform on which the Workers Party is asking the support of the workers this year deals with the fundamental problems of capitalist society. That in place of being a utopian scheme, as is so often charged by the opponents of Communism, all the facts of the existing system point to the Communist program as offering the solution to the problem of capitalist society.

While the forces of economic evolution thus are on the side of the workers, they will not win their victory by a fatalistic awaiting of the coming of the new social order thru the development of the capitalist system itself.

No privileged class in human society has ever given up its privileged position without using all the weapons at its command to maintain its special position. This will be true of the capitalist class as it has been true of other economic groups in the past.

The workers can only expect to win the struggle against capitalism if they organize their power and carry on a

to lead the workers in the struggle, to direct the struggle along the right road—this is the purpose of the Workers Communist Party. Its platform in this election campaign is the platform of this revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

## White Mule

By KARL REEVE

Five miners squat in the grass, their burning cigarettes making reflecting sparks on the two-quart bottle filled with colorless liquid which passes from hand to hand.

Tony spits union made tobacco juice, wipes the stray spray from his furious mustache, passes his hand over the mouth of the bottle, and drinks.

Charlie pauses from belching his favorite wobbly song, and drinks. Vally and Joe drink in their turn. Everyone in the circle drinks long drafts except Louis. Louis has tried to his sorrow to mix copious quantities of home brew and white mule and is now sleeping it off, his head half buried in the long dry, dewless grass.

These men have not worked for seven months. Louis is glad to sleep. He has had bad luck since the war. Returning from the war of Wilsonian Democracy with one eye gone, deaf in one ear and his right cheek bone twisted up directly under his forehead, Louis is not a pretty sight. Altho he was cited for bravery, and was awarded three wound stripes, Louis was heard to complain by the Old Ben coal mine boss and has been put on the invisible blacklist.

As the "moon" takes effect, the lusty talk of the miners drifts out over the hedge of long grass in whose shadows they recline and is wafted over the coal-lust road. They squat close to earth, hoping for a little relief from the heat of the pitiless sun—their only heritage these days from the monotonous inactivity of the day. Charlie's voice sounds cheerfully hardy as he howls to a tune never heard before, and never to be repeated, the rebel version of "They're Wild Over Me." But his mind is at the far edge of town, in spite of his smile. Even the white mule cannot erase from his mind his black-haired, heavy wife whom he does not love very much, and his three children who have not had much to eat that day. His conscience pricks him about remaining away from his wife so late into the night. Like a dull unceasing pain the words, "What can I do? There is nothing to do." "The kids have got to eat" weigh down his mind.

Louis groans in his sleep, oppressed by the heat and by dreams of the battle fields of France. Tony is the biggest of the husky men. He has the kindly Slav face which is lent distinction by the long brown mustache. Tony's dirty overalls cannot hide his superior poise. He is the one who always, at the end of the party, quietly goes in and cooks the bacon and eggs and the strong black coffee which is the farewell grace.

Tony has worked under ground for many years. He has a wife in Poland. Twice he has sent her money to come over to him, but each time she has betrayed him. He has heard recently that his wife has two more

### FOR THE CLASS-STRUGGLE AND AGAINST REFORMIST ILLUSIONS By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

IN the present election campaign the Workers Party has a great responsibility as well as a splendid opportunity. Its responsibility is to stand uncompromisingly in this period of general confusion, for its revolutionary program and to sweep aside the cloud of reformist poison now befogging the minds of the bewildered workers. The significance of Gompers and Debs joining with LaFollette in a united front, is that the organized masses of trade unionists are tending to break away from the leadership politically of big capital and to accept that of little capital. The task of the Workers Party is to expose the fallacies of the liberal democratic LaFollette movement, with its blatant sophistries and meaningless platitudes about re-establishing the "rule of the people" and giving a "square deal" to everyone. The Workers Party has the imperative duty to sound a clear proletarian revolutionary note and to demonstrate that the LaFollette movement holds no hope for working class betterment, but must lead directly to the perpetuation of capitalism in its worst phases.

With this duty comes a splendid opportunity for the Workers Party. Now the workers are thinking over their grievances and the way to correct them. They are highly receptive to revolutionary education properly to inbreach itself in the minds of the masses and to bring large numbers of militant workers into its ranks. In the present campaign every effort must be put forth to enlighten the workers and to develop a big vote for the Communist candidates. But our efforts must not end there. Above all, we must build our party and extend our press. Our election campaign will be a failure if it is not everywhere accompanied by a militant drive to secure new members for the party and new readers for the DAILY WORKER and our other party papers. In this historical situation, let us, therefore, militantly fulfill our revolutionary duty of educating the masses and building the Workers Party.

scale production to the great mass productive industries of our time. A LaFollette administration, even tho it made a thousand laws, could not stop this development.

The question the workers face is, then, what program can they follow in order to solve the problem of the exploitation and oppression of the workers under this system? The answer to that question is indicated in the industrial and economic situation itself. We cannot destroy the great industrial organizations and thus end their power. We should not desire to destroy them even if we could, because they represent a higher level of industrial development. We already have collective production thru thousands of workers cooperating in large industries. All this points to the only possible solution of the problem; that is, that we take the industries out of the hands of their private owners and make the ownership collective as well as the work of production.

This is the central point of the program of the Workers Party. This is the aim and goal of the Communist movement. All its efforts and energies are directed toward abolishing the system of private ownership of the great industries and replacing

establish a Workers and Farmers Government which will express the rule of the exploited groups against the rule of the capitalist class.

From all the above will be seen that the platform on which the Workers Party is asking the support of the workers this year deals with the fundamental problems of capitalist society. That in place of being a utopian scheme, as is so often charged by the opponents of Communism, all the facts of the existing system point to the Communist program as offering the solution to the problem of capitalist society.

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# Oil and International Politics

By LOUIS ZOBOCK.

The imperialist powers of the world have an oil policy. Oil has become the great international issue of the hour. Its importance is such that even the "most solid political alliances" are subordinate to it. There is no discussion of a treaty among the great powers of the world today that can be understood without considering the petroleum conditions of the territory affected. World politics has become the politics of oil. No move is made on that chessboard where imperialist diplomats disport themselves with the fate of nations that is not tinged with oil.

The situation in the Near East is saturated with oil. Oil rules the fate of Mexico. Every revolution for the last 30 years in Mexico has been instigated by the large oil corporations of the world. Oil made the United States pay Colombia \$25,000,000 reparation for the loss of Panama. Oil keeps the British in Mesopotamia. Oil ultimately makes frontiers, wars and peace.

"The country which dominates by means of oil," said Elliot Alves, head of the British controlled oil fields, "will command at the same time the commerce of the world. Armies, navies, money, even entire populations will count as nothing as against the lack of oil." Where does oil, then, derive this formidable power? What has made it more precious, more penetrating and more influential than gold?

## The Importance of Oil.

Until 1880 the United States was almost the only important producer of oil. After 1880, Russia came into the field. Mexican production began in 1901, but was of little consequence until after 1910. Up to date the United States has produced about 70 per cent of all the petroleum known to have been produced in the world. At present the United States produces nearly two-thirds, and the United States, Mexico and Russia are producing nine-tenths of the whole of the world's annual production. Persia has recently swung forward to fourth place, and the Dutch East Indies hold the fifth place.

For half a century oil was used primarily for illuminating purposes; its use was confined to the lamp, and occasionally the domestic stove. And even in this modest sphere it had to contend for mastery with gas and electricity. Between 1900 and 1910, the invention of the gas motor and the prodigious development of the automobile gave it a new lease of life. A few years later a German engineer named Diesel invented the internal combustion engine for heavy oil. Crude oil (mazut) when admitted to the cylinder under high pressure forms an explosive mixture which without sparking plug or magneto drives the pistons precisely as in an explosion motor; and since it comes from a worthless by-product of the Diesel engine can be operated very cheaply.

The Diesel invention produced a revolution in fuel. Oil, confined at first to industrial use, began to conquer the seas. The advantages of the Diesel engine are enormous. With this machine there is no longer any need for boilers, and it takes up less space than a steam engine of the same power. A vessel fitted with a Diesel engine can sail for 57 days without refueling, while with a steam engine it could not sail for more than a fortnight. Weight for weight, crude oil furnishes 20 per cent more heat than coal. It is less bulky; it is cheaper. It is easily manipulated, for it flows by itself into the machine, and permits a marked economy in the engine room personnel as well as quicker changes in speed.

Admiral Lord Fisher drew attention to the fact that on the Mauretania the adoption of oil fuel allowed the reduction of the crew by 200 men. Besides, by giving more heat in proportion to the bulk of fuel carried, it enlarges the cruising radius nearly 50 per cent, while making possible, at the

same time, a saving of 30 per cent in bunker space.

This last mentioned fact is especially important for armored vessels. As the ships gain considerably in lightness, it is possible to increase the thickness of the armor plate and thus equip the ships with more powerful guns. Moreover, with oil fuel fleets acquire an extreme mobility. Half an hour after receiving the order to raise steam the ship is ready to start.

The imperialist governments understood these advantages. Oil has been introduced into battlefleets. At present, the British and American dreadnoughts, which keep millions of people under subjection, burn nothing but crude oil. And as for the merchant marine, the most powerful companies have equipped their steamers to use liquid fuel and Diesel engines.

In a word, mazut is dethroning coal. "The nation," as one writer stated "which controls this precious fuel will see the wealth of the rest of the world flowing toward it. The ships of other nations will soon be unable to sail

plished their armies with oil. It succeeded because it was able to guarantee the co-operation of the Royal Dutch and the Standard Oil in the cause of the Entente. "Thanks to the Inter-Allied Conference," as Henry Berenger remarked, "never at any moment, have our soldiers lacked a drop of this spirit which gives them the necessary means of rapid movement and of cornering and defeating the enemy."

This time the military and political importance of oil was apparent to every eye. On the morrow of the Armistice (November 21, 1918), it was celebrated in enthusiastic speeches. And Lord Curzon, the arch-imperialist, was able to declare: "truly posterity will say that the Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil."

**The Struggle of the Great Powers.**  
Now, everybody knows that British imperialism rested upon a foundation of coal. Thanks to the numerous coal-mining stations which England had scattered over all the steamer lanes of the world, not a single ship, whether of war or commerce, could move upon

## WORKERS ALL

By JAMES H. DOLSEN

"Dingo," "Hanky," "Chink"—  
Each of them, I think,  
After all are workmen like me,  
And the "niker," black,  
Really does not lack  
Heart and brains, as far as I can see.

Yellow, red, or brown,  
May be sage or clown,  
Just as white men may be had or good,  
English, German, French—  
Put them in a trench,  
They will fight as any Yankee would.

Even that chosen one,  
Dubbed a "Native Son,"  
Is no better ready for the name,  
Call a pig a pig,  
Or a thief an thief—  
Yet the pig and thief are quite the same.

So let's put aside  
Prejudice and pride,  
And as brothers all,  
Whether it be that of race or birth,  
Let us stand or fall  
In the workers' struggle for the earth.

without recourse to its stores of oil. Should it create a merchant fleet, it becomes at once mistress of ocean trade. Now the nation which obtains the world's carrying trade takes toll from all those whose goods it carries, and so has abundant capital. Now in industry arise round its ports, its banks become clearing houses for international payments. At one stroke the controlling center of the world's credit is displaced. This is what happened already in the eighteenth century when, with the development of British shipping, it rose from Amsterdam to London.

## The War and Oil.

The last war, which had just ravaged the world, proved the truth of this statement. In 1914, when Germany sent a submarine expedition to President Wilson. This historic attack, although many other times, contained the following: At the decisive moment of the war, when the year 1918 will see military operations of the first importance begin on the French front, the French army must not be exposed for a single moment to a shortage of petroleum necessary for its motor lorries, aeroplanes, and the transport of its artillery.

"The safety of the allied nations is in the balance. If the Allies do not wish to lose the war, then, at the moment of the great German offensive, they must not let France lack the petrol which is as necessary as blood in the battles of tomorrow."

In response to this appeal the allied governments had set up the Inter-Allied Petroleum Conference which ap-

proved her grace. Her coal, moreover, assured to her vessels a cargo of outward-bound freight which she certaintly to find sale in any land. British steamers could always sail therefore, with full holds, a fortunate circumstance which enabled them to give lower return rates than the ships of any other country. And British industry benefited correspondingly by its genuine advantage in the purchase of raw materials abroad. This was a great advantage in the campaign for the conquest of international markets. It may be said that the whole commercial and industrial prosperity of England, for a century past, had rested on this heritage of coal.

But from the moment that crude oil became available for use by steamships, all this was susceptible of change. England's production of oil, whereas the U. S. furnished some 70 per cent of the world's supply, luckily for the English, America had no merchant marine; but during the war and immediately after, the U. S. constructed one of the greatest merchant fleets in the world. May not America then, possessing both ships and oil be tempted to wrest from Great Britain her century long role of mistress of the sea?

One can only marvel at the irony of fate and the fragility of empires. For four years England waged a burdensome war with the prime object of destroying the German navy forever. At the cost of enormous losses she nursed her end. The only striking rival that Britain formerly had to fear

is vanquished; but from the very struggle which destroyed this rival, a new one has arisen, twice as formidable as the first, because America adds to her superiority in tonnage a quasi-monopoly of the fuel which England lacks. American oil in the furnaces of great steamships—may not that be the beginning of the downfall of the British empire?

The British imperialists realized this situation. They made up their minds, and, having made up their minds, they began to act. By clever twists, by silent scheming, by political, commercial and diplomatic maneuvering, they succeeded in acquiring almost all the oil reserves of the world. Prospectors and representatives of British high finance have scoured all over the world, with full consent of the government, in quest of new oil deposits to conquer. The most important oil concerns engaged in active exploitation, except the Standard, were quickly assailed and conquered by British capital. Under cover of various commercial companies, the Shell Transport, the Mexican Eagle, the Burmah Oil, the Anglo-Persian Oil, have added to their number since the armistice the powerful trust of Holland, the Royal Dutch. Very cleverly the English have, at need known how to associate themselves with American firms by investing capital in the U. S. And, as a result of these maneuvers, British companies now have in exclusive control of 95 per cent of the future world production of oil.

The British government learned at least one lesson from the recent war. That is to say, that the nation which controlled the oil industry controlled commerce by sea, in view of the fact that no coal burner can compete with an oil-burning ship. Realizing this, the imperialist government of Great Britain is no longer content today to encourage, favor, and defend its nationals. Better than this, it makes conquests or establishes protectorates having as essential object the reservation exclusively for its nationals of new oil-bearing territories, such as Persia and Mesopotamia. It is sufficient to read the Treaty of Sevres to see the underlying motive of British negotiations: the desire to monopolize the oil of Asia, and the anxiety to keep out the U. S.

The British oil policy is not uniform. Sometimes, when it seems possible, she gets possession of proved oil fields. Sometimes, in the case of a country which would hold its own, she negotiates for an advantageous share in the profits—this is what happened by the San Remo agreement—or she makes contracts ensuring abundant supplies of the precious mineral oil.

In general, when a state does not fall in with her views quickly enough, imperialist Britain does not resort from any means of pressure. This is what led Admiral Denoy to write: "as a corollary to well-known negotiations with one of the richest countries in oil in the Near East, the British Admiralty has organized and maintained on the Danube a numerous flotilla of gunboats and river monitors."

All this brot the desired result. At present there is not a single oil producing country where the English have not obtained a footing. At present, England has oil stations at all strategic points of the world. She controls the Suez canal at both ends. She has establishments at the Antipodes, in East and West Indies, on the west coast of South America, on the coast of Africa, and at the Azores, etc. Even the Panama canal itself is seriously menaced. The Royal Dutch Shell has a depot at one end of the canal and another at the entrance to the Gulf.

As a result of this activity, other nations, particularly the U. S. and France, have found themselves cut in the cold. The imperialism of this country without losing time began a special propaganda to make the American people become more "oil-minded" than the oil men. Admiral

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# LaFollette In Congress

By Jay Lovestone

IN his twenty-five years at Washington, Robert M. LaFollette has been the outstanding figure in the fight for but one measure which might be called a labor law in the strict sense of the term. Except for the fight led by him in behalf of the enactment of the Seaman's Law, Senator LaFollette has not been directly connected with any noteworthy labor legislation.

It is true he voted for the Woman Suffrage Amendment, the proposed Child Labor Amendment, the establishment of the Department of Labor, and the eight-hour day for government employees. It is true he was against the Ship Subsidy Bill, the Esch-Cummins Act, and the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bill. But these votes could scarcely be interpreted as signs of genuine progressivism, as evidence of unflinching hostility to the employing class interests. Many Republicans and Democrats have voted for and against these measures precisely in the same way as LaFollette did. Yet, no one would on his account call these congressmen and senators progressives worthy of the support of the workers and farmers. Many of those who have voted for the Woman's Suffrage Amendment or the Howard Kirby Bill for abolishing the National Labor Board are today ardent advocates of the election of Coolidge or Davis.

## Progressivism On Wane

If we analyze LaFollette's attitude towards such pressing questions in Congress as the raising of revenue, the regulation of business and the tariff, we will find that the Wisconsin Senator has not been fundamentally antagonistic to the corporate interests of the country and has even zealously pressed and fought for the needs of the middle and smaller capitalist against the encroachments of the big capitalist groups. At the time he has LaFollette spoken or worked for the laborers as a class against the employers' exploiting class.

Then LaFollette's movement gains in the House has even less cause to speak of its being genuinely progressive. We have seen that Starbuck, John M. Nelson, now LaFollette's national campaign director, voted for the conscription law. In the futile effort made to liberalize the rules of procedure in the House and in the half-hearted attempts at shifting the burden of honorable taxation from the poor to the rich, the LaFollette progressives acted disgracefully.

When LaFollette first entered congress he was a regular in every sense of the word. His Senate radicalism, whatever there has been of it, is on the wane.

In such questions as the restriction of immigration, the giving of more power to our capitalist government to control the movements of workers, or in the matter of Japanese exclusion, LaFollette has not taken a commanding position to stay the hands of the exploiters in utilizing these occasions to divide and weaken the workers.

## Not Against Big Capitalists

In debating the various revenue measures preparatory to America's entering the war Senator LaFollette made it very plain in offering his amendments that he did not relish the idea of being considered a foe of the business interests of the land. Thus he declared, on February 28, 1917, in behalf of his own amendments before the U. S. Senate, "These amendments, embodying as they do a complete scheme of raising revenue without the tax on business and the bond issue, should be voted on bloc."

Continuing to assure the democratic defenders of the big capitalist groups that he was not in fundamental disagreement with them on the basic issues, LaFollette further said: "It is in no spirit of partisanship that I criticize the revenue bill now before the senate but in the hope and belief that that majority is open to argument and will accept amendments to the measure calculated to improve it without encroaching upon any of

the tenets, political or economic, of the majority party." (C. Rec. p. 4489, Feb. 28, 1917.)

In general, LaFollette represented the interests of the small business class and the small bankers on this all-important question of revenue-raising. On August 18, 1917, for instance, LaFollette voted against a bill to put a tax of one cent on checks, drafts, etc. Senator Simmons, the democratic tax expert, thus explained the opposition to the proposal: "It is stated and stated correctly that there was a protest, I might say quite a general protest, on the part of the bankers against this tax, but this protest came chiefly and especially from the smaller banks."

## Fair to Business

And on August 25, 1917, LaFollette in making a plea to the senate for fairness to the small members against the proposed tax on the following grounds: "As the law now stands, a check is a piece of paper which is stamped with the name of the bank and the name of the person who has issued it, and which is good for the amount of the check in any part of the world over which the bank has authority."

"On one important item, the approval of the combination which it has entered into in regard to the issue of a new currency, the proposed corporation is so far from being responsible for the general case of responsibility."

Further, LaFollette in the

examination of the rates on sixty articles in this law shows that on the whole they were practically identical with the rates on the same articles in the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1912. Addressing the House of Representatives on May 10th, 1919, in behalf of the McKinley Bill, LaFollette said:

"Repeal the protective duties and you have stopped the booms, put out the fires, stunted as with the hand of death the busy industries of my state. . . . It is to preserve the markets of this country to our own producers that we have kept the duties like a breastwork, high enough to protect the man who is busy adding to the sum of its wealth from assault by any foreign source."

Then in a speech he delivered at the Soldiers Park Theatre, Milwaukee on September 20, 1919, LaFollette opposed the American declaration of war against Spain and the annexation of the Philippine territory. He advocated that the American troops be put down in the eastern hemisphere and he only called all the votes of the administration. At that time LaFollette was making his first plea for governor.

In denouncing the Bryan proposal to establish a stable government in the Philippines and then withdraw, LaFollette entered into the following study of American imperialism: "The policy which the Philippines will afford the U. S. will amount to many millions annually, is unim-

in order to build up this industry. The American Tin Plate Company, capitalized at more than fifty million dollars, the Tin Plate Trust, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, is a monument to LaFollette's progressivism on the tariff.

Then, when the Payne Aldrich Tariff Bill was being considered, LaFollette put up an aggressive fight to secure an amendment "to enable the mills now manufacturing print paper in Wisconsin to so adjust themselves with respect to the manufacture of paper not requiring spruce wood, that they could manufacture it economically without changing the location of those plants."

LaFollette has always been a loyal defender of the zinc interests in his state. On June 16th, 1909, LaFollette made a special plea to the senate to lay a duty on zinc based on the difference in the cost of production in this country and Mexico . . . a protective duty measuring the difference between the cost of production in Mexico and in Wisconsin and in Joplin as well. . . ."

## Votes for High Tariff.

Though LaFollette made a strong plea for a higher duty on zinc than that fixed by the house and a higher duty than that submitted by the senate committee, he asked that he be excused from voting because of his own property interest in zinc. Several years later appearing before the committee conducting hearings on the Maintenance of a Lobby to Influence Legislation, LaFollette made an interesting confession explaining why he refused to vote on the higher tariff rates on zinc, and why he spoke for it. He said in part:

"I own an interest in some zinc bearing lands in Southwestern Wisconsin." I ought perhaps to say that when the tariff on zinc was under consideration, four years ago, I felt as one of the Senators representing the state of Wisconsin in which are located about three counties producing zinc and lead that it was my duty to present to the senate the arguments that it seemed to me should be made from their standpoint. While my interest in the matter was such that I wanted to be excused from voting on the amendment relating to this subject, I felt that those I represented were entitled to have the argument presented and so I made on the floor of the senate what might be called an argument to influence action upon the question." (Pages 190-191)

Scrutinizing the various votes on the emergency tariff, (H. R. 15275) we find that the Wisconsin Senator voted to change the tariff on wheat from thirty to forty cents, for two cents per pound on frozen meat, the Smoot amendment for tariff on sugar and molasses, a duty of eight cents per pound on butter and substitutes, and a tariff on condensed milk. Mr. LaFollette is also recorded as voting in favor of the passage of the bill as a whole. True, these rates were not as high as the ones he voted for in the McKinley Bill, yet LaFollette's votes indicate that he believes in a tariff to protect the business interests of the country.

## Progressive Group Shoddy

Senator LaFollette is noted for his ability to filibuster. On several occasions, in the Senate, LaFollette has held up various measures by his ability to talk the proposals of his colleagues of the opposition to death.

Last June LaFollette had an opportunity to prevent the Coolidge machine from adjourning Congress without being forced to expose its unwillingness and incompetency to meet the needs and demands of the bankrupt farming masses. But LaFollette refused to exercise his filibustering skill, which in this instance would have struck a damaging blow at the reactionaries. Instead he voted for the resolution of Senator Jones of Washington to adjourn, after making several vain efforts to secure a majority vote for his proposal to stay in session a few weeks longer.

In the consideration of the Tax Bill,

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## 25 YEARS IN CONGRESS HAS PUT BRAKES ON LaFOLLETTE BRAND OF RADICALISM IN POLITICAL ARENA

IN a quarter of a century in Washington, LaFollette has identified himself as a property and an aggressive advocate of only one direct issue, namely, a Socialist Act.

The votes on amendments of the Wisconsin Moses in the House and Senate on such questions as taxation, tariff, and foreign policy, show plainly that he is not a fundamental opposition to the capitalist system.

LaFollette's congress, we should observe him of being only a defender of the small and middle farmers, businessmen and manufacturers against the encroachments of the biggest captains of finance and industry.

LaFollette's insurgent group has consistently refused to launch spirited attacks on the reactionary strongholds. In their surrender to the old guard on the question of liberalizing the rules in the House and in their acceptance of the reactionary Longworth Tax Bill—both in the last session of Congress—the LaFollette lieutenants betrayed their total lack of genuine progressivism.

Whatever little progressivism that LaFollette may have displayed at one time or another in his past, is now steadily disappearing.

fare of the small manufacturer and manufacturing group on the part of LaFollette is displayed in the following comment on his amendment to the schedules on wool under consideration in the action on the tariff measure before the senate on June 10, 1909:

"The great manufacturers have their rights, which should be duly regarded. I would not disparage the men who are manufacturing under this wool schedule. . . ."

"The position on the carded wool industry is such as to invite the earnest attention of congress. It is the last branch of the wool industry which is still accessible to the man with moderate capital. With the American Woolen Company in control of about sixty percent of the output of American woolen cloth, and with the independent manufacturers of worsted cloth organizing into another combination, the carded wool industry, accords the only chance for the small manufacturer. . . ."

Similar solicitude in behalf of the capitalist class was manifested by LaFollette when he voted on October 10, 1921 to provide for free tolls, free transit for American ships thru the Panama Canal.

## Was Reactionary in Congress

When LaFollette first entered Congress, and during his six years as a member of the House of Representatives, he was a "regular" in every sense of the word. LaFollette was a member of the House Ways and Means committee which framed the McKinley Tariff Bill in 1890. An

important in contemplation of the value which will result from the Philippines as a point of distribution from which American products can command trade in the orient. From that point of vantage, with our harbors at Honolulu and Tutuila, in the Samoan groups, for coaling, watering, and repairing, we will be ready to conquer our rightful share of that great market now opening for the world's commerce. . . . Whatever ensues, under Republican reconstruction of our plain treaty rights we can legally and morally reserve unto ourselves perpetual commercial advantages of priceless value to our foreign trade from time to time."

## Champions Capitalist Tariffs.

Though LaFollette is today attacking the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law as an iniquitous measure, he has for many years been a high tariff advocate. It is true, the Wisconsin Moses has of late been changing somewhat his attitude on the question of highest tariff. Yet, on the whole his practice does not indicate a change, even at so late a date as the consideration of the Emergency Tariff in February, 1921.

In a speech delivered at St. Paul on October 9th, 1909, LaFollette put himself on record in this fashion: "I am a protectionist. . . . I was a member of the committee that made the McKinley Tariff Bill."

Working in close co-operation with Dingley and Payne, LaFollette (as a member of the Ways and Means Committee in the Fifty-First Congress) advocated a high tariff duty on tin plate

# The Workers Party in the Elections

By JOSEPH MANLEY,  
Campaign Manager, Workers Party.  
The Workers Party occupies a historic position in the present election campaign. The Workers Party is the only proletarian party that fights against capitalism, represented by Coolidge and Davis—and the left wing of Wall Street, represented by LaFollette.

The Workers Party fights against the interests of this whole combination and stands for the interests of the workers and exploited farmers. Our immediate objective is therefore, to draw into the struggle, the largest possible section of the exploited masses. Our various party units, both in districts and locals, must be mobilized as never before.

We must come thru this campaign with thousands of new members, increased confidence among the masses and having brought them one step nearer the proletarian revolution. Our problem is to organize a mighty machinery before we can accomplish the various tasks that will be necessary to the making of a successful election campaign.

**What the Federations Can Do.**  
In this machinery our federations, being national in scope, occupy a foremost position. The federation papers, thru campaign articles and news items can issue special appeals and give much aid to the campaign. The federation papers can be useful in reaching otherwise inaccessible places with our Communist program. The Federations Executive Committees should hold regular and frequent meetings to discuss and execute the work of the campaign.

The Federations Secretaries occupy a strategic position. They, by interest and effort, can contribute much.

The district organizations, by proper planning and by frequent and careful consideration of the campaign

problems in their district can coordinate the work of the local units and the district as a whole.

**Duties of Local Units.**  
The local units of our party are the real basis of this political campaign. Never before has our rank and file had such a splendid opportunity for general participation with a Communist program in a great political struggle. Every member of a branch can and must engage in this political campaign to the fullest extent. The real battle must be fought by them. The burden of carrying out the campaign fight is upon their shoulders.

The local campaign committee can reach masses of workers with whom no other party unit comes in contact. Their objective is to strengthen the political influence of the party and spread the message of Communism.

**Foster-Gitlow Meetings.**  
To crystallize the issue—to stimulate the campaign and to appear before the workers as a political party, the Foster-Gitlow meetings must occupy extraordinary effort and interest. The Foster-Gitlow meetings must be viewed from an entirely different angle than the regular mass meetings held by our party. It must be remembered that these meetings are of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. In great political struggles in America, the candidates always give voice to the platform of their party. Consequently, great political significance must be attached to these meetings. Masses, if intelligently approached, can be attracted to a political meeting in the midst of a heated campaign. Special efforts should be made to attract and reach large masses of industrial workers with the influence of these meetings.

**Get Signatures for Petitions.**  
Probably the real drudgery of the campaign is that of securing petition signatures and placing our party on the ballot in the various states. This

is of fundamental importance. It must be successfully carried out—otherwise we cannot function as a political party in this campaign.

**The Campaign Needs Money.**  
The raising of adequate finances is of equal importance. The campaign cannot be successfully conducted without money. The vigorous solicitation of campaign funds will add to the strength of the party as a whole, national, district and local.

The workers are now interested in political questions. Special campaign literature will carry our Communist message to places hitherto not penetrated. This will increase the understanding of our party aims and create for us a wider standing and prestige. The same applies to our general party literature, which in this campaign should be specially pushed. The general party literature, if widely distributed, will help to clear up much of the confusion which now exists in the minds of many, otherwise intelligent workers, as to political questions.

It should be continuously pointed out that we are the only political party that fights against capitalism. The revolutionary workers, who are anxious to join in this fight, must be drawn into our party. At all our campaign meetings, special appeals should be made for new members.

**Spread The "DAILY WORKER."**  
Hard as the election campaign may be, it would be still harder if not for our American Communist newspaper—The DAILY WORKER. The special campaign issues of the DAILY WORKER should be widely distributed. They will make an appeal all their own. The DAILY WORKER must be placed where it can bring its appeal to millions of American workers in their own language.

A principle consideration in this campaign is to reach large masses of workers. This problem deserves spe-

cial attention from our local units. Many are inclined to be content with efforts that only reach that sympathetic fringe always more or less close to our party and that generally accepts its leadership. We must mobilize all of our sympathizers. Committees of sympathizers supporting the candidacies of Comrade Foster and Gitlow, and accepting our election campaign program, must be organized.

The development of finance capital and the trustification of industry in America lead inevitably toward a political solution of the various industrial problems confronting the American workers. Campaign propaganda must emphasize the industrial problems and suggest the political solution which our party fights for. Our immediate program must be stressed when speaking and appealing to industrial workers.

Above all, this campaign offers us a tremendous opportunity to educate the masses to the need for a real fight against American imperialist capitalism. It can now be made clearer than ever before that the mechanical development of industry with the consequent trustification promoted by finance capital and protected by an ultra-capitalist state, make the carrying out by the workers of an international revolutionary program the only escape. The class struggle in America becomes ever sharper. To be the vanguard of this struggle is our role.

Our party must emerge from this campaign with an increased revolutionary spirit. Our militant election campaign must drive home to workers everywhere, at the grass roots and in the mines, the burning necessity for the organization of Soviets and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. We must answer imperialist America with Soviet America.

## Presidential Candidates

By T. J. O'Flaherty

POLITICAL parties are judged by the records of their leaders as well as by their platforms.

The Republican Party as befits the favorite political tool of the dominant wing of American capitalism has nominated as its candidates for president and vice president of the United States two notorious labor haters and strikebreakers, one of them Calvin Coolidge, having become a national figure when he succeeded in breaking the Boston Police-men's Strike in 1919. Whether he broke it or not he claimed credit for it. There is no doubt but his heart was in the right place for capitalism.

General Charles G. Dawes, or Hell an' Maria, as he is more popularly known, has not a broken strike to his credit, but he is the founder of an organization known as the Minute Men of the Constitution, the main object of which was to protect scabs and smash labor unions. The organization started with a fanfare of trumpets and much advertising but it was a miscarriage and the General takes pains now to keep its name out of his vocabulary. A fitting pair to represent the Republican Party!

Then we have the leading candidate on the Democratic ticket, an attorney for the House of Morgan and for several other big financial interests including the Standard Oil Company. Mr. Davis has spent his life in the service of Big Business. He has been employed at various times by his corporations to fight labor unions. And when this fact was published after his nomination he claimed that he defended Mother Jones, organizer for the United Mine Workers of America, to show how impartial he was. But facts contradicted him and the DAILY WORKER is able to publish the story of his connection with the prosecution of Mother Jones and several other mine leaders 20 years ago. A typical lackey of Big Business is John W. Davis.

Charles W. Bryan, vice-presidential

candidate on the Democratic ticket is a political accident. He was selected to occupy the tail end of the Davis bandwagon only because the Democratic strategists feared that his brother William would bolt the ticket unless the family was given a sop. Charles W. is the bone thrown to the so-called liberal Democrats. He will do his master's bidding and has no record behind him that means anything one way or the other.

Robert Marion LaFollette has been a political storm petrel for decades. While he oftentimes disagreed with the Republican Party he stayed within its folds and did not even follow Roosevelt in 1912 when Terrible Teddy threw the harpoon into Taft and paved the way for Woodrow Wilson to land in the White House. LaFollette was the bosom friend of Boise Penrose, the most reactionary man in the Republican Party. His anti-war attitude, mild tho it was, brot him into disfavor with the plutes and it is this incident in his career more than anything else that has given him the reputation of being a radical.

Burton K. Wheeler is an ambitious lawyer whose sole claim to progressiveness is his refusal to join in hounding radicals in Butte, Montana during the war. His prosecution of Harry Daugherty before a senate investigating committee got him into the limelight.

Even the so-called liberals among the six prominent capitalist candidates above named have never done anything constructive in behalf of the working class. They believe in the capitalist system and want to preserve it. They would clip its claws, perhaps, and endeavor to make it more bearable, but overthrow it they would not.

Let us compare the records of the capitalist candidates to those who are carrying the Communist banner in these elections, William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow.

Foster has been active in the revolutionary and trade union movement

since he was twenty years old. Born of working-class parents he was obliged to go to work when ten years old and has followed several occupations such as, type founder, steam engineer, railroad brakeman and railroad conductor.

He joined the Socialist Party in 1909 and was expelled with the left wing from that organization in the state of Washington in 1909 by the reactionary officialdom. He joined the Industrial Workers of the World, went to Europe to study conditions there and on his return announced his conviction that the I. W. W. policy of dual unionism was wrong.

Every step in Foster's career was directed by his desire to help the working class. Having reached the conclusion that dual unionism strengthened the reactionary elements in the labor unions and separated the radicals from the masses, Foster proceeded to organize the radicals for effective work inside the trade unions.

In 1917 he was secretary of a committee that organized 200,000 packing workers. After that he was secretary of a committee that organized 250,000 steel workers and led a strike in which 400,000 of Gary's steel slaves participated.

Comrade Foster has been to Russia three times since the Soviet Republic was established and has written several books on labor topics.

Foster has devoted his energy, his ability and his life to the interests of the working class and the hatred which the capitalists bear towards him is a testimony to his fidelity to the working-class movement.

Benjamin Gitlow has been an active member of the trade union movement since 1913. He is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Gitlow joined the Socialist Party in 1910. In 1917 he was elected on an anti-war program to the New York legislature. He associated himself with the left wing of the Socialist Party and was co-editor with John Reed of the Revolutionary Age in

1918-19.

He was arrested on November 8, 1919, and was the first in the United States to be placed on trial as a Communist. He served three years of the ten year sentence imposed on him and is now indicted on a criminal syndicalism charge in the state of Michigan.

The records of the two Communist candidates speak louder than words. While their capitalist opponents have shown by their every act, that they stand for the present robber system that breeds wars and misery for the masses, Foster and Gitlow are devoting their lives to the task of throwing the capitalists off the backs of the workers, and to establishing a Workers and Farmers government that will begin to lay the foundation of a Communist society.

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THE DAILY WORKER

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# Revolutionary Unionism vs. Weak-Kneed Reformism

A few remarks on the Congress of the Red International of Labor Union (Profintern.)

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN.

THE "respectable" philistines, bourgeois by social position and bourgeois by the grace of social reformism, calls us Communists, utopians, dreamers. This is what the Russian philistines called the Russian revolutionaries twenty years ago here, in this estate of the tsars, in this "holy" Moscow where most of the graves of the one-time "respectable" and "practical realists" (graves, physical and political) are now rotting away in ignominious oblivion. When you travel the width of U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (it's about time we knew what these initials mean) and observe the new forms of free-proletarian life sprouting on virgin revolutionary soil, you laugh derisively at those clever ones who seem to annihilate you by the bombshell dreamer. But if you were to spend two weeks at the Congress of the Profintern (Red International of Labor Unions—R. I. L. U.) with its detailed reports and masterly analysis of the world trade union movement, you would say that it is the "respectable" social reformists of the Amsterdam International who are the actual utopians, whereas the movement represented here, in this Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions is a movement of shrewd and circumspect practitioners who study the social forces of post war society, understand the trend of history, know the nature of the approaching enormous conflicts, and prepare the working masses for the role allotted to them by the development and decay of capitalism,—the inevitable and unavoidable struggle for power.

There, lazy acquiescence in imperialist machinations, in most cases, actual aid to the forces that are robbing the working class of its subsistence minimum and preparing a new horrifying world catastrophe; at best a pious hope that only "democracy" will turn a cure-all for the "evils" of society and lead us painlessly and suavely, into the haven of socialism. Here, a pitiless search for the truth, a keen application of past experiences to the solution of complicated problems, a courageous facing of consequences, however difficult, a readiness to fight in a world where nothing can be gained without organized, consistent social warfare.

Who are the dreamers?

In certain respects the Profintern congress, less numerous and less sparkling than the great world congress of the Communist International, was even of a more fascinating nature than the latter. Here was a dealing with the everyday actualities of the workmen's life. Here was felt the breath of that incessant struggle which the industrial worker is compelled to lead for his daily bread, a struggle that is the daily bread of the working class. There were mostly men from the ranks of the labor unions, men who went thru the hell of shop work strikes and lock-outs for years and decades. Here the question of the united front of labor assumed a more vivid aspect than even in the field of political struggle. And the enemy, the immediate enemy of the working class, the social traitors who are often more dangerous to the workers, because not so easily recognized and not so readily guarded against, than the bourgeoisie itself, appeared here as something tangible, something that stands every where between the worker and his accession to power. If one may say so, here was felt more keenly the edge of the earth. A practical application of one of the principles formulated by the Comintern congress, the Profintern discussion were more abstruse in the same way as is every application of a general principle to the mounting variety of current situations in practical life.

Here as at the Comintern congress, the corresponding to the unity of the impossibility to give in an ar-

article an honest description of what requires a book for its presentation. It will, perhaps, be best to enumerate the high lights of the congress.

An inquiry among many leading delegates, including members of the presidium, seems to reveal a consensus of opinion that the following points were the most outstanding in the work of the congress:

1. The question of unity with the Amsterdam International;
2. The question of strike strategy;
3. The colonial problem.

Unity with the Amsterdam International would mean a combination of all the forces of the working class in one big organization. It would mean, not only bringing the Russian trade unions into line with the trade unions of western Europe, but it would mean a solidification of the industrial international (transport workers, miners, etc.) which are affiliated with the Amsterdam International and which be-

latory standpoint (Edo Fimmen, the Dutch leader, some of the British trade unionists), begin to fret under the rule of pure and simple social reformism. The "rebellion" of these leaders, weak and toothless as it may be, is a reflection of deep fundamental changes taking place in the mood of the large masses of the working class. Outwardly all this enormous molecular process expressed itself in an invitation extended by the Amsterdam International to the Russian unions (but not to the Profintern as a whole) to join it on the basis of its program and statutes.

The Profintern Congress, of which the Russian unionists were an important part, had to take a stand. To go or not to go to Amsterdam? How far to go in concessions to the reformists? On what basis to agree to join Amsterdam? What shall be the fate of the Profintern if the Russian unions unite with the unions of the Am-

world labor movement was before the Congress, may be considered the crucial days of this big and colorful gathering.

But the delegates assembled were Communists, and they were under the leadership and in close contact with the master minds of the Comintern. They had a few fundamental truths to be guided by, and they finally reached decisions which were accepted unanimously. The Profintern wants unity. It declares its readiness to establish unity. This is not a mere maneuver as some fear, and even a few friends, would like to interpret it. The Profintern knows that in a world where capitalism is becoming more organized and more concentrated every day, only an organized and concentrated labor movement can lead the class-struggle both on a national and international scale. The Profintern has no reverence for this or that form of existing organization. Contrary to the Amsterdammers, it does not emphasize the "dignity" of its organization. It will sacrifice this so-called dignity if the interests of the working class and the revolution require it. The Profintern will make the first move toward unity. But it understands unity as meaning a consolidation of the working class forces for the class-struggle against capitalism. It values unity only if it enhances the power of the proletariat and accelerates its revolutionary movement. It will not join under conditions which would prevent the revolutionary elements from conducting a vigorous class revolutionary propaganda among the working masses.

On the other hand, it believes in the revolutionary spirit of the masses. It knows that, however misled and befogged by reformed chieftains, the workers will rally under the revolutionary banner when approached by determined class revolutionary leaders. It is, therefore, not afraid to be in the minority. Moreover, the Congress, as a body of Communist, knew that it is the duty of Communists to seize every opportunity which would open for them an approach to the broad working masses. Unity with the Amsterdam International would offer a large field for revolutionary work among the masses. The Profintern, therefore, says to Amsterdam: let us come together; let us unite the world proletarian forces; but let us do it for the class struggle; we, the Red ones, will abide by majority decisions as far as action is concerned, but we demand the right of free criticism and free propaganda of our opinions; we are for proletarian democracy, and therefore let the world proletariat itself, in Congress assembled, decide upon the practical conditions for unity.

The steps taken by the Profintern and the Russian unions are known. The Russian unions answered the Amsterdam International with a proposal to call a conference of an equal number of representatives from each side to discuss the problem of their uniting with the Amsterdam International. The Profintern is going to write a letter (and by the time this reaches America the letter will probably have been sent) to Amsterdam with a proposal to discuss in a conference of an equal number of representatives the problem of calling an International Unity Congress on the basis of proportional representation.

Thus the question of a united front in the union movement enters a new phase. When this letter is printed new developments will have taken place. One thing must be emphasized, and this was expressed at the Congress as resolutely and as unequivocally as possible. The Profintern, and the Russian unions, will never weaken their propaganda of revolutionary class-struggle. The steps towards unity on the part of the Profintern and the Russian unions are not a move to create a united front from above inasmuch as the unity campaign will be developed by the revolutionary trade unionists, the

(Continued on page 7.)

## The Soviet Delegation in London



Ch. Rakovsky

E. Preobrashensky

pin to play a role in the labor movement of the world. There is no need of dilating over the importance of bringing all working class forces together, over the enormous vistas which this would open before the world proletariat. There is, however, one little point which has to be considered in relation with such prospects, and that is: "What for should this unity be achieved? What is the use to be made of this consolidation of the world proletarian forces?" The gentlemen from Amsterdam, at their Vienna congress of this summer, made it clear that they would like to have the Russian unions join their International on the basis of its constitution and statutes, i.e. they would like to see the Russian unions as same as devoid of the class spirit, as entirely collaborating with the bourgeoisie and as inactive in the class struggle as those "respectable" union bureaucrats have made the organizations under their guidance. This is a prospect unacceptable to the Profintern, and that there would have been no need of discussing the problem of unity with the reformists if not for the Amsterdam left wing. The Vienna congress manifested that there is no unity in Amsterdam itself. There is a left wing which, though timid and double-headed and far from a rev-

sterdam Internationals? What shall be the fate of the International Propaganda Committee (I. P. C.) set up by the Profintern to work among the Industrial Internationalists? Will we not weaken instead of strengthening the world union movement? Shall the Profintern mark the first step without awaiting formal invitation from the adversary? What effect would all this have on the Communist movement of the various countries?

There was heat in the discussion. There was passion. There was a feeling of historic responsibility which made many a heart throb with anxiety. There was a feverish scrutiny of all the circumstances. The nature of reformism as such, the nature of the left wing, the present galvanization of reformism which makes it appear to be passing thru a period of revival, the situation of the union movement in every country, the particular situation in Great Britain, the general trend of the class-struggle in the world, the prospects of the revolution, — all this passed review before the mind of the delegates who faced, and were fully aware that they faced, a problem such as is seldom put before a body of revolutionaries. Those days when the question of unity of the

# A Communist View of Political Action

By Alexander Bittelman

WHAT I am going to say in this article will sound perhaps a little too elementary. It may even appear as a re-statement of some of the A B C of Communism. But, then, why not? The elements of Communism are its fundamentals, its basic principles and final aims. And if there is ever a time when Communists must have their eyes fixed steadily on their final aims, it is the time when they are engaged in immediate, so-called practical activities.

One might lay down (Lenin did that a number of times) the following tactical directives: The more immediate and practical our tasks the more urgent is the need for keeping before our eyes the final aim of Communism. Why? Because our immediate activities, our struggles for partial demands of the workers, assume a revolutionary character only inasmuch as they are conducted with a view to our final aims. In other words, a policy is correct only if it prepares the workers and our own party for the last struggle for power. And it is from this angle that I am going to discuss political action and the present presidential campaign.

**Do We Accept Capitalist Democracy?**  
By participating in an election campaign, do we or do we not recognize and accept capitalist democracy?

Such questions are still being asked and they have got to be answered. The people that ask such questions are, as a rule, workmen, former members of political parties, who have become disillusioned and even disgusted with political parties and politics as a whole.

They say: Politics is the game of the bourgeoisie. The latter, thru its press, pulpit, schools, theaters, movies, etc., is assiduously cultivating in the minds of the masses the belief in politics as the only legitimate means for the adjustment of "social grievances." But the rules of the political game have been made by the bourgeoisie and no matter how well the workers may play this game, they are always bound to lose.

Thus runs the argument against politics and political action. It can all be reduced to the single idea that by participating in politics one accepts the existing political order of the bourgeoisie.

Is it really so?  
Well, there are all kinds of politics; that is, there are many ways in which the American workers of today participate in politics. There are workmen and women who take part in politics thru the Republican and Democratic parties. This is one kind of politics about which there cannot be the least doubt that it is a game played in the interests of the capitalists and against the workers. This sort of politics is no good and the sooner the workers break with it the better.

Then there are workers that participate in politics as union men, as members of labor organizations. This is already a better sort of politics, better, that is, than participating in politics thru the political parties of the capitalists. However, it all depends upon how the thing is being done.

Here, for instance, is Gompers. He stands for the idea that organized labor must participate in politics for the purpose of punishing its friends and rewarding its enemies. Which sounds pretty nice. It looks almost as if Gompers favors the participation of labor in politics for the purpose of promoting the interests of labor.

But it isn't so. Gompers has no concern with labor as a class. Gompers rejects the class-struggle. He opposes the formation of a political party of labor or any other action that would lead to a struggle between capital and labor along class lines. Gompers' politics are just as bad (if not worse) as those of the democratic and republican politicians. He who follows the lead of Gompers is following the lead of the capitalists.

Then there is the C. P. A., whose politics is practically the same as

Gompers' except that the former was the first to unite with the middle classes thru LaFollette in the coming presidential elections. Large numbers of workers will be taking part in politics thru the C. P. A. and the LaFollette movement. Which, of course does not alter the fact that the politics of the C. P. A. is petty-bourgeois politics, substantially of a capitalist nature, which means bad politics for the working class.

Now, to return to the argument against politics in general, one might safely say this: If there were no other kinds of politics possible for the workers to engage in but the ones outlined above, one would be compelled to conclude that there is no way in which the workers can with profit to themselves engage in political action. Which would mean nothing more nor less than accepting the idea that the class struggle is impossible.

**The Class Struggle is a Political Struggle.**

This is A B C, therefore, it must be taken as our starting point. He who accepts the class struggle for the abolition of capitalism, must also accept the idea of political action.

Why? Because you cannot start abolishing capitalism before you have destroyed the ruling power of the bourgeoisie and established in its place the ruling power of the working class. Therefore, the aims of the class struggle becomes the seizure of political power by the working class and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. In other words, the class struggle is a struggle for political

power by the oppressed class against the ruling class.

Now, if this is true, then it follows that to deny the political struggle is the same thing as denying the class struggle. For there can be no class struggle, no real struggle against capitalism, other than a struggle against the capitalist state, against the rule of the bourgeoisie and for the rule of the working class.

**Political Struggle and Election Campaigns.**

This much will undoubtedly be accepted as true by every member of the working class who hates capitalism and believes in the Social Revolution. The argument that may be made will be directed not against the political struggle but against the participation in election campaigns, the main argument being this:

You cannot abolish capitalism by means of the ballot box.

Perfectly correct. Capitalism will be abolished only after the machinery of the capitalist state has been totally destroyed and a proletarian state erected in its place. But what of it? Merely this that the workers must be educated, organized and trained for the great battles that will result in the seizure of power by the workers. How? By utilizing every possible opportunity for unmasking the sham of capitalist democracy, for winning the masses over to the cause of Communism, and for organizing the advanced sections of the working class into the ranks of the Communist Party.

The only question to be considered is: Do election campaigns offer op-

portunities for this kind of work? We say, yes. In time of election campaigns the masses are more interested in politics than at any other time, which means that they will listen to us more readily and intently than they might otherwise.

And further. Election campaigns are political campaigns. This is true in the sense that various groups and classes enter the open field of struggle to secure political power for the promotion of their respective interests. Because of this fact, election campaigns offer, as a rule, a very effective means for showing the workers the class-nature of capitalism and the workings of its ruling machinery. In short, we participate in election campaigns for the purpose of developing the class-consciousness of the workers, organizing them into a political party of their own, and training them for direct political struggles against the capitalist state.

For us the political struggle is a much bigger thing than election campaigns. The latter we consider merely one of the phases and forms of the political struggle of the workers. We know that the day will come when the center of gravity of the political struggle will lie not inside but outside of the organs of the capitalist state. And for this day we have got to prepare.

But we also say this: that when we participate as Communists in election campaigns we are thereby building the army, and preparing the weapons for the last mighty struggle for power that will overthrow capitalism and establish the rule of the working class.

## Pittsburgh — The Black City

By JOHN LASSEN.

It is late Saturday afternoon as I arrive here from Cleveland. How black this city is! I alight from the train and find myself confronted by a gigantic mountain.

Twenty paces away from the teaming, colorful streets tall smokestacks rear their heads heavenward, vomiting dense clouds of smoke.

I proceed. Swarms of workmen, wend their way homeward. Black are the faces, hands and clothes of these people of the black city.

I see a sign: Public Bath. I am heading in its direction. It is Saturday afternoon. These black people are eager to be clean in the black city. We stand in long queues. When will my turn come?

At last, I am next. My number is called out. I take the shower. The hot water is giving out. People behind the shower railings are shouting: "Hot Water! Hot Water!"

But it seems so futile. The dirt saturates the human pores. It penetrates the skin and forms a thick crust. Neither hot water nor soap can do anything with it. People simply turn black.

"Hurry up!" calls the colored attendant. There are many more people in line.

By the time I reach the street again it is pitch dark. Deep shadows fall over the streets. Darkly and grimly, frowns the mountain-side upon the city.

Then, lo, I behold a long moving streak along the highway. A long white streak in the intense blackness. My eyes keep on staring. It is a long white streak creeping on and on. They look like white clouds. A blotch of white in the great blackness. It is the Ku Klux Klan. A fiery cross will blaze atop the mountain height.

I cross a trestle, the black soot fairly crackling under my feet. Even the earth crackles. My heart is palpitating. I wonder what is in store for me in this black city? I recall a debate I had with a fellow worker in Cleveland.

He has been in America sixteen years but speaks English very

brokenly.  
"How does it come you know so little English?" I had ventured to ask him.

"Cause I am a Magyar."  
"Surely you don't intend returning to Horthy's Hungary?"

"Of course not . . . but I don't like English, and I don't like the Americans."

"And why not? Did anyone hurt you?"  
"I just don't like them 'cause they don't like me."

"That isn't so. Why, there is no one more tolerant than an American. So far I have received nothing but kindness from them."

He shook his head skeptically.

Is it possible that he was right? And is there nothing but soot and filth in this city. . . and the Ku Klux Klan? Can this be the real America?

I wander down to the river bank. I sit down and gaze at the strange, mysterious city. It is twilight. Giant smoke clouds seem to smother the city in mist. The air grows moist.

Directly behind me the smoke stack of the Schonberger Works pour out their black hearts. I sit at the edge of the water.

Presently a lad—certainly not over 18—approaches. He sits down beside me.

As I sit in silence for a while, mutely gazing at the rushing stream.

Suddenly he speaks, nodding his head toward the mill.

"Are you on the night shift?"  
"No. I just landed in town and don't expect to look for anything before the day after tomorrow. But I may take a temporary job tomorrow."

"Have you been long in this country?"

"Only fourteen months."

"Oh, that'll make it hard for you."

I ask him where he works and what sort of work he does.

He, in turn, inquires about life in the 'old country,' and is greatly astonished when I tell him that over there people figure in billions and that misery is far more rampant than here.

He wears a black working suit. His hands are rough from the soot; his

face, too, is saturated with coal dust. He tells me that he works ten hours a day as watchman. He works hard for little pay. "But such is life," he adds philosophically.

The sun is having a glorious battle with the oncoming night, coal dust and the fog. Its rosy disc is weirdly reflected in the river's mirror and for a while lends a crimson hue to the overwhelming blackness.

"I've got to get back," says the boy, thrusting his hands into black pockets. "Where are you going to put up for the night?"

"Oh, I'll manage somehow."

"Too bad you can't stay with me. I'd like to have you. There are two of us in one bed already . . . But here" . . . and he began fumbling in his pockets . . . take this. Sorry that I can't give you more.

He holds out a crumpled dollar bill to me. The sun has vanished. The blackness is deeper than ever. But the heart of this lad seems to shine far into the black night.

"But I don't need it," I protest. "I have more than enough to pay for sleeping quarters."

He is equally insistent. "You must accept it. I'm happy to let you have it."

And seeing my stubborn remonstrance, he forcibly sticks the dollar into my pocket and scrambles to his feet, saying: "You'll repay it some day: if not to me, to some one else."

The lad is trudging across the hill, back to his toil in the mill.

On all sides blaring electric signs proclaim the triumph of publicity. The power of words defies the heaven.

"Westinghouse Electric Co." "Heinz Pickles" and, deep in the heart of the city, the "William Penn Hotel" tell their respective tales in the air . . . while I make no effort to stem the flow of tears . . . in the black city.

Ye workers of the world, awake!  
No longer be despoiled.  
The product of your labor, TAKE!  
Too long as slaves, you've toiled;  
Ye workers of the world, must wield  
ALL POWER IN YOUR HANDS!  
VOTE FOR YOUR CLASS AND  
NEVER MIELD!  
REDS SHALL POSSESS ALL  
LANDS!  
I. D. McFADDEN.

# Trade Unions and the Elections

By EARL R. BROWDER

**SAMUEL Gompers** and his rubber-stamp Executive Council of the A. F. of L. have joined with the railroad unions in the Conference for Socialist Political Action and the Socialist Party, in endorsing the personal campaign of Robert LaFollette for president of the United States. The Workers Party has nominated William Z. Foster, with the endorsement of the Farmer-Labor national committee elected at the St. Paul convention. So far as the trade unions are concerned, this will be the line of struggle in the presidential campaign—Foster versus LaFollette.

For more than 40 years the trade unions have been ruled by the Gompers policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," after they had been selected by the capitalist parties. The Socialist Party was the traditional minority advocate of independent working class action. The C. P. P. A. arose from among the labor bureaucrats who, while not differing essentially from Gompers, had been suppressed by him, and adopted a hybrid program of throwing labor influence into the selection of the capitalist candidates on the Gompers formula, rather than simply choosing between them after selection.

Now, these three groups that influence the unions have been united (more or less) under the leadership of the middle class LaFollette. But all three proclaim that their policies are unchanged. The truth is that all have changed, reflecting the rapidly changing world in which they operate, but their minds have petrified. The unions face an entirely new situation, and because all three groups under consideration are living in the past, they find themselves (without changing their minds) thrown into the same political bed together. LaFollette, the representative of small capital, claims and secures their allegiance as the logical leader of those who fear the present and long for the good old days. The slogan "Back to 1776" is sufficient to unite LaFollette, Gompers, Sprackles, Kaulbach, Johnston, Stone, Hillquit, Berger, and Debs.

Is this the beginning of a new party? Will a "third party" be formed, as the Socialists pray, after the election? While this cannot be answered categorically "yes" or "no," all signs indicate that a new party will not be formed by those now in control unless and until the "LaFollette movement" has been thoroughly purged of all "class elements" and has repudiated all thought of a basic change in the capitalist system. This means that no

new party is possible out of this movement except a "liberal" capitalist party, unless it comes thru an upheaval in the unions resulting in a mass split away from the LaFollette movement.

This statement is borne out by innumerable facts. The trade unions are relegated to the position of auxiliary "supporting committees." Individual leaders and groups are united behind LaFollette and at the same

et and many similar incidents).

The LaFollette campaign brings not the slightest expression to the rising class-consciousness within the trade unions. The organizations are, most of them, thru their officials, pledged to support of LaFollette, but that fact is not going to abolish the class struggle. It is going to throw the class struggle, instead, right into the union halls. That is what is going on

B. & O. plan of collaboration with the management. The election is a part of and involves all the basic issues of the labor movement, and is intimately connected to every trade and industrial question with which the unions are struggling. On wage questions it is the struggle for higher wages as against arbitration. The generalized formula for the whole intra-union battle is class struggle versus class collaboration.

Thus it should be clear to every Communist and to every revolutionary worker who stands for the principle of the class struggle that the presidential campaign offers a wonderful opportunity. It is an opportunity to clarify the minds of the rank and file upon the deep issues that divide the whole labor movement. It shows up the reactionary officialdom as part and parcel of the corrupt political machinery of the class enemies of the workers. It offers a forum before masses of workers for the revolutionary position to be stated in terms which cannot be misunderstood. The very thing which the conscious and unconscious agents of the petty bourgeoisie look upon as their main strength—the united front from Hearst to Debs against the Communists—acts as a powerful shock to the workers and forces them to think, to open the questions of policy and the class issue for consideration, and to listen to the revolutionaries.

The duty of each revolutionary worker is as clear and as important as his opportunity is great. In every local union, in all central labor councils and district bodies, in every meeting where workers gather to consider their problems, the banner of the class struggle must be raised, the issues must be stated, the presidential campaign must be shown to the workers as the great class struggle—the battle against the bourgeoisie, large and small, and all its accents within the labor movement. It must be connected up directly with the left wing program of amalgamation, organization of the unorganized, the building of a mass Labor Party, fight against the B. & O. plan and similar "company union" schemes, the struggle against wage cuts and lengthening of hours.

Political issues and campaigns are merely the concentrated and generalized issues arising from the industrial struggle, from the efforts of the proletariat to free itself from wage slavery and exploitation and the mental bondage of capitalism. In the United States from now until November, the dominant issue of the class struggle is symbolized and concentrated upon the issue—Foster or LaFollette!

## A PROLETARIAN FAMILY



By Rudolph Schlichter

time in closest unity with "regulars" on the republican and democratic tickets who energetically support Coolidge and Davis (Wheeler supporting Walsh in Montana, union leaders supporting Small in Illinois, etc.). The LaFollette movement is bitterly hostile to organized Farmer-Labor parties in the various states and even sabotages the strongest (Minnesota, where LaFollette appoints Sinclair, a banker, as campaign manager and refuses to go on the Farmer-Labor tick-

now in the local union meetings where the issue of Foster versus LaFollette is being debated.

The struggle of ideas within the unions, between the ideas of the middle class and those of the revolutionary workers, for the possession of the minds of the membership, was inevitable. Foster versus LaFollette is only another side of the fundamental problem that, in the railroad shop unions, for example, is expressed in the struggle of amalgamation versus the

# REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

(Continued from page 5)

Proletarian, the minorities within the reformist unions, and the red independent unions, among the broadest masses of the proletariat the world over, making them realize the necessity of unity and the revolutionary possibilities which it has to attain. The Proletarian knows that once revolutionary unions are part of a general federation of unions, their influence will be much greater than when they stay out.

The question of the fate of the Proletarian attracted many a comrade, especially of the German delegation. The German comrades who now occupy the extreme ideological position in the Comintern, gave their consent to the petty program of the Proletarian with no enthusiasm, knowing that among their own ranks there are elements which would like a secession from the German reformist unions. They are anxious to retard the unity movements of the Proletarian in the principle they accept them. The German comrades warned emphatically against any attempt to liquidate the Proletarian. The position of the Proletarian is this: If a World Unity Congress is called, if at that unity congress all unions of whatso-

ever trend are represented in proportion to their numerical strength; if that congress creates a new World International of labor unions thereby liquidating the old internationals including Amsterdam, if Amsterdam agrees to disband in consequence of such decision, then the Proletarian will also cease to exist. Until then, however, even should the Russian unions enter the Amsterdam International (thereby, naturally, leaving the Proletarian) the Proletarian will remain on its post.

If the demand for a World Unity Congress was the new word of the Proletarian Congress in the realm of tactics, the formulation of the strike strategy was its new word in the realm of the theory and practice of actual class-struggle. It was for the first time in history that the labor movement took up the question of strike strategy simultaneously as a theoretical and a practical problem; theoretical, in that it requires a careful study of all experiences and forces of the working class on the one hand; and of capitalist society on the other; practical, in that it must be reduced to a set of clear and comprehensible rules for the guidance of the strike leaders in their battles against the

employers. The Congress has only outlined the problem. It requires study. Material will be collected and further inquiries made. One thing, however, was evident from all the discussion: only a body of men representing organizations that lead revolutionary struggles and know the inevitableness of a final revolutionary crush of the working masses to overthrow capitalism, could take up the strike from such angle. Speaking generally, the problem is how to make the organization of the working class so perfect that every strike should turn into a revolutionary battle against the bourgeoisie, and every action—a paw step towards the final goal—overthrow of capitalism and establishment of proletarian dictatorships. In this aspect the working class is an army of actual or potential fighters, the aim is the conquest of power, the strike strategy is the ways and means whereby the revolutionary army can storm the stronghold of the enemy. Nobody should fail to read the speech of Comrade Lozovsky on this problem—a speech showing what a strike ought to be and can be when leaders and masses are animated by a class revolutionary spirit. We, Americans, will be able to con-

tribute to this discussion the most valuable material to show what a strike strategy should not be.

From revolutionary strike strategy to the revolutionary prospects of the East, the distance is not far. Of course, the Amsterdam International is not interested in the working class of the East. Why should it if it is not interested in the working class of the European countries. When such gentlemen as MacDonald and his henchmen deal with the colonial problem, it is only from the standpoint of keeping the colonial masses in subjugation. Meanwhile, the colonial and semi-colonial countries are charged with revolutionary electricity. Imperialism is crushing these large sections of the globe, and the spirit of rebellion is abroad. There is every prospect of revolutionary upheavals in the East, and the working class there may be one of the greatest factors in the not far distant future. The fact that the first international labor gathering of the East, the international transport workers' conference at Canton, was organized by the Proletarian, shows that the Proletarian is aware of those revolutionary prospects. Moscow, Aug. 1.

# Workers! Give Judge Gary Your Answer!

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL.

THE steel czar has spoken. Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, has expressed himself on the outlook for the 1924 presidential campaign. His optimism may be summed up in the three short words:

"I AM PLEASED!"

## Nonpartisan in Politics.

The billion dollar steel trust is satisfied that the results of the November elections will not disturb the equanimity of the capitalist system. It indulges in this self-assurance two months before the elections.

But the reason for this optimism is readily understood when the non-partisanship in politics of the steel industry is analyzed.

## For Donkey and Elephant.

Judge Gary is republican in politics. The Fascist, Charles Gages Dawes, republican candidate for vice-president, is Gary's ideal. When Dawes talks about getting the "common sense" vote, Gary knows that Dawes means the vote that will allow the steel trust to continue its heavy profit taking.

Charles H. Schwab, head of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, perhaps the largest among the independents, is also republican.

But down in Alabama, Oscar Underwood, of the Gulf Coast Steel Co., is the democratic senator from that state, and the perennial aspirant for the presidential nomination in democratic conventions. "24 for Alabama—24 for Underwood!" was one of the monotonous exclamations repeated almost without ending at the Madison Square Garden convention of the democratic party.

The steel industry is republican in republican Pennsylvania. It is democratic in democratic Alabama. That's because the steel industry is non-partisan in politics.

## Coolidge Talks Nonsense.

Big business will permit the two old parties to claim, in as loud tones as they desire, that they are the friends of labor. In fact, that has always been its policy.

The Republican Campaign Text Book for 1924, just out, issued by the Republican National Committee, devotes Chapters XVI, XVII and XVIII, in telling what the republican party has done for labor. The chapter headings are "Labor Record of the President," six pages; "Labor and the Republican Party," ten pages, and "Women and Children in Industry," seven pages.

But the whole philosophy of the republican party toward labor may be summed up in "Cautious Cal" Coolidge's own declaration, prominently featured, that "No progress was ever made by regarding mankind as cheap."

That was Coolidge's stand in vetoing the bonus for the soldiers. He wouldn't cheapen their patriotism by putting a cheap price on it. Perhaps that is why nothing is done for the unemployed. It would cheapen the jobless to be paid dues equal to their regular pay, to get a few crusts of bread. If Coolidge intended any other meaning for his silly nonsense, an alienist ought to be appointed to conduct an investigation and try to discover it.

## Democrats Will Perjure Selves.

The democratic campaign book had not been issued at this writing. But it will carry the same bunk about the friendship of John "Wall Street" Davis and Charles W. Bryan, for the working class.

In order to make a case for themselves, the democrats will have to lie a little better than the republicans. This will be easy, for they are on the outside at the present time, looking in, and they would commit any brand of perjury in order to get on the inside.

Davis will claim again that he defended "Mother" Mary Jones and Eugene V. Debs, against the czarist rule of the West Virginia coal barons, whereas it has been shown that directly the opposite is true; he prose-

cut and persecuted them to advance and safeguard the interests of the mine owners.

The democratic and republican candidates are, therefore, alike in their pretensions of friendliness for labor. All old party candidates are friendly to labor—before election day. They are just as friendly as they can be. Some of them even kiss the babies of the workers on their campaign tours. But that is before election day.

Even Benito Mussolini, the Fascist dictator of Italy, claims he is the friend of the working class of Italy. The assassin of the workers in Italy, with hands dripping blood, professes to be the friend of his victims. That

ticket of the republican party in order to win a few straggling labor votes.

Both Berry and Lewis are as alike as two peas in that they have shown themselves good strikebreakers for the bosses. Berry's yellow leg activities in breaking the strike of the New York pressmen and the bosses' war that Lewis helped wage against Alexander Howat, in Kansas, are so well known to the readers of the DAILY WORKER, that they only need mentioning here.

The records of Berry and Lewis compare well with the strikebreaking records of the old party candidates they have endorsed. Coolidge's strike-breaking record in Massachusetts,

ness, in the selection of its labor lieutenants, also extends to its support of the Ku Klux Klan. In a northern state, like Indiana, rock-ribbed republican, the Klan is also republican. The same is true in Maine, where "Boss Tack" Dawes ran into this issue on his recent Eastern trip. Dawes, better than anyone else, sees the Fascist possibilities of the Klan, and also he apparently denounced its tactics he lauded it for its attacks on the workers, especially its attacks against the coal miners in Southern Illinois and elsewhere. When the time comes "Hell an' Maria" will invite all the Klansmen to join his "Minute Men of the Constitution."

But in the South, in Oklahoma and Texas, where the democratic party happens to dominate, there the Ku Klux Klan is democratic. Big Business doesn't care whether it wears the skin of the G. O. P. elephant, or the hide of the democratic donkey, as long as it dominates the local situation.

## Mask May Be Torn Off.

It is possible that Big Business, after this year's campaign, will be compelled to throw its mask aside and come out into the open, definitely naming its political expression. It cannot always continue its Punch and Judy show.

There should be no doubt this year about who is to gain by the election of either the democratic or republican candidates. Coolidge is the figurehead of the biggest open shoppers. His campaign manager is William Morgan Butler, the textile multimillionaire, proud open shop lord over New England's unorganized textile mills. Dawes is the head of the Central Trust Company, one of Chicago's biggest banks. A million hoops of steel couldn't tie the republican ticket closer to the predatory business interests of the nation.

On the democratic side it has already been shown that Davis is the lawyer of the House of Morgan. Davis says he has renounced his Wall Street connections for the purposes of the campaign. But that is easier said than done. Davis remains the corporation lawyer, the legal lackey of his class, the defender of the open shoppers of his own state of West Virginia, and of the great robber barons of his adopted New York City.

## Face Oppressors Both Ways.

Whichever way the workers turn, as between the two old parties, they are face to face with their oppressors. Millions have discovered this fact this year, and are blindly turning to the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket. LaFollette, the republican Wheeler, the democrat! Both the enemies of the class interests of the workers and farmers. Both the defenders of the present order of things. But the LaFollette candidacy has been able dealt with in the series of articles by Jay Lovestone appearing in these columns. These articles should be read and reread.

## Vote Communist in November.

It should be apparent to the millions of American workers this year that their interests are only championed by the Communist candidates of the Workers' Party, William Z. Foster, for president, and Benjamin Gitlow, for vice president.

This year the Communist standards are rung in the breeze for the first time in a national campaign in this country. Let the oppressed workers do so, their enemies and their betrayers. Let them rally to the rapidly growing Communist ranks and give their support to the Foster-Gitlow ticket. Only in so doing will they make progress for their class in this election.

## Give Gary Your Answer.

Only in so doing will they freeze the words, "I am pleased," upon the lips of the arch oppressor of labor, Judge Gary, head-of the great American Steel Trust.

Workers! Give Gary your answer!

## From the Communist Platform

**T**HROUGH theft, fraud, corruption, bribery and the capitalist system of profit taking, this capitalist class has become the owner of the land, raw materials and machinery of production upon which the workers and farmers are dependent for a livelihood.

**T**HEY (the workers) are compelled to accept a low standard of living in order that the capitalists may amass ever greater fortunes for themselves.

**T**HE Workers Party declares its purpose to continue the struggle to mobilize the workers and exploited farmers for independent political action thru a mass Farmer-Labor Party.

**T**HE Workers Party calls upon the workers and exploited farmers to fight with it against the use of injunction in labor disputes, intimidation of strikers thru police and soldiers, and the use of criminal syndicalist laws to suppress the demands of the revolutionary workers, as well as other infringements on the rights of the workers.

**W**e demand the nationalization of all means of transportation and industries engaged in the preparation and distribution of farm products, with participation of the farmers in the management of these industries.

**T**HE Workers Party is fighting for the rule of thirty millions of workers and their families in the United States. This rule will be established thru a Proletarian Revolution which will create a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

**V**OTE against the three capitalist candidates and for the Communist candidates—Foster and Gitlow.

is about the position of the candidates of the democratic and republican parties in this campaign.

## Get "Labor Lieutenants" Cheap.

It is not surprising that there are labor officials endorsing both the political expressions of Wall Street in this campaign. It is an easy thing to buy up American labor leaders. They come cheap.

Major George L. Berry, the American Legion head of the Printing Pressmen's Union, continues to lick the boots of the democratic party. He has come out in support of the "Davis-Bryan" ticket, after being kicked in the face at Madison Square Garden and told to take his vice-presidential aspirations elsewhere. But at least he was allowed to have his name placed in nomination.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, was merely mentioned, long before the republican convention met at Cleveland, as a vice-presidential possibility. His name was never considered, however, by the Cleveland convention.

Lewis, like Berry, nevertheless, would rather get kicked in the face by the bosses, than fight the bosses on behalf of the working class he is supposed to represent.

Lewis, the head of one of the most radical organizations of American labor, has done the well known impossible thing of endorsing the "Coolidge-Dawes" candidacy. But he has committed that crime against the great membership of his organization, Lewis is now a member of the advisory committee of the Coolidge Campaign. Only the campaign itself can develop the kind of advice that Lewis intends the Fascisti

where he smashed the policemen's strike, need not now stand out in such great prominence. It has the record of John L. Lewis, president of the Miners' Union, in Kansas, Nova Scotia and elsewhere, to keep it company.

## This Smell Goes Far.

Just by way of parenthesis it may be mentioned that the strike-breaking records of both Berry and Lewis have been endorsed one hundred per cent by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, who has come out for Senator LaFollette for president. The smell of a seal goes far, like that of a polovak. So there is snuff for LaFollette, too. Perhaps Gompers thought that LaFollette's program for his so-called, imaginary "clean government" extended even to the cleansing of polovaks. That might explain the strange alliance of the head of the American Federation of Labor with the Wisconsin senator.

## "Big Biz" Knows Where to Go.

Steel republican in Pennsylvania and democratic in Alabama. When Wall Street picks its labor lieutenants it gets its democrats, either among the Tammany Hall ranks in New York, or it goes into the "Solid South." "Malsh" Berry comes from Tennessee. Wall Street gets its republican "labor" steel rascals from somewhere in the north. Lewis comes from Illinois. T. V. O'Connor, of the shipping board formerly of the Longshoremen's Union, is out for Coolidge. O'Connor is from the North.

## Nonpartisan on Klan.

This nonpartisanship of Big Busi-



# The Youth in the Elections

By  
BARNEY MASS

**T**HE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE and its Junior Section have entered the election campaign to support the Workers' Party candidates with its typical enthusiasm. The ever growing army of the young proletariat will hear of Foster and Gitlow thru the agitation the league will conduct. Present indications show that the youth are becoming more interested in politics as a result of the latest developments exemplified by the Tea Pot Dome, open shop campaigns, etc. . . . The contrast between the activities of the Y. W. I. and the dead carcass the old Y. P. S. I. becomes obvious when judging the activity and influence of the two organizations.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party and Young Workers' League, the American youth will be protected from the deadly effects of the shallow petty-bourgeois philosophy of the LaFollette sort. Getting names for petitions, selling literature is work fitting in with the qualifications of the league membership. Young Workers advocating Communism makes adult workers react favorably to our propaganda. The league membership is already mobilizing its forces for the coming campaign with interest and determination. In the school, as well as the shop, mill and mine, support for the Communist nominees will be solicited. The kindergartens and playgrounds will receive their share of Communist propaganda thru our Junior comrades. Militant enthusiasm, stamina and energy will be furnished by the Young Workers' League to develop this campaign successfully. In this campaign the Young Workers' League is afforded for the first time an opportunity of becoming active politically.

The open shop campaign which succeeded in reducing the pay of the adult workers, created a swelling in the ranks of youth labor. The lowering of the living standard of the young worker has made him a little more politically conscious. The exposure of the government scandals in Washington has made him more skeptical of America's boasted democracy and less willing to lay down his life for it. Listening to discussions in the pool rooms, on street corners and other places where the youth congregates, one becomes convinced of this. This presents a fertile field for propaganda and the election campaign will be the best medium for accomplishing it.

We must prevent the germs of reformism from being planted in the minds of the youthful toilers. To convince them that under capitalism they will remain wage-slaves and experience its concomitant miserable effects, is our task. In proportion to their own growing political enlightenment, we must start the young workers on the correct road to victory, and

make them relentless, uncompromising fighters for the Young Communist International. One of our chief slogans in the election speeches should call for a mass Young Workers' League. We must show the young workers that LaFollette upholds the capitalist system and as this order of society is robbing them of all opportunity in life, LaFollette, too, is responsible for their present intolerable condition.

While the Young Workers' League is busily engaged in furnishing political direction to the working youth, the disintegration of the stinking carcass of the old Young People Socialist League is proceeding. Only under the leadership of the Young Workers' League and Workers' Party, which says that the young workers form an integral part of the working class, in contradiction to the vulgar conception

is now engaging itself in this work very strenuously. It is obvious that young people can get signatures for our petitions much better than the adults. Each branch has elected its campaign committee to co-operate with the party's political groups. When visiting the branches and seeing how seriously they take themselves to this work, one cannot help but admit that the youth is being initiated in political activity. Each branch is lining up the territories, which they will canvass for names.

Hearing young workers advocate Communism on the soap box, and other meeting places, encourages and betrays confidence back to many weary adult workers. Being approached by a young boy or girl soliciting his name for the petitions of Communist nominees, creates a different impression of the movement in

and we can say, confidently that the work will be well done.

Last but not least is our Junior Section. They will also contribute their share in the work. In the kindergartens and playgrounds, the names of Foster, Gitlow and Communism will often be heard. The young comrades are assisting in getting names for the party's petitions and they function very aggressively. Coolidge, Davis, LaFollette and other coteries of this ilk, will have their dirty hides ripped off, once the juniors get after them. No party can boast of receiving this kind of support but only the Workers' Party of America. Side by side with the Young Worker, and Daily Worker, the Young Comrade, official organ of the league's Junior section, will aim its editorial batteries at the enemies. The "Young Comrade" will explain in its simplified style to all the workers' children, the necessity of fighting for the Communist standard bearers and joining the Junior Section of the Young Workers' League.

The slogan of the league and its Junior Section is "Line up the youth and children for Communism in the coming elections." We have many accomplishments to our credit and now we have the chance of chalking down to our record another one. We can demonstrate our capability in taking equal responsibility of the campaign, in proportion to our resources, by doing the following tasks immediately: (1) Getting petitions filled with names to place our candidates in the field. (2) Speaking on the soap box, in front of the factories and in the halls for our ticket. (3) Selling the DAILY WORKER and other literature, wherever the workers gather. (4) Take the election to the factory, mill, mine and school room. The style of the movement is to become young Communist fighters.

The activity of the Workers' Party reflects itself in the Young Workers' League. The league members are becoming acquainted more intimately with American politics as a result of their activity. The demand of the party for practical Communist politicians will be supplied from the material that is being developed by the Young Workers' League. Let us make the following slogans resound thru the country and enlist the healthy, lusty throats of the youthful toilers in this country to help us make ourselves heard:

Down with the exploiters of youth and child labor.

Down with the betrayers of the workingclass of the LaFollette type. Down with Coolidge, the strike-breaker and Morgan's man, Davis.

Rally to the support of Foster and Gitlow who represent the only means that will do away once and for all with youth and child labor and that is the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

## THE NEW WAR

By OSKAR KANEHL.

Hate songs are raging thru the streets.  
On wide places the patriot-mob is crying.  
For arms. War! And for new blood.  
The president of republic is kingly behaving.  
Minister-burgarts are beating up for recruits.  
Swordsmen are cleaning their orden-buckles.  
Hirelings are fattened.  
Machine guns, hand grenades, soldiery  
Drills on peace-fanatical working people.  
Power practices on faintness.  
Taken prisoners. Besieges.  
Storms. Marches in. Celebrates victories.  
Shoots  
Freedom-fighters are dying at flight-trial.  
Prophets are slain.  
Offering blood is streaming.  
Murderers have charter.  
But—  
Man is coming upon you.  
One morning you will not awake.  
The skull of your chieftain will shatter  
On the barrier of men.  
The lances of his truest slave will split.  
Your hell-heaven will be torn.  
Across in two.  
Stars are rising.

Transl. Paul Axel.

of the S. P. which endeavored to take them out of the class-struggle and manufacture toys for them, can the American working youth abolish the causes responsible for its aggravating position.

The Young Workers' League is particularly qualified to perform the essential Jimmie Higgins work in the coming election campaign. To get the maximum propaganda results will require much energy and effort. Who can lay more legitimate claim to these—than the revolutionary youth. Speakers to address meetings, petitions to be filled, selling literature and thru agitation getting many young workers on record favoring Communism, are some of the tasks to be accomplished by us. The membership

of the eyes of the American worker. I have heard it remarked many times, "The Communist movement has more active young people in it than any other organization of its kind in the country."

The school room will hear the names of Foster and Gitlow mentioned quite frequently this year. Teachers will be unable to spread the usual capitalist propaganda during the time of these elections—without meeting organized opposition from our school nuclei. In the mock elections to be held in the schools this year the Communist candidates promises to get many votes from the students. The nature of this work is important. This field falls directly under the jurisdiction of the Young Workers League

## The White Mule

(Continued from Page 1.)

babies, altho he has been away many years. But Tony drinks his share of the mule, and parries the good natured crudities thrust his way by his comrades with his twinkling inscrutable smile.

Valie, the youngest of the quintet, has not yet learned to repress his thots. "God, what a waste of good drink! Not a woman around to kid with. Let's take a walk. Isn't there a woman in this town we can be brilliant with, until the effects of the moon pass off?"

Valie's honesty finally partially breaks down the reserve of the miners, and the talk centers on sex. It is for the same purpose as the intellectual, high-brow sex talk of the Greenwich Villager, but it is more raw. The men boast of hold-ups, of raping and whores. They discuss the notorious women of the town. They outdo each other with tales of daring escapades of perverts, of almost morbid incid-

ents which are variations of the sex theme.

There is much in common to this circle of workers—much that has drawn them together on the grass besides the bottle of white mule. Deep in his heart each man has ideals, and each knows the others have ideals. Perhaps Kentucky Joe doesn't want to live in a "batch shack" with men like himself—whom the civilized world of the big citizens would call "drunken roughnecks." Perhaps Louis fought in France because he still had illusions of democracy. No doubt Tony still thinks of his unfaithful wife abroad. And Valie—is he to travel the same road?

But there is a stronger passion binding these men together. They are the stuff of which revolutions are made. Each one, on numerous occasions, has demonstrated his fearlessness of the "boss" and of the system of bosses. Each one has worked from childhood in the bowels of the earth. Each has gazed on the death

of a beloved comrade at the hands of neglect caused by profit worship. Each has seen his hopes for respectability—for a decent living, dashed. Each has taken part in the sacrifices of the early struggle, for the miners' union, and each understands the treachery of modern union officialdom.

By gracing each others presence they grant each other the accolade—the honorary degree that belongs only to the revolutionary worker. Each man has poured out his few pennies to keep the movement going. Each has passed thru the measles of de-fiant individualism and of pigged isolation. Now they support their working class daily, and slowly absorb the tactics of revolutionary Communism.

But the group has given way too freely to the moonshine. Their voices have been too loud for their own good. The Ku Klux Klan divides the working-class, and Tony and Joe, Louis, Gas and Charlie have dared to fight the Klan. They know each coward-

ly atrocity of the Klan weakens that organization of cut-throats. They know that the sacrifice of a few individuals, shot in the back, solidifies the union workers and works them up to fighting pitch against the American Fascist.

Now sixty red-faced men are crawling toward them, along the ditch in the coal dust road, behind the tall grass. Rifles point at them thru the wire grass, sliding toward them like silent serpents, with Maxim silencers attached. The rifles draw closer and closer. The beasts behind them close in. There are a few silent shots. The K. K. K. has paid its latest visit.

The one hundred percent Americans have delayed fire until less than ten feet from the group. They have fired so close that the gun wadding sinks into the hard flesh of the revolutionists along with the soft lead. Blood again stains the ground of the largest-producing coal county in the world.

It is crimson blood.



# Oil and International Politics

(Continued from page 2)

Benson, speaking before the American Petroleum Institute, remarked: "to compete in the world markets with our ships it is necessary to continue the development of oil for the application of fuel oil to our motive power. It would be useless for us to try to compete with our foreign competitors by returning to coal." At the same time, the geological survey, on May 20, 1920, published statistical memoranda in which it said:

"These countries (all other) consume at present 2,000,000 barrels a year; at this rate they have reserves for 250 years. The U. S. consumes 400 million barrels a year; they have only enough for eighteen years."

Hypothetical statistics of this sort are of course an abomination to the prudent,—but they served the purpose of the moment, which was to arouse national emotions. The British Navy, argued the imperialists of the U. S., is sure of its supplies for oil for a century or more, while the position of the U. S. is such that it can avoid war only at the price of industrial servitude.

Accordingly, at the word of command from the U. S. government, "draw more and more on the oil in foreign countries," the Standard sent out prospectors all over the world. But everywhere they ran up against an unforeseen obstacle. An American prospector had the misfortune to appear on the shores of the Dead Sea in October, 1919. Without hesitation the British general who was governor of Palestine arrested him. The same thing happened in Mesopotamia and in many other places.

Everywhere in the world, except possibly Canada, American capitalists for two years found the "closed door." Generally they were either completely excluded from oil bearing concessions in territory, the colonies, or even the sphere of influence of Great Britain, Japan and the Netherlands; or else they were authorized to establish themselves only under such conditions that they would lose the effective control of their undertakings.

In face of this situation, the Senate on March 10, 1920, passed a resolution calling upon the President to furnish information as to the discriminatory treatment of American oil interests in other countries.

In reply information was given showing that certain discriminating and some exclusive practices did exist in certain of these countries, to the disadvantage of American interests and efforts.

In the midst of this agitation, news reached the U. S. that France and England concluded the San-Remo Agreement. By it the French government voluntarily or no associated itself with Great Britain in order to drive out America from the Asiatic centers of petroleum production and delivered over to her the resources which might be discovered in the zones of influence reserved for France. The French government was so embarrassed about this agreement that for three months it dared not publish it.

This news stirred up the jealousies of the American imperialists. A sharp diplomatic controversy arose. The secretaries of state, from Collyer to Hughes, dispatched one note after another to the government of Great Britain in which they asserted the principle of the "open door" and equal business opportunities for the dollar Standard Oil, and the like.

In the years which have ensued, the San Remo Agreement has not been put into effect. In the end America won her point. During the negotiations which were conducted in London at the end of July, 1922, the American government has been given assurances that American oil interests will be given opportunities to participate insofar as Great Britain and France are concerned in petroleum development of Mesopotamia.

The oil diplomacy of the U. S. government is just as unscrupulous as that of Great Britain. It seizes upon any "principle" or "policy," logical or

not, to fight for the interests of its most powerful oil corporation. Compare the American government's "principle" for Mexico with its "principle" for Mesopotamia. In either case the policy is, indeed, consistent—the policy of promoting American oil interests, but the principles are changed to suit the particular occasion. The New York World very ably characterized the diplomacy of Mr. Hughes: "Show Mr. Hughes an oil well and he will show you an oil policy."

In the struggle between the U. S. and England for oil, the part played by France is by no means negligible. France has never been an oil producing country. This is the reason why she was forced to conclude the San Remo Agreement by which she handed over to the British capitalists an important opening in her colonies which are still almost untouched. But will France be satisfied to remain dependent upon England?

Events prove that France is developing an oil appetite. Since the war, she has tried desperately to get oil lands, so far with poor results. She concluded an oil agreement with Poland where 70 per cent of the capital invested in the oil industry is French; she is consolidating her investments in Roumania; she is increasing her interests in foreign oil companies; she has made a policy to befriend Turkey. She has furnished her officers to help in training her armies, sold her air planes and sent engineers to assist in building munition factories. In return France expects concessions which the Turks have to offer.

## Only Conference.

So strong did the influence of oil on politics become, that most of the "international conferences" went on the rocks mainly because of oil intrigues. The international conferences of 1922 and 1923 are successive proofs that however much diplomats agree to silence oil, if they do not make peace without bribery, oil will not be kept out of diplomacy.

The Genoa Conference will be regarded by history, not so much as a Conference of Oil. While the Soviet delegates were discussing the great principles of international morality with the "official representatives" of the powers, scandalous concession hunting was going on behind the scenes of the conference.

In the midst of this oily atmosphere, the news dropped like a bombshell that Krassin had signed a contract conferring upon the Royal Dutch a monopoly of the oil in the Caucasus.

This news, the false, caused a great sensation. Standard Oil set its unofficial machinery in motion. It turned naturally, to the French and Belgian behind the backs of the British. Simultaneously in Paris and Brussels the politicians were warned against historic British greed. The delegates at the Conference influenced by the oil interests, could not agree on any terms and the Conference broke up.

Soon after the Conference the oil interests of the great powers formed an "International Defense Committee" and Royal Dutch was induced to join up with the little interests in an united family for the common protection of all former oil proprietors in Russia. The four points of this International Defense Committee, to which the oil companies pledged themselves in Paris on September 15, 1922, deserve to be recorded:

1. "That no member should acquire directly or indirectly the confiscated properties of other members.
2. "That the working of oil lands was only possible on the reinstatement or compensation of all parties concerned.
3. "That no member should accept oil lands belonging to the Russian state as a private concession without the sanction of all other members.
4. "That negotiations with the Soviet government should be conducted in common and by representatives unanimously elected."

These four points were soon broken in spirit, if not in letter. A report soon appeared in the press, that an "independent" English firm purchased 30,000 tons of Russian kerosene. This aroused the Shell group, the dictator of the British oil markets, to aggressive action. Immediately (April, 1923) one of its subsidiaries, the Asiatic Petroleum Company, closed a deal with the Soviet government for 70,000 tons of kerosene with an option on 120,000 tons more.

The "Defense Committee" roundly accused the Royal-Shell of bad faith. It claimed that if the Royal-Dutch Shell had joined in a general boycott of Russian oil, the Soviet government would have been compelled by "economic pressure" to restore the oil properties to their former owners, etc. Passions ran high. The egotistical interests of the former capitalist owners predominated over their common interests. And it turned out that at the Hague Conference, as at Genoa, the Standard Oil had helped to nullify a conference for a petty and impermanent gain."

The story repeated itself at the following conferences supposedly called by the great powers to settle the problems arising from the last war. They were all oily. At Genoa—we had the question of Baku, at Lausanne—Mosul. The cartoons in European newspapers very aptly expressed popular opinion of the conferences. In one French paper appeared a sketch entitled "Les appetites." Diplomats are seated round a table in the center of which lies a large "biden" of oil, and

hovering over it three horny-fingered hands labeled "Royal Dutch," "Persian Oil," and "Standard Oil." In another paper is a picture: "Sur le lac de Lusanne" (On the lake of Lusanne). The lake is a lake of oil, a "biden" of petrol floating thereon and, above, the flags of nations, France, England, America, Turkey and Russia. L'Oeuvre displayed a headline—"Europe for the Europeans, and off for the Americas."

Thus we see that oil has become the paramount factor in political economies of the imperialist governments. Oil dominates the diplomacy of Europe and America. It has become perhaps the chief struggle of international rivalry. This struggle is no longer, as many believe, a question between commercial companies. It is a question of the control of a product "whose possession or lack can modify the always unstable equilibrium of nations," to get this product, or to keep it, the capitalist governments are ready to bring into play all the economic and military forces that they possess.

In the past years, the history of Mexico, Central America, Persia and Mesopotamia—proved this truth. In the future, it is more than certain, that the imperialist governments, in their struggle for oil, will be following their old cut-throat tactics. It is enough to glance at an oil map of the world in order to know where the battles of the next war will be fought.

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# Class War Against Imperialist War

(Editor's Note—War and imperialism are important issues in this campaign. The capitalist parties are for it, we are against it. Together with the Communist International we shall continue to expose the bloody nature of imperialism, and to call upon the workers to fight capitalism to the finish. As part of our campaign we herewith publish the fifth section of the Anti-War Manifesto issued by the Communist International.

V.

If we ask ourselves once more what prevents the workers and peasants even now from rising against the militarism which is crushing them, the inevitable answer is—international social democracy, the mensheviks, the Second International and bureaucracy of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation. This is the chief lesson of the imperialist war. Such are the deductions from the events of the last decade.

We, the workers organized in the Communist International, declare this to the whole world. We want to be heard by the workers of all countries. We want our voices to reach every working man and working woman in town and country. We want to sound the revolutionary alarm in the hearts of the oppressed, we want to tell them the bourgeoisie is preparing a new war, and the social democrats are demoralizing you in order to betray you.

Working men and women! Take heed, think and take counsel among yourselves. A few weeks ago in Vienna, the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International discussed with the leaders of the Second International the question of the war peril. The organization, which is headed by Jouhaux, Grassmann, MacDonald, Ebert, Noske, Vanderveelde and Co., was compelled to concentrate its attention on the question of war, only because the war peril again confronts us. And the whole world was given to understand that these gentlemen promised to make war on war by every means at their disposal, including the general strike. Will you really allow yourselves to be deceived by this contemptible force in which the same actors perform before you for the second time the same treacherous part? Do you not remember that at the Basle International Congress in 1912, they made even more solemn pledges than now not to shrink before any means to prevent war, and that very soon after this congress they became the most ardent and trusted supporters of the belligerent bourgeoisie. In the post-war period they served capitalism in the capacity of Ministers or loyal members of parliament or patriotic trade-union leaders. They have prevented and now prevent even purely economic strikes. They vote war credits. And after that, they pledge themselves to make war on war! Is it likely that Ramsay MacDonald, who with the workers' money constructs tanks and aeroplanes at the bidding of his bourgeoisie, will call a strike as soon as the bourgeoisie decides to set these aeroplane tanks and cruisers into motion. Is it likely that Vanderveelde, who helped his king to carry on the war and who affixed his signature to the Versailles Peace Treaty, will call upon the Belgian workers to rise when the Belgian bourgeoisie will deem it necessary to plunge into war for the vindication of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty? Is it likely that Blum and Jouhaux, the leaders of patriotic socialism and trade-unionism in France, who today are supporting the occupation of the Rhur, will call a general strike tomorrow, if the French bourgeoisie is compelled to maintain the occupation by force of arms? The murderer is still standing by his victim, his knife is still dripping with his victim's blood, and yet he is making the solemn promise that he will avenge the murder! Are there people blind enuf and mad enuf to believe him?

Workers and oppressed of the world, take heed, look around you and

think. On the tenth anniversary of the war, the social-democrats are organizing a travesty of a fight for peace, a protest against the peril of war, which will be nothing but a farce. They want to divert your attention, to lull you into security, so as to be able to tie you hand and foot and throw you to the moloch of militarism. Do not believe them, expose them. Confront them at every meeting with the question: will they want to fight against war, why do they vote war credits and for the bourgeois government, and why do they support the capitalist state?

The experiences of the last ten years must not be lost. During that period we had occasion to watch pacifists, both socialists and bourgeois, in all parts of the world. There is nothing to choose between them. Did we not have the example of American pacifists, who during the first part of the war, shed pious tears over the bloodthirsty evil doers of Europe, and subsequently helped Wilson to deal the final blow at Europe, in order to enable capitalist America to get fat and strong at its expense? Did not we see the French pacifists, radicals and socialists at work in the Masonic lodges—preaching the brotherhood of man, and after August 4, 1924, preaching the dismemberment of Germany? Have we not had enuf of German socialists like Kautsky, Hilferding and others of that ilk who during peacetime are waiting for war with tears in their eyes, and during war time are hoping for peace. These cowards even clutched at Wilson, just as they are clutched now at the mildly imperialist notes of Ramsay MacDonald who is practicing his pacifism on the backs of the people of Germany. Together with the French bourgeois pacifist Herriot, MacDonald has re-introduced Entente control over the disarmament of Germany, while continuing at the same time to strengthen and increase the armament of Great Britain. Pacifists for peace during peace time; but in war time they give whole hearted support to their governments. On an international scale they crawl before the strong and mighty and help them to crush the weak. Socialist pacifists have been completely demoralized by this decade of wars and revolutionary convulsions. There is nothing left of their former naivete. Today they are sharp business men closely connected with the ruling financial and military clique of every country, they are deliberately using pacifist phraseology for the deception of simpletons.

Today the main pacifist field of action is opposition to revolution, and particularly to the Red Army. Pacifists are against revolutionary violence, rebellions and civil war. But the bourgeoisie is armed, and the working class is not. By fighting against the arming of the workers, pacifists support capitalist militarism and thereby pave the path for future wars. All the more disgusting are their references to humanity and culture. When pacifists are confronted with the accusation that they support the militarism of their respective bourgeoisie, they invariably refer to the Red Army. They mean to infer that the existence of the Red Army, which was created by the workers of Russia for defence against imperialism, is a justification for the armaments of the capitalist states for the purpose of annexations and for crushing the revolution. Pacifists remained silent when the armed force of France, Great Britain, the U. S. A. and other countries, occupied Odessa, Murmansk, Archangel and Vladivostok. But they were very indignant over the violence of revolutionaries against their oppressors. Today the excuse of the pacifists is—that there is no longer military intervention and that one bourgeois state after the other is compelled to recognize the Soviet republic. But it would be foolish indeed to imagine that the danger of war no longer exists for the workers' and peasants' state. The growth of Communist Parties consolidates the international position of the Soviet Union, but on the other hand, it alarms and exasperates the imper-

alist. If the revolutionary peril were imminent, it would drive them into a military intervention on a very large scale.

Recently the German authorities, exasperated by the Communist peril, were ready to imperil the friendly relations between Germany and the Soviet republics. This is an augury of further developments. Between the capitalist world and the Soviet republic there can be only agreements, but not reconciliation. Just as the government of MacDonald and Herriot will have to make room at a given moment for a more open and definite reaction, the agreements of the cap-

italist countries with the Soviet Union can, any even must be violated at a given moment by new interventions. That is why the Red Army—and the Red Navy are absolutely necessary. They protect and guard the biggest place d'armes of the revolution. If the Soviet republic were to fall, the bourgeoisie would feel safe for many decades to come. There would be no obstacle in the way of the capitalist offensive against the proletariat. But this will not happen, for the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are armed. The Red Army is the shield of the oppressed and the sword of the rebels!

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