

# WORLD WAR THREATENS

## Anglo-French Clash Over Egypt Rocks Europe

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

ANOTHER gangster is killed and State's Attorney Crowe has found his voice. "You will hear from this office now" or words to that effect, said Crowe. The antics of the police, judges, newspapers and the horde of capitalist politicians who make their living in the sewers of capitalist society are of interest to Communists. If you follow the history of such "clean-up campaigns" as take place after every major murder wave, you will notice that nothing ever happens to those who violate the law on a scale sufficiently large, to enable them to put the law-enforcers on the payroll.

ROBERT E. CROWE, the favorite son of the Chicago chamber of commerce has not opened his trap about the Dean O'Banion murder. Neither has he made any explanation of the fact that the honorable O'Banion, who is credited with a mortuary record of from nine to twenty-five, was one of his chief political backers in the election fight. It is safe to say that if a strikebreaker lost a finger during a struggle between the workers and the bosses, that Crowe would be on the job immediately with all his allies.

AN Indian prince and a lady of easy virtue plus attractive personality are now the star actors in one of the greatest court sensations in recent London history. The prince parted with \$650,000 of his money, in order to keep his relations with this fair lady out of the press. But the Midland Bank, where he deposited the money for the benefit of the "outraged" husband, did not take the necessary precautions to protect the prince's money for said husband, therefore the latter is suing the bank for negligence. It happens that the prince is an officer in the Indian army, so the British government ordered the court to keep his highness's name out of the record. This has not kept the gentleman's name out of the press, but he can ignore that, on the ground that it is out of order.

THE London papers report that Ramsay MacDonald has abandoned his plan to visit South America and will visit Jamaica and Panama instead. MacDonald may travel far but he will have some difficulty in leaving memories of the "Zinoviev" letter behind him. As was to be expected, the Tories who framed the plot now conclude that the letter is genuine, but that it does not amount to a row of sugar stalks compared to other things. Which is quite true. The Tories are more worried about Soviet influence in India and Egypt than they are about forged documents, forged by the Tories.

ANOTHER socialist paper has given up the ghost. Outside of the New Leader of New York, most of the existing socialist papers are printed in a printing "factory" in Reading, Pa., where papers are turned out in mass. Even with this form of production, the socialists are so demoralized that they cannot raise the funds to keep their weekly sheets alive. But while the socialist papers are sinking the DAILY WORKER is forging ahead.

A MILITANT revolutionary membership is the best guarantee that the great American Communist daily is going to live and live vigorously. The campaign now being conducted for the DAILY WORKER will insure it for 1925 and until the rule of capitalism in America is overthrown. Every reader of this paper who wants to strike an effective blow at the

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### Communist International In Appeal for Aid to Egypt

(Special to The Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, Nov. 25.—The Communist International today sent a message to the toiling masses of Egypt encouraging them in their struggle against the bloody imperialism of England. The manifesto also urges the workers of the world and particularly those of Britain and countries more directly involved in the Egyptian situation to take action against this latest attack on the rights of subject peoples. "In this struggle," declares the Communist International, "you will have the world's proletariat with you."

### NO-PARTY STAND IS ADOPTED BY A. F. OF L. MEET

#### Stone Cutter Joins in Plea for Class Action

By J. W. JOHNSTONE.

EL PASO, Texas, Nov. 25.—The 44th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor yesterday adopted with only two opposing votes the report of the executive council on the program of "non-partisan political action."

This at the same time killed resolutions number 1 and 2, as introduced by the Brotherhood of Potters and by the Molders' Union.

Victory for No-Party Action.

Woll claimed that a victory for "non-partisan" action had been won at the last election and said that the proposal was to use all parties, but be used by none.

Delegate Basky, of the Stone Cutters' Union, told the leaders that if they listened to the demand of the rank and file, their duty would be to endorse an independent working class political party.

He agreed with the hope expressed by Fraternal Delegate Swales of the British unions, that labor must apply political power. Basky asserted that working class political power had not yet been crowned heads, and that "sending Lewis to the republican party and Berry to the democratic party to plead for favors was a crime."

Basky said that the election showed more clearly than ever that both parties were and are controlled by capital. "We should not need to suffer such misery as has Russia or Ger-

many to see the need of overthrowing autocracy, said Basky, with some show of militancy. "Leaders should lead," he declared, "and not be compelled to advance an inch at a time." He asserted that the recommendation of the executive council to form permanent "non-partisan" campaign committees, was a concession and done to obscure the demands for a political party.

Hayes Wants Third Party.

Delegate Max Hayes, of Typographical Union, said that the executive council played with words about independent political movements, but meant the same old gage "rewarding friends," etc., that Gompers spoke of absolute autocracy in America like in Russia, but did nothing to counteract it. He declared that the council's recommendations were the same as in the past, only using different terms.

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### Liebknecht Day!

To All Nuclei Branches of the Y. W. L.:

Arrangements have been completed whereby Liebknecht Day will be commemorated on January 11, 1925. Every unit of the organization must make immediate preparations to hold mass demonstrations on this day which is dedicated to the young Communists of all lands. A special bulletin is being issued to all league units, but each league should proceed at once to elect its committee which will insure a greater Liebknecht Day in America than ever before.

Special literature will be issued and preparations are being made for a special edition of THE YOUNG WORKER to be dated Jan. 15 which will be printed Jan. 1. Every branch should send in their extra orders at once.

A special arrangement has been made with the Workers' Party that the Lenin Memorial meetings will be held from Jan. 21 to 25. The C. E. C. of the Workers Party has specifically ordered that Liebknecht meetings must be supported by the Workers Party and held separate from the Lenin meetings.

Make preparations at once for a monster Liebknecht meeting.

JOHN WILLIAMSON,  
National Secretary.

### EXTRA! A. F. OF L. SHOWS SIGN OF CLASS LOYALTY

#### But It Was a Sign Only; Defeat Russ Recognition

By J. W. JOHNSTONE.  
(Special to The Daily Worker)

EL PASO, Texas, Nov. 25.—The one sign of a working class character in the 44th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor came yesterday when Resolution No. 6, advocating recognition of Soviet Russia, introduced by the Molders' Union came before the convention.

It developed that the resolution had been sabotaged somewhere between the Molders' convention and the A. F. of L. convention, the two essential "resolves" being left out entirely as it was presented to the A. F. of L. convention.

Two Resolves Are Omitted. In between the "whereas"—which stated the strength and permanence of the Soviet government, the fact that most European governments had already recognized the Soviet power and that the American government had not, the two "resolves" were omitted which read as follows:

"Resolved, that the convention (the last Molders' convention) urge the United States government that barriers tending to prevent intercourse and ultimate recognition of Russia be removed, and be it further

"Resolved, that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to present a resolution calling for recognition of Russia by the United States government.

All the remnant of the resolution left for consideration was in reference to a commercial treaty, stating that if such a treaty was negotiated, "Under no circumstances shall the United States use any form of coercion or force to collect any bills due to American merchants, manufacturers or banks."

Sillinsky for Recognition. Upon this resolution, Max J. Sillinsky of the Journeymen Tailors' Union arose to speak in favor of its passage. He stated that the reason why recognition with Russia was yet withheld was because Soviet Russia had repudiated the loans made by the bankers to the czar.

In spite of this fact, he said, nearly every country is dealing with Russia, including England and France. He asserted that the Soviet government was growing stronger every day and had stood like a rock for seven years. He declared that Soviet Russia was now the biggest buyer of cotton from America and that it had to pay more because it was buying thru agents and not directly. It is the duty of American labor to help build Russia, said Sillinsky, because Russia was bled white by war and its aftermath, and the Russian workers had a right to choose the form of government they wanted whether we liked it or not.

McCullough Agrees with Dead. Delegate McCullough, of the Typographical Union, stated that he agreed with William Gamaliel Harding, famous exponent of "normalcy" in saying that the United States should recognize Russia when she "paid her debts." He claimed that the Third International and not the peo-

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### Four C. E. C. Decisions That Take First Place

THE Workers Party membership is now entering a period of discussion. Between comrades as they meet, in branch meetings, in general membership meetings, thru the party press, the question of future party policy will be the burning question. For SIXTY DAYS this discussion will proceed, and then an eventual decision.

Hand in hand with this discussion, probably the most thorough and far-reaching the party has ever had, is to go unanimous obedience to a decision already made. United, as one whole, without a single difference of opinion, the entire party membership is to enter the campaign to INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925.

We must make the DAILY WORKER secure for the coming year. To so insure it INSURANCE POLICIES have been issued. The policy of every party member must be to BUY A POLICY. And so that the discussions over party policy in our party will not interfere with the campaign to make our daily safe and build it, the Central Executive Committee of the party has unanimously decided:

1. That the immediate task of the party, of every member in it, is to campaign and give so that we may liquidate obligations which are impeding the growth and threaten the future existence of the DAILY WORKER.
2. The first order of business at every branch meeting, at every membership meeting is to be—SALE OF INSURANCE POLICIES TO INSURE THE DAILY WORKER FOR 1925.
3. Every party paper must give wide publicity to this campaign.
4. Every party paper is to preface the discussions upon future party policy carried in its columns with this announcement or a similar announcement sent by the Central Executive Committee.

Fraternally,

C. E. RUTHENBERG,  
Executive Secretary.  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,  
Workers Party Chairman.

### FARRINGTON IN MOVE TO STEAL THE ELECTION

#### Has Dummy Candidates Against Hindmarsh

(Special to The Daily Worker)

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Nov. 25.—The regular bi-ennial election of the United Mine Workers will be held on Tuesday, Dec. 9. At this time officials will be elected in the various states, sub-districts and for positions in the international organization as well as for officers of the State Federation of Labor in Illinois.

Already the machinery is in motion to corrupt the election in Illinois where Farrington has held sway for many years. In not a single instance has he ever been elected in accordance with the laws of the union.

One strange feature found in the coming election is that John L. Lewis is a candidate for re-election and is also classed as a candidate for a position in the cabinet of the strike-breaking president of the U. S.

Of course, it is understood that in the event of his election to the presidency of the miners again, he would be safe even tho the cabinet position did not materialize. In event of Lewis' elevation to the cabinet position it is stated that Murray, the international vice-president, will be moved up to the position of president and that Farrington is slated for Murray's position as vice-president. This will leave a

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### POWERS CLASH OVER BRITISH WAR ON EGYPT

#### Tories Ditch League of Nations

BULLETIN.

CAIRO, Nov. 25.—The political atmosphere became extremely tense here today when the Egyptian parliament was adjourned by royal decree.

(Special to The Daily Worker)

PARIS, Nov. 25.—The imminent possibility of war between England and France over the Anglo-Egyptian question loomed ominously today as Premier Herriot and his cabinet met to consider France's attitude towards England in the present crisis.

The entire French press with one voice denounced the action of England in its brutal assault on the national independence of the Egyptian people. Not that the imperialists of France have any more concern for the rights of small nations than England has, but the interests of the two great powers clash in the Near East, hence the threatened hostilities.

The scrapping of the league of nations by the Tory government came simultaneously with the announcement that Egypt would submit its side of the question to the league. France would back up the Egyptian claim. Practically every nation of consequence on the continent of Europe has no friendly feeling for England and may follow the lead of France in blocking Britain's efforts to increase its empire.

It is reported here that Herriot is considerably influenced by Russian representations in behalf of Egypt. Germany is also said to have signified its intention to put up a united front with France against England. The return of Caillaux and Malvy, leaders of the anti-British and pro-German pre-war opposition, to political activity renders the French internal situation more conducive to a bold move, such as outspoken opposition on the part of France to the British grab in Egypt would mean.

The Bagdad Railway.

The French have recently secured a concession from Turkey giving them possession of the Bagdad railway, which was one of the bones of contention between Germany and England, the two main contestants in the world war. England considers the possession of this trade artery by another power a threat to India and to her practical ownership of Egypt.

The French press compares the British note to Egypt to that sent to Serbia in 1914. This comparison angers the virtuous British ruling

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### THERE'LL BE NO THURSDAY ISSUE

THERE will be no issue of the DAILY WORKER on Thursday, Thanksgiving Day. The next issue will be dated Friday, Nov. 28. The members of the staff of the DAILY WORKER, mechanical, business and editorial, plan to use this holiday to push the drive to "insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925." Only in this way do they feel that they are doing something worth while this year; something they can be thankful for on Thanksgiving Day, 1925. Are you with us?

## Come to the Bazaar TONIGHT. Admission Free

HOLIDAY PROGRAM Tomorrow Afternoon  
Doors Open Thursday at 2 o'clock  
Fine Entertainment Dancing at 3 p. m.

GRAND OPENING 8 P. M.  
FOLKETS HUS, 2733 Hirsch Boulevard  
Benefit DAILY WORKER and Labor Defense. Auspices, Local Chicago, Workers Party

FIRST CHANCE AT MOST CHOICE THINGS  
Quantities of Useful and Beautiful Articles  
Donations Received  
Help Wanted Wednesday Afternoon

TORY CABINET SIGNS LEAGUE'S DEATH WARRANT

British Rulers Out for More Plunder

(Special to the Daily Worker)

LONDON, Nov. 25.—Whatever else may be said for the present British government, it cannot be accused of contributing to political somnolence. The Tories are acting up to their traditions. Truculent notes fly in all directions.

Armies and navies are dispatched to Egypt, the annexation of the Sudan is planned, Egypt is to be denuded of all its independence, and at the same time the foreign minister, Austin Chamberlain, has stowed the league of nations away in a closet.

The threat of Egypt to take the question of its badly battered independence before the league hastened the tory cabinet's determination to junk this piece of excess furniture. The famous "peace protocol" on which Ramsay MacDonald the pseudo pacifist figured to uphold his pacifist camouflage, was too much for the old Tories to swallow. It is now on the historical dump heap.

Britain feels much healthier today than when her rulers allowed Ramsay MacDonald to keep house while the old leaders were recuperating. They no longer want to be fettered by a league to which every Tom, Dick and Harry can refer their grievances. It has become a confounded nuisance.

Chamberlain to Hold Caucus.

At the present time the empire is not a unit at league conferences. The colonies have been known to act independently. Before Chamberlain goes to Rome to the next meeting of the league council, he plans to call a meeting of the dominions, with a view to establishing the unit rule, which means that the "mother country" is to speak for her goings.

Chamberlain took a wicked wallop at the league, which is practically the only one of Wilson's fourteen points to maintain a semblance of animation at this date. The tory foreign minister points out that the league, far from being a world league is not even a European affair and shows a complete lack of a sense of reality in assuming to run the world without the co-operation of the United States. The Tories figure on arranging their affairs so that Britain and the United States can run the world to their own advantage and satisfaction, for the time being at any rate.

League Can Do Odd Jobs.

The league is not to be assassinated immediately however. Things are not done so obviously in the diplomatic world. Chamberlain leaves sundry odds and ends to be looked after by the league, such as the holding of conferences to regulate the white slave traffic, the alcoholic content of moonshine and other such harmless studies. On the heels of Chamberlain's decision comes the information that Admiral Jellicoe, commander of the royal navy during the world war is or his way from New Zealand with a bag of information and suggestions as to imperial naval requirements in the Pacific.

Apportioning the Expenses.

The admiral claims that \$100,000,000 worth of steel fittings is required by the empire to protect her interest in the Pacific. He has evolved a scheme to apportion this sum among the colonies, including Canada, New Zealand, Australia and India. India alone is to furnish \$10,000,000 annually.

The practical demise of the league of nations removes the last vestige of camouflage from the faces of the warring imperialist powers. England is again on the war path, brazenly announcing her right to rule as much of the world as she can grab, allowing no obstacles in her path that can be removed by diplomacy or force of arms.

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

GRAND OPENING NIGHT CHICAGO FIVE-DAY BAZAAR AND DANCE WEDNESDAY; BIG DAY THURSDAY

A fine program of entertainment has been arranged and a wealth of goods and articles collected for the booths at the five-day bazaar and dance to be held Nov. 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 at Worker's Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd.

A special committee of Local Chicago, Workers Party, is in charge and promises all who come more than their money's worth in bargains and a good time.

They also point out that those who attend and patronize the affair will help to forge dollar-weapons against American Czarism, because the proceeds go to the DAILY WORKER, of fiscal organ of the Workers' Party, and the Labor Defence Council which is engaged in defending many important cases of Workers Party members under prosecution.

Wednesday, Nov. 26. Grand Opening. Admission free. Donations received. First chance at most choice ware.

Thursday, Nov. 27. (Thanksgiving Day) afternoon and evening. Dancing begins at 3 p. m. Lettish Orchestra, Ukrainian chorus in costume, Polish Singers, Junior Interpretive Dancers, Banquet at 6 p. m. Russian "Balalaika" Orchestra, National Dances by Emma Blechschmidt and Elsie Newman, Lithuanian Children's chorus.

Friday, Nov. 28. Dancing, South Slav Orchestra, Czech-Slovak "Market," Testa Bellandi, well-known Italian Baritone and mandolin soloist, N. Giovanni, guitarist, Finnish Gymnastic Stunts. Special night, also for German and Hungarian workers.

Saturday, Nov. 29. "BIG DANCE." Freiheit Singing Society, Danish Workmen's Orchestra, Games and Contests. Special night also for Scandinavian, Greek, Spanish, Bulgarian, Armenian and Rumanians.

Sunday, Nov. 30. — Afternoon and Evening — Swedish National Dance in Costume at 4 p. m. Musical Program, Y. W. L. Orchestra, Dancing, Vocal selections, Auction, Prize Awards.

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

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capitalist system could not do it in a better way than to purchase a five or ten dollar insurance policy in the DAILY WORKER. This is the kind of Christmas shopping that should be done now.

CHARLES R. FORBES, former director of the veteran's bureau, is now on trial. The campaign strategists of the G. O. P. took good care to hold off the trial of the grating Harding appointee until after the election. Now that Silent Cal is safe in the White House for the next four years, justice can do its darndest.

ONE of the unconsciously funny men who sends over anti-Russian propaganda to the Chicago Tribune relates a yarn about the British spy system in Russia. A high official of the Russian government is supposed to be on the British payroll for a number of years. He was trapped over the "Zinoviev" note, but the funny thing is that nothing happened to him. Not even the loss of his job. What about all the heads that are chopped off in Russia for the mere fun of it? It looks as if the liars have gone to the other extreme.

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

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER TO DISCUSS EL PASO CONVENTION AT NEXT MASS MEETING OF THE T. U. E. L.

The next public meeting of the Chicago section of the Trade Union Educational League will take place on Tuesday evening, Dec. 2, 8 p. m., in North West Hall, corner North and Western avenues. These meetings are one of the activities of the left wing movement in the local trade unions and are held for the purpose of unifying the struggle against the labor fakers.

The forthcoming meeting of the Trade Union Educational League promises to be of unusual interest as it will be addressed by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Workers Party and leader of the revolutionary forces in the American labor movement. He will speak on the result of the A. F. of L. convention at El Paso, Workers Party members and left wing trade unionists are urged to attend and bring as many as possible to the meeting.

INUNCTIONITES CANNOT USE ANY OF I. W. W. FUNDS

Judge Sullivan's Ruling Has Rowan Worried

The Rowan-Bowerman faction in the I. W. W. suffered a humiliating setback in their injunction case yesterday in Judge Sullivan's court. The judge ruled that one group of officers in any organization could not sue another group for organization funds and that therefore the general executive board had no right to the funds of the I. W. W. treasury. The money belongs to the organization.

The injunctionites, who have been persistently pressing their case thru hearings in Master in Chancery Bernstein's office, were presented with a bill for court expenses. Rowan asked for a hearing in Judge Sullivan's court from which the injunction was procured and the hearing brought the above ruling.

Judge Sullivan's ruling makes it necessary for the Rowan group to either procure the money independently or drop the case. They now owe for three sessions and the stipulation made by Bernstein is that future hearings must be paid in advance. In all probability when the case comes before the master in chancery again it will be thrown out of court.

Rowan went west. The story goes that when he reached Spokane and tried to speak before the lumber workers of No. 120, he was thrown out of the hall bodily.

JAPAN REGARDS COOLIDGE PEACE MEET CYNICALLY

Points to the Naval War Games in the Pacific

TOKYO, Nov. 25.—Japan looks with a cold eye on the proposal for another disarmament conference, emanating from Washington. The foreign office expresses a willingness to send delegates to such a conference if summoned by President Coolidge, but makes it quite clear that any attempt to muzzle the guns of the Japanese navy would be met with stern opposition.

The proposed conference is looked upon as another act in the anti-Japanese game now being played.

Japan's confidence in the sincerity of the United States' peaceful pretensions is not increased by the fact that the United States is arranging for gigantic naval maneuvers in the Pacific and that Admiral Jellicoe of Britain has just finished a four year study of British naval problems in the Orient.

Tokyo newspapers mirror the government's view that a plot against Japan is in the making. They point to the proposed United States war maneuvers next summer and the dispatch of America's most powerful battle armada to New Zealand and Australia on a visit simultaneously with the naval exercises as an open challenge to Japan's sea power in the Pacific.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that Japan should regard the suggested disarmament in Washington in much the same light as a pedestrian would look on an invitation from a suave highwayman to park his artillery in a gooseberry bush and step inside the ditch for a crap game Japan is not biting.

Oliver Carlson to Speak in Wilmington, Del., Friday Night

WILMINGTON, Del., Nov. 25.—Oliver Carlson of the Young Workers' League of Chicago, recently returned from an extensive trip to Europe during which time he lived in Germany, France, England and Russia, to study the revolutionary movements there will be the principal speaker here Friday night. The meeting which has been arranged by the local branch of the Workers' Party will be held at German Hall on East 6th street between French and Walnut at 8 p. m. No charge for admission.

EXTRA! A. F. OF L. SHOWS SIGNS OF CLASS LOYALTY

But It Was a Sign Only; Defeat Russ Recognition

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ple of Russia are in control. As a climax he arose to oratorical heights and prevaricated depths and shouted, "Russia has all the necessary resources; why in hell don't they work!"

Andy Furuseth said he would speak but neither for or against the resolution. But speak he would. It was a stupid resolution Andy said. He pointed out that the czar borrowed money for aggressive warfare and was overthrown. Kerensky borrowed money for war and the Soviets overthrew him also. Then they repudiated the debts of both the czar and Kerensky. America, England and France had sent troops to collect these debts, he said, but it was too big a job. Some nations are now trying to collect by using diplomacy. But this resolution, it was too stupid to vote upon intelligently.

Woll Uses Sammy's Tricks.

Matthew Woll, crown prince to King Samuel the First, pointed out that the resolution did not ask recognition. But he was against it anyhow. The committee, he said, had not considered recognition. He "reminded" the delegates that Grassman said that recognition of Russia brot on an attempt to destroy the "democratic republic" of Noske and Ebert; that the English delegation said Russia used recognition to put poison in the British labor movement and had succeeded in defeating the "labor" government.

This statement referring to some supposed attack on Russia by the fraternal delegates Woll made up out of whole cloth, as the British and German delegations had said no such things as Woll stated. But Woll is a good understudy for Gompers and he proceeded with more of the same talk.

"Until a government of the people and by the people and for the people is established in Russia," he declared, "instead of a government based on murder, we will fight any kind of relationship," echoing Lord Curzon.

Frey Offers an Apology.

Delegate Frey, of the Molders' Union, arose to apologize for the disturbance in the labor fakers' dove cote. He said that the resolution was "pushed thru the Molders' convention during a turmoil." He added that "since the virus of Communism had come into my union by the borers from within, it had adopted a rule to expel all Communists and members of the Trade Union Educational League if caught preaching their doctrines." He asserted that the "contradictions and stupidity of the resolution was the work of incompetent creatures who rushed it thru the Molders' convention and that the membership was opposed to it."

Silent on Sabotage.

The fact of the sabotage of the resolution, probably to make it sound "contradictory and stupid" by the omission of the two sections quoted above, was not admitted by Frey. That it was deliberately done is the consensus of all the newspaper reporters at the convention.

Sam Gompers, smelling a chance to show his servility to the anti-Soviet policy of the American government, said that he was in "full accord" with Sillinsky's statement that we should not interfere with the kind of government the Russian people want. But he claimed that they have a government they did not choose. The Kerensky government was "a choice of the people," Sam asserted, "the first and only suffrage enjoyed by the Russians." This proper parliamentary procedure was rudely interrupted by the dispersal of the Kerensky government by working class bayonets and Sam rose to a point of order against such action.

"If You Knew What I Knew."

Continuing, Gompers said that "if Sillinsky only had seen the documents shown to the senate committee on this question, he would know that there was indisputable evidence that the Soviets took advantage of English recognition to destroy the labor government, that the Bolsheviks were trying to destroy democracies and labor movements of the whole world, and that it was an advantage to recognize Russia, why did the labor party condemn Russia in the last election."

Who Forged Letter Immaterial.

"It did not matter whether the so-called Zinoviev letter was forged or not," according to Sam, "it was couched in the language of the Soviets. All circulars sent out by them are the same." He added that when John Ross Campbell, Communist editor of England wrote, he wrote just like this letter. And when charged "he did not deny or modify his language." Therefore, the English labor party was "compelled to expel Communists." From Gompers' wandering utterance one gathers that he thinks Campbell wrote the supposed "letter" to Zinoviev.

"This country has always been a

When Rebellion Against Capitalism Stirs You, Turn to Communism

By J. LOUIS ENGDahl.

TODAY, writers for the yellow capitalist press are writing long editorial sermons on "the enemies of society."

Communists have been forgotten, for a few moments, as the kept editors try to hide with printers' ink some of the festering sores of their decadent social system.

The Hearst press, that sold its opiates to millions last year at a profit of \$10,000,000, not only calls Leo Koretz, master swindler, who took \$3,000,000 from his dupes, "an enemy of society" but a "Benedict Arnold in his own group."

Then there is William J. Fahy, ace of postal inspectors, picked for his ability to protect the wealth of the profiteers as it passed thru the mails, but now himself convicted as "the brains" of the nation's greatest mail robbery. A jury has declared that it was he who led the bandits who stole \$2,000,000 worth of registered mail shipments of currency from a Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad train at Roundout, Ill., just at the edge of Chicago.

This front page grist of the day's news is paralleled by State's Attorney Crowe's promise of indictments in the shooting of Eddie Tancl, underworld czar of Cicero. It was noticed that Crowe's election poster alone graced the front of Hawthorne Inn, the Tancl resort.

What horrors for respectable business! If the Leo Koretz kind are given free reign, the business of the New York Stock Exchange, the Chicago Board of Trade, or the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce will be sorely hurt. Koretz did not cover up his deals with the proper finesse. The result will be that he will probably go to prison. He should have taken out a license as a "stock gambler," or a "food speculator." Then he could donate a little to charity, hold a few church memberships, and get his name in "Who's Who in America." But he failed to live up to the accepted rules and now he is dubbed a "Benedict Arnold."

No doubt one of the greatest weaknesses of the American capitalist government is its inability to protect its mails. Nowhere in the whole capitalist world are there so many and successful mail robberies as in this country. The Fahy trial and conviction is only an incident. It reveals that the men hired to protect the mails are themselves the plunderers of the mails. Every mail robbery is immediately hailed as "an inside job." Big business arms its employes in the mail service with guns to protect its treasures in transport. It exercises the same precautions taken within its banks and other great financial institutions. But this does not stop mail robberies any more than it ends bank robberies or the defalcation of "trusted employes."

Low wages help produce this condition. Fahy was well paid. But there were treasures at his fingers' tips, ready to be taken. He no doubt found many aids among the great masses of underpaid postal workers.

At this moment the letter carriers are trying to exert pressure on the next congress, seeking an increase in wages. They set forth that they have not received an increase in the last 12 years. The increase granted postal clerks by the last congress was quickly vetoed by the strikebreaker president.

There are many who, if they can't win the daily needs of life in one way, will find other ways to do it. They don't always follow in the footsteps of the poorly paid department store girl, who returned the jewelled bag of a rich patron, containing \$6,000, that she could just as easily have kept, and then had to steal a little, valueless trinket, in order to bedeck herself as she thought best. Others strike higher. Especially those who have the assistance of the "big bosses" of the old political parties. Along with "Bill" Fahy we find that James Murray, one of Chicago's west side democratic bosses, was also convicted.

The shooting of Eddie Tancl also lifts the underworld into capitalist politics. State's Attorney Crowe will do nothing. His political machine has as some of its most prominent mainstays such as Dean O'Banion and Eddie Tancl. Such as these co-operate side by side with the spokesmen of big business. When it comes to old party politics, it isn't a far cry from the czars of "LaSalle Street," Chicago's great financial district, to the czars of the "river wards" and of Cicero's underworld.

All these conditions are inherent in the diseased capitalist social system. There is no cure for capitalism except extermination. The big robbers at the top, whether Rockefeller or Morgans, stealing billions, beget the little robbers all the way down the capitalist social ladder, to the very bottom. The yellow press can only veneer this repulsive social system with an ugly gloss.

The task of destroying it and building a new social order is the lot of labor; that suffers most, that has all to gain by the change.

But the change can only be made, the victory can only be won under the inspiration of Communist principles and with Communist leadership. When rebellion against the capitalist social order stirs within you, turn to the Communist movement; turn to its organized expression in the United States, the Workers (Communist) Party.

Non-Partisan Stand Is Readopted by A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from page 1)

The last election, Hayes stated, proved that the workers want a party.

Hayes declared labor has no leaders on the political field and that the lethargy shown by the international officers was a crime. He said that the 170 congressmen claimed by the executive council was a joke. Few were union men and none could stand the acid test between the capitalists and the workers. Cleveland, he declared, had held an after-election convention to form a state party. This would be national. Hayes made a strong plea for a third party, but did not mention a labor party. Only Basky of the Stone Cutters, spoke from the T. U. E. L. standpoint.

"Labor Party Not Wanted." Matthew Woll, in a passionate reply

POWERS CLASH OVER BRITISH WAR ON EGYPT

Tories Ditch League of Nations

(Continued from page 1)

class, who claim that they have not abolished Egyptian independence, but simply insist on running it, owing to the failure of the Egyptians to run it to the satisfaction of the British. They have not abolished the "condominium" in the Sudan, but have only removed disaffected troops.

Warships on the Way.

LONDON, Nov. 25.—The super-dreadnaught Iron Duke and several other warships are on their way to Egypt. Premier Zaghoul Pasha has resigned. Zierwar Pasha has succeeded him.

The Egyptian chamber of deputies has decided to send protests against the British ultimatum which followed the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, to all countries of the world and to the league of nations.

The indemnity of \$2,300,000 was paid to the British by Zaghoul before he left office.

British marines took over the customs in Alexandria. The opposition to Zaghoul's government accused him of weakness and of failing to protect the country's dignity against British insults.

Capitalist Press Disturbed.

The London capitalist press is practically unanimous in supporting the brutal action of the government against Egypt. The editorial comment in the great dailies show extreme irritation over the suggestion in continental journals to refer the matter to the league of nations.

The Daily Mail declares the suggestion to refer the question to the league "audacious and absurd." The Daily Telegraph remarks that the relations between Egypt and England were similar to those between the United States and Cuba.

SECRET SESSIONS HELD TO DISCUSS MC ANDREW PLOTS

Superintendent of Schools McAndrew, has been holding secret meetings with the board of education members, is the charge made by the Chicago Teachers' Federation. The federation held a special meeting yesterday at the Studebaker Theater at which these underground tactics were discussed by McAndrew.

They Bring Forth.

The after effect of these closed door conferences have manifested themselves in two reports submitted to the school board recently. One is the report of Robert E. Strickler, recommending the ousting of teachers over 57 years of age. This would throw 600 teachers out of work with no chance whatever of getting anything else to do, since they spent most of their lives in the schools.

Another feature of this report is that teachers' salaries are to be governed by merit rather than by seniority. With a boss controlled school board the teachers say they understand what the "merits" required will be. This proposal will save the board \$75,000.

Real Issue Avoided.

The other recommendation made in the report by Nelson B. Henry, secretary of the finance committee, recommends increasing the size of the classes which are already packed to bursting. This will save the board \$1,000,000 annually. No suggestion is made in either recommendation how to retrieve the large sums of money stolen from the school treasury by the large property owners in Chicago.

The meeting at the Studebaker Theater will be reported in Thursday's issue as the meeting was still going on when we went to press.

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

A WORLD OUTLOOK

Editor's Note.—Every day until publication has been completed, the DAILY WORKER will publish a new chapter from the book, "Lenin: The Great Strategist of the Class War," by A. Losovsky, secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions. The twelfth chapter is entitled, "A World Outlook."

LENIN never limited himself to the study of the labor movement of Russia alone but studied with the same vigor all social conflicts in Europe during which the working class suffered defeat. The great French Revolution, the conspiracy of Babeuf, the Chartist movement, the June days in Paris, the Paris Commune, the great economic strikes during the end

of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century—all these served as the basis for determining the causes of the weakness of the working class movement. Furthermore he studied with the same care the mechanism of modern society and the forces at the disposal of our enemy classes. As the result of his study of capitalist society its forms and method of organization, the unity of the bourgeois classes as against the disunity of the working masses, he had found the prime reason for our defeats, for the victories of the bourgeoisie, and had arrived at a correct appreciation of the methods of struggle of the working class.

Tomorrow—"True Proletarian Internationalism."

# Open Discussion on Immediate Party Tasks

Thesis on the Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Workers Party.

Submitted by Foster, Cannon, Bittelman, Browder, Dunne, Berman, Abern

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

1. The Dawes plan and the victory of reaction in the elections, with the election of Coolidge and Dawes, have raised the morale of the capitalist class in the United States but have not reversed any of the fundamental factors characterizing the present period of decline of world capitalism. The conflicts already appearing between the United States, Great Britain, and France, over the application of the Dawes plan, demonstrate the inability of capitalism to restore the world market. The process of disintegration continues and is bound to produce further crises with further sharpening of the class struggle.

2. A year ago the United States had entered upon a period of economic depression, which our party foresaw (Sept. 1923—resolution on economic situation for the Trade Union Educational League conference) and which we correctly judged to mark a crisis in American economic life (third convention, Workers Party and March 1924 thesis of C. E. C.). The development of this crisis followed the expected course up until Sept., 1924, except for a short period of slight recovery in the first quarter of 1924. In the month of August more than 2,000,000 workers were unemployed as the result of this crisis.

3. The expected low point in the crisis has not been reached. The sudden halt to the downward trend that occurred in September, and the slight but continuous recovery since that time (up to November 15) was the result in the first place of seasonal variations based upon the marketing of the grain crops, and, in the second place, of manipulations designed to artificially stimulate industry for the purpose of influencing the election (\$100,000,000 rail and equipment orders of the railroad corporations, etc.), carried over after the election in the hectic boom caused by the reactionary victory.

4. The normal operation of the capitalist system may be expected to overcome this halt in the development of crisis, so that 1925 holds the prospect of repeating the experiences of 1920-21 when 6,000,000 workers were unemployed. The war-time shortage of building operations has been overcome. Exports have been increasing, but not in the volume sufficient to affect the general course of events. There are, however, conflicting tendencies, the exact force of which cannot yet be measured.

A factor that now shows possibility of alleviating the crisis is the tendency to start great building projects of public and semi-public nature, not based upon immediately profitable investment. It is impossible to gauge exactly the possible effects of this building program and other artificial stimulants. The known and predictable forces at work all point to a renewed development of the crisis.

5. The immediate pressure of the agrarian crisis upon the agrarian masses has been tremendously lightened by the large grain crops of the United States in the face of a world shortage, resulting in a sharp increase of prices. While it is estimated that a very high percentage of the increased prices of grain will go directly into the hands of bankers and merchants, who hold first claim to the crop returns because of credit extended to the bankrupt and near-bankrupt poor farmers, yet it is a fact that the purchasing power of the agricultural population has been raised to a degree above what seemed possible a few months ago. The fundamental situation in agriculture remains, however, unchanged and presents the likelihood of another acute agrarian crisis in 1925, which will, in turn, intensify the industrial depression.

6. The overwhelming weight of economic tendencies now operative point to an intensification of the class struggle, resulting in renewed efforts of the employing class to cut wages, lengthen hours, and to destroy the unions. In the absence of effective leadership of organized labor, this will result in unorganized mass movements, "outlaw" strikes, rank and file movements, and intensification of struggle within the labor unions between the revolutionary forces and the bureaucracy, together with a tendency of the lower strata of the organized workers, the unorganized, and the unemployed, to look to the revolutionary elements for practical political leadership.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

1. The victory of reaction in the presidential elections, which resulted in the election of Coolidge and Dawes by a tremendous majority after a campaign in which they stood openly as the candidates of big business, strengthens big capital in the seat of power in the United States. It demonstrated the tremendous power of the ruling class of this country, exercised through its machinery for molding opinion (the press, the radio, etc.), combined with the ability to manipu-

## SUMMARY OF THE C. E. C. THESIS ON THE ECONOMIC AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

1. Sharpening of the Class Struggle. This is the period of the decline of capitalism. The chaos of the capitalist system in Europe is gradually extending itself to America. But in the United States capitalism is still strong, and is struggling desperately against the forces of disintegration. All predictable factors point, however, to an immediate downward plunge of American industry, overcoming the present slight upward tendency. It is not possible to predict how much capitalism can overcome the crisis with its present artificial program of great building operations, because, not being based upon normal investment for profit, it is not measurable. All known and predictable factors indicate renewed crisis, unemployment, and sharpening of the class struggle.

2. Farmer-Labor Party Movement Merges in LaFollette "Third Party." The outstanding change in the political situation is the appearance of the LaFollette petty bourgeois alliance and the merging with it of the farmer-labor party movement. This is the American expression of the "democratic-pacifist" period, of illusion on the part of the rebelling workers that their lot can be remedied by petty bourgeois reformism under the leadership of the middle class. It is the same political fact that was expressed in England by the MacDonald government, in France by the "left bloc" and the Herriot government, in Germany by the subordination of the social-democrats to the "center parties."

3. Struggle Against LaFollettism. The principal task of the Workers Party is to break away the workers and poor farmers from LaFollettism, and to win them for the class struggle. When a strong and independent movement for a farmer-labor party existed, an effective weapon for this end was found in the slogan "For a Farmer-Labor Party." Now that this movement has lost its independence and is merged in the LaFollette movement, the slogan has become ineffective. Now as before the united front is the principal tactic, but today it must be the united front to fight for specific demands, on burning issues, from below in the shape of "councils of action," unemployment councils, shop committees, etc., and not the united front from the top in the shape of farmer-labor parties.

4. The Comintern and the F.-L. P. The Communist International approved of our past farmer-labor party policy because it meant struggle within a mass movement for its penetration with Communism. But the facts have changed, the farmer-labor movement is no longer an independent mass movement, a change which the Comintern foresaw when it warned of the possible necessity of the Workers Party running its own candidates,

ate the economic factors of society, to compel the masses still to follow its lead. The economic basis for the victory of reaction was, to a considerable extent, the slight revival in agriculture and industry, enlarged and magnified by capitalist manipulation and publicity. The election demonstrated also the cowardice and the political weakness of the middle classes, which, although dissatisfied with the hegemony of big capital, and in spite of their grievances produced by the agrarian and industrial crises for which the republican party offered no remedy, refused to follow even such a mild course of protest as the one expressed by the LaFollette movement. It further exposed the complete inability of the official leadership of the labor movement to enthrone the working class for any kind of action. Big capital has thereby completed its task of mobilizing its forces for continued oppression and exploitation of the working masses. It is now the duty of the workers and poor farmers to awaken to the real state of affairs and to begin the mobilization of their own forces for the struggle against their oppressors. The comparative strength of the existing political parties cannot be gauged correctly by the election figures. The capitalist politicians controlling the election machinery have robbed the LaFollette movement of probably a million votes, and have cut down the vote of the Workers Party to a fraction of what was really cast.

2. The LaFollette movement, although supported in this election mainly by industrial workers and poor farmers, is a political alliance of five distinct social groups. These are: (a) small and medium bankers, merchants, and manufacturers; (b) rich and well-to-do-farmers; (c) professional groups; (d) certain sections of the labor aristocracy; and (e) the trade-union bureaucracy.

on its own platform, under its own name, in the elections. To penetrate the C. P. P. A. (labor wing of the LaFollette movement) means participation in the "third party," which is absolutely unallowable.

5. Bolshevization of the Workers Party. In the difficult period of class struggle just ahead, the first necessity is a real Bolshevik party. The Workers Party must be made into such a party. It must be the leading figure in every struggle of the workers; it must educate its members in Marxism and Leninism; it must completely reorganize itself on the basis of shop nuclei; it must be a monolithic party, hewn of one piece, prohibiting factions, groups, and tendencies; it must make relentless struggle against opportunism in all its forms within the Workers Party, against the 2 1/2 international tendency, represented in the group around the Volkzeitung, as well as against the more insidious and menacing danger of farmer-laborism in our ranks.

6. No Substitutes for the Workers Party. Nothing can replace the Workers Party either as the leader of the proletarian revolution or as the practical leader in the everyday struggle. The idea that a "farmer-labor party" is the natural and only possible leader of the practical struggles of the workers, and that it is the duty of the Workers Party to create such a farmer-labor party, is a petty bourgeois deviation, it is opportunism, it is a revision of the fundamental theories of Leninism, and it leads directly to the liquidation of the Workers Party.

7. The Workers Party is the Only Class Party of the Workers. There is only one party that fights always and everywhere for the interests of the working class, that has no interests apart from those of the working class, and that party is the party of Communism, the Workers Party. The Workers Party must claim and fight for its position of leadership. No fake labor parties can be allowed to stand in the way. The Workers Party must tell the working class that only by following a revolutionary policy, only by accepting the leadership of the Communist International and its section, the Workers Party, either by joining the Workers Party or entering into a united front with it, can the working class fight for immediate betterment or final emancipation. The Workers Party, under its own name, its own banner, its own program of practical struggle, must enter into every battle of the workers against their oppressors, calling for and forming where possible all sorts of united fronts upon specific issues, and using every such struggle, whether alone or in a united front, as instruments for directly recruiting the workers into the Workers Party and building it into the mass Communist Party that will lead the proletarian revolution in America.

These five groups are moving together politically, at present in rather a loose fashion, for the purpose of securing for themselves a measure of political power which they will use against the political aspirations of the proletarian masses and the poorest sections of the farmers. In other words, the LaFollette combination is socially and politically a bourgeois movement hostile and antagonistic to the proletarian class struggle and to the political independence of the oppressed and toiling masses.

### 3. Gompers and the Old Guard of A. F. of L. Bureaucracy.

The endorsement of the LaFollette campaign by the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. was dictated primarily by a desire to preserve their leadership in the American labor movement, which was endangered by the following four facts: (a) the complete bankruptcy of the Gompersian trade union policies which resulted in weakening the unions to such an extent as to reduce their fighting ability almost to nothing; (b) the feeling throughout the rank and file that the coming attacks by the capitalists could not be resisted by the unions with their old tactics, policies, and forms of organization; (c) the demand from the rank and file for some measure of political influence for the unions in the hope that this may forestall or weaken the impact of these coming capitalist attacks; and (d) the brazen anti-labor attitude assumed by the national conventions of the two old parties which completed the disillusionment of the rank and file and made it impossible for Gompers to endorse either Coolidge or Davis without seriously endangering his leadership. The above facts prompted the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. to enter into an alliance with the petty-bourgeoisie for common political action. Because of the comparative weakness of the LaFollette movement, as demonstrated

in the elections, the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. may now be expected to try to convince the workers that even the middle-class revolt and its organization into an independent third party is hopeless, and that they must return to the old non-partisan tactics, which means to go to the back door of the old party councils, there to beg for crumbs in the time-honored Gompersian manner.

### 4. The C. P. P. A. and the Socialist Party.

In endorsing the candidacy of LaFollette the C. P. P. A. has merely continued its old policy of political collaboration with the so-called "progressive group" in congress. The C. P. P. A. has been functioning as the labor wing of the LaFollette movement. It remains the dominant labor wing of the LaFollette movement, which is also subject to pressure by the Gompers machine. The C. P. P. A. was humbled by the results of the election, which fall below its expectations, yet it will continue the alliance with LaFollette and will remain one of the forces pushing the movement in the direction of a third, petty-bourgeois, party.

The socialist party, which up to July, 1924, was trying to retain a certain measure of independence as a political party, has since then almost completely merged with the C. P. P. A. in the LaFollette movement. The socialist party has practically ceased to exist as an independent political party. It will support the formation of the petty-bourgeois party under the phrasology of a "labor party."

### 5. The Bourgeois Wing of the LaFollette Combination.

For the bourgeois wing of the LaFollette combination, the alliance with the labor bureaucrats and with certain sections of the labor aristocracy is a perfectly profitable proposition, since this alliance in no way conflicts with the capitalist basis of the movement, while it secures for itself the support of large masses of workers and poor farmers. The professional-liberal group of this bourgeois wing, as represented by the Nation and the New Republic, demands the formation of a bourgeois third party which they often call a farmer-labor party. The practical politicians of the movement, who represent the well-to-do farmers, small bankers, and merchants, such as LaFollette, Wheeler, Brookhart, etc., whose fortunes are more closely bound up with the old capitalist parties, will hesitate with the immediate formation of the third party but will surely continue this political combination.

### 6. The Future Development of the LaFollette Movement.

Because of the pressure of capitalist development and exploitation, and in spite of the comparative weakness of the LaFollette movement, as demonstrated in the elections, this movement, comprising an alliance between petty-bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy, is bound to grow in volume and in power. Even though the LaFollette movement may continue in its present loose form, sooner or later it will be forced to overcome, partially at least, the contradictions of group and sectional interests within its ranks, sufficiently to crystallize into a new political party. As a party it will be based upon the small and middle sections of the bourgeoisie, the rich farmers, the professional groups, certain sections of the labor aristocracy, and the labor bureaucracy.

This party will represent a political alliance between the left wing of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the reactionary social-patriotic, class collaborationist wing of the labor movement on the other hand. It will function as the extreme left party of the American bourgeoisie and will continue to base its appeal mainly on two grounds: To the bourgeois middle classes this LaFollette movement will present the capitalist half of its physiognomy, that is, it will maintain that it alone is able to save American capitalism from destruction as a result of a violent revolution by the masses; while to the masses the LaFollette movement will present the so-called labor half of its physiognomy, claiming that it stands for the "just" demands of labor and against its being unfairly treated by capital. The masses of the workers and poor farmers, inasmuch as they reject the leadership of the old capitalist parties and are not yet ready to accept the leadership of and to give their support to the Workers Party, follow the lead of the LaFollette movement. This was emphatically demonstrated by the absorption of the farmer-labor party movement by the LaFollette movement, and by the vote of the industrial

## ISSUE LETTER ON ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE PARTY DISCUSSION

Federation Secretaries and City Central Committees on the organization and conduct of the party discussion. To be read at the next regular meetings of these committees throughout the party.

DEAR COMRADES:—It is the intention of the Central Executive Committee that in this pre-convention period the party membership be given the widest possible opportunity to study and discuss all phases of the central problem at present confronting the Workers Party, in order that the whole party membership may be able to arrive at a mature and well considered judgment before passing final decision.

To this end, for the most thorough and widespread discussion in the history of the party, the Central Executive Committee is making ample provisions to give the membership full opportunity to familiarize themselves with the points of view of the minority as well as that of the Central Executive Committee.

As a guarantee that the discussion will be carried on in a constructive manner, the Central Executive Committee considers it necessary to lay down some general principles regarding the conduct of the discussion for the advice and guidance of all party committees, which will be responsible to the Central Executive Committee for putting them into effect in all sections of the party under their supervision.

A fundamental condition for such a thorough and constructive discussion is that no attempt be made in any section of the party to force the membership to snap judgment or premature decision on the vital problems confronting the party. Such attempts are bound to produce destructive results and to militate against the party arriving at a sober and well-considered decision.

An example of what may result from any such attempts occurred at a general membership meeting in Chicago held on Nov. 19. At

this meeting, which was held on the eve of the full C. E. C. meeting where these were to be considered and the discussion officially opened, an attempt was made to force the meeting to an immediate decision on our central political problem. This attempt was bitterly resented by another section of the meeting which insisted upon a study of the theses and a more thorough discussion before coming to a decision. The result was to completely demoralize the meeting, to divert attention from the main questions of policy to questions of parliamentary procedure and technique, and to finally break up the meeting in disorder.

Similar attempts will inevitably produce similar results. The Central Executive Committee therefore calls upon all party committees to so organize and conduct the discussion as to prevent the occurrence anywhere in the party of incidents of this kind.

We are enclosing herewith a copy of a C. E. C. resolution on the party discussion. This resolution, together with this letter, must be the guide of all responsible party committees during the party discussion. The discussion must be as thorough and complete as possible. All party members must be given full opportunity to hear and discuss all points of view and to freely express their own opinion. There must be no limitation or restriction of these rights in any section of the party. It is only by strictly adhering to these principles that we shall be able to mobilize the collective experience and intelligence of the party for a correct solution of our immediate problems, and to proceed from this to the strengthening of our party and its development towards a mass Communist Party capable of leading the toiling masses of America to a victory over the bourgeoisie.

Fraternally,  
The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America.  
Wm. Z. Foster, Chairman,  
C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary.

workers and poor farmers for LaFollette in the election.

In a sense this developing LaFollette party will mark the completion of a process which is taking place in almost every highly-developed capitalist country. It is the development towards an organizational merger between the political expression of the petty bourgeoisie and the political expression of the trade union bureaucracy and certain sections of the labor aristocracy.

In England this development is manifesting itself in the studied policy of the MacDonald group to transform the labor party from a political party of the trade unions into a combination between the bourgeois middle classes and the upper sections of labor, that is, by converting the labor party more completely into a bourgeois third party.

In France the same development is taking place in the form of a parliamentary alliance between the socialist party and the liberal parties of the bourgeoisie, the so-called "left bloc" which form the basis of the Herriot government. Socially and politically this left bloc is of the same nature as the LaFollette movement.

In Germany the social-democracy, which is objectively the party of the trade union reactionaries and the labor aristocracy, is working hand in hand with the liberal bourgeoisie and jointly they present the main support of the present German government. In all these countries the working masses which are not following this petty-bourgeois combination, are either so politically immature that they still follow the parties of big capital and the land-holding aristocracy, or they are ideologically advanced enough to follow the Communist parties.

Like the late MacDonald government in England, which carried out the policies of British imperialism in India, Egypt, China, etc., like the Herriot government in France, which dutifully executes the policies of the Comité des Forges and continues French imperialist policies in Morocco, Madagascar, French Indo-China, etc., like the German social-democracy continues the policies of German capitalism, the LaFollette movement being of the same social composition, will inevitably continue the policies of American imperialism, despite its pacifistic phrasology.

Therefore, the LaFollette movement in America and the future LaFollette party, should be considered the American expression of democratic pacifism, the objective meaning of which is, in the words of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, as follows:

"That the bourgeoisie can no longer rule according to its old methods, that this period reflects the instability of the capitalist structure, its decline, which is beginning to develop in a descending curve.

workers and poorest sections of the farmers, is definitely out of the range of practical politics for the immediate future.

### 8. The United Front and Our Labor Party Tactics.

We accept the conception of the united front tactics as outlined and interpreted by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. We look upon the tactics of the united front as a means of exposing the treachery of the trade union reactionaries, the class collaborationists, and social patriots, and as a means of winning over the masses for the struggle against capitalism under the leadership of the Communist Party, in short, as the central means of building the Workers Party into the mass Communist Party of America.

Three years ago our party adopted the position that a labor party policy was the only way of applying the tactics of the united front to the political conditions of America. To this decision our party was moved by the following considerations: The existence of the strong mass movement in the direction of a farmer-labor party as evidenced by a large number of local and state farmer-labor parties, and also by the formation of the O. P. P. A., which we interpreted as the result of this same mass pressure towards independent political action. We also realized that, unlike the Communist Parties of Europe, our task was not to win away the masses from reformist mass political parties speaking in the name of labor, because there were none at that time in the United States, but to compel the reactionary trade union leaders to break with their old non-partisan policies and to lead the unions into the political struggle as labor organizations; that is, to promote among the masses the growing movement in favor of independent political action, and thus compel the trade union bureaucracy to either form a labor party or expose themselves before the masses as enemies of the working class.

Our conception of a labor party was that of a political party based upon the trade unions of America, with the Workers Party functioning within it as its most conscious and militant section, striving to win the mass movement to the revolutionary class struggle and to the leadership of the Workers Party. We held to the correct idea that the formation of a labor party becomes possible and inevitable only inasmuch as the economic mass organizations of labor are compelled to join hands for independent political action. Because of the existence of such a movement, and because of the glaring bankruptcy and total ineffectiveness of the non-partisan tactics of Gompers and the C. P. P. A., our labor party slogan soon became a real fighting issue in the labor movement, appealing to wide circles of workers and poor farmers, and thus aiding us in our task of exposing the labor reactionaries and strengthening the influence of the Workers Party.

The first serious departure from this policy was made when the former majority of the Central Executive Committee abandoned the idea of a labor party based upon broad masses of organized workers, and adopted instead the policy of a labor party comprising only the Workers Party and its close circle of sympathizing organizations. This policy was later crystallized in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and developed into a theory by the "August thesis," adopted at a C. E. C. meeting in August, 1923. This theory of a labor party consisting only of the Workers Party with its immediate circle of sympathizing organizations contained the menacing tendency of liquidating the Workers (Communist) Party and substituting for it a non-Communist organization. It further carried with it the isolation of the Workers Party from the mass movement for a farmer-labor party. For these reasons it was relentlessly combated by the former minority, now majority, of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

As the farmer-labor movement developed the LaFollette third-party movement developed simultaneously and threatened to absorb it. This raised before our party the problem of how to save the ideological and organizational independence of the farmer-labor movement. To solve this problem the C. E. C. adopted the policy of the "third party alliance," which, however, was not put into effect, by advice of the Communist International. The decision of the Communist International was correct. Experience has shown that the farmer-labor movement could not have been saved from absorption by the LaFollette movement even by the dangerous expedient of a "third party alliance." In the months preceding the election the LaFollette movement swept like a tidal wave over the farmer-labor movement, submerging it and drowning it out.

The defection to LaFollette of the former supporters of the farmer-labor party movement reduced the June 17 convention to a mere fraction of its anticipated size. By the time of the Cleveland conference of the C. P. P. A. those organizations not closely sympathetic to the Workers Party and

(Continued on next page.)

## GREAT LABOR CARTOONS

by such noted artists in the ranks of Labor as

FRED ELLIS  
HAY BALES  
WM. S. FANNING

in the December issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY.

GET IT!

# Open Discussion on Immediate Party Tasks

(Continued from Page 3)

which had participated in the June 17 convention, also deserted to LaFollette. The farmer-labor party movement thus lost its mass character, and the organization formed at St. Paul soon found itself reduced to little more than the Workers Party and a comparatively small circle of sympathizing organizations. It was a recognition of the fact that the farmer-labor movement had been absorbed by the LaFollette movement, and that the former no longer had the proportions of a mass movement, that dictated the action of the Workers Party on July 8 in withdrawing its support from the farmer-labor presidential candidates and nominating candidates of its own.

The events of the campaign have abundantly proved the correctness of our analysis of the situation and the policy we adopted for the campaign. It has strengthened the revolutionary morale of our membership, it has won for our party the sympathies and support of every class-conscious worker in America, and it has established the Workers Party as the only working class political party in the United States.

The fundamental conditions determining the attitude of our party toward the farmer-labor movement are the same now as at the beginning of our experience in this field on the basis of the united front tactics of the Communist International. At the time when the farmer-labor movement was developing a mass character, moving in the direction of an independent party, it was correct for our party itself to raise the slogan of a "farmer-labor party" and participate actively in the movement for it. When, as became apparent in July, 1924, and as it is apparent now, the idea of a farmer-labor party lacks mass support and appeal among industrial workers and poor farmers, the basic reasons for our support of this movement are not in existence. The Workers Party, therefore, cannot advantageously promulgate the slogan of a "farmer-labor party" at the present time. The further development of the class struggle may eventually again create a mass sentiment for the formation of a farmer-labor party. In such case the Workers Party may find it advantageous to again raise the slogan for such a party and actively participate in the movement for it. Our attitude toward it will depend on the advantages it offers to the Workers Party from the standpoint of promoting independent political action on a mass scale and of building the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party.

We are not opposed to the labor party in principle. Neither are we bound to the theory of the historic inevitability of the labor party in America. Still less do we hold the opinion that the labor party is the only medium through which independent class political action of the working masses can find expression. We approach this problem from the point of view of whether the labor party slogan can now be used as a means of mobilizing masses of workers for immediate class political action, and we say that neither for the present nor for the immediate future can the labor party slogan be employed successfully for this purpose.

The formation of a labor party becomes inevitable and possible only inasmuch as the economic mass organizations of labor are compelled to join hands for independent political action. But when the leaders of these organizations enter into a permanent alliance with the petty-bourgeoisie, and when such an alliance with the LaFollette movement receives the recognition and support of almost the entire organized labor movement, then the question of forming a labor party loses its basic foundation and ceases to be a fighting issue for immediate practical use.

## The Communist International and the Farmer-Labor Party.

It is claimed by the comrades who insist upon the farmer-labor party slogan continuing as the major slogan of our party, that the Communist International is in favor of their position. This is not correct. The Communist International has not yet passed judgment on the present disagreements in our party. The Central Executive Committee is seeking the advice of the Comintern on the labor party policy, which will become known in due time.

However, on all those occasions during the past three years when the Comintern expressed itself in favor of a farmer-labor party policy for our party, it always based its position on the following two grounds: (1) that there was in the United States a mass movement of workers and poor farmers taking the form of a movement toward a farmer-labor party; that this was a step in the right direction. (2) That by participating in this movement and instilling it with the ideas and practices of the class struggle, the Workers Party could best promote the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States and the upbuilding of itself into a mass Communist Party.

In the summer of 1922, delegates of the Workers Party to the Comintern, presented the first proposal of our party to initiate a labor party policy. The first question asked by the pres-

## RESOLUTIONS OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON PARTY DISCUSSION

1. The theses of the Central Executive Committee in its entirety shall be printed at once in single issues in all party papers. The theses of the minority in its entirety shall be printed in the following issue of each paper.
2. Discussion of the theses in the party press shall commence immediately after their publication. Articles contributed to the discussion shall be printed in the DAILY WORKER in a special department under the heading "Party Discussion."
3. All party papers are obligated, as a matter of party discipline, to print all articles relating to the party discussion sent to them thru the party press service.
4. Preliminary discussion of the theses shall begin at once in the party branches.
5. After the preliminary discussion in the party press and in the party branches has continued for the period of four weeks, general membership meetings shall be called to discuss the theses. The Central Executive Committee will send representatives of both the Central Executive Committee and of the minority to open and sum up the discussion at the membership meetings in the following cities: New York, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New Haven, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis-St. Paul.
6. The Central Executive Committee will set the dates for the membership meetings in all the cities as listed above, to which it will send representatives.
7. All general membership meetings now scheduled shall be postponed to comply with the provisions of this resolution.
8. The convention date will be set by the Central Executive Committee as soon as approval has been secured from the Communist International. At least sixty days from the date of the publication of the Central Executive Committee political theses shall be allowed for discussion before the convention.
9. This resolution is to be published immediately in the party press.
10. All articles in all party papers must carry the signatures of their authors and no party paper shall carry unsigned editorial articles pertaining to the discussion.

idium of the Comintern and by every leading comrade on it was "Is there a mass movement for a farmer-labor party?" "Is the organized labor movement tending in the direction of a farmer-labor party?" and "Would a farmer-labor party policy enable the Workers Party to link itself up with this mass movement for the further development of the class struggle, and for the extension of the Communist influence over the working masses?" And when the Comintern finally agreed to the Workers Party adopting a labor party policy, it was mainly on the strength of the information supplied to the Comintern by our delegates, that there was in existence a strong mass movement towards a farmer-labor party.

Now the situation is totally changed. There are no longer present the basic conditions which moved our own party and the Comintern to adopt a farmer labor party policy. The coming of this change was foreseen by the Communist International when the American question was last discussed in the Comintern, that is when the judgement was passed on the proposed "third party alliance." In the theses then adopted by the Comintern jointly with the C. E. C. of our own party, in that section of it which deals with the June 17 convention, we find the following very significant words: "In case of a split (at the June 17 convention) the question of whether or not the Workers Party shall act altogether independently in its own name, in the election campaign, or whether it shall launch a campaign under the name of the farmer-labor party, will depend largely upon whether or not it (the Workers Party) is successful in the split and will depend on how far it maintains contact with the working masses at the June 17 conference."

With its usual far-sightedness, the Comintern distinctly foresaw the possibility of the farmer-labor movement being swallowed up by the petty-bourgeois LaFollette movement, and in such case provided that our party enter into the election campaign and take the political field under its own name, on its own program, and with its own candidates. This is conclusive proof of the fact that the Comintern's main guide in the question of a farmer-labor party is the existence of a mass movement taking the form of such a party, and that in the absence of such a movement the Workers Party cannot continue the use of the farmer-labor slogan and must look for other slogans and tactical means to mobilize the masses for the class struggle under its leadership.

The policy outlined in this thesis is based precisely upon the principle of the Comintern. Our approach to the question, our method of handling it, and our solution of it, which is that the present conditions no longer justify the use of the farmer-labor party slogan, is in complete accord with the position taken by the Communist International. The Communist International, proceeding upon its established principles for the labor party policy, will support the position of the C. E. C. as expressed in this thesis.

## The United Front and Our Present Objective.

The united front policy remains the central tactical means for the mobilization of the masses for the class struggle and for the building of the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party. We accept the united front tactics as elucidated, and explained by the Fifth Congress of the Commu-

and file will be brought into existence. As the class struggle develops and our campaign against LaFolletteism progresses there will be found in a number of localities organized labor bodies ready to break their alliance with the petty bourgeoisie and to enter election campaigns as labor organizations. In such cases, it will be the duty of the Workers Party to secure the political support of these labor bodies for the Workers Party. Wherever this is impossible because of the immaturity of the masses, the Workers Party will propose united labor fronts for election purposes. In proposing whether such united fronts will be carried on under the auspices of labor congresses, councils of action, labor parties, etc., the Workers Party will be guided by one principle only, namely, whether they will promote the class struggle and enable the Workers Party to build itself into a mass Communist Party.

## IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY

1. Exposure of the Bourgeois Nature of LaFolletteism. This becomes the central problem of our agitation and propaganda. It must be carried on along the following lines: (a) Formulate concrete political demands based on immediate burning needs of the masses; (b) popularize these demands among the masses; (c) call upon the rank and file in the shops, unions, among the unemployed, to address resolutions, petitions, and to hold mass meetings demanding that the "labor" wing in the LaFollette combination and the LaFollette group in congress propose legislation along the lines of the demands of the masses, at the same time creating the necessary united front rank and file organization for the struggle; (d) by these campaigns unmask the bourgeois nature of LaFolletteism and of the labor lieutenants of the LaFollette movement, expose the futility of democratic-pacifist parliamentarism and demonstrate the necessity of following the leadership of the only class political party, the Workers Party; (e) the economic and political slogans that will be employed in these campaigns should be grouped around the following central slogans: (a) break the alliance with the big, middle, and petty bourgeoisie; (b) form the united front from below of the workers and poor farmers with the Workers Party; (c) as against the LaFollette party, the Workers Party; (d) as against the futility of LaFollette's parliamentary reformism, the use of the organized mass power of the workers for political ends under the leadership of the revolutionary working class political party, the Workers Party.

## 2. Work Amongst the Agricultural Laborers and Poor Farmers.

With regard to the agricultural proletariat our party has practically the same duties to perform as with regard to the city proletariat. We must encourage and assist the organization and strengthening of unions of agricultural workers, giving full support to the I. W. W. where it is functioning as a mass union in this field. These agricultural unions to be linked up to the unions of the industrial workers for common action against the capitalists and rich farmers. Hand in hand with this must go the building up of the Workers Party branches. The class conscious elements among the agricultural workers must be organized as Communists and become part of the Workers Party. While keeping in mind that the basis of our party is the industrial proletariat, we must also pay close attention to the semi-proletarian elements on the farms, the poorer sections of the farmers. These can be brought over politically very close to our party and eventually a considerable proportion of them may be assimilated into our party organization. In order to bring this about, our task will be to separate the semi-proletarian elements from the well-to-do farmers and the urban petty bourgeoisie on the basis of the specific economic and political needs of the tenant farmers and other groups of exploited farmers against the landholding corporations, grain speculators, the banks, and the rich farmers. It will be the duty of the Workers Party, after it has established a Communist organizational base among the agricultural workers, to assist the semi-proletarian elements of the farms to form their own economic organizations and to link up their struggle with the general class struggle of the American working class. It is of supreme importance that the Central Executive Committee of the party establish an agrarian department with a responsible national head. The special nature of our agrarian work demands special means of agitation and organization, also a special agrarian press, which can best be taken

care of by an agrarian department of the party. The party must realize the supreme importance for the success of the proletarian revolution that it is absolutely necessary to secure for our party and for the proletarian class struggle the sympathy and support of the agricultural workers and poor farmers.

3. Work Amongst the Negroes. The Negro masses of America, mostly workers and poor farmers, are the most oppressed and persecuted section of the toiling masses of America. The cause of the oppressed Negro masses is the cause of the Workers Party. We must extend our activities among the Negro workers and poor farmers, leading their struggles against all forms of race discrimination, for complete equality in industry, in the trade unions, and in all other phases of social intercourse, and against capitalist exploitation. We must emphasize in our agitation among the Negro masses that their only salvation as a persecuted race and also as a part of the working class, lies in the revolutionary class struggle under the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party.

4. Industrial Work. In the future, as in the past, the task of securing the leadership of the workers in the industries and mobilizing them for the struggle remains the basic task of our party. To accomplish this task our party must hasten the reorganization on the shop nuclei basis, which will give us direct contact with the workers and an organizational basis in the shops. Thru the shop nuclei we shall be able to actively participate and win the leadership in the daily struggles of the workers, and thereby extend organized Communist influence in the trade unions. The organization of the militant left wing in the trade unions, as one of the main means of revolutionizing the trade unions, must be carried forward with renewed vigor and intensity. The organization of the unorganized masses must occupy an ever larger share of the attention of the Workers Party. We must realize once for all that only the organized efforts of the Communists, leading a militant left wing, will succeed in bringing the unorganized into the labor movement and in transforming labor's economic organizations into organs of revolutionary struggle, industrial in form, and based upon shop committees.

5. Imperialism and the Dawes Plan. Driven by the development of the capitalist economy of the United States, the American ruling class is fast assuming the position of the foremost imperialist power in the world. American imperialism has already subdued and brought under its domination in various forms almost the entire continent of America, North and South. Now, thru the Dawes plan, American imperialism has made a bid for world domination. In consequence of this, militarism and navalism are rapidly coming to the forefront in the United States, which spells more oppression for the working class and the danger of new imperialist wars. It will be the duty of the Workers Party to open the eyes of the American masses to the menace of American imperialism, to the treacherous role of Gompers and the labor bureaucracy generally in their support of the imperialist policies of American capitalism. The immediate task of the party is to mobilize the American working masses against the Dawes plan and against the imperialist and militaristic adventures of American capitalism in Central and South America. It will be the duty of our party to initiate a movement of the entire working class on the American continent for a defense of the rights and independence of the small nations and for a unified struggle against domination of American capital.

6. Struggle Against Unemployment. As unemployment develops upon a mass scale, which is a definite and inevitable result of the growing contradictions of American capitalism, the party must take the lead immediately in stimulating, initiating, and organizing councils of the unemployed in co-operation with shop councils, trade unions and other workers' organizations, upon a local, regional, and national basis.

The following general principles shall guide our participation in this campaign which must be closely linked up with the general program of the party in all its phases: (a) unemployment is an inescapable phenomenon of capitalism and can be abolished only by the abolition of the system that produces it; (b) the struggle against unemployment must acquaint the workers with this fact without dampening their ardor for the immediate struggles but rather intensifying it; (c) to this end practical sets of demands must be formulated, slogans raised, and a program of action established designed to weld all protest and actions against unemployment into a national movement. This program must in turn be adjusted to each local and industrial situation in a practical manner; (d) the slogans and practical actions of the struggle will follow two general lines—political and economic. They will be directed against the government as the representative of the capitalist system and against the employing capitalists as the immediate exploiter. These two aspects will be intertwined and interchangeable; (e) we reaffirm our un-

employment program which outlines the slogans and forms of organization for the struggle against unemployment.

## THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE PARTY.

We subscribe fully to the decision of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International that, "The most important task in the present period of activity of the Comintern is to Bolshevize the sections of the Communist International." In accordance with the principles laid down by the Fifth Congress, the Workers' Party must become a real mass party. It must have the ability to maneuver, it must be able to resort to every strategic maneuver against the enemy. Its tactics must be neither dogmatic nor sectarian. The Workers' Party must be essentially a revolutionary and Marxist party, a centralized party, prohibiting factions, tendencies, and groups. It must be a monolithic party hewn of one piece. It must also carry on regular concrete propaganda in the capitalist army. It is only by Bolshevizing the Workers' Party, by instilling into it the true spirit of the teachings of Leninism, that we can succeed in our historic mission to lead the masses to the overthrow of capitalism in the United States.

## 1. Communist Education.

One of the most effective means of Bolshevizing our party is the education of our membership in the principles and tactics of Leninism. The previous experiences of our party demonstrate the great need for such systematic education. A beginning has already been made by the educational department of the party in establishing party study classes thru out the country, by the organization of party schools in New York, Chicago, and Boston, by commencing the publication of a number of important theoretical books and pamphlets, and by the organization in a number of districts of circuit study classes. This must be followed up with a more extensive net of study classes and by the further development of a comprehensive library of Marxism and Leninism. The central executive committee realizes the great importance of this work and has instructed the educational department to prepare a special thesis on Communist educational work.

## 2. Shop Nuclei.

Our party membership is gradually becoming convinced that the shop nuclei form of organization is the most effective means of transferring the Workers' Party into a mass Communist party. Only a small beginning has been made as yet in the actual work of reorganization. However, since the main difficulty of convincing our party membership of the necessity of such reorganization is being overcome, the process of reorganization will from now on proceed more rapidly. It will take the concerted effort of the entire general party organization, the support of the federation bureaus, and the guidance of the Communist International to complete the process of putting our party upon the basis of shop nuclei organization. The central executive committee will submit to the convention a special thesis on shop nuclei.

## 3. War Against Opportunism in the Party.

The greatest danger which may befall a Communist Party is to become infected with opportunism and opportunistic tendencies. The first step toward the real Bolshevization of our party must be the stamping out completely of every vestige and sign of such opportunistic tendencies. A. The Second and a Half International Tendencies. As pointed out by the Communist International there are present within our party certain tendencies manifesting some remnants of the ideology of the Second and a Half International. These menacing tendencies were particularly noticeable in a number of articles which appeared in the New York Volkzeitung, edited by Comrade Lore. The spirit of these articles and their general trend are totally foreign to the spirit of Leninism and cannot be tolerated in a Communist Party.

We need only refer to the sympathetic attitude assumed by the Volkzeitung toward Paul Levi and toward Serrati when the latter opposed the Communist International. Also the super-critical attitude towards the Communist International and its leading comrades, that manifested itself in the Volkzeitung on various occasions. These are merely surface indications of menacing leanings which, if allowed to spread among the party members, will drive a wedge between our party and the Communist International to the lasting detriment of our party.

Other tendencies leaning toward opportunism are the hesitation and weakness exhibited by some of our comrades in the trades unions in various industries and localities in their struggle against the right wing. The party must realize that one of our principal fighting fronts is in the trade unions. Here our comrades have to meet daily the ferocious attacks of the lieutenants of capitalism in the labor movement. Here, more than anywhere else, must our comrades exhibit militancy, aggressiveness, ability to maneuver against the enemy constantly keeping before their eyes the main objectives of our movement.

The least deviation on this field of battle from the revolutionary lines of Leninism weakens and endangers our whole party. The way to guard against these weaknesses is strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the tactics of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, of which the representative in the United States is the Trade Union Educational League.

## B. The Right Deviation of Farmer-Laborism in our Party.

The Communist International has repeatedly pointed out that the united front tactics, altho the most effective means in mobilizing the masses for the class struggle and for the upbuilding of a mass Communist Party, also carries with it serious dangers which Communist Parties must constantly guard against.

The application of the united front tactics in America, thru our fight to establish a farmer-labor party, has on the whole strengthened our party and extended its influence among the masses. But, at the same time, it gave rise within our party to a menacing tendency to make the farmer-labor party an end in itself and to relegate the Workers' Party to the background.

## The position taken by the comrades of this tendency is that the only way to crystallize independent political action of workers and poor farmers is thru a farmer-labor party, forgetting the existence of the Workers' Party as the political class party of the workers and poor farmers. These comrades also take the position that the only way to build a mass Communist Party in America is thru a farmer-labor party, thus enunciating a new principle that the Workers' Party can never become a mass Communist Party except thru organizing and working within a farmer-labor party.

Notwithstanding the declaration of these comrades that they conceive the farmer-labor party merely as an instrument for the building up of the Workers' Party, the effect of this theory is to tend to liquidate the Workers' (Communist) Party in favor of a non-Communist farmer-labor party. These comrades work under the delusion that the Workers' Party as such and under its own name cannot successfully appeal to and absorb into its ranks large masses of workers. Their theory is that the Workers' Party can at present appeal only to a small section of theoretically convinced Communists and that in order to approach with Communist propaganda larger masses of workers, our party must form new special political organizations, such as women's councils and a farmer-labor party. This non-Communist conception of the role of our party manifests itself particularly in the tendency to resort to all kinds of new political organizations, substitutes for the Workers' Party, whenever an opportunity presents itself to appeal to large masses of workers on concrete issues of everyday life.

The protagonists of this theory attempt to justify their false conceptions on the basis of the united front tactics of the Communist International. This is totally wrong. The fundamental idea of the united front tactics is to bring the Workers' Party itself into direct contact with the rank and file of the working class in their everyday struggles against the capitalists, and to popularize it as the leader of the fight for their daily needs. The attempt to set up a farmer-labor party in the absence of a powerful mass movement in the direction of such a party, means nothing else than the setting up a semi-Communist substitute for the Workers' Party.

A fundamental principle of the united front tactics is that a Communist Party must absorb into its own ranks every section and group of the working class that accepts in the struggle the policies and slogans of the Communist Party. Therefore, every attempt by the Workers' Party to set up middle-of-the-way political bodies to take the place of the Workers' Party in the eyes of the masses is in direct violation of Communist principles, and if carried to any length will spell the liquidation of the Workers' (Communist) Party. This farmer-laborism opportunistic tendency within the Workers' Party means death and destruction to the Communist movement of America. It manifests lack of faith in the appealing power of a Communist organization and in its ability to become the practical leader of the struggles of the workers. It is a right wing deviation which, in quest of imaginary immediate results, sacrifices the future of the Workers' Party. This tendency must be relentlessly combated and stamped out.

The Workers' Party is still a small party, but it is on the right road to great influence in the labor movement. By applying the tactics of the united front from below on the basis of the economic and political struggles of the masses, we shall build the Workers' Party into a mass Communist Party, and thereby hasten the day of victory of the American proletariat.

**White Terror?**  
You will learn a good deal about it from the article "White Terror in Europe—Can America Be Far Behind?"  
By ROSE KARSNER.  
Be sure to read it in the December issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY—and you will get other splendid contributions if you SUBSCRIBE!

# The World of Labor • Industry & Agriculture

## RULING CLASSES EVERYWHERE USE REIGN OF TERROR

### Workers Must Come to Aid of Victims

The world war has left most of the European countries bankrupt. It has undermined the political power of the ruling class. Ever present hunger and misery have created a never ending source of incentive for the working masses to struggle against the rule of the bankrupts.

#### White Terror Reigns.

But the ruling classes hold onto power by the point of their teeth. Instruments of government are used by them more than ever as instruments of suppression and oppression. Everywhere capitalists have created a united front against danger of rebellion of the suffering masses. Under the guise of justice, white terror is arming itself, trying to arrest the onward march of the proletariat. Monarchists and socialists appear arm in arm as defenders of capitalism in most of the European states.

This campaign is designed to wear out the enemies of capitalism. It wants to rob the hosts of the proletarians of their most aggressive fighters and leaders. It wants to rob the advance guard of the workers of its spirit. It desires to strike terror into the hearts of the dependents of such fighters, so they may prevail on their breadwinners to submit.


#### Demand Release of Political Prisoners.

There is only one way to counteract that campaign. Actions of international solidarity of the workers of the world must assure the victims in the fortresses and penitentiaries of capitalist white terror that they have not suffered in vain. It must assure these victims that their loved ones at home are adopted by the workers of the world. It must prove to them that their suffering finds an echo in the hearts of millions of exploited. This echo must thunder back into the ears of reactionary capitalism everywhere the demand: Release political prisoners!

The Committee for International Red Aid was created for the purpose of organizing this international action of solidarity. The International Red Aid appeals to the workers of the world for support in this work. Send Aid to Victims of White Terror. Red Aid awaits a generous response. It is sure of political action of the masses to meet the onslaught of the enemy. It expects many contributions to relieve the sufferings of all the victims of white terror, as far as possible. Send yours to the American section—Committee for International Workers' Aid, 19 South Lincoln street, Chicago, Illinois.

Subscribe for "Your Daily," the DAILY WORKER.

### How to Be Healthy



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

**MEN AND WOMEN**

If you are suffering from any ailments, come to my office and I will try to help you without the use of medicine or an operation.

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## COMMUNIST THEORY AND TACTICS TAUGHT AT WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL CENTERS ORGANIZED IN NEW YORK

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK, Nov. 25.—The organization of classes in Communist theory and tactics is going ahead with full speed in the Workers' Educational Centers of New York. These centers were opened by the Workers' School so as to give workers all over the city the opportunity of obtaining Communist instruction, and thus equipping themselves for a more militant struggle in the labor movement.

The opening of classes is being greeted with enthusiasm everywhere. The Brownsville Educational Center, with headquarters at 1844 Pitin Avenue, Brooklyn, has already started a program of educational activities which promises well for the building up of a strong Communist educational institution in the section. Classes meet as follows:

1. A. B. C. of Communism; instructor, George Siskind. Every Monday.
2. Historical Background of the International Communist Movement; instructor, Mark Rosenberg. Every Tuesday.
3. English, Elementary and Advanced; instructor, Ray Bennet. Every Friday.

Considerable interest is being shown in the extensive course of study outlined by the Harlem Educational Center, with headquarters at 64 E. 104th St. The comrades in the Harlem section, which did splendid work in the recent election campaign carried on by the Workers' Party, are determined to make their educational center the best in the city. Classes begin Monday, November 24th, and will be held as follows:

1. A. B. C. of Communism; instructor, Rebecca Grecht; every Tuesday.
2. Economic Science; instructor, George Siskind; every Friday.
3. American Economic and Social History; instructor, Beatrice Carlin; every Wednesday.
4. English, Elementary; instructor, Sophie Mesnil; every Monday.
5. English, Advanced; instructor, S. Ginsburg; every Monday.

The Williamsburg Educational Center, with headquarters at 61 Graham Ave., Brooklyn, is organizing a class in the A. B. C. of Communism, with Bert Miller as instructor. The class in American Economic and Social Development, given by Comrade William Kohn, will meet every Sunday morning.

In the Bronx Educational Center, 1347 Boston Road, Comrade Stammer will lead a class in the A. B. C. of Communism. Classes in English meet as follows:

1. Elementary English; instructor, S. Feishin; every Monday.
2. Advanced English; instructor, E. Jacobson, every Friday.

In response to the demand for a class in Lower Manhattan, a course in the elements of communism will be given at the headquarters of the school, 208 East 12th Street. In Coney Island, also, Comrade Ray Bennet conducts a class in the A. B. C. of Communism every Sunday morning at 3109 Surf Ave.

Registration for all these classes is still open. Workers are urged to enroll now so as to get the full benefit of the courses.

Information and registration at 208 East 12th Street, Room 1; Workers' Educational Centers, or thru party branches.

### NEW LIGHTS ON CHINA!

A most interesting interview with a great figure in the affairs of this country in

## "A Visit with Sun Yat Sen"

By Alfred Wagenknecht.

You can enjoy it in the December issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY.

## Your Union Meeting

Fourth Wednesday, Nov. 26, 1924.

- | No.   | Name of Local and Place of Meeting   |
|-------|--|
| 1     | Blacksmiths' District Council, 119 S. Throop St.                                 |
| 1     | Boiler Makers, Monroe and Racine.  |
| 10    | Carpenters, 17 Garfield Blvd.  |
| 21    | Carpenters, Western and Lexington.   |
| 242   | Carpenters, 5443 S. Ashland Ave.   |
| 1693  | Carpenters, 605 S. State St.   |
| 1784  | Carpenters, 1638 N. Halsted St.  |
|       | H. Feihling, Rec. Sec'y., 2253 Grace St. Irving 7597.                            |
| 1922  | Carpenters, 614 S. Ashland Blvd.   |
| 2507  | Carpenters, 1581 Maple Ave., Evanston, Ill.                                      |
| 181   | Coopers, 8901 Escanaba Ave.  |
| 3     | Mod Carriers, 1352 W. Division St.   |
| 562   | Mod Carriers, 810 W. Harrison St.  |
| 4     | Jewelry Workers, 19 W. Adams St.   |
| 104   | Ladies' Garment Workers, 328 W. Van Buren Street.                                |
| 126   | Marine Cooks, 357 N. Clark St.   |
| 524   | Machinists, 113 S. Ashland Blvd.   |
| 375   | Machinists, 735 N. Cicero Ave.   |
| 524   | Maintenance of Way, 428 W. 63rd Street.  |
| 64    | Painters, Sherman & Main Sts., Evanston, Ill.                                    |
| 5     | Plasterers, 910 W. Monroe St. Railway Carmen Dist. Council, 5445 S. Ashland Ave. |
| 1340  | Railway Carmen, 5445 Ashland Ave.  |
| 219   | Railway Trainmen, 428 W. 63rd St., 730 p. m.                                     |
| 11    | Roofers, 777 W. Adams St.  |
| 73    | Sheet Metal, 714 W. Harrison St.   |
| 455   | Sheet Metal, 3214 S. Halsted St.   |
| 753   | Teamsters, 175 W. Washington St.   |
| 759   | Teamsters (Meat), 220 S. Ashland Blvd.   |
| 766   | Teamsters (Bone), 6959 S. Halsted Street.  |
| 13046 | Trackpointers, 810 W. Harrison St.   |
| 924   | Tunnel and Subway Workers, 914 W. Harrison St.                                   |
- Note—Unless otherwise stated all meetings are at 8 p. m.)

## RUSSIAN ISSUES TO COST HUGHES HIS CABINET JOB

### Expect to Take Up His Bed and Walk

(By The Federated Press)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25.—Hughes will leave the cabinet, after a final attack on Russia, and Hoover will stay, according to the latest information from persons intimately in touch with their plans. Hughes' departure will be explained to the public as being occasioned by his need for making more money by the practice of corporation law. To his friends the truth will be told—he is outraged at the manner in which Sen. Borah, slated for chairman of the senate foreign relations committee, is "driving" him.

Hughes will retreat from the department, where he has been bombarded on issues of international conference, revision of the Versailles treaties, recognition of Russia and world disarmament. Before going, he will probably cause the publication of a great mass of propaganda material of the W. J. Burns type, to prejudice the public against Russian recognition. If the forecasts are borne out, this material will assert that the Soviet Union is now the scene of wholesale persecution, imprisonment and execution of political liberals. The recent trouble in the Georgian Republic will be represented as a savage massacre of patriots, etc.

Hoover is expected to stay in the cabinet for at least two more years, with the hope of exerting more influence on cabinet decisions than has been the case during Hughes' presence there.

## Hold Up Meeting to Steal Books of N. Y. Candy Workers' Union

NEW YORK, Nov. 25.—Union candy workers in Astoria, a section of New York, were holding an enthusiastic organization meeting when suddenly the lights went out and five young men were seen rushing up on the stage and stealing the union's books. Union members suspect the forerunners of a large candy company which is bitterly fighting the union's efforts to organize its workers of leading the raid and have asked police to investigate. The workers continued their union meeting with more determination than ever to fight for decent conditions.

Gary Talks of Big Army Plans. WEST POINT, N. Y., Nov. 25.—Judge Elbert Gary, chairman U. S. Steel corporation, inspecting West Point military academy, stated that with plans formulated by the advisory board, man power can be mobilized and trained in eight months for an army of 3,500,000 men.

## LILLIN RELEASED ON \$300 BOND TO KEEP PEACE

### Literature Not Seditious Says Dist. Attorney

(Special to The Daily Worker)

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 25.—Joseph Lillin, member of the Hungarian Branch of the Workers' Party here, arrested the day before election for "distributing seditious literature," has been released under \$300.00 bond "to keep the peace." The district attorney testified at Lillin's hearing that he found nothing seditious in the literature, which Lillin was arrested for distributing.

Attorney Wallerstein, defending Comrade Lillin, told the judge hearing the case that the action of the police was outrageous, un-American, and tended to create the impression that the United States government did not take the constitution seriously when it arrested a man who distributed leaflets asking people to vote for his candidate.

The officer who arrested Comrade Lillin then declared that he had arrested Lillin for "running away." It was admitted that if Lillin had sought the protection of the police he probably would not have received it.

#### Beaten in Restaurant.

Comrade Lillin was sitting in a restaurant on the day before election, and gave copies of the leaflet "The Workers' Rule or Capitalist Dictatorship" to two men sitting at the same table. They were loyal to their boss, and started to beat Lillin, who was overpowered and started out the door. The two "robots" started yelling for help and the police, instead of protecting Comrade Lillin, arrested him. He was placed under \$1,000.00 bond. The policemen said they arrested Lillin because "there were many pickpockets in the neighborhood."

## Philadelphia Again To See Russian Red Army Film, Friday

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 25.—Philadelphia comrades and sympathizers will again have the opportunity of seeing the Red Army maneuvering on the plains of Russia and putting into practice the Soviet decree of dividing the land among the peasants, and the splendid love story running thru the new Russian film "The Beauty and the Bolshevik."

Bucharin's famous book The A. B. C. of Communism, which plays a role in this picture will be on sale at the literature table in the Tyrion Hall, Cor. Broad and Oxford Streets on Friday evening Nov. 28, the date of the picture showing.

Preceding the Beauty and the Bolshevik, another new film, "Russia in Overalls" will show some examples of the great strides our Russian comrades have made in rebuilding their industries, especially Kushas, the Pittsburgh of Siberia, will be shown in action, producing coal, iron, steel and locomotives for the Russian Workers' Republic.

Our friends are again requested to purchase their tickets in advance; Tickets are 35c. and can be bought at: DAILY WORKER Office 521 York Ave. Freiheit Office, 340 S. 5th St., Litvakoff's Drug Store, 10000 N. 43rd St.

## GET READY FOR THE GRAND COSTUME BALL ON NEW YEAR'S EVE

December 31, 1924, New Year's Eve, the Jewish branch of the Workers' Party will give a grand prize costume ball in the Labor Lyceum Auditorium.

Six valuable prizes will be divided for the six best costumes; two for beauty; two for idea and two for originality. In addition to these prizes, three prizes for the best dancers; waltz, fox trot, and Russian cake walk will be given.

Spread this news among your friends and comrades, but above all begin to make your costume now. Good time assured to everybody.

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## Facts For Workers

By JAY LOVESTONE.

Growth of U. S. Military and Naval Expenditures:

Year	Army	Navy
1893	\$ 49,641,773	\$ 30,136,084
1898	91,922,000	58,823,104
1903	118,619,520	82,618,034
1908	137,746,524	118,037,097
1913	160,387,453	133,262,862
1917	440,276,880	257,165,437
1918	5,684,348,624	1,368,642,794
1919	9,253,059,384	2,009,272,389
1921	557,168,810	644,278,809
1923	355,722,850	322,532,908

The above indicated sharp decline in military and naval expenditures for the last two cited years is to be accounted for primarily by the fact that there is considerable war material left over for the navy and army from the years in which the budget was on an active belligerent basis. We should also judge on the basis of peace and not war years. If such supplies were not at hand in huge quantities, the army and navy budgets would appear to their true extent—much higher than the present figures.

From 1903-1923, inclusive, the United States spent \$19,707,309,170 for army purposes and \$7,360,948,970 for the navy—or a total of \$27,068,258,140.

## FARRINGTON PLANS ELECTION STEAL

(Continued from page 1) The above mentioned sharp decline in military and naval expenditures for the last two cited years is to be accounted for primarily by the fact that there is considerable war material left over for the navy and army from the years in which the budget was on an active belligerent basis. We should also judge on the basis of peace and not war years. If such supplies were not at hand in huge quantities, the army and navy budgets would appear to their true extent—much higher than the present figures.

Farrington, Mine Owner. This is an admission, that so long as he can control the election machinery he will still be the president. The job is well-worth going after now as it pays almost five hundred dollars per month and then Farrington knocks down enough in padded expense accounts to make the job pay him around a thousand dollars a month. Farrington was never heard of in the miners' union like some others until it paid a good salary and the pickings on the side were good. He is also said to have gotten fifty thousand dollars' worth of stock in a certain coal company as it pays them to keep control of the official family in the miners' union. In addition to donating the stock the coal companies usually direct their agents to work for the reelection of Farrington and use their influence with the workers in their mines in his behalf.

Stools On Ballot. In the present election they have gone one farther by placing the names of two other dummies on the ballot. Matt Hutchinson of Kincaid, and Lauce Walker of Springfield. This, it is supposed will confuse the issue and split the strength of Hindmarch and no doubt, it will have that effect with those uninformed on the situation. It is noticeable that all of these candidates are from the central part of the state where Farrington gets the most of his opposition. In the southern field where the payrollers are in large numbers no candidate opposes Farrington as it is considered they can get enough crooked election tellers to control the situation.

The rather significant feature of the contest is the fact that one can comb Illinois with a fine tooth comb and not find a member who will admit he ever voted for Farrington, but he is always declared elected. Farrington openly boasts that if no one votes for him he will be the next president anyway. In his campaign four years ago, two years ago and again now makes the bold declaration that "I don't give a God damn whether you fellows vote for me or not. I'll be your next president anyway." He further stated recently in Christopher

Discuss Amalgamation in France. NEW YORK, Nov. 25.—The amalgamation of unions in the textile and garment industries of France is the central problem of the coming congress of the Federation d'Industrie des Travailleurs du Vêtement and de la Chapellerie de France and des Colonies, to which the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America has been invited to send representatives. Trade union solidarity, strike tactics, and other subjects not so frequently considered by American unions are on the agenda in addition to wage and hour questions.

NEW ENGLAND TEXTILES Promises to Start Up With Wage Reduction. CLINTON, Mass., Nov. 25.—Following the present of other large New England textile mills set upon the election of Coolidge and Dawes, the Lancaster Mills informed their workers that a 10 per cent wage cut must be accepted. If the reduction is taken by the operatives on suggestion of employees' council, the management claims it will resume full time, full force operation Dec. 1.

Philippine Sugar Slaves Revolt. MANILA, Nov. 25.—The sugar magnates called out the constabulary to shoot down striking Filipino workers from the American Sugar Central on the island of Mindoro, according to reports that reached here late today. The workers of the sugar refineries are the poorest paid and most exploited.

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"I guess we'd better both move, Wiggily!"

A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN

# THE DAILY WORKER

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## Unrest in Egypt

It appears extremely likely that the smoldering revolt in Egypt will soon burst into a flame that will threaten the whole British colonial empire. British imperialism, at the cheap cost of the life of one "sirdar," repudiates its agreement to the "independence" of Egypt, a promise which of course was never intended to be kept, and openly throws the hangman's noose again around the neck of Egypt. And Egypt flames into rebellion.

Most persons are too naive to believe that Britain's agents instigated the assassination of this fellow whose ordinary carcass is covered with the awe-inspiring title of "Major General Sir Lee Stack,"—but it is strange that always at the precise moment when an excuse is needed to seize an empire, a convenient agent is "assassinated" and the assassination always results in the seizure of what is wanted. In China an immense field was covered by world-capital—and the necessary missionaries were conveniently violated, and the armies entered and conquered in the "Boxer war" economic advantages for those who had sent the missionaries to China. American oil companies found "Christian Armenians" suffering precisely along the line of the Batum-to-Baku petroleum pipeline. More recently Persian oil became tempting, and the American diplomatic agent Imbrie was killed, strangely in company with an agent of Standard Oil. Again China becomes the center of capitalist covetousness, and "disorder" calls for battleships.

And now it is Egypt. One is inclined to wonder whether the recent change in the British government had anything to do by way of preparation for the immediately following assassination of Stack, so completely coincident with the growing need of an excuse to take Egypt into a stronger stranglehold. Surely the MacDonald "labor" government would have been willing humbly to serve in the strangling of Egypt, as it was in the case of India. Maybe its doing so would have spoiled MacDonald's democratic pose—thus injuring a mask that British capitalism will need more urgently at a future time.

But the murderous assault upon a nation which is now about to begin in Egypt will not be a simple affair. Remember Turkey! Her strangulation was not a success. Remember the present-day upsurging in China! Remember India—oh, British imperialists! Light the match in Egypt, then watch the results. Far more than half the population of the world is in Asia and Africa—"inferior" peoples suffering under the iron heel of European and American capitalist imperialism. And everywhere they have a new hope, and some tendency to arm themselves.

You must have many armies, imperialist England! Are you sure you can afford several wars at once that may involve more than a half billion of "inferior" peoples—such as the Turks were?

Communists should watch closely the events in the colonies. Many are inclined to underestimate the importance of these affairs as a major factor in relation to the world proletarian revolution. But the Communist International does not. Did Britain's re-discovered irritation with the Communist International's activities have anything to do with the impending assault on Egypt?

Where is the "stabilization of capitalism"? Is the proletarian revolution so far away, after all? Will its development be unaffected by these fast-developing colonial upheavals? No.

## Cossacks Against Girl Strikers

State constabulary, the skillfully trained specialists in the murder of workers, have been ordered out to break the strike of girl textile workers in Williamstown, Pennsylvania.

This is the state in which the labor bureaucrats aided Gifford Pinchot to become governor and in the campaign which elected him the state constabulary and their strikebreaking role, was a major issue. Pinchot is still there, so are the cossacks, and so are the labor fakirs.

The class struggle is also present in a more intense form as shown by the callous brutality of a state power that mobilizes its degenerates to prevent underpaid girls obtaining a slight advance in wages.

What price liberalism in an era of imperialism?

Several years have passed since Len Small, governor of this sovereign state got away with between one and two million dollars of state funds. The courts have now politely requested him to give an accounting of the funds in his charge while he was state treasurer. Len may be entitled to an old age pension by the time this case gets to the supreme court.

Lots of excitement at the opium conference in Geneva, Switzerland. There is profit in manufacturing and selling the drug. But the business has a bad name so the christian powers are trying to get around it, without eliminating the profit. Britain forced the drug curse on India at the point of the sword. Yet England is a virtuous nation.

Mr. Gompers, sad to relate, had to leave the convention hall at El Paso temporarily, in order to attend a banquet in his honor by the Chamber of Commerce, at which he delivered a speech. This is an old habit with Sam, he will leave the union and its interests, too, behind, to banquet with the bosses.

A British officer is killed in Egypt and the British government threatens reprisals. This may provide a good excuse to take back whatever concession the empire was obliged to make to the Egyptians.

# The Golden Geyser

By Robert Minor

"A new era of prosperity that promises to surpass anything that this country has ever seen is actually dawning," cries the Chicago "Investment News" across the prairies of the West. And the Chicago Tribune prints headlines of \$110,000,000 Profit for John D. Jr. in Wall Street Boom. The Chicago "Economist" raises its Western heman voice to say that "Whatever degree of dissatisfaction there may be in the existing business situation:

"Possibly not in the last twenty-five years has the horizon appeared so free of even the suggestion of dark clouds, especially of a political or financial tint, as at the present moment." Brokers of the big financial breed are adding tens and scores of millions to the rewards of their labor at the work of owning stocks.

The "Golden Geyser," it is being called by the Wall Street denizens.

The Golden Geyser spouts warm, yellow, molten gold. It began to spout at the moment of the announcement of the election of Coolidge. Business confidence, they say, caused it to begin—confidence in the safeguarding of profits at home and the stabilization of European capitalism with the golden fist of Morgan clothe in the silken glove of Dawes. "We are out of danger!" shout the average men of Wall Street.

But geysers are of volcanic nature. Hot, burning lava is in the bowels of that volcano.

From the depths of Wall Street itself, to which Chicago's State Street is as the main thoroughfare of Gopher Prairie—sounds the dignified and awful voice of the "Annalist."

"In attempting to judge the prospect for business in the near future, it is necessary to a just appraisal of the situation to choose soundly between the obvious and superficial 'hurrah boys' attitude which is just now largely prevalent, and the less exciting and spectacular alternative of consulting things as they are." The Annalist refers sarcastically to "the confidence party."

The Magazine of Wall Street says: "The fact that these interests (large operators) have been unloading in a wholesale way indicates to us that the stock market outlook is not as favorable as the public is leading itself to believe." It also says:

"Since President Coolidge's election there has been a widespread attempt to make it appear that a business boom is in prospect. As much as this is to be desired, it is nevertheless true that examination of current conditions with an eye toward a reasonable view of the future indicates that no such thing as a boom is in sight. It is well for business men and investors to take a calm view of the situation, lest in

being unduly influenced by the extravagant optimism of the hour they forget that many problems have yet to be solved before a period of general prosperity can set in."

The optimistic school of thought, says the Annalist, believes "that the present level of stock prices reflects an industrial condition which does not, in fact, exist. This school points to the high operating costs in industry at present, to the irregularities of the general situation, to the measure of unemployment now evident in this country and to the fact that forward buying, at least in the immediate past, has not been of the sustained character calculated greatly to improve the ratios of operation."

### Railroad Stocks.

It seems to be agreed that the boom got its start among railroad stocks. The Annalist gave a political account of this in its issue of Nov. 17:

"Trading in railroad stocks in the last eight days has represented about 40 per cent of the business transacted on the New York stock exchange; under ordinary circumstances this percentage is less than 20 per cent."

Continuing later "in other words Wall Street believes that the socialists, the 'Reds' and the 'Pinks,' as well as the obstructionists, have been dealt a blow by the conservative landslide here and in England from which they will not recover for many years. This has been the main incentive to big markets, and particularly to big railroad markets. The opinion is widely expressed in our financial districts and in railroad circles that now the railroads will be left entirely alone to work out their own salvation without being obliged to defend themselves from drastic and sometimes detrimental legislation."

### Steel a Basis?

The almost illiterate "Investment News" of Chicago, which likes to oppose what it calls "nationalism of the railroads" (meaning nationalization), as not least of the indications of the "new era of prosperity" mentions "the larger output in the steel industry," etc., naming also copper and construction and "general optimistic sentiment."

But the Annalist remarks that the increase in the unfilled orders of the steel corporation "was distinctly not a boom element. It was not merely one half of the increase in September, but it was the smallest upward movement since September, 1921. If the Iron Age is to be credited, this comparatively small gain reflects the failure of steel buying to perform the post-election leap which had been expected of it." And the magazine of Wall Street remarks: "Conditions in the steel trade are extremely erratic, with an entire series of mixed conditions throughout the country."

Cheap Money—"Unemployed Capital."

Another basis of the cry of capitalist

optimism is "cheap money." The New York Journal of Commerce says in a warning spirit that "There is a large surplus of unused gold in the country and money rates are very low."

In Barron's Financial Weekly of New York, "the Trader" writes that "There is hardly an important voice in the Street that dares to contradict the universal view of a new and magical era . . . The first and most important factor that has been at work since last spring is cheap money. Putting it another way, it is low-cost capital. . ."

The Annalist cuts into the "cheap money" optimism with the staggering suggestion that the existence of abundant low rate funds which made speculation profitable was somehow related to "the absence of large opportunities for profitable employment of more funds in trade and industry." "The sounder view," it says, "of the business significance of active and rising stock markets is pretty certainly not that they are forecasters of better business but that they are the evidence of preceding declines in business."

### Capitalist Restoration.

And when it all boils down, we find at the bottom a fundamental tenet of the faith of capitalism—that World Capitalism can be restored. Everywhere and all times, any estimate of coming American conditions is an estimate of world conditions. For instance, Barron's Weekly says:

"The second fundamental factor is the real financial habilitation of Europe. The reparations problem has been solved, the English debt funded and the remaining big step to be accomplished was the adjustment of the inter-allied war debt. . ."

The Annalist emphasizes that:

"Another factor of importance, not considered by the stock market, is the fact that the Dawes plan has gone into effect abroad; that a \$200,000,000 loan to Germany has been successfully floated, and that Europe appears on its way to political pacification." Later it refers to the optimists' theory being based partly on the belief "that our international trade will increase rapidly with the next year or so, thus taking up the surplus of goods not needed at home."

The "Financial World" of New York, claiming to feel "that there is a real basis for general business improvement," adds that "there is the feeling that at last we are about to emerge from the conditions traceable to the world war and its effects. The tide has turned in the affairs of Europe. The Dawes plan is functioning, and the recent triumphs of the conservative party in England tends to encourage confidence."

Any theory to the effect that the rise in stocks forecasts a reaching of "normalcy"—a period of development of capitalism of the pre-war type—is

a theory of international restoration of capitalism. It is a theory basic to the social-democratic parties of Europe, who have united for the first time cohesively in what might be called the "Dawes' International"—a veritable socialist salvation army of faith in the restoration of world capitalism thru the plan of Mr. Morgan's Mr. Dawes. The faith is faith in capitalism itself, and where it is not hypocritically hiding treason, it is idiocy. The best possible face is being put onto the situation by the organs of Wall Street. The estimates of these organs can to some extent be taken seriously when they make confessions and deem it necessary to issue warnings. The more "responsible" of these organs make no further claim than that, as the Annalist says: "The course of trade and industry is upward, but with a slow and very uneven progress." The "slow and very uneven progress" is really the fevered fluctuation of a general process of decline.

The "many problems . . . yet to be solved," mentioned by the Magazine of Wall Street—well, that means that between us and the will-o'-the-wisp of "normalcy" lies the war with China—the real world war—and revolution.

The Annalist says: "It ought to be well-known to every business man, and is known to many, that our industrial producing plant is in nearly every direction very much larger than is needed for the steady supply of our domestic needs. . . With every allowance for confidence and optimism, the hard fact remains that we cannot absorb our own maximum output, and cannot market abroad the surplus over home consumption that spells real prosperity."

The New York Journal of Commerce is quoted:

"Such a condition existed shortly after the world war and culminated in the panic and depression of 1920-1921. At the present moment we have abundant material for bringing on a like state of affairs."

Those who are not doped with illusion know that the contradictions to capitalism have not been solved but tremendously sharpened by the world war—that the breakdown of capitalism was not repaired but its hopelessness was made doubly sure by the "peace" treaty, and that the invasion of Europe with the Dawes plan is but the preparation for a vaster world war with a final, blood-letting drive of imperialism to solve a problem which cannot be solved by capitalist-imperialism.

Gather your stock profits, men of Wall Street! In fact you are speculating in the purely gambling phase for the very reason that industrial investment does not promise an attractive return.

Underneath the Golden Geyser lies the searing, burning lava of the volcano.

# Five Years of Chicago Society for Tech. Aid to Soviet Russia

By M. A. SKROMNY.



The Chicago Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia was organized in November, 1919, at the suggestion of Comrade L. M. Martens, representative of the Soviet government to this country. Russia at that time was isolated, blockaded and invaded by almost every "civilized" country that claimed they were fighting "to make the world safe for democracy." The press of these "civilized" countries, including the United States, kept up and to a great extent is still keeping up a barrage of lies about the revolution and Russia. By this time most of the readers have learned the truth and are not so easily fooled by such yarns as the "nationalization of women and children" etc.

In the meantime within the borders of Russia a death and life struggle was going on between the Communists on one side and the czarists, white guards, social-democrats, social-revolutionists, anarchists and plain bandits on the other. The enemies of the revolution sabotaged all attempts to revive production. There wasn't much time to do it any way as all the energy of the government was taken up by the production of ammunition for defense. Even before the war Russia was not a developed country. One could find machinery imported from different countries in any city. With the blockade most of the factories were forced to shut down as they were unable to procure parts which were worn out. The technicians, the "intelligentsia," as a rule deserted the factories as they considered it an insult to be the employes of plain workers who took over the factories.

These were the conditions under which the society was organized. At that time Russia needed most of all technicians, mechanics who could be depended upon to serve the country, the workers and the peasants and their government, the Soviet government.

The Russian colony in this country was also split up into many factions. With the organization of the society most of these factions disappeared. The mass of the workers and peasants joined it. It was a question of helping Russia not only because it was

"our country," but because it was the country of the social revolution. The second revolution since the Paris Commune which attempted to destroy the system of exploitation, which took away the land from the "pomieschik," the rich land owner and turned it over to the peasants, which took over the factories and turned them over to the workers for the benefit of the nation. Besides that the country, the revolution was being attacked from all sides by recognized and "civilized" robbers and murderers, as no war was declared against it by the so-called civilized countries.

Members of different factions and parties joined the society, as it has been and still is a non-party organization. The aims of the organization as stated in the by-laws, are:

a. Registration and organization of all technical, industrial and professional forces in America who are willing to go to Soviet Russia for the purpose of helping the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the work of reconstruction on the basis of Communist Socialism.

b. Preparation of the forces with the aim of utilizing them to the best advantage in Soviet Russia.

c. Anyone engaged in industrial, technical or professional work who recognizes the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic and is willing to go to Soviet Russia may become a member of the society.

d. Persons who have been active in the counter-revolutionary movement, or are at present opposed to the Soviet government, cannot become members of the S. T. A. S. R. of U. S. and Canada.

As soon as the organization was perfected a school was organized where the Russian language, mechanical drawing, auto and tractor classes, general school subjects in the Russian language were taught. Another school which was started shortly before by the local "intelligentsia" with the backing of the representative of the non-existing Kerensky government was forced to close up for lack of students, altho they had a fund of over \$11,000 according to their printed report. The students in a body decided to join the Soviet School, as the school of the society is known.

By that time, in the end of December, 1920, the United States government decided to bestow upon the society the blessing of its democracy. A dozen patrol wagons backed up in front of the school which was at that

time located on Robey street, and about 150 students and teachers were taken away to jail where they were treated rough, according to the general rule of that time.

In New York after the school of the society was raided there, even the ceiling was covered with blood. . . In Chicago only one member (Efim Shved) had his nose broken, but that did not happen in the building of the school but while he was in safe keeping in Cook county jail. Many others were beaten up, but not so seriously. For the first few days most of the members were held at the Chicago avenue police station. In a cell where two could sleep or six could sit on the two benches there were twenty-four. The other cells were similarly crowded or even worse.

Up till that time no politics or even political economy were taught in the school for the simple reason that there were too many political factions among the members and the society wanted to avoid friction. But this lesson in bourgeois democracy that was given to the members, mostly half-illiterate peasants and workers, by the United States government did more than any Communist Party could ever expect to do in such a short period. Not only were they not scared away from the school, but they rallied to it and a great many of them joined the Communist Party at the first opportunity, altho the party was driven underground after that. The members of the society raised among themselves about \$17,000 for bail and defense but that was not sufficient as the smallest amount demanded for bail was \$1,000 and some were put under as high a sum as \$10,000, as the writer of this, for instance. Besides that the government refused to accept its own currency and forced us to buy Liberty bonds instead.

After the raids the membership grew to such an extent, that soon there was no more room in the building and the society took over (rented) the building of the "Kolchak" school (as the other school which was forced to go out of business was known). There were two floors and a basement and a two-story garage in the new building. The ground floor of the garage was used for practical work and the second floor for theoretical work and for electricity. A school for children was also organized in the building. Up till that time the only school for Russian children was in the church. Besides the regular classes there were organized popu-

lar free lectures on Sundays on different subjects including political.

In 1921, the society sent over to the economic front of Russia the first group of automobile and tractor mechanics who are at present working in the Russian-American Auto factory ("Amo") near Moscow. In 1922, a tailors' group and some more mechanics were sent. In 1923, went the first groups of the agricultural commune, Red Ray, which has its commune in the Odessa district. More groups followed in 1924. Another group of the same commune will leave in about a month.

Since the activities of the organization started the Russian colony has been thoroughly awakened to self-consciousness. There are now in Chicago and vicinity nine Russian children's schools including the one of the society, which are united into an independent federation. This federation has started classes also for adults, where besides the Russian language English is taught. The classes of the Soviet School were merged with the classes of this federation, which is using the building of the society free of charge. There are also two co-operative restaurants, organized by the members of the society. The mechanical classes were discontinued as the most active ones left for Russia, and the others have learned the English language sufficiently to attend the regular schools in the city.

The popular lectures are still continued with free admission. There was added also popular plays. The members of the society built a decent little stage in the assembly hall where popular plays in Russian are presented. Once on the stage of the Soviet School appeared some of the best players in the world, but the society was unable to advertise them, and is still unable to mention their names, because the prejudice against it is still great, and that may hurt the artists. Attempts are being made to arrange also popular concerts with good artists but they are too expensive.

The society will soon celebrate the fifth anniversary of its existence.

New York Workers' School.  
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