U. S. Senator Brookhart Replies to Many Attacks on Russia—See Page 6

THE WORKER

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Labor Party Faces Gompers

Sam Gompers is face to face with "the Labor Party idea." He cannot dodge it, or get away from it. The big struggle will come at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, starting Oct. 1, at Portland, Ore. It was here that Gompers was planning to win an endorsement of his plan to expel the Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council, one of the charges being that it believed in, and fought for the idea of independent political action. But the Minnesota State Federation of Labor has turned the tables. It is Gompers who is now on the defensive. It is Gompers who is compelled to fight for his very existence. The industrial workers of Minnesota, at their recent Duluth State Convention, went on record unanimously, demanding that the A. F. of L.; "modify its former policy and amend its constitution and by-laws, so as to remove if any there be, sections which may appear counterwise to this all-important step of organizing a distinct political party of the organized workers and farmers." The record of Minnesota's workers and farmers, chiefly the election of two United States senators against both the old parties, stands back of this demand. Gompers has no come-back. He has worked himself into a corner out of which there is no escape for him. The "Labor Party idea" is conquering in spite of the frantic opposition of the Gompers' reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. The rank and file of organized labor is having its day—a new day for American labor.

Wm. Johnston Balks Labor Party Effort

By ALEXANDER BITTERMAN.
(Special to "The Worker.")

BOSTON, MASS.—William H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, and Chairman of the "Cleveland Conference," had his way. He succeeded in getting the Labor Conference of Massachusetts, held July 22 in Faneuil Hall, Boston, to reject a proposal for the immediate formation of a State Labor Party. Later on, at the close of the conference, it was decided to approve the national program of the "Cleveland Conference" and to continue with the policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies."

It must be said, however, that Johnston had a very hard job in swaying the conference to his point of view. A substantial part of the delegation came to the conference with the idea of making a complete break with the old parties, and to immediately form an independent political party of workers and farmers in the State of Massachusetts.

Delegate I. F. Conroy, Machinists' Union, Worcester; John Lucy, Long Shoremen's Union, Boston; D. R. Donovan, Central Labor Union, Worcester; John Singleton and Thomas Bratterton, Textile Unions, New Bedford, voiced this demand for the immediate formation of a Labor Party in no uncertain terms.

After the proposal for a Labor Party was voted down, one delegate after another rose to his feet to express disappointment and disgust with the new betrayal of the interests and desires of the workers of Massachusetts. Later on, when the conference was adjourned, this disappointment and disgust with Johnston's machinations found expression in the formation of a committee, called The Educational Committee for a Labor Party in the State of Massachusetts.

This committee was formed at an informal gathering held by the minority delegation which was in favor of the immediate formation of a Labor Party. The committee consists of the following: I. F. Conroy, Machinists' Union, Local 634; I. Kanner, Leather Workers' Union, Local 32; John Lucy, Longshoremen's Union, Boston; D. R. Donovan, Central Labor Union, Worcester; I. Cowan, Carpenters' Union, Local 157; John Anderson, Labor Party, Worcester; Wm. Zeligman, Hat Makers' Union, Local 7; Charles Schwartz, Jewelry Workers' Union, Boston; John Singleton, Loom Fixers' Union, New Bedford; Thomas Bratterton, Edmund Hearst and Charles Hawkins, all three representing the Federation of Textile Operatives of New Bedford, and John Francis Mullan, member of the Railroad Telegraphers, representing the Workers Party.

John Lucy was elected chairman of the committee, and John Mullan, secretary. The committee decided to remain with the conference and prepare for its next meeting in October. Meanwhile, a campaign will be start-

(Continued on Page Two)

N. Y. Labor Goes to Albany

Experience Already Shows that Forces of Cleveland Conference Will Fight Against Class Party of Workers and Farmers; Hope Rests with Rank and File.

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

New York State labor meets at Albany, Sunday, July 29, to decide its program of political activity for the months ahead. It is assured that it will be a well attended gathering. It will be of nation-wide importance.

The "Socialist" controlled New York City American Labor Party, in May, told the workers of the state that there was no need for a state gathering.

But the democratic-republican owned Committee for Progressive Political Action, with which the "Socialists" are affiliated, thought differently. Thru the initiative of the railroad brotherhoods, the decision of the "Socialists" was set aside and the call sent forth for Sunday's meeting. This alone indicates a conflict of ambitions.

* * *

It is not difficult to prophecy what will happen in Albany, with the representatives of the party in Ohio, Virginia, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Washington, where labor has been discussing its political struggle for power.

There is no doubt that the heads of the C. P. P. A., better known as the "Cleveland Conference," will do their best to prevent the workers and farmers of the nation's greatest commonwealth from stepping forward. That is what was unsuccessfully attempted in West Virginia. But Chairman William A. Johnston, himself, put it over in the Massachusetts gathering, at Boston, almost in the same hour that old party police clubs were beating in the heads of the shoe strikers of Brockton, the clothing strikers of Springfield, and the phone strikers of all Massachusetts.

If the railroad shopmen could be present in large numbers at Albany, the Johnston program might be overthrown by the delegates of his own and affiliated unions. But Harding's strike breaking program, including the Daugherty-Wilkerson injunction, well nigh crushed the shopmen's unions, with the result that poverty will keep their delegates at home. Their places will be in large part usurped by the delegates of the brotherhoods who remained at work during the strike.

Even among these, however, there will no doubt be found a goodly percentage who will not submit to the rule of Stone, Johnston and Keating, for even among the rank and file of the brotherhoods there are those who can see the real significance of the recent Minnesota election, even if their leaders are blind to it.

* * *

In a class by themselves will be the "Socialist" delegates, obeying the dictates of the "Socialist" politicians from New York City. Some time ago the "Socialists" went into hysterics fearing they might not be invited. But they received their invitation, and are being considered more kosher than ever since Sam Gompers' propaganda service, issued from Washington, D. C., announced: "The Socialist Party has made a complete about face from its attacks on the American Federation of Labor nonpartisan political policy. It now acknowledges that the trade unions are not interested in a national labor party."

For the past few weeks the "Socialists" have carried on an energetic

(Continued on Page Four)

Mailed Fist Still Fights Shoe Strike

By WILLIAM SIMONS
(Special to "The Worker")

BROCKTON, Mass.—The police are still doing the bidding of the unholy alliance of the Shoe Manufacturers, the city authorities, and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. The mass arrests of the week before still do not satisfy them. When strikers walk along the streets, it becomes "mass action;" they must scatter.

The latest arrests were of Richard C. Clifford, former business agent of the Edgemakers, and Paul Gluckman, chairman of the striking stitchers. Swooping down on Gluckman was a veritable triumph, since he is lame. He had already turned back, at the command of the mounted policeman, but was, nevertheless, picked up. Four policemen did the trick. They rode up on the sidewalk, with revolvers in right hand and club in the other. A woman with a baby carriage dared to asked, "What are you doing?" She learned, "Get the hell out of here."

On Tuesday, several mounted police were lying in ambush, in an alley at the rear of the T. D. Barry factory, ready to charge on pickets. One is reminded of the Nova Scotia troops, who drove the striking miners back, and planned to confront them with troops with fixed bayonets; the failure of the second detachment to appear on time averting the calamity. Fortunately, no massacre occurred in connection with the Brockton surprise party.

The Civil Liberties Union representative, Horace Bancroft Davis, was roughly treated in the office of the marshal, when he protested against the violations by the police officers of the rights of the strikers.

The strikers are still holding their own. The lasters and vampers still tie up shoe production. Among those who are being imported as scabs, are some college students.

The meeting last Sunday, before a large crowd, on Remover Park picnic grounds, was addressed by Benjamin Gitlow, of the Workers Party, who scored the authorities for their solid support of the manufacturers.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

THE TRAGIC JOKE
OR THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SIGN

Lured into the world war because the capitalist propagandists told him it was a war to end war—

and now, that the deception is plain—and the criminal is revealed—what is he going to do about it?

Nova Scotia Miners Fight on Brilliantly

By TOM BELL
(Special to "The Worker")

GLACE BAY, Nova Scotia.—As I start to write this a troop of cavalry gallops along past my window giving point to my ideas of the occupation of this town by the state forces for the suppression of those workers who dare to take action to oppose the use of armed forces against labor in industrial disputes. The provincial police patrol the streets.

At No. 2 Colliery barb wire entanglements have been erected, and sentries posted. Seven hundred troops are stationed here to enable the company to work the mines, shipping the coal bank. At Reserve Mines, a detachment of cavalry was brought in to get three men into the boiler house to start the fires.

In Sydney troops and mounted police are used every morning to escort scabs to the steel plant. The capitalist press has stated that the soldiers are brought in for the "protection of property" and are not interested in which side wins the strike!

Under this slogan of the "protection of property" the state forces have been used to break the strike of the miners and steel workers. As soon as the corporation saw that the miners were not going to return to work and coal was needed for the Montreal market, troops were brought in to enable the corporation to get scabs to work on the coal bank.

As soon as the troops had driven away the pickets of the steel workers, scabs were taken into the steel plant. Every morning the troops and mounted police call at the houses of the scabs and escort them to work. In spite of all this neither the steel plant nor the mines are producing. Enough scabs have been secured to make a lot of smoke aided by the office staff which enables the Besco press of the Province to report that production has been resumed at the steel plant.

Arrests are being made daily in Sydney. Union men are being ar-

(Continued on Page Three)

Coal Miners of Dist. One in Confusion

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT
(Special to "The Worker")

WILKES-BARRE, PA.—The District No. One convention of the United Mine Workers turned out a hodgepodge. The delegates time and again showed their sympathy with progressive measures, and yet, the convention was in the hands of the agents of the coal operators and the agents of Lewis. These agents have the art of brow-beating, manipulating, intimidating down so fine, that it will take more courage than was shown by the fifty-fifty progressives at the convention if they are ever to be beaten.

Gleason, a district board member and in charge of compensation cases, remained in Atlantic City a day later than either Cappellini or Brennan. Gleason has an unsavory reputation among the miners because of the number of compensation cases he does not win. Lewis filled both of Gleason's ears to overflowing with instructions and advice and shipped him to the convention, there to spill it, but not before the delegates. Gleason persuaded Alec Campbell that it would be to the best interests of the Lewis machine) that no fight be sweep Cappellini and Brennan occur on the floor of the convention.

The papers, seemingly in a position to get inside information, contradicted each other and themselves

(Continued on Page Four)

Senator Brookhart Explodes Malicious Lies About Russia

By JAY LOVESTONE

U. S. Senator Smith W. Brookhart has returned from Soviet Russia. The Iowa Senator is now an ardent advocate of immediate, unreserved recognition of Soviet Russia and is out to explode all the lies being spread about the Workers' and Peasants' Republic by Gompers, Hughes, Lassly, Walling and their ilk.

Having reached Berlin on his tour of investigation of the co-operative movement in Europe the Senator hit upon the idea of going to Soviet Russia. Here a correspondent of the Chicago Tribune painted such a horrib picture of Soviet Russia to Brookhart that he became very interested and arranged with the "Red" Ambassador in Berlin for an immediate entry.

Wants to See the Farmers

Brookhart was especially interested in seeing what the Russian farmer is doing. Entering Russia by way of Poland he found that the Soviet frontier outposts did not at all look

(Continued on Page Four)

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Seek Farmer-Labor Unity in Minnesota

By O. H. WANGERIN

(Special to "The Worker")

DULUTH, MINN.—Plans are afoot for the building of a real "Farmer-Labor" Party in Minnesota, as a result of the gathering here of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, and the Working People's Political League.

Great enthusiasm was aroused in the state federation meeting by the unanimous adoption, by a rising vote, of a resolution placing the Federation on record for independent political action and instructing the delegate to the Portland, Ore., convention of the American Federation of Labor in October, to introduce a resolution urging the A. F. of L. to modify its political policy and amend its constitution so that it can support a national labor party.

Demand Syndicalist Law Repeal

It is also very significant that the convention also adopted, without a single dissenting vote, a resolution calling for the repeal of the state syndicalist law.

All the old officials were put back into office with little opposition, except for president, where I. G. Scott, of Minneapolis, ran against the incumbent, E. L. Hall, but was defeated by 155 votes against 65.

When Paul J. Smith, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, made a characteristic Gompers' anti-amalgamation attack, he was ably answered by Delegate Louis Vandenberg.

The political action resolutions adopted were as follows:

Show Need of Independent Action

Whereas, the members of organized labor in the State of Minnesota have demonstrated fully the necessity of independent working class political action and have demonstrated that they resented impotent the heretofore second large political party, namely the Democratic Party, and

Whereas, this condition is rapidly developing nationally as well as in the State of Minnesota, and

Whereas, the success of the organized labor movement in Minnesota in its endeavoring and cooperation with the Farmer-Labor Party has been so highly successful in advantage of the solidarity of labor on the political field, therefore, be it

Resolved, that we hereby reaffirm our conviction of the necessity of a National Farmer-Labor Party and instruct our delegate to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor to introduce and use every effort possible for the adoption of the attached resolution.

Demand A. F. of L. Action

Whereas, the utter bankruptcy of the old political parties and their satisfactoriness to labor is clearly shown in the repeal of the Child Labor Law, the Women's Minimum Wage Law, the Coronado Decision, the passage of the Red-Dunnigan Law, and the Arkansas Daugherty Injunction which broke the railroad shopmen's strike as well as in numerous other ways, all of which demonstrate conclusively that labor must have a political party of its own, and

Whereas, the organized labor movement of Minnesota thru its political efforts has successfully elected Dr. Henrik Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate, showing that the farmers and workers can be organized into a political party and elect its representatives to the State and National government, and

Whereas, it is believed upon the American Federation of Labor to lead the great mass of American workers into a more effective and progressive means of defense both on the economic and political fields, and

Whereas, by their assistance in the victories of Dr. Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the U. S. Senate they have proven their capability of performing this function successfully, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Minnesota State Federation of Labor instruct its delegates that the American Federation of Labor in National convention assembled, modify its former policy and amend its constitution and by-laws so as to remove if any there be sections which may appear conclusively to this all inspiring step of organizing a distinct political party of the organized workers and farmers.

Militant Shopmen Absent

The convention generally was quite conservative, and seemingly willing to mark time on this important issue. This was due in large part to the fact that the backbone of the progressive movement in the federation, the railroad shop crafts, has been completely broken. The shop crafts were the driving force in the political movement in the state and for amalgamation. At former conventions there were from 50 to 75 delegates from the shop organizations. This year there were not more than half a dozen.

The city workers and farmers are facing a serious situation, politically, as a result of the election of two United States Senators. They lack a centralized organization. The old Nonpartisan League is passing out of existence. The convention of the Working People's Political League and the Farmers' Nonpartisan League, for some time this fall, to devise ways and means to form a "Farmer-Labor Party." The action of the resolution was to send the call to all local unions and farmers' organizations, conveniently located, to attend the July 3-5 Convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in Chicago. A

The Slogan of Workers' and Farmers' Government

By JOHN PEPPER

The enlarged session of the Communist International which met in June in Moscow has issued a new slogan for the Communist parties of the world—the slogan of "Workers' and farmers' government. The Communist International has by this means placed the "old slogan of workers' government upon a broader social basis.

The new slogan of the Communist International is no new slogan for our Party in the United States.

Comrade Zinoviev declared at the session of the enlarged executive: "Our American Party, the Workers Party, has already of its own accord found the slogan of workers' and farmers' government." The Workers Party of America was the first party within the Communist International to apply the new slogan theoretically as well as practically.

The Theoretical Formulation

Theoretically, the problem was first brought up in my Labor Party pamphlet. There I said the following concerning the alliance of farmers and workers: "A Labor Party will grow provided it does not attempt to be a party for and over everybody, but rather a class party—of the working class. This should not mean that the Labor Party shall fail to include the working farmers, —that is, the tenant farmers and mortgage farmers. Such omission would be a mistake of the greatest magnitude, from the standpoint of the future of the working class. One of the most important conditions for the victory of a Labor Party is that it develop the cooperation of the farmers and workers, which has become traditional in America. America is a favorable exception in this respect. Of European countries such collaboration takes place only in Soviet Russia. In the former third parties (Greenback Party, People's Party) the political leadership was in the hands of the farmers, the workers being merely an unconscious appendage. If a Labor Party is to be born and to grow, the relation must be reversed."

I then brought up the question, upon a broader basis, in my pamphlet "Underground Radicalism," in the section, "Can We Utilize the Conflicts Within Capitalist Society?" I wrote in this pamphlet: "There are Communists who believe that we lose our revolutionary virginity when we utilize the conflicts within the bourgeoisie. They believe that the only way to wage the class-struggle, is to consider capitalistic society as one solid reactionary camp which always confronts the workers in a closed phalanx. But this is pure sectarian, and not revolutionary, Marxism. Marxists have always asserted that the various divisions and conflicts within capitalistic society, must be used to the best advantage of the working class.

"Ferdinand Lassalle, the famous German Socialist, once said that the bourgeoisie is a single reactionary mass. But it was Karl Marx who protested and polemized against this unscientific and unhistorical assertion. It was Karl Marx who pointed out in 'Capital' that the utilization of the class struggle between industrial capital and big land owners in the Forties, procured the important social concession of the ten-hour day for the English workers.

"From Marx to Lenin, every real Marxist has practised the tactic of analyzing the various class-divisions within capitalistic society, and exploiting the class-conflicts between the ruling class, for the benefit of the working class. The tactics of Lenin during the entire Russian revolution, is a masterly application of this tactic. The whole Russian revolution from the internal political point of view, is but a proletarian utilization of the class-conflicts between the peasants on the one hand, and the big landowners and big capitalists on the other. Lenin's tactic was—alliance of workers with poor peasants, neutralization of the wealthy peasants, struggle against the big landowners and capitalists.

"The main difference between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was exactly this question of the utilization of the conflicts among the various classes. The Mensheviks claimed: 'It is a middle-class revolution, and therefore the working class should ally itself with the capitalists against the feudal landowners.' The Bolsheviks said: 'This is a proletarian revolution, and therefore the right tactic is an alliance between workers and peasants against big capital and big land owners.'"

Then, on the basis of this theoretical deliberation, the Agrarian Program of our Party set forth openly the slogan of workers' and farmers' government.

The New Slogan Before the Farmers

In practical agitation, the slogan of workers' and farmers' government was first applied in the St. Joseph trial in the Farmer-Labor Party. The Communist representatives of the working class, faced a farmer jury in the St. Joseph trial. In summing up the trial, I wrote then as follows in "The Worker" of April 14: "From every point of view the trial is a historical event. The Communist representative of the American militant workers, appears before the capitalist judiciary and a farmer jury will render the verdict on him. Here are arrayed before us the three most important classes of American society—the worker, the capitalist, and the farmer. The worker is the defendant; the capitalist is the prosecutor; and the farmer will give the verdict. A historical symbol truly reflecting the historical situation! The working masses march on as the active forces of the revolution. The capitalists oppress these masses even more fiercely thru its governmental powers of suppression. And the victory in this ever sharpening class conflict will go to that class which receives the support of the farmers." The Central Executive Committee of our Party took up this question and decided that the whole defense was to be based mainly upon the common interests of workers and exploited farmers. In the Reporter (Eng. ed.) Ruthenberg, with masterly clearness and in a popular manner that was exemplary, first presented the slogan of farmers' and workers' government before the farmer jury, and thereby also to the public at large.

The July 3d Convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party then provided the Workers Party with a second and even greater opportunity to identify itself with the demands of the exploited farmers (even at the expense of Marxian clearness), whereby the slogan of workers' and farmers' government was turned, from the slogan of the Workers Party, into the slogan of the great masses of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Revolt of American Farmers

Of course, the chief motive has been mainly the social and political development of the United States itself. We could not but realize that a portion of the labor aristocracy and most of the high officials of the trade unions are hopeless for the cause of the revolution. They have definitely allied themselves with the capitalists. At the same time we saw that the exploited tenant and mortgage farmers were revolting with ever growing bitterness, against the capitalist and the capitalist government. The situation today is such in the United States, that the capitalists and the old capitalist parties fear the revolt of the farmers more than the action of the working class which is split up into so many divisions and led by so many reactionary leaders. We have seen that all third parties possessed of class character, unless they, when, in addition to the urban elements, the lower middle class and workers, were joined by the rebellion of the farmers.

Lessons of European Revolutions

But apart from the development in America, the lessons of European revolutions have convinced us that the support of the farmers is necessary, in order to achieve the victory of the proletarian revolution and to maintain the power of the laboring masses.

History shows us that all revolutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have received the initiative from the cities. The great French Revolution and the revolution of 1848 in France, Germany and Hungary, were, in the main, middle class affairs. The leading class in the proletarian revolution in 1917 in Russia and in 1919 in Hungary was that of the urban workers. Since the birth of capitalist society, those revolutions have always been led by one or the other of those two powerful classes of modern society which are created by capitalism itself—the capitalists or workers. But history shows us that only that revolution, which understood how to make an alliance with the farmers, could achieve victory or maintain the revolutionary class a long time in power. The great French Revolution was victorious, and could wage war for years against all of feudal Europe, because the French bourgeoisie freed the peasants and gave them the land of the feudal aristocracy and the church. The German revolution in 1848 failed miserably because the cowardly German middle class did not dare to free the German serfs. When the Hapsburgs dispersed the Frankfurt national assembly with bayonets, not one hand was raised to defend the revolution. But on the other hand, the Hungarian revolution of 1848 could maintain itself for years and conduct a victorious war against the Hapsburgs because Ludwig Kossuth, with revolutionary instinct, won the peasants over to the revolution and gave them land and freedom. The great proletarian revolution of 1917 in Russia is the achievement of the working class; but the proletariat would have lost power ten times over, and could not have waged revolutionary war on fourteen fronts for four years if it had not given land and freedom to the Russian peasants. It ought not be forgotten that the Communist workers of red Petrograd and the genius of Trotsky organized the Red Army, but that four-fifths of the masses of the Red Army consists of peasants, who decided their battle by acquired land against Czarism and counter-revolution. On the other hand, the Hungarian proletarian revolution of 1919 failed in four and a half months because its leaders had not understood how the secure the alliance of peasants with the workers. They carried out the "theoretically correct" socialization of land, instead of giving the land to the peasants, as was Lenin's policy in Russia. Thereby, they made the social basis for the Hungarian revolution too narrow for it to be able to live and be victorious.

The history of revolutions teaches us that the revolutionary class must be able to bring together all discontented classes under its leadership. It must understand this under the penalty of death for the revolution; otherwise it drives the other classes into the arms of the counter revolution. The revolutionary peasant soldiers of Napoleon, Kossuth and Trotzky fought against the counter-revolution, while the Frankfurt assembly in 1848 and the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship of 1919 were overthrown by the counter-revolutionary peasant soldiers of Hapsburg and Horthy.

The Working Class Must Lead

The farmers, even when they are discontented and rebellious, could never play an independent political role, and could never rule independently. The history of the great German Peasants' Revolt of the sixteenth century shows this just as clearly as does the history of the peasant government of Stambulisky in Bulgaria in the twentieth century. Only centralized classes, that is only the capitalist class or the working class can seize or hold the centralized government for a long time.

The capitalist class has become counter revolutionary everywhere thruout the world. The only class which is revolutionary today, is the working class. Only the initiative of the working class can overthrow capitalist rule. The exploited farmers must realize that they can free themselves from capitalism only when they ally themselves with the workers. But on the other hand, the workers must realize that they can win only if they place themselves at the head of the farmers, and that they can retain power only if they know how to secure the alliance of the exploited farmers.

Build Farm-Labor Party in West Va.

By H. E. KEAS

(Special to "The Worker")

CLARKSBURG, W. VA.—All effort to put the soft pedal on using independent political action of workers and farmers in this state went by the board. The great gathering last of approximately 400 delegates of the organized farmers and industrial workers of the state, by an overwhelming decision, created the West Virginia Farmer-Labor Party. An organization campaign in every county, senatorial and congressional district will be started in preparation for next fall's campaign.

It was decided to hold another state convention not later than March 15, next year, when the question of national affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party will come up for definite decision.

Delegate H. E. Keas, of the Workers Party, was not seated on the technicality that he was not a resident of the state. Members of the Workers Party were seated as delegates of labor unions and other workers' organizations.

The Committee for Progressive Political Action had its forces on the ground working against independent political action.

John M. Barr, former Nonpartisan League congressman, from North Dakota, at present a member of the national executive committee of the Progressive Political Action Committee (Cleveland Conference), while attacking both old parties, nevertheless, urged the capturing of the primaries of these old parties, and seeing that the "right men were nominated." He spoke against independent action as "impractical at this time."

Another "go-slow" speaker was Fred Hewitt, of Washington, D. C., editor of the' Machinists' Journal, official organ of the International Association of Machinists, headed by President William H. Johnston, who is also chairman of the Progressive Committee.

Reading from the Progressive Committee's Program and Principles, Hewitt stated that it was his opinion that the time was not ripe for a third party movement, and that the only hope for success the workers and farmers have is to participate in the primaries of both the old parties. Altho the delegates listened with attention, they had already indicated in many ways that they had come to the conference for a different purpose. Hewitt failed to hit home.

But the spirit of independent action swept the gathering here, in much the same manner that it showed itself in the Chicago gathering of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The badges of the Fayette County delegation read, "Fayette County Solid for Independent Political Action." The regular convention badges read "Farmers and Workers Political Conference."

All of the rank and file were determined that this convention should go down in West Virginia history as the first concrete step toward building a powerful political party of workers and farmers.

The conference created a state executive committee of a president and secretary, and one member from each congressional district, and an advisory committee, consisting of two members from each of the 15 senatorial districts in the state which will act with the executive committee. This makes a general committee of 38. C. J. Massau, member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of Montgomery, Fayette County, was elected president of the new organization. Vance Palmer, president of the Clarksburg Central Labor Union, and member of the United Mine Workers, was elected secretary.

Russia in the World Market

The prospects of the export of Russian grain this year are favorable. In the opinion of the "Gazette of Trade and Industry," the competition of American grain, if any, will not be dangerous at all for the Russian exporters in view of the high qualities of Russian cereals and unlimited demand of grain on the European markets. Russian rye has gained already a solid reputation and has even ousted the American grain from the markets in Finland, Esthonia and Latvia. The financing of the export remains in the hands of the State Constructional work on a large scale is being done in the northwestern and southern ports to enlarge the elevators for storing the grain intended for abroad.

Whither Are They Drifting?

With the return of the fighting Senator Brookhart, the "Progressives" in the two old Parties are again on the warpath. That is, they are on the warpath as far as "Progressives" go. They are preparing to call another conference some time in the Fall to consider their "next steps."

Since the December Conference in Washington and the May Conference in Cleveland, Chicago, the insurgents have been doing lots of talking individually. They are beginning to itch for a chance to talk jointly. Besides, the recent report of the Coal Commission and the collapse of the wheat market have made it especially pressing to get together to talk things over.

Since the election of Magnus Johnson, in Minnesota, there has been talk, in Midland waves, about a "Third Party" being organized. But these men are more afraid of their victories than of their defeats. Tho they see in the victory in Minnesota a gain of tremendous significance, they are hesitating and do not know what to do or where to go next. One of the Best Minds of the Insurgent Conclave the other day wrote of the Johnson election in a fashion betraying a total helplessness and indecision as to the "effective lines to be pursued."

Except for a very blurred hint from Brookhart, not a word has been said by any of the Senatorial and Congressional mainstays of the new "progressivism" as to a "Third Party." They all seem to be afraid to get into the water of mud-deep politics. Brookhart's suggestion as to the nomination of Kenyon for President by the Republican Party is of course ludicrous. The Republicans must stand by Harding or repudiate everything their machine has stood for in the last three years. Yet, in the Kenyon proposal there is germ of probability. It is not unlikely that Harding will make a big running mate some such bait, weak-kneed progressive as Kenyon in order to remove even the possibility of "Third-Party" talk on the part of the most stalwart of the insurgents.

The coming conference will not take any steps to form a "Third Party" of capitalist progressivism, unless presently unforeseen circumstances intervene. It will at best be an organization conference of the forces of protest in the 68th Congress. Insofar as definite, positive steps towards a substantial realignment of American political forces in the 1924 campaign goes, this conference will not be an advance over the preceding ones. The very announcement and purpose of its initiators preclude all such possibilities.

The cohorts of capitalist progressivism are still weak and without strong leadership. They are still drifting. It is up to the workers and farmers to strike the heaviest blow against employing class reaction in the 1924 National Elections.

Hits "Sheer Nonsense" of Kept Press

LONDON.—"That the mass of the Russian people are living in a state of terror is sheer nonsense," says Lieut.-Commander the Hon. J. M. Kenworthy, M. P., describing a month's stay in Russia in "Foreign Affairs." "So is the fable of a general persecution of religion.

"Moscow is the only capital in Europe in which there is no open and visible prostitution. I did not see any street walkers in either Petrograd or Moscow, whereas, as everyone knows, they throng certain main streets in London, Paris and Berlin. For did I see a drunken man the whole time I was in the country.

"I visited a dozen theatres, cabarets, music-halls of all kinds, from the largest to the smallest, and never saw anything other than quiet, decent. So far as I can judge, any child could be taken to any theatre in Moscow or Petrograd without fear of contamination. This cannot be said of either London, Paris or Berlin."

THE ANT-EATER
(Sometimes Called a Wall Street Statesman)

He gathers in votes by means of a long tongue covered with eloquent goo.

Reactionaries Win War on Mass. Party

(Continued from Page One)

ed among all the Labor Organizations of Massachusetts to swing them into line for a Labor Party and for the affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

The resolution for a Labor Party which was brought into the conference from the Resolutions Committee as a minority report, and which William Johnston did his utmost to defeat, read as follows:

"Whereas: This conference was called to devise ways and means of safeguarding the interests of labor by means of independent progressive political action; and

"Whereas, The only effective way for achieving this end is thru the formation of a progressive political party of workers and farmers functioning independently of the two old parties, and

"Whereas, The recent victory of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, which has elected two of its candidates to the Senate of the United States, is a clear indication of the possibilities of such a party; and

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this conference of labor and political organizations in the State of Massachusetts endorse the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, and take the steps as may be necessary to form the Massachusetts organization of the Farmer-Labor Party."

There were about 70 delegates present at the conference, 52 representing Labor Unions, about 15 representing Socialist Party Branches, one or two from other Labor Organizations, and the rest were simply "prominent" individuals. One of them was Robert MacFarland, Editor of the Boston "American," a Hearst publication. This gentleman was later appointed by the managers of the conference, chairman of its resolutions committee. Nearly a third of the delegation was in favor of the minority report of the resolutions committee, and demanded the immediate formation of the Labor Party. It could be seen, however, that many more delegates were in favor of this minority report, but Johnston and his friends succeeded in having the conference practically delay action on the proposition.

The delegates from the State Committee of the Workers Party were not admitted. The credentials committee that was appointed by the managers of the conference reported their credentials, and recommended not to seat them. The chairman of the credentials committee, Robert Fechner, member of the General Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists, and right-hand man of Johnston, explained that since the Workers Party delegates were not admitted to the National Cleveland Conference, they could not be admitted here. The majority of the Conference, made up of the Johnston machine, plus the S. P. delegation, approved the recommendation of the credentials committee, refusing to seat the Workers Party delegates. The vote on this proposition was 52 in favor of the recommendation of the credentials committee, and 11 opposed to it, with quite a number of delegates abstaining from voting.

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Detroit Labor Hears About Chicago

DETROIT, Mich.—George M. Gompers, president of the Chicago Federated Farmer-Labor Party Convention in Chicago, to the Detroit Federation of Labor, said:

"I believe that the new party has every chance of success. For the first time in the United States a group may join a party and still keep their personality intact. Moreover, the program and platform are reasonable. An organization campaign is starting and many of the groups in attendance at the conference signified their willingness to join. Six months from today the party will, I believe, be well on its way to success."

Tries was the delegate of the Detroit Federation to Chicago. He was placed on the National Executive Council of the Federated Party. The Detroit Central Labor body voted that the matter of affiliation with the Federated Party be referred to the board of directors with instructions to investigate the Chicago Convention, and report back to the Detroit Federation of Labor within two weeks, and that all delegates be notified to be present.

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Washington Labor Marks Time

(Special to "The Worker")

BELLINGHAM, WASH.—With the Damocles sword of Sam Gompers and his reactionary rule in the American Federation of Labor, the Washington State Federation of Labor seemed possessed of a paralyzing fear at its convention here. Altho it declared for the release of all political prisoners, it defeated a resolution calling for amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions. A resolution supporting an independent political party of the workers, in the cities and on the land, was also killed.

Tho the convention sentiment seemed to favor recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic by the United States, a resolution recommending such action failed to pass on the ground that it was not in line with the A. F. of L. policy as expressed at the Denver Convention. Gompers is no doubt pleased with these results won by his imperial dictatorship over the rank and file of labor.

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Wisconsin Withholds Affiliation

SUPERIOR, Wis.—Affiliation by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor with a labor party will not be effected at present. Resolutions favoring a Wisconsin Farmer-Labor party were turned down by the convention on recommendation of the executive board, which urged continuance of the existing policy of pre-election conferences with farmer groups.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish says generally speaking he don't think the boss can be blamed for not taking an interest in the affairs of his workers, but in flush times he thinks a little "brotherhood" would pay.

"The Government—Strikebreaker"

By JAY LOVESTONE

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WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

Nova Scotia Miners Reply to Mr. Lewis

By JOHN A. McRURY
(Special to "The Worker" and the Federated Press)

GLACE BAY, Nova Scotia.—The "return to work" command of President John L. Lewis, U. M. W. A., to the striking Nova Scotia miners has been disregarded. The district executive board has sent the following reply to Lewis:

"District board considered your telegram and state that this strike has no connection whatever with contract with corporation or wage demands. The only issue is to prevent use of armed force against workers in every industrial dispute in this province, and for release of our president and secretary.

"The membership unanimously pledged itself not to return to work until troops are removed and our officers released. For any district officers to advocate return to work would be quite useless in face of the determination of men to stay on strike. We have repeatedly guaranteed immediate resumption of work if troops are withdrawn and officers released.

"This district is supported by trade unions of Canada and is a political struggle of Canadian workers against an evil from which we have suffered for years. Our international union must understand that its jurisdiction does not give it authority to prohibit workers in Canada waging a political struggle against use of armed forces which are being used to smash our labor movement."

Armed with a warrant issued by Attorney General O'Hearn, the chief of police, accompanied by Colonel Eric McDonald, head of the provincial troops, arrested Dan Livingstone and J. B. McLachlan, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of District 26.

The first charge was only in the nature of a misdemeanor, with a maximum penalty of one year in prison. Then new charges were entered, viz.: "Seditious libel and conspiracy to publish seditious libel," with maximum penalty of 20 years' imprisonment.

The item used as evidence was a circular issued to the various local unions in the district, making public the various atrocities committed by the provincial police and troops on the striking steelworkers, July 1. The circular reads in part as follows:

"On Sunday night last these provincial police in the most brutal manner rode down the people at Whites Pier who were on the street, most of whom were coming from church. Neither age, sex nor physical disability were proof against these brutes. One old woman over 70 years of age was beaten into insensibility and may die. A boy 9 years old was trampled under the horses' feet and had his breast bone crushed in. One woman, beaten over the head with a police club, gave premature birth to a child. The child is dead and the woman's life despaired of. Men and women were beaten up inside their own homes."

This circular has aroused labor all over Canada. The government arrested the workers who had sworn out affidavits to the validity of the circular.

Wishing to deprive the miners of their leaders for as long a period as possible the trials are conducted in Halifax, 200 miles away. Col. G. S. Harrington, who has won previous victories for the miners, and J. A. Walker are conducting the defense.

Bail was opposed on the grounds that the charges were of a serious nature. However, appeal was made to the supreme court of Nova Scotia, and after a writ of habeas corpus was applied bail was granted at $4,000 each.

When McLachlan arrived from jail in Sydney, he was carried bodily from the train amid cheers from thousands of workers. (Premier Armstrong of Nova Scotia was on the same train and was not even noticed by the workers.) Proceeding to Glace Bay, McLachlan was met by a parade of 5,000 miners. A mass meeting was held in the open, speakers urging solidarity.

On the hill above the meeting a detachment of cavalry trained machine guns on the 5,000 workers.

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THE FAR-SIGHTED CITIZEN

He always looks ahead to find excuses.

Phone Girls in Grim Fight Against the Bell Combine

By WILLIAM SIMONS
(Special to "The Worker")

BOSTON, Mass.—Plucky telephone operators are pitting up a strong fight against the New England Telephone Co., a subsidiary of the Bell System, the world-wide monopoly. Alarmed at the staunch defense of the "company union," the company is attempting to crush the strike and thus remove every vestige of trade unionism among its employees. The company is already installing automatic phones, and it is wise to eliminate any possible opposition from the unions. The workers might ask for a sum to tide them over until they prepared themselves for another trade. This must be prevented.

Several thousand girls have been out for four weeks, for a seven-hour day instead of eight hours at a nerve-racking switchboard, and for an increase of $5.00 a week.

At present, a student starts at $11.00 a week, and if after a year she is accepted as an operator, she gets the maximum of $22.00 in 5½ years. Only 26 per cent of the operators are getting this glorious maximum. The demand is for a $5.00 increase all along the line, bringing the maximum to $27.00.

Noteworthy is the fact that the demand is for a flat increase for all girls, and that no special group is favored. The demands were submitted to the Company two and a half years ago, and the company was satisfied to leave things as they were.

Scope of the Strike

All of New England was affected by the strike. Worcester, Springfield, Lawrence, Brockton and many other points outside of Boston were hard hit. Service was practically at a standstill.

In Boston, the service was also impaired, but many remained at work because of differences between their local union, old Local 1-A, whose charter had been revoked a short while before, and the strike leader, Miss Julia S. O'Connor, head of the Telephone Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, who had revoked the charter.

Practically all of the exchanges were picketed by the girls. Strike meetings were held in Tremont Temple, and one on the Boston Common, with speakers of the local labor movement, and of other international unions. On the Common, characteristic placards were displayed: "The Service is Good—and Rotten"; "Miss Jones (the daughter of the President of the company) works for $32"; "We will work for $27"; "The Press Stands Behind Us—With an Axe."

Support from the Unions

A sympathetic strike on the part of the male operators was impossible, for the vast majority of the organized belong to the "International Brotherhood of Telephone Operators," an independent organization. Some, out of a spirit of solidarity with the striking women, have gone back to Local 142 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The strike leader, Miss O'Connor, stated that this local was small, and that because of the other union, it would be suicide to call them out on a sympathetic strike. They are assisting as individual members in getting funds.

The various Central Labor Unions have voted to support the strikers morally and financially, the Boston C. L. U. pledging itself to raise $50,000. However, there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. The amount received by the strikers to-date from Boston unions does not amount to more than $3,000. Local 34, Cooks and Waiters' Union, gave $500 of $1,000 promised; Local 103 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers gave $1,000.

Attitude of the Phone Company

From the start, the Company has refused to treat with the strikers. Scabs were secured from all possible points, and were whisked to and fro in taxicabs. Police protection was asked for; husky policemen were stationed as a protection against the young women fighting for the right to a decent wage and decent conditions. Fighting? It doesn't look very much like a fight to see young women walk up and down the street, while armed police are protecting the scabs. But this is the way in which trade unions carry on their fights to-day.

Pitiless publicity was resorted to in the newspapers; special letters were sent to subscribers, pointing out the impossibility of granting the strikers' demands; the joys of the telephone work, the case, the splendid salary, medical service available, etc., ad nauseam.

The wages of the girls were "war peak wages," urged the company. But the salary of the President was increased after that, from $15,000 to $26,000 a year. And the dividends were dealt out regularly, 8 per cent yearly.

When the strikers urged arbitration, the company still maintained that there was nothing to arbitrate.

The Union Proposals

The attitude of the Company is causing some of the Central Labor Union bodies to contemplate action. There is talk in the Boston C. L. U. to ask the State Legislature for an investigation of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company. In the Brockton C. L. U. they talk of nationalization of the telephones.

As for strike action to back up the girls with the best kind of support, it is in evidence only in a few places. In Springfield, the C. L. U. threatens to call a general strike, if police reserves are again placed on duty at the telephone exchanges, or if the sidewalks are roped off to prevent picketing. In the Boston C. L. U., a motion to place before the local unions the question of the advisability of a general strike was ruled out of order, and a question as to whether the C. L. U. could express its agreement with such a proposal was choked off.

The Girls Are Learning

They have learned that the press as a whole is expressing the point of view of the company; their speakers are particularly bitter against the prostituted press. They have learned that the police are being used to deprive them of their rights to work; that the judges are against them, for in Lawrence, a judge ruled that it was not necessary for a taxicab driver from out-of town to have a local licence, if he was transporting scabs to and from work, since he was doing "private" work for the company; that their only source of support is the trade unions, and other workingclass organizations. The contributions sent them from the branches of the Workers Party will make them realize the real nature of the Party.

The Fight Continues

At the Conference called by the Mayors of several cities, the strikers agreed to go back without insisting on the wage and hour demands, provided all the strikers were returned to their places. This offer was refused by the company, out of regard "for the loyal workers" meaning the scabs who took the places of the striking operators. The fight is once more on, for the original demands.

Engdahl Speaks to Coal Miners

Coal miners of the Scranton-Wilkesbarre anthracite district in eastern Pennsylvania heard J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker," outline the policies of the Workers Party in the immediate struggles of the workers, at the party picnic held last Saturday at Valley View Park, midway between the two cities.

Engdahl outlined the part played by the Workers Party delegates, at Chicago, in organizing the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, explained the program of the Trade Union Educational League, in the mining as well as in other industries, and called on the miners to enlist in the militant struggle of the nation's workers. Engdahl also told the Pennsylvania miners of the fight of the Nova Scotia coal miners, who have incurred the enmity of President John L. Lewis, of the miner's union, because of their solidarity with the steel workers.

Leon Prusieka, editor of the Lithuanian daily, Laisve, also spoke. Some of the delegates to the District One Convention at Wilkesbarre came to the picnic before returning to their homes.

Girard, Ohio, Meeting

The English Branch of Girard, Ohio, is arranging a mass meeting at Avon Park, Girard, Sunday, August 19th, at which Max Lerner, Fred Merrick and John Marshall will be the speakers.

Nova Scotia Miners Fight the Cossacks

(Continued from Page One)

rested under the pretext that they gathered with some others and made "tumultuous noise" and in the opinion of the informer were contemplating a riot. Victims of the charge, the Provincial Police, on July 1st, who make out affidavits stating their injuries, are arrested as soon as it is known that they have made the deposition. Two men, Tom O'Day and William Oliver, were arrested in this way. Both of them are over sixty years of age and both of them carry wounds received from the batons of the police.

"For the protection of property" means the smashing of the strike here. The protection of the profits of Besco is the object of the troops and police sent here. The Minister of Labor has wired Alexander S. MacIntyre, Vice President of the Miners' Union, that he has no doubt but that order and discipline prevail in the ranks of the miners. Merkle, a Canadian Press writer whose conscience bothers him, after a tour of the mines states that the property is in no danger whatever. The Mayor of Glace Bay has wired the Federal Government that the civil authorities are opposed to the presence of the troops and that the municipality will refuse payment for the expenses incurred by the troops. The reply to him was that Judge Finlayson has requisitioned the troops and that he and the officer commanding were the ones to remove the troops.

How powerless the Federal Government can pretend to be when the workers want something done! The acting Minister of Militia, Ed. N. MacDonald, a former lawyer for Besco, made a bluff at acting when he issued orders that no more troops were to be sent to Nova Scotia after enough troops had been brought here to destroy the entire labor movement!

That the "protection of property" slogan is merely a phrase to cover up an attempt to smash the strike is proven by the Minister of Labor when he stated that troops were asked for before the strike took place. He also said that the requests of the corporation were given one hour's per cent consideration while the requests of the workers were ignored.

In Sydney the troops and police were sent at the request of the Chief of Police, his assistant, and Noble the chief of the corporation police. In Glace Bay Judge Finlayson did the job. Rather than wait for these men to remove the troops the miners have decided that unless they are withdrawn not an ounce of coal will be dug on this Island. On this point the workers are determined. To the workers of Canada this means much.

The workers of this country have seen their strikes smashed by the use of armed force since 1905. And they know that the workers here are battling for their judging from the flood of telegrams that we have received from the labor union and political parties. Despite the craft divisions in the labor unions and the timidity of the leaders the workers are trying to show their solidarity with the workers of Nova Scotia.

The miners of District 13 have stood up splendidly in this battle. Every local has demanded a sympathetic strike and in December they did not wait for the officials to make up their minds to call the strike but threw down their tools. This movement of protest and action is showing itself despite the craft divisions and the leaders who are so brave that they would convene a nice formal convention and would end in finely phrased resolutions and in nothing else or demand of the government that an investigation be held into conditions in Nova Scotia.

The workers here are determined not to give in despite the odds against them, and they hope that the workers of the rest of the country will come to their aid, not only by resolution but by striking along with them.

No Russians in "The Ruhr"

MOSCOW.—Karl Radek in the "Pravda" denies the rumors spread by German telegraphic agencies to the effect that several Russian communists took the leading part in the strikes in the Ruhr district and that some of them were arrested. It is an absolute lie since there was not one Russian communist in the Ruhr. The false information was spread by English agents with an object to incite the German bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia. A portion of the bourgeoisie desiring to get certain advantages out of the conflict gladly held these rumors. Radek expresses his surprise that the German Government which knows perfectly well that it is false still does not deny the rumors.

A Capitalist Trinity

Mr. Gompers scores again. The New York Times endorses his pact with Secretary of State Hughes against the recognition of Soviet Russia. Three in one, that's Gompers, Hughes and The Times. They are three peas in the capitalist pea pod. You can't tell one from the other.

Wall Street Decisions

Pro-Capitalist Decisions Continue to Throttle Workers and Farmers

By CLARISSA S. WARE

Wall Street calmly grants that the repeal of the Anti-Canteen Act, which is to be a leading feature of the Harding-Lodge-Penrose-Pinchot Progressive Bloc, is a possibility but points out that the repeal "would not of itself work any great change." Wall Street knows that the Railroads Raise would still remain in the hands of the Commerce Commission." The reason, of course, is that in case the railroad executives were not satisfied with the rates allowed them because they did not net a fair return on their investment they could come before the courts. The mocking laughter of the capitalist system echoes thru the rest of the editorial. Wall Street knows that it can be amused by the antics of those Progressives who would reform the capitalist system. It pokes gentle ridicule at their stupidity, saying: "IN VIEW OF THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION IN THE SOUTHWESTERN BELL TELE-

Repeal of Esch-Cummins Act Valueless

Progressives can play at reforming and amending the Esch-Cummins Act, but they will only the Capitalists owning the government, lock, stock and barrel, including THE SUPREME COURT, Wall Street will say, "Go to it, I'm a case of heads I win and tails you lose."

The value of the ownership of the Supreme Court has been brought out recently by another official organ of the employers. In the last issue of "American Industries" published FOR the National Association of Manufacturers, the author is devoted to proving that the Supreme Court was placed above Congress for the specific purpose of defeating the Will of the Workers, should it pass any legislation challenging the divine rights and privileges of the exploiting class.

The consistently anti-labor decisions of the Supreme Court are too well known to need restatement. The past year has been the Child Labor

WHICH MADE OTHER CASES IT SO MUCH MORE INCONCEIVABLE THAT RAILROAD OWNERS WOULD BE HELD DOWN TO THE RATES THAT SET UP BY THE COMMISSION UNDER THE TRANSPORTATION ACT."

and the Minimum Wage law decisions, unconstitutional, because the constitution because they interfere with the right of the employers to grind their profits out of the sweating men, women and children.

The power of the Supreme Court as a body of reactionary judges—life—to nullify the laws enacted by Congress, is beginning to meet with opposition from many quarters. The National Association of Manufacturers, seeing its stronghold under attack, has come out with a frank statement to all employers, telling why Congress should not have the power to repass laws over the Supreme Court veto. Briefly the capitalist position, stated in their own words is:

"The protection afforded to our citizens in their lives, liberties and property against the paramounts and arbitrary will of Congress, would be destroyed."

That is the answer to the reformists, who, supporting the hypocrisy and sham of democracy, hide from the workers and farmers the actual capitalist dictatorship, which exists today in these United States and which will continue to exist until the workers and farmers take the power into their own hands.

Pity the Poor Politicians! They Are Trying to Tell Farmer He's Prosperous

By HAL WARE

Have you ever tried to curry-comb a wild cat? Or used a hornet's nest for a pillow? Well, those little stunts are nothing compared to the job that Republican politicians are trying to put over on the American Farmer. They are trying to tell John Farmer that he is PROSPEROUS!

The little facts of an eight billion mortgage debt, of foreclosures, increasing tenancy, child slavery on every farm, of decreasing purchasing power of all farm products capped by the fall in wheat below the dollar in Chicago or below 80 cents on the farms; these little matters seem to have escaped their attention.

At least the following headline appeared in the New York TIMES, July 12:

REPUBLICANS FEAR RISING RADICAL TIDE

Conference of Western Leaders Seeks Way To Convince Farmer He Is Prosperous

If you have read the rest of that account you found nothing to substantiate the Prosperous Bunk. Merely plans to "spread the Prosperity talk." This conference followed Harding's hollow and futile "Plank" spoken in Kansas. It boils down to just "talk." In Kansas Harding talked only of credit legislation as the great accomplishment of his administration. Wheat, called slowly some time before of the Grain Futures and Trading Act, and the Fordney Agricultural Tariff Act as great accomplishments of the Farm Bloc. And what is the answer? Wheat selling at almost 60 cents at the farm, and every thing the farmer buys selling 60 percent higher than it was before the War that made this world "safe for democracy." (But let's stick to the Republican Bunk in this.) This rising cost of city products doesn't bother the Politician. That's easily explained—"high wages"—is the set formula used; "strikes," any move on the part of the city worker to maintain a decent standard of living, is put forward as the cause. It's the "rising tide of radicalism" that bothers Mr. Politician. What is this? Do they mean the Communist? Do they mean organized Labor? Not a bit of it! They mean nothing more nor less than the Farmers' Revolt that put the Nonpartisan League across; the recent elections that ousted good and solid Republicans and put Shipstead and Frazier and Brookhart in the Senate, and now, in Minnesota, has repudiated the Republican Governor and elected Magnus Johnson to the vacancy caused by the death of Knute Nelson.

Unlike European conditions where the farmer is truly the pussy-pulled-back in the social scheme of things and city labor takes the politician over the coals here in the good old U. S. A., you find John Farmer the most "radical" from a politician's point of view. You see news items such as this:—"If it is clear weather today the farmers will stay in the harvest field and the conservative city elements will elect Preus to the Senate in Minnesota."

And then just to fill out the picture you find Sammy Gompers, the leader of the greatest Labor Organization in America, berating a farmer, Senator Ladd of North Dakota, for going to Soviet Russia. And Senator Brookhart who has just returned thinks Russia should be recognized, while this same Sammy thinks it must not.

But the bankruptcy of the labor leadership thus exposed is equalled by the recent conference called together by Secretary Wallace, of the Department of Agriculture. This committee was made up of professors, bankers, packers, statisticians and of course the Farm Bureau Federation misleaders. After stating the hard facts of European conditions of increased production and decreased buying power, they put up the same old "remedy" Cut the wheat acreage. Do they really think this will feed the farm family, pay the back interest, taxes, mortgages and store bills? No! For they come along later with this cynical observation:

During the last five years certain forces have combined so to increase the supply that the price level of farm products has been kept below that of prices for other commodities. This situation has created serious difficulties for farmers and will eventually lessen the supply of farm produce, thus tending to establish a more normal relationship between agricultural and other prices."

Just sum that up!! It means in plain American: (1) Because of good and guaranteed prices the farmer produced too much. (2) That this glut causing bankruptcy prices drove the farmers from the land; (3) that when a sufficient number of farmers are dispossessed and starve through labor in the cities thus increasing the mouths to be fed and reducing the hands producing the feed, why then perhaps the farmer will come back to that good old "NORMALCY." Do you know what it is? The normal relationship they speak of before the War was still below costs of production.

Is it any wonder that farmers REVOLT? With people starving and land idle, and the best the present administration or the old can offer as a hope is that enough farmers will lose their land so that those left or those who hog what is left can make a living? Is it any wonder that at the recent Farmer-Labor convention the rank and file of Labor shook hands with the rank and file of the Farm organizations? Or that the farmers there should have repudiated the tommy rot of President Harding about his precious Credit legislation, and the bunkum of the Farm Bloc about its Tariff and Trading bills, and all the other futile Farmers' Friends with their harmless "Eat a Bita Bread" and the last straw of Wallace's committee which calmly tells them it must get worse to get better if not for them then for whoever, is on the ladd when it does. Is it any wonder that the farmers were right to the bottom of their difficulty? That they demand 1st THE LAND and a MORATORIUM for five years while they get Credit. And then demanded a new deal on Credit and Government ownership of Railroads and Public Utilities. They want land on a basis of use and occupancy. Yes this is indeed a "rising tide," Mr. Politician. But not of "radicalism," it is just plain common sense and you will find that John Farmer, no matter whether in America or Europe, has always had plenty of it. You will find that your election hypnotism has lost its punch. That the last elections were not mere flashes in the political pan; but were indeed but the beginnings of a true coalition of farmers and the rank and file of the Labor movement.

You will have to follow the lead of your Minnesota politicians and retreat to the mis-led and the mis-leaders like Sammy of the A. F. of L. in the cities. No, Mr. Politician, stop kidding yourself. No matter how much dust you may kick up, be it Tariff or Trading or Credit bills or your laws of "Supply and Demand," the Farmer is not radical—BUT he is rational. He has waked to one important truth. Labor and Farmer must fight together and you are on the other side of the trench.

Helping "John D."

The Laimp, the magazine published by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, states that there is now to the credit of employes who are participants in the Stock acquisition plan in excess of $14,500,000. Won't the oil workers lend poor John D. some more?

An Apology of Terrorists at Pittsburgh

By JAY LOVESTONE
(Special to "The Worker")

PITTSBURG, PA.—While the agents of the Department of Justice and Assistant District Attorney Meyer were raiding the offices of the Workers Party in Pittsburg last April they did not forget other workers in their campaign of terrorization.

A troupe of these agents swooped down upon the headquarters of the National Croatian Society and searched the place for seditious literature." The Recording Secretary of the organization was arrested and ordered to turn over all papers, books, records and documents pertaining to the society.

These agents of the coal and steel interests had been "tipped off" that the Croatian Society was a "Red" organization. The order went out to clean it up. The raid followed.

Put One Over on Prosecutor

But there was some humor in the situation. Someone put it over on Assistant District Attorney Meyer. He got the wrong "tip" this time. The National Croatian Society has nothing to do with the "Reds" of even the pinkest variety.

When the staff of sleuths went over the records of the organization they learned of this, very much to their dismay. So dead wrong were the Steel Trust agents on the dope that had been sold them by some private detective agency and labor-wrecking crew that the District Attorney Meyer was compelled to write the Croatians a letter of apology for the raid. Mr. Meyer confessed that his detectives did not have the slightest basis for the raid.

Novel Excuse Invented

Ordinarily when the gangmen of the big capitalists attack the workers' organizations they do so under the pretense of these bodies receiving money from Moscow or some other mysterious "foreign" source to finance their terrible, subversive movements.

But this time the tables were turned. The excuse for breaking into the headquarters of the workers' organizations was turned on its head. In this case the "officers of the law" had the gall to order the raid on the hard-trained excuse that the Croatian Society was financing Lenin! This confession in bankruptcy was openly made by Assistant District Attorney Meyer in his letter of apology dated June 16th to Mr. Anthony Lucas of the National Croatians. He wrote:

"A short time prior to the arrest of your secretary, this office was informed that the Board of your society had very recently appropriated a sum said to be upwards of $10,000 and that this money had been forwarded to the Communist leaders in Russia for the spreading of Bolshevik and Communistic ideas."

Admit They Wronged Workers

The letter goes on to say: "A careful examination of the records of your society and definite and exact statements made by the Executive Board of your society have convinced us that the information that we received was entirely false."

Of course Assistant District Attorney Meyer expressed his hopes that this letter of apology would be accepted by the Croatians as an act sufficient by itself to "right any wrong or injury that might have been done," to their officers and members.

This unwarranted raid on the National Croatian Society shows clearly what the workers of the Steel and Coal Barony of Pittsburgh are up against. The attack on the Workers Party and the Progressive Miners' Committee is only part of the general offensive tactics against all the labor organizations in the district.

U. S. Senator Explodes Lies About Russia

(Continued from Page One)

as bloody as pictured in our press. At the border he was met by the head of the American Relief Administration, a representative of the Jewish Relief and "Commissar somebody or other representing the Soviet Government."

"Being a farmer myself, I did not need an interpreter to tell me what the farmers of Russia were doing. I saw 2,000 miles of farm land, planted as well as in England, France and Germany, and more than in the United States. I reminded myself of the story of the Berlin correspondent who told me that the peasants would not plant. What is more, I saw these 2,000 miles of planted land from a stage (the window of a moving train) which gives the lie to all the tales of Soviet staging for effect."

Here the Senator took occasion to poke it hard into old Sam Gompers' ribs. Talking of his interpreters who were given him by the A. R. A., Brookhart said: "One of them was a woman whose husband was a Czarist general who fell in battle against the Bolsheviki. The second's husband was still in a Red prison. The third was a baker who, in the Czar's time, employed 3,500 people. Now his factory is in the hands of the State. It was with such interpreters that I undertook to see things as they were in Russia.

Conditions Greatly Improved

"I saw Minsk, Moscow, Kieff. I saw a great number of peasants' houses under construction. All of them were superior to the old homes. The new buildings showed more advancement than was made in a thousand years under czarism. At first the peasants had welcomed the counter-revolutionary generals with bread and salt. But they had the landlords along with them. These landlords turned us out of our homes. The Soviets gave us our homes and educated us. Yudenitch, Denikin, and Kolchak murdered us, took away our grain and seed and were responsible for the famine. This is what the Russian farmers told me."

Senator Brookhart went on to say that the peasants told him that they could not understand how such a country like the United States could get along without Soviets. They were especially bitter against the counter-revolutionists and punctured every lie he had heard about the Bolsheviki attacking religion.

Describes Agricultural College

The Senator especially looked into agricultural conditions. "I visited the agricultural college near Petrograd in charge of Prof. Williams, an American, who had been there for 40 years. When the revolution came, most of the teachers in the school stood by the Soviet Government. There were 5,000 students here, altho the school is equipped for only 2,500. In the library there were to be found some of the latest scientific agricultural bulletins published in Iowa, Massachusetts and New York. The regular course in this agricultural school lasts for 3 years. But a student fails to be given a chance to complete his course in five years because there are too much demand with from two to three thousand students in each.

"Now let me contrast this picture for you with what I have seen in other countries. In Constantinople there is an agricultural college with 45 pupils; in Bucharest with 40; in Warsaw it is yet to be organized.

Sees Real Development

"Here we see the real development of the real Russian common people. I went to see the grounds were the great Agricultural Exposition is to be held in Moscow in August. There are set aside for it 155 acres of ground better than even in Iowa. It has 14 acres of foreign exhibitors. A wonderful contrast is to be seen in the exhibits of the old and new houses. The latter are remarkably clean. While the peasants wait around for the Exposition they are given short courses in agriculture by the Soviet teachers especially sent there for this purpose.

Production Increased

The Iowa Senator nailed the canards and lies spread by Gompers and his lickspittles about Russian industry. Speaking of his typical observations Brookhart said: "I saw four State Textile Factories. In one plant I found production better than before the Revolution. The goods turned out in these factories are as good as I saw, anywhere. These mills made 3,000,000 gold rubles in net profits after meeting depreciation, etc. The four factories are getting 98 per cent production on a 44-hour week basis as compared with the 60-hour working week before the Revolution.

Powerful Co-operative Movement

Brookhart had occasion to see the co-operative movement at work in England, France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Poland and Soviet Russia. He was enthusiastic about the great progress and high degree of development reached by the Soviet co-operatives. The Senator met the manager of the Central Co-operative and was tremendously impressed with the efficiency of the management and operation.

"Thirty per cent of all the business in Russia is now being conducted by the Co-operatives. Measured in gold rubles their produce is worth six times that before the war. They expect to organize all the State industries within a few years with the approval of the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has extensively helped the Co-operatives which are now flourishing to such an extent that they have over seven million active members."

Brookhart also said that he had talked matters over with Chicherin, Trotzky, and the Commissar of Agriculture. They told him that Russia is planning a thoro reorganization of industry along Co-operative lines.

For Russian Recognition

In summing up the Senator contrasted the orderly and steady improvement of conditions in Soviet Russia with those in some other European countries. Brookhart is strong for American recognition of Soviet Russia in the interests of our own farming masses as well as in the interests of the Russian farmers.

Big Struggle of Dist. One Coal Miners

(Continued from Page One)

each succeeding day. One day they would announce that Brennan had added to make a hot fight against seating Cappellini as president of District One. The next day they would announce that it had been decided to have a harmonious convention. Then reports undoubtedly pictured the battle going on between the Lewis-Brennan forces and the Cappellini forces behind the scenes. The climax was reached when on the fourth day of the convention, Brennan and Cappellini shook hands upon the stage in the convention hall. Immediately Anthony Pan, a staunch Cappellini supporter, demanded to know what it was all about.

"It looks as if we are on a train, being railroaded to God knows what station. How does it come that the papers are let in on all this back alley stuff and we, the delegates, who should be informed, know nothing. What is this agreement that has been reached?"

Others spoke similarly. Brennan attempted to mollify the delegates, who were in an uproar. Cappellini had to say that if they did not trust him he was ready to resign. The result of the debate was that many delegates left Wilkes-Barre convinced that some kind of trade had been made. Others claim that Cappellini would never agree to trading the assurance of his election for favors equally valuable to Brennan.

On Thursday the writer found the victors gallery roped off against him. He asked the sergeant-at-arms what this meant, and was informed that he would not be allowed into the convention hall again because he was a "communist" and had been prohibited at Scranton. Upon the afternoon of Wednesday the first ray of intelligence filtered into the convention when Stanley Dzeingielewski, a miner from the Scranton region, talked to the delegates about the need of independent political action by the workers thru a Labor Party.

Lewis' Voice at the Convention

Kennedy had just finished a long speech, ridiculing those who were attempting to teach the members of the miners' union the business (referring to the progressive movement) and had then reported upon the wonderful work done by the delegates left Wilkes-Barre. Kennedy ended by giving the delegates the astounding information that after the wonderful labor lobby had nearly won much needed amendments to the workers' compensation act, the operators and manufacturers association peeked in and in fifteen minutes, by opening barrels of whisky and barrels of money, defeated the amendments.

This gave Delegate Dzeingielewsky his opening. After this delegate ended his speech, Kennedy was forced to arise and admit that a Labor Party must be organized in this country, the same as in England. Dzeingielewski had scored with the delegates.

The convention livened up again on Friday, when Dzeingielewski called Delegate Evans, who co-operated with Lewis in the Scranton riot, to order. Evans was leading Lewis' mob tactics. Immediately spies from both the camps of Lewis and the operators nearly stepped on each other in a mad rush to have Dzeingielewski thrown out of the convention. He was charged with having been seen eating with the writer, with being a progressive, yes—they even knew he had been arrested the night before because he had acted as chairman for a meeting near Scranton at which a representative of a Detroit Polish paper spoke.

Lappellini could have taken the convention out of the hands of the company delegates and the reactionaries. He could have given it inspiring and intelligent leadership. We fear that he plays too much credence in Lewis' pretention that if the wage advances for the miners are to be won at Atlantic City, then the District No. One convention will have to behave and the mine owners will have to be given assurance that District No. One and its leadership is safe and sane. The progressives know different. Only constant vigilance and militancy will force the operators to deliver.

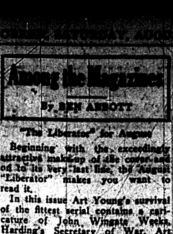
The line of demarcation between the progressives and reactionaries is not yet drawn. There were dozens of delegates who swayed from one side to the other, like the top of a tree in a wind. The combination of Lewis and company operatives in conventions and locals, the drive Lewis and the companies are making against the progressives, will soon create two hostile camps in every local, who will fight for supremacy. In this contest the progressives will win because only the progressives are true to rank and file interests.

We feel sure that Lewis and the mine owners will do to the miners at Atlantic City. Here the new wage negotiations for the anthracite mines will be concluded within the month. You guess who will lose.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Kenneth Hillquit Sees Red

By Art Young



Beginning with the overhanging stalactite making the ceiling of the cave and ending with the very last fish, the August "Liberator" makes you want to read it.

In this issue Art Young's survival of the fittest serial contains a caricature of John Wingate Weeks, Harding's Secretary of War. Art Young in this serial of cartoons of prominent figures in American political life gives us side-splitting close-ups of men who make the laws of the nation.

The recently formed Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been the victim of many confusing interpretations. From the staged attacks of the elements lined up in the New York Call-Forward combination, to the bewildering ravings of the conservative labor leaders, what took place in the July 3rd conference has been thoroly misrepresented and consequently extensively misunderstood. In view of this fact the editorials in the August "Liberator" on this subject in conjunction with the very enlightening analytical article by John Pepper, "The Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party" are indeed interesting and should not be missed by anyone wishing to be right up to the minute on this very important question.

Harding's antics in the role of President of the United States is amusingly reviewed in an article by C. E. Ruthenberg. This article shows up his shallow pretenses and buffoonery and is illustrated with cartoons by Maurice Becker. "On Joining the World Court" by Scott Nearing gives us a fresh interpretation of Harding's tricks in trade for putting it over on the gullible American "public."

And the literary and artistic expression of the magazine is by no means overshadowed by the political articles. "An Early Liberal Minister" by Lewis Browne is a clever satire in dialogue on our present day life. "The Bet" by John Noble, is a story of negro persecution in America. Followers of Floyd Dell's serial "The Outline of Marriage" will be interested to know that in this issue Dell brings the subject up-to-date.

Admirers of Claude McKay's poems will like his recent poem written in Moscow giving his impression of Moscow's May Day demonstration. The cartoons in this issue include drawings by William Gropper, Hugo Gellert and Robert Minor.

Those of us who cannot get too much information about Russia, will appreciate "Intellectual Life in Russia" by the French writer, Victor Serge which was translated from the French article in "Clarte."

Get your copy at the newsstand or send in your "sub" to The Liberator, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Fox Can't Force the Movie Camera to Tell Lies About Red Russia

By JOHN DALE

William Fox, one of our mightiest magnates of the movies, is putting "Red Russia" in crimson lights over the entrances to his cinema palaces these days. For he is featuring a new, startling picture, "Red Russia Revealed."

The pictures aren't half bad. Even the trick camera has a hard time putting over anti-Soviet propaganda. The Red Army is shown, on foot and on horseback. Trotsky is shown, making speeches, riding a destroyer over the waves—it doesn't say on what water—, hurrying from one end of the country to the other. But the captions lend themselves to the attack on Soviet Rule. Words can be twisted easier than pictures. Thus the "Red Army" is declared to be the instrument of the "Soviet Autocracy," which is pictured as a threat to "civilization," and all the other nonsense that was accepted by the ignorant three and four years ago, but which finds fertile soil to grow in now.

The titles announce a "savage and fierce foe of the counter-revolutionaries" in Mrs. Lenine, and then shows the quiet, mild-mannered wife of the Soviet premier, slight of build and retiring in demeanor. She is on the deck of what looks like an excursion steamer. She is looking out over the water thru a pair of binoculars. But the next moment a huge piece of artillery action 45 flashed before the audience, that is, no doubt, supposed to feel that Mrs. Lenine is some terrible, Amazonian militarist.

This effort of Mr. William Fox, thru his servile subordinates, to make the pictures lie, is too cheap to get by. The attempt is so transparent that it defeats itself. It should only serve to whet the appetites of the "movie" goers to attend the showing of "The Fifth Year" film of the Friends of Soviet Russia, that will have its first showing at the Manhattan Casino, 155th St. and Eighth Ave., Saturday, July 28th. It will later be shown in all the sections of the country.

New York Labor Goes to Albany

(Continued from page One.)

campaign for the seating of "Socialist" delegates to Albany. The latest activity of this campaign consists in an attempt to "capture" the name of their New York daily, The Call. We note a touch of consciousness of the "capture" idea, July 24, where the terms "capture" and "converting" are duly discussed. We are sure that The Call has those in its service, who can speak with authority on "capturing" vs. "converting." For wasn't Hillquit quite active in the closing years of the last century when every effort, by fair means and foul, was used to "capture" all possible elements from the then Socialist Labor and Social-Democratic Parties, in order that the present "Socialist" Party might be launched. Oneal can tell of the strenuous days of 1919 when the "Socialist" officialdom "captured" the party, machinery and lost the party membership. In Oneal's history, they—the officials—captured themselves." Several chapters might be written on how the New York "Socialist" politicians "captured" the American Labor Party, turned it to their own purposes, kicked the Farmer-Labor Party and local union elements in their faces, drove the leaders of "American Labor Party" and declared all candidates must appear on the ballot under the "Socialist" emblem. This is extermination as well as capturing.

In speaking of these events, Jay G. Brown, national secretary, Farmer-Labor Party, in his last report stated:

"The New York Branch of the Farmer-Labor Party, not lacking in courage and a willingness to try experiments, accepted the invitation The American Labor Party in New York, at its Second Conference, February 24-25, 1923, where the Socialists were in a majority at a ratio of perhaps five to one, adopted a report saying: 'It is the conviction of your executive officials that the time was never more opportune for the building of a political organization of labor in this country.'"

Yet when the Workers Party delegates at Chicago acted in doing this very thing, the same "Socialists" screamed their maledictions. No "Socialists" were heard from at the West Virginia Conference that planned the Farmer-Labor Party in that state. The few "Socialist" delegates that appeared at Boston joined in opposing an independent party for Massachusetts. The "Socialists" stood for the "nonpartisan" idea at the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor Convention. The New York Call jeers at every effort of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party to help the workers and farmers of Minnesota harvest the full fruits of their recent victory. No "Socialists" were apparent at the Washington State Federation of Labor Convention, where the Communist elements exerted all strength in whipping the workers into line for the "reward and punish" policy. Certainly the "Socialists," during these past two weeks, have spoken more that they have The Call's announced hypocritical intentions to "education and conversion."

The only real campaign for united independent political action, being waged in this country, thru meetings and literature, is being carried on by the Workers Party. It proclaims everywhere its program for winning all elements for the workers and farmers' "United Front." It is the Party organization seeking to convert the backward to accept advanced ideas. It is the only party that not only talks about "education" but carries it on.

The fondest hopes of the New York "Socialist" politicians would be realized if they could "CAPTURE" the Albany Conference for the, "Socialist"-controlled American Labor Party, and create a united front of only those elements opposed to the Workers Party. This is the "Socialist" Party that goes to Albany.

• • •

Then there are the local unions. These rank and file delegates will be admitted at Albany, instead of being barred as they were at Cleveland. The sentiment of these delegates may well be judged by what has taken place at Buffalo. There a "Local Labor Party" has been organized. It stated, in its organization convention, delegates of all labor's political and economic organizations, including those of the Workers Party. The local "Socialist" organ, "The New Age," edited by Patrick Quinlan, an emigre from New York City, sneers at this effort. The "Socialists" go ahead and nominate their own candidates, in a dual effort against the regular labor movement, just as they did in Chicago last spring. The "Socialists" refuse to take part in labor's united political front, claiming it hasn't been invited." When the Buffalo Labor Party meets, Quinlan sends a substitute to report its activities. Instead of aiding in building the Buffalo Labor Party that is already in existence, the "Socialist" organ urges the workers to read the "Hillquit-Keating Debate" on "Shall a Labor Party Be Formed." Thus the Socialist Party shows itself bankrupt, in both thought and action. Wherever the egasses of the workers assert themselves, there the "Socialists" are in the opposition. It can be depended on that the rank and file delegates at Albany will be for a real, all-inclusive "Labor Party."

• • •

Every effort will be made by the thinkers and women of the working class to get rest action at Albany. If they are balked this time by the calling of "another conference," they will keep on working for the creation of a New York Federated Farmer-Labor Party, affiliated with the National Federated Farmer-Labor Party struggling for a workers' and farmers' government in these United States.

Eight Years in Gary's Steel Mills

Eight years I am working in Gary's steel mills and I know that all the workers are against the twelve-hour day. The twelve-hour day kills the health of the worker as well as his spirit and morals. Just imagine that you have to get up at half past four in the morning and come back home at seven or half past seven in the evening.

It comes out that you work not twelve, but fourteen or fifteen hours a day and on Sunday, when the night shift is changed into a day shift, one of these shifts has to work twenty-four hours in succession or both of them eighteen hours in succession. The steel workers have no possibility of devoting some time to their families. The children are asleep in the morning when they go away to the factory and are asleep in the evening when they come back and so they cannot see their children. Very little time is left for sport and no time at all for reading and entertainment.

From the reports published in the bourgeois press, one can see that more steel was produced in the month of May, than in any other month during the whole time of the existence of the steel corporation. Enormous capital is being accumulated, and the workers are getting the beggar's compensation for this dangerous, hard labor.

Every day the people here are being killed or crippled. A large five-story hospital is always packed with crippled people, and Mr. Gary says that his workers are satisfied.

The steel workers, in spite of their defeat in 1919, are talking now about organization. If they could only start! The time, I think, is the most favorable now. Last time they fought bravely. They will do so now. Not in vain, the city was declared thru under martial law. That shows whether the workers want or do not want the eight-hour day.

Furthermore, Mr. Gary states that in the steel industry it is necessary to have a twelve-hour day because of the shortage of labor. This is a lie. There are many men there who are better conditions and higher wages there are more workers than they could use. The bosses want to have the twelve-hour day in order to have two, instead of three shifts a day and thus make more money. Besides this, the eight-hour day would give the worker a chance to see what is going on, and this is not in the interests of the steel magnates, because then the workers would demand better conditions.

Steel Worker, Gary, Indiana.

Metropolitan City United for Real Work

A new leaf was turned in the annals of the Workers Party of the "Metropolitan City" when on Sunday, July 22, the communists of new District 2, met at the New York Labor Temple. The new district organization recognizes for the first time the "Metropolitan District" as an entity, extending from Staten Island to Yonkers and Hastings, and from Jamaica and Mamaroneck, L. I., to Elizabeth and Paterson, N. J. Twenty-seven delegates represented over 3000 members in good standing in this district.

The question of the Labor Party, the convening of the Chicago Conference and the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was easily the outstanding topic at the District Convention.

The discussion brought out many interesting points. The fact was stressed that the workers can't hope to get the support of the labor "leaders" of the A. F. of L., or the Railroad Brotherhoods, because they are all bound up with the Democratic or Republican parties, or thru the La Follette "Progressive" group with imperialist politics. This is why the conference in Albany, called for July 29, was characterized as a scheme to prevent the formation of an independent Labor Party in New York state. All labor unions were called upon to send Delegates to Albany and demand affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

William Z. Foster, who attended the convention as a visitor, urged the delegates not to neglect their activity for a strong Workers Party in their fight for the Labor Party. The program of the Workers Party must be the basis of all activity of the American Communists in all fields.

The following resolution on the Labor Party was adopted:

"Resolved, That the District Convention of District 2 of the Workers Party endorses wholeheartedly the policy of the C. E. C. on the Labor Party, and the tactics leading to the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and instructs the District Executive Committee, elected by this convention, energetically to bring about the affiliation with the F. F. L. P. of all working-class organizations in this district.

In his report as District Secretary, John J. Ballam dwelt on the necessity of finding a more efficient way of financing the party than to arrange picnics and meetings for the sole purpose of deriving a revenue. He asked that steps be taken, to assess the membership in such a way as to be able to finance the routine business of the District as well as special campaigns, without wasting time and effort of party officials in the process.

He also stressed the necessity of an English Daily which will counteract the poisonous campaign of the yellow Socialist Party. Ballam asked the foreign speaking comrades to learn English, so that they may with greater effect be active in their respective trade unions. The secretary's report gave rise to an extended discussion, in which the question of a close contact between the rank and file and the officials of the party was especially raised.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

The Plans of the Theatre Guild

The Theatre Guild will open at the Garrick Theatre late in September or early in October with "Windows" by John Galsworthy, described by him as "a comedy for idealists and cynics." "The and Twelve Disciple" is expected to keep the Garrick open until then.

"Les Rates," a tragedy by H. R. Lenormand, one of the few outstanding French dramatists of today, will be presented under the title of "The Failures." Jacob Ben Ami will have the leading role.

On the schedule, but uncertain in order, are Franz Molnar's comedy of Vienna, "The Guardsman," "Caesar and Cleopatra" by Shaw, "Masse-Mensch" by Ernst Toller, translated by Louis Untermeyer, and "King Lear" with Rudolph Schildkraut. An American play, not yet selected, is certain of production. The Guild may also do Werfel's "Goat Song."

Dr. M. RASNICK, Pittsburgh.

To the Comrades in the Pittsburgh District

Dr. M. Rasnick announces that he has located his Dental Office at 605 Smithfield Street, near Seventh Avenue. Comrades who are in need of a dentist will find it convenient to visit his office which is centrally located. Special consideration will be given to the readers of "The Worker" and their friends. Any visit to his office will be appreciated.

Dr. M. Rasnick, 605 Smithfield Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Great Western Pennsylvania Defense Picnic

HEINZ GROVE

SUNDAY, AUGUST 5th,

C. E. RUTHENBERG of New York will deliver address of the day on right of free speech, press and assemblage

Dancing with Union Music—Athletic Contest with Prizes to Winners. Amusements for the Children—Refreshments.

Take West View Car No. 10—Get off at Hawthorne Ave. Admission by Invitation only—Get your Invitation at the Office of LABOR DEFENSE AND FREE SPEECH COUNCIL OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, 805 James Street, N. S., PITTSBURGH, PA.

On April 27th, 23 workers active in the labor movement were arrested, their property confiscated, their families terrorized and themselves thrown into jail and held under criminally exorbitant bonds and their civic rights denied. Their only crime was the advocacy of more effective forms of labor organization. In June nine of these workers were indicted. Their trialwill be in September. Later Thomas Myerscough, the secretary for the International Committee for Political Prisoners, was arrested. The arrest cannot be justified because this worker committed no crime. The proceeds of this picnic will be for the defense of these workers. Come to this picnic and help save these workers from prison. You also are assured a good time.

Salutsky Expelled from the Workers Party

The following letter has been sent to J. B. Salutsky by the Executive Secretary of the Party upon direction of the Central Executive Committee:

New York City, July 16, 1923.

J. B. Salutsky,
31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

DEAR COMRADE:

On May 19th, I wrote you as follows:

"I am instructed by the Central Executive Committee to inform you of the following decision regarding the charges pending against you:

1. The C. E. C. declares that Comrade Salutsky's actions at the Cleveland Conference were anti-Communist, and that he deserves expulsion from the Party for this conduct.

2. Since, however, Comrade Salutsky has indicated his desire to remain a member of the WORKERS PARTY, and a supporter of the Communist International, the C. E. C. proposes to give him an opportunity to prove by his future action as a member his worthiness to remain in an organization which is fraternally affiliated with the Communist International.

3. The C. E. C. therefore, proposes that Comrade Salutsky shall make a public statement to be printed in the Party press which shall incorporate the following pledges:

a) That Comrade Salutsky pledges himself in all his public speeches, writings, and activities, to give loyal and undivided support to all the policies of the Party.

b) Since the statutes of the C. I. do not permit a Party member being an editor or co-worker of a political organ independent of, and not under the control of the Party without the consent of the C. E. C., Comrade Salutsky must immediately turn over to the Party the American Labor Monthly, and agree to abide by whatever decision the C. E. C. may make as to its disposal.

c) That Comrade Salutsky must send the statement above indicated to the Executive Committee for publication in the Party press within five days and before a new number of the American Labor Monthly appears.

Should Comrade Salutsky refuse to make the pledges above set forth, he shall be at once expelled from the Party."

Since the above letter was written, the C. E. C. of the Party has considered the various modifications of the decision in regard to your connection with the American Labor Monthly, and has submitted to you the alternative proposal either that the American Labor Monthly be combined with the Liberator, or that you sever your connection with that publication.

On June 25th, in reply to your inquiry as to the policy which would guide the combined publication should the American Labor Monthly and the Liberator be consolidated, the C. E. C. stated:

"1. That the publication be edited in complete harmony with the principles of the Communist International.

"2. That on questions of policy on which the Workers Party has adopted a position, the publication must be edited in complete harmony with the position adopted by the Party.

"3. That on questions on which the Party had not adopted a policy or which it was proposed to take up, free discussion be permitted until such time as there was an official Party decision."

Since that time the C. E. C. has received no further word from you in regard to the compliance with the decisions laid down in the letter of May 19th, and that of June 25th. It feels that under the circumstances it can take no other action than to immediately put into effect the decision stated in the letter of May 19th, that in case of non-compliance with its decision you be forthwith expelled from the Party, and in the letter of the proper Party units of this decision. Fraternally yours,

(Signed) C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Secretary.

Taylor Wins Free Trip to Red Russia

Extension of the Tractor Drive as announced being prohibited by the Post Office, the first drive has been closed and John T. Taylor, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor, was the successful candidate who gets the trip to Russia.

Thirty other prizes have been awarded to date. Detroit workers are jubilant over their victory and are now entering the second contest, which will continue until Oct. 1.

Terms for the second contest are precisely the same as for the first. Detailed information can be obtained from the office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York City.

Some of the leading contestants in the Second Tractor Drive are: S. Klimovick of Bayonne, N. J.; L. L. Goldman, of Philadelphia; Simon Feldman, of Bridgeport, Conn., who was in the first contest, and A. Striz, an auto mechanic of Detroit, whom the Detroit bunch declare they will exert all their efforts to put over.

But what Detroit did in the first contest, others can do in this contest. It is up to others to get their local unions and workingmen's fraternal benefit societies back of their own contestants.

THAT TUEL FROLIC

The Trade Union Educatioal League will hold a SUMMER FROLIC and DANCE, Sunday, August 12th, at Fuhrer's Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I.

The Finnish branches of Harlem and Brooklyn are showing their spirit of solidarity by arranging this affair for the TUEL, to help build a powerful organization in the Eastern District. Trade Union Educational League groups, Workers Party branches and all other organizations interested in a strong, solidified opposition movement to the A. F. of L. bureaucarcy will follow the example of the Finnish comrades, cooperate in the picnic and aid in raising funds which are urgently needed to carry on the work.

An exceptionally good program featuring various national choruses, a balalaika orchestra and a number of athletic feats, plus-------------------------read the next announcement. Remember, August 12th at Fuhrer's Elmhurst Park—a good time for a good purpose. Admission only 50 cents.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY
Friday, Sept. 14, 1923
at WEBSTER HALL

STEALING SOAP AS A PROFESSION

By HARRISON GEORGE

Morris Gest of New York is a play promoter who was born in Russia. He says that after two of his relatives were hanged by the Bolsheviks, he has "rescued" fifty-four others, including both his parents, from the peril of Soviet Russia making them work for a living. Here is the way his parents dodged work in Russia before they got to America:

"They lived for years under the Bolsheviks thru selling soap which Mr. Gest's seven year old brother stole from a Bolshevik soap factory. Mr. Gest's parents lowered the child daily thru a trap door to steal the soap."

When C. E. Ruthenberg who was convicted and whose appeal against conviction for "criminal syndicalism" still menaces him with prison in Michigan, was being tried, the prosecution was very excited about the Bolsheviks' seizure of property, "sacred private property," for the common good. That was not only against law but against God, ethics, morality, the rights of small nations and small business men. But we see in the case of Mr. Gest's parents how little law and property is held sacred by petty bourgeoisie when the law is the law of the workers and the property the wealth of all in common.

To live "for years" by larceny of an article so vitally needed as soap in a typhus and disease ridden land, rather than go to work, not only shows the lawlessness of the capitalist mind but indicates that the much touted Russian "cheka" was slack in its duty. No wonder that the Michigan prosecutor denounced Ruthenberg who believes, not in petty thievery as an individual profession, but in a confiscation of the soap factory and every other factory for the support of the workers and their dependents.

Another Whiff of Imperial Democracy

A dreary and sordid drama is now being enacted in the Philippines. All of capitalist America's prating about the self-determination of nationalities is once more given the lie.

General Leonard Wood, one of our arch-militarists, now the Governor-General of the Philippines, has re-instated a secret service agent Ray Conley, who was formally "cleared" of serious bribery charges, to the dissatisfaction of the native population. This has brought about the resignation of the members of the Cabinet and the Council of State, all Filipinos.

With the acceptance of these resignations all the insular administrative affairs are now in the hands of the Governor General and his appointed henchmen. Even the empty, formal pretense of self-government hitherto embraced by our Government in Washington has thus been chucked overboard.

Of course Washington will stand behind its Governor-General Wood since he was picked for the job, in the language of one of the progressive Senators, because our imperialists considered him "the right man for the work."

In the Philippines and in liberal circles this incident has created a great hullaballoo about the right of self-government so much advertised by the employing class agents during the Great World Slaughter. President Quezon of the Philippines Senate has openly told the American dictator that "there is a growing feeling among our people that the views of the Filipino officials in this Government and the Secretaries of Departments, included, have very little, if any, weight."

But our own military administrator is not saying a word. General Wood is too experienced a capitalist hawk to be worried about the flight of a few powerless Filipino officials. He knows what the meaningless promises of Harding to the Philippines Independence Commission in 1922 meant. He is not at all disturbed over the protests of the Mayor of Manila at his usurpation of powers. Woods knows his business, knows what he was sent for, and knows how to do it. According to the imperialist apologists of the iron-heel administration in the Philippines every thing is just fine and right in this "little" controversy. Wood had full right to act in the way he did because when Congress gave the Filipinos certain rights it was doubtful whether they were competent to exercise these powers. Hence the military General was fully justified in his steps.

What is what in the whole game in the Philippines, as in every other exploited country or territory of the United States and the other imperialist powers, is given away by General Wood himself. Addressing the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila in June he let the cat out of the bag in this fashion: "The Filipinos are rapidly approaching a stable Government as I define a stable Government, namely, a Government under which foreign capital invests at ordinary rates of interest."

Here we have it. The real objective of America's civilizing efforts are brought to light. Behind all the Christian campaigns of capitalist democracies and monarchies alike there is the chase for profits. America is a rapidly growing imperial empire despite its noisy pretenses to the contrary. The behavior of our marines in Haiti, the conduct of our customs collectors in the Caribbean Republics, the violation of the most elementary principles of self-government in the Philipines—these are the fruits of our Imperial Democracy.

The Terror

By W. F. DUNNE

Out of the dark comes a cry for bread,
And the masters wrap closer the sheets.
The night resounds with a hymn of dread,
The masses starve in the streets.

The tumult grows and the wolf-pack, loosed,
Tears thru the hungry throng.
But it gathers again, a rope is noosed
And the groans turn into song.

Singing, singing and surging, the sound like a giant's sob,
The ranks are closed and the march begins.
The mass is an army and not a mob.
Masters, what of your many?

Soldiering Is Given Black Eye by Labor

By SELMAR SCHOCKEN

Militarism does not seem to be quite as popular among the trade unions of Greater New York, as it appeared a few weeks ago when Major Ross of the Citizens' Training Camp, an officer of the Coast Artillery of the U. S. Army, was accorded an enthusiastic reception and fitted out with credentials which would open to him the meetings of all A. F. of L. unions within the Metropolis. The Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, which had voted these credentials to the Major with only a few dissenting votes, at its last meeting at Beethoven Hall, has recalled these credentials with even a greater majority.

The credentials were issued after the officer had outlined the supposed aims of the Training Camp, namely the physical training, or as one militarist delegate put it at the last meeting: "you go in as a bum, and you come out as a man."

Several progressive delegates protested that the preparation of a new war was the real meaning of these camps. Since the credentials were issued however, a storm of protests was showered upon the Executive Council. Letter after letter arrived opposing the attempt of delivering the unions to the military machine.

The Teachers' Union took the lead in the fight. They and the Women's Trade Union League were the first to sense the great danger, and several Painters' Unions, among them Local Unions Nos. 51, 261 and 499, as well as the New York District Council of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers; many unions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, especially No. 38, 48 and 89; the Neckwear Makers, Umbrella Makers and many other unions had taken the matter up in their meetings and demanded the immediate recall of the credentials.

Reluctantly, the Executive Committee, that had given the delegate of the U. S. Army preference over the delegate of the Mooney Defense Committee, when both asked for the privilege of the floor and credentials to visit the unions, denying even the least courtesy to the man working for the release of Tom Mooney, reluctantly the comittee had to ask the delegates for action on the protests.

Again the representatives of the Teachers' Union were leading the attack, supported by a man who had seen service in similar institutions for physical training. Charles Lowie of the Cigar Packers' Union has seen service "on the battlefield" in Buffalo, when he as a member of the 71st Regiment of the New York National Guard, was ordered out to quell the strike of the Railroad Workers 31 years ago. He also remembered well the "effective patriotism" of the troops during the Homestead Steel Strike.

It was the consensus of opinion that the danger of being used against "rebellious" workers in times of strikes was far greater than the probability of "defending the country against invasion," which was one of the strongest arguments of the friends of militarism.

Preparation for "Riot Duty"

With permanent injunctions being handed out against the right to strike, with the striking shopmen denied the right of trial by jury, one notes with interest the following item in the New York Herald:

"Riot Squad to learn the use of Tear Gas . . . Five hundred picked men from the Police Department will receive, free of charge, a two weeks course of training . . . in suppressing riots.

"Thompson sub-machine guns—wicked weapons—half pistols and half automatic rifles—will be supplied to the chosen 500, as well as other weapons . . . tactical plans will be made in advance to handle a riot in any section of the metropolis."

With the shopmen's strike called an insurrection against the government what is going to be the definition of a riot. Against whom are these machines going to be aimed, and this tear gas to be used?

Cleveland Picnic, August 19

CLEVELAND.—The third seasonal picnic by Local Cleveland will be held Sunday, August 19th, at Lees' Farm on Brook Park Road.

The speaker will be Comrade M. J. Olgin, of the Jewish Daily Freiheit, who will speak in English.

To reach grounds take W. 25th St. car to barns, then take Pearl Rd. car to Brook Park Rd., where signs will direct to the grounds.

International Caucasian
MIDSUMMER FESTIVAL and ENTERTAINMENT
of the Armenian Workers Party Branch of New York
JULY 29th, SUNDAY, ALL DAY AND NIGHT
PLEASANT BAY PARK
Unionport, Bronx, N. Y.
The famous shishlik and various Oriental delicacies served

DIRECTION.—Take Bronx Park "L" to 180th St., or Bronx Park Subway to 177th St. Then take Unionport car east to end. Thereon you will be directed to the park.

Boost the Federated Farmer-Labor Party; But—Recruit Members for the Workers Party

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

And now that we are out to boost the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, anxious voices are heard: "What about our own Workers Party?" There are pessimists among us who fear that the campaign for the F. F. L. P. would obliterate the W. P. There are "radicals" among us who maintain that we "had no business" to go to Chicago and we ought to withdraw now from the entangling alliance as gracefully as it can be accomplished. The trouble with those comrades is probably the inability to see more than one thing at a time, a single-mindedness coincident with political infantilism. The cure seems to be a clear vision as to the respective nature of the two parties.

It may sound trite, yet it must be understood and impressed upon the minds of our party members that "the Federated Farmer-Labor Party" is "not the Workers Party." Moreover, it is not controlled by the Workers Party. It is an independent political organization of workers and farmers where the Communists are in the minority both on the National Executive Committee and on the Executive Council.

It so happened that at the convention of July 3-5 in Chicago the leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor withdrew from participation in the founding of the new party and our comrades were compelled, against their intention and contrary to their wishes, to take a leading part. They have not, however, assumed responsibility for the new organization. They are not aspiring to do so. The new organization will have to take care of itself, no matter how friendly our relation to it and how willing we may be to help it in its initial steps. When grown to fill its place under the sun and to move of its own accord, the new body may try paths that will not be to our liking. We shall have no other means of checking it than persuasion. We are by no means certain it will comply with our ideas. We are not sure it will do so to-morrow. We have not the remotest notion as to the composition of its coming convention. A time may arrive when our minority would have to wage a bitter fight for the principles of class-struggle within the new party. The comrades who are so much worried over the identification of the F. F. L. P. with the W. P. are, evidently, under an indelible impression of the bourgeois and "socialist" press which heralded that "the communists captured themselves at Chicago." The fact is, we have captured nobody. We have only become partners to a new proletarian venture. We are glad we are on the inside, because it is the task of the communists to be with the working-class wherever it makes a step towards the consolidation of its forces for a struggle against the capitalist system. We are glad the rank and file representatives in Chicago manifested more understanding and less idiocy concerning the communists and the C. I. than did the conservative union leaders at Cleveland. We are pleased with the possibility of advocating our doctrine and our tactics within the new party. Yet, once more, **we are not the new party.**

Neither can the two parties be identified in their programs or in their tactics. The F. F. L. P. is not a Communist party. It is not even a mild Socialist party. It may turn out to be more vigorous and militant than any of the weak-kneed Socialist parties that we know at present. We trust it will be so because it is rooted in the depths of the working masses. For that matter, it may even assume leadership of the American working people in time of a national upheaval when conditions have ripened for a revolutionary struggle. This is all, however, the "music of the future," as the Germans are wont to say. For the present the program of the new party (which program was, as stated at the Chicago conference, "too much even for radical Wisconsin") goes no further than nationalization of public utilities and means of communication and transportation. True, there is a preamble to the public ownership clause which says that "there can be no genuine public ownership of industry until the workers and farmers control the government" and that "only to the extent that there is a strong workers' and farmers' representation in the Government and only to the extent that the control of operation is in the hands of the workers and farmers can even partial nationalization be realized today." True, the program contains a clause which goes farther than the hackneyed nationalization of public utilities planks of the Socialist parties, namely the demand that "industries must be run on the basis of the workers and farmers steadily increasing their control of the management and operation thru their own economic organizations," and it contains also the splendid declaration that "land was created for all the people" and legislation must "secure the land to the users of the land." All this may have a remote resemblance to some of the planks of a Communist program. It is certainly better than any of the programs hitherto adopted by the multifarious Labor Party or Farmer Labor Party organizations. But it is not a communist program. It is not a revolutionary program. It is the maximum which for the present can unite the masses of labor and the poor farmers. It may be changed for something more outspoken as the impetus of the class-struggle will increase and the bulk of the membership will gain in weight. It may, on the other hand, turn into an opportunistic instrument in the measure that backward masses will swamp the new organization following their conservative leaders. As it has been adopted at Chicago, the program of the F. F. L. P. is a laborite program, differing from the Communist program as much as the stone ax of an archaic cave man differs from a high-power rifle of the present. There is certainly not a trace of social revolution, proletarian dictatorship or Soviet regime in the program of the new party.

All this goes to show that tho it may be expedient for the capitalist press and for its Socialist accompanists to decry the F. F. L. P as "Bolshevist" and Communist camouflage (the American Defense Society discerned even in the election of Magnus Johnson a Communist plot directed from Moscow) the new party is not to be a second Number Two and the die-hards of both former "underground" and "overground" will do well to forget all their experiences in connection with the recent past of the Workers Party. The F. F. L. P. is a new chapter. We all have to adapt ourselves to its existence. We have to outline a way of action. Adaptation to changing conditions is the most trying business for a single-minded comrade. Yet unless we do it we are apt to make a muddle of our achievement at Chicago.

The way of action seems to be dictated by the situation. We are, first of all and above everything else, a Communist party. Our main effort is to increase the volume and weight of our own party. We direct our activities towards educating the masses in the spirit of our party. We are out for new recruits for our organization. At the same time, however, we are an integral part of the F. F. L. P. We wish to help it grow thru the affiliation of new organizations. We realize that the growth of that party would mean a unification of the forces of the laboring masses and would mark an epoch in the history of the oppressed in their movement for liberation. The party is not what we would wish it to be, yet it is something very substantial. We therefore say to all organizations that give us a hearing, "Join the Federated Farmer-Labor Party."

There is no contradiction in such a course of action, no softening of voices, no hiding of faces. We appear everywhere in our true colors. We are the Workers Party. We explain the aim of the Workers Party. We outline the difference between ourselves and the Federated Party. We say to the workers: "As individuals it is your duty to join the Workers Party; at the same time it is the duty of your organization to join the Federated Party. By entering the Workers Party each workingman finds the medium through which his personal powers may be utilized to the best advantage of his class; by joining the Federated Party each workers' organization lines up in the great class-army. An individual rank and file member will hardly be of marked value in a huge organization as the F. F. L. P. intends to be; an individual organization, on the other band, cannot, even if it wishes to, become a member of the Workers Party. Therefore, join individually the Workers Party, and join collectively the Federated Party."

The line of division is most natural and the task ahead may not prove difficult, provided the new situation is taken in its right perspective. That the propaganda for the F. F. L. P. opens enormous vistas for the solidification of the W. P. is self-evident. Isolation is a thing of the past, and new prestige can only stimulate the recruiting of new members.

Armenians in U. S. Unite and Join With the Workers Party

By ABRAM JAKIRA

An important event has taken place in the ranks of the Armenian workers of America. Two opposing communist organizations—the "Armenian Workers Party" and the "Social-Democratic Hunchakist Party" decided to amalgamate and jointly affiliate with the Workers Party. This action of the Armenian Communists is of vital importance to the labor movement not only of the United States, but of other countries as well, and is of special significance to Soviet Armenia.

The S. D. Hunchakist Party with headquarters in Armenia has been in existence for over 38 years. It has its branches in many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and has played an important part among the Armenian workers of North and South America. At one time it had about 100 branches in this country alone. Its influence has been especially felt in the New England States, the center of the Armenian population. Internal strife, the fight with the "Armenian Workers Party" and isolation from the general labor movement of America have for the last several years considerably weakened the organization. Many branches went out of existence, many others were demoralized. Thousands of Armenian workers were anxiously awaiting the day when unity of the Armenian communist forces and affiliation with the Workers Party would be achieved.

"The Armenian Workers Party," while not as large numerically, had a better solidified and functioning organization. It has been in close contact with the Workers Party of America, tho not officially affiliated with it. It has also taken an active part in the general labor movement of the country. This organization has been ready to join the Workers Party for some time, but decided to wait the results of the convention of the Hunchakist Party. This convention was held a few days ago and the question of unity both with the Armenian Workers Party and with the Workers Party of America was decided upon favorably by a unanimous vote.

The Central Executive Committee of the WPA agreed that the name of the joint organization shall for the time being remain—"The Armenian Federation of the Workers Party—Hunchakist Social Democratic."

It is expected that a general convention of the Hunchakist Party will be held within the coming year to which the American comrades will send delegates. There is every reason to believe that that convention will decide to have each organization of the Hunchakist Party join the sections of the Comintern in their respective countries. The Hunchakist Party some time ago applied for admission as a unit to the C.I. The C.I., however, could not allow that organization to keep its own connections with its sections and to remain as a world organization within the Comintern. The question of changing the name will be decided by the Armenian Federation itself, if the general convention will not be held within one year.

The official organs of the two organizations will amalgamate beginning with the next issue. The name of the joint organ will be "Young Armenia." It was agreed that the new bureau of the Federation shall consist of 11 members—5 from each of the two former organizations and a representative of the Central Executive Committee of the Party. This arrangement is to remain until the next convention of the Federation.

There is no doubt that with unity achieved the Armenian Federation will be able in a short time to gather within its ranks the several thousand Armenian communists who have up to now remained unorganized.

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BLOOD AND STEEL!

The Story of the Struggle of the Workers Against Czar Gary's Twelve-Hour Day in the Steel Industry.

By JAY LOVESTONE

The Twelve-Hour Day in the Steel Industry has aroused the interest of not only the workers involved. A murmur of public disapproval is heard thruout the country against this relic of serfdom. Public men, churchmen and social organizations are giving expression to the utmost antipathy to it. The American Federation of Labor has entered upon another attempt to organize the steel workers; while the Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party are actively engaged in organizing the workers for a victorious fight against the inhuman twelve-hour day.

"BLOOD AND STEEL" tells the whole story of this inhuman plot against the workers. Read it, get others to read it. Order a number of copies and sell to all workers in all industries. The steel workers must have your support in their fight—which is also your fight.

10 cents per copy
In lots of 10 or more 7 cents each

WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

"Fourth Congress of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL"

Abridged Reports of Meetings held at Petrograd and Moscow, Speeches, Discussions, etc., by Delegates to the 4th Communist Congress of the Communist International, Nov. 7—Dec. 3, 1922.

300 pages—Price 75 cents.

This book contains the abridged stenographic reports of the meetings of the C. I. and furnishes a record of reports, speeches and discussions by all delegates. It is the most complete record extant of the positions maintained by delegates of all countries on the various questions which were acted upon at the World Communist Congress. Every American Communist should have a copy.

WORKERS PARTY, 799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

The Hughes-Gompers' Compact

Sam Gompers has deserted his bed-fellow "Bill" Burns, in pursuit of American Communists, long enough to crawl into a compact with Charles Edward Hughes, Secretary of State to His Royal Highness, Warren Gamaliel Harding. The "Hughes-Gompers compact is for unending war against any attempt to recognize Soviet Russia, in spite of the demands of Brookhart, Borah, La Follette et al.

Hughes has favorably answered the questions addressed by Gompers to Senators Ladd and King. Perhaps Gompers feels that Hughes' support saves him from exposure as the ridiculous capitalist puppet that Brookhart shows him to be, in answering these same questions.

The bewhiskered word juggler at the head of the department of state at Washington, in his answer to Gompers reveals himself as a rank comedian. This Gompers-Hughes slap-stick team, we are sure, couldn't climb higher than space-filling vaudeville in a third rate burlesque show.

Says Hughes:

"Respect by the Moscow regime for the liberties of other peoples will most likely be accompanied by appropriate respect for the essential rights and liberties of the Russian peoples themselves."

There are no Russian armies on foreign soil. No Russian battleships are covering the cities of foreign nations with their guns. Hughes and Gompers know this. These two smirking hypocrites also know that United States imperialism has never troubled itself about the liberties of other people. Where American armies were not sent, as in Siberia and Northern European Russia, American dollars did go to aid Wrangel, Yudenitch, Denikine, and other counter-revolutionaries to help them rob the ninety-nine and nine-tenths of the Russian people of the liberties they had won thru their revolution. It is also the lack of respect for the liberties of other peoples that U. S. imperialism has learned, thru its murderous rule, in the Philippines, in Cuba and Porto Rico, in Mexico, in the Central American and South American nations, and elsewhere, that has made it possible for these same imperialists to conduct relentless and bloody war against the workers at home, in the steel mills, the coal mines, on the railroads, in all industry.

American capitalism is so bereft of all decency that it will take more than all the falsehoods that Gompers and Hughes can invent to hide its nakedness. Yet this is the compensation, that these pets of the plundering interests make themselves appear extremely ludicrous in trying to accomplish this impossible job.

The City Workers in Minnesota

Reports of the recent Minnesota elections give the impression that the election of Magnus Johnson to the United States senate was the direct result of a farmers' revolt. Little attention was given to the unrest among the industrial workers of this great state. In fact it is quite forgotten.

The election figures from the cities, however, are quite interesting. In the state's metropolis, Minneapolis, the world's primary wheat market, an unsurpassed flour-milling center, and the home of many big industries, the grain gamblers have been fairly successful in controlling the vote in the past. Yet in the ballot for the Farmer-Labor candidate, Johnson, the usual republican majority in this city, of 25,000, was reduced to a bare 300.

Up on the iron range, in the northern part of the state, under the industrial tyranny of the U. S. Steel Corporation, interesting things happened. Proctor, a steel trust town, was typical of the rest. It gave Johnson 605 votes, compared to 81 for Preus. Other iron mining centers, like Hibbing, Virginia and Chisholm, that are heard from every time the iron miners launch a struggle to organize in this fairy kingdom, all gave Johnson a three to one vote over Preus. Lake County (Duluth), where Gary has located one of his largest steel mills, gave Johnson a 5,000 majority, as did Ramsey County (St. Paul), where the state capitol is located.

We clearly see Minnesota as both an agricultural and industrial state when we learn that in 1920 this state produced $508,020,233 worth of farm crops, but its factories turned out products valued at $1,218,129,735. The state's mining, lumbering and shipping business is at least as important as its farming. This state produces 61 per cent of the nation's iron ore, 34,593,000 tons. Altho the devastation of the nation's forests has been shifted to the Pacific Coast, nevertheless, 1,000,000,000 feet of timber were cut in Minnesota in 1920. Minnesota leads the world with its milling industry, the annual output being $381,240,000. Altho Minnesota has always been sneered at and credited with a large percentage of "ignorant foreigners," yet it boasts one of the best school systems in the nation, and has one of the lowest percentages of illiteracy, less than 2 per cent, compared with 6 per cent for the entire United States.

The record of the industrial workers in Minnesota, in the recent election, is, therefore, one that they can be proud of. They fought side by side with the farmers so that victory came to the Farmer-Labor forces in 60 out of 80 counties, and the final count will show that the workers' ticket got 300,000 votes, compared to 200,000 cast for both the republican and democratic candidates.

This election saw the wiping out of the democratic party in Minnesota. The democratic machine, driven by "Dick" O'Connor, of St. Paul, is now running tandem with the republican outfit. It is encouraging under these circumstances, that the industrial workers show indications of taking the next step. Their recent state convention, at Duluth, decided to issue a call for a joint gathering of all farmer and labor forces in the state, similar in make-up to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party meeting at Chicago. This gathering cannot be held too soon. The workers in the city and on the land in Minnesota, are definitely on the road to real class political action. Their big need now is to solidify all sentiment within their state in a class political party, that will cut off from all relations with the Wall Street parties forever.

Join the Workers Party! Subscribe for "THE WORKER."

Do you agree with us? Then join the Workers Party!

The Wise Judges at The Hague

It's a wise court that knows its own power. The United States courts do not always display that wisdom. Wilkerson, in Chicago, for instance, made permanent his anti-railroad strikers injunction, and almost the next day the workers and farmers in Minnesota crushed the power of the republican party in that state.

But the Permanent Court of International Arbitration, at the Hague, a child of the Capitalist League of Nations, is more discreet. It has just declared itself incapable of settling the dispute over Karelia between Soviet Russia and Finland. It says that the Workers' and Peasants' Government is not a party to "The League," that it will not submit itself to the jurisdiction of the court, so the judges confess "there is nothing doing."

It is admitted by this decision that the Hague Court has recognized that the present Soviet Government is the only Russian Government. Again, as Shylock says, in Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice," "A wise and upright court."

But this Hague Tribunal is wise in this fashion only because it knows the strength of Soviet Rule in Russia. If it felt that Soviet Rule was on the eve of collapsing its decisions would be very different.

Let the workers and farmers of the United States ponder this situation. Let them learn the value of industrial and political power built up separate and apart from the organizations of their exploiters. The Hague Court bends its knee before the Soviet Republic. Let the united farmer-labor power of this country force American capitalism to its knees in complete surrender.

The Cry for Bread in 1923

Breslau, Germany, sees 100,000 men, women and children fighting for food on the ninth anniversary of the beginning of the world war. Cafes, hotels, stores are looted by the hungry multitudes.

While the Socialist masses join the Communist workers in an effort to protect the working class against the falling mark and the increasing cost of living, the "Socialist" officials unite with the police to "restore order." In Breslau a dozen were killed, 100 wounded and 1,200 hungry thrown into prison.

The jingo "Socialists," who betrayed the German workers, and helped carry forward the kaiser's war plans in 1914, are still on the side of reaction in 1923. The war, the Russian revolution, the Versailles peaces have taught them nothing.

It was the cry for bread that helped doom the rule of the Romanoffs. After nearly six years of travail the Russian Revolution has satisfied the cry for bread of the workers and peasants under Soviet Rule. The big and inspiring thing on this ninth anniversary of the world war is that in one nation, truly, the swords have been beaten into ploughshares, and the land is yielding to the full.

It is charged that Communists are organizing the bread demonstrations in Western Europe. This is the usual falsehood. The hunger of 1923, in Germany and elsewhere, was planned when czars, kings, kaisers and premiers rushed to war in August, 1914. If the workers of Western Europe would cease to starve, let them sweep aside the capitalist order that is crushing them, and open wide the gates for co-operation with their comrades of the Russian Soviet Republic of Workers and Peasants. That is their only hope.

Another Red Scare?

There is no condemnation too strong for the renewed cheap attempt of Munsey's "New York Herald," issue of Sunday, July 22, to launch another "red scare." To be sure, this malicious anti-labor propaganda will be seized upon by Mr. Gompers and his friends in an effort to confuse and mislead the organized workers. That can be its only purpose.

The latest effort of "The Herald" declares that Moscow is sending a host of emissaries to the United States to start a "red drive." It is charged that Hoover's American Relief Administration, thru its employes in Soviet Russia, is giving aid to these communist immigrants. It is also claimed that Moscow is subsidizing the Russky Golos, a Russian daily, in New York City.

To be sure, the American Relief Administration officials, in New York City, lost no time in denying that its employes were giving aid to the Communists. "How ridiculous," they exclaimed. The editors of Russky Golos also pleaded innocence. The Communists certainly have no need of subsidizing the Russky Golos, when they have a Russian Communist Daily of their own, "The Novy Mir." There is certainly no need of sending Communist agents here, from Moscow, or any other European center. The 12-Hour Day, 80-cent wheat, Daugherty injunctions, Harding's speeches and the clubs of the Cossacks, now being used against the shoe and phone strikers in the New England states, are greater instruments for awakening the workers to the real nature of the social order oppressing them.

William H. Lamar must also have his wheeze. This is the Lamar who, as press-censor during the war, stole manling privileges from labor publications, driving many of them out of existence. Lamar taught the country that "a free press" is a myth. He is still afraid of the spread of radicalism, including on his list of undesirables, "the Communist type, among which are prolific writers and speakers, and every man of them willing to become a martyr to his cause." Lamar still urges the straight jacket for the brains of the American people in order to protect them against "red propaganda."

The workers will not be misled by the lies of "The Herald," or by Lamar's hysterics. If the Daugherty-Burns outfit feels that this is good propaganda for insuring the success of another "red raid," they are greatly mistaken. Any new attack on the political or industrial organizations of militant labor will get the reception it deserves—the united opposition of all the thinking men and women of the working class.

This Week!

By THE ONLOOKER

There and There.

Soon the agricultural state and country fairs will be in full swing over the nation. Conspicuous men of many kinds, from the lowest owner with his high grade cattle to the capitalist class artist, are getting ready to depose the rural worker who comes to town. It will be a question of how much the city people can take away from the farmer.

How different conditions are in so-called or so-called Soviet Russia. There is going to be an agricultural exhibit in Moscow, starting August 15, that is attracting exhibitors from every corner of the world. The government is not trying to make profits out of the affair. It is using it to educate the farmers. Twenty thousand peasants will be brought daily from every section of the far-flung Soviet Republic. These peasants will be shown the exhibit by interested agricultural students from the many Soviet Agricultural Colleges. Those peasants will go home again full of confidence in the Soviet Republic, and able to build for a better Russian agriculture. And the Russian peasant will struggle on against present difficulties with eager intensity because he knows there are no grain gamblers and bankers to rob him.

It is the American farmer that goes home from his city and county fair, bitterly hating all the city folks, feeling that they were created for the sole purpose of plundering him. Still President Harding talks of a United Nation. There is only one nation on the face of the globe where there is any unity among its peoples, and that land is Soviet Russia, whether among those who dwell in log huts in the Archangel country, or those who inhabit Arab tents on Bokhara's plains.

* * *

Looks Like Fake Medicine

The New York Times professes to have made the startling discovery that the farmers of Kansas are disgusted with the "Farm Bloc" in the U. S. senate, of republicans and democrats. But the Times is quick to assure its readers that "There is no boiling unrest; nothing that resembles remotely Communism or Bolshevism." But just the same the farmers feel that what the farm bloc of Capper and LaFollette has been handing them is fake medicine. The farmers will find in the new one thru the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, when they get good and tired of the decoys of the Wall Street parties.

* * *

What Will He Say Now?

The Minnesota Federation of Labor has instructed its delegate to the Portland, Ore., convention of the A. F. of L. to press the subject of independent political action. For taking this stand, Gompers threatens to withdraw the charter of the Seattle Central Council. Yet the farmers and workers of Minnesota have elected two United States senators, thru independent action, for which it is not expected that Gompers will outlaw them. It will be interesting to hear further from the A. F. of L. head on this question.

* * *

Just Lost Without It

Editor, "The Worker". Enclosed you will find a money order value of $2 to renew my subscription for "The Worker," as I know I would feel lost if I didn't have it in my home.—E. C., Nanticoke, Pa.

* * *

No Special Session

President Harding does not intend to call a special session of congress—especially not since the Minnesota election.

* * *

Thanks His Comrades

Comrade J. Martinovich, political prisoner who is serving a sentence in the Pittsburgh jail, wishes to thank the friends who have sent him letters and post cards, but which he is unable to answer because of the rules limiting correspondence. He writes that the money enclosed by some friends is greatly appreciated. Comrade Martinovich should be addressed at Box A 11387, N. S. Station, Pittsburgh, Pa.

HUGHES—"Russia? Why, We Hardly Speak to Minnesota."
From the New York World.

Splitting and United Front

By MAX BEDACHT

Long before a worker has reached a class-conscious clearness of aim, he is already instinctively dominated by the idea that the workers must hold together. Of the aims of a working-class movement he has, in many instances, a very vague conception, which only too often lets itself be put off by an empty, old, and insignificant phrase.

The roads leading to the goal are unknown to him and in this regard he trusts blindly to those leaders who can make palatable to him the phrase which expresses his misunderstood aim. Lastly, the masses are still striving to avoid serious conflicts in their advance forward, and to enter into the paradise of future society, by the golden means of the line of least resistance.

It must be clear to everyone that masses with such a psychology consider contradictions in the ideas of their leaders to be a much lesser evil than the splitting of their organization, than the destruction of their unity. And it is no less clear that splits which really serve the purpose of purification cause even greater confusion in such confused minds. Thus it is conceivable today, four years after the split of the S. P., the revolutionary portion of the American working-class has not yet overcome this split. Thus is it that in the Socialist Party there are to this day workers who on closer scrutiny, are found to have nothing to do with the principles, or better still, the lack of principles of this organization, but who in their confused feelings believe that they must preserve unity, that they must be loyal to their old "hereditary" organization which wicked people have split. Then again, many thousands of former members of the old S. P. remain outside of all organizations, because they do not want to promote the split thru their support of one side or the other. "First unite," so they say, "then I will also co-operate."

Just as this confusion is based in the first place on deficiency in clarity of aim, so also has this deficiency led to utterly false conceptions concerning the tactic of the united front which is propagated by the Communists, and is practised by them wherever possible. "What," say the friends and opponents of the Communists mistakenly, "yesterday you split and today you want to unite again. Yesterday you tore up what you want to paste up today." These people declare with seemingly compelling logic, "Either you were criminals when you tore up, or you are dishonest hypocrites, in pretending to want to mend again.

Outside, in dealings with the workers and rebels, these confusions and contradictions obtrude themselves as real problems which hamper the work of organization and which must be solved by means of clearer understanding. These lines attempt to make a contribution to such a solution.

NOTE—Next week, "What Is a Revolutionary Party?"

Wholesale Prices Decline While Retail Prices Increase

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor has issued an interesting statement of the price movement during the month of June. There was a decrease of 2 per cent in the wholesale prices of all commodities and a decrease in the wholesale prices of food amounting to 1½ per cent while for the same month there was an increase in the retail prices of foods of 1 per cent.

Harding Coming Back

President Harding is returning from Alaska. But who cares? We never missed him.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER. KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION.

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Sam Gompers' Attack on Soviet Russia Gets Swift Reply from U. S. Senator Brookhart

Sam Gompers has received a reply to his recent attack on Soviet Russia, no doubt quicker than expected. Gompers latest anti-Soviet broadside was made in a letter to Senators Ladd and King, now on their way to visit the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Gompers made his letter, in the form of questions, public, when the two Senators were on the high seas. But a few days later U. S. Senator Smith W. Brookhart, of Iowa, arrived home an enthusiastic advocate of U. S. recognition of Soviet Rule.

Altho "The Worker" replied in last weeks' issue to Gompers' attack we are publishing Brookhart's statement in full, as containing a point of view that will no doubt be urged in the sessions of the next congress. It is to be expected that Brookhart would evade, or give his own interpretation to certain questions. Thus in the answer to Question No. 3. There is no Communist who will deny that the leading officials of the Soviet Government, the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International are the same persons. As a co-operative enthusiast, Brookhart is quite interesting in his answer to Question No. 5. Yet we are sure that in Brookhart's declarations, Mr. Gompers will find much that is difficult to answer, even with the assistance of U. S. Secretary of State Hughes. Gompers' questions and Brookhart's replies are as follows:

* * *

No. 1. Is there a free press in Russia, are opposition papers allowed to exist, and is there a censorship of the official press and of foreign correspondents?

"The Russian press is practically free," said Senator Brookhart. "The opposition to the government is negligible. No one wants to start an opposition paper. It would receive no support. Peasants and laboring people are all united for the present government. No decent foreign correspondent is censored. So long as he does not attempt untruthful propaganda there is no censorship."

No. 2. Are workmen permitted to organize and to what extent may they criticize the government and working conditions?

"The workingmen are organized and there are very few 'scabs' such as Mr. Gompers encounters here. When he gets mad a workingman may cuss the government there just as he does here. But it is a workingman's government and the laboring classes are 99 3-10 per cent in favor of the existing government, and they are all in the unions."

No. 3. Is it true that the leading officials of the Soviet Government and Communist Party and the Third International are the same persons?

"I did not even hear the Third International mentioned over there. It is not an active institution at all and you seldom if ever hear anything said about it."

No. 4. To what extent is the government supporting the Third International or permitting its propaganda hostile to other governments?

"The Soviets put out propaganda only against governments and peoples that put out propaganda against them. They attempt only to meet propaganda with propaganda, which is quite natural and human. Incidentally the Soviets, all the way thru from Trotzky and Lenine to peasants, are friendly toward the United States and its institutions. Colonel Haskell and the American Relief Commission deserve a great deal of credit for this."

No. 5. If it is true, as claimed individually and unofficially, that the Russian Government no longer is a strictly Communist organization but is now almost a model of such republics as the United States, why does not the Soviet Government actually change its character to conform to such declaration?

Economic Policy Changed

"They have changed their economic policy and officially published the fact that there has been a change from the Communist to the co-operative principle, along the principle of the Rochdale co-operative system in the English mills. That principle is well understood. It is one man, one vote. Capital does not vote its power; excess profits are distributed back among the producers thereof. This co-operative form of government is being gradually put into effect and has been officially declared. I have a copy, in Russian, of the declaration.

"However, I do not like the election system, which savors too much of our own old-fashioned Republican standpat caucuses. They hold town meetings and select Bill Jonesby to go as a delegate to the Soviet district convention. At that convention Bill Smithsky may be selected as delegate to the state convention and at the state convention they name a delegate to go to the national convention at Moscow, and when he gets there he votes to elect Lenin as premier and so on. It's the old standpat caucus arrangement which we have had here, and I'm against that. There is one other unfair thing—they do not allow the Czarists, the old intellectuals, to vote at all."

No. 6. If the Soviets are willing to acknowledge Russia's legitimate foreign obligations, why does it not definitely, or at least in principle, go on record to such effect?

The Soviet Government will acknowledge the Czar's debts at any time the United States and other countries will acknowledge Soviet claims against them for assisting revolutions in Russia. These counter revolutions, they say, cost enormous losses in property and lives and were encouraged by foreign nations, which savors too much of our own old-fashioned Republican standpat caucuses. They hold town meetings and select Bill Jonesby to go as a delegate to the Soviet district convention. At that convention Bill Smithsky may be selected as delegate to the state convention and at the state convention they name a delegate to go to the national convention at Moscow, and when he gets there he votes to elect Lenin as premier and so on. It's the old standpat caucus arrangement which we have had here, and I'm against that. There is one other unfair thing—they do not allow the Czarists, the old intellectuals, to vote at all."

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Soviets' Promises

No. 7. Gompers' seventh question related to the broken promises of the Soviets and alleged strained relations existing today between Russia and several nations that had restored official relations, such as Turkey, Finland, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia and Poland.

"Russia has no strained relations with Turkey and none with Czecho-Slovakia," said Senator Brookhart. "About Finland and Latvia I do not know. In Poland there is bitter feeling against Russia and this is reciprocated in Russia. However, I asked Polish bankers and business men if they wanted the old czarist system back and they said they preferred the present government in Russia.

Russia's trouble with Great Britain was over the 12-mile international line at sea, and in this Russia was right. I would like to see our three-mile limit extended to 24 miles and then we'd stop rum smuggling. We have the power to do it, too, by simply giving notice. Newspaper reports about Russia not keeping her agreements are mostly propaganda.

Treatment of Travelers

No. 8. Is it the intention of American visitors in Russia to be a Soviet's guest? Even if part of expenses are paid by themselves, are they to travel on "guest trains" and stop at "guest hotels" and to visit only "guest farms, schools, factories, and so on.

"The so-called 'guest house' in Russia is a hotel. I stopped at one for five days and paid a bill of more than four billion rubles, exactly 4,187,000,000 rubles, for five days' rooming and six meals. There are no guest trains. I traveled on a common train, along with peasants and other folks. The trains were clean and in good order; the roadbeds are good in the main and are being repaired after the war damage. Ninety per cent of Russian railroads are in operation and the trains are on time to the minute. They are building their own locomotives for the first time.