

RAILROADS ARE THE MAIN BRIDGE BETWEEN THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS

A. F. of L. Convention Shows Enormous Decline of Union Membership

Moderate Policy of Reactionary Machine Responsible for Tremendous Decline in Membership During Past Two Years of Terrific Assaults Upon All Labor Organizations.

MACHINE BLUFFS CONVENTION DELEGATES

Gompers Deplores Employers' Violation of Contracts But Makes No Recommendations That Might Strengthen Organized Labor in Its Fight Against Enemies.

Samuel M. Gompers in his opening address to the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, last week, drew a picture of desolation for the labor movement that is one of the most remarkable confessions ever made by incompetent leadership of labor. The veteran president, who has spent his life in endeavors to speak for the labor forces of the country, here, by force on all sides and views with alarm the widespread violation of contracts with union men by their employers. Labor is surrounded and beset "by foes in high places," laments Gompers and the courts are complying to a wave of reaction.

If ever there was a time when labor was not beset by foes more able to crush it and a time that the courts of the country served any purpose, it is now. The machinery of the law is being used to crush labor. Gompers judges, by implication, that the machinery of the law is being used to crush labor. Gompers judges, by implication, that the machinery of the law is being used to crush labor. Gompers judges, by implication, that the machinery of the law is being used to crush labor.

Appalling Decline in Membership

The report of the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor exposed a decline in membership for the past year of 740,953, including practically every branch of industry in the United States. This decline is due, according to the report, to the fact that the "open shop" drive has been successful in many places. Gompers says that the "open shop" drive has been successful in many places. Gompers says that the "open shop" drive has been successful in many places.

Switchmen's Union Sabotaged by Reactionary Officials

The story of the Textile Workers is the story of the Switchmen. The Switchmen's organization is the only transportation union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and has declined from 14,000 to 8,000 members. This loss is due entirely to the rank betrayal of the rank and file of the union in Chicago, Cleveland, New York and practically in every large railroad center two years ago when they were "outraged" by the switchmen's strike.

Small Unions Also Hit

In addition to losses in some of the larger unions, the government has been attacking the smaller unions. In almost one-half, the smaller unions have failed or mostly because of the rank betrayal of the rank and file by labor union officials.

Rule or Ruin Policy of A. F. of L.

The condition of labor in the textile trades and in the Switchmen's trade

International Action in the Mine Strike

Proclamation of the Red Trade Union International

TO THE MINERS, TRANSPORT WORKERS, SEAMEN AND RAILWAYMEN OF THE WORLD!

To the Particular Attention of the Workers of England, France, Belgium and Germany!

The drama of last year's miners' strike in England is repeating itself in the great American coal strike. The British coal strike was broken because the bourgeoisie exercised international solidarity and the miners did not support their class comrades internationally and of a bitter defensive struggle by preventing the transportation and delivery of strikebreaker coal. The strike of the British coal miners was turned into a defeat with the aid of German reparations coal, with coal from France, Belgium and the Saar.

Now the world bourgeoisie is organizing the transport of British, French, Belgian and German coal to America in order to subject the American coal miners just as the English miners were subjected in 1921. Miners of the world! How long will you allow this? One after another you are being defeated in your difficult struggle for existence.

Since the leaders whom you still suffer are doing nothing to prevent this new disaster, we call upon you either to compel these leaders to organize the international struggle or immediately to hinder the transport and shipping of scab coal to America without the leaders of the International Federation of Miners and Transport Workers.

Hold meetings everywhere, control the consumption of the coal you produce and prevent by all means your labor from being utilized to reduce the wages of your American class brothers and take the bit of bread out of their mouths. Miners! Get into touch at once with the transport workers, the railwaymen and the seamen, in order to aid them in exercising international solidarity. The seamen, railwaymen and transport workers must refuse to transport coal to America.

Railwaymen, Seamen and Transport Workers! Help the miners. Workers, Class Comrades! If you do not help yourselves, no one will help you. Learn from your defeats; close your ranks for joint action. The adherents of the Red Trade Union International in your countries will help you to organize this defensive struggle!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

For the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International, Heinrich Brandler.

Furnish examples of the unmatched criminality of the so-called leaders of the American Federation of Labor.

Their policy is to either rule or ruin. They have not the slightest interest in organizing the workers in their respective industries if they can only keep enough of them on the lists to pay their own salaries. It is nothing to them that the organizations built up through years are destroyed at one stroke, long after their own jobs are gone.

More than ever is it necessary for the militant unionists to exert every ounce of energy in order to crush the American Federation of Labor machine and clear the way for a real organization of labor in this country before the war. The above telegram upon the present strike of the day. Every rebel of the American Federation of Labor should throw his influence into the balance in an open struggle against the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class or every other union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will meet the same fate as the Textile Workers, the Switchmen and the Seamen.

The decline of membership by nearly a million is most eloquent condemnation of the reactionary policies of the machine than all the invectives that have ever been hurled at the head of Gompers and his vile crew of union betrayers. If labor in this country is ever organized it will be organized against the wiles and in spite of the professional labor leaders.

HELP WANTED!

Comrades are wanted to aid in the distribution of the WORKERS' CHALLENGE on the new stands, union meetings, mass meetings, and all other places where workers gather.

Anyone interested in the circulation of the WORKERS' CHALLENGE is asked to call or write to the Circulation Manager at 85 East 4th Street.

Advice and suggestions will be gladly given. Personally yours, HERBERT W. STANLEY.

ANOTHER RAIL PAY CUT HITS CLERICAL AND STATION FORCES

More of the American wage slaves who fought and slaved to "make the world safe for democracy" are discovering that instead of being safe for exploitation it is safe for capitalism and the exploitation of labor in the most brutal form. As the combined drive of the capitalist class of the United States and its gang of office boys in the government to reduce the American wage workers to a level below that of the Chinese coolies continues the workers' struggle against the first vague symptoms of a united struggle against capitalism appear.

The latest reduction, a cut of \$20,500,000 a year in the pay of 520,000 rail workers, the bulk of them in clerical and station forces, was announced on Friday by the National Labor Board. The reductions range from 2 cents to 30 cents an hour, nearly two-thirds of those affected losing 1 cent.

The order reduces the pay of 208,500 clerks and station employees 3 cents an hour, 36,500 others 4 cents an hour, 10,000 5 cents an hour, 2,500 6 cents an hour, 2,000 7 cents an hour, and 2,000 8 cents an hour.

Train dispatchers and supervisory forces are not affected. The reduction, the third last of the series which have gone into effect on July 1, brings the aggregate reduction in railroad pay to \$125,000,000 a year, affecting 1,250,000 workers under normal conditions of employment.

THUGS AND GUNMEN SWARM MONONGAHELA RIVER STRIKE ZONE

From Brownsville, Pa., comes the report that the thugs and gunmen, otherwise known as "gunners," have been increased by many hundreds in the mine district throughout the Monongahela River Valley and adjacent areas. The tense situation created by reports that the miners were to open with improved scab pits, has been taken up from the mines and dives of the larger cities of the country.

About eighty scabs, the lowest types of creatures that can be corralled anywhere on earth, have brought into the districts to face. Miners and their families are being thrown out of their homes upon the public highways to make room for the brutes that the coal companies have imported.

Hundreds of eviction notices have been served on striking miners, many to become effective before the week ends. At Alton, Pa. 1 mine of the Frick company, 41 families were evicted Saturday at Maxwell, a village owned by the Frick company. The homes of families are usually taken in by night, while the houses they occupied are taken over by scabs.

MACHINE GUNNERS GUARD MINE SCABS

Guarded by two lines of men, armed with machine guns sixty men began digging coal at the Lester and Sherwood strip mines, six miles east of Harris, Pa., last week. It was the first coal mined in Illinois since the strike began, and armed scabs guarded the roadways to the mine.

Crowds of striking miners gathered on street corners, discussing the situation while others in the neighborhood towns to town, feeling out sentiment. Union officials mentioned striking miners against any demonstration. The scabs were said to have been brought from the Chicago district. Their camp well stocked with provisions. Scab money was not directly connected with the strike, but all in Illinois who work on April 1 in sympathy with the

Millions of Workers Will Be Hurlled Into the Gigantic Conflict

Conference of Labor Leaders Held to Consolidate Forces As Returns Show Overwhelming Strike Vote Among Rank and File of Railroad Workers.

COMPLETE PARALYSIS OF NATION SEEN

Long Delayed Action Toward Consolidation of Struggles Will Result in Shut-Down of Industries of the Entire Nation in Few Days' Time.

A conference of the officials of the railroad workers' organizations affected by recent wage cuts and the officials of the United Mine Workers' organization is being held in Cincinnati for the purpose of consolidating the forces of both industrial groups in the struggle against wage reductions and anti-union conditions that the capitalist class has been endeavoring to impose upon labor in the United States for the past two years.

MEXICAN TRAMWAY STRIKE EFFECTIVE

Striking street car workers in Mexico support of many other strikes, and the strike is spreading and threatens to become general unless the demands of the car men are granted. The Mexican government is in action to defend the interests of the capitalist class despite the claims of certain sentimentalists that Oregon and his government are radical and in sympathy with the aims of the working class.

More than 1,000 Federal troops are guarding the main electric light plant at Necaxa and several relay stations, giving assurance that Mexico City and the Federal district will not be deprived of light and power during the period of the strike which began last midnight. Many thousands of workers are affected by the general shutdown, and President Obregon conferred at noon today with the Strike Committee, but without result.

The striking street car employees have been joined by the bakers, telephone operators, candy makers and numerous factory hands. Transportation is wholly by automobile, but an effort is being made to enlist the chauffeurs in the strike ranks, with the probability that all Mexico City will soon be without a taxi. A dozen strike committees were in the National Palace last week seeking an audience with President Obregon, and an effort is being made to hold a joint conference of representatives of all the workers with the object of preventing the present disaffection from spreading into general paralysis of business.

The situation at Vera Cruz, according to dispatches is becoming alarming to the authorities, with the radicals in complete control of the city. Hundreds of eviction notices have been served on striking miners, many to become effective before the week ends. At Alton, Pa. 1 mine of the Frick company, 41 families were evicted Saturday at Maxwell, a village owned by the Frick company. The homes of families are usually taken in by night, while the houses they occupied are taken over by scabs.

PLAN TO UNITE RAIL UNIONS

William S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, announced from Cleveland last week his organization, numbering 107,000 men with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, numbering 80,000, into one gigantic organization.

There was a time when these two organizations were continually at odds with each other. In a dramatic stroke the engineers would work in the same cabs with scabs and vice versa. Of late years there have been working agreements only, but no working union, the two organizations remaining separate.

The drive of the ruling class is forcing the organized workers to show their ranks and reactionary as the leaders of labor are, they must respond to the pressing demands of the rank and file who are suffering.

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITED

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Gompers Deplores Employers' Violation of Contracts But Makes No Recommendations That Might Strengthen Organized Labor in Its Fight Against Enemies.

The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.) opened in New York City last night with a report from the executive committee showing a decline in membership of 240,000 in the past year. The report also shows that the A. F. of L. has lost 1,000,000 members since 1919. The convention delegates are expected to discuss the decline in membership and the reasons therefor. It is believed that the decline is due to the moderate policy of the A. F. of L. machine, which has failed to take any effective action against the employers' attacks on labor organizations. The delegates are expected to discuss the need for a more militant policy and for a closer cooperation with other labor organizations.

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Small Unions Also Hit

In addition to losses in some of the larger unions that have reduced some of them by almost one half, the smaller unions have fallen off mostly because the rank betrayed in the two houses of labor union workers. The United Textile Workers of America has declined from a membership of 104,500 in 1920 to less than 60,000 this year, a decline of over two thirds. In spite of the prolonged

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TO THE MINERS, TRANSPORT WORKERS, SEAMEN AND RAILWAYMEN OF THE WORLD!

To the Particular Attention of the Workers of England, France, Belgium and Germany!

The miners of the world are striking in England in reparation for the great American mine strike. The British coal strike is the first step in the international struggle for the liberation of the miners. The strike of the British coal miners is the first step in the international struggle for the liberation of the miners. The strike of the British coal miners is the first step in the international struggle for the liberation of the miners.

Another Rail Pay Cut Hits Clerical and Station Forces

More of the American wage scale who fought and died to make the world safe for democracy are being demoted or discharged. This is the first step in the international struggle for the liberation of the miners.

Thugs and Gunmen Swarm Monongahela River Strike Zone

From Brownsville, Pa., comes the report that the thugs and gunmen who were known as the "Black Legion" have been increased by many hundreds in the district around the Monongahela River Valley on account of the strike situation created by reports that the miners had been gathered up in the streets and driven to the larger cities.

Demand Release of Mooney and Billings

Reverend J. L. McKelvey of the Protestant Party of America has written to Governor Stephens of California, by way of a protest, demanding the release of the two men. McKelvey says that the two men are innocent and that they should be released immediately.

Help Wanted

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Mexican Tramway Strike Effective

Striking street car workers in Mexico City have succeeded in making the tramway strike effective. The strike is spreading and threatens to become general unless the demands of the strikers are granted.

Meaningless Words of Leaders

History of the convention of the American Federation of Labor last Friday, John I. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, said his organization would support the independent action of the miners and described the recent decisions of the Labor Board as outrageous, unwarrantable and unjustifiable.

Plan to Unite Rail Unions

William S. Gates, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, announced that Cleveland last night that plans are under way to amalgamate his organization, numbering 107,000 men, with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, numbering 88,000, into one gigantic organization.

Machine Gunners Guard Mine Scabs

Guarded by two lines of men, armed with machine guns, sixty men began digging coal at the Lester and Sherwood strip mines, six miles east of Herrin, Ill., last week. It was the first time since the strike that the scabs began, and armed sentries guarded the roadways to the mine.

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function in the interest of the rank and file labor.

Overwhelming sentiment for Rail Strike

The seven railroad unions that are already taking strike action were a sentiment almost unanimously in favor of a strong for the strike on July 1. Five other organizations are expected to take similar action.

The compromising and conciliatory policy of the leaders of labor and the resultant widespread wage reductions have caused more than 100,000 men to go on strike in the United States.

Will Completely Stop Of Fuel Supply

In the co-operative agreement by the rail chiefs in Chicago, just before the mine strike, the clause under which the conference is being called reads as follows:

"When any one, or a group of the associate organizations, is made the victim of unwarranted acts, or its interests are jeopardized, it will become the duty of the other members of each of the associated organizations to assemble to consider the situation. Ways and means may be considered and applied to meet the emergency. Action shall be taken under this article to the approval of each organization represented."

If the rail strike materials on July 1 which now are being produced, it will result in shutting off the supply of coal from the non-union mines which will shut down the whole country and will have a serious and consequent shut-down.

Working Class Must Fight

A fuel famine will undoubtedly result in vicious action by the government and the capitalist class. The capitalist press will again be howling about the interests of the "dear public" and all such humbug as is usually handed out on such occasions. The fight will be bitter and there is always the danger of the labor leaders betraying the government on the eve of victory, through their great conceits from the master class.

The working class of the country should be united in a common front against the strike, no matter how much the kept editors, preachers, priests and other agents of privilege howl about the suffering of the workers. The only people who will suffer are the capitalists and to act against the strike and force its success is to bring the ruling class to defeat and a calamity that will result in the defeat of labor in every industry in the entire country.

The mine strike and the threatened rail strikes are not merely struggles on the part of the workers against their employers, but they are the soldiers fighting in the front line trenches against the brutal onslaught of a capitalist class that has decreed the destruction of every labor organization on the American continent. If the miners and the railroad workers lose the burden of the fight will fall upon the other workers, therefore it is the imperative duty of all workers to rally to the support of the nation wide strike and to help paralyze capitalist industry in the United States.

Through pressure of the rank and file of labor the reactionary labor leaders have been forced to act and labor are not to it that the struggle is carried to a successful conclusion and the advocates of universal scabbery, parasitism and all other things which are humiliatingly defeated.

Over 6,000,000 miners on strike and the 1,250,000 railroad workers affected by the wage cuts entering the conflict in addition to the textile strike that has been raging since the first of the year, combined with the many building trades strikes and other smaller struggles throughout the country will bring the total number of strikers near the two and a half million mark, the largest number of workers ever on strike at one time in the history of labor struggles in America.

We are entering on a period of strikes that will constantly increase in intensity and power. As these struggles develop the workers will become aware of the class character of capitalist society and the frustration of the government as an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class.

Anything will do to bring the strike to a successful conclusion and the advocates of universal scabbery, parasitism and all other things which are humiliatingly defeated.

WORKERS START TROOPS START INTIMIDATION OF STRIKERS

Textile Strike Getting on Nerves of Employers Who Order Things and Judges to Start Drive Against Workers in Effort to Establish System of Scabbery.

The mill owners of Massachusetts, Connecticut, have ordered their hirelings, the state police, to start a drive to run solicitors for strike funds out of town. Mop-up textile workers have not gone on strike and young girls from Rhode Island occasionally visit the town to solicit funds for the strikers, as they have no other means of obtaining the necessary life.

Two young girls that had been collecting funds every night went to a restaurant for dinner, where they were surrounded by a coterie of state police and local officials and told to leave town immediately, otherwise they would be arrested under the Connecticut law against loitering, which means terms in jail.

The mill owners of Connecticut have come to the aid of their hirelings in Rhode Island and have shown that they are class conscious in the way they are treating the strikers. The working class should take a lesson from them and unite against the employers, who are their enemies in a struggle to keep their profits and without the extermination of one.

Rhode Island Judge Forbids Picketing

As a part of the general offensive started last week against the striking mill workers a corporation judge, named Borrow, of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, has issued an order forbidding the picketing of any of the plants where 16,000 people are on strike.

In his contemptible order the judge orders the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union to discontinue its picketing and to be fined \$1000 for each day that it fails to obey the order.

Temporary Writ at Nantick

Another writ, which is temporary, but will undoubtedly be made permanent was issued by Judge Tanner of the Superior Court upon the application of the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union and the National Labor Relations Board. The writ is in favor of the strikers and against the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union and the National Labor Relations Board. The writ is in favor of the strikers and against the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union and the National Labor Relations Board.

Plot Being Hatched

Well informed people in the region of the town of Amesbury, Vermont, Groompton and Clarendon declare that a plot is on foot to slaughter a group of workers who have been active in the strike, or railroad them to the penitentiary. The capitalist press admits the existence of the plot and states that there is danger of bloodshed at any moment in other of all the villages. Governor Sam Soule is sending a detachment of soldiers by the hundreds and scores of armed thugs are parading the highways looking for the strikers.

It is alleged that a yellow-bellied Major Hall and some Kent county soldiers are hatching a plot to dynamite a reservoir dam adjacent there by which the water is directed to the mills. So ridiculous is the charge that strikers contemplated blowing the dam that every eye recognizes the pretense as merely a move to get some soldiers into the district in order to intimidate strikers and also to use such violence propaganda to scare the weak striking individuals among the workers.

The dam furnishes water for a string of mill employing, in normal times 15,000 workmen and is forty-five miles in circumference and holds back two billion gallons of water. Its destruction would sweep the entire Pawtucket valley and it would be almost impossible to destroy it with a mere charge of dynamite, so solidly is it constructed.

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Five Arrested in Lawrence

On Thursday there were five men arrested in Lawrence, Mass., as they were distributing leaflets. Two were charged with assault, one with intimidation, one with interference with the business of the state. The charges are mere pretenses as the mill officials were infuriated at the increased activity among the pickets on Wednesday.

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AWAY WITH THE DELATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE EAST

The work of the Communist Delegation in Genoa is being done by the Communist Party of the East. The Communist Party of the East is the only party in the world that is not a party of the bourgeoisie. It is the only party in the world that is not a party of the bourgeoisie. It is the only party in the world that is not a party of the bourgeoisie.

According to the intention of its members, it was to do nothing more or less than to "reconstitute the bourgeoisie" and to "reconstitute the bourgeoisie" and to "reconstitute the bourgeoisie". No one can get out of his skin. The Communist Party of the East is the only party in the world that is not a party of the bourgeoisie.

Genoa the Mirror of the Impotence of the Bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has proved at Genoa its complete helplessness, its absolute impotence. It is an enormous fact that the Communist Party of the East is the only party in the world that is not a party of the bourgeoisie.

What is to be understood by this language? "Reconstitution" in plain language means restoring from the proletarian revolution the restoration to the foreign capitalist of the sacred property rights which they possessed in Russia before the revolution of 1917. This handful of imperialist magnates and Stock Exchange kings have already received more than a hundred million. We can count on our fingers the Belgian, French and English bourgeoisie that are interested in the Russian restitutions. But these handfuls are the actual dictators of bourgeois society. As Marx said: "The executive organ of the bourgeoisie." And as these few billionaires pile up all the "Lloyd's" of the world, they are the "Lloyd's" of the world.

The Russian proletarian republic was at first treated with death and destruction. It was treated with death and destruction. It was treated with death and destruction. It was treated with death and destruction. It was treated with death and destruction.

Workers of England! For years you have striven for the recognition of Soviet Russia. For years your bourgeoisie with the help of the social traitors, Henderson, MacDonald and Co. has thrown up every obstacle to your progress. His now the Genoa Conference opened your eyes?

Workers of Japan! Even the robber barons of Europe were compelled to sign a "treaty" in Soviet Russia. Only the capitalists and the bourgeoisie demanded for themselves special terms. They wish to carry out their labor campaign against the working masses of the Republic of the Far East. It is a pre-revolutionary period. Even a considerable section of the Japanese bourgeoisie has been thrown into the present regime. Workers of Japan! Face yourselves at the head of the republican revolution. Save the Russian Republic by the throat and set your foot on its breast!

Workers and Red Soldiers of Russia! If you still need any proof that only the Soviet Government defends the interests of the proletariat of the world you have received unmistakable proof from Genoa. You are experiencing hard times, but the hardest is already past. Guard your Soviet Government as the apple of your eye. You are standing at the outpost of the proletarian world revolution. The proletarian armies of other countries will come to your aid. Victory is no longer distant.

With more unanimity than ever the workers of all countries cry: Down with the Bourgeoisie! Down with its Fleekers, the Social Traitors! Long live Soviet Russia!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Treachery of the Second and 2 1/2 Internationals. The miserable counter-revolutionary role of the Second and 2 1/2 Internationals has never been so clear as during these days. The leaders of the Second and 2 1/2 Internationals have left to the world proletariat from some of the great and setting forth in the name of the proletariat of the world its proletarian revolution. The counter-revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie is so clear that it is impossible to see it.

What was treated in Genoa? How the leaders of the Second and 2 1/2 Internationals supported the demand of the Communist Party of the East? The Communist Party of the East is the only party in the world that is not a party of the bourgeoisie.

NEW YORK CITY—No democracy will be granted by President Harding to Ricardo Flores Magon, Mexican political prisoner now being held in Leavenworth penitentiary. This cord has come to Magon's counsel, Harry Weinberger, from Attorney General Daugherty. Appeal for the release of Magon and his fellow-prisoner, Librado Rivera, submitted to the American government by the Mexican ambassador, the legislatures of Yucatan and Coahuila de Zaragoza, and by the Mexican Federation of Labor, have been futile.

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MR. O'NEIL STILL PERVERTS HISTORY

By the Editor of The Workers' Challenge

REPLYING to the criticism of his article on 'The Anarchist Factor,' which appeared in the New York Call...

It will be remembered that we took Mr. O'Neil to task for an article which appeared in the magazine section of the Sunday Call of March 26...

Both paragraphs also brought nothing of value to the world concerning armed insurrection...

It is the opening paragraph of Mr. O'Neil's reply...

He even links so low as to try to imply an analogy between the Revolutionary War...

Now it seems to me that even Mr. O'Neil with his well known tendency to distort...

THE COMMUNIST POSITION The first and the last authoritative words ever uttered on the question of minority and majority action...

AS TO COMPETENCY Both Hogg and Mah charge each other with incompetency, inefficiency...

There is a meeting of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd, wherein he declared: 'I have absolutely assured myself...'

Again, two months before the Bolshevik revolution Lenin said: 'We are not Blanquists, WE DO NOT STAND FOR A SEIZURE OF POWER BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY...'

HOGG'S FORM OF DEMOCRACY Mr. O'Neil, like the bourgeois scribblers, likes to prate about the necessity of a Communist Party...

Mr. O'Neil speaks of the 'supreme executive power' of the Communists as though it were an alibi...

IN ORDER to prove that he is, too, can quote Marx, the historian of the Call...

Mr. O'Neil never overlooks any opportunity for base insinuation and quotes Marx' description...

THE BOSS DEMOCRACY It is not competent for us to pretend to do it for you, we are not to be held to do it for you...

Other qualities that the aspirant to leadership in the labor movement must have if he is to be fully qualified...

to stipend they could be hoodwinked by police spies and to organize conspiratorial groups...

Mr. O'Neil does not seem to be at all in sympathy with the views of the American Federation of Labor...

It is not surprising to find the American Federation of Labor swinging back to the close of the Eighteenth Century...

Mr. O'Neil does not seem to be at all in sympathy with the views of the American Federation of Labor...

Mr. O'Neil has been publishing what purports to be a 'History of the Revolutionary Movement in the United States'...

value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization...

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AS TO COMPETENCY Both Hogg and Mah charge each other with incompetency, inefficiency, there. And, as Herbert Spencer would say, "where there is so much smoke there must be some fire." It is quite possible that one or the other, or perhaps both - are more or less correct.

WORKERS' CHALLENGE

A Weekly Labor Paper

Published by the UNITED TOILERS' PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

63 East Fourth Street New York, N. Y.

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Vol. I June 24, 1922 No. 14

RAID AND MINE STRIKE

From the very beginning of the mine strike the Workers' Challenge has continuously advocated joint strike action on the part of the railroad workers with the miners as the only effective defensive measure against the encroachments of the highly organized capitalism of the United States.

In response to the inactive demand on the part of the rank and file of organized labor for unity of action the officials of the railroad workers' and miners' organizations held a conference on the eve of the mine strike and pledged "mutual support" and agreed to call a conference for "joint action" in case the situation warranted it. These blind leaders refused to recognize the fact that the mine strike had been deliberately provoked by the arrogance of the mine barons as a part of the general conspiracy of organized capital against organized labor in this country. The result has been that the mine strike is now approaching its fourth month after an initial suffering, and the railroad workers are just preparing to act.

The voting of the rail workers shows the same determination to fight that was shown by the miners and, even to the date, if the reactionary officials of the railroad organizations will permit the rank and file to get in action the apostles of the "open shop" in this country can be driven to their knees. But to simply defeat them is not sufficient. American labor should unite solidly behind these strikers and with the ruling class beaten its knees would shock them in the face, just as they have always treated us when we were down.

A. F. OF L. MEMBERSHIP DECLINE

The statistics made public by the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor at its convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, last week concerning the rapid decline in membership the past year are startling. Membership has reached the lowest point since the War, and the greater portion of the loss has occurred during the past year. Here are some interesting figures, covering a two-year period:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Membership. 1920 membership 4,078,740; 1921 membership 3,906,528; 1922 membership 3,165,635.

The executive council talks about the disastrous effects of unemployment, the "open shop" drive, etc. But not one word about the methods used by the executive council and the American Federation of Labor unions in general to combat this destructive tendency. When the "open shop" drive began in 1920 this reactionary machine, instead of taking up the challenge of the employing class of the United States and rallying the working class to a militant struggle against capitalism and all its manifestations, continued its cowardly, vacillating policy and the result of its criminality has been wholesale declines in the membership of every major labor body in the United States.

The labor unionists of the United States, in reviewing their uninterrupted series of retreats before capitalism the past two years can include in the category of causes of the present condition the treacherous policy of the A. F. of L. leadership. Not only has the Gompers machine proved its unfitness to conduct the struggle of the organized workers of this country against the employers, but it has been one of the contributing causes to the defeat of the workers.

At a time when a determined stand against the ruling class was essential, the Gompers machine was playing the political beggar at Washington and, as usual, being kicked in the face. At a time when the employers of the nation were united in a solid front against the working class, Mr. Gompers and his cohorts admonished the workers that craft unionism was the best possible form of unionism and that to advocate a form of unionism that would enable the working class to present a solid front to the capitalist assault was a conspiracy of enmities of the labor movement. When the policy should have been strong it was weak, when it should have served the interests of the workers it served the interests of the capitalist class.

Failure on the part of the A. F. of L. to marshal the forces of labor for a concerted attack against capital in the steel strike of 1919 was the beginning of the decline. The high peak of membership figures was reached during the fall of 1919 and has been steadily declining ever since. From that point onward there is a steady and constant decline. The first year of the decline shows a loss of 172,212. The second year shows the terrible loss of 740,893, or close to one million membership loss in two years. There only remains a

tride over three million organized in the A. F. of L.

The railroad workers have also seen their membership decline and for the identical reason that the A. F. of L. declined. In fact of recent weeks experience has been made of the membership falling off through a series of strikes. Hereafter it has always been the cry of the reactionaries that there was an inevitable loss of membership during a strike. This is not so, as is proved by the experiences of the miners' organization.

Starting the mine strike under the most unfavorable circumstances, at a time when the employers could easily afford a shut-down, the organization, instead of declining, has steadily gained in membership from the very day of the beginning of the strike. The same results would be realized in every other industry if the officials would cease their sabotage of the unions of this country.

Labor union officials in the United States are not leaders of labor, but safety-valves for the employing class and the master class of the United States and the constant sabotage of the struggle by the officials of labor organizations has caused thousands to leave the organizations in disgust, as they figure they could not be more completely at the mercy of the boss, without any other outlet, than they are at the moment, who constantly play into the hands of the enemy. The moment there is any sign of action on the part of organized labor the membership of the unions will again grow by leaps and bounds.

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The United States presents the strange anomaly of possessing the highest development of industry, the greatest concentration of capital and the weakest, most undeveloped labor movement in the world. Of some 27,000,000 wage workers in the United States there are less than five million organized, and those organizations embracing the five million are so archaic that it is impossible for them to function as labor unions should function.

A PROLETARIAN COURT

Reports of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries taking place in Moscow are baffling the learned jurists of other nations and those cynophants who constantly prate about the dignity and sacredness of courts. There is no doubt that a serious trial is in progress; the defendants are a trial for treason, therefore for their lives. But the liberty of speech that is permitted them is puzzling to the capitalist intelligentsia from this distance.

In no other court in the world has there been or could there be such total absence of pretense and show. There is no harking back to barbarism, where the so-called wise men dressed up in weird costumes in order to strike awe into the hearts of the ignorant spectators. The cap and gown of the judges in capitalist courts have been described by Thorstein Veblen as revivals of the bedecked "medicine men" of lower peoples and the stilted pomp of court rooms exposes the mentality of the savage beating the tom-tom.

The defendants in the treason trials in Russia have made statements that would convict them in any capitalist court in the world and have openly shown their contempt for the judges and the whole proceedings, without being even mildly rebuked.

But the facts in the case are being brought to light and although the trials may not be marked by orthodox procedure, when the case is closed the conspirators will know they have faced a tribunal that represents the power of the working class revolution, even though it may not be so dignified as other tribunals. What a lack of dignity will be compensated for by action.

WORDS OF WISDOM FROM A LABOR LEADER

One John H. Donlon happens to be head of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Just before the session of the larger convention at Cincinnati last week, the various departments held conferences. At the conference of the branch of the machine of which Mr. Donlon is an appendage this worthy imparted some words of wisdom to his associates. He proposes to end strikes once and for all. He opines the public is heartily sick of strikes and hence, as a faithful citizen, he must bow to the wishes of that impudent, the substance, variously described as "the people, the public, the innocent bystanders, etc."

Donlon's scheme for solving the problem of strikes is a simple one and divided into two sections; the first deals with the appointment of a national conference board, headed by some big

figure like Herbert Hoover, the function of which would be to hold the reins of the public, avoid labor disputes and protect industry against economic abuses." The second part of his plan embodies "appointment within the union organization of a strike control board, without cessation of which no strike could be called."

This plan, according to Donlon, would checkmate "agitators" and bring peace to industry. Here is a splendid example of the psychology of the average trade union leader. They not only think in terms similar to those of the capitalist class, but they are far more reactionary. It would require a great deal of tenacity for the average capitalist politician to suggest such a reactionary as Hoover for the position suggested by this gallant leader of labor. Of all the individuals in public life unfit for such a position, Hoover could not be a more absurd choice than the four-fifths soap-suds statesman and pro-Britisher, Hoover. Every act of his career has been against labor, from the time he came into prominence as "food administrator" under Wilson and attempted to reduce the salaries of the American government workers under the guise of patriotism and a national necessity, to his last infamous actions culminating in the expose of his connivance with counter-revolutionists against Soviet Russia, who were trying to restore the monarchy in that nation.

The second suggestion by the head of the Building Trades department means that the strike control board would become the beneficiaries of the bribes of the employers and that labor would be betrayed to enrich the personnel of the board of trustees of the employers. The proposals are calculated to strengthen the position of the employing class and further enslave labor.

It seems that at conventions of the American Federation of Labor the leaders try to outdo each other in attacking the militant elements in the labor union and restoring the capitalist class to the leadership of American labor is still "safe and sane," meaning that the leaders are still the agents of the capitalist class and that they are anxious to continue to serve their masters by opposing the militant sentiment that is crystallizing in the organizations of labor leaders, and the overthrow of the reactionary machines in control of labor.

The reactionary labor leaders fear strikes no less than do the employers for they know that in the process of a strike the rank and file, impatient with the in-measures of their leaders, may take matters into their own hands and decide to dispose of all leaders of labor.

SPARGO HEARD FROM

John Spargo, in the New York Times of June 6, indulges in paregory to Boris Bakmeteff, alleged Russian ambassador appointed by Kerensky and recognized by the United States until his resignation to Secretary of State Hughes a few days ago.

Spargo gained what little notoriety he ever achieved through his little association with the Socialist Party of America as one of its leading lights. For nearly twenty years Spargo was the leading theoretician of that party. He was a prolific writer of books and his works were text books for students who were so unfortunate as to imagine they could receive an education in Marxism by attending the various institutions conducted by the Socialist Party, such as the Rand School of Social Science, which has always taught an emasculated economics originating among petty bourgeois reformers, and the founders of the revolutionary movement.

The editor of the WORKERS' CHALLENGE was one of that very small group of Marxian reactionists in the Socialist Party that waged a continuous fight against Spargo and his cronies who constituted the right wing of the Socialist Party. At a time when there was no vestige of criticism leveled against the traitors of the Socialist Party, except from the I. W. W., which was then, as now, hopelessly tangled in the mazes of anarcho-syndicalism, there was a small group of so-called "hard-shell" Marxists who exposed Spargo and his literary products as impostors upon the revolutionary movement. We declared that his works were utterly worthless and most of them positively dangerous to the movement. Such criticism incurred the righteous wrath of all the placid-bumpers of the party. Not only did Hillquit, Berger & Co. defend Spargo, but those who call themselves Communists today allied to his support and assisted in the conspiracy of the Socialist Party machine against his critics.

Spargo was a religionist and wrote books purporting to show that Marxism and religion are compatible and that in reality Socialism is a new religion. In regard to superstition he followed closely in the footsteps of the most reactionary careerist, George D. Herron, now in Italy writing libelous articles in the interest of French chauvinism against the Bolsheviks. Spargo in his lying books and pamphlets used to continually pervert the words of Marx in order to justify his own perfidy. He used his position of prestige in the Socialist Party to organize a group of ultra-right speakers and writers in the movement who criticized him and was successful in closing all channels of publicity to his enemies, the Marxists of the country. This apostle of ignorance and grotesque mountebank constantly repeated the incantation "Marxism is Jesus Christ" and "Socialism is Marxism," even though we called his attention the words of Marx to the contrary. Marx, in his "Critique of the Philosophy of Hegel" declares:

"Religion is the opium of the people. The suppression of religion as the happiness of the people is the realization of its own happiness."

ness. The invitation to abandon illusions regarding its situation is an invitation to abandon a situation which has no need of illusions. Criticism of religion is therefore the germ of a criticism of the vale of tears of which religion is the holy aspect."

Having been a lair in the Socialist Party for two decades and having received the support of the entire officialdom of that party, it is hard to consider the opinions of Spargo that were held by eminent comrades of Europe. Spargo, in his immeasurable arrogance assumed a task he was mentally incapable of performing, that is writing a "Life of Marx." The book was accepted in illiberal criticism by the best word on the subject and was translated into German in the hope of boosting the European stock of the Socialist Party and one of its philosophers and historians. Unfortunately for Spargo and the party, the veteran socialist theoretician, Franz Mehring, offered a copy of it and reviewed it for the party press of that country. He branded it as a monumental fraud, a disgrace to the international movement and an insult to the memory of Marx. Mehring proved that Spargo not only plagiarized from other authors, but that he condemned those very authors whose works he had pillaged because they were not suffering from the same delusions he labored under. In a two-column criticism Mehring dissects Spargo and contemptuously throws him into the literary garbage heap. But this exposure of his fraudulent journalism had no effect upon the Socialist Party. Dan Spargo, instead of being expelled as an impostor and unprincipled liar, remained in the party until the United States entered the World War in 1917, when he resigned to become a propagandist for J. P. Morgan's president, Woodrow Wilson.

In mentioning those who denounced Spargo, we must not neglect the name of Victor Berger, the Lion, who all his life in the movement, was a thorn in the flesh of the careerists of the Spargo type and who constantly exposed the shallowness and pretense of these gentlemen of the bourgeoisie who aspired to become leaders of the "proletariat" in a new religious, but libelous editorial, written as an open letter to Mehring, he took to task such other would-be philosophers as Ernest Untermann, another reformist and poseur, who translated the Second and Third volumes of Marx's "Capital" into English and proved by his alleged "economic articles" and also by his book, "Marxian Economics" that he did not understand the books he had translated.

From various sources the coteries of charlatans who organized and dominated the policies of the Socialist Party had been adequately branded, but they still remained within the party until some other field of endeavor proved more fruitful.

Sentimental Socialists declare that Spargo has changed his ideas since the War, but they are mistaken. He is the same Spargo today that he was in 1911-17, when his influence was greatest in the movement. Not even the most reactionary capitalist editor could sink so low as to be so unprincipled as to praise a man who had been branded by Spargo. Here are some of the gems from this ex-Socialist Party philosopher, theoretician and historian:

"The resignation of Ambassador Boris Bakmeteff and its acceptance by Secretary Hughes bring to a most satisfactory end an unusual, though not unprecedented, chapter in diplomatic history. The long-continued recognition of the Ambassador who represented no existing Government, while without a precedent in our history, so far as I am informed, has been paralleled in the practice of other nations. France equally continued to accord recognition to the Minister accredited by the Kerensky regime. Similarly, the Vatican still continues to do so."

"It is exceedingly gratifying to know that the termination—at his own suggestion—of Mr. Bakmeteff's connection as Ambassador does not involve any change in our Russian policy. Taken by and largely, with full allowance for incidental mistakes, unavoidable in the confused and confusing circumstances, our policy toward Russia since March, 1917, has been characterized by a genuine friendship for the Russian people and a profound understanding of the essential interests of the Russian nation. I venture the prediction that ten years hence our Government's attitude toward the Genoa conference, for example, will be universally recognized as an act of high friendship for Russia, a state-manlike manifestation of that "moral trusteeship" which Secretary Hughes avowed at the Washington conference, enriching thereby the best traditions of our nation."

The above speaks for itself. It is impossible for human ingenuity to devise a more complete fabric of infelicitous mendacity. Even Senator Borah, by no means a friend of labor, objected to the presence of the Kerensky ambassador and asked so many uncomfortable questions that the State Department requested the resignation of Bakmeteff; and Borah never professed to be a revolutionist. Instead he would like to see us all in an ill of named policy, which is the information of other progressive labor unionists.

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view the best interests of the church as something that will result with the destruction of capitalism.

To speak of the attitude of the United States Government as evincing a high degree of friendship for the Russian people, evinces a depraved mind, considering the ignominious part played by this government, under Wilson, when American soldiers assisted the Japanese establish a blockade against Russia on its West frontier while the bandit bands of the counter-revolutionary generals were ravaging the Eastern borders. Perhaps Spargo refers to the generous hearted Herbert Hoover who evinced a real desire to serve Russia by assisting Yudenich, wage a struggle against the Soviets with the hope of restoring the reign of the Czar.

Spargo is today just where he has always been—an enemy of the revolutionary movement and a potential assassin of the class conscious workers of the world. His attitude today is the inevitable outcome of Socialist Party reformism and in a crisis the entire leadership of that party will be with the hangmen of labor.

Spargo supported the war because he was pro-Ally, not because he changed his opinions about what he imagined was Socialism. On the other hand Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit and other leaders of the party opposed the war, not because they were socialists and internationalists, but because they were pro-German. A. M. Simmons, John Spargo, Frank Bohn, and others were violently pro-Ally and expressed their tendencies long before the United States entered the war, just as a perusal of the Milwaukee Leader could leave no doubt as to the anti-Socialist and pro-German tendencies of the editor of that alleged Socialist daily, who deflected Philip Scheidemann as the representative of the Kaiser's Ogan magazine, and as Mr. Morris Hillquit, in the Metropolitan Magazine for March, 1915, defended the action of the Kaiser Socialists in the German reichstag when they voted the second war credits.

The only difference between Spargo and Berger is that one happened to be born in England, while the other was born in Vienna. They were and are social-patriots and not socialists and they both agree that the proletarian revolution in Russia and the establishment of the first working class government on earth is the greatest calamity that ever befell the human race.

We may soon expect to see Spargo re-entering the ranks of the party. Now that the ruling class has forgotten the war against Germany it is now possible for their servile to stop quarreling and sign unity against the working class.

The social-patriot Upton Sinclair, is now a member of the Socialist Party, after viciously denouncing its war stand as pro-German, so that next celebrity to resume his old place in that aggregation should be Spargo.

MILITANT UNION MEN Send News of Your Union to the Workers' Challenge! A National Organ for Progressive Trade Unionists The aim of this paper is to help crystallize the militant sentiment of the advance members of the trade union movement into definite and effective action. There has been no paper up to the time of the appearance of the Workers' Challenge that has endeavored to keep the militants of the labor movement informed regarding happenings of interest throughout the United States. There is strong sentiment in favor of fundamental changes in the structure and function of the labor organizations and all militants are interested in the victories won over the reaction. The kind of news we want is news of strikes, lockouts and in particular we want to know of every victory won by the progressives in the labor movement over the reaction and the questions at issue for the information of other progressive labor unionists. Just write it down in any form and the editorial staff will see that it goes in the paper all right. Mail all correspondence to "The Editor" Workers' Challenge 63 East Fourth Street New York City

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In response to the insubordinate demand on the part of the rank and file of organized labor for unity of action the officials of the railroad workers' and miners' organizations held a conference on the eve of the mine strike and pledged mutual support and agreed to call a conference for "joint action" in case the situation warranted. These blind leaders refused to recognize the fact that the mine strike had been deliberately provoked by the arrangement of the mine unions as a part of the general conspiracy of organized capital against organized labor in this country.

The result has been that the mine strike is now approaching its fourth month after untold suffering and the railroad working are still preparing to act.

The American labor should unite in taking these strikers and with the ruling class against its lines and we should kick them in the face just as they have always treated us when we were down.

A. F. OF L. MEMBERSHIP DECLINE

The statistics made public by the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor at its convention in Cleveland, Ohio, last week concerning the rapid decline in membership the past year are startling. Membership has reached the lowest point since the War, and the greater portion of the loss has occurred during the past year. Here are some interesting figures, covering a two-year period:

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The executive council talks about the disastrous effects of unemployment, the "open shop" drive, etc. But not one word about the methods used by the executive council and the American Federation of Labor unions in general to combat this destructive tenancy. When the "open shop" drive began in 1920 this reactionary machine, instead of taking up the challenge of the employing class of the United States and rallying the working class to a militant struggle against capitalists and all its manifestations, continued its cowardly vacillating policy and the result of its criminality has been wholesale declines in the membership of every major labor body in the United States.

The labor unionists of the United States, in reviewing their unarranged series of retreats before capitalism the past two years can include in the category of causes of the present condition the treacherous policy of the A. F. of L. leadership. Not only has the Gompers machine proved its inability to conduct the struggle of the organized workers of this country against the employers, but it has been one of the contributing causes to the defeats of the workers.

At a time when a determined stand against the ruling class was essential, the Gompers machine was playing the political beggar at Washington and, as usual, being kicked in the face. At a time when the employers of the nation were united in a solid front against the working class, the Gompers and his cohorts admonished the workers that craft unionism was the best possible form of unionism and that to advocate a form of unionism that would enable the working class to present a solid front to the capitalist assault was a conspiracy of enemies of the labor movement.

When the policy shown by the Gompers machine was kicked, when it should have served the interests of the workers it served the interests of the capitalist class. Failure on the part of the A. F. of L. to marshal the forces of labor for a concerted attack against capital in the steel strike of 1919 was the beginning of the decline. The high peak of membership figures was reached during the fall of 1919 and persisted until after the 1920 report. From that point onward there is a steady and constant decline. The first year of the decline shows a loss of 172,212. The second year shows the terrific loss of 740,893, or close to one million membership loss in two years. There only remains a

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Starting the mine strike under the most unfavorable circumstances, at a time when the employers could easily afford a shut-down, the organized membership, from the very day of the beginning of the strike. The same results would be realized in every other industry if the officials would erase their sabotage of the unions of this country.

Labor union officials in the United States are not leaders of labor, but safety-valves for the employing class to endeavor to stem the tide of revolt in the ranks of the workers. Everywhere the rank and file of the working class is striving to create new and more effective forms of organization. Almost instinctively, and before many are completely at the mercy of the boss, without any plan, they are with a set of officials who constantly play into the hands of the enemy. The moment there is any sign of action on the part of organized labor the membership of the unions will begin to grow, and a boom will result.

The United States presents the strange anomaly of possessing the highest development of industry, the greatest concentration of capital and the largest, most unproductive labor movement in the world. Some 27,000,000 wage workers in this country are organized in labor unions, and these organizations employ the two million or so, which is not impossible for them to function as labor unions should function.

The lamentations of the executive committee of the A. F. of L. will not change the fundamental defects of its affiliated organizations. The voice of the rank and file was silenced at a moment as it has been silenced at all previous conferences, but the ferment that is going on in the labor aggregations of labor is not thereby eliminated.

More conventions are held, the labor movement of this country will be reconstructed upon a basis compatible with this period of industrial development.

A PROLETARIAN COURT

Reports of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries taking place in Moscow are baffling the learned jurists of other nations and those exponents who constantly prate about the dignity and sacredness of courts. There is no doubt that a serious trial is in progress, the defendants are on trial for treason, for their lives, for the liberty of speech that is permitted them is puzzling to the capitalist intelligentsia from this distance.

In no other court in the world has there been in could there be such total absence of pretense and show. There is no hanging back to make sure where the socialized men dressed up in weird costumes in order to strike awe into the hearts of the ignorant spectators. The cap and gown of the judges in capitalist courts have been described by the Russian Vexien as revivals of the headdress of medieval men. At lower peoples and the official pomp of court rooms expels the mentality of the savage beating the tom-tom.

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figure like Herbert Hoover, the function of which would be to hold the confidence of the public, avoid labor disputes and protect industry against economic shocks. The second part of his plan involves the "appointment within the union organization of a strike control board, without sanction of which no strike could be called."

This plan, according to Donlon, would checkmate "agitators" and bring peace to industry.

Here is a splendid example of the psychology of the average trade union leader. They not only think in terms similar to those of the capitalist class, but they are far more reactionary. It would require a great deal of temerity for the average capitalist politician to suggest such a reactionary as Hoover for the position suggested by this gallant leader of labor. All the individuals in public life until for such a position there could not be a more absurd choice than the four-flushing soup-kitchen statesman and pro-Brutcher Hoover. Every act of his career has been against labor, from the time he came into prominence as "food administrator" under Wilson and attempted to reduce the standard of living of the American workers under the guise of patriotism and national necessity, to his last infamous actions culminating in the expose of his connivance with counter-revolutionists against Soviet Russia, who were trying to restore the monarchy in that nation.

The second suggestion by the head of the Building Trades department means that the strike control board would become the beneficiary of the hopes of the employers and that labor would be betrayed to enrich the personnel of standards of living. Either or both of the proposals are calculated to strengthen the position of the employing class and further enslave labor.

It seems that at conventions of the American Federation of Labor the leaders try to outdo each other in attacking the militant elements of the labor unions and reassuring the capitalist class that the leadership of American labor is still "safe and sane" meaning that the leaders are still the agents of the capitalist class and that they are "loyal and obedient" under the leadership of the capitalist class. The militant elements by opposing the militant sentiment that will soon result in the overthrow of the reactionary machines in control of labor.

The reactionary labor leaders fear strikes and the process of a strike the rank and file employees with the full measures of their leaders, may take matters into their own hands and decide to dispense of all leaders of labor.

SPARGO HEARD FROM

John Spargo in the New York Times of June 18 indulges in paregrycs to Boris Bakshmetoff, alleged Russian ambassador appointed. Kerensky had been proclaimed the legitimate ruler until he handed in his resignation to the Secretary of State Hughes a few days ago.

Spargo gained what little notoriety he ever achieved through his long association with the Socialist Party of America as one of its leading leaders. For nearly twenty years Spargo was the leading theoretician of that party. He was the prolific writer of books and his works are important books for students who were unacquainted as to imagine they could receive an education in Marxism by attending the various institutions conducted by the Socialist Party, such as the Rand School of Social Science, which was always taught an emasculated economic program, or among petty bourgeois professors, instead of the fundamental works of the theoretical founders of the revolutionary movement.

The editor of the WORKERS' CHALLENGE recalls that of this very small group of Marxian reactionaries, the Socialist Party that waged a continuous fight against Spargo, and the party who constituted the leadership of the Socialist Party. At a time when there was no vestige of restraint leveled against the backsters of the Socialist Party, except from the I. W. W. which was then more hopefully tangled in the mazes of anarchoid individualism, it was this group of so-called "hard-shell" Marxists who exposed Spargo and his literary products as impositions upon the revolutionary movement. We declared that his works were utterly worthless and most of them positively dangerous to the movement. Such criticism incurred the righteous wrath of all the place-hunters of the party. Not only did Hillquit, Berger & Co. defend Spargo, but those who call themselves Communists today also rallied to his support and assisted in the conspiracy of the Socialist Party machine against his critics.

Spargo was a religiousist and wrote books purporting to show that Marxism and religion are compatible and that in reality Socialism is a religion. In regard to superstition he followed closely in the footsteps of another adventurer and careerist, George D. Herron, now in Italy writing libelous articles in the interest of French chauvinism against the Bolsheviks. Spargo in his long books and pamphlets used to continually pervert the words of Marx in order to justify his own perfidy. He used his position of prestige in the Socialist Party to organize conspiracies against speakers and writers in the movement who criticized him; and was successful in closing all channels of publicity to his enemies, the Marxists of the country. This apostate of religion and impostor mountebank constantly repeats his own insanity "Marxism is Jesus Christ and Jesus Christ is Marxism," even though we called by his attention the words of Marx to the contrary. Marx, in his "Critique of the Philosophy of Hegel" declares:

"Religion is the opium of the people. The suppression of religion as the happiness of the people is the revolutionization of its real happi-

ness. The invitation to abandon illusions regarding its situation is an invitation to abandon a situation which has need of illusions. Criticism of religion is therefore the germ of a criticism of the vale of tears of which religion is the holy aspect."

Having been a lackey in the Socialist Party for two decades and having received the support of the entire officialdom of that party it is proper to consider the opinions of Spargo that were held by eminent comrades of Europe. Spargo, in his immeasurable arrogance assumed a task he was mentally incapable of performing, that was writing a "Life of Marx." The book was accepted in American circles as the last word on the subject and was translated into German in the hope of boosting the European stock of the Socialist Party and one of its philosophers and historians. Unfortunately for Spargo, the party, the veteran socialist theoretician, Franz Mehring, obtained a copy of it and reviewed it for the party press of that country. He branded it as a monumental fraud, a disgrace to the international movement and an insult to the memory of Marx. Mehring pointed out that Spargo not only plagiarized from other authors, but that he plagiarized those very authors whose works he had pillaged because they were not suffering from the same delusions he labored under. In a two-column criticism Mehring dissects Spargo and contemptuously throws him to the literary garbage heap. In this exposure of his fraudulent journalism had no effect upon the Socialist Party. Spargo, instead of being expelled as an impostor and unprincipled liar, remained in the party until the United States entered the World War in 1917, when he resigned to become a propagandist for Woodrow Wilson.

In mentioning those who denounced Spargo, we should not neglect the name of Daniel De Leon, who all his life in the movement was a thorn in the flesh of the careerists of the "Spargo type and who constantly exposed the shallowness and pretentiousness of these gentlemen of the bourgeoisie. De Leon aspired to be the leader of the masses into a new religion. In a notable editorial, written as an open letter to Mehring he tried to talk such another would be philosophers as Ernest Hornmann, another reformist and poseur, and economist of the Second and Third volumes of Marx's Capital, into the same line of thought. De Leon's economic articles, and also by his book, "Maxwell Economics," that he did not understand the books he had translated.

From various sources the career of charlatans who organized and dominated the policies of the party, had been adequately branded, but they still remained within the party until some other field of endeavor proved more fruitful.

Sentimental Socialists will declare that Spargo has changed his ideas since the War, but they are mistaken. He is the same Spargo today that he was in 1911-17. In his influence was greater than the movement. Not even the most reactionary of our editorial boards could be held guilty of the palaver heaped upon Bakshmetoff by Spargo. Here are some of the gems from this ex-Socialist Party philosopher, theoretician and historian.

The resignation of Ambassador Boris Bakshmetoff and its acceptance by Secretary Hughes, leading to a most satisfactory end an "impassioned" though not unprecedented chapter in the diplomatic history of the present regime. The resignation of the Ambassador who represented an existing government while without a precedent in our history so far as I am informed, has been paralleled in the practice of other nations. France equally continued to accredit her ambassador to the Minister accredited by the Kerensky government. Similarly, the Vatican still continues to do so.

It is exceedingly gratifying to know that the termination of his own suggestion of Mr. Bakshmetoff's connection as Ambassador does not involve any change in our Russian policy. Said by and largely, with the allowance for incidents and circumstances, our policy toward Russia since March, 1917, has been characterized by a genuine friendship to the Russian people and a profound understanding of the essential interests of the Russian nation. I venture the prediction that ten years hence our country's attitude toward the Genoa conference, for example, will be universally recognized as an act of high friendship for Russia, a state-manlike manifestation of that "moral trusteeship" which Secretary Hughes avowed at the Washington conference, and enjoining thereby the best traditions of our nation.

The above speaks for itself. It is impossible for human ingenuity to devise a more complete fabric of imbecile mendacity. Even Senator Borah, by no means a friend of labor, objected to the presence of the Kerensky ambassador and asked so many uncomfortable questions that the State Department requested the resignation of Bakshmetoff, and Borah never professed to be a revolutionist. Instead, he would like to see us all in jail or hanging.

Spargo mentions France and the Vatican as pursuing the same policy as the United States in relation to Russia. The slightest knowledge of current history clearly reveals the reason for the attitude of France. Its desire to subjugate Europe in the interest of French imperialism and the certain knowledge that its policy doomed to failure as Russia retains Communism is responsible for its diplomatic policy, while the Vatican, as the bulwark of superstition, must defend the right to propagate ignorance and can never deal with a government of avowed materialists, who

view the focus-pocus of the church as something that will vanish with the destruction of capitalism.

To speak of the attitude of the United States government as evincing a high degree of friendship for the Russian people, exposes a depraved mind, considering the ignominious part played by this government, under Wilson, when American soldiers assisted the Japanese establish a blockade against Russia on its West frontier while the bandit bands of the counter-revolutionary general were ravaging the Eastern borders. Perhaps Spargo refers to the generous hearted Herbert Hoover who evinced a real desire to serve Russia by assisting Yudenich wage a struggle against the Soviets with the hope of restoring the reign of the Czars.

Spargo is today just where he has always been - an enemy of the revolutionary movement and a potential assassin of the class conscious workers of the world. His attitude today is the inevitable outcome of Socialist Party reformism and in a crisis the entire leadership of that party will be with the hangers-on of labor.

Spargo supported the war because he was pro-Ally, not because he changed his opinions about what he imagined was Socialism. On the other hand Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit and other leaders of the party opposed the war, not because they were socialists and internationalists, but because they were pro-German. A. M. Simmons, John Spargo, Frank Bolin, and others were violently pro-Ally and exposed their tendencies long before the United States entered the war, just as a perusal of the Milwaukee Leader could leave no doubt as to the anti-Socialist and pro-German tendencies of the editor of that alleged Socialist daily, who defended Philip Scheidemann as the representative of the Kaiser of Germany, and as Mr. Morris Hillquit, in the Metropolitan Magazine for March, 1915, defended the action of the Kaiser Socialists in the German Reichstag when they voted the second war credits.

The only difference between Spargo and Berger is that one happened to be born in England, while the other was born in Vienna. They were and are social-patriots and not socialists and they both agree that the proletarian revolution in Russia and the establishment of the first working class government on earth is the greatest calamity that ever befell the human race.

We may soon expect to see Spargo re-entering the ranks of the party. Now that the ruling class has forgotten the war against Germany it is now possible for their servants to stop quarreling and again unite against the working class.

The social patriot I.pton Sinclair, is now a member of the Socialist Party, after victoriously denouncing its war stand as pro-German, so the next liberty to resume his old place in that aggregation should be Spargo.

MILITANT UNION MEN

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The aim of this paper is to help crystallize the militant sentiment of the advanced members of the trade union movement into definite and effective action. There has been no paper up to the time of the appearance of the Workers' Challenge, that has endeavored to keep the militants of the labor movement informed regarding happenings of interest throughout the United States. There is strong sentiment in favor of fundamental changes in the structure and function of the labor organizations and all militants are interested in the victories won over the reaction.

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