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Special Magazine Supplement THE DAILY WORKER

THIRD SECTION
January 13, 1924. This
magazine supplement will
appear every Saturday
in The Daily Worker.

St. Louis and St. Paul

By JOHN PEPPER

St. Louis is the place where the national convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action will meet on February 12th.

St. Paul will on May 30th, be the scene of the national convention of the Farmer-Labor Party forces of the United States.

These two gatherings will decide the political fate in 1924 of the working class of America.

These two conventions will decide whether the working class in the presidential and congressional elections of 1924 will once more be only the tail of the capitalist parties, or whether it will take its stand as an independent political factor.

The working class of America is in a state of transition. A minority of the working class is class-conscious and is intent on fighting against the capitalist class and its government. Another minority, at the opposite pole, is in the service of the capitalists (partly even in the direct service of the government) and it does its utmost to obstruct every independent political action of the working class. Between these two groups—between the organized class-conscious minority and the organized lackeys of the capitalists, the labor officials—we see those millions of American workers not as yet class-conscious, but struggling towards class-consciousness.

The Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in St. Louis, will be nothing else than an organized effort of labor officialdom to maintain the old state of things, and to preserve the workers as the political serfs of the capitalists. The St. Paul convention of the Farmer-Labor Party forces will be in substance an organized effort on the part of the class-conscious minority to lead the great masses upon the road of class-consciousness.

St. Louis—The Retrogressive Progressives

The Conference for Progressive Political Action has undergone a remarkable development. Its name still remains Progressive, but its policy has gone a step backward with every one of its actions. The first national convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action took place on February 20 and 21, 1922, in Chicago. The Conference was convened by the high officials of sixteen railway craft unions. Not less than eighteen international unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor sent delegates. Seven big national unions outside of the American Federation of Labor were represented. The Conference was called by the mighty international officers of the official labor movement who, in contrast with Gompers and his gang, were of the opinion that it was impossible to continue the traditional policy of Labor of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies" in the old capitalist parties. These officials, Johnston or Keating or Lewis are themselves nothing else than capitalist agents in the ranks of labor. But they were forced to act because the discontent of the masses exercised a tremendous pressure upon them. The deep-going industrial crisis of 1920 which began in 1920 and reached its depth in 1921, the misery and discontent of over five million workers forced the reactionary officials into political activity. Millions of workers demanded an independent party of workers, and the labor officials had to place themselves at the head of this movement if they would hinder the masses from organizing the Labor Party under a new, militant leadership. The workers harbored great expectations, but the labor officials did not organize the Labor Party. This February conference in Chicago stated in its manifesto: "The conference agrees that the time is ripe for progressive political action, but that the

organization of a new party should await developments."

In this betrayal by the labor officials the Socialist Party played the role of accomplice. The Workers Party at that time did not recognize the great significance of this conference, and did not send any delegates to Chicago.

The labor officials would have preferred to forget the Conference for Progressive Political Action entirely, but the masses again forced them to act. The tremendous strike movement of the summer of 1922—the most gigantic known in the annals of the American labor movement—and the brutal intervention of the government, the Daugherty injunction, the use of the army against the workers, filled the masses with a wild bitterness. Millions of workers demanded the forging of a political weapon, demanded the Labor Party. The labor officials were forced to convene the second convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland on December 11, 1922. And extraordinary enthusiasm of the masses greeted the Cleveland convention. Through labor and farmer officials no less than three million organized workers and farmers were represented in Cleveland.

The convention was completely dominated by the officialdom, and it was therefore inevitable that it should turn into an enormous betrayal. A shilly-shally center—the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, waged a feeble fight, but it was simply steam-rollered. The left wing, the representatives of local unions and the Workers Party were not admitted. The motion to form a Labor Party was defeated by a vote of 64 to 52. The Socialist Party was once more the most useful accomplice in the burial of independent political action of workers. But the Workers Party appeared for the first time before the whole working class as a dauntless and aggressive advocate of the Labor Party idea.

The same high officials of international unions who called the Chicago and Cleveland Conferences have called the third conference for St. Louis. This St. Louis conference will not even play with the idea of a Labor Party, but will openly declare for the support of the Democrat McAdoo, that is, the support of a candidate of an out and out capitalist party. The Chicago and Cleveland conferences were born out of the demand of the masses for a Labor Party, but they were convened by the labor officials, to prevent the formation of a Labor Party. The St. Louis conference will be the closing act of this drama of betrayal and deception. The St. Louis conference has nothing to do with the masses any more. It is obviously nothing but the political machination of the labor officials to sell out as many hundreds of thousands of workers as they can to capitalist politicians. But these conferences have not been in vain. The Chicago conference taught the masses that the Gompers clique

will never organize the Labor Party. The Cleveland conference taught the masses the other lesson that not only the reactionary, but also the so-called progressive labor officials of the international unions, will not organize the Labor Party. The St. Louis conference will teach the masses the third lesson, about retrogressive progressives. It will show that all these labor officials are hopelessly bound up with the capitalists and with the capitalist parties.

St. Paul—The Advancing Radicals

The May 30th convention in St. Paul will be a gathering of all truly progressive, truly radical and truly revolutionary elements of the American labor movement. The St. Paul convention will at the same time be a mass gathering of exploited farmers. The entire story is told by one fact—in the St. Louis convention the trade unions are represented by the officials of the international unions, while the delegates of local unions will not be admitted at all. In St. Paul organized labor will be represented by delegates of local unions, and the international unions as such will have five delegates each. St. Louis will be the field of betrayal by labor officials. St. Paul will be the field of battle of the rank and file. The aim of St. Louis is to bind the workers more closely to the capitalists. The idea of St. Paul is to organize the workers for independent political action, against the capitalists.

May 30th, 1924, in St. Paul, would be impossible without July 3rd, 1923, in Chicago. The July 3rd convention and the creation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party denoted a declaration of independence of the American working class, meant the beginning of the formation of a national political party of workers and working farmers. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party contains today only a part of the militant workers and farmers, but it is a legitimate child of revolting masses. It was born of the discontent created by the crisis of 1920-21. It was born of the militant spirit and bitter struggle of the summer of 1922. It was born of the frightful bankruptcy of the farmers. It was born of the disillusionment which followed the betrayal by the Cleveland conference and the failure of the Non-Partisan League.

The May 30th convention will be the continuation of the July 3rd convention. It will take up the idea of a Labor Party on a national scale and will continue to build it up, with larger masses, opening up greater possibilities. The historical significance of the May 30th convention will be that it will be an organization on a national scale for a nation-wide action. Without a national crystallization, the various city and state Labor Parties are doomed to disintegration. The history of the American labor movement is full of tombstones of local Labor Parties which died a premature death.

There Are Compromises and Compromises

St. Louis will be the compromise of labor leaders and labor aristocracy

with the capitalists. The St. Louis Conference—if all signs are not misleading—will decide to support McAdoo as candidate, that is, to support the party of Wilson, the party of the world war, the party of the raids of Palmer.

But the St. Paul convention will also not be a pure class gathering of workers and exploited farmers. The May 30th convention will be a conglomeration of Third Parties and real Farmer-Labor Parties. There will be on the one hand representatives of workers and exploited farmers, and on the other hand, representatives of well-to-do farmers, small businessmen and intelligentsia. The St. Paul convention will not create a real class party of workers and exploited farmers, but a Third Party of all the above-mentioned elements. But this new party will have within it the Federated Farmer-Labor Party which is the beginning of the class party of the laboring masses and which will rally around itself the workers and exploited farmers.

But even the representatives of small businessmen in St. Paul will be different from the Democratic or Republican Party. The small businessmen and well-to-do farmers who remain in the old parties accept thereby the political leadership of the capitalists. Discontented and revolting small businessmen and farmers manifest by their break with the old capitalist parties and their entering a Third Party that they no longer accept the leadership of the capitalists, that even with all their characteristic hesitancy, wavering and half-measures, they nevertheless want to combat the capitalists.

We Communists must understand this difference clearly, the difference between counter-revolutionary and revolutionary compromise. It is counter revolutionary compromise when the labor aristocracy concludes an alliance within the old capitalist parties to conserve the existing social order. But it is a revolutionary compromise when Communist workers enter into the May 30th convention to form the united front with militant workers and desperate farmers, even though these masses do not as yet see clearly the difference between themselves and well-to-do farmers and small businessmen.

It is a revolutionary compromise when Communists seek and accept the alliance of farmers or Third Party forces generally, if these elements are in revolt against the two-party system and wish to fight against ruling big capital. A compromise which creates allies for the working class for weakening and undermining the present social order is a revolutionary compromise. When Secretary of Commerce Hoover, the most conscious representative of the interests of the capitalist class says that the two-party system is the best guarantee for the present social order, Communists must understand the revolutionary significance of a Third Party. When Gompers, the capitalist agent within the ranks of labor, recommends the policy of "Rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies" within the old capitalist parties, Communists must understand the revolutionary significance of independent political action of the working class. When the whole capitalist press with united forces, day by day "proves" that the interests of the farmers are different from those of the workers, Communists must understand the revolutionary significance of the alliance between farmers and workers. When yellow Socialists yell that the Communists have become opportunists because they remain with the masses of workers and farmers, though these are not as yet class conscious, Communists must understand the revolutionary significance of the compromise between the advance guard and the rear guard of the working class.

Murphy Hopes Daily Worker Becomes Worthy Companion of Pravda and the Rote Fahne

J. T. Murphy, member of the British Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, sends his greetings to "The Daily Worker" and hopes it will become a worthy companion of Pravda and the Rote Fahne, the famous Communist dailies of Russia and Germany. He writes as follows:

West Ealing, London, England, Dec. 14, 1923.

To: Workers Party,

Dear Comrades: I am delighted to hear of the progress of the Workers Party of America and your innovation—The Workers Daily.

Here's to "The Workers Daily". May it become a worthy companion of the great dailies, Pravda and Rote Fahne, in the great revolutionary movement of the workers.

May it become as dear to the workers of America as a valiant champion of their will to victory, as these other great papers have become to the workers of Russia and Germany.

Yours fraternally,

J. T. MURPHY.

COUNTRYMEN - - - By S. SYDNEY WYMAN

"WHERE you from, Shorty?" Big Bell looked down at the little man who moved into a seat beside him at the red and white checkered table, while his elbows stood out as though to mark his personal boundary lines.

Matty Hirko glanced at him, an odd little dignity in his manner, and disregarding the query reached for a piece of bread. It happened that Big Bell reached at the same time and his grimy fingers snatched it from beneath the delicate, smaller ones. Matty looked at him again and said softly as though to reassure someone, "You countryman of mine?"

"Ho-ho-ho," roared Bell so that all the table heard and the rapidly moving forks stopped while the eyes rolled toward him. His brute strength caught all the men unwillingly, for this big giant could be a devil without warning; he therefore received the suspicious attention one gives a dog barking and snapping at his heels.

"Ho-ho-ho," he roared. "Ho-ho-ho—countryman he says. Countryman—little runt. Ho-ho-ho—little pollywog—toad hopper. Hump."

No another word did he say until he finished the meal when he arose grating his chair, leisurely put a toothpick between his teeth, and then leaned over Matty to remark as he thumped him a whack across the shoulders, "Countryman eh? Pollywog."

And Matty Hirko grinned, only half knowing whether to laugh or take offense. Later in the evening he sauntered down to the pool hall for a drink, and a little gossip with any one who spoke his language; for he had just come to work in the smelter and he knew only casual acquaintances. When he entered the hall he saw Big Bell emerge from the rear door, a door Matty learned led to a shack where moonshine was sold by the drink or the bottle. But Matty didn't care for moonshine; it was bitter and when he couldn't find good whiskey or wine he took soft drinks. Not so with Bell who came up to him, pulled a flask from his pocket and offering it grinned, "Drink, countryman."

At first Matty would have refused, for it was white liquor, but something in Bell's eyes compelled him to drink. Then Bell drained out a portion and offered it again, but this time Matty waved him off quietly.

"So," Bell peered into his face. "So—you not drink. God damn, I make you drink," and he tripped up the little man, sprawled over him on the floor, ground the bottle between his teeth and poured half the contents down Matty's throat. Leave him alone—he make you fun.

"So," he roared when he straightened up and looked at the bottle. "So pollywog—you get one damn good drink, eh?"

And Matty did not fight; instead his puny strength or the consequences. But the tussle ended in a moment; Bell caught him about the waist, lifted him bodily, flung him across the pool table and spanked him while the men gathered about to roar with delight. Finished, Bell leaned back against the bar and waited while Matty scrambled from the table. He would have seized a chair, but a friend pulled him away toward the rear saying, "You bet You no fight hem—she strong like debil."

and Matty did not fight; instead he remembered that night and the next day, and every day after that when he met Big Bell at the boarding house, at the pool room, or on the street. Generally he dodged away, but sometimes the giant caught him and laughed in his face, or twisted his ear or his nose. Once he landed a kick which turned Matty's face white with pain, but he said nothing, hoping that the initiation and persecution would soon be over. But it wasn't; something in the small man, something about his fine delicate mustache, his large sparkling eyes, the tilt of his black felt hat always baited Big Bell and induced some remark, a pinch, a squeeze, or a slap.

Matty remembered all these insults; he made few friends for his pride was hurt and instead of being gay and happy as was his custom, he worried.

Then he bought a dog, a little frisky pup to which he brought bones from the butcher shop or tid-bits he took away from the table. He kept it at home for two weeks, but one night he took it along to the boarding house; he walked very erect and proud, for now he had a friend, a companion, a sympathizer. Just a pup, but it was enough. Big Bell was waiting at the porch when Matty rounded the corner, the pup frisking at his heels.

"Ho-ho-ho," roared Big Bell, "Look—my countryman. Look—two little dumplings—yellow dogs."

Matty stopped before him. He didn't exactly understand what "yellow dogs" meant but he knew it implied scorn.

"You take back what you say of my dog," he cried. "You take hem back."

Big Bell only grabbed his collar, turned him about and gave him a kick. Then he caught the pup another blow in the ribs which sent him yelping up the street. Matty watched the little pup a short way, and then went inside to sit at the red and white checkered table. He drank two cups of coffee, and went home without stopping at the pool room as he usually did. He walked with his head bent forward as he had seen the little dog do.

Next morning Big Bell was pouring milk on his breakfast food and slopping it over the dish onto the table cloth when Matty came in. Instead of walking to his regular place at another table, he stopped opposite Big Bell rose grating his chair. coat pocket, pointed it at the giant and ordered with short burning little words, "You take back what you say—my dog—you 'pologize what you do—you take hem back."

Big Bell was astonished, surprised for the first time in his life, but once more he laughed. "Ho-ho-ho, countryman—two yellow pups—two."

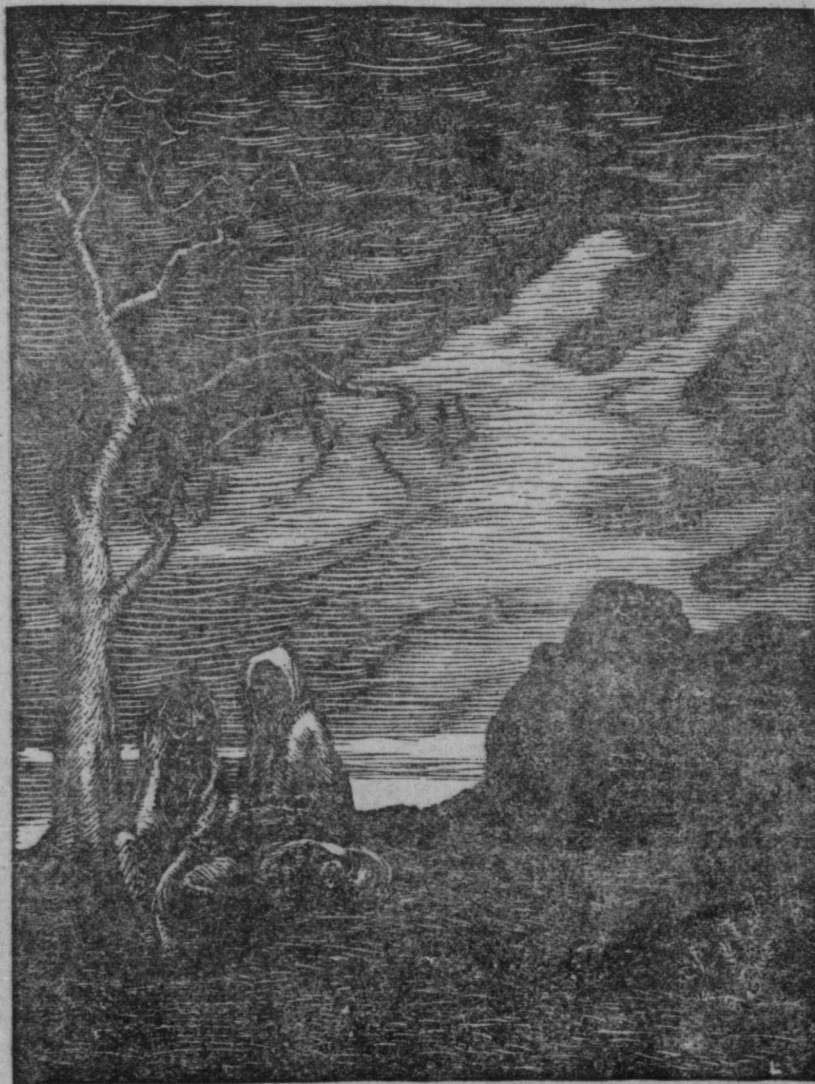
He seized a knife and rising to get at this little man, this little runt who dared challenge him, him, Big Bell, boss of the pool hall, boss of the boarding house, boss of the smelter. Big Bell rose grating his chair.

Matty stood still, watching, waiting.

Then he pulled the trigger—once, twice. And Big Bell sat down heavily against the chair, for the first bullet cut his heart.

An hour after they found Matty Hirko in his room with his little frisky pup. When they took him he said simply but proudly, "He keek me dog once—he no keek hem two time."

Hunger



J. J. Lankes

THE COMING MINERS' CONVENTION - - - By WM. Z. FOSTER

On Jan. 22nd the United Mine Workers will hold their Convention in Indianapolis. Once again the organized coal diggers of the United States and Canada will meet to legislate on the labor problems of their industry. It will be one of the most important conventions in recent years. Its outcome will be of the greatest consequence to the whole labor movement. The eyes of organized workers everywhere are turned toward it.

For many years the United Mine Workers were one of the most progressive organizations in the labor movement. They long led the revolt against the Gompers machine. Every progressive cause could depend upon them for support. This was in the hey-day of the strength of the Socialist Party. But in recent years the miners' organization has lost much of its militancy. Especially is this the case amongst the leadership which, for general incompetency, autocracy, and corruption, will now compare with any of the most reactionary unions in the A. F. of L. The real condition of the organization is that the rank and file are genuinely progressive, while the officialdom are reactionary to the last degree. It is an anomalous situation. Practically all the unions in the American Federation of Labor show a somewhat similar division of opinion between the officialdom and the rank and file, but in no case is this so marked as in that of the United Mine Workers of America.

As the years go by the collisions between the progressive rank and file and the reactionary officialdom grow

heavier and more intense. At the coming convention many of these fights will come to a head. One of the most important is the Howat case. That is a cancer in the heart of the Miners' Union. Howat was brutally and illegally expelled. All the intelligent rank and file members realize this and they are demanding a square deal for him. Throughout the whole organization Howat has been given a rousing reception by the rank and file wherever he has gone to make known his case. At the convention this sentiment in favor of him will surely register itself despite all that Lewis can do to prevent it. Another collision between the rank and file and the officialdom was had in District 26. The manoeuvres there of John L. Lewis in smashing the strike of the coal and steel workers at the behest of the British Empire Steel Corporation were among the worst exhibitions of treachery known in the history of the Miners' Union. Desperate efforts will be made to purge the organization of the disgrace and to rid it of the men guilty of such a crime.

Many other grievances will be aired by the rank and file. They see the organization falling to pieces and nothing being done by the officials to prevent it. They will demand a reckoning of the crooked leadership. In the past couple of years the wave of discontent in the thousands of locals has begun to develop the first rudiments of organization. These are to be found in the Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America. This is more than an or-

ganization; it is a cause. It is the one hope of the rank and file to have some say in the organization, the one means by which they will be able to turn it to their advantage and away from being merely an instrument for raising corrupt officials to power. The fight will be intensified by the fact that the bituminous agreement expires this spring and the fate of the miners' standards of living is in the balance, with the prospect of a great strike to defend them looming up.

The factors are present for a great rank and file revolt in the Miners' Union. Discontent is rife in every district. And upheaval is long overdue. The only way it has been prevented up till now is by the use of the iron fist by Lewis. The wave of discontent that is sweeping many unions manifests itself even more strongly in the United Mine Workers of America. In the Molders' Union the membership in the last convention, demanded a general revision of the policies of the organization. In the Maintenance of Way convention they went much further and swept out of office the whole reactionary gang of officials led by the unspeakable Grable. In the Miners' Union the discontent mounts still higher and Lewis will have the job of his life trying to choke it back at the coming convention. There will be a bitter struggle between the forces of progress and of reaction.

What happens at the Miners' Convention will be of the utmost importance to the whole labor movement. The workers are demoralized and helpless everywhere in the

unions. Craft unionism is discredited. A great renaissance is needed. This can come only through a great shattering blow dealt at the old bureaucratic machine. If the miners will take the lead in this movement at the next convention, workers in the other industries will be encouraged to follow. When the big revolt took place at the Maintenance of Way Workers' Convention a year ago, a quiver ran through the whole labor movement. But this organization was on its last legs and the revolt dissipated itself. If the miners take the bit in their teeth, as well they may at the Indianapolis Convention, the story will be a different one. The old reactionaries in the labor bureaucracy will find themselves confronted with a real struggle. On the other hand, if the Miners' Convention is a reactionary one, it will throw still more discouragement into the ranks of an already dangerously depressed labor movement. The coming Miners' Convention marks a turning point in the labor movement.



THE WAR ON THE WORKERS

By JAY LOVESTONE

Congress will soon be called upon to appropriate scores of millions of dollars to increase the military and naval fighting forces.

There is no doubt that the appeals of Secretary of War Weeks and Secretary of the Navy Denby will meet with a generous response. World conditions are too unsettled, and domestic conditions are too unstable to warrant a reduction in Uncle Sam's military and naval expenditures.

To the workingmen and poor farmers there is not a more vital question than that of militarism. Militarism is a special, violent, mechanical barrier to the achievement of working class freedom. In recent years the capitalists have been making giant strides in militarizing America. Our owning class has been making tremendous progress in building up gigantic military machines to fight for its interests at home and abroad. The responsible navy and war departments have repeatedly and frankly declared that our navy and army are great industrial assets.

The National Guard

The cost of national defense has more than doubled in the last decade. Likewise, the total number of individuals under training has more than doubled.

One of the most important units in the national military machine is the National Guard. According to the last report of the Secretary of War, this military body now has a total strength of 160,598 men divided amongst the various states and Porto Rico.

Recently the big employers have begun to pay considerable attention to the National Guard. State Legislatures are increasing the appropriations for these units. The reason for this growing interest and expenditure of funds in behalf of the various state militias is obvious. The National Guard has been used by the capitalists against the workers more than any other division of the national military organization.

It is interesting to note that the ratio of increase in the National Guard is almost directly proportional to the intensity of working class unrest in the country. During the fiscal year 1921 when the country was on the eve of a great strike wave and the bosses were preparing the open shop drive, the National Guard increased 102 per cent in its aggregate strength according to the Chief of the Militia Bureau. In 1922 in the midst of the terrific class struggles involving over a million workers, the National Guard gained 40 per cent in strength. In 1923 with strikes and industrial unrest somewhat abated, the employers and their state and federal governments paid less attention to the National Guard and the rate of increase fell to a point of practical insignificance.

The War On the Workers

That the capitalists have turned the various state military bodies into safe investments is proved by an examination of the most recent history of the National Guard. An analysis of the latest Annual Report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau brings to light startling evidence establishing beyond a doubt that the National Guard is more and more being used by the bosses to wage relentless war on the workers. In his report for 1923, the Chief of the Militia Bureau put the case of the employing class bluntly in these words: "The National Guard, it may be safely assumed, has the loyal support thruout the country of the conservative citizen".

The story of the National Guard movements in the last year reads like the dispatches from the front sent by the best of war correspondents. When one goes thru the last report of National Guard activities he recalls the stirring reports of Sir Philip Gibbs from the French and Flanders fronts. Cavalry squadrons, infantry battalions, medical detachments, tank corps, headquarter troops, service detachments, field artillery corps, machine gun companies, coast artillery divisions, howitzer and train divisions, and anti-air craft artillery—all of these have been turned into action in the last fiscal year against the workers who were struggling against unspeakable working and living conditions.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the National Guard organizations of twenty-seven states were called upon to render emergency duties and help the civil authorities maintain law and order. If any one still has any doubts left as to law and order under capitalism being anything else than largely a matter of keeping the workers in subjection

and perpetuating the present system of employing class exploitation and oppression, then let him examine the last report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau: Of the 27 states whose National Guards were in action from June 30, 1922 to June 30, 1923, 21 called upon their militias to render service to the bosses in the great national textile, mine, and railway strikes of 1922. In only six states was the National Guard called into action for any other but strike duties during this period. Massachusetts, Maryland, Louisiana, Minnesota, Oregon and Montana, employed their state militias to render such public services as fighting forest fires and guarding prisoners during trials. All the other states employed their troops to break strikes and to war on the workers.

The Textile Strike

In the textile strike, the small state of codfish aristocrats, Rhode Island, had companies of coast artillery, squadrons of cavalry, machine-gun divisions, and field artillery corps thrown into action against the striking workers. These military forces did incalculable damage to the textile workers. All in all the various subdivisions of the Rhode Island National Guard were on strike duty for a period of 330 days or almost a year.

The Coal Strike

When the bituminous and anthracite miners struck in 1922 the late President Harding called upon the governors of the coal mining states to unfurl the flag at the tipples. Eight of these states covering an area of 531,355 square miles,—a territory almost equivalent to the present size of England, France, Italy and Germany combined,—responded and rushed their troops into the coal fields to smash the strike. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah were the states in which troops were employed in the interests of the coal operators against the miners.

In Pennsylvania sundry cavalry divisions served to break the mine strike at various points for a period of 280 days. A machine-gun squadron was in strike service 70 days. A motor-transport company saw strike action 35 days. Thus the Keystone state miners faced highly armed military divisions on various sections of their strike front for a total period of 385 days, or about 13 months of service.

Ohio, the late President's own state, vied with Pennsylvania in military strike breaking. Cavalry squadrons were in action 47 days. Infantry divisions served on various strike sectors 109 days. Motor transport companies were in the strike zone to harass the miners for 49 days. An ambulance company saw service 21 days; a wagon company 4 days. The total period, in which the state military forces were on the firing line against the coal strikers, was 230 days.

Indiana had on active duty in its coal fields various infantry divisions serving 65 days; a signal company 18 days, and a motor transport company 18 days. For 101 days these forces rendered strikebreaking duties.

Kentucky was the banner strike-breaking state in many respects. Numerous machine-gun companies were rushed against the strikers and served 308 days. Field artillery corps were on the strike scene 113 days. Infantry companies were hurled against the coal diggers and remained in service 151 days. Kentucky State troops saw action in this strike front for a total period of 572 days, or over a year and a half.

In Illinois the class war was most bitter. Here the battle of Herrin was fought. Infantry divisions were at the strike front 265 days; cavalry squadrons 73 days; anti-air craft artillery corps 7 days; howitzer companies 12 days; field artillery battalions 7 days. All in all the National Guard divisions of Illinois were used against the coal miners for practically a year—364 days.

Colorado, the home of Rockefeller industrial democracy and the scene of the Ludlow massacre was also very much on the strikebreaking map during the miners' struggle. For 86 days infantry divisions were in action. A tank company saw service 28 days; a field artillery division faced the strikers 27 days; a howitzer company 13 days; the Quartermaster's detachment was on strikebreaking duty 31 days. Cavalry divisions pursued their anti-strike duties for 28 days. For a period of 213 days, the Colorado state troops were serving as strikebreakers for the capitalist class.

In New Mexico the striking miners faced a detachment of cavalry for 67 days. At Gallup the 157th Engineers Corps was in action against the strikers for the same period. A division of field artillery was in the war against the workers and brought the total period of military action on this front up to 201 days.

At different points in Utah, batteries of field artillery and a troop of cavalry served against the miners for a total period of 228 days.

The Railroad Strike

When the Railway Shop Craftsmen went on strike in 1922, the full military powers of at least a dozen states were thrown in against them. Alabama, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Texas, and Wyoming mobilized their National Guards against the railway workers. How far flung the battle line was on this sector of the class war front can be seen when one compares the total area of this group of states with the area of some of the countries which participated in the great World War. The twelve states cover an area of 1,053,995 square miles, or a little more than the combined area of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Norway, Denmark, Lithuania and Estonia.

In Alabama infantry divisions served 548 days against the railway workers; cavalry forces 180 days, motor transport companies 2 days; and machine-gun divisions 110 days. All in all the military forces in this state were in action for a total period of 840 days, or more than two years.

In Arkansas there were mobilized a machine-gun company and an anti-air craft artillery battery against the railway workers for one day.

In California, the entire national guard was mobilized in July 1922 and held in readiness for all emergencies in connection with the railway strike. In this military force there were represented a strength of 2119 infantry men, 359 field artillery men, 200 cavalry men, 172 officers, and other military detachments totaling 3437 men.

In Georgia infantry forces were marshalled against the workers for 30 days.

The Idaho National Guard mobilized infantry companies for 7 days.

The Kansas National Guard marshalled infantry forces against the railroad workers for 753 days. Cavalry squadrons were lined up against the strikers for a total period of 515 days at various points on the strike front. The total period during which the military forces of the state were employed by the railway corporations against the rail workingmen in this state was 1283 days.

In Missouri, companies of infantry men were thrown in against the strikers and served for a total period of 613 days. Batteries of anti-air craft artillery were in action 48 days in various parts of the state. Field artillery corps saw service 85 days. A howitzer company faced the strikers two days. A machine-gun company was in action 54 days. All together the various subdivisions of the Missouri National Guard saw strike-breaking service for 802 days.

In New Hampshire, anti-air craft artillery forces were on strike duty for 39 days and a field artillery battery for 57 days, or a total of 96 days.

The North Carolina National Guard pitted infantry divisions against the railway strikers for 93 days; cavalry forces 26 days, and a battery of field artillery 5 days. Thus for a period of about three months, 124 days, the North Carolina military forces were fighting the strikers.

In Oklahoma, a company of infantry men and a howitzer division together serves 34 days against the shop craft strikers.

In Texas, 146 days of strikebreaking service were rendered by the infantry men. A company of howitzer men saw 92 days of action. For 238 days these two subdivisions of the Texas National Guard were in action against the railway strikers.

The Wyoming National Guard dispatched a cavalry squadron to serve on the strikebreaking front against the workers for five days.

The Great Struggle

The above figures give only a most incomplete picture of the gigantic struggles fought by the workers in this country. In our estimates of the armed forces used against the workingmen we have entirely omitted the Federal army units and the armed gangmen employed by the numerous detective agencies serving the capitalist class.

But a summary of the extent to which the National Guard alone was employed by the various State governments against the workers, convicts, beyond the flimsiest shade of a reasonable doubt, the government of being a strikebreaking agency in the hands of the employing class. The National Guard today is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the capitalists in their war on the workers.

In the coal strike, the National Guard served in various states at different points in the strike zone, a total period of 2,294 days—or a period of 6 years and 3 months.

In the Railway Strike, the various sub-divisions of the National Guard was mobilized and in action against the workers for a period of 3461 days—or the equivalent of 9 years and about 6 months.

In the Textile Strike, the various units of the National Guard fought the workingmen for a total period of 330 days or almost a year.

During the Textile, Coal and Railway strikes of 1922 the National Guard forces were mobilized and in action against the workingmen in 21 states covering a total area of 1,586,598 square miles. The magnitude of this great front of the American class struggle compares with many a battle front in the last great war. The present combined areas of 19 European countries among which are included England, France, Germany, Spain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, the Scandinavian, the Baltic and the Balkan countries, is smaller than the area of the 21 states in which the National Guard was sent against striking workingmen. More than that; the National Guard served at the different points in the strike zones of these States, a total period of 6,098 days or the equivalent of a period of warfare of over 16 and a half years.

(The cost of this war on the workers in the United States and the casualties suffered by the workers in this struggle will be dealt with in subsequent articles.)

Good News!

By SCOTT NEARING

The most appropriate greeting that I can send to the readers of "THE DAILY WORKER" is contained in this little table of figures showing the economic revival in Russia:

Year	Production in million gold roubles	Per cent of pre-war
1919-20	511	14.6
1920-21	527	15.1
1921-22	754	21.3
1922-23	1,127	32.0

("Russian Information and Review," Dec. 1, 1923, p. 346)

These figures indicate that within the past three years the industrial production of Russia has more than doubled, that each year has shown an improvement, and that the improvement of the last year has been the greatest of all.

Here is another item: On November 25, 1923, the chervonetz (the new Russian currency) was quoted in London at 21s 1d, which is the exact par value of ten pre-war roubles. This means that the Soviet authorities can make their contracts in England (and elsewhere) with a currency that is at par with the standard currency of Europe.

Unlike the countries of central Europe, Russia seems to be making economic headway. Workers and farmers can handle their own economic affairs when they turn their minds to the task.

For Recognition of Soviet Russia!

Russian Branch, Workers Party of Wilkesbarre, Pa., sends its heartiest greetings to the most effective member of the Party—**THE DAILY WORKER.**

OUTLOOK OF FEDERATED PARTY

By JOSEPH MANLEY

This will be a Federated Farmer-Labor Party year.

The outlook for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in 1924 is very bright. Born in the last months of 1923 it has become the leading force in the national drive for a Labor Party. It is rapidly sinking its roots into the whole sub-soil of the economic and political life of the farmers and workers.

It will carry on its work among the exploited farmers, among the industrial workers, among the foreign-born workers directly. It will also work with the state Farmer-Labor parties and take part in the national nominating convention of the Farmer-Labor parties at St. Paul, May 30th. That is the program for work during 1924.

Already it can point to growth during 1924, recently the American Lithuanian Literary Association with 7,000 members in 250 branches affiliated.

In Washington County, Pennsylvania, a branch of the Federated was organized and affiliated with it are local unions of miners, steel workers, and building trades men with thousands of members.

The Western Progressive Farmers with headquarters in the state of Washington is taking a referendum on affiliation. Indications are that it will affiliate.

The state Farmer-Labor party of South Dakota has also lined up with the Federated.

The economic ruin and bankruptcy of the farmers is rapidly bringing about a condition comparable only with that of the European peasant.

As illustrating this deplorable condition the following facts are worth quoting: In 1923 an apple raiser in the state of Washington shipped 9,000 boxes of the finest quality apples to a commission merchant. For the shipment of 9,000 boxes he received \$5.47. In 1923 in the famous Yakima Valley, in the same state, a man sold ten acres of Winesap and Johnathan apples, totaling ten thousand boxes. He received \$10.00 and figured he got off lucky.

A wheat raiser grew 19,000 bushels in 1923, and after selling the wheat he had to borrow \$1,500 to pay the deficit and taxes.

A stock raiser sold three four year old farm horses. In Kansas City he received \$2.40 for each of them. Becoming disgusted with stock raising he shot 7 horses and used them for bait to poison coyotes and made \$7.00 from each horse by selling the coyote pelts, on which there is a bounty.

A farmer sold two cows in Portland, Ore. They were good and fat. He received for both a total of \$11.50. When out of this he paid \$5.00 drayage and \$1.25 commission he had \$5.25 clear profit.

The answer to the condition that these facts illustrate, coming from

the politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties is: "diversified farming", "economy", "less demand for education" and other phrases. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party will not attempt to meet the farmers with such nonsense.

The mission of the Federated among the working farmers during the coming campaign will be to drive home the necessity for fundamental changes in the present marketing and owning methods and the necessity of close solidarity with the city worker.

It will rally to the fight for a Labor Party the militant section of the trade union movement.

In the campaigns to be conducted by the various state parties that are fast lining up with the Federated a new note will be struck. In South Dakota our land program was adopted and the Farmer-Labor Party is now entering a campaign for the primaries with the slogans: "The land shall belong to the users of the land". "A five year moratorium for all working farmers". In that state this is already having the effect of separating the wheat from the chaff. When one of these states elect a U. S. Senator, he will strike a new note in Washington, when he talks about: "Occupational, proportional representation".

The chief task of the Federated is to organize for the coming national convention at St. Paul. This will tax all our energy and support. The May 30th convention must be made a success. In the coming months of the new year it will be the task of the Federated to overcome the inertia of the masses brought on by the domination of the rank and file of the unions by the bureaucracy. Hundreds of branches of the Federated must be set up in every state in the union. 1924 is a political year. People will think of political problems. Their economic distress must be given the correct analysis. The Federated is the only national organization that faces the new year and its complex economic problems with a broad and comprehensive program that makes for the unity of the militant section of the farmers and workers organizations. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party greets the New Year with high hope, and confidence that out of this years struggles will come a great mass movement of exploited farmers and workers; organized permanently for the greater task that leads to a workers and farmers government.

The Giant and the Torch

(A Fable)

By MOSSAYE J. OLGIN

The giant lay in a stupor, the giant was weary, the mind of the giant was in a haze. The pigmies said to themselves "This is our opportunity." The pigmies got busy. They twisted ropes with which they fastened the giant's fingers and toes to the ground of the cave he lay in. They sharpened tacks with which they tacked to the ground his hair. The giant paid no heed. The pigmies proceeded to do their ugliest mischief. Some perforated his skull with tiny cunning instruments and cut a multitude of winding paths through the substance of his brain, while a group of their kin, black-robed and oily-faced, sang a hymn of heavenly justice and love and beauty on earth. Others perforated his chest and sank into the chambers of his heart an array of pipes through which they pumped with cleverly constructed pumps his life-giving blood, while another coterie of their folk, bespectacled and armed with folio parchment, chanted soothingly a chant of co-operation and harmony and peace. Still others dug files through the skin and the muscles of the giant and sawed pieces of his his bones, sinews and tissues, while their brethren in gala attire suavely purred a lovely tale of equality and fraternity and freedom for all. The giant got restless. The giant sighed.

The hymn-singers put more honey in their voices, more oil in their tunes. The giant stirred. The parchment-bearers brought new mountains of learned material, put more emphasis in their lullaby-chant. The giant groaned. The uniformed brethren redoubled their mellow tale. The giant braced himself. All the time the path-cutters and blood-pumpers and bone-sawers kept on busily doing their work. The giant writhed. His bulky body became tense.

The friends of the giant were scattered throughout the cave. The friends of the giant sought to wake him up. The giant was still overwhelmed by his slumber. The voices of the hymn-singers and peace-chanters kept him asleep. The oldest friends said, "Bring in the torch." In they brought the blazing torch. Right between the eyes of the giant they planted the torch. Piercing rays of light struck the giant's eyes. He woke up. He looked around. He perceived the pigmies. He shook himself with all his might, he loosened the fastenings that held his limbs. He lifted a hand and "Bang," the blood-pumpers ran away in fright. "Crash," and the bone-sawers dispersed in every direction. "Clang," and the giant rose to his feet, the giant opened his mouth and the first word he said was "Soviet." The giant left the cave, and went into the wide, open world to live and enjoy the light of the sun.

More Greetings Will Be Published in Future Issues.

We have received hundreds of greetings to the Daily Worker from well wishers, labor unions, prominent communists and communist organizations in this and other countries which are unavoidably held over due to lack of space. These messages will appear in future issues of the Daily Worker.

BEFOGGED

By CHARLES OLUF OLSEN

ONCE I saw an old laborer standing by an employment-office blackboard. His face had a look of marred blankness that reminded me of a schoolboy's slate—a little soiled, with half-obliterated writing on it. As I regarded him he turned his eyes to mine and this is what they said to me:

"I work because I must. This torture of work is hateful to me—why, I do not know. I tire of it easily; it has no interest for me; I am always trying to get away from it. But there is the greater torture of being broke. When I have no place to sleep and it is cold; when I am hungry and have no food; when I am hunted an despised because I cannot pay my way this torture drives me to the lesser torture of work.

"However, as the sum of my wages mounts the torture of work becomes greater and my remembrance of the torture of being broke grows dim. When the sum of my wages is big enough to enable me to go back to the city and buy my freedom for a time, I go; then I shall sleep in a warm bed each night, eat whenever I feel like it and the people who supply my wants will be my friends and smile on me as long as my money lasts. When my money is gone I shall stand the torture of being broke until the torture of work again seems the lesser; then I shall be driven to work again.

"I KNOW some men LIKE work. What do they find in it that I cannot find? Is there a meaning to work that I cannot see?

"Once I almost understood. It was a morning when I felt real well—a bright, sunny morning, the morning of pay-day. I nearly liked work that morning; but the next day I quit.

"I believe that if I could go away some place, where the torture of work and of being broke could not reach me, and sit with my head in my hands for a long time and think, I could solve the question."

Don't be a "Yes, But," supporter of The Daily Worker. Send in your subscription at once.

Greetings to "The Daily Worker"

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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Andy Backs
Lorenco Bujacich
Dionizji Lovrovich
Victor Smolyan
Chust Kustera
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Detroit Workmen's
Co-operative
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THE CAMPAIGN FOR "THE DAILY"

By JOHN J. BALLAM

Sunday, January 13, 1924! This date will be remembered in the history of the American labor movement as a red letter day. For on this day there comes into being the first Communist daily newspaper printed in the English language,—The Daily Worker.

Last August, 1923 the Workers Party of America announced the opening of a drive to raise \$100,000 to establish an English-language daily. This announcement was received with some scepticism by old and experienced newspaper men who said that simply could not be done. But the 20,000 members of the Workers Party went quietly to work. Committees were organized in sixty cities throughout the country. The militant rank and file pledged themselves to buy at least one \$5 share of preferred stock each. The Workers Party maintains a press in various languages spoken by the working class of America, with a circulation of over one hundred thousand copies. Recognizing the need of one English-language daily, our people went to work with a will and inspired by their example drew into the campaign thousands of militant workers and exploited farmers who out of their little have given much.

Of the \$100,000 fund \$90,000 has now been raised, and the balance is coming in with every mail. Thus in the short space of four months a little band of determined fighters in the proletarian cause brought into existence a powerful machine with which to aid the working class to fight its battles against its ancient enemy.

The Daily Worker owes its origin to the devotion and sacrifice of thousands of silent and unknown heroes of the working class of America. It is born out of the loins of the exploited and oppressed workers and farmers of this country. It is bone of their

bone and flesh of their flesh. It comes to marshal the hosts of labor in the social revolution which shall create a New America—the American Republic of Workers and Farmers.

"I am on my death-bed," writes one disabled soldier in the industrial war, "but I am sending you \$10, which is all I possess, to help you to start your daily paper to continue the battle for economic and political freedom in which I have given my life."

"I want to subscribe for 12 shares of stock in the Daily Worker for my children and nephews and nieces," said one office worker who desired her name to be kept secret for fear of losing her job, "because I want them to own a share in the organ of labor's emancipation."

"Here are twenty iron boys for The Daily Worker Fund collected by me from the slaves in the steel mills of Youngstown, Ohio. May The Daily Worker soon appear and expose the hellish conditions under which we work and die."

From the coal fields of Illinois and Pennsylvania came back the lists tattered and smooched with the grime of the toilers, filled with the record of the dollars and dimes of the coal diggers, and carrying in broken English the message of the solidarity of the miners and their pledge to support the Daily Worker and to carry on the fight for a government of the workers and farmers of America.

From the textile mills of New England; from the clothing workers of New York; from the sailors in port and at sea; from the railroad shops; from mill, factory, mine, farm and field came the response of the workers to establish their paper—The Daily Worker.

Where others have failed we will succeed; for The Daily Worker grows

out of the needs of the workers. It is their paper. It is their voice. It is the instrument of their emancipation. For they have paid for it; and the workers and farmers of America will support and cherish it. The Daily Worker is built upon the hearts of the working class. Every page and line will be filled with their spirit. It never will, it never can desert or betray them. For the Daily Worker is the child of the workers and farmers of America.

The capitalist press depends for its foundation and support upon the capitalists, the big business men of this country. The capitalist press will not desert or betray its masters—those who furnish the money for the maintenance of the big English dailies.

The Daily Worker was founded by the workers—it appeals for the support of the workers; thus created and thus maintained The Daily Worker belongs to the working class and will lead them into battle for the final overthrow of capitalist society which is built upon their misery and degradation.

The successful outcome of the Daily Worker Campaign Committee's drive for the \$100,000 is a real achievement. The Committee congratulates all those who participated and co-operated to bring about the birth of The Daily Worker. The next task—150,000 readers for our daily!—50,000 subscribers from coast to coast—150,000 workers receiving the glad tidings of a new day and the reports of the advancing proletariat three hundred and sixty-five days in the year.

Let us, by working for The Daily Worker in Chicago, at the same time work for the establishment of a workers' daily in every industrial center in the country, until at last, the workers realizing their power and their slavery, unite to end forever

the exploitation of the working class and to establish in these United States a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

LONG LIVE THE DAILY WORKER!

WAKE UP!



READ THE LIBERATOR!

BETWEEN the covers of "The Liberator," each month, you will find articles on the political and industrial struggles of labor written by the recognized spokesmen of American Communist thought—Robert Minor, Max Eastman, William Dunne, John Pepper, J. Louis Engdahl, C. E. Ruthenberg, Jay Lovestone, William Z. Foster, and James P. Cannon.

If you like fiction—who does not enjoy the story of the lives, the sufferings and the joys of other people—you will find it in "The Liberator." The best work of Floyd Dell, Mary Heaton Vorse, Michael Gold, Moissaye Olgin, Joseph Freeman and many others appear in its columns.

Artists and poets who write in "The Liberator" are not gagged by what is permissible in capitalist publications. They express that which seeks expression freely, and you get the result—unadulterated, uncommercialized art.

"The Liberator" can fill up a gap in your life. It will supply that which adds flavor to your understanding of the change that is going on in the world.

Send for a copy and convince yourself and then subscribe to receive it regularly each month.

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Send me the January number of "The Liberator" for which find 20c enclosed.

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The Next Crisis in Germany

By LUDWIG LORE,
Editor, N. Y. Volkszeitung.

Motto:—Society has but one alternative: Either forward into Socialism, or reaction into barbarism.—Frederick Engels.

To that part of the international labor movement that took its revolutionary ideals seriously Germany has been a series of heart-rending disappointments. It is the great tragedy of the modern working class movement that its German leaders, after an era of peaceful adjustment to the capitalist world, broke under the strain and were carried along in

The German Proletariat

By SIMON FELSHIN.

We will strike at your audacity.
We will know you by your spiked helmets.

Your gold braid will not save you.
We will drag you from your horses.
On that day there will be no pity.
We will trample upon you.
We will throw you into the canals
As you did with Rosa Luxemburg.

We are hungry,
But we are still strong.
Look to your weapons,
For we have need of them.
For our children,
For ourselves,
For a piece of bread
We will strike at your audacity.

Enough of war,
Enough of suffering,
We fight for freedom,
And you fight for gold braid.

The rich, the nobles and the generals
have leagued
To put their heels on our necks.
Because you had your heels on our
necks,
And because you took our bread,
We will drag you from your horses,
And we will stamp on your faces
with our heavy boots.

Your audacity does not frighten us.
We have a greater audacity.
We will know you by your shining
boots.

Your regalia will not save you.
We will pursue you into your mountain fastness.

We will strike at your audacity.
What can you do against the millions?

From the factories and the farms,
Against your Iron Brigades
March the hosts of the proletariat
Which are legion.

a whirling current of national hatreds. The German Social-Democracy deserted the working class in its hour of greatest need, to stand behind the bourgeoisie at the moment when world capitalism stood at the zenith of power.

1918, discouragement, defeat, and revolution in Germany. Once more a desperate working class stood at the parting of the ways, and again the leaders, instead of taking a potent step to wrest the workers of Germany out of the power of a weakened and shattered bourgeoisie, chose the path that led to capitalist reconstruction against proletarian revolution.

Five years have passed since the founding of the German republic, and the German working class is staggering on the downward path to ruin. Its political influence, in spite of a Socialist president, is dead. Its social institutions have long since succumbed to financial ruin that has emptied the nation's coffers. Its labor unions, in the face of an era of unemployment, have lost all possibility of aggressive action.

In this tragedy of annihilation there is only one hope, the growing power and strength of the German Communist movement. From the outset it has struggled hard, sometimes in open rebellion, for the most part patiently, in a determined effort to educate the working class to an understanding of its mission. More bitter than its capitalist opponents have been the leaders of the Social-Democracy on the political field as well as in the trade union movement. Yet Communism grows apace. Even stronger than the words of Communist agitators, recent events have opened the eyes of the workers. They see capitalism once more in undisputed power. They are starving and suffering in the face of ravishing luxury. They are tiring of leaders who have no hope, dread the victory of the Communist movement, and make a last, desperate effort, by suppressing it and forcing it underground. But just as the Social-Democracy grew in the Bismarck era of exception laws, so the revolution will grow now despite persecution. In 1918, the German working class could be hoodwinked. The next revolutionary crisis will find a sadder but wiser working class.

Watch the "Daily Worker" for the first instalment of "A Week", the great epic of the Russian revolution, by the brilliant young Russian writer, Iury Libedinsky. It will start soon.

The Industries for the workers!

ABOUT LABOR BANKS

Editor of The Daily Worker—You may be interested in the conclusions of a worker on labor banks and banking. I have thought about it a good bit and what I want to know is this: If the workers own only about one-third or less of the country's wealth, how will it help them to put what they can save away in labor banks to fight the bosses on the investment field?

I think too much fuss is being made about labor banks and too many workers are thinking and fussing about the overthrow of capitalism. Z. P., Pittsburgh, Pa.

What Do You Say?

Get unity thru the Labor Party!

Watch the "Daily Worker" for the first instalment of "A Week", the great epic of the Russian revolution, by the brilliant young Russian writer, Iury Libedinsky. It will start soon.

Protect the Foreign Born!

Greetings to

"THE DAILY WORKER"

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Tony Shegert
Mike Bujich
Drzafer Gahatovich
HARWICK, PA.
Joseph Brinovec

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

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L. Rabinowitz
R. Herman
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S. Bloomkin
S. Steinman
Ph. Meltzer

IN 1924? A MILITANT'S PREDICTION By WM. F. DUNNE

The little naked lad that is the New Year 1924, is going to make trouble for labor.

He inherits from his predecessor a dislike for the aims of Labor and finds that 1923, while still a youth, believed in showing Labor its place. Only the increase in employment prevented 1923 being a disastrous year for Labor. 1924 begins with unemployment on the increase; what does the year hold for Labor?

In 1923, the federal government threw its weight against the striking railway shopmen with the result that their unions were destroyed so far as fighting ability is concerned. The same anti-labor element is still in control at Washington, and will remain in control thruout 1924.

Coolidge is for Wall Street; Wall Street is for Coolidge and Labor will get just as much and no more consideration from Coolidge than the exigencies of a campaign year seem to warrant.

There is a cold hostility to every section of the Labor movement; that is the outstanding feature of the present regime and that with the increase in unemployment and the excuse of a strike of the soft coal miners' may flare into open acts of violent suppression.

The coal miners can either strike or make an abject surrender. There will be no give and take—with the miners doing the bulk of the giving—as in the anthracite controversy. A bituminous strike affects basic industry immediately. Non-union coal production is on the increase. The operators are in a belligerent mood. They feel that Coolidge will see them thru. A fight seems inevitable.

The election campaign will absorb the attention of Labor as never before. Labor is doing more political thinking than at any previous period and will appear on the political field as a unit with the farmers in many sections.

The Gompers machine is going to back McAdoo; so are some of the railway organizations despite McAdoo's announced hostility to the policy of government ownership of the roads to which the brotherhoods

and other organizations are committed.

The middle West and West will see the wage-earners and farmers in politics with a class party as their weapon. 1924 will mark the beginning of the entry of the farmers and wage-earners into the political field as a separate entity, a political force that American capitalism must reckon with from now on.

Recognition of Soviet Russia will be an issue before the present session of Congress.

The assinine acts and utterances of

Secretary Hughes, ably assisted by the feeble viciousness of the Daugherty Department of Justice, has put Soviet Russia's enemies on the defensive. Mr. Gompers alone stands unshaken; to him the recognition of Russia means a personal defeat—a major defeat. Should recognition come before the next A. F. of L. convention it might even contribute to his defeat. So the A. F. of L. lobbyists will fight with the Wall street bankers, who hold the czar's bonds against Soviet Russia, that the prestige of Gompers may not be im-

paired while he is still of service to them.

The Convention of the United Mine Workers to be held this month is, in many ways, of more importance to Labor than the A. F. of L. Convention next fall. Should the Lewis machine be defeated or even badly shaken, it will be evidence of the growing strength of the left wing movement, and more than one international union official will begin to break out of his flag locker an ensign of a somewhat more lively hue.

As for the A. F. of L. Convention itself, a safe prediction would be that it will do nothing except to tighten the lines against the "reds."

It will meet at a time when the unemployment situation will be critical but no sane person will expect the Convention to propose any remedy not approved by the Civic Federation and the Chamber of Commerce. It is likely that unless the unemployed invade the Convention hall the subject will never be mentioned on the floor.

In 1924 and perhaps for several years following, the economic power of the Labor unions will decline. Jobless workers cannot strike and those who are lucky enough to have jobs do not want to strike.

The Labor unions will turn more and more to the political field and even by the end of 1924, there may be a high and increasing level of consciousness among the masses of American workers engendered by the political thinking they have been, and will be forced to do.

In the educational and organizational work designed to speed up the left wing activities in the Labor movement, to give the new tendency toward class mass political action, a militant working class character, the Workers (Communist) Party of America is in the lead. It has, in fact, little, if any competition and the growth of the W. P. of A. in 1924 will be an accurate guide to the progress made by the American working class as a whole.

THE KEY

They led him to a cell,
This too-great lover of freedom.
The gate clanged to, the jailer left:
The bars bent not,
Tho he pressed at them with all his strength.

Here is something stronger than argument,
Mightier than the clenched fist,
Closing with a metallic shudder,
Unchangeable, final,
Not to be moved by a race on its knees,
By the hoarse shouts of a million,
By tides of men.

Your faith in freedom, in brotherhood,
In the flaming goal,
Shakes and crumbles . . .
Are they all a mockery,
Beautiful to dream, dying like drowned waves
Under stiff cliffs of granite?

Do not waver, lover of freedom:
The gate will swing wide
As surely as it swung narrow:
Something near you, a little something.
A little idea, maybe, will be the key to all barred gates,
Will melt at last all chains and prisons forever.

—Clement Wood.

Editor's Note.—In sending in the above contribution to the first issue of "The Daily Worker," Clement Wood encloses a note wishing the Daily "Good Luck."

More Movie Hokum

Faked Ending Mars Gripping Picture of Southern Peonage
By WILLIAM F. KRUSE

Among the Picture Reviews in a recent issue of a movie trade journal appears that of a new six reeler, "The Whipping Boss." The story, to quote this journal, "seems to have been made solely to show the dreadfully cruel and inhuman methods employed in some parts of the United States where convicts are leased out to work for lumber companies, etc. It deals with the case of a young lad who is found stealing a ride on a

freight car and sentenced to ninety days of work in the swamps owned by a lumber company. How he contracts fever, is brutally beaten by the overseer, who when ordered to release the boy is told by a "trustee" he is dead, and who subsequently sets fire to the stockade where the prisoners are chained in for the night, furnish the chief points of the picture."

Then comes the rub. "A good patriotic note is sounded by the appearance of the commander of the American Legion Post through whose efforts the villains are brought to justice."

This is propaganda with a vengeance. We object to propaganda—it would have been true to life if they had made the Legion commander the owner of the lumber camp, and had the rescue pulled by some trade union organizers—with a few epilogue "shots" of the Communist Commonwealth for a finale.

The producers of the picture may argue, with much justice, too, that without the hokum ending they would never have gotten it by the movie trust or the censors. The journal tells the exhibitor, "The patriotic angle and the happy ending, with the boy restored to his weeping mother, may lighten the theme enough to put it over for you."

Not even the use of a Florida Legion Commander as an instrument of social progress is too much for the purveyors of movie hokum. Its all right in reel life. But this story is based on REAL life. That boy, Martin Tabert, was flogged to death in a Florida camp, and when he died he stayed dead. There was no "return to his weeping mother" up on a North Dakota farm waiting for the boy's earnings to pay the interest on the mortgage.

Nine-tenths of the film is worth support, the other tenth can be neutralized by being shown up for the bunk it is. The American workers, through effective political and industrial organization, could dictate also the terms of their film entertainment. We need more films that tell the story of Labor's sacrifices to profit and of the struggle to be free. Now they are not for us unless mixed with a strong dose of plute propaganda poison.

"Anna Christie," Eugene O'Neil's powerful drama, has been made into a splendid film by Thomas H. Ince. The producer is credited with a faithful rendition of the play in story, setting and action by the National Board of Review. That is saying a good deal.

The heroine is a girl who has become a woman of the streets at the age of twenty, her father a worthless old coal-barge captain and her lover a shipwrecked stoker. The life of common workers is the material of which the play and film are made and all who are weary of the customary film twaddle will be refreshed by this departure from the ordinary run.

The Workers Dramatic Club extends its felicitations and brotherly greetings to the first organ of the class conscious revolutionary working class, The Daily Worker.

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Separating the Chaff from the Wheat

By ALFRED KNUTSON.

Within so-called farmers' and workers' movements, like the Nonpartisan League and several state Farmer-Labor parties, there have not been, heretofore, hardly any distinction between the make-up of their membership. In the Nonpartisan League, for instance, it was usually felt that hired men on the farms, the tenants, the small farm owner, the well-to-do farmer, the small banker and the small business man, had common economic interests. The enemy of all these was thought to be "big business", and for that reason they were urged to unite their political forces, in order to administer a death blow to this one monster—the exploiter of them all. Such was the talk of League organizers in the northwest.

However, with the advent of more acute economic conditions, we are beginning to witness a different line-up between these various elements. At the recent Nonpartisan League convention, held at Bismarck, N. D., when such fundamental matters as "recognition of Soviet Russia", "land for the users", and "a five year moratorium for working farmers", were brought to the attention of the delegates, the officialdom of the League, the lawyer-and-banker-leaguer, showed their disapproval by refusing to consider them at all, while some fifty or sixty honest delegates, hard pressed financially, manifested their sympathy with these necessary demands of the farmers and the workers.

Just recently R. W. Frazier (one of the prominent old-time leaguers), chairman of the republican party in North Dakota, announced that, "for the sake of harmony" he was in favor of the candidacy of Coolidge. This is a brazen betrayal of the real interests of the rank and file of the farmers and the workers in North Dakota, and can only serve to separ-



FAMINE

ate still more the petty bourgeois elements from the class conscious workers in both town and country.

In South Dakota this same filtering process between the classes is in evidence. The so-called minority group in the Farmer-Labor party have omitted from their platform, the two most important planks adopted by the Pierre convention, namely, "land for the users" and "a five year moratorium for the working farmers".

Batcheller, the leader of the Farmers' Union in South Dakota, comes out in the press and states that the farmer is made to look like a criminal by his insisting upon these obviously necessary measures. Beck, the agent in the state of the reactionary Gompers, talks pompously about how "fundamental democracy" is endangered by such a "radical" program. Bates, Bartling and others, who have been prominent and "good" leaguers and Farmer-Laborites in the past, express themselves in a similar tone.

The guns of the opposition are trained against Tom Ayres, the South Dakota farmers' and workers' candidate for United States senator. To the discomfiture and dismay of the pussyfooters and politicians in the state, Ayres is insisting upon a moratorium and land for the users. He could hardly have thrown a bigger bombshell into the camp of the reactionaries than by thus fearlessly giving expression to the vital needs and demands of the exploited farmers.

The struggle in South Dakota is interesting and of the greatest significance to the farmers and the workers of the entire country. Here, in embryo, we witness the separation of the chaff from the wheat,—the petty bourgeois philistines and middle-class philosophers are slowly, but surely, losing their grip on the masses.

A Bunch of Live Wires - - - By Earl R. Browder

THE liveliest bunch of live wires to be found in the trade unions of this country, is in the Trade Union Educational League. The center of discussion whenever progressive policies are being advocated. All over the country the trade unions are being stirred into new life by this band of militants, with their uniform program of progress, and their fighting spirit directed against the employers and their agents. The T. U. E. L., the left wing of the American labor movement. It is the one outstanding promise of a bigger and stronger labor movement in the near future.

Central and important in the work of the T. U. E. L., is THE LABOR HERALD, monthly magazine of the league, which has been published for the past two years. This magazine has established itself as an authority on trade union problems in America, as well as the guide and inspiration for the fighting left wing militants. Interesting and well-written, in contains from month to month the most fundamental information and analysis of the working class

movement in America and of the world. Even its enemies read it, which proves that THE LABOR HERALD is an established institution.

Grouped around the Trade Union Educational League are the left wing organizations in the various industries. Some of them, such as in the needle trades, are sections of the T. U. E. L. Others are independent, and the members of the League work with them along with many non-members in that industry. Such industrial committees, directing the left-wing on a national scale within the broad scope of each industry, are functioning in the Railroad, Metal, Needle Trades, Printing Trades, Food and Leather, Textile, Marine Transport, Tobacco, and Coal Mining Industries. Around each committee is being built up a larger group of workers who propagate and organize for industrial unionism, the labor party, militant leadership, and the other phases of the League program.

These left-wing live wires are also building up their own press in each

industry, as well as backing the general publications. Thus the Railroad Committee publishes the RAILROAD AMALGAMATION ADVOCATE; the Needle Trades Committee publishes the NEEDLE WORKER; the Metal Trades Committee issues the AMALGAMATION BULLETIN; the Printing Trades Committee is responsible for THE INDUSTRIALIST; the Building Trades Committee has launched the PROGRESSIVE BUILDING TRADES WORKER; and the Mining Committee publishes in seven languages the PROGRESSIVE MINER. A complete network of organization and press is thus being woven throughout the labor movement, consolidating and centralizing the left wing movement.

The Trade Union Educational League has also published books and pamphlets covering all phases of the labor movement, national and international, in the Labor Herald Library. Nine publications have been issued, the circulation of which have run into hundreds of thousands. The library constitutes a arsenal of facts

and arguments for militants, arming them for the struggle.

Every city and town has its local general group of the T. U. E. L., where the militants gather from all sections of the labor movement; each industry in each center has its industrial group working with its international committee; and in each union the League militants co-operate to carry on their vital educational work. There is a place for every live wire and militant, and a task for each one to carry out. The Trade Union Educational League is thus made the most interesting and active section of the labor movement.

In Chicago the general group of the T. U. E. L., meets once a month, on the fourth Wednesday, at Wicker Park Hall, 2040 West North St.

Every progressive, militant, and revolutionary worker in Chicago should be interested in getting into the work of the Trade Union Educational League. Such a bunch of live wires, electrifying the labor movement and charging it with new life, will naturally draw to itself all the other live wires in the movement.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS - - - By LOVETT FORT WHITEMAN

TODAY the Negro masses are yet in the clutches of the unscrupulous politician of both Races. From year to year he votes on the simple faith that the goodness in character of the candidate is sufficient force to improve his social conditions. There is something pathetic in the child-like way the Negro voter looks at politics. The entire Race is without any political ideals. Its professional politicians are solely interested in politics only in so far as they may derive graft and lucrative jobs. The platform or program of a candidate is never considered, but the extent of his power to purchase votes.

Nevertheless, there are manifest here and there among the younger men and women against this condition. They make up as yet the few who are able to understand that politics is but a reflection of economic conditions, that government today is but an instrument in the hands of the rich or capitalist class, and that its laws and policies are evolved primarily in the interest of its class.

The Negro who advocates among his people the necessity of breaking away from the oldline parties faces much opposition from the present set of Negro leaders. A simple explanation of this opposition is that the majority of recognized Negro lead-

ers in some way or other live on the bounty of the white capitalist class. Most Negro higher schools and colleges are supported by the contributions of white philanthropists; also his Y. M. C. A.'s and a number of other institutions either of an ethical or non-descript character. The Negro heads of these institutions are the accepted leaders of the Race. They dare not support labor unionism among Negroes, they dare not advocate other than a capitalist ticket in politics. The Negro leader has sold out the man-hood of the Race.

Yet slowly but surely we of the working class are coming to see that the Negro cannot be a man and a beggar at the same time.

A Series of Articles

The above is the first of a series of articles to appear regularly in "The Daily Worker" on the question of "The Negro." The titles of some of the articles already planned are as follows:

"Negro Leadership," "The Negro in the Industries," "The Negro Petit-Bourgeoisie," "The Negro and American Race Prejudice," "The Negro Woman," "Capitalism and the Darker Races," "Life in the Second Ward (Chicago)," "The Negro in Art," and

"The Negro and the Workers Party." These articles will be of extreme in-

terest to white as well as Negro workers.

The Deportations Delirium of 1920

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They Can't Stop Communist Propaganda in Germany

Seeckt gegen Seki.

Der General Seeckt verbietet durch eine militärische Verordnung die Schlemmerlokale. Die Verordnung wurde von einem Teil der Bevölkerung mit großer Begeisterung aufgenommen. (Die Dummen hatten die Verordnung erduldet). Hier zeigen wir die Wirkungen des Erlasses:



Vor dem Seeckt-Erlass:
So leben wir, so leben wir, so leben wir alle Tage.



Stungepide Arbeiterinnen, die den Seeckterlass aufheben
„Im heutigen Deutschland ist die Schlemmer lokal tot.“



Die Polizei, die ihren Seeckt kennt.
„Nei, Hunger! Kahr und Ordnung ist die erste Bürgerpflicht!“



Nach dem Seeckt-Erlass:
So leben wir, so leben wir, so leben wir alle Tage.
Mh...

Eine lehrreiche Militärverordnung!

Above are reproductions of illegal leaflets and throwaways being spread broadcast by the German Communist Party in spite of attempts by the overlords to crush the Communist movement.

No. 1 is a leaflet in pictures and is entitled, "Seeckt (the general) against Seki (champagne)," and telling about a military decree issued by General Seeckt to close down places of debauchery (Schlemmerlokale). Hungry working women took the decree seriously and invaded the swell restaurants. But the police took a hand in the matter. And the outcome was that the debauchery went on as before.

No. 2 is a throwaway showing what the Reichswehr soldier Schulze

Wie der Reichswehrsoldat Schulze sich seinen Beruf dachte.



„Schutz dem Reiche“

und wie es kam



„Schutz dem Reichtum“

Die Fabriken,
Die Bergwerke,
Die grossen Güter
gehören in die Hände der werktätigen Bevölkerung

JETZT IST'S
GENUG



Das sind
die Helfer



Poincarés

The Class Struggle versus Charity - - - - - By LUDWIG LORE

Ever since the end of the war, the German-American population of the United States has been contributing, in one form or another, to the support of the needy in their fatherland. There have been endless collections, bazaars, subscriptions for every conceivable purpose, by every conceivable kind of organization. It is impossible to estimate how much, in money, in food-stuffs and in wearing apparel has gone over to Germany, paid for by the often insufficient earnings of the Germans in this country.

We have never encouraged or supported these collections. We have always deplored the sending of money, even to needy workmen and women on the other side, because we understood that the morale of nations as well as that of individuals, is undermined by charity; because we were convinced that it was a crime against the working-class movement in Germany to cover up the patent ineffectuality of the new republic, and to make it possible for German capital to pay starvation wages in order to be able to compete with the producers of better paid labor in every market in the world.

Then came the appeal from the Russian Soviet Government for assistance in its hour of need. Our German comrades,—no one knows this better than those who were engaged in raising funds at that time—were among the first to come to Russia's assistance. They refused even to consider the suggestion that special collections be made among the Germans here for the suffering among the Volga-Germans. More that since they incurred the wrath of German nationalists who called them anti-Germans, for helping the workers of Russia when they had refused to help the needy in their own mother country. In spite of the bitter opposition that often arose from these German-nationalist elements in the German-speaking working class organizations and Labor Unions, there is hardly one among them that

did not come nobly to the support of the sufferers in Russia, because our comrades were there to support the Russian Revolution.

Today we appeal to you to support the Friends of Soviet Russia in its appeal for help for the German working class. For that part of the working class needs our help most urgently. We must help those who will not receive food and clothing from the bourgeois organizations that are distributing their bounty through ordinary channels. We must help those men and women who are discriminated against in the industries because they are known as "trouble makers," and radicals. We must give for those who cannot count on the support of their labor organizations, because these are under the control of labor leaders who use their prestige to betray the working class into the hands of the present dictators of Germany. We must help the women who are going without the most elementary necessities of life in order to pay party dues and to support their party press.

This is not charity. It is a part of the class struggle, in which we

must all play an active part. It is a part of the great, world-wide fight for the liberation of the working-class.

This is not charity. For it will strengthen, not weaken, the morale of the men and women for whom this help is intended. Nothing will keep up their fighting spirit more successfully than the certainty that the comrades in America are with them. Nothing will make them more determined in the fight for a working class government in Germany, than the certainty that, whatever may happen, there are comrades across the seas who will stand behind them, who will take care of their children and will support their families.

The government of the United States is preparing now to send food and give credits to Germany, not because our rulers love the German people. It is the fear of that desperation may bring, a powerful impetus toward revolution in Germany. That will give the communist cause all over the world, heart and power, that is what drives them to Germany's assistance. Beside that the great and influential Wheat

imagined his duties to be, namely, protection of the Reich (the empire), and what they really turned out to be, namely, protection of Reichtum (riches).

No. 3 is a throwaway reading, The factories, the mines, the big estates should be in the hands of the working population.

No. 4—The political prisoner cries "It's enough now!", while the people stand in vain waiting for a chance to get some food.

No. 5 shows the accomplices of Poincare. A workingman is on the ground, and over him are a French general, a German general and Stinnes.

Militarizing the United States

	1913	1924
Expenditures for National Defense.....	\$260,136,035	\$509,096,796
Regular Army, Number of Men in.....	92,035	134,360
National Guard.....	120,802	160,598
Officers' Reserve Corps.....		76,923
Citizens' Military Training Camps.....		31,000
Reserve Officers' Training Corps.....		101,129
Miscellaneous.....	31,028	
Total number of Individuals under Training	243,865	504,010
Persons in Military and Naval Service		
stationed abroad.....	55,608(1)	117,238(2)
(1) 1910 Census. (2) 1920 Census.		

Prepared by the Research Department, Workers Party.
Table No. 1.

The Daily Worker!

Moscow, Dec. 12, 1923.

Hail! The first English Communist Daily of the U. S.! It is with the greatest of pleasure we send these greetings of welcome and cheer to our Comrades who have undertaken this mighty task, and compliments to those who have borne the brunt of the first steps in the magnificent achievement.

The power of the press is unchallenged and because of this we recognize the responsibility undertaken. We assure our American Comrades that we will assist in any way that lies in our power.

With best wishes of success and Communist greetings,
W. P. EARSMAN, Australia.