

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

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Down With the Capitalist Teapot Dome!

Forward To the Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Call for the Celebration of May Day, May 1, 1924, Issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America.

THE CELEBRATION of May Day—the holiday of the International Workingclass—in the United States this year, must be a great demonstration against the Capitalist System and the Government which upholds and supports it.

Probably never in history has there been such an exposure of rottenness and corruption as in the Teapot Dome investigation and the investigation of Attorney-General Daugherty. The men in high offices whom the members of the working class are asked to look up to, respect and revere are shown to be the paid agents of the capitalists looting the nation for their own profits. Representatives, senators, members of the cabinet, yes, even the president, past and present, are splattered by the oily filth.

No worker who has read the story of corruption coming from Washington from day to day can any longer have illusions about the Capitalist System and the Government which supports it, whether Republicans or Democrats are in power. Capitalism is stripped bare. The capitalists stand before the workers and farmers as looters of the nation, using bribery and every form of corruption to attain their ends and satisfy their greed for greater profits. The Government is shown to be the instrument thru which the capitalists steal the nations natural resources and exploit the producers of wealth.

Teapot Dome is but an example of the whole Capitalist System. The methods of the capitalists in the oil industry are the methods of the capitalists in the mining industry, the railroad industry, the steel industry and every other industry. Bribery and corruption of public officials to secure the oil resources of the country have been matched in stealing the lands, the timber, the coal and other resources of the nation.

The methods used by the capitalists in gaining control of the natural resources are also used in exploiting the workers in the industries and the workers upon the land.

When the workers go on strike the capitalists use their government against them, just as they use their government to secure the oil of Teapot Dome. Need the industrial workers be reminded of the Daugherty Injunction, and hundreds of other injunctions issued to break their strike? Need they be reminded that government boards, courts and soldiers are always at the command of the employers in their fight against workers. The government plays the same part in the fight against workers who want higher wages and better working conditions as it does in giving the capitalists the natural resources of the country. It is the agency of the employers, of the capitalists.

The farmers who are being bankrupted and driven off the land by the millions know that they are being robbed thru Teapot Dome methods. They know that the banks which hold their mortgages, the marketing institutions which handle their products, the elevators which store them, the railroads which transport them, are all supported by

cleverly drawn laws which aid the capitalist who owns these institutions to rob them.

All Capitalism is a Teapot Dome. Capitalism stands for corruption and bribery to secure the natural resources of the nation and to rob the industrial workers and farmers of the product of their toil. The Government is always the agent of the Capitalists, aiding in the loot of the natural resources and using its power to help maintain the system of robbing the workers in industry and on the land.

There is but one answer to the Capitalist Teapot Dome: Down with the Capitalist System.

This goal can only be achieved thru the industrial workers and farmers organizing their political power and using their political strength to take control of the government from the capitalists and their agents.

The experiences of the years since the end of the war have created an ever-growing movement on the part of the workers and farmers for a great Farmer-Labor Party to fight their political battles. Every experience of the workers in industry and on the land during recent years has shown that they cannot hope to win the struggle against their exploiters and oppressors, the capitalists, unless they first wrench control of the government out of the hands of the agents of the capitalists and establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

The Farmer-Labor parties of this country have called a great convention of industrial workers and farmers in the Twin Cities, June 17th for the formation of a great organization of workers and farmers which will carry on the fight against the old parties.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party calls upon all organizations of industrial workers and farmers to join in great United Front demonstrations on May Day against the Capitalist Teapot Dome, for a Farmer-Labor Party and for A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' Government.

Let us make Labor's International Holiday a demonstration that at last the workers of the United States are awakening to the character of the capitalist system under which they are robbed and exploited. Let us make it a demonstration that masses of industrial workers and farmers are uniting to fight against the capitalist Teapot Dome and for a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Workers and Farmers! Build a United Front for May Day! Build a United Front Against the Exploiters and Oppressors!

**DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST TEAPOT DOME!
FORWARD TO THE MASS FARMER-LABOR PARTY!
FORWARD TO THE WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT!**

Central Executive Committee, Workers Party of America,
C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary.

The Color Line and Profiteers

By KARL REEVE

THAT the Negro districts of Chicago is a "Race within a race"—an entirely separate world—with its classes, arts and occupations, however, imitating and paralleling the white—is clearly brought out in an examination of the housing problems on the south side.

For the last quarter of a century the south side Negro quarter has been the subject of numerous housing investigations. Federal street is a paradise for the social worker. A muck-raking reporter can walk along Federal or South Dearborn streets, pencil and paper in hand, and as he walks, jot down a continual stream of atrocious bad-housing details, such as uncleaned streets, littered alleys, broken down fences and porches, falling doors and windows.

And thru these years of continual social investigations the Negro has stood on his porch and wondered with idle curiosity what the prying, curious white stranger is doing in his domain. Meanwhile the houses

continue to deteriorate and the rents to go up.

Investigators Mere Frauds.

In a recent investigation of the housing situation in this district I talked to many Negro workers and shopkeepers. When I asked them if the Negroes were not a little resentful or at least a bit bored at being made so often the subject for so many futile investigations, the surprising reply invariably was, "The negroes don't know that they have been investigated. They never hear about what is written in the housing surveys."

There is a type of Negro, however, who is well aware of the interest of the white social worker in his miserable habitations. This is the successful Negro business man and property owner, the landlord and the store owner who pattern after the white bourgeois class. An investigation, to the wealthy negro who has built up a prestige for himself, means a chance to hobnob for a time

with the white social workers. It means a fleeting chance to forget that he is the member of an oppressed race—a chance to get his name in the paper or in a pamphlet, and to eat lunch on terms of seeming equality with the liberal social worker who is temporarily interested in the "Downtrodden Negro."

As A. C. Thayer, of the Urban League, proudly put it to the writer, "I was a member of the Lowden Commission of Race Relationship. I am a property owner myself, you know."

The Negro Elite.

It is only a five minute walk from Federal street to South Michigan Boulevard, but in that long narrow strip of Chicago's negro nation, can be found the counterpart of every class and organization that exists in the white society. And it is on South Michigan Boulevard, inconspicuously enough, with its large, stone mansions, inhabited by the Negro wealthy, select class, that the

influence of the investigations of Chicago's social workers has stopped. The influence of these surveys has penetrated no further into the consciousness of the negroes; no further than the upper crust where such influence is not needed.

In between the extreme squalor of the depressing fire-traps of Federal street and the palatial residences on the Boulevard, we meet at the complex business activity which is to be observed in any capitalistic society. Meet Charles Duke, in his busy office on Indiana avenue, near 35th street, who has made such profitable connections with the downtown bankers. Shut your eyes and hear any hanger-on of the capitalist bandwagon—whether colored, white, green or black. His language would be incomprehensible to the resident Federal street. He can tell you the value of any block on the south side; he can tell you how much money has been loaned on these properties, and what effect the zon-

(Continued on page 8.)

The March Meeting of the Workers Party Central Executive Committee

(Review and Comment.)

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

EVENTS are moving pretty fast nowadays. One might safely say that the rapidity of development of our political life is fast approaching that of Europe, altho our own class relations, looked at from the point of view of the direct proletarian struggle for power, are not as yet as sharply defined as are the European. However, the rapidity and frequency of political changes, which merely reflect the sharpened conflicts within the economic structure of America, are all here, which necessitates a frequent recasting of our plans and policies with a view for readjustment wherever and whenever necessary.

The last (March) meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America had occasion to register and evaluate a number of very important facts in the present political situation. The result is the new statement of policy published elsewhere in this issue.

What are the new developments?

New Farmer-Labor Center.

First and foremost the new national center of the Farmer-Labor Party forces in the United States. This center has been definitely established at the March 12th conference in St. Paul which issued a call for a National Farmer-Labor convention on June 17th to be held in Minnesota. The organization committee, elected at the above conference to realize the convention of June 17th is in effect such a national center.

Up till March 12th the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been serving in this capacity. It was the only national center of the labor and farmer elements working consciously and consistently for the formation of a class party of workers and exploited farmers. Now the basis of this national center has been broadened and extended. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has joined hands with the farmer-labor forces of Minnesota and a number of state farmer-labor parties of the northwest and West with the result that a real national crystallization has taken place, and a political body has come into existence which will inevitably lead to the formation of a powerful class party of workers and exploited farmers.

Third Party Pressure.

Second, the multiplication of probabilities for a third party split. Teapot Dome is surely undermining the foundations and prestige of both capitalist parties. The old reactionary gang in the two old parties is on the run for its very life. The closer we approach the elections the more threateningly is looming up on the political horizon the probability of a third party ticket.

For the purpose of bringing the

Labor-Party policy of the party in accord with the latest political developments, the C. E. C. has found it necessary to restate the party position and, therefore, adopted at its last meeting a statement submitted by Comrades William Z. Foster, James P. Cannon and Alexander Bittelman.

A study of the document will show that our immediate political task remains now the same as it was prior to and at the time of the last party convention; which is to work for the formation of a mass party of workers and exploited farmers. It will be noted, however, that particular emphasis is now laid on the proposition that the class Farmer-Labor party must be built on as broad a foundation as possible.

This is very important. The Workers Party was instrumental in bringing into existence the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. In doing so, our party has rendered a great service to the American labor movement and to the exploited farmers. The formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party on July 3rd, 1923, meant the coming together of the more militant and politically mature elements among the workers and exploited farmers for the purpose of arousing still wider masses and bringing them into the stream of independent political action. All the time the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been working toward this end.

Real Achievement.

The results are really magnificent. Within a short period of seven months a mass movement has been created. We have come to the point where nearly all the politically organized Farmer-Labor forces of the country have joined in one single, mighty effort to realize a Farmer-Labor ticket in the coming presidential elections. And why was this possible? Mainly because the Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party have not permitted "organizational fetishism to develop which would interfere with any necessary or advantageous regrouping of labor party forces" (quotation from present statement of C. E. C.); and because our party and the "Federated" have been ready to co-operate with and make all kinds of concessions to the other Farmer-Labor groups in order to realize the broad, all-inclusive class party of workers and exploited farmers.

It is known, for instance, that the Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party have been favoring May 30th as the date for the national convention of the Farmer-Labor forces. And for very good reasons. Reasons that had their basis in the very life interests of the class movement for a mass farmer-labor party.

But there were elements in this

movement that were opposed to the May 30th date, and for bad reasons. Bad, that is, from the point of view of the workers and farmers. These elements favored July 4th as the proper date.

Two Views Clash.

These two views came to a clash at the St. Paul conference on March 12th. For a time it looked as if no agreement were possible. But at the critical moment the Federated Farmer-Labor Party accepted a compromise, and it was then unanimously agreed that the national convention be called on June 17th.

It is on a strategy allowing for such tactics and policies as were applied by the "Federated" in St. Paul on March 12th that the present statement of the C. E. C. is based. And what does this strategy consist of? It is this: "Drive with all your might for the formation of a class party of workers and exploited farmers. But at the same time make sure—doubly sure—that you get all the politically organized farmer-labor forces in it."

Another important feature of the present document of the Central Executive Committee is the manner in which is restated our attitude toward the third party movement.

Its general nature and economic basis have been known to us right along. What has become apparent only of late is that this third party movement may assume such proportions as to make it worth while for the capitalists to come in and attempt to secure control over it. And then this third party—if it materializes—may differ very little from either of the two old parties. The present statement of the Central Executive Committee proposes to make our attitude towards a third party dependent also upon the attitude that the capitalists will assume towards it.

And then the reasons for our support in case the third party crystallizes as a clear-cut mass revolt against the economic and political domination of big capital. The present statement of the Central Executive Committee gives four reasons for it. The comrades will do well to study these reasons carefully.

Basis of Attitude.

The basis for all of them lies in the tremendous and favorable effect that the third party movement has upon furthering and accelerating development of the class struggle in general and the movement for a Farmer-Labor party in particular.

Our general attitude toward this third party movement is expressed in the document in the following words: "It remains one of the most important problems of strategy for the Farmer-Labor forces to steer a course of action which, while retaining contact with the broad third party movement, will at the same

time bring about the crystallization of the workers and exploited farmers into a separate party of their own."

Third, the sensational investigation of Attorney General Daugherty. For the so-called Progressive groups in Congress this is merely one phase of their general "house cleaning" campaign in the two old parties. But for the labor movement as a whole and for our party in particular this Daugherty investigation, because of the vicious and damnable part played by the Department of Justice in breaking the Shopmen's strike and in persecuting the Communists, presents a first-class opportunity for exposing the capitalist class nature of the American government and for arousing the workers to an independent political struggle against their class enemies. In dealing with this question the Central Executive Committee adopted resolutions submitted by Jay Lovestone:

Unemployment Situation.

Fourth, the unemployment situation is becoming clearer. The contention of some of our leading comrades, that an acute and widespread crisis of mass unemployment is already making its way into the lives of the American workers, have not been justified by events and further investigation. We are in for a crisis of unemployment in but a few industries (mining, textile), which calls not for an immediate national campaign of organization of the unemployed, but rather for a campaign of education and ideological preparation for the crisis that is bound to come in the near future. The thesis on unemployment by Comrade Earl Browder was adopted by the Central Executive Committee.

Co-ordinating Party Activities.

Fifth, the acute need of a balanced program of party activities. This need is a direct result of the recent political and organizational growth of our party and of the growing complexity of the tasks confronting us. We have reached a stage where balance and proportion in the manifold activities of our party have become the basic prerequisites for our further development. Such a program, submitted by Comrade William Z. Foster, was adopted at the last meeting of the Central Executive Committee and will be published in the next issue of this magazine.

June 17th is our next milestone. The Central Executive Committee of the party has given us the necessary directions and instructions. It rests now with the party membership and with each party unit to make that day a great day of achievement for the Farmer-Labor movement and for the Workers Party.

Introducing Senator Walsh of Montana

UNITED STATES SENATOR THOMAS J. WALSH, who is now in charge of the Teapot Dome investigation, has given many people the impression of being a zealous guardian of the public domain and a devoted conservationist.

Senator Walsh's record in this respect is spotless perhaps only when compared with the transactions of Mr. Fall. The senior Senator from Montana has himself played some Teapot politics tho not with oil interests directly.

The Butte Electric Company is a subsidiary of the General Electric Company, which is one of the two concerns controlling at least 90 per cent of the water power in the state of Montana. The water power interests along with the copper interests are the real driving force in capitalist circles in this state.

Mr. Walsh has played Teapot politics with the power interests. After he was re-elected to the Senate in November, 1918, Mr. Walsh introduced what is known as Senate bill No. 274 of the Sixty-sixth Congress. This bill provided for the "erection and maintenance of a dam across the Yellowstone River in the State of Montana."

Subsequently, April 11, 1921, which was the first day of the spe-

cial session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, Mr. Walsh reintroduced his bill and numbered it Senate bill No. 275.

Played for Power Interests.

What this bill meant to the preservation of the country's great power resources is made clear by the following statement printed in the bulletin of the National Parks Association dated May 23, 1921. We quote in part:

"The important duty now before this nation is the defeat of the Walsh bill, just introduced in the Sixty-Seventh Congress, calling for the damming of Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park.

"This constitutes the most insidious and dangerous blow ever aimed at American conservation, because it seems to ask for so little while really demanding the entire National park's system. For if Congress grants Senator Walsh his way with Yellowstone it cannot refuse to grant others their way with other national parks."

This bill was supposed to have gone to the Committee on Public Lands but Senator Walsh had it referred to the Committee on Immigration of which he was a member.

Mr. Walsh is reputed to be one of the greatest constitutional lawyers in the country. In framing

this bill he used all the cunning at his command as a first rate lawyer.

Albrights' Protest.

Preparatory to his launching a drive for the enactment of this water power grab, Senator Walsh arranged in February, 1921, a meeting with the promoters of the Livingston power interests on the ground. Had it not been for the fact that the officers of the National Park Association learned of this meeting, Superintendent Horace M. Albright, of Yellowstone National Park, and George E. Goodwin, chief engineer of the National Park Service, would not have been present at the hearings which lasted four days. It was only thru the efforts of the National Park Association that the presence of these experts at the hearings was guaranteed.

Superintendent Albright emphatically declared that the proposed dam would submerge a part of Yellowstone Park. Engineer Goodwin branded the whole project impractical.

Despite this expert testimony Senator Walsh kept up his propaganda for the enactment of this bill. In May, 1921, he circulated amongst the members of Congress a type-written statement contradicting the testimony of the government experts.

Significant comment on the Walsh proposal is found in the following excerpt from the Bozeman, Montana, Daily Chronicle, of May 15, 1921:

Oil and Water Don't Mix.

"Whether or not the granting of the special privilege in this particular case would result in detriment to the beauties of the park is not to our mind the issue at stake, but rather the fact that a granting of this particular request would form a precedent, and the head of the camel would then be inside the tent, and it would be time for the family to move out. The Chronicle is unalterably opposed to the granting of any vested rights within the park to any state corporation, association or other combination of individuals whatever."

In view of the above tireless efforts on the part of Senator Walsh in behalf of the water power interests, one tends to view with great skepticism the "vicarious virtue" that the Teapot scandal has aroused in the senior Senator from Montana. It seems that the politics of Senator Walsh are based on the old adage that oil interests and water interests won't mix.

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The Activities of the Workers Party

Declaration Adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

AT THE present time some controversy exists in the Workers Party relative to the general propositions of education, organization, and Party strategy. This is because the Party has not yet established a clear-cut, well-balanced program for the schooling, building, and functioning of our organization. Various groups lay greater or lesser stress upon one or another of the several activities necessary to the development and life of our Party, some overstressing education, others attaching too much importance to bare organization, and still others devoting themselves almost entirely to actions and maneuvers of the Party, to the neglect of education and organization. The consequence is much confusion, wasted effort, and one-sided development. Only by a clarification and unification of the membership's conceptions of the questions can this intolerable condition be remedied. Hence the C. E. C. feels the necessity for the following statement upon the general proposition of Party activities.

In the development and utilization of the Workers Party in the class struggle it must be constantly borne in mind that it is a Communist Party. This means that it must be thoroughly educated firmly organized, and possessed of a militant strategy. It must be a revolutionary fighting organization, the membership of which understand not only the ultimate goal of Communism but also the every-day program of the movement; it must be a compact, centralized, disciplined, mass body, and it must take a leading part in all the political and industrial struggles of the workers. The building of such a well-rounded, balanced Party must be our aim. Only a Party which carries on simultaneously the necessary work of education and organization, and which is animated by a militant strategy, can be in fact, as well as in theory, the vanguard of the proletariat.

EDUCATION

Educational work is one of the basic features of the general activities of the Workers Party. This must reach not only the circle of sympathetic workers about the Party, but especially the members of the Party. In addition to the fundamentals of Marxian theory, this educational work should include an intensive instruction regarding the practical policies and every-day life of the Party. Thus the stream of new members constantly entering the Party will be assimilated and equipped for active participation in Party life. The Party must lay greater and greater stress upon its educational program, systematizing it and institutionalizing it as it develops.

But this does not mean that the Party shall be allowed to become merely an educational body, as some in our ranks think it should. Such a course would condemn it to a sectarianism like that of the Socialist Labor Party and the Proletarian Party, and would eliminate it as a vital factor in the class struggle. Our Party must first of all be a fighting organization and its educational program must be calculated upon the principle of bringing forth the Party's greatest virility and fighting strength. When thus connected and co-ordinated with the every-day struggles of the working class, the Party's educational work will be lifted above the academic atmosphere and made a dynamic factor, at once re-enforcing the Party in the class struggle and being itself vitalized and stimulated by the Party experiences, in the battles of the workers.

As things now stand the educational work of the Workers Party, both for the masses in general and for the members in particular, is still in a primitive state of development. It is the intention of the C. E. C. to remedy this condition as rapidly as possible, and to develop an effective campaign of educational work. A lead idea in this campaign will be to establish systematic routine that will constantly bring its educational work before the Party committees for attention and action. Within the C. E. C. itself an educational committee is being established to co-ordinate and stimulate this phase of Party work everywhere.

It will put into effect the educational program, published in THE WORKER of November 3rd, 1923, as rapidly as resources will permit.

That program is, briefly; to provide definitely in the Party budget for the educational work which shall be developed along the following lines: Selection of a national Educational Director; founding of "Lenin College", a central school for Party workers; establishment of classes in the various cities, organized in circuits and covered by professional teachers; extensive tours for lecturers on theoretical subjects; publication of popular theoretical pamphlets and books; periodic discussions at branch meetings of current events and decisions of the C. E. C. on party policy.

The beginnings so far made, in the establishment of a circuit of study classes in District 8 and in District 1, a Party school in New York, the projected publication of the "Lenin Library" of 10 volumes, all a part of the national educational system, will be supported and extended until every member of the Party and every sympathizer has full and complete opportunity for sound education in every phase of the international communist movement. The youth movement shall be utilized more and more in this same field.

ORGANIZATION

The Party organization must be gradually and systematically transformed from its present territorial basis to that of shop and factory units. Special articles, communications from the Communist International and plans for this re-organization work will be published in the near future.

In the mean-time all educational and political activity must be closely followed by organization. The Party must absorb and make use of all the workers brought into sympathetic contact with the Party thru education or common participation in the struggle. Organization is a question of life and death to a Communist movement; our activities of every sort must receive special organizational attention, they cannot be allowed to drift along in a vague and uncrystallized form.

The Party is the organizational center for the entire movement and must therefore have first organizational attention. Many thousands of workers are ideologically prepared now for membership in the Workers Party, and it is a major task for us to reach them and bring them into the organization. From the Workers Party as the center must radiate a complete network of auxiliary organizations, crystallizing all communist activity and permeating the masses in all fields of struggle. In every case where Communists are active, organization and the Party must follow closely behind, the object of constant and energetic attention.

Our campaigns for amalgamation, the Labor Party, and other issues of immediate appeal to the workers, must be followed up closely by the organizing machinery of the Party so that the elements made sympathetic to us shall be absorbed into the Party. Every action supported by non-party elements must be made the basis for an appeal to them to join the Workers Party as the instrument that made effective action possible. Every party unit must have a permanent committee on recruiting new members. Party members must be systematically instructed in organizational methods and plans for work within trade unions, fraternal societies, etc. Only when system and order, with definite and authoritative organizational forms, follow all Communist activity, will the full results of our work be obtained.

On the other hand it must be pointed out that, just as a one-sided emphasis upon education at the expense of other sides of Party activity, produces sectarianism, so does

undue stress placed upon bare organization (the tendency to organizational fetishism) produce sterility and political bankruptcy. Organization alone is futile. Thus the Socialist Party once had 100,000 members, quite an organizational showing, but because it had no solid educational basis nor possessed of a sound and militant strategy in the class struggle, its organization melted away overnight. The problem of organization for a Communist party is the problem of keeping pace at all times with party education and party strategy, without allowing organizational work to become an end in itself.

It is the intention of the Central Executive Committee to intensively develop organizational methods and activities, to constantly survey and appraise the working of each unit of our organization, to stimulate lagging sections, to correct errors and abuses, and draw the movement more tightly together everywhere. This it also lays down as the basic organizational duty of every party committee.

PARTY STRATEGY

Party strategy is the systematic and planful application of fundamental Communist principles in the class struggle. It is "The Party Inaction," functioning as the leader of the working masses, organizing and educating them, crystallizing their revolt, giving them direction for immediate and definite actions, establishing a proletarian fighting morale, and occupying the front ranks in every struggle against the capitalist system, against the employers, and against the agents of capitalism within the labor movement. Party strategy is that expression of our organization that makes of it a communist party.

Party strategy, to be fully effective, requires the intelligent participation of the entire membership. While it is particularly the responsibility of the Central Executive Committee, and the District Committees under its lead, to give direction and control, yet the whole party which puts that strategy into effect in the life of the working class must be permeated with a deep understanding of what the party is trying to do and the methods of doing it. The Party as a whole must follow the strategy from point to point in the struggle, must pass judgment upon it, must criticize and correct it from time to time. Successful Party strategy is thus based directly upon the understanding of the membership (education), and upon its facilities for united action (organization). To the full extent that education and organization have laid the foundation the Party strategy must be extended and developed.

The capacity of the Party, measured by its understanding and organization strength, is thus of equal importance with a realistic valuation of the objective facts of the class struggle. That strategy which correctly estimates the objective facts, the political and economic situation and the relation of forces, and also correctly judges the power of the Party, and which throws the Party energetically and intelligently into the struggle to the limit of those powers, is the successful strategy toward which we must strive.

Our Party is faced with a tremendous responsibility. It finds a working class from which all other leadership has abdicated. The so-called progressives, by their cowardly retreats and surrender to Gompers have left the labor movement with none but the Communists to lead the struggle for the Labor Party, amalgamation and for even the mildest reforms. It is the duty of the Workers Party to accept this responsibility, and to participate in every

action of the working class, leading it on step by step to our goal. Those few individual comrades who object to this constant and active participation in the every day struggle and who call for a life of quite study and peaceful organization of the Communists, show that they do not understand the function of a Communist party.

On the other hand the Central Executive Committee is determined to guard against the other danger, the tendency to wild maneuverings to running ahead of the Party membership, to ill-considered actions, that defeat our primary purpose by creating distrust among the workers. Our Party strategy must be so soundly based upon the fundamental interests of the working class, and so clearly explained to the workers, that it will at all times retain that mass support necessary to give it power. Strategy shall never be allowed to degenerate into political maneuverings having no relation to the real facts of the class struggle and the relative strength of the party.

In the immediate future the Workers Party will be engaged in most important political battles in which the Party strategy will be supremely important. Smooth and rapid adjustment of the entire Party to each development so that the Party may strike quickly and with its entire power, is a supreme necessity. The Central Executive Committee is informing the membership from week to week of its political estimate of the situation, the Party press is day by day carrying the story of the immediate struggle, the Party position is being explained on each issue that arises, the full power of the Party is being exerted within the working class movement.

The C. E. C. expects to intensify this active participation in the whole political life of the working class, which will become more complex and heated as the presidential campaign develops and the farmer-labor movement comes to expression. More than ever it is necessary for all Party members and all Party units to study and to understand the Party strategy, and put it into effect with all their ability and energy, constantly keeping before the eyes of the workers the ultimate aims of the class struggle, i. e., the seizure of power and the proletarian dictatorship.

A BALANCED PROGRAM

Our supreme objective, our fundamental conception in the period immediately before us, must be the building of a mass Communist party. That means that the activities of our Party must be developed upon a balanced program of education, organization, and strategy. Education thru intensive, systematic effort, hooked up closely with organization and action, will give our Party a sound foundation without leading the sectarianism or scholasticism. Organization of all activities, definite in form and reaching out to embrace the workers prepared for our movement and its work, will put firmness and backbone into both education and Party strategy, steering clear of both organizational fetishism and jellyfish-like helplessness. Party strategy, based upon education and organization, correctly adjusted to the resources of the Party and the facts of the class struggle, will act as a stimulus to all other phases of Party life, as an instrument of education and organization, and at the same time it will fulfill the responsibilities placed upon us, and will put our Party in its proper position as the vanguard of the proletariat, the leader of the working class.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon the entire Party to establish this conception of a balanced program of activities as a central and leading idea in the Party life. Let each of our work be developed together and in harmony, without artificial differentiation or one-sided emphasis. Each is necessary and is intimately connected with all the other; they are but different faces to the one reality the Workers Party, which is the collective organization of every phase of Communist work in America. With consistent and systematic study, with thoro and well-disciplined organization, and with intelligent and energetic action, our Party will leave behind all the remaining vestiges of factionalism, opportunism, infantile disorders, and sectarianism, and will march forward to its proper place as a mature and responsible section of the Communist International.

INEVITABLE

The tide sweeps all along with it,
Driftwood and dreamer,
Pious and sinner,
Fighter and vanquished,
All go beneath the flood.

Nor all your coward tears can thwart its flow,
They only add to its torrential strength,
Be they the tears of prayer, the tears of pain,
Naught can avail, naught can this force restrain,
The deluge feeds and swells with human blood
Till the whole earth is cleansed.

HENRY ROENNE.

Present Economic and Political Situation

Memorandum to the E. C. C. I. Adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, March 16, 1924. Submitted by Foster, Cannon and Bittleman.

The Economic Situation

INDUSTRY—The industrial system of America, alone among the capitalist nations of the world, still shows great strength. The year 1923 was a peak year in production, in spite of the drastic curtailment of exports as compared with other boom years. This unprecedented expansion was, however, due largely to tremendous capital expenditures, (constructive, building, replacements and extensions of plant and equipment), which have already reached close to the limitations imposed by production for profits. The continuous decline since May, 1923, now interrupted by a slight counter-tendency, altho it still leaves production on a fairly high level, shows that the limits of the domestic market have been reached.

The enormous capital expenditures, by increase of plant and equipment, have still further increased the potential productive forces of American industry, but no new markets are available to absorb that production. The pressure of the accumulating capital, intensified by the influx of gold into America, is already presaging a crisis in industry, and at the same time is bringing about tremendous internal changes.

Concentration of capital is proceeding at an unexampled rate; new industries, infants of a few years ago like oil and automobiles, are becoming giants; great industrial trusts that completely overshadow anything seen before are coming into being; the economic basis is being completed for the most powerful imperialism the world has seen.

The present depression is undoubtedly leading to a crisis, in which capitalism will repeat the historic cycle described by Marx. This developing crisis is bringing with it the inevitable pressure upon the working class, in the shape of wage reductions, wars against the unions, lengthening of hours, and loss of previous gains in working conditions. At the same time it makes more difficult any effective economic struggle.

The weakness of the labor unions is accentuated by the complete bankruptcy of the official leadership, which is going over bodily to an open policy of collaboration of classes,

abandoning all pretense of class struggle. The approaching crisis is at the same time pressing upon the middle bourgeoisie especially the smaller industrialists, independent producers, small retailers, professionals and intellectuals, and furnishes the economic basis for the growing political revolt of the city workers and middle class.

AGRICULTURE—The crisis in agriculture is much farther advanced and more acute than in industry. Development of agricultural technique has long been demanding more capital than was possessed by the tillers of the land, under the prevailing mode of individual production. Trust-farming, to correspond with the development of industry under similar conditions, was unable to develop on a large scale. It was necessary to find a method which, while retaining the form of individual ownership, allowed an actual concentration in the hands of the money interests. This was achieved in elaborate and comprehensive extension of the mortgage system, and along with it, tenantry. Agriculture, considered only on its productive side, flourished and grew for a time.

But the farmer, gradually but surely, began to find himself in the financial position, not of the independent producer, but of the dependent worker or worse. In a flourishing industry he found himself unable to pay his bills. Just as the coal miners are starving in one of the wealthiest industries of the country, so the farmers who produce the food are finding themselves actually going hungry. The ownership of the land, and with it the produce of the land, has actually passed out of their hands. Today a bare third of agriculture is carried on by those who hold clear ownership of the land they till.

Accompanying this has gone a concomitant development of increasing taxes that further pressed upon the bankrupt farmer. The expansion of the war period, with its price-fixing of wheat and indirect subsidies to agriculture, gave a temporary relief, but at the same time immeasurably stimulated the process which is the fundamental trouble of the working farmers. This was realized in life when the deflation began in 1920. With the barrier of war conditions removed, the full force of the accumulating changes in the fundamental basis of agricultural ownership was felt. The prevailing system of individual production, because it no

longer fits the economic facts, begins to destroy the individual ownership of which it was supposed to be the basis.

Capitalism, blindly following its own laws and appropriating the products of agriculture, has changed the fundamental basis of the system of agriculture by taking the ownership of the land from its tillers, but it has failed to substitute the social and productive forms necessary to adjust the individual productive forces to the centralized financial control and ownership. The result is the present major dislocation, the wholesale exodus from the land of the bankrupt farmers from their flourishing industry. The entire agricultural system has been brought to a fundamental crisis by the operations of capitalism. This crisis has shaken the conservative and individualistic American farmers out of their old political channels and is forcing them in alliance with the city workers and middle classes, into independent political action.

The Political Situation

The mass revolt against the two old parties.—The present political situation is characterized by a growing revolt of the workers, farmers, and lower middle classes against the leadership and domination of the two old parties. The Democrat and Republican Parties do not represent the interests of the masses that have been supporting them. Neither the workers nor the exploited farmers, and not even the lower middle classes find their interests represented and defended by the two old parties. Both are dominated by the big finance and industrial capitalists of the country who are using interchangeably the machinery of the two old parties to suppress and exploit all the other groups and classes in American Society.

Because the old parties are being dominated and controlled by big capital these parties have proven themselves to be totally incapable to cope with the present situation and to satisfy even partially the needs of the exploited masses of the cities and farms. The present industrial and agricultural crisis is accentuating this fact and is giving more impetus and force to the already strong movement of revolt against the old parties,—a movement which is assuming daily ever wider and bigger proportions.

The disclosures in the Teapot Dome Oil Scandal and in the Veterans' Bureau Investigations have badly shattered the confidence of the masses in the two old parties. This fact has already had the effect of increasing the disgust with and intensifying the opposition to the political leadership of the Democrats and Republicans. The outcome of it is a veritable mass revolt against these political instruments and tools of big capital.

The political expression of revolt against old parties.—This revolt finds its expression in a large mass movement tending to split away from the two old parties and towards a new party. The workers, exploited farmers and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, spurred on by the industrial and agricultural crisis and by the disclosures of the present senatorial investigations, are moving very speedily in the direction of a third party. Insofar as this third party movement has as yet crystallized, its organized expression is the so-called La Follette group in Congress, the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and a number of smaller political groups and state organizations.

As this mass revolt against the old parties develops there is to be seen a clearly defined tendency of the more politically conscious workers and exploited farmers to differentiate themselves from the amorphous mass and to organize into a class farmer-labor party distinct and separate from the general third party movement. The principal organized expression of this movement is the group of farmer-labor parties which is calling the convention of June 17th and of which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the Workers Party are a part.

All the elements participating in the general revolt are present in both the third party and labor party movements. The thing that differentiates them is the preponderance of petty bourgeois elements, their leadership

RUSSIAN NEWS IN THE MAKING

By EVELYN BEIDELL

The scene is a hotel room in Berlin—or Riga. A newspaper, the Chicago Tribune, The New York Globe, and others scattered about. The room has a solitary occupant, a man sitting in thought, sitting before a typewriter.

He frowns as if at the recollection of something unpleasant perhaps because of futility. Nervously, he picks up typewritten papers, and glances thru them. They are dispatches, variously headlined; "Trotzky Slaps Red Chief Foils Attack Upon Trotzky", "Revolt Impending In Russia".

He stops at one sheet and gazes at it ruminatingly. To have provoked a train of thought. Suddenly his expression comes intense, absorbed. Deep wrinkles are registered on his brow. They indicate that a profound process of conception is on within. Presently, he places his fingers upon the keys. A clatter seems about to take place! It begins with a clatter of

A headline in capitals spread itself upon the paper: "TROZKY SENDS THREAT TO PETROGRAD."—A slight pause, details envisaged and correlated, the inspired correspondent on. Armies, generals, cities, Communists and Communist are deftly inserted by the flying keys. Even a quotation of Trotzky's "belligerent message" makes its appearance.

In a few minutes, the article assumes the earmarks and features of a regular news dispatch. To all purposes and intents a fully authenticated and first hand version of "developments in Russia". And as such, it will be published in the leading newspapers in America.

and ideology in the third party movement; as against the preponderance of workers and exploited farmers, their leadership and ideology, in the farmer-labor movement.

Forces Making for Third Party.—The forces moving with various degrees of political consciousness and determination in the direction of a third party are dominated by the petty bourgeoisie. Altho this movement includes large sections of organized workers and exploited farmers, yet its political expression and leadership is centered in a group of petty bourgeois liberal Senators and Congressmen known as the La Follette group, which really represents the interests of well-to-do farmers and small manufacturers and other middle class elements. This group in Congress is looked upon by millions of workers and farmers as their leaders against the domination and oppression of big capital. And it is this fact that makes the political strategy of the La Follette group one of the determining factors making for the formation of a third party in the coming Presidential Elections.

The strategy of the La Follette group has been to gain the leadership of the revolting masses preferably under the banner of the Republican Party. If they fail to control the Republican Convention they will very probably split and try to unite the entire mass revolt against the two old parties into a third party under their leadership. On account of the great and rapidly growing discontent now existing in the ranks of both old parties this split may be of such a far-reaching nature that a section of the capitalists will go along with it in order to control it. In such an event the new party would approach the old parties in character.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action is another political force moving in the direction of a third party. Altho it is based on and maintained by the railroad unions its political ideology is very much the same as that of the La Follette group. The leaders of the sixteen standard railroad unions who are also founders and leaders of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, were committed up till the Feb. 12th Conference in St. Louis, to the nomination and support of McAdoo on the Democratic ticket.

But because McAdoo was involved in the Teapot Dome oil scandal, they did not dare to nominate him at St. Louis, but contented themselves with vague third party propaganda and the calling of the July 4th Conference in Cleveland. A few days later, however, these same leaders of the Conference for Progressive Political Action participated in the McAdoo Conference held in Chicago and endorsed McAdoo as presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Since that time, however, the chances of McAdoo receiving the Democratic nomination have dwindled down to zero and this has drawn the C. P. A. more deeply into the current of the third party movement led and directed by the La Follette group.

But it can safely be depended upon that the reactionary labor lead-

ers controlling the C. P. A. will not support a third party unless they are driven to it by the pressure of the masses, and quite likely to betray the movement by endorsing one of the old capitalist party candidates in the election.

Forces Making for a Farmer-Labor Party.—The forces making for the formation of a class party of workers and exploited farmers and the political expression of this movement is the Farmer-Labor Party and the Workers Party. The national committee in charge of this movement is the committee in charge of the election of June 17th, in Cleveland.

In this combination of forces for the formation of a farmer-labor party, the Workers Party, and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party are the most prominent factors. A large section of this combination, altho in favor of a class party, is strongly influenced by the La Follette group, and therefore, one of the most urgent problems of the farmer-labor forces is the course of action which, in contact with the broad movement, will at the same time bring about the crystallization of workers and exploited farmers into a separate class party.

Workers Party Situation.—Our attitude towards the split of the old parties is in favor of the split of the old parties and farming classes and the bourgeoisie away from the can and Democratic Party. The bourgeoisie are dominated and controlled by big capital is creating a change in American politics that will not solve any of the problems of the workers and exploited farmers, but will bring any real relief to the masses. Altho, this split is necessary for the development of the Workers Party for the election of 1924.

1. It represents a movement of the workers, farmers and lower middle class against the domination of the big bourgeoisie and breaks the capitalist leadership of the workers, farmers and professional elements which hitherto followed the successful united front policy of the workers more difficult.

2. Millions of workers and farmers are following the movement away from the split breaks the leadership of the masses, sets them in a new direction, highly susceptible to propaganda for a class party of these working and exploited elements from the capitalists they have followed properly utilized, not as a starting point for the formation of a great class party.

Biggest Campaign Fund Wins the White House

NO man can be president of the United States unless the great capitalist interests GIVE HIM THE MONEY in the form of a campaign fund with which to run.

Since 1860, with one exception, the man who had the biggest campaign fund has been elected president. The one exception was Wilson's second election in which (unless the money was secretly given and handled) the millionaires (including Mr. Doheny) put up only \$1,400,229 to elect Wilson, while other millionaires (including Harry Sinclair) gave \$2,012,535 to Charles E. Hughes' campaign.

The presidents of the United States from 1860 to 1920 with their campaign funds are:

- 1860—Lincoln, \$100,000—elected. Douglas, \$50,000. Breckenridge, —
- 1864—Lincoln, \$125,000—elected. McClellan, \$50,000.
- 1868—Grant, \$150,000—elected. Seymour, \$75,000.
- 1872—Grant, \$250,000—elected. Greeley, \$50,000.
- 1876—Hayes, \$950,000—elected. Tilden, \$900,000.
- 1880—Garfield, \$1,100,000—elected. Hancock, \$355,000.
- 1884—Cleveland, \$1,400,000—elected. Blaine, \$1,300,000.
- 1888—Harrison, \$1,350,000—elected. Cleveland, \$855,000.
- 1892—Cleveland, \$2,350,000—elected. Harrison, \$1,850,000.
- 1896—McKinley, \$16,500,000—elected. Bryan, \$675,000.
- 1900—McKinley, \$9,500,000—elected. Bryan, \$425,000.
- 1904—Roosevelt, \$3,500,000—elected. Parker, \$1,250,000.
- 1908—Taft, \$1,700,000—elected. Bryan, \$750,000.
- 1912—Wilson, \$850,000—elected. Taft, \$750,000. Roosevelt, \$325,000.
- 1916—Hughes, \$2,012,535. Wilson, \$1,400,229—elected.
- 1920*—Harding (admitted), \$2,741,503. Cox (admitted), \$1,170,321.

* These figures appear officially, but it is generally understood that several millions were secretly raised and spent; Colonel Wm. Boyce Thompson having raised \$3,500,000 on Sinclair oil stock for the election of Harding and Coolidge, as one item alone.

Situation and Our Immediate Tasks

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3. It is not a matter of indifference to the Communists as to who misleads and betrays the working masses. The latter are already disillusioned about the old capitalist parties but they still look with faith to the third party movement. The betrayal of their interests by the La-Follette group, because of the greater promises it makes and the higher hopes it inspires, will have the most profound effect on the masses and will eventually force them to turn to a class party of their own and toward the leadership of the Communists.

4. This split will shatter the A. F. of L. Bureaucracy which stands today as the most formidable obstacle to the revolutionary development of the trade unions. The A. F. of L. Bureaucracy is tied to the capitalist parties. The split from the old parties will tear loose great masses of organized workers from their allegiance to the capitalist parties and their own leaders who are agents of these parties. It will upset the balance of power in the A. F. of L. and open the door for a general development of the trade unions in all directions.

The Workers Party and the Farmer-Labor Party.

Our chief task and aim in the present situation is the organization on a national scale of a class party of workers and poor farmers on as broad a basis as possible and the advancement to the utmost in this party of the ideology and leadership of the Communists.

The attitude of the Workers Party towards a class farmer-labor party is determined by the united front policy and tactics of the Communist International. We participate in the movement and fight for the formation of a mass party of workers and exploited farmers because this is at present the best means at our disposal by which we can mobilize and organize large masses of workers and farmers for a struggle against capitalist exploitation and the capitalist state and because it gives us the broadest and best field for revolutionary agitation and propaganda.

The success of this policy depends, however, upon our ability to constantly agitate and organize the working masses for the final struggle for power and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. Our success in the fight for the farmer-labor party and the constant broadening of its scope and strengthening of its class character must carry with it the constant strengthening and development of the Workers Party, to such an extent as to make it the real leader of the working class and the movement that will result from our activity for a farmer-labor party.

We must, as part of the campaign for the organization of the whole left wing, assist in maintaining, organizing, and strengthening the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. This does not mean that we shall allow organizational fetishism to develop which would interfere with any necessary or advantageous regrouping of the labor party forces. Our aim is the building of the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party, and our strategy in the Farmer-Labor movement must always be directed to this end.

The Farmer-Labor Party and The Third Party.

While we carry on our campaign for the organization of a class farmer-labor party, we must at the same time try to drive the third party forces to split away from the old capitalist parties. And if this split takes place and a third party is organized, which is an expression of revolt against Wall Street and which is not merely another capitalist party, the farmer-labor party must make an election alliance with it against the old capitalist parties and the capitalist government. Such an alliance, however, shall not take the form of organizational unity between the class farmer-labor party and the third party, but of common campaigns against the capitalist parties and against the government of big capital.

The attitude of the class farmer-labor party toward the third party has to be determined by the nature of the third party and the attitude of the big capitalists toward it. Pres-

ent indications point to the formation of a third party led by La Follette or some other of the same group on a program of struggle against the domination of the big capitalists. With such a party the farmer-labor party should and must make an election alliance in the 1924 campaign.

This does not mean that the farmer-labor party can support the candidate of the third party under any and all circumstances. We must not be blind to the possibility that a section of the capitalists, seeing the tremendous movement of the masses away from the old parties, will also enter the third party movement and take command of it. With such a third party the farmer-labor party cannot make an election alliance no matter who may be the candidate, but must fight against it.

On the other hand, it is not out of the range of possibility that La Follette or one of his group will secure the Republican nomination at the hands of the big capitalists who control the Republican Party and attempt to lead the revolting back into its ranks. Under such circumstances, of course, the farmer-labor party must wage a relentless campaign against this reactionary maneuver.

Insofar as the political developments can be foreseen now we can specify the general conditions for an election alliance of the farmer-labor party with a party led by La Follette or one of his group as well as the conditions for refusing such an alliance.

The election alliance which would involve the support of the candidacy of La Follette or some similar leader of the third party movement for president in the 1924 elections can be made if:

(a) he runs as an independent candidate;

(b) he becomes the candidate of a party formed at the Cleveland Conference of the C. P. P. A.

(c) he becomes the candidate of a new party formed directly by the progressive group in Congress revolting from the old parties and excluding the political agents of capital from the control of the Party.

The farmer-labor party must oppose the candidacy of La Follette or any other leader of the third party movement in the election, if

(a) he betrays the movement by accepting the Republican nomination,

(b) he becomes the candidate of a new party controlled by capitalists.

In state and city elections the policy of the farmer-labor party should be as follows, as stated in the Convention thesis:

"(a) The farmer-labor party will nominate its candidates on its own party ticket wherever possible and carry on an independent campaign.

"(b) Wherever the farmer-labor party candidates have a chance to win we will carry on the fight to elect these candidates against those of the old parties and the third party. Wherever the Socialist Party or any other labor political group has a chance to win we will support these candidates against all other parties including the third party.

"(c) Wherever neither the farmer-labor party nor the third party candidates have a chance to win, we will vote for the farmer-labor party candidates in the election.

"(d) Where the farmer-labor party candidates have no chance to win and the third party can unquestionably win against the capitalist parties with our support, we will vote for the third party candidates."

If under the conditions set forth above an election alliance, either national or local, is made the farmer-labor party must maintain a distinct organization and carry on an independent campaign for its own program and utilize the situation to the utmost to crystallize in the definite form of an organized farmer-labor party all those workers and exploited farmers who can be brought to the support of a class party.

Throughout any campaign in which we maintain an alliance with the third party, we must constantly criticize and expose it and its candidates, show up the futility of its program, and make it clear to the workers who are reached by our own campaign that the third party will bring them no salvation and no relief. We must make it clear that the whole campaign is simply a starting point

in the struggle for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government, which in turn is a step towards the Proletarian Dictatorship, the one and only instrument for their liberation.

The June 17th Convention

All the elements of the classes which are participating in the revolt against and split from the old capitalist parties will be represented in the St. Paul convention on June 17th. But the probability of the class farmer-labor party elements—the rank and file workers and poor farmers—predominating will be greatly increased by the aggressive role of the Workers Party in the campaign for the convention and the tendency of the third party elements (including the labor bureaucrats, who are ideologically a part of the petty bourgeoisie) to turn to the Cleveland Conference of the C. P. P. A. or to some other center which may be created by the La Follette group to serve as the nucleus of the third party.

Our task at the June 17th Convention will be to strengthen and clarify its class character, fight for the adoption of a class program, organize it into a class party separate and distinct from the Cleveland conference or any other third party conference which may be held. The party formed there shall negotiate, thru committees, with other conferences on the question of common campaign or common candidates only as an organized body.

At the St. Paul Conference we shall nominate and fight for proletarian candidates as against any other candidates at the conference. We shall utilize the conference to lay the basis for the organization of the farmer-labor party thruout the country and also advance there the proposal and plans for an economic organization of farmers to serve as the foundation for their political organization.

Preparations for June 17th.

It is necessary to throw the last ounce of the Party's energy into the campaign to make the June 17th conference a tremendous mass gathering of the rank and file workers and poor farmers. We must undertake to draw the whole genuine class farmer-labor movement to June 17th, and away from July 4th and all other third party conferences on the ground that June 17th alone is the center around which the whole class movement can and must be crystallized into a separate and independent body.

An organization campaign must be started at once. Party units must be instructed immediately to initiate the work of forming local and state farmer-labor parties which shall be represented on June 17th. The question of their affiliation to the F. F.-L. P. must be determined in each case separately according to the policy

laid down in the convention thesis which is as follows:

"The F. F.-L. P. should consider each situation separately and thoroughly. It should organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party only in such places in which the organization of the F. F.-L. P. will not bring a split in the left-wing; that is, of the followers of the class labor party movement."

Party members thruout the trade union and farmer movements must commence a systematic agitation to send delegates to the June 17th convention from their local trade unions, co-operatives, farmers' organizations, and labor fraternal societies.

We must develop an educational campaign in connection with the June 17th convention and the political situation of which it is a part. This campaign shall have two objects and two sides:

1. To educate the Party membership as to the reasons for and necessity of the Party tactics laid down in this thesis and carried out in the campaign, so that all actions and maneuvers of the Party will be understood and participated in by the largest possible number, and the C. E. C. kept in closest touch with the membership.

2. To educate the broad farmer-labor masses to the class point of view, to point out to them the hopelessness of the program and leadership of the whole La Follette third party group and to prepare them for the inevitable break with this third group.

Hungarian Hangman Greet Coolidge Tool As Country's Savior

(By The Federated Press)

BUDAPEST, March 21.—Nicolas Horthy, the Hungarian regent who personally conducted the torture and massacre of hundreds of socialists, liberals and Jews during the white terror, has been telling American correspondents here of his delight at W. P. G. Harding's appointment to the commissioner generalship of the league of nations in Hungary. Harding is the former U. S. federal reserve board director, who recently left for Europe, presumably to act as receiver for the bankrupt Magyar government.

Horthy declares that Harding's presence in Budapest will restore foreign confidence in Hungary. With Horthy still in power and with every liberal and labor movement in that country checked with bayonets, confidence in Hungary requires a tall bit of restoring, labor men say.

Every new DAILY WORKER reader means a new recruit in the ranks of militant labor.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Chains!

The old order changeth—

O fellowman! of the world and its pain to you—
What can you tell?
Which of your dreams for tomorrow remain to you
Out of its hell?
Turn to your artists, mere dabblers in form,
Scientists, dumb to each sham-raking storm,
Bigots, professing the word of reform, . . .
What! of such lies is the stuff of your mould?
Look at your babbling drunkards and smile,
Pity your cripples, your lepers revile,
Poor men and slaves! all your "freedom" defile, . . .
Why do your heroes lie silent and cold?
Answer me, man!

Yielding place to new—

Comrades awake!—of the strength in the best of us—
Are you aware?
Do not our taunts at the sloth in the rest of us
Baffle despair?
We who have struggled mere thousands of years,
Wrenching from billions the truths of the spheres,
Bridging with labor the valleys of tears,
Are we then pygmies and puny, who fight?
Nay we are storming the heights of the skies,
Building new worlds from the old we despise,
Killing the gods that our souls tyrannize;
Let us strike hard with our fast growing might—
Workers unite!

HENRY ROENNE.

The English Labor Government and the Communist Party

NOTE:—When the British Labor Party assumed the task of forming a government and with the consent of the Tory and Liberal parties took upon itself the responsibility of guiding the destinies of the mighty British Empire the historic development was the occasion for much speculation on the probable course the British Labor Party government would take.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International in a resolution published below states the causes that brought the British Labor Party into office and sets forth the issues confronting the British workers which will test the metal and the "socialism" of the Ramsay MacDonald government.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

THE entry into office of the English Labor Party represents an event of great significance. It announces the awakening of growing masses of workers to class consciousness, and to the knowledge that both bourgeois parties are only representatives of the class interests of the possessing and exploiting minority. At the same time, the policy of the Labour government in England is the touchstone for the masses of workers of the whole world, as well as the oriental races, whether the principles of the Second International concerning the way to Socialism are correct. Therefore, the attitude of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of England to the policy of the Labour government has the deepest significance for the development of the Communist movement. This attitude will be decided by the following fundamental facts:

Must Define Issues.

1. The Labour government is the result of the economic and political disintegration of England resulting from the severe burdens and violent shocks of the world war. The fact that the Labour Party combined four million votes in the elections is not the result of its obstinate, energetic and consistent work for the liberation of the proletariat from the influence of the bourgeoisie. The very fact that the Labour Party possesses only one press organ for the whole of the English proletariat speaks against that. It proves how little this party has succeeded in awakening in the mass of the workers the capacity to make sacrifices for the struggles against the bourgeoisie. The Labour Party could not and would not set the interests of the working class clearly, irreconcilably and energetically against the class interests of the bourgeoisie. A large part of the working class still follows the Liberals and the Conservatives, and the Labour Party itself, in its leading elements, represents a kind of bourgeois fraction rather than a party of the proletarian class struggle. It has taken over the government as a party of the minority of the population, partly with the consent of the bourgeois parties, and partly thanks to the lack of unity in the ranks of the bourgeoisie and its inability to overcome this lack of unity in the face of the terrific tasks and difficulties which have been left over by the war.

Election Victory Not Enough.

2. The whole of the Communist International knows that the working class cannot free itself from its economic slavery and political, yoke without conquering the bourgeoisie in a revolutionary struggle, without destroying the apparatus of the bourgeois state and creating its own state-form which is supported by the mass organizations of the proletariat. Therefore the English Communist Party cannot hope that the liberation of the English working class will be the result of an election victory, or the parliamentary tactics of the Labour Party. But the majority of the English working class still possess such democratic illusions, which are especially propagated among the masses by the leaders of the Labour Party. The regime of the Labour government now opens the way to experience for the English working class in order to test the value of bourgeois democracy.

Illusions of Democracy.

The Labour government is not a government of a proletarian class struggle, but on the contrary, it endeavors to strengthen the bourgeois

state system by reforms and—as a substitute for the class struggle—by the class peace. Nevertheless it finds itself to a certain extent dependent upon the proletariat and its class interests. If, contrary to our expectations, proletarian class movements are successful in driving the Labour government into a struggle with capital, this will sharpen the domestic crisis in England to a very high degree. If, however, as is to be expected, the Labour government betrays the interests of the proletariat, it will in that way give the proletariat the very best object lesson for its liberation from the illusions of capitalist democracy, and will in this way greatly accelerate the revolutionizing of the working class.

Already the composition of the Labour cabinet, which is a block of Right Labour parliamentarians and trade union officials, with radical intellectuals, and even pseudo-radical representatives of the old civil service, permits of no hope that the Labour Party will pursue the way of struggle. On the contrary, it is to be feared that it will go the way of compromise with the enemies of the working class, with Lloyd George

and Asquith, that its principles will consist in pleasing these leaders of capital and forming with them a block against the working class.

Communist Party Tasks.

In view of this danger it is the task of the Communist Party to do all that is possible in order to achieve the following:

a) The broadest masses of the English proletariat are to be mobilized in order to exert pressure upon the Labour government, so that it earnestly follows the path of conflict with the capitalist class.

b) The majority of the working class must be supported in this so that they convince themselves by their own experience of the complete futility of the leaders of the Labour Party, of their petty bourgeois and treacherous nature, and of the inevitability of their bankruptcy.

For this purpose the English Communist Party must carry out the following immediate tasks:

1. The Communist Party must at once open a big campaign for the carrying out of the promises of the leaders of the Labour Party as well as for other actual solutions which are suited to mobilize the class-conscious part of the mass of the work-

ers for common action. These solutions which must contain demands which are simple and clear and which lie close to the hearts of the revolutionary workers, are to be laid down in a program of action of the Communist Party of England.

Demand Decisive Policy.

On the basis of this program, the English Communist Party must win the mass of the workers, to demand a decisive courageous policy from the government. This policy must serve the interests, not only of the working people of England, but also of the peoples who are under the yoke of English imperialism, including the Irish. It must be specially demanded, even if the government is overthrown by the combined parliamentary blocks of the capitalist fractions, the Liberals and Conservatives, that the Labour government shall decide in favour of the following demands:

a) For the purpose of combating unemployment, the government must take effective measures for the taxation of the capitalists as well as for the carrying out of the control by the state and the workers over the productive industries that have been closed down by the capitalists.

b) The government must take the initiative in the nationalization of the railways and mines which are to be administered with the assistance of the labor organizations.

c) The government must undertake energetic measures for the liberation of the workers and peasants of Ireland, India and Egypt from the yoke of English imperialism.

d) The government must take the lead in the struggle against the war peril in Europe and in the conclusion of an alliance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

e) The Labour Party must make use of these measures of its government in order to awaken new groups of the English proletariat, as well as workers and peasants of the colonies, to rise up to struggle against the English bourgeoisie.

Working Class Leaders.

Further, it must be demanded that if the bourgeois cliques in parliament unite in order to overthrow the parliamentary labour party government, the Labour Party must enter the election campaign as the defender and leader of the working class, in order to awaken the slumbering strength of the English proletariat and in this way prepare for its future victory.

2. The Communist Party must preserve its ideological, tactical and organic independence and carry on an active propaganda for its historically justified conviction that the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are the only guarantees for the emancipation of the working class.

The Communist Party must turn with its propositions to every group and organization of the working class which demands that the Labour government shall carry on a determined struggle with the bourgeoisie. It must propose to them the summoning of joint meetings, the holding of joint demonstrations, and the sending of joint delegations and so on. For these joint actions the Party must endeavor to make agreements also with the "Left" political organizations of the Labour Party.

The Communist Party of England must be conscious that the objective preliminary conditions are now arising for its expansion into an influential revolutionary mass party. Therefore it must make every effort to implant its organization everywhere, deep in the mass of the revolutionary workers and above all in the centres of production.

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

Dennie's Farce

By ESTHER LOWELL

HERE a dick, there a dick: "Dennie" Sullivan's court is full of dicks. If we let them worry us, we would never have peace. But one learns to accept these employers' dummies decorating the stage of labor war. One sees how indispensable they are in the court-room scenes.

These lay-figures are distributed among the girls who are awaiting their hearings. Their dumbness does not make them deaf, however, and their wax minds register whatever sounds impress them.

The dicks and their fellow lackeys, the sluggers, are never shooed out of the court when the room becomes too crowded. A word to the bailiff is sufficient, if he doesn't recognize them. They must be kept for their cues to witness whatever the prosecutor demands.

When he is ready, Attorney Taylor presents his pal, Judge "Dennie," the affidavits of the alleged "attorney" working with him, of the sheriff's deputies, of the chief of the sluggers, of the various scabs, and of course, of the employers.

Andy Smith's Mistake.

Andy Smith, "captain of the guard," has made so many affidavits that he doesn't always remember what each contains.

"This is your affidavit?" Taylor shows the paper to Andy, giving him ample time to refresh his memory by glancing over the details. Andy hesitates no longer. Later he may have to look at Taylor for confirmation on a hazy date.

LeBosky interviews the thugs and dicks outside:

"You are employed by—?" He gets them all straightened out so that he won't call the wrong witness in a case, tho any one of the boys would have "presence of mind" enough to give the proper answers in emergency or error.

Employers and their sons sit familiarly and almost affectionately among the most obvious bruisers. The less known dicks are assigned among the girls. The bosses beam with trust in God and their lawyers, who will surely put on a good play with a happy ending. The puppets dance their jigs so well.

The Rogue's Gallery.

Most of the sluggers are left out on the lides. Their chief talent is 'girth. Court business requires a more adaptable automaton. The dicks respond better on the stand. Some of them sink in the older mode but most of them are confidently at home and affable. One looks as tho he might have been taken from the other side of the bars for his job. Some are short and some are tall, but they all cock their ears alike, and their eyes don't miss much. Most of their mouths show the same surly tilt. One wears his patriotism on his lapel.

Everybody laughs when Sergeant Grable tells how he was laid up four days with his abraded elbow, which unluckily wasn't fractured when the little striker defended herself against him. The scratch on his forehead looked like a streak of dirt.

"This is no vaudeville!" proclaims the court. No, indeed, serious enough drama. The bailiff takes his cue and clears the room of all standing. Dicks may stay but girls and their parents must leave, if they cannot find seats.

Most of defense Attorney Sissman's objections are over-ruled. "Dennie" is so polite, so very Christianly tolerant. But why should he grant the defense anything more than a short hearing. The case is obviously against them. All these good gentlemen of his own class and clubs say so. Let's get this business over with as soon as we can; and "won't you help?" "There are others here—" who want to get out to wine and dine.

Bailiff Gets a Smile.

Every once in a while the bailiff goes into the back room and returns much refreshed. He reels about the court-room winking and chaffing with the girls. He warns them:

"Be sure to stay until I say you can go." One must play even a minor part up to its fullest. And the bailiff can afford to be genial.

The clerk wags his jaw over the oath each time. One young boss is so eager to testify that he nods and says "I do" several times before the clerk finishes. But why do this same young fellow's eyes look shamedly down during his statements?

It doesn't take a machine to detect liars. The heart effect is all to readable on faces. The little scab isn't sure whether the bosses' money will be enough to pay the priest when she confesses. Does she know how to sew, let alone design? Her corroborator scarcely understands the questions put to her and replies with nods more than words.

"Dennie" Plays the Martyr.

"Dennie" assumes his role well. He is the martyr. He didn't ask these workers in, his manner says. Possibly the law will have more consideration for them than they have for the law. It is nothing to him whether they obey or not. He actually feels sorry for them! (He would certainly pity himself if they were all meek and "law"-abiding and brought him no business). He tries to support his conclusions from the prosecution's testimony that these people were merely the victims of "someone working in the background."

Sissman remonstrates that the strikers are actuated by a sense of duty. Surely they must protect themselves when no one else will.

O yes, the court will protect the property rights of bosses whose palms are lined with dollar signs but it will not protect any "vested interest" of the worker in his job. Someone else can have the job and if the worker raises his care-lined hand the court objects. "Thirty days" or "fifty dollars."

The black robe of the law is appropriate!

And yet—INJUNCTIONS DON'T SEW DRESSES.

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Youth Views

By HARRY GANNES

History Shows U. S. Child and Youth Exploiter.

The present tumult over child labor brings out the fact that the United States very early in its history sweated little children in its mines, mills and on plantations.

While telling the school children the wonderful opportunities they have, the teachers entirely overlook informing the future wage workers that this country has one of the vilest child and youth exploiting records yet written.

In the early English factory system the youth had a most miserable place; but hard and bitter as was the life of the early English youth proletariat, that of the American Negro slave youth was far worse.

Charles Dickens need not have lived in England to have written Oliver Twist, the story of an orphan boy in the dawn of the modern system of production. The early apprenticeship laws of the United States permitted parents to bind out their own children, and the orphan asylums shipped out great numbers of children for long periods of servitude.

American industry was virtually built up on the labor of children, youth and women.

Under the technicality of the rights of the individual states to pass whatever laws pleased the mill owners regarding the conditions of labor, most of the state governments protected the bosses in their use of children and immature youths for profit-making.

In spite of the high development of American industry and agriculture, American factory and farm owners do not want to part with what is now considered even by many who are in favor of the capitalist system of society as a worn-out and harmful practice.

Child labor was planted on American soil very early and it has spread its roots with the growth of industry. All attempts heretofore to do away with it have been useless. The number of child and youth workers constantly grows.

At its beginning child labor did not compete so directly with adult labor as it does today. The men worked on the farm or in the forests. The children worked in the textile mills. Today children and young workers are used in industries that ordinarily could employ men and women but which resort to younger workers because of their low standard of living, which means for the boss he can pay smaller wages.

Instead of pointing out to the youth that America has a pernicious and loathsome child labor history and that child labor on a large scale is distinctly a 100 per cent patriotic institution, such bodies as Sammy Gompers and the National Child Labor Committee in their propaganda try to glorify America and its treatment of the youth.

For information concerning the Young Workers League of America, address Y. W. L., 1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

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COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S COLUMN



HOW JOHNNY RED MADE A SPEECH

By BILLY SAYLES

"Honest, daddy, I made a good speech." Johnny Red was telling his father. "It was good, pop, but Holy Cats—I was nervous."

"But how did you go to speak there, Johnny?"

"Well, pop, we were helping to do some mailing at the office of the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany and the speaker who was supposed to talk at the German Club got sick, and they didn't have anyone to speak there. And somebody said 'send Johnny Red' and they all thought it was a good idea."

"And Gee whillikens, pop, I didn't want to go, but 'Dutchy'—that's Mrs. Schmidt's boy that just joined our Junior Group—said he would go with me, so I went."

"All right, Comrade speaker," his daddy teased. "But what did you say?"

"Well, daddy, I was supposed to ask for money for the starving children in Germany. I read the letter we were mailing at the office so I told the people what was in it. And honest, daddy, it was awful."

"In Berlin—that's the biggest city in Germany, isn't it, pop?"

"Yes," his daddy answered, "but what about it?"

"Well, in the part of Berlin called Wedding, over half the people, sixteen thousand of them, had no food and the city had to feed them."

"And somebody in the crowd said they didn't believe it and I showed them the letter."

"And Gee, daddy, everybody laughed at the man. And then I read from that letter that these were facts from the mayor. He showed that out of eight thousand babies six thousand of them didn't even have clothes. And that two thousand didn't even have a bed. That's a lot, isn't it, daddy? And I said, Gee, that's awful, now isn't it?"

"And I said the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany were sending money and food and clothes and everything to these poor German kids."

"And then pop, Dutchy got up—Gee, he's got nerve, daddy!—and he said that all of us kids in the Junior Groups of the Young Workers League were collecting money and how we got fifty dollars already by holding a show. And he started passing his hat around and Gee, pop there was a big crowd and we got a peach of a collection."

"Did any refuse to give?" his daddy asked.

"Oh gosh darn it, I nearly forgot, daddy. That man who said he didn't believe me when I was talking, told Dutchy he wouldn't give a penny until he got proof of what I was saying."

"But 'Dutchy' was smart, daddy. He had the magazine Soviet Russia Pictorial—you know the one you get with all those pictures—and he showed the man those pictures of the poor skinny kids all starved. And the man looked and looked and looked."

"And then, pop, honestly, he had tears in his eyes. And he got up and he made a speech and he asked 'Dutchy' to go around again with the hat, pop, and we got more money. And daddy, he gave a whole ten dollar bill."

"Well, well," his daddy answered,

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"and then what?"

"Gee, it was late already, so the man took us home and even carried the money for us. Gosh, it was swell, daddy! And on the way he told him about the twenty-five thousand school kids that had no clothes. And just in that one part of Berlin. You see, pop, I knew that but I forgot to say it in my speech, I was so nervous."

"And the man said it must be awful for the kiddies there. And pop, on the way home he bought 'Dutchy' and me an ice cream soda. And, oh boy! it was good!"

"Well, Johnny," his daddy said, "keep it up. Read a lot and study and some day you'll be a speaker. And then you can help not only German children—but the children all over the world."

And Johnny Red said "Holy Cats!"—but he was as pleased as anything.

True Today More Than Ever.

"Each state of Europe is ruined after a war of seven or eight years; each one has done more than its ordinary forces can accomplish. The states do the same as individuals; each one wants to go beyond his power. It has been often asked what becomes of these prodigious treasures during the war and the answer has been that they are buried in the coffers of two or three thousand individuals who have profited by the public misfortune. These two or three thousand persons enjoy their immense fortunes calmly at a time when the rest of the people must groan under new taxes, to pay a part of the national debts."—Voltaire.



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Dinner Pail Epics

by Bill Lloyd



He laffs the best who laffs the last. The Reds can nail that to the mast. There's Daugherty, the chief red killer, who now is sorrowfully the filler of front page news from Washington about the crooked things he done. Some senators we sure should thank that Daugherty has walked the plank, and fell into the Scandal Sea, where he can drown for all of me, or suffocate in slimy ooze, composed of oil, fight-films, and booze.

The Reds can rise and say: "Well, well! How has our roaring fat friend fell?"

From chasing Reds, he's took to heels and is emitting doleful squeals about his honor and his name, while they is showing up his game. Red-hunting musta bin his mask, while it appears that his real task was feathering Jess Smith's nest and his by wholesale dealing in graft

biz. This Mutt and Jess Smith game is dead; Jess Smith he took a dose of lead. Now Wheeler's picking Harry's bones, while Henry Cabot Lodge he groans.

With spotlight turned on Harry's sins, you can't ask Reds to quash their grins. You must excuse them if they gloat, for Roxie Stinson's got his goat. And Calvin, who is awful canny, must watch or they will get his nanny. Seeing the wreck, I sure am vexed to know whose number they'll get next.

Wilson, the statesman out of school, did surely kill his party's mule. Now under Wheeler's awful roast, the G. O. P. gives up the ghost. And while the public holds its nose, this Wheeler throws it to the crows.

Keep hist'ry straight. It must be sed: 'taint Reds but Daugherty that's dead.

UNCLE WIGGILY'S TRICKS



A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN

This Is the Story of John Brown

This is "The Story of John Brown," by Michael Gold. Published by the DAILY WORKER thru arrangement with Haldeman-Julius Company, of Girard, Kans. Copyrighted, 1924, by Haldeman-Julius Company.

By MICHAEL GOLD.

How John Brown Became an Abolitionist.

IN the pagan ages and in the more distant days of savagery, men were individuals. They had no social imagination. They could stand by and see another man writhe in tortures, and laugh at him. Civilization has been developing social imagination; it has been breeding more and more the type of human being who feels the suffering and injustice of another as his own.

John Brown was perhaps born with this strain in him. In 1857, when he had already plunged into his life work, and was in the thick of bloody fights in Kansas, he sat down to write a most charming and tender letter to a little boy who was the son of one of his friends in the east. Those who think of fighters like John Brown as possessed by only a lust for battle, ought to read this letter. It reveals how soft was his heart under the grim mask of the Kansas warrior.

The letter is autobiographical. It tells how John Brown first became acquainted with the horrors of slavery, and what effect it had on his imagination.

The letter is so touching, and so remarkable for the picture it gives of John Brown's early years, also for the picture of the man's mature character as revealed by his own words, that I am tempted to give it in full. I shall give only parts of it, however.

Letter to Master H. L. Stearns.

"My dear Young Friend:—I had not forgotten my promise to write you; but my constant care and anxiety have obliged me to put it off a long time. I do not flatter myself I can write anything that will very much interest you; but have concluded to send you a short story of a certain boy of my acquaintance; and

for convenience and shortness of name, I will call him John.

"This story will be mainly a narration of follies and errors, which I hope you may avoid; but there is one thing connected with it, which will be calculated to encourage any young person to persevering effort, and that is the degree of success in accomplishing his objects which to a great extent marked the course of this boy thruout my entire acquaintance with him; notwithstanding his moderate capacity, and still more moderate acquirements.

"John was born May 9, 1800, at Torrington, Connecticut; of poor and hard-working parents; a descendant on the side of his father of one of the company of the Mayflower who landed at Plymouth, 1620. His mother's father came at an early period to New England from Amsterdam, in Holland. Both his father's and his mother's father served in the war of the revolution; his father's father died in a barn at New York while in the service, in 1776.

"I cannot tell you of anything in the first four years of John's life worth mentioning save at an early age he was tempted by three large brass pins belonging to a girl who lived in the family; and stole them. In this he was detected by his mother; and after having a full day to think of the wrong, received from her a thoro whipping.

"When he was five years old his father moved to Ohio, then a wilderness filled with wild beasts and Indians. During the long journey which was performed in part or mostly with an ox-team, he was called on by turns to assist a boy five years older, and learned to think he could accomplish smart things in driving the cows and riding the horses. Sometimes he met with rattlesnakes which were very large, and which some of the company generally managed to kill.

"After getting to Ohio he was for some time rather afraid of the Indians, and of their rifles; but this soon wore off, and he used to hang about them quite as much as was consistent with good manners, and learned a trifle of their talk.

His father at this time learned to dress deer skin, and John, who was perhaps rather observing, ever after remembered the entire process of deer skin dressing, so that he could at any time dress his own leather, such as squirrel, raccoon, cat, wolf or dog skins; and also he learned to make whip lashes, which brought him in some change at various times, and was useful in many ways.

"At six years old John began to be quite a rambler in the new wild country, finding birds and squirrels, and sometimes a wild turkey's nest. Once a poor Indian boy gave him a yellow marble, the first he had ever seen. This he thought a good deal of, and he kept it a good while; but at last he lost it one day. It took years to heal the wound, and I think he cried at times about it. About five months after this he caught a young squirrel, tearing off its tail in doing it; and getting severely bitten at the same time himself. He, however, held on to the little bob-tailed squirrel and finally got him perfectly tamed, so that he almost idolized his pet. This, too, he lost, by its wandering away; and for a year or two John was in mourning; and looking at all the squirrels he could see to try and discover Bobtail, if possible. He had also at one time become the owner of a little ewe lamb which did finely until it was about two-thirds grown, when it sickened and died. This brought another protracted mourning season; not that he felt the pecuniary loss so heavily, for that was never his disposition; but so strong and earnest were his attachments. It was a school of adversity for John; you may laugh at this, but they were sore trials to him.

"John was never quarrelsome; but excessively fond of the roughest and hardest kind of play; and could never get enough of it. He would always choose to stay at home and work hard, rather than go to school. To be sent off alone thru the wilderness to very considerable distances was particularly his delight; and in this he was often indulged; so that by the time he was twelve years old he was sent off more than a hundred

miles with companies of cattle; and he would have thought his character much injured had he been obliged to be helped in such a job. This was a boyish feeling, but characteristic, nevertheless.

"When the war broke out with England in 1812 his father soon commenced furnishing the troops with beef cattle, the collection and driving of which afforded John some opportunity for the chase, on foot, of wild steers and other cattle thru the woods. During this war he had some chance to form his own boyish judgment of men and measures; and the effect of what he saw was to so far disgust him with military affairs that he would neither train nor drill, but got off by paying fines; and got along like a Quaker until his age had finally cleared him of military duty.

"During the war with England a circumstance occurred that in the end made him a most determined Abolitionist and led him to swear eternal war with slavery. John was stopping for a short time with a very gentlemanly landlord, since made a United States marshal. This man owned a slave boy near John's age, a boy very active, intelligent and full of good feeling to whom John was under considerable obligation for numerous little acts of kindness.

"The Master made a great pet of John; brought him to table with his finest company and friends and called their attention to every little smart thing he said or did, and to the fact of his being more than a hundred miles from home with a company of cattle alone; while the Negro boy (who was fully if not more than his equal) was badly clothed, poorly fed and lodged in cold weather, and beaten before John's eyes with iron shovels or any other thing that came first to hand.

"This brought John to reflect on the wretched, hopeless condition of fatherless and motherless slave children; for such children have neither fathers or mothers to protect and provide for them.

"He sometimes would raise the question in his mind: Is God, then, their father?"

(To Be Continued Monday.)

ONLY WORKERS CAN DESTROY CHILD LABOR

By HARRY GANNES

EVERY soft-hearted charity worker has written something about child labor. A good many of the socialists, who later became howling war patriots, as for instance, John Spargo, have written books showing up the evils of child labor. And what have we as a result today?

Everything is being left to the U. S. governmental machinery which has flunked twice already. All the agitation, all the talk is directed to a couple of hundred graft-besmirched congressmen and senators, many of whom are employers of children themselves.

Instead of carrying the issue to the outraged American working class which, thru its organizations could do some real anti-child labor work, Sammy Gompers and his crew of social workers are blind-folding the eyes of the toiling masses and pointing to the oil-soaked government as a life-saving depot.

2,500,000 Child Slaves.

Why is child labor such a pressing problem that even capitalist-senators

cannot overlook it? For the reason that in a country that boasts of its high attainments there are over 2,500,000 children between the ages of 5 to 15 who work to create profit for some boss; and some of the children work as high as twelve hours a day.

Child labor in the United States is older than the Declaration of Independence. Since 1890, when 16 per cent of all the children between 10 and 15 years of age were employed, there has been a steady rise up to the present day with over 18 per cent of all these children employed. The rise seems to be changing into a flood when we discover that in one year there has been a 38 per cent increase in legalized exploitation of the youth; that means, that even if all the laws now proposed in congress had been passed and put into effect this rise of 38 per cent could not have been stopped.

There is an idea that child labor is restricted to the south. While it is true that our blue-blooded southern gentlemen employ the largest num-

ber of kids on their cotton plantations, the north and east furnish many volumes of records of brutalities and exploitation of children.

Rhode Island and New Jersey employ thousands of children in truck gardens and mills; in Michigan there are children five, six and seven who work ten and twelve hours a day in the beet fields. The coal mines of Pennsylvania and highly cultured Massachusetts manufacturers find it very profitable to work the little tots and deny them even the most elementary schooling.

Hair-Raising Reports.

In a large number of states the law permits this, which is the same as encouraging and sanctioning it. Where there exists some sort of prohibitive law, it seldom is carried into effect.

Where does the remedy lie? To the organized and unorganized wrath of the working-class is left open the opportunity for emphatic protest. The unions pull jurisdictional strikes now. Why not make it the law of every union in the United States not

to work in any industry that employs child labor and to boycott products produced by child labor. Then the unions can open their doors to hundreds of thousands of these child workers themselves. Certainly where the law encourages those between 12 and 15 to work, these young workers should be taken into the protective economic organizations of labor—even without dues, if necessary.

Our Program.

The immediate task for every member of the working class is to help carry these demands into effect:

- 1) Trade unions and unorganized workers demand the abolition of all child workers under 16 years of age.
- 2) Better wages in those industries now employing children so that the adult workers can have a decent standard of living.
- 3) Vocational training for workers' children, to be under the guidance of the trade unions.
- 4) Organization of all working youth into the existing trade and industrial unions without discrimination and on the easiest terms.

The Color Line and Profiteers

(Continued from Page 1)
ing law will have on south side business.

Alderman Jackson's Record.

Meet Alderman Jackson, who must knock about the disreputable houses, gambling dens, bootleg joints, and crooked deals which abound in his ward. Alderman Jackson is said to be worth a lot of money. As one shopkeeper said to me, on Indiana avenue, "The high class, protected dens of vice, which operate on a large scale, have put the small bootleggers out of business."

Into this complex Negro society, the DAILY WORKER launched a unique investigation. The DAILY WORKER, the negroes tell us, is the

first newspaper to write up the actual facts of the conditions under which the Negro workers are forced to live, and then put the paper into the hands of these workers. Benefits in increased circulation undoubtedly resulted from this investigation. But, of course, our purpose was an educational one.

For the first time the masses of Negroes living on the south side have been told that there are other lines that they must draw which are more important to them than the color line. We see the Negro papers referring to members of "Our Group." And the DAILY WORKER has no quarrel with the Subject Race in demanding recognition and

equality. We want to help the Negroes get the equality. But we have helped the Negro, we believe, to train his ear to get a different and more significant meaning out of the term "Our Group."

Workers vs. Profiteers.

"Our Group," to the writer, and to every worker, whether he be white or black, means those who work at a meagre wage, while their enemies—those who control the workers job—wield the economic power which determines how the workers shall live. The profiteers, whether they be white or black, live on the Boulevards and Gold Coasts of our city. The workers are inhabitants of the Federal streets of Chicago. They are the skilled and un-

skilled who have nothing in common with the wealthy of all races who profiteer on the workers, and make capital out of the workers' wants, in order to pile up profit for themselves. The white and Negro workers of Chicago belong to the same class and they are oppressed by the same class—the dividing line being one of property and wealth and control of industry and not of color.

The only way for the workers successfully to raise their standard of living is for the white and Negro workers to organize together and fight their common enemy. There is a white race and a Negro race, that is true. But much more important, there is a working class and a class of profiteers.