

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
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THE WORKERS AND TAXATION

The greatest task of capitalism is that of increasing the rate of profit. It pursues this task with greater persistency and greater expense of effort than any other aim.

Profit is unpaid labor. Therefore the increase of the rate of profit reduces itself to the problem of reducing the paid portion of labor in favor of the unpaid.

Capitalism is doing everything possible to increase the productivity of labor, that is, to increase the total amount of labor given by the workmen per work day. This fact brings about a mechanical reduction of the rate of wages, even the wages remains the same. What really happens is that the portion of paid labor remains stationary while the total amount of labor increases, thus increasing the portion of un-paid labor. If possible capitalism also forces upon the workers the absolute reduction of the wages.

But the decrease of wages can also take an indirect form which apparently has nothing to do with the means of employment. Such an indirect form of wage reduction is taxation.

The capitalist state is an agency of capitalism. Ordinarily capitalism must support and maintain its agencies thru contributions made from unpaid labor which is extracted from the workers in the form of profit. But its main agency, the state government, capitalism makes the workers support and maintain thru taxation. Thru this method the capitalist get back part of the wages they originally paid to the workers to support their institution, capitalism.

Thus we find, for instance, that thru a system of tariff, capitalism collects indirect taxes from the workers and achieves thereby, first, a support of its agency, the state, thru the workers, and second, a subsidy flowing into their pockets in the form of artificially maintained high prices for their own products. In other words, the tariff is a form of taxation which artificially extracts part of the money paid to the worker in wages, and makes it flow back into the pockets of the capitalists in the form of high profits. This example shows clearly that taxation is merely another form of wage reduction, an addition to the generally accepted method of exploitation, extracting unpaid labor.

This quality is characteristic of all form of taxation. It is for the reason that taxing the workers is a means of increasing the profits of the capitalists and their politicians instead that the main burden of taxation be borne by the exploited, that is, the workers. In all countries, the art of financing the state is in the last analysis the art of extracting the highest percentage of contributions to the upkeep of the government from the workers. The tendency therefore is everywhere: Increase the taxes of the workers, decrease the taxes of the exploiters, the rich.

THE war with its extraordinary expenses made it necessary to let the capitalist pay a portion, even though an infinitesimal one, of the financial burden of the state. It is clear, however, understood that this taxing the capitalists was merely a war measure. Since the passing of the war period there is going on a period of struggle for the discontinuation of this practice. "Reduce the tax on the capitalists," is the slogan.

The efforts of the secretary of the Treasury of the United States, the millionaire banker, Andrew Mellon, are characteristic in that respect. During several legislative periods Mellon has carried on a campaign for the radical reduction of the sur-

plus. That such reduction could not be carried on without at the same time reducing taxation on incomes of \$2,000 or thereabouts was clear. But the reduction propagated for lower incomes was practically only a nominal one, while the reduction on surplus of higher incomes was up to 40 per cent.

The reduction on high incomes was propagated on the basis that a high tax stimulates the investment by many of tax free securities. But this argument is sheer nonsense. First, there is only a limited amount of such securities. And even, these are already placed in the hands of investors. High, taxes and big incomes

taxes on incomes below \$5,000 is rejected by Mr. Mellon on the ground that the payment of taxes by people who derive their total income from wages or salaries gives them some sense of ownership in the government. This is a nice little job, says Mr. Mellon. The big capitalists do not need to get their sense of ownership thru taxation. Their sense of ownership is derived from the fact that their lawyers and attorneys are at the same time the congressmen, the senators, the secretaries of state, and the presidents, ready and willing at any time to take their orders from these capitalists. Since the ownership of government by the big cap-

6,000	57.50	45.00
7,000	87.50	75.00
8,000	127.50	105.00
9,000	167.50	135.00
10,000	207.50	175.00
15,000	467.50	335.00
20,000	527.50	445.00
25,000	1,017.50	815.00
30,000	2,317.50	1,945.00
35,000	3,127.50	2,585.00
40,000	4,037.50	3,225.00
50,000	6,137.50	4,845.00
60,000	8,477.50	6,645.00
75,000	12,127.50	9,285.00
90,000	18,537.50	14,745.00
100,000	22,617.50	18,245.00
125,000	33,367.50	27,995.00

DEMANDING ADMISSION



The Negro Worker at the Door of the Trade Unions.

could neither reduce nor increase the total amount of such tax free securities. Second, the rate of exploitation of present day capitalism is such a high one that the rate of income of tax free securities looks ridiculous to the industrial capitalist in comparison to the one he can extract from his industrial investments in spite of high taxes.

Incidentally, big capital is constantly hollering about its patriotism. Mr. Mellon whining about the lack of patriotism of the rich patriots shown in their endeavor to escape taxation by investing in tax free securities, throws welcome light on this patriotism.

THE Mellon plan submitted to the congress at the present legislative period provides for a radical reduction of taxes on high incomes. The proposal to eliminate completely all

capitalists is so well established. Mr. Mellon considers it advisable not to increase this sense of ownership by making big capital pay for its property, the government.

The masses, whose sole sources of income are their wages and salaries, have no sense of ownership toward the government, not because of any lack of taxes for them to pay but because the government appears to them merely in the form of policemen, of judges or of jailers, always acting against them, never with them or for them.

Mr. Mellon proposes the following reduction:

Income	Present Law Total Tax	Prop'd Law Total Tax
\$ 2,000	—	—
3,000	7.50	5.00
4,000	22.50	15.00
5,000	37.50	25.00

150,000 44,117.50 25,935.00
In incomes over \$150,000 the percentage of reduction is to be the same as that on incomes of \$150,000.

As against this proposal by our secretary of the treasury which, by radical reduction of the surtax on high incomes, is shifting the burden of taxation to the mass of people whose sole source of income is their wages or salaries, we, the Communists, propose a progressive scale of income tax. Incomes up to \$1,000 are to be completely free of taxation; over \$1,000 the percentage of income tax is to be gradually increased per thousand until the amount of income taxed is \$50,000. The rate of tax on incomes of \$50,000 is to be 50% of the total income which equals \$25,000. On incomes over \$50,000 the amount of tax will be 50% of the 50%.

(Continued on page 5)

Call for Working Class Unity

By Richard B. Moore

The following is a stenographic report of the speech made by Richard B. Moore, delegate to the American Negro Labor Congress, from the Ethiopian Students League of New York City at the opening session, Sunday evening, Oct. 25, in the Metropolitan Community Center, 3118 Giles Ave.

BROTHER Chairman and Fellow Workers:

I deem it a high honor to be present on this occasion. We are witnessing the emergence of a class that is destined to play a significant role in the further emancipation of Negro people and also the down trodden white workers of America.

The Slave System.

You remember half a century ago when a great system of oppression ruled in America, when men were bought and sold, there appeared upon the scene that great advocate of the race, Frederick Douglass. In him the slave became vocal. When he was aroused, and when he bestirred himself, the institution was weakened, and overthrown. Tonight we are witnessing again the stirring of a new race. There are many of the hirelings of the press present. They called the abolitionists all the foul names they could think of in their day. They called John Brown, Frederick Douglass and even Abraham Lincoln, all he was not a thore going abolitionist, they called them everything they could think of to brand them and discourage them; and now they are calling us names, and by that talk, we know that the cause we are promoting is a fair one. Well may the hirelings of the capitalist press with their innuendoes say that this is to arouse the Negro workers of the country to the true conditions that surround them; it is to arouse the white workers to the true conditions surrounding them also.

White Slaves.

May I tell you that there are white slaves in America likewise! It is true enough that white workers do not always recognize their true interests, but they will be driven to realize it. Let me tell you now, and let me tell you reporters who are here to spread the tidings of this congress to the world, that the condition of the workers is fast becoming a condition of chattel slavery like that of sixty years ago.

Must Unite.

You will only be able to free yourselves from that condition by lining up solidly as one man with the Negro workers of America. And let me tell you that the Negro group is despised, burned, discriminated against, treated as dogs, yet, when the North and the South were locked in a death struggle, it was the Negro worker who decided that struggle, who brot victory to the Union Army. And I tell you that there is a great crisis coming for as Lincoln said, "A house divided

against itself cannot stand." When Lincoln said that he was uttering a truth that would destroy the nation. The house is again divided, and I say that the house can not stand.

The Class Struggle.

You can not build up wealth on one hand and poverty and suffering on the other and expect the house to last; there must be conflict there must be a struggle between these two extremes: between capital on the one hand and the oppressed workers on the other, determining who shall rule, and when that time comes, you white workers are not going to be able to stay unless you begin now to unite with the Negro workers.

Rape Pay Handlers.

I want to say to the Negro pay handlers who are here, it is you who are willing to sell the Negro people to the oppressor, you must be able to say that the Negro race can only achieve another step in the march toward emancipation by uniting with the oppressed white workers in the struggle.

You paid Negro agents who have been posing before the Negro masses as leaders who have been selling out to politicians have caused the condition of the Negro masses to grow worse each year.

Movement from Below.

The convening of the Negro Labor Congress means that there will be a movement from below; a movement going up out of the hearts of its people. You represent the want to be a group today. It may be a small voice. The Abolitionists were small voices when they began, but a mighty movement grew out of their ranks.

I challenge you, whether black or

white if you realize the significance of this movement—I call upon you now to give your challenge to those forces that would kill and destroy this Union, by rallying to the cause I am going to set the example myself. I am a poor young man. I am only making twenty-five dollars a week as an elevator operator in New York. I am an intelligent young man, you can see by my talk that I have intelligence, but I would refuse to sell out my interest to my superiors. I prefer to struggle with them, if necessary to die with them, rather than to aid by even the smallest word or deed in the infernal program of lynching and terrorism.

Going To Fight.

I am going to fight. Out of my slender means—and I have quite some demands upon them. I am going to give five dollars to the American Negro Labor Congress. I am going to challenge every single one of you to do it. Stand up and talk. I want every man and every woman in this movement who values freedom and true liberty to have a five dollar a week. Stand up where you are—the ushers will take your collections. The forces against us are mighty and they are not going to leave a stone unturned to crush us. You remember during the war when you gave until it hurt—liberty bonds. I am challenging you now to do it.

I wonder if the press which undertook to brand this cause as Bolshevik, will go to the trouble to publish the truth about this cause, those whom they brand as Red and Communists.

During the war it was pro-German, well, this much I know that the Bolsheviks of Russia stopped lynching

and other crimes of the sort in Russia and I challenge them to do the same in America. And as Patrick Henry said, "If this be treason, make the most of it."

We Want Equality.

All we want is a future; all we want is equality in every respect.

Once and for all the American Negro Labor Congress repudiates what has been said by Booker Washington in a speech he made in the South. He said "In all things purely material I am contented, but in all things social we are going to be free."

Demand Right To Live. That is simply an expression of the slave mind.

We are now demanding the rights of living, nothing more, nothing less. Let me close with this remark.

Countrymen, we see for simple justice at your hands. Newark's dies with few or less will take, and we know that the only way that those rights can be secured is in that union of white and black workers, which eventually will rule not only America, (this is the last country in which it will be seen), but the whole world.

I am going to quote those wonderful words of the man who was a few years ago driven by the oppression which his race suffered investigated the causes of that oppression—analyzed the structure of the social system and discovered its driving forces and the solution for its evil—there, it is written on that sign on the wall, the challenging utterance of that greatest thinker of our time, Karl Marx—"Workers of the world, unite! We have nothing to lose but our chains, but you have a whole world to gain."

Negroes Are Still Slaves

By WALT CARMON

The popular songs to the contrary, hundreds of thousands of Negro workers do NOT "live in Dixie"—where slavery still exists.

Today in the Southern States, where four-fifths of the twelve million Negroes in this country live, constitutional amendments restrict their right to the ballot. Tax tests, property tests, educational tests, understandings and character clauses of school laws, where slavery still exists, all keep the Negro working man and woman from the polls. In hundreds of cities where the requirements are fulfilled, it would be tantamount for a Negro to approach the polls. In other cities insults and inconvenience are placed in the Negro worker's way prevent him from exercising rights of citizenship.

Jim Crowism Even in Schools

Race segregation, prevalent to a degree throughout the country, in the Southern States reaches unthinkable forms. In the trains, separate cars, compartments and coaches for whites and Negroes. With the exception of Missouri, all the Southern States have laws separating the races in street cars. This separation extends to residential districts, parks, restaurants, theaters, etc.

To catch an street car we have Jim Crow laws operate that do have a case of three white passengers entering a car marked "for whites only" in Mississippi, finding two Negro passengers in the car and the conductor company for damages because the conductor would not "remove" the Negroes and being awarded \$400 each for the "injury" by the Mississippi courts!

Twenty-two states require separation of races in the public schools. According to Census reports of 1930 (for the whole country), only 53.5 per cent of Negro children between the ages of 5-20 inclusive, were enrolled in school.

Though the Negro comprises one-tenth of the population of the country, reports for the same year show the Negroes as 37.3 per cent of the illiterates.

These facts are not so surprising when to the economic causes that drive Negro children into the factory

and on the farm at an early age, are added the lack of schools throughout the South. The percentage of dollars spent yearly for education on a white and Negro child vary to as high as 74 to 8 dollars in Louisiana where Negro illiteracy runs to 35.5 per cent.

To these barbarities practiced on the Negro must be added sex lynchings in the last five years.

Whether these numbers rise or fall, economic conditions take a steady toll of the Negro workers. When in 1927 for whites the death rate per 1,000 was 12.1 per cent, for Negroes it was 29.5. Capitalism steps harder on the Negro worker.

Disease Outcome of Persecutions

Disease ravages the race. Death from tuberculosis and syphilis, according to the Metropolitan Life Insurance company, (figures for whole country) reach startling figures. The numbers for the last disease show a mortality of 28.7 per hundred thousand, in comparison with only 18.5 for whites. Other diseases take heavier toll among Negro workers than among the white. While persons live nearly seven years longer according to figures of the same concern which include all classes.

The bureau of census for one section notes that "in 25 or 31 per cent of the 84 cities with the registration by which the deaths outnumber the births among the colored people," is an article on "Negro Migration," Chas. S. Johnson says of the Negro death rate in the South: "The Negro death rate during the period of slavery was about the same as that of the white. Beginning with their independence (7), this death rate increased steadily up about twenty years ago in spite of the increase in education and some measure of health training. The Negro population has increased at a rate nearly normal. During the last decade we were surprised and shocked to learn that the rate of the increase has fallen off about 50 per cent. Making allowances for certain errors in enumeration, there is still room for some concern in these figures. This does not mean that fewer children are being born in the congested districts of the south, but that actually more of them are dying.

"... Out of every hundred thousand Negro male children born alive, 5,600

more Negro boys die before they reach the age of one year than white boys, and 8,231 more girls."

Twenty-nine states in this country make it a crime to marry across race lines.

Penance in the South

Penance still exists in the South. The plantation system is not eradicated sixty-two years after release from chattel slavery.

In the South as a whole, three out of every four Negro farmers are tenants and the number is increasing rapidly. Wages of farm workers range from \$1 to \$3 per day and more and more the Negro worker, predominantly agricultural, is being driven into the cities—and into the North, where he is ever becoming a more important factor.

The South is still the home of the most oppressed worker in America — the home of slavery. Wm. F. Dunne in his article "Negroes in American Industry" in March issue of the Workers Monthly, painted this bitterly true picture:

"The slave south is not dead and slavery has not been abolished. It lives in song and story, it lives in every community where there are black and white men. It lives in the agricultural region of the south, it exists in the industrial feudalism of the lumber and tar-pentine camps of the north. It lives in the southern plantation and fields, in the coal mines, in the camps of the capitalist press of both north and south and the prejudice and strife among the workers is fed and inflamed. The southern wound by this filth, that it exudes."

Send for a catalogue of all Communist literature.

AN ORGANIZER OF THE NEGRO LABOR CONGRESS



H. V. PHILLIPS National Secretary of the American Negro Labor Congress.

-help!

To Save THE DAILY WORKER

The A. F. of L. and the Class Struggle

ARTICLE III—PART II

BY WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

HE first attracted my attention in particular because HE SET HIS FACE AGAINST THE REPORT THAT WE HAD MADE TO BRING ABOUT A GENERAL STRIKE OF ALL THE TRADERS IN SYMPATHY WITH THE B. & O. RAILWAY UNION STRIKE HERE (I made a mistake in the speech of Secretary Frank Morrison to the memory of the members delivered in the Atlantic City convention. (Lighthouse News, W. F. D.)

WE have seen the spirit of class collaboration materialized and drolled up for public display by Spencer Miller, Jr., the chief of the labor agents of imperialism at Atlantic City. That spirit, embodied in a cartoon by Robert Miller recently, is indeed the spirit of the same class as we learn from the lips of so many a percentage than Secretary Frank Morrison.

According to Morrison, Congress first gained his attentive approbation by treating to the whole American working class in one of its historic struggles. Congress then gained ownership by an act of wholesale treachery.

NO intelligent worker will be surprised that he grinded the system which endorsed the holly-crawling in American capitalism indulged in by Spencer Miller, Jr., in the field of education, and which spent a day defying the kind of an individual described so well by Morrison, gave practical expression in its desire, in return for a modicum of the spoils, as chambermaid for the captains of industry and lords of American finance. This is exactly what the Atlantic convention did.

One will go blotted if he strains his eyes for any sign in the resolutions of the convention that it has ever heard anything of the kind, or that the city—the exploitation of one class by another which gives rise to the class struggle.

On the contrary, the A. F. of L. officialdom has adopted and now glibly mouths such phrases as "group production," "personal relations," "mutual industrial progress," "interdependence of the interests of all groups," "co-operation of employes in production"—all of which is cribbed from the gibberish of the new school of adding machine social science experiments turned out by Rockefeller endowed colleges.

These phrases are designed to veil the conflict of interests that exists, in spite of all attempts to gloss it over, between the working class and the capitalist class. They have the additional purpose of furnishing a pseudo-scientific justification for all the class collaboration schemes which are being foisted upon the labor movement.

SUCH a scheme is the "Baltimore & Ohio Plan," differing only from the outright company unionism and the machinery of the A. F. of L. unions in placed at the disposal of the bosses and the speeding-up of labor given the sanction of the union.

More than that, production experts employed jointly by the union and the bosses, design the workers with statistical data proving that they can and must "hit the ball," for the honor and glory of the union—and the profits of the bosses.

"For," say the exponents of this class collaborationist school of thought, "how can the boss pay wages if he doesn't make profits?"

THE following is adopted on the report of the executive council dealing with new economic developments. PRODUCTION IS A GROUP UNDERTAKING. IT INVOLVES FINDING THE BEST WAYS FOR THE GROUP TO WORK TOGETHER. THIS is the first of the resolutions research. It is of the utmost importance that the trade union should be adequately represented in this field in order that its technicians and research workers may at all stages have their attention called to the functions of the trade union

THIS is the third of a series of articles on the proceedings of the A. F. of L. convention, which deal with "The A. F. of L. and International Relations," "The A. F. of L. and the Unorganized Workers," "The A. F. of L. and the Class Struggle," "The A. F. of L. and the Left Wing," "The A. F. of L. and Milling," etc. This is the second installment of "The A. F. of L. and the Class Struggle."

and that this necessary agency may be taken into the hands of the development of policies and not have to content for a place after decisions are formulated, TRADE UNION WHICH REPRESENTS THE CUMULATED EXPERIENCE OF MANY WORKERS AND MANY YEARS HAVE A MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE TO THIS DEVELOPING FIELD.

Here is the theory of the role of the trade union as one of the productive units of the modern industrial system—the other two being "capital" and "management"—baldly stated according to the gospel of Spencer Miller.

THE premise with which the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and their statistical advisers begin is that modern machinery makes it possible to produce five—more and more commodities are turned out with less workers.

The conclusion they draw is THAT THE ORGANIZED WAGE EARNERS SHOULD AID THIS DEVELOPMENT but not struggle to seize the productive machinery and the state power.

This amount of the abolition of the struggle. The theory is that only those unions which can prove their value to the capitalist as speed-up of production will survive. It means in practice a mad, soul and body working race for "efficiency"

the satisfaction expressed in the principles of the Baltimore and Ohio development and recommend the pamphlet Union-Management Cooperation by B. M. Jewell and O. S. Bayer, Jr. to the study and consideration of all true unionists.

We also approve the recommendations that our national headquarters keep in touch with technical experts and engineers in order that the experience of management-cooperation with trade unions may be put at the service of all concerned production problems.

The "B. & O." plan is now part of the A. F. of L. bible. The endorsement of this practical application of the anti-class struggle education sponsored by the officials is an extremely interesting in view of the slight reservation in the opening paragraph above.

Efforts to improve production methods and eliminate waste must be accompanied by REASONABLE assurance of regularity of employment (Emphasis mine.—W. F. D.)

THE dues-paying membership ought to be allowed to work a few days more per year if they look upon the interest of the boss as their own—this is the only conclusion reached by the A. F. of L. convention for its members who are being delivered to Am-

has shown to be 50 per cent, attributable to management and only 25 per cent attributable to labor, with 25 per cent attributable to other causes. COLLECTED WITH A CONTINUING REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF HOURS MAKING UP THE WORKING DAY, ARE PROCEEDED IN PROPORTION TO THE INCREASING POWER OF PRODUCTION."

SOCIAL INEQUALITY, INDUSTRIAL INSTABILITY AND INJUSTICE MUST INCREASE UNLESS THE WORKERS' REAL INTERESTS BE COLLECTED WITH A CONTINUING REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF HOURS MAKING UP THE WORKING DAY, ARE PROCEEDED IN PROPORTION TO THE INCREASING POWER OF PRODUCTION."

TO the intelligent reader this statement will at once appear as a queer mixture of sound trade union policy and the most abject sort of servility to the capitalists.

And this is exactly what it is. And it is a document of contradictions precisely because the contradictions in A. F. of L. policy produced by the officials is an extremely interesting in view of the slight reservation in the opening paragraph above.

THE liberals are jubilant, particularly at that section referred to previously which in view of the magnificent "research" and "statistics" afforded for "research" and "statistics" accompanied by huge stacks of beautiful graphs, curves and charts, has been firmly established as a serious rival to the "laymen" as advisers of the labor movement.

Says Evans Clark, in the opening paragraph of an article entitled "Union Labor Takes New View of Wage":

American labor enters a new epoch. The trade unions of this country have now officially swung down the curtain on irresponsible warfare and militant warfare and set the stage for collaboration with the employers. The nation in solving the problems of its employment, THEIR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. (Emphasis is mine.—W. F. D.)

Some of the federation officials are likewise jubilant. Says President Green:

This action places American labor in the most advanced position on the world's stage. It is a position far in advance of any position we have ever taken before.

BUT Matthew Wolf is not so sanguine. In some things, where a sort of fervor comes into the picture, he is much more astute than the rest of the officials. So during the debate which preceded the adoption of the statement, on wages as an example, by the only official with any pretense to scholarship, John P. Frey of the Mothers' Union, Wolf said:

I am not so sure that I believe that the less we have to do with theory in these matters the better off we are, because we find ourselves confused with all sorts of conditions, factors and circumstances, and we find oftentimes that theory will lead us nowhere, while our common sense expressed in trade union activities has gained more for us.

Wolf is a worthy pupil of his late master, Samuel Gompers.

Like all really correct thinkers he wants nothing in black and white unless it is entirely meaningless. It is extremely doubtful if under the leadership of Gompers and his disciples, P. F. of L. officials, have been "jockeyed by all circumstances into the 'unhappy position' to fit the will of those who have been placed by pressure from above, below and by reason of their own avowals. It has been said, The A. F. of L. of-

(Continued on page 6)

To Anita Whitney

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS.

Brave womanhood in chains! America, Have thou not reason to be proud, be proud, Of this wild, mad bloodstain'd strife, That bids her limbs be shackled, head be bowed Beneath the burden of thy tyranny? Hast thou not reason, Land of Liberty, To prate of Freedom, Justice, the whites' she, Who dared to stand for freedom, goes not free?

O Culture, Worth, hold out those slender hands That dared to clasp the roughened hands of men, So that they may be cuffed with iron bands: O Love and Truth, go to your living grave For daring to espouse the serf, the slave— This land has no place for you, save the "pen,"

in production" for that section of the workers who are decelerated by such collaboration cannot eliminate industrial crises.

WE come now to a series of pronouncements which probably have passed more common than any other part of the proceedings at Atlantic City—the widely heralded "new wage policy" of the A. F. of L. As finally adopted by the convention it reads as follows:

We commend endorsement of the statement of the executive committee on wages. We hold that the best interests of the workers, AS WELL AS THE WHOLE SOCIAL GROUP, are served, increasing production in quality as well as quantity, by sustained purchasing power to the workers and therefore higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultural opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest and THAT LOW WAGES ARE NOT CONTRIBUTIVE TO LOW PRODUCTION COSTS.

We urge upon wage earners everywhere: THAT TO OPPOSE ALL WAGE REDUCTIONS, AND THAT URGES UPON MANAGEMENT THE ELIMINATION OF WASTE IN PRODUCTION—ORDER THAT THE SELLING PRICES IN A VARY BE LOWER AND WAGES HIGHER. To this end we recommend co-operation in study of waste in production, which the act of the Federation American Engineering Societies covering important industries

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BUT regardless of its length, the question the Atlantic City convention unanimously endorsed the report of the committee on the exception of the committee's report, which said in part:

Efforts to improve production methods and eliminate waste must be accompanied by reasonable assurance of regularity of employment.

We recommend endorsement of

The Communist and Socialist Platforms Compared

By SYLVAN A. POLLACK

IT is interesting to compare the majority platforms of the socialist and Workers (Communist) Party in this campaign.

In the socialist party platform we find the slogan, "Win New York for the people." In contrast with the Communist slogan of "A workers' and farmers' government."

For a Labor Party.

In the socialist platform no mention is made of the labor party. To the socialist party that is a dead end, while on the other hand in the Workers (Communist) Party platform we find a readiness to withdraw their candidates at any time during the campaign in favor of a united labor ticket, as the platform says plainly:

"The Workers (Communist) Party has for the past two years been the foremost fighter for the formation of a labor party. At the earliest opportunity this year, it proposed to the workers of New York the formation of a united labor ticket for the present campaign as a first step for the complete unity of labor's political forces in a labor party. It proposed to the socialist party at its conference in June, the calling of a convention of all labor organizations for this purpose. But the socialist party in its hostility to the labor bureaucrats and in its complete heedlessness of the elementary needs of the workers, gave no answer to this proposal. Therefore the socialist party must bear jointly with the labor bureaucrats the responsibility for dividing the forces of labor and preventing the realization of a united labor ticket against capitalism.

"THE Workers Party has therefore been compelled to put forward its own candidates. But it realizes the crying need for working class political unity, and continues to call upon the socialist party and all other labor groups to join together for a united labor campaign against the capitalist class for the immediate needs of the divided and exploited workers. WORKERS PARTY STANDS READY TO WITHDRAW ITS CANDIDATES IN FAVOR OF ONE UNITED LABOR TICKET AT ANY TIME DURING THIS CAMPAIGN. Workers of New York, raise this demand for a united labor ticket leading towards a labor party in all of your organizations and compel the labor bureaucrats and treacherous socialist leaders to cease dividing the workers. Out of this campaign must emerge concrete steps towards the formation of a labor party."

Child Labor

On the question of child labor we read in the socialist platform: "We pledge ourselves to maintain the New York standards and work for the adoption of the federal amendment."

So we see that the socialist party has sunk so low and has become so meek and submissive that it has STIPULATED with the child labor laws of New York. Everything is so perfect that there can be no improvement, it is a line of reasoning. Yet, in fact, indeed, for an organization that claims to represent the working class that it accepts the laws of capitalism without one bit of criticism or suggestions for improvement. THE Communist platform demands A the abolition of all child labor after the age of sixteen, and a system of compensation for those families upon whom such a law would work a hardship.

Municipal Employers

On municipal employers the socialist party writes vaguely on no political interference and speaks of adequate pay and the recognition of ability, while the Communist platform comes out openly with a proposal for the right to strike for municipal employers, the prevailing union rate of wages and the 40-hour week, all of which are ignored in the socialist party platform.

Housing

On the question of housing the socialist party provides for the building of new apartments "these should be of a sort for which the rent should not exceed the rent of nine or ten

dollars per month. Higher rents are beyond the reach of 69 per cent of our population with family incomes below \$2,500.00. (From the socialist party platform.)

Even Gov. Smith's housing commission is more "revolutionary" than the socialist party for it says, "The over-crowded family tenements (these are the bulk of the working class) cannot afford more than seven dollars per room." This governor's commission also suggests by its exemption on buildings it will be possible for landlords to build new houses get 6 per cent interest on their money, rent rooms at \$7.50 and still make a legitimate profit.

THE Workers (Communist) Party proposes the construction of dwellings for the workers by the city to be rented to them without profit and that is much more important for the immediate terrible housing situation, "the fixation by the state of a low rent scale based upon the earnings of workers' families and their ability to pay." (From the Workers Party platform.) This of course, is a revolutionary demand, whereas the socialist party does not even propose reformed demand as moderate as that of the commission on housing, appointed by the democratic governor.

Health.

On the question of health, we see that the socialist party does not view that question from a working class point of view, their cancer health programs could be adopted by any capitalist legislature with a guarantee that no representative of the bosses would ever have any remorse as to have violated the interests of the class he represents. Various "practical" measures for the consolidation of hospitals, for a change in the number of bureau of health department, for a deputy commissioner to serve as general business manager under the commissioner; for the removal of police control from the board of health; for the relieving of the board of health from detail, and finally, "more clinics should be established where necessary to deal with the cancer and heart disease." (From the socialist platform.)

THE socialist party is so far removed from the workers that it

forgets that there are specific working class industrial diseases, and when it finally mentions two ailments (they are, cancer, and heart disease), that are common to all society, and therefore naturally taken care of by the bosses. They forget altogether industrial accidents, industrial diseases, the production of dangerous chemicals and industrial devices, factory inspection to eliminate such diseases and special clinics in the working class quarters to treat them. Louey ray poisoning, painter's colic or lead poisoning, furrier's consumption, hatter's mercury poisoning, these dread diseases of the working class under capitalism are completely forgotten by the socialist party, while in the platform of the Workers (Communist) Party, we find plans covering all of the above mentioned, which are conspicuously absent in the socialist party platform.

Unemployment.

On the question of unemployment, there is no mention of it in the socialist platform. The Workers (Communist) Party demands the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance maintenance of the unemployed by the city at readjustment rates, until work can be found for them. Also the complete elimination of the employment agency sharks thru the establishment of city monopoly in job placements with workers' control of the agencies thru participation in the management. It also demands two weeks' pay for all workers dismissed from their jobs.

Schools.

ALSO on the question of schools the socialist party is strangely quiet, no mention being made of it. The Workers (Communist) Party calls for the abolition of religious and military training in the public schools, the unrestricted right of the teachers to organize in labor unions, no teacher to be dismissed for being unfaithful to the present system. Also the immediate increase of the teaching staff, building of new schools and free maintenance of all workers' children up to the age of sixteen, when poverty would otherwise compel such children to leave school before that time.

The Overthrow of Capitalism.

Once more the socialist party is not

interested and has nothing to say on this question. The socialist party deliberately deludes the workers into believing that their interests can be realized under capitalism and neither the workers nor the bourgeoisie are crying necessities of the workers, nor points out that only by the overthrow of capitalism can they be realized. It limits itself to pro-reformism so petty that perhaps this time the program IS realizable under capitalism. It does not express the needs of the workers. Of the socialist party and its program nothing socialist is left but the name.

AS the platform of the Workers

(Communist) Party says:

"In proposing the above demands the Workers Party points out that even such elementary demands of the workers can only be realized and maintained thru the establishment of a workers' government. We propose them, not as a complete expression of the aims of the working class, but as an expression of their most elementary needs. It is only by struggling for these demands will inevitably come to understand that they cannot be realized and maintained under capitalism, but only thru the overthrow of the capitalist system, the establishment of a government of workers and poor farmers, and the adoption by this government of such measures as will lead away the introduction of a Communist system of society. To this full program the Workers (Communist) Party is pledged."

A Campaign.

After reading the above comparison any working man or working woman can easily see that only the Communists with Ben Gitlow, as their standard-bearer, stand for the representatives of the working class in this campaign, and as such, should support its candidates. More than that, they should contribute to its campaign fund, and join the Workers (Communist) Party and help actively in the struggle for a Soviet republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As I. Stalin, secretary of the Communist Party in Russia, correctly said, there are no Communists outside of the Communist Party! Join the Communist Party and fight for the rule of the working class!

UNITY RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE Y. W. L.

Forward to League Unity!

"In the League we no longer any differences on political questions! The League completely and unquestionably accepts the decisions of the N. E. C. I! A decisive struggle against treacherous demagogues the right elements which openly or covertly lead a fight against the line of the Executive of the Communist Party! The unity of the League on consolidation and utilization of all Communist forces! The unanimous support of the N. E. C. I! Real mass action! These are the slogans upon which the remains of factionalism generated almost two years of struggle in the League and Party and remaining after the recent Party and League conventions have finally been liquidated and complete, organic unity established in the Young Workers (Communist) League membership.

Altho the decisions of the Committee, the fourth convention of the Y. W. L. and the third convention of the Y. W. L. had removed the political basis for the internal differences in the organization, the remains of the factional spirit naturally hung over the League and Party, and immediately in the ranks of our League. It also began to grow apparent that the position of Comrade Foster and those who agreed with him in his attitude on the relation of the Communist to the American Party was becoming the center of crystallization of a right wing faction and was tending to strengthen and grow stronger. Hence the right wing elements of the Party. On the other hand, signs began to

appear of the crystallization of an intermediate group and a new fraction. It was on the basis of the complete liquidation of the remains of factionalism, the struggle against the right dangers involved in the "position" of the group that continues to follow the line of Comrade Foster after the cabled decision of the C. I. I! "The decisive struggle against the remaining group of the League and the consolidation of all Bolshevik elements in the League, that unity was finally accomplished in the League."

Thru the initiative of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, the political committee of the N. E. C. I in conjunction with all the members of the N. E. C. I, who could be summoned, considered the situation in the League and finally came to the conclusion recorded in principle elsewhere in this issue.

This resolution, providing the political basis for unity, is a registration of the fact that henceforth there are no longer any "groups" in the Y. W. L.; henceforth there will not be any "groupings" on committees and in the units of the organization. Henceforth the League is one whole.

With the factional struggle a thing of the past, the League is now turning its face to real mass work. The N. E. C. declares, "the resolution reads, 'that the first task on the basis of the accepted political line is to concentrate all efforts to accomplish real mass work by the League. The work in the middle trade unions, sports organizations and others, reorganization

of the League on the basis of shop nuclei, economic and educational work, and the Negroes, work here, in the opponent organizations, etc.—these are the tasks which must be made the center of our attention."

A new page has been turned in the history of the League. Youth movement in this country. Youth effort, forward to the building of a mass Leninist League of Youth in America!

Our strength lies in unity under the leadership of the Committee and the Y. C. I.

The Unity Resolution.

The National Executive Committee of the Young Workers (Communist) League, after considering and discussing the situation in the Young Workers (Communist) League, came to the following conclusions:

1. In the League there are no longer any differences on political questions. The League completely and unquestionably accepts the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Fourth Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party and greets the beginning of the process of Bolshevization.

2. Considering that the right danger of the League is that it will lead a decisive struggle against all right elements, elements which will openly or covertly lead a fight against the line of the Executive of the Communist Party and the group which continues to follow the line of Comrade Foster after the cabled decision of the C. I. I. tends to

(Continued on page 5)

Teaching and Workers Education

By A. G. Bosse

NEW YORK, Oct. 30.—The problem of teaching adult workers in night school classes is a technical and organizational question that agitators and teachers of our classes all over the country are facing at the present time. Educational work is beginning, also slowly, due to the convention, and the reorganization of the party. But our educational work is going to be one of the chief means of achieving its Bolshevik goals of the party. Unless we perfect our teaching, it becomes not merely useless, but positively dangerous.

Working Class Education.

Our aim is not to help the worker coming to our classes to make up for a lack of culture. Our party member or sympathizer hasn't a selfish aim to urge him on, so such as hope for advancement, love to learn, or to make, or the like. The difficulties facing him and us are very great, and it is almost a miracle that we accomplish as much as we do. I shall enumerate but a few of the difficulties we must consider.

After a hard day's work, the worker-student is too tired for very effective studying. His vocabulary is often poor, courage and self-confidence are lacking. He hasn't had a change to develop the habit of studying, and abstract thinking comes with some effort. The difficulty of summarizing rapidly, of getting the central thought of a page or a discussion, of taking notes, of reviewing, etc., must be taken into account by the teacher or class leader. Most workers have no facilities for home study (a quiet corner, time, books, and the like), especially if they are members of their party, their shop, and their union. And we must remember that most of those coming to our classes are at the same time among the most active members in the movement. The small amount of general education most workers have, and the "natural" disinclination on the part of adults to exert the mental effort needed for study, help to increase the difficulties facing the instructor. These are but a few of his troubles, and yet they are enough to put teaching workers on the order of business for special consideration and for radical revision.

Lecture Method Faulty.

Our teaching methods and these thoughts are not only for the teacher the student who sees in them a way out must insist on the teacher of his class giving serious thought to them (and some trial) must consider whether the old lecture method is not ready for the discard. It is a fine way for the teacher to learn his subject. Our purpose is not to provide a laboratory for the perfection of the teacher's art. We don't dispense knowledge; we try to help our comrades use their brains, think out problems for themselves and finally to put their thoughts into clear language. Therefore the lecture method should be used sparingly, if at all. Cut and dried lectures pour into the student's pan don't germinate and bear thought. They result in the mouting of big phrases and stereotyped formulas, which disable us in a new situation or an unexpected attack.

When the lecture is absolutely necessary, (and it sometimes is, to give information not otherwise obtainable), it should be short. Informal, and must permit interruptions in the way of questions, brief, relevant discussion or disagreement. The argument that it breaks the train of thought of the teacher, that it prevents him from making a beautifully rounded and polished oration, must be given short shrift. The lecture should be self-contained, giving only the necessary facts and should not overflow into a complete handling of the subject. Discussion by the case should take up most of the lecture. The instructor only directing its relevancy, preventing verbosity and showing and encouraging the shy or backward students to participate.

The Discussion Method.

Instead of telling, the teacher should ask questions, even if often they must be leading questions, such as, "Isn't it a fact that..." or

Why do you think it happened that...?" "You know that such and such was the case. What would be your explanation for that? For those who might disagree as to "telling" versus "asking," I recommend John Dewey's little book on "How We Think." Or the following remark by A. Fichandler, "Never give any information that some one else can give, and never draw a conclusion that any one else in the class can draw..." The student who answers a question or draws a conclusion before the teacher is filled with an electric joy which makes that worker really worth while... The teacher who answers the question for the class without giving them a chance commits a

Just a few more suggestions,—and it is the duty of the student, to himself and to the class, as well as of the teacher, to see that a cut-and-dried class is vitalized. The teacher should be simple and patient in presentation, proceeding step by step, and not going to the next step until the previous one are understood by most of the class. It is often difficult to know when this is so, and it can be done by a "trial" question, quiz, etc. He should watch the student for interest and attention, and when these lag, should remind them by a new attack, a fresh topic, a change in voice (pitch, rapidity, etc.) or a provocative statement, a "heresy,"

etc. Titles should be made interesting—"Where do profits come from?" "Popularity's surplus value," and "Why men?" does the same for "perpetuity of crises." A last point—the teacher should begin with and constantly recur to points of contact in the student's own life and activities especially in the branch, shop nucleus, shop, union, etc. The constant aim of every course must be bolshevization and politicalization, even to English, in literature, and in art courses. In closing, a short sample of how the discussion method, as differing from the lecture method, might be used.

1. Brief review of previous lesson, with students doing most of the explaining.
2. Short talk by teacher, with use of maps, charts, and blackboard. Questions discussion should be permitted to interrupt, not relegated to end of lecture, when most will forget or the point have become hazy.
3. Questions by class, with student answering as many of them as possible.
4. Discussion, with teacher as guide, not monopolist.
5. Questions by teacher—to ensure that silent students got points of lesson; to fill in gaps; to further clarify understanding and add to knowledge on a point; and to apply conclusions

(especially to the working conditions, hours, wages, profits, propaganda possibilities, etc.) to workers in the class.

6. Students make outline of lesson, for future review, reference, etc. The outline should be made in their own words, and are likely to understand it better, and to remember it. If they can't do it, mimeographed outlines and notes should be made, and carefully gone over with the class.

Extra Aids Essential.

Some extra aids are the library, visits to museums, shops, and exhibitions, plays, lectures, talks by specially qualified persons, correlation with English, courses, etc., recourse to our reference books, files, clippings, indexes, etc.

The problems are great and varied, write in to the paper and to the national agitator dept. Their exact nature varies with conditions, experiences, failures and successes with special methods and devices, and the like, we shall be able to compile a list of experiences, experience, and tested methods for the use of our work center every term, and will enable us to put advanced and qualified students into the work of teaching, to raise the level of the whole party, and to penetrate with our agitation, propaganda and education for party member and sympathizer—that all these methods will in large measure enable us to succeed.

The A. F. of L. and the Class Struggle

(Continued from page 3)

Realism has succeeded only in satisfying the amorphous liberal group which has no economic power. The big bosses who speak thru the Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Brooklyn Eagle, etc., accept willingly enough the sections of the statement on wage policy that have to do with increase of production and stimulation of waste, but when it comes to dealing with increases in real wages, reduction of hours and resistance to all wage reductions are interpreted correctly by them as an encouragement to the rank and file of organized labor to go out and raise hell—and therefore a violation of the "union-management co-operation" campaign union policy endorsed by the big bosses and blessed by Green, Wall and Co.

WHAT the A. F. of L. officialdom set out to do was to demand a larger return for the aristocracy of labor as a reward for its support of the Dawes plan, war on the Communists and the left wing in general, opposition to the recognition of Soviet Russia and world trade union unity and the betrayal of the Mexican labor movement to Wall Street, Fakerson was going to take steps to get larger share of the loot—nothing more.

But the entire absence of theoretical knowledge which characterizes the American labor leadership, led them to make a grave error.

EVEN the usually comatose Milwaukee Leader failed to see the implications involved. It says editorially:

If labor succeeds in its efforts to enforce a general eight-hour day or shorten the work rest week, it will raise them with productivity, and attain to a voice and vote in the management of industries, it will amount to an economic and political revolution.

CAPITALISM HAS REACHED A STAGE IN WHICH EVEN A PURE AND SIMPLE TRADE UNION DEMAND CAN SET OFF REVOLUTIONARY RESULTS. THIS IS DRAMATICALLY ILLUSTRATED BY THE SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN, WHERE THE TRADE UNION DEMAND OF THE MINERS FOR A MAINTENANCE OF THE OLD WAGE SCALE THREATENS TO START A GENERAL LOCKOUT OR A GENERAL STRIKE.

The New York Times says that: "The circumstances that gave rise to this declaration somewhat dampen

optimism Organized labor has not hitherto co-operated to make economies of production. Yet it demands a full share in the proceeds the process will be delayed unless labor takes seriously and very intelligently its promises of co-operation."

THE Brooklyn Eagle, a militant advocate of the union policy, is even encouraged by the new A. F. of L. official policy:

General extension of the use of automatic machines and general extension of the use of electric power were cited in the council report, advocating such a new wage policy Trade unionism formulates and puts forth a fierce demand What impresses us most in the formulated defiance is the intransigence of the language—in proportion to the man's increasing power of production." Literally applied it would take away from the employer any motive for using new devices It would be better off for his new investment in many fields they (the employers) have found that shorter hours are not producing as much per worker per hour as did the ten-hour day

Also aggression on one side causes aggression on the other. Employers have stood behind the principle that labor should get a larger return in proportion to the slackening it is doing Logic would come as close to justifying the one position as the other.

THE Nation characterizes the "conversion as "optimistic and aggressive."

R. C. Forbes, financial writer for the Hearst papers, has his article on the convention headed:

American Federation of Labor Wage Policy Should Meet Approval of Bosses.

He concludes by saying:

American labor leaders have acted much more sensibly at their convention than the British labor leaders have been acting at their recent conventions.

THE chop suey mixture of opinion from the American press and labor officials is a proof of the conflicting interests in the economic and political structure, but it is also probable that the labor bureaucracy has been stung by the realization that it has no theory to guide its actions either on the industrial or political field. In attempting to correct their error it has thrown the doors wide open for the class conscious elements in the union.

WHAT better slogans could any left wing want, when the relict-

less pressure from every side brought on, at all times in which world capitalism finds itself forcing the boss to war on labor, than "No Wage Reductions," "Cut Down the Hours of Labor," "Increase of Real Wages," etc.

ATTEMPTING to deny and avoid the class struggle, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy has been forced to make a conscious worker the factory co-operator policy. Hardly are its verbal attempts to turn the class struggle into class collaboration more than the alert section of the capitalist press has recognized war because by the very fact of being a labor organization the A. F. of L. had to deal with the wage question from its standpoint, were to maintain their following.

WHAT the left wing has to do now is to further expose the double-deal of the officialdom—to show that even their friends, the imperialist masters by repeating Purcell, the British and Russian plans, and world trade union unity, demands of Communists and war between the Communist and the left wing, by refusal to endorse and work for a labor party, by betrayal of the German workers to the Dawes plan, by vilification of the workers and peasant government of Russia, by enclaves of American capitalist democracy, by their fight to end all unionism and their perpetuation of 107 hours of work have failed to alter one hairbreadth the undying attitude of bossdom, the most elementary demands of the workers in the form of higher wages, shorter working hours and better living standards.

THE absolute minimum of all these things that can be forced upon the workers, coupled with a negation of the class struggle by the workers themselves, are upon what the life of capitalism depends.

Forcing down the standards of the workers into the class struggle. It is for the left to give leadership to give it conscious direction. The A. F. of L. officials, The Communist, in the left wing must and will direct the struggle against the state power—that power which has murdered so many of William Green's left wing unionists, but in which are hidden so all "sovereign."

"Increase in Real Wages," "No Wage Reductions," "Shorten Hours of Labor" and "Organize the Unorganized," these are the immediate slogans for building up a left bloc which can be developed into a real revolutionary force.

The Finnish Section of the Workers Party

By HENRY PURO.

In order to understand the necessity of reorganization of our party we must examine the past relations of the party and its various language sections.

The Finnish section being the largest language section of our party is presenting the most typical picture about these relations. We now turn our examination principally toward the relations of the Finnish section and the party. The organizational structure of our party, founded on the federation form, is such that we find in it parties, each having its own autonomy and each one living its own separate life.

In many localities the relations between various branches is such that joint membership meetings have been held very rarely if at all. So far as the holding of meetings have been attempted it has been found that members of the language branches have not been willing to take part. This is especially true as far as the Finnish members are concerned. Not only have we had language branch members take part in joint membership meetings but we have had very much difficulty in getting members to attend general meetings of the party organization.

The various city central committees have had difficulties in getting a full quota of delegates from the Finnish branches. We have had very few comrades who were willing to take active part in city central committee activities. When some comrades, in different localities tried to remedy this deplorable condition general excuses have been offered; for example, the inability to speak the English language and language difficulties are not real reasons to prevent comrades from taking an active part along with other comrades speaking different languages. The real reasons are a lack of interest and enthusiasm to take an active part in our party work.

The results in these relations have been that our party has been unable to mobilize the whole membership into action, even in its most important campaigns. This is why our party work, compared to other membership, has been comparatively weak. The fault of these conditions is not, however, solely of the language section membership. Beyond the organizational reasons which will now be abolished by the reorganization, there are other reasons. First, on the part of our party leaders. Our party leaders have not approached the membership of the language sections in the proper manner and have not tried to draw them closer to the party work and to its campaigns and activities.

The language section members have been led to take care of themselves and to work their own way. Not even in the big centers of the party have the members of the language sections known more than two or three leaders of the party and have seen them later only once or twice a year when they have come to address in the big mass meetings. Only during the last few months leading comrades of the party have written articles to the language section press explaining our party viewpoints to members of the language sections.

Even the ideological contact has been very limited and incidental. The party leaders have not had actual and direct contact with the membership of the language sections. This is why very few district organizers have been paying occasional visits to the language branch meetings. The very fact that party leaders have not had direct contact with the membership of the various language sections, not even with leading comrades, is a potent reason for these sections being so separated from each other. This is why the mobilization of the membership of the party for action has rarely been successful.

But the leading comrades are as much and as seriously responsible for this condition. We have lived and acted in language sections as if they were autonomous republics, which have only foreign relations with the

party. We have felt that it is not our duty to maintain ourselves and become an integral part of the party. In our meetings, we have discussed mainly our social and entertainment affairs. Sociological, political and party discussions of important matters and often have been left out altogether from the order of business of the branch meetings. And to the extent that we have discussed party matters, we have done that at the end of the meetings, when the greater part of the members had already left. In the various language section committees we had only in casual cases contact with the party district committees, not to speak of having continual relations.

We have spent so much of our time and energy for the maintenance of our halls and social affairs that we part in various campaigns of the party in the financial campaigns where we have considered ourselves as the leaders, the Finnish section membership has often taken small part compared to its membership elsewhere. In the Soviet Russia and DAILY WORKER foundation campaign in which we took conspicuous part, we were not able to fill our quota. It is true that many comrades and many branches distinguished themselves in these campaigns, but in proportion to our big membership we were not able to do our share in the campaign to organize the DAILY WORKER. Some other language sections, especially the South Slavic section, did better. In the Labor Defense League campaigns we have been trying to do our share.

But in the political campaigns of the party and also in the trade union activities the membership of the Finnish section has been very indifferent, and has been very small part in spite of the fact that these activities constitute the main work of the party. Indifference to these most important activities of the Communist party is in itself a living example of how we have been ideologically, as well as in action, fully in accord with social-democratic indifference and inactivity.

Federation autonomy is deeply rooted in our membership. They look upon a party campaign as if it did not concern them. Of course there are many exceptions. There are localities and branches where our Finnish comrades are in close contact with the party organization, but the general situation is as above mentioned.

Responsibility for the existence of this condition of affairs falls upon the leading comrades of the language sections. I quote a letter from a certain well-known comrade of the New York district, which he sent me the other day. After making a reorganization tour through the district, he writes the following:

"I met so much hesitation and faltering among the membership that the situation looks much more gloomy than I expected. We have been too negligent in the left wing of the party. We have not emphasized enough in our propaganda in our press and speeches the necessity for the Communist organization for action and activities. And now when we have to start to build up a Communist form of organization and to get more clearness of the ideological views of the party we find the masses, that have been under our influence and who should now become the best elements of our party, waver. Even those comrades, who are the best, are hesitating and faltering; not to speak the masses who have been with us only for a short time. The same comrade writes that in his second meeting in the New York Finnish branch, when he was elaborating such important questions as the resolutions and proceedings of the national convention of our party and also the question of reorganization, only twelve people were attending, although the New York branch has a membership of about 400.

Comrades, this letter speaks a serious language about the situation we now find ourselves in. It shows us, as this comrade rightly admits, how

seriously we have neglected the Communist education of our membership. The more cheerful phase of this letter is that the writer realizes the situation and admits it openly. To that extent we admit our negligence we are able to overcome minor serious struggle, however, is bound to rise from the fact that too many leading comrades are not willing to admit our negligence and errors. On the contrary, in their words they as much as confess that something has been neglected, but in their deeds they hold tight to the old methods and viewpoints, and are trying to make the members believe that those comrades who are now demanding a fundamental remedy, are disturbers. For personal motives they want to interrupt the peace in the Finnish federations and to sow discord.

However if the situation does not in the light of foregoing analysis, grow very bright, there is no need to be pessimistic, as far as the relation of the Finnish members toward our party is concerned. There is a strong tendency towards the working masses we might as well cease to believe and speak about the coming proletarian revolution. It is true that many ideas to believe that the Finnish

workers are naturally conservative. Among our Finnish members there are excellent proletarian elements whom our party must and can win to the American proletarian revolutionary party, by approaching them in the proper manner. It is not their purpose the Communist Party and the duties of its members. We must abolish the present federations at the same time making clear to our party on the basis of shop social. This new form of organization tears away the national division lines and at the same time makes possible the unification of the ideological views of the whole membership.

This same condition that now exists in the Finnish Party, if held by our party, also exists more or less between other language sections and the Workers Party.

In the next article I will deal with the question how our party can overcome in this crisis of Bolshevism and reorganization the Finnish and other national proletarian elements in the Communist Party and to put the whole situation as it exists before our party. That is a proper approach to correcting the errors we have made and to remedy the present situation.

Research Department Book Reviews

A Book for the Worker's Shelf.

"Social Struggles and Thought," by M. Beer, Boston, Small, Maynard & Co. 1925, 32c.

It is not often that a book from the flood poured forth from capitalist publishing houses can be highly recommended to the workers. This is one of those rare exceptions. Within a brief 200 pages Beer has concentrated a picture of social struggles in England and France (and their reactions upon Germany), from 1776 to 1870 together with concise statements of all the schools of social criticism and programs of social change, that arose out of these struggles. It is without doubt the best work of its kind available, at least in the English language, and it is a valuable addition to the working-class library.

The large field covered may be indicated by mentioning the names of those dealt with by Beer—writers and thinkers who influenced social thought in that period—Adam Smith, Bentham, Ricardo, Malthus, Spencer, Godwin, Hall, the Physiocrats, Land, Deane, Buonarroti, Babeuf, Wieland, Weissbach, Lessing, Cellerger, Fichte, Fourier, Saint-Simon, Ludwigs, Owen, Comte, Gray, Thompson, Morgan, Bray, the Chartists, Blaquiere, Proudhon, Piquet, Cabot, Leroux, Blanc, and many other lights. Beer has accomplished the seeming impossible in giving not only the essence of the ideas of each of these writers and leaders, but also the social and economic setting of the background significance of each, in a manner which is thoroly in the spirit of the modern revolutionary worker, all within the compass of one small book.

Of particular interest are the brief pages in which Beer shows that the demand for "democracy" in the early revolutionary movement, and in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, had nothing in common with the sickly conception of the present-day social-democrats—the Bergers and Hillquists. The demand for "Rule of the people" was demanded for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus Beer quotes Louis Bland ("Histoire de la France"). "The people, the whole of the citizens who, possessing no capital, are completely dependent upon others for the necessities of life." Charles Bernagel (in a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, Feb. 3, 1831): "The people is the whole of those who work, who are robbed of their social existence who possess nothing; you know whom I mean: the proletariat." And Eschschmidt's criticism of the July revolution: "The people or the proletariat fought on the barricades; but after the victory the bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat."

Beer goes on to say:

"The establishment of this fact is important for the following reason. If the people and the proletariat were at that time synonymous ideas, the rule of the people or democracy would actually signify proletarian rule or the rule of the working class, and not, as democracy is understood today, the rule of the bourgeoisie in opposition either to oligarchy or personal monarchy. In the years 1831-1848, democracy signified the rule of the people in opposition to the bourgeoisie."

"It is only by virtue of this historic background," continues Beer, "that we can understand the otherwise incomprehensible—because apparently contradictory—passage in the Communist Manifesto: 'The first step in the proletarian revolution is the elevation of the proletariat to the position of ruling class, the struggle for democracy.' Democracy in the sense of the Communist Manifesto accordingly means the rule of the working class."

The above quotations are but one small example of the richness of Beer's book of its value to the working class reader in obtaining a clearer idea of the historical background of the labor movement. More than that, it gives you the clear notes of proletarian revolution as struck by the first working class fighters, whose glorious tradition was to be incorporated by and bred to fruition under Vladimir Lenin.

Earl R. Browder.

Verdict May Save Finnish Worker from Deportation

The United States circuit court of appeal of the eighth circuit of which Edward R. Clegg is presiding, has handed down a decision in two cases involving the same question of law as the Sunna Kanno case acting that is a wartime emergency detention act. This decision is expected to compel the court to release Mrs. Kanno. The crisis of the present war has an alleged violation of this notorious law. Mrs. Kanno is of Finnish nationality and her arrest was brot about through the action of the guard Finns, who hated her because of her activity in behalf of the workers. Her deportation is sought by the federal authorities.

Wrap your lunch in a copy of the DAILY WORKER and give it (the DAILY WORKER, not the lunch) to your shop-mate.

WASHINGTON ORGANIZES DRIVE TO ASSIST THE DAILY WORKER

SEATTLE, Wash. Oct. 30.—The Seattle district organization has responded to the call of the organization department to get on the job mobilizing the party membership to save the DAILY WORKER.

The following appeal has been sent to the entire membership in the district:

"To Members and Branch Secretaries

"Dear Comrades:

"A call to Communist duty has been issued by our Central Executive Committee for the mobilization of our party forces and every Communist and loyal member must and will respond immediately and join in our efforts to help save our greatest medium of education and the most formidable weapon we possess against the common enemy.

"Surely, comrades, no Communist and loyal member of our party would dare even think of remaining indifferent, silent or for a moment neglecting duty when our DAILY WORKER is threatened with extinction. We, after having spent so much energy and effort, and made so many sacrifices for its existence and were successful in keeping it going ever since, certainly cannot afford to allow its publication to be suspended. This must not happen and will not happen so long as every member answers this most urgent appeal to duty.

"It is therefore evident that unless we can mobilize our entire membership and money rushed to THE DAILY WORKER, we shall have cause to regret our failure to perform our duty as it becomes Communists and the loss of our paper which has been fighting our battles and served us as an inspiration ever since it came into existence.

"Every branch secretary is called upon to follow immediately these instructions:

"1. Immediately call a special meeting of the branch membership and endeavor to have all members attend.

"2. The meeting shall at once elect a Help Save THE DAILY WORKER committee who will immediately start raising funds from the members present by the use of Help Save THE DAILY WORKER stamps and rush the full amount to THE DAILY WORKER as an advance of the membership quota.

"3. Every member should be given a set sheet of Help Save THE DAILY WORKER stamps and urged to sell same to friends and sympathizers and turn in to the committee of the branch the secretary should be a member, the amount from the sale, and contributions, as speedily as possible.

"4. The Help Save THE DAILY WORKER Committee shall visit subscribers of THE DAILY WORKER urging support, renewal of subscriptions, visit friends and relatives and members who have failed to attend the meeting and urge them to contribute and assist in the raising of funds. This committee shall keep

up a vigilant campaign and see that funds are rushed to THE DAILY WORKER until full quota has been sent and if possible exceeded.

"The acting District Organizer and any available speakers will endeavor to cover all meetings of branches possible. In the meantime Comrade Secretary and comrades do not wait at all once we must not lose time. "Comrades, THE DAILY WORKER is our greatest propagandist, news conveyor, educator and the inspirer of class consciousness, hope and aspiration to the thousands of members of our class. It is the only medium that can and does reach thousands of workers with the message of the vanguard of the proletariat, every day and night and ever so often, in their homes, hovels and places of abode, in most distant parts at times and places when and where no one else of our medium will or can.

"Comrades, let us demonstrate that we Communists not only can save THE DAILY WORKER, but make it the greatest Communist and workers paper in America.

"Rush funds—much or little—to THE DAILY WORKER.

"Secretaries are urged to keep in touch with the acting District Organizer in the raising of funds sent and progress made, etc.

"Fraternally yours,

"Aaron Fisherman,

"Acting District Organizer 12."

AMERICAN WORKERS CALLED TO CELEBRATE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Some of the many hundreds of demonstrations planned to celebrate the Eighth Anniversary of Soviet Rule in the Union of Soviet Republics are as follows:

Boston, Mass.—At Scenic Auditorium, Berkeley & Tremont, Nov. 8, at 2:30 p. m. C. E. Ruthenberg.
Springfield, Mass.—Liberty Hall, 522 North St., Nov. 7, at 7:30 p. m. Alexander Trachtenberg.
Worcester, Mass.—Belmont Hall, 54 Belmont St., Nov. 7, at 7:00 p. m. C. E. Ruthenberg.

New York City—Central Opera House 245 E. 67 St., Nov. 8 in the evening. C. E. Ruthenberg, Molsaysy J. Olgin, Benjamin Gitlow.
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Grand Assembly Hall, 715 E. 10th St., Nov. 8 in the evening. C. E. Ruthenberg, Molsaysy J. Olgin, Benjamin Gitlow.

Newark, N. J.—Newark Labor Lyceum 784 S. 14 St., Nov. 6, at 8 p. m. Joseph Manly.

Jersey City, N. J.—Workers' Hall, 357 Grand St., Nov. 7, at 8 p. m. Local speaker.

Bayonne, N. J.—Workmen's Circle Hall, 725 W. 25 St., Nov. 8, at 8 p. m. Local speaker.

Paterson, N. J.—Carpenters' Hall, 5455 York St., Nov. 7, at 7:30 p. m. Local speaker.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Labor Lyceum, 6th & Brown Sts., Nov. 6, at 8 p. m. C. E. Ruthenberg, H. Tallantire.

Washington, D. C.—Playhouse, 1514 N. Street N. W., Nov. 8, at 8 p. m. Bertram D. Wolfe.

Baltimore, Md.—Birith Sholem Hall,

1012-14 E. Baltimore St., Nov. 10, at 8 p. m. Rose Pastor Stokes.

Rehoboth, M. V.—Labor Lyceum, 528 St. Paul St., Nov. 8, at 7:00 p. m. Ella Reeve Bloor.

Buffalo, N. Y.—Labor Lyceum, 378 21st Clinton St., Nov. 8, at 7:00 p. m. Ella Reeve Bloor.

Charlotte, N. C.—Templo Hall, 714 Charlotte St., Nov. 6, at 8 p. m. Rose Pastor Stokes.

Hastings, N. Y.—Swedish Fr. Hall, 3rd & Main St., Nov. 8, at 8 p. m. Rose Pastor Stokes.

Biinghamton, N. Y.—Lithaniam Hall, 271 Clinton St., Nov. 8, at 7 p. m. Al Schaap.

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller Street, Nov. 8, at 2 p. m. Charles J. Winters.

Cleveland, Ohio.—Moose Temple Hall, 1000 Walnut St., Nov. 8, at 2:30 p. m. Jay Lovestone.

Carleton, Ohio.—Canton Music Hall, 812 Tusc. St., E. Nov. 8 in the evening. Jay Lovestone.

Bellair, Ohio.—Bchemian Hall, 41st & Harrison Sts., Nov. 6, at 6 p. m. J. P. White.

Conneaut, Ohio.—Workers' Hall, Broad Street, Nov. 7, Local speaker.

Detroit, Mich.—Finnish Hall, 5969 Helmholz Ave., Nov. 7, at 8:00 p. m. J. Louis Endgall.

Gosh, Mich.—Mass Fire Hall, Nov. 8, Local speaker.

Chicago, Ill.—Temple Hall, Van Buren & Marshfield Aves., Nov. 7, at 8 p. m. M. Bedachi, E. R. Browder.

Waukegan, Ill.—Workers' Hall, 517 Helmholz Ave., Nov. 8, at 2 p. m. Max Schachtman.

East St. Louis, Ill.—Painters' Hall, Grand & Page Bldgs., Nov. 8, at 8 p. m. Local speaker.

Frankfort, Ky.—Majestic Theater, W. Main St., 306 Bk. Nov. 7, at 2 p. m. Manuel Gomez.

South Bend, Ind.—Hungarian Hall, 216 So. Wabash, Nov. 8, at 2 p. m. Lovett Fort-Whiteman.

Kenosha, Wis.—Schiltz Hall, N. Main St. & Milwaukee Ave., Nov. 6, at 8 p. m. Winters.

Pulman, Ill.—Strumula Hall, 107 St. & Indiana Ave., Nov. 8 at 6:30 p. m. Martin Abern, Nat Kaplan.

Missoula, Mont.—Moose Hall, 43 So. 4th Street, Nov. 8, at 8 p. m. James P. Cannon.

St. Paul, Minn.—German Place, 444 E. Pike Street, Nov. 8, at 2:00 p. m. James P. Cannon.

Duluth, Minn.—Workers' Hall, 19 Ave. W. and 1st St., Nov. 8, at 8 p. m. Ronn, Anzerro.

San Francisco, Calif.—California Hall, Polk & Turk St., Nov. 6, at 8 p. m. Tom Lewis.

Berkeley, Calif.—Finnish Hall, 1819—18th Street, Nov. 8, Local speaker.

Hartford, Conn.—Labor Educational Alliance, 287 Windsor Ave., Nov. 6, at 8 p. m. Bertram D. Wolfe, and J. O. Bental.

Waubury, Conn.—Garden Hall, East Main Street, Nov. 1st, at 2:30 p. m. Charles Krumbin.

PITTSBURGH DISTRICT PROCEEDS TO REORGANIZE PARTY INTO NUCLEI

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Oct. 30.—The District Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of District 5 at its last meeting decided to proceed with the reorganization of the party without delay. A special reorganization committee was appointed and the reorganization in the various cities will proceed under the direct supervision of this reorganization committee.

Pittsburgh was the starting point. A membership meeting was held which was attended by at least 75 per cent of the membership. After the district organizer outlined a detailed plan for the reorganization the registration committee was appointed and the meeting and filled out the registration registration blanks. The Finnish comrades again were well represented but the South Side branch was in the lead. Committees were appointed both in Pittsburgh and in McKeesport to secure the registration of those members who failed to be present at the membership meetings.

The registration in McKeesport shows that practically all members will be organized into shop nuclei and there will be no need for any street nuclei.

Work Continues.

It is worth noting that while the registration is being taken and the reorganization is taking place the party work is not being hindered in any way. On the contrary, the organization shows signs of new life everywhere in the district.

owned and controlled by the steel magnates. Here, too, about 75 per cent of the membership attended the meeting and filled out the registration registration blanks. The Finnish comrades again were well represented but the South Side branch was in the lead. Committees were appointed both in Pittsburgh and in McKeesport to secure the registration of those members who failed to be present at the membership meetings.

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COMMUNIST SCHOOL IN LOS ANGELES IN FULL SWING

By WM. SCHNEIDERMAN

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 30.—The school conducted by the league and the party is one of the first steps we are taking toward Bolshevization. The four classes, conducted every Sunday afternoon, are now in their third week, and we have between 20 and 30 comrades registered and substantially participating, also many outsiders have been attending the classes and taking advantage of the educational opportunities offered.

The class include the History of the Labor Movement, Public Speaking, Marxian Economics, and History of the Three Internationals. The members are beginning to realize that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," and not only are the classes well-attended, but the members are taking an active part in the discussion. So far the lure of pleasure has not yet been able to diminish the attendance, and altho the courses will only run for six weeks and thus will not be able to go thoroughly into the subjects discussed, they will lay the ground work for the correct theoretical background necessary for all Communists

PITTSBURGH FINNISH COMRADES ADOPT GOOD SYSTEM TO ASSIST PARTY ORGAN, THE DAILY WORKER

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Oct. 30.—At the last meeting of the Pittsburgh Finnish branch of the Workers' Party, considerable attention was given to the needs of THE DAILY WORKER. Upon the recommendation of the branch executive committee the following proposition was adopted: To rush immediately to THE DAILY WORKER \$30 and to set aside another \$30 to be spent to press subscriptions.

Several names of workers were submitted by the comrades to whom THE DAILY WORKER should be sent for a certain period of time free of charge. The branch will pay THE DAILY WORKER for these "free subscriptions." In this way THE DAILY WORKER will be benefited financially and will increase its circulation at the same time.

Other branches of the party should follow the example set by the Finnish branch of Pittsburgh.