

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

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## British Labor Breaks With Imperialism

By EARL R. BROWDER.

THE British Trade Union Congress, meeting at Scarborough, adopted a resolution pledging opposition to British imperialism and favoring the right of self-determination for all peoples within the empire even to the point of complete separation.

When the cables brot the above news last Saturday, few people realized at first glance that this is probably the greatest political event since the Russian revolution.

British imperialism is a central pillar of the capitalist system of the world.

The British labor movement has hitherto been a central pillar of the empire.

When the MacDonald "labor government" was in office it continued all the traditional policies of imperialism, threatening, jailing and killing the Hindus, exploiting and humiliating the Chinese, bombing the natives of Iraq, etc. It was so imperialistic that every imperialist move of the Baldwin government since then has been specifically "justified" by reference to labor party precedent.

And now, almost without warning, this fundamental support of imperialism is withdrawn by the Trade Union Congress, by the overwhelming vote of 3,082,000 to 79,000.

### A Repudiation of MacDonaldism.

THIS is much more than a repudiation of Ramsay MacDonald. It is much more than a rejection of J. H. Thomas, et al. It is a departure from, a distinct rupture with, MacDonaldism—the whole theory and practice of the Second International, of the "Empire Socialists," of the reformists and traitors of the proletariat of all lands.

Well may the bourgeois press scream in alarm. "British organized labor has surrendered to Bolshevism," is the judgment of the most conservative circles in England, according to a wireless dispatch to the New York Times from London.

The British bourgeoisie is astounded. It weeps copious tears, alternating with stormy threats, while it points out that "the program laid down by the Scarborough Trade Union Congress is diametrically opposed to the official program of the British labor party."

"Moscow won the battle of Scarborough; will she win the battle of Liverpool?" queries the New York Times correspondent, calling attention to the October conference of the labor party at Liverpool.

This is the key to the current events of the next few weeks. MacDonald, fresh from his long visit with the king at Balmoral castle, is going to make a last desperate struggle for king and empire at Liverpool, with the able assistance of the entire capitalist press.

The London Morning Post charges the congress with "having bowed so slavishly to Moscow as even to allow Zinoviev to write the resolution." No doubt Zinoviev has written many things of that nature, but the formula against which the Morning Post rages—"self-determination even to the point of separation,"—is that of Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. The British trades unions, in repudiating MacDonaldism, are adopting Leninism.

### The Revolutionary Forces.

WHAT has brot about this tremendous change? Surely not just the able propaganda of Harry Pollitt, Tom Mann, and the Minority Movement, effective as that has been. The explanation is that the British empire is no longer able to bribe and corrupt the workers by giving sections of them a share in the booty. Instead, the labor movement has wit-

nessed constantly growing unemployment and misery, wage-cuts and union-smashing campaigns—all directly traceable to the effects of imperialism.

A. B. Swales, chairman of the Trade Union Congress, expressed this in an article written before the congress, in Trade Union Unity (September issue). He said:

"The British empire, by its very nature, makes it possible for the employers to divide up the workers and other toilers such as the small peasantry, into different camps. Hence, up till now, it has been an easy game to the employers to use one section of the workers, particularly the dependencies in crown colonies, against the workers of the mother country, and vice versa, so that on the one hand it was the business of the colonial slaves to work below any possible standard, and on the other hand it was the business of the workers in uniform to fight all the enslaved nations struggling for their freedom.

"The main business of this conference should be to put an end to this, and to bring together the workers and the oppressed against their common oppressors.

"It is a great tragedy that the enslaved nations which are fighting for their freedom look upon the British empire as a whole, and consider all of us are responsible for their sufferings. But we must clear ourselves of this responsibility. This conference must declare openly and clearly that the working classes of our country are in no way responsible for the crimes committed by our ruling class."

The economic forces undermining the empire are dealt with by A. A. Purcell, who is the chairman of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam). Here are a few sentences from his article, "Against Imperialism—Trade Union Unity."

"What actually has the empire meant and what does it mean to the workers? What does all the wealth of the Indies mean to the slum-dwelling workers of the East End?"

"Take Lancashire . . . For generations the most hideous wage-slavery has existed there . . . Those Lancashire workers have piled up millions for the mill owners. What for? So that the selfsame owners can establish mills in Bombay, Calcutta, and Cawnpore, in Shanghai, in Egypt, to carry on the same process of exploitation with the workers in those places, denying by that very act the workers of Lancashire the means of

obtaining a livelihood.

"Right well and truly has it been said that the British empire is one huge slave plantation of the British ruling class."

And then listen to John Bromley, M. P., general secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen:

"The British empire, which may by its expansion in the past have made work for the workers of this country, is now turning in on itself, feeding on its own center, by virtue of the product of sweated goods made by slave labor, underselling the products of the British worker, and throwing him into unemployment by the utilization of the very capital which he created."

### The Fascist Peril.

AND what is the reaction of the bourgeoisie to these developments? It is in the direction of white terror and fascism.

In the London Daily Herald of Sept. 2, in the column next to the announcement that the unemployed registered for August was 1,343,700 or an increase of 194,622 over a year ago, there is an exposure of a secret army order, creating a new police force to be controlled by the army.

An announcement was issued the same week that the National Citizens Union is enrolling "volunteers" to "maintain national services in emergency."

The functions of the newly-created war department constabulary are exposed in one of its regulations, which reads:

"No member of the war department constabulary may also be or remain a member of any trade or similar union, association, or society, other than any association formed within the constabulary in accordance with rules approved by the competent authority."

Then, in addition to many organizations on the lines of the Citizens' Union and supplementary armed forces of the state, the fascist movement is growing at a great pace. The labor movement is slowly awakening to its menace. Thus is to be found in the Labor Weekly of Lansbury, a pronounced pacifist, the following letter:

"Sir, As one in daily touch with 'business men,' I am compelled to spend my working hours in an atmosphere of class hatred, and the reality of the danger of fascism is constantly being brot home to me. There are two mistakes which many socialists make in regard to this movement: that it will not have the sup-

port of respectable, law-abiding members of the commercial classes, and that it is aimed only at the Communists. These ideas are soothing to the 'constitutional' socialists, but they have no foundation in reality. My business friends and acquaintances are heart and soul with the fascists, and will support them in the most drastic and violent action against the 'Reds.' They will stop at nothing: no scruples of justice, humanity or fair play assail them when their class consciousness is roused. Any treatment of a 'revolutionist' is justifiable; he is beyond the pale. And, unfortunately for our labor 'moderates,' they class as revolutionary any genuine leader of the working class or any genuine action in defense of that class. The tragedy is that many of these business men are lovable and upright personalities in private life, charitable and generous, according to their lights, and soft-hearted enuf to the sufferings of the poor when a concrete individual case comes to their notice.

"The plain lesson of my experiences is that we shall have to reckon with a really serious fascist movement some day—probably at the next big strike, if not before. I would therefore plead earnestly with all who have the labor cause at heart that they prepare to meet this danger while they have still time. Force must be met by force. Fascism is purely and simply a military organization, and is not amenable to argument. It can only be successfully countered by a similar organization on the other side. With luck, we shall have nine months to perfect our arrangements, so there is no time to be lost. The thing must be properly organized on a national basis, and I would propose that the T. U. C. General Council take up immediately the creation of a labor defense corps, centrally controlled with local headquarters under each trades council. The fascist organization is a splendid example for them to follow as regards details. The immediate objects of our defense corps would be:

- (1) Maintaining order at all working class public meetings.
  - (2) Providing a permanent body-guard for all labor leaders threatened by the attentions of the B. F.'s.
  - (3) Protecting strike pickets from fascist violence.
- "I trust that other readers will be able to make valuable suggestions to supplement and improve this scheme."

### The Big Show-Down.

TO what point are all these forces leading in Great Britain?

Without attempting a profound analysis at this moment, it is possible to draw a few conclusions:

1. The British proletariat has broken loose from the moorings of "class collaboration" and nothing, not even MacDonald & Co, can restore its former conservatism.
2. It is definitely absorbing and expressing as its own the fundamentals of Leninism.
3. The British bourgeoisie is preparing for a revolutionary upheaval and is mobilizing armed forces to repress it, while at the same time trying to pacify the enraged workers.
4. The economic position of the empire makes it almost impossible that "concessions" can be made before next May 1st, which will avoid a decisive struggle.
5. It is quite probable that the big show-down will begin next May Day (appropriate time!) when the present agreement with the miners will expire.

**YOUNG MINERS! FIGHT IN FRONT RANKS AGAINST THE ANTHRACITE OPERATORS!**  
**YOUNG WORKERS! SUPPORT THE ANTHRACITE MINERS IN THEIR STRIKE!**

MANIFESTO OF THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

IN Pennsylvania 150,000 anthracite miners are on strike against the attempts of the coal barons to force lower wages and worse working conditions upon them. Altho profits for the anthracite operators have been greater than ever before during the past ten years, conditions for the miners have been growing continuously worse. Despite the many great struggles carried on by the United Mine Workers, wages have always lagged behind the rising cost of living during this period.

Already living under such conditions, the men who do the work in the anthracite cannot accept any wage cuts and at the

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# British Imperialism and the Soviet Union

By E. H. BROWN.

THE 1914-1918 European war, and political consequences thereof, left three great contending forces for world supremacy. First, there was Great Britain, a tremendous factor yet, despite a gradual weakening since pre-war days. Secondly, the U. S. A., the greatest imperialist rival of Britain and which, after the war, is perhaps the most powerful of all imperialist powers. And last but not least, and deeply feared by both America and Britain, is the U. S. S. R.

There are two great struggles taking place before our eyes—the fight for world supremacy between Great Britain and America and the fight for world supremacy between these countries and the Soviet Union. It is of the struggle between Britain and the Soviet Union I wish to treat in this article.

GREAT BRITAIN is the center of a world empire—a center of vast colonial exploitation. British imperialism is the forerunner of all other imperialisms. Whilst half the present capitalist world was still sleeping in its feudal bed, British capitalism was rapidly at work annexing for its own sole use vast areas containing almost unlimited sources of raw materials and cheap labor power. At the outbreak of the world war in 1914, she had largely developed these areas, and a most formidable world imperialist force was the result.

The Soviet Union is also a world center. Not for colonial exploitation and oppression, but for those forces which fight against world imperialism. It is also a growing factor in the world economic battle. In both these activities economic and political it is brot into conflict with British imperialism. We have not far to seek to find expression of this conflict and which, on examination reveals that it is a life and death struggle.

TAKE first of all the period immediately after the Russian revolution—the intervention period. During the days when the revolution was menaced by successive military counter-revolutionary attacks, we find that the British government made direct attacks and supported Kolchak, Denkin and Wrangel to the extent of 100 million pounds of ready money. In addition all the surplus stores from the European battle-front was handed over to these brigands. That was deemed to be a fair price to keep the keys of the Kyber Pass out of the hands of a Communist government. Quite early the British bourgeoisie anticipated what would be the result if the peasant masses near the northern frontier of India, saw the contrast between Soviet policy to the peasants and the policy of British imperialism.

Then later we see the conflict expressing itself in the refusal of the British bourgeoisie to agree to the opening of normal trade relations with Russia.

**Baldwin, Chamberlain Take a Hand.**  
EVER since the Baldwin administration in Britain assumed executive power the keynote of its foreign policy has been to create a bloc of western and central European states against the U. S. S. R.

The reason for this is not far to seek. British imperialism, weakened by the tremendous material loss during the European war; faced with more serious competition and loss of markets in all parts of the world; burdened by an over capitalized and worn-out industrial system at home; is reeling under an economic crisis never before equalled in its intensity and fraught with such grave dangers of a complete break-up of the whole system.

In order to wage successful economic warfare against its formidable world competitors, and to save its privileges and profits at the same time, the British capitalist class must subject the masses of workers and peasants; both at home and in the colonies, to an ever greater measure of exploitation. These workers and peasants reply with increasing organization and vigor in fighting against this exploitation. The fight takes many forms:

strikes, boycotts, national independence campaigns, and even open armed struggle.

In these fights the toiling masses of the British empire find common ground with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. The British bourgeoisie know this quite well and clearly realize that the ever advancing economic and political prestige of the U. S. S. R. is a direct menace to its own future.

THEREFORE, the recent campaign against the U. S. S. R. was launched. The initial steps were taken at the moment when MacDonald—under pressure from the masses—was negotiating a trade treaty with the Soviet Union. His weak minority government, which had been used to ratify the Dawes plan was swept from office and prevented from obtaining a majority at the polls by the issue of the infamous forged letter purporting to come from Zinoviev. With this the British yellow press received its cue. It followed the above-mentioned forged letter stunt with fearful slanders against Russia at the time of the Estonian rising. Then came a greater volume of lies and forgeries following the lamentable Sofia explosion. Until right up to the present moment, this press attack has continued. For sheer unmitigated lying it has far surpassed, even the anti-German press campaign of 1914-1918—a campaign dictated then by the exigencies of the war period. The right wing labor and trade union press has ably assisted its bourgeois colleagues.

But underneath this open press hostility there has been governmental action. Refusal to appoint an ambassador to Moscow, curtailment of visas to trade representatives, refusal to extend the trade facilities act to Russia, the financial blockade; all these were preparatory steps to the complete break of diplomatic relations at the opportune moment.

**The Campaign Widespread and Serious.**

AND so the offensive continued with ever more ominous actions. In-

trigues for an anti-Soviet bloc—pouring of munitions into Estonia—British fleet in the Baltic, etc., all show the serious end which the British cabinet had in mind.

Then it next became necessary to test the effect of all these efforts upon the other western European capitalist states and also to ascertain what would be the effect of a break of diplomatic relations with Russia, upon the "leaders" of the British workers and upon the British working class generally.

China afforded a pretext. Once again it was discovered that "Bolshevik plots" were at the root of the trouble in China. Britain was represented as a civilizing force with great interests in China all of which was threatened by the influence of Zinoviev. A Soviet trade representative in China was arrested to give "local color" to the story. Chicherin (the Soviet minister for foreign affairs) then wrote drawing attention to the seriousness of the step contemplated by the British government and the Baldwin cabinet met to consider the next and final move.

IN the British conservative government—the executive officers of British imperialist policy—one can distinctly detect two tendencies. The first is the arrogant sword rattling tendency of the Curzon school which is led by Birkenhead. The second is the more subtle and realistic school which is under the domination of Baldwin and Chamberlain.

Baldwin and Chamberlain would like to declare war on Russia but they are restrained by a knowledge of the internal situation at home.

Not being strong enuf themselves to wage this warfare they pursue a policy of trying to persuade other countries to undertake the task. This is in line with traditional British foreign policy.

The Birkenhead group of die-hards—the future fascist leaders—saw their opportunity. They tried hard to drive the British government to a complete diplomatic rupture with the U.

S. S. R. It suited the policy of the Baldwin-Chamberlain group to give them plenty of rope. Indeed, they went so far as to declare at one time that Birkenhead was voicing the policy of the British government.

If that is so, why was the policy of Birkenhead not carried to its logical conclusion? Especially when MacDonald, Thomas, Clynes and Co., had shown they would support this policy. First, because the Soviet government showed no weakness. It quite clearly knew its own strength and the strength (or weakness) of its opponents, and second, because the British workers once again made it quite clear that they would resolutely resist any intervention against the Soviets. Again, the rest of the European states showed openly that they were not prepared to accept suicide to further the interests of British imperialism.

This explains the "climb down" of Chamberlain. The British imperialists once again—as in Chinese affairs recently—recognized its impotency and weakness.

BUT sufficient has been written to convince readers that whilst the attempt has failed this time no effort will be spared to create the necessary opportunity for striking a blow at Russia. It seems certain that the British imperialists are out for open war if at all possible.

Up to now the British workers have consistently demonstrated their friendliness to the Soviet Union. But in the future the "demonstrative friendliness" of the past will not be enough.

We shall have to show to the British imperialists that we learned the lesson of the Russian revolution. In 1917 the workers and peasants changed an imperialist war into a victorious social upheaval. Our watchword from now on must be: "When British imperialism declares war on the Soviet Union it signs its own death warrant and the British and colonial workers must play the part of the hangmen."

## Morocco, the Key to the Mediterranean

The war in Morocco has entered on its critical stage. The French government of the left bloc is exerting all its forces in order to avoid a military collapse and to bring to an end the "colonial expedition" against the Riff people; an "expedition" which, in an unexpected manner, has become converted into a "great war," as the president of the French Republic, Painlevé, was compelled to admit after his return from his visit to the Moroccan front.

In the course of the month of July the French government resorted to a series of exceptional measures for the purpose of further carrying on the war. On the 10th of July the French chamber of deputies, after passionate debates, granted by 411 votes against 29 with 150 abstentions, 183 million francs for war operations. On July the 12th, after long negotiations in Madrid, an understanding was arrived at with regard to Franco-Spanish co-operation in Morocco and as to joint action against the Riff people. At the same time, there is taking place a change of command in the French army in Morocco, according to which Marshall Liauton, the former commander-in-chief, only retains the general political leadership, while Nolin, the representative of the French war office, is entrusted with the military leadership. In addition to this, Marshall Petain, this hero of the French national bloc, who distinguished himself during the imperialist war by his defense of Verdun, has been sent to Morocco in the capacity of an extraordinary commission for war, "in order to organize victory." During the last few days great reinforcements, the strength of which is being kept secret by the French military staff, have been dispatched to Morocco. A plan of simultaneous action against the Riff troops from the Spanish and French zones has been discussed.

In order to prepare the ground for

this action, rumors have been put in circulation according to which France and Spain have made peace offers which, it is alleged, have been rejected by Abd-el-Krim. The patriotism of the French soldiers is being stirred up by their being told that the Riff people are relying upon German and Bolshevik support. The French forces are going over to the offensive and reckon upon ending operations before the autumn rains set in, which will render all military action impossible.

In spite of the reasoning tone of the government communications, the French newspapers admit those great difficulties which the French military forces will have to overcome in view of the fierce resistance of the Riff troops and the revolts of the Kabyl tribes in the rear of the French. The attitude of those powers which, while at present remaining neutral, are interested in the war, is causing even greater uneasiness in the French press. England, which is also supported by Italy, is raising the question of the necessity of a new international conference to solve the fate of Morocco, basing its attitude on the fact that the Moroccan question has acquired international importance in the post-war period.

The successful struggle of the Riff troops for independence has entirely changed the relations of forces in the northwestern corner of Africa, where the interests of those powers who are fighting for hegemony in the Mediterranean cross each other. France viewed with pleasure the gradual ousting of Spain from the northern zone during the last four years, and reckoned that it would be able to come forward as claimant to the "Spanish heritage." In this, French diplomacy appeals to Point 4 of the Anglo-French secret treaty of 1904 regarding Egypt and Morocco, which provides that in the event of Spain not fulfilling the obligations laid upon it

in the "Spanish zone" in Morocco, the original Anglo-French agreement over Morocco comes into force. This agreement is interpreted by the French in the sense that if Spain loses control over the zone allotted to it, or should the Spanish troops evacuate this zone, the control of this zone passes automatically to France, which can then unite the whole of Morocco under its rule.

The French plans diametrically oppose the interests of England, as the northern coast of Morocco owing to its geographical position is of great importance in the world scheme of the defense of the British empire. England's position as a great power in the Mediterranean, apart from the naval bases at Malta and Cyprus, is based in the first place upon the control of the Suez Canal and the Straits of Gibraltar. The latest "howitzers" are easily able to bombard Gibraltar from the Spanish coast, and the question of its defense is beginning to encounter great difficulties. The commission consisting of English war specialists recently sent to Gibraltar has reported that the prospects of organizing the air defenses of Gibraltar are likewise exceedingly poor, as there exist no suitable landing places.

The British admiralty has therefore of late observed with uneasiness that the English strategical positions in the most vital parts of the Mediterranean have been growing weak. Therefore England cannot reconcile itself to the idea that the French flag is perhaps to be hoisted on the southern shore of the Straits of Gibraltar, which for England would mean a far greater danger than the flag of weak Spain. The military interests of England are compelling it to active intervention in the Moroccan question for the purpose of consolidating the English influence on the southern coast, on the coast district of the Spanish Moroccan zone. The military collapse of Spain suited English interests, which explains the somewhat benevolent attitude of the English government towards the Riff people.

# Tammany's Triumph in New York

By H. M. WICKS

THE outcome of the primary elections of September 15 establishes the undisputed control of Tammany Hall over the democratic party of New York. If one views the conflict as one between personalities it means that the ignorant shyster, Hylan, has been defeated by the corporation hireling State Senator James J. Walker, whose record reeks with infamy as lawyer for dispensers of rotten meat—the packing house trust. Mentally Walker and Hylan are equals; both utterly devoid of brains or ability, hence both ideal figurheads for political machines. From another point of view the outcome appears as the triumph of the political machine that is known throughout the world and the synonym of the most loathsome political venality known to mankind. And the daily press and those who read its editorials view the outcome as the personal triumph of Governor Al. Smith and the humiliating defeat of William Randolph Hearst who is Hylan's sponsor.

Unquestionably it is Tammany's victory. A typical triumph, wrought thru the mobilization of its ward-healers, criminal hangers-on, pick-pockets, dope peddlers, proprietors of houses of assignation, pimps, priests, gangsters, bootleggers, bishops, labor fakers, public and private whores—with Governor Al. Smith as spokesman for them all.

But behind this menagerie assembled at the Fourteenth street Wigwam stands the towering shadow of the House of Morgan.

The real contest was between the petty bourgeois Hearst-Hylan combination within the democratic party and the banking combine. The mayor of New York and his sponsor, Hearst, imagined they could challenge the House of Morgan—or bluff Tammany into acceptance of Hylan for another term. Once before a representative of the petty bourgeoisie assailed Tammany after the Wigwam became the private property of Morgan. That person, now almost forgotten, was Sulzer, governor of the state, who was impeached in 1913 by a Tammany controlled state senate and legislature.

## Issues Forgotten

JUST as Sulzer tried to wage a struggle against Tammany on the clean government plea, Hylan raised the issue of the 5-cent fare on the transportation lines of New York. But Tammany never fights on issues. It did not raise any issues when it boosted Hylan into the mayor's quarters at city hall, and it required none to eliminate him. The mayor of New York has never been considered a legitimate off-spring of Tammany, but he was the best timber available at the time.

Hylan is the bastardized offspring of William Randolph Hearst and Tammany. In 1917 the Wigwam was confronted the task of defeating a republican administration that was then in office. John Purroy Mitchell was republican mayor, but was defeated in the primaries by one Bennett. It is generally conceded that the defeat of Mitchell at the republican primaries was engineered by Tammany who feared a conflict with Mitchell. Tammany had no outstanding candidate, but Hearst had long been grooming Hylan. At a strategic moment Hearst yanked Hylan out of obscurity and impose him upon Tammany as the price of a united party. The fact that Hylan was an intellectual zero did not dismay Tammany and Hearst. Expert publicity men write his speeches and Hylan intoned them before audiences. The battery of Hearst papers proclaimed the candidate a man of unsurpassed ability and exemplary virtue. The result was an astounding victory.

After the victory Hylan remained Hearst's man, and only secondarily and as a matter of expediency the agent of Tammany.

Within the democratic party Hearst is the defender of the thoroly rotten petty bourgeoisie of the Eastern section of the United States—small fry industrialists, department store owners, petty shopkeepers and a strata of professionals. Paradoxical as it may seem, Hearst, who is a multi-

millionaire with vast holdings in Mexico in addition to his immense newspaper properties, is unquestionably the spokesman for and political leader of this section of the democratic party in the East. On the other hand Tammany Hall is the political machine thru which the House of Morgan has controlled the democratic party since 1910. The deep-going conflict of interests between the two economic groups in the democratic party was bound to express itself in open warfare sooner or later. In 1921 when Hylan ran for reelection the Wigwam was forced reluctantly to endorse him because of the political situation in the state of New York, which was at that time controlled by the republican party. Again the hall stood for the Hearst-Hylan combination for the sake of party unity.

## Smith and Hylan in the Arena

THE successful campaign of 1922 which elected Al. Smith as governor and his re-election in 1924 against the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt Jr. on the republican ticket, made Tammany Hall arrogant. Feeling itself secure it determined to eliminate Hearst and Hylan, inasmuch as this combination had embarrassed the Wall Street holders of stock in the rapid transit system. Finance capital, in control of Tammany Hall, felt that it was not receiving sufficient political advantages to enable it to get the full benefit of its investments in public utilities in the city of New York. In addition to the purely local situation, the continuation of the Hearst-Hylan control of the city had an unhealthy effect upon the national welfare of the party, as was clearly revealed during the Madison Square convention of the democratic party last year when Hearst fought against the nomination for president of the United States, of the attorney for the House of Morgan John W. Davis.

After openly breaking with Hylan and opposing his candidacy with that of State Senator James J. Walker, Tammany discovered that the Hearst-Hylan group was capable of waging a fierce struggle to maintain power. Seven years of control had resulted in creating a powerful machine loyal to Hylan. Since Walker was unknown it became necessary for Tammany to call into the fray Governor Al. Smith, who entered the arena like a gladiator, full armoured with the language of the gutter which he handles with admirable abandon. His opening salute, challenging Hylan to the fray was: "Watch my stuff, I'll throw Mayor Hylan into the ashecan so quickly he won't know what struck him."

## Refined Political Discussion

WITH that elegance of diction so peculiar to him, Al. Smith, proceeded to his task. His first javelin carried the intimation that Mayor Hylan was in sympathy with, if not actually a member of, the ku klux klan. That was too much for Hylan, so Hearst, from his California ranch, fired a broadside against Smith. The governor came back with a long tirade wherein he tried, in his own refined way, to convey the idea that he really hadn't said the Mayor was a kluxer, but that he knows that Hylan attended a conference with kluxers during the famous nominating convention of the democratic party last year. Mention of that convention was all that Hearst desired. It gave him the opportunity he had long awaited to assail the dominant wing of the democratic party which has of late treated its petty bourgeois wing in the East with almost the same contempt that it accorded the late Bryan who led the petty bourgeois elements in the Middle West.

In the opening sentence of his reply Hearst paid his respects to Smith:

"The distinguished governor of the great state of New York has taken three days laboriously to prepare a vulgar tirade that any resident of Billingsgate or any occupant of the alcoholic ward at Bellevue could have written in fifteen minutes in quite the same style, but with more evidence of education and intelligence. The Wall Street friends of Governor Smith have enabled him to remove his domicile and his refined person

from the neighborhood of the Bowery but he still reverts in the manner of thot and expression to the familiar localities of Five Points and Hell's Kitchen, if this may be said without undue offense to these localities."

After this adequate, concise and yet comprehensive description of the Tammanyite governor of New York, Mr. Hearst then cites his petty bourgeois list of grievances against the late national convention of the democratic party. First he asserts that Smith and McAdoo, after the long struggle at the national convention, met at a room in the Ritz Hotel, which Hearst intimates was paid for by the House of Morgan, and there agreed upon John W. Davis as the presidential candidate. Secondly he raises the question of Governor Smith having been put into the national convention in order to prevent the nomination of a representative of the liberal (petty bourgeois) wing of the party and eventually throw the nomination to Morgan's lackey.

With the customary hypocrisy of the intellectual leaders of the middle class Hearst concludes his indictment of Smith by asserting that he cannot support such a party "while a brazen instrument of the traction interests sits in the governor's chair and claims to be the democratic leader of the state."

Hearst refrained, of course, from comparing the mental capacity of Hylan with that of Smith. The stories of the lives of these two political pawns are not dissimilar—the difference is that one of them is the pliant tool of the House of Morgan, while the other serves Hearst, the political spokesman in the East of the mercenary middle class that is always for sale to the highest bidder.

Smith closed the debate by crawling even lower in the gutter in order to appeal to his supporters, most of whom are also dominated by the ultramontane machine directed by the agents of the Pope of Rome, and whose training enables them to appreciate the governor's style of political argument. Speaking of Hylan's recent visit to Hearst's California ranch, the governor said: "While he (Hearst) and the mayor (Hylan) were out brushing flies off the cows grazing on the thousand hills, they were both engaged in shipping the bull back to New York."

## Smith Accepts Bribes

THO not a candidate for office in this election, the role that Tammany imposed upon Governor Smith has revealed him as one of the lowest types of political hireling. Most politicians receive their pay from the corporations they serve in indirect ways, but the governor of New York receives some of his direct. He maintains an extravagant suite at the Biltmore Hotel, but does not pay one penny rent. The hotel is owned by the Vanderbilt family, the New York Central railroad and Armour & Co. of the meat trust.

Under the domination of Hearst, Mayor Hylan, during his seven years in office, has succeeded in building up a rival machine to Tammany. He has his own political favorites in all the various boroughs who fatten at the trough of political spoils. The regular Tammanyites had been left out in the cold and had been enduring lean years since the second inaugural of Hylan. Hence the fight in the various boroughs was a veritable guerrilla warfare between the ward-heeling gangsters in both groups.

## Labor Fakirs in Scramble

MOST of the reactionary labor leaders in the city and state are part and parcel of the Tammany machine. Thru this political machine the officialdom of labor allies itself directly with the House of Morgan. These officials of labor are tolerated in the ranks not because of the votes they can deliver. It is generally known that they can deliver nothing in the form of voting cattle. But since they exert influence in the labor unions they can prevent the organization of the public utility employees and other slaves in industries where Morgan has huge investments. Being politically allied with the direct agents of

the Interborough and B. M. T. stockholders there is no possibility of the New York City labor officialdom taking drastic steps to injure the profits of these concerns by aiding in creating labor unions.

Among the galaxy of labor lieutenants who supported Tammany's figurehead—Jimmy Walker—were James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor and Peter J. Brady, that garrulous blaterskite who heads the Federation Bank. Lined up with them was the whole crew of the most unspeakable traitors to the working class in control of the labor movement of the city who will sink to any depth for pay.

## Communists Only Defend Workers Interests

AGAINST the powerful machinery of Tammany Hall there is but one force that really defends the political interests of the vast masses of workers in the city and that is the Workers (Communist) Party and its candidate for mayor, Benjamin Gitlow. That does not mean that there are no other candidates in the field. There is the republican party, with the millionaire scab herder, Frank D. Waterman, manufacturer of fountain pens that bear his name. Possibly Hylan, at the direction of Hearst, may launch a third ticket. Then there is the moribund socialist party, with the pulpit-pounder, the Rev. Norman Thomas, talking altruism to the workers and making vague suggestions about subway management and building in New York.

But the Communists alone come out openly in defense of the elementary interests of the wage workers. It is only the Communists who propose to use the city government as a bludgeon against the rapacity of the stockholders of public utilities. It is only the Communists who will stifle the infamous conspiracy between the labor leaders and Tammany Hall to prevent the organization of the thousands of interborough slaves in the subways, elevated and on the surface lines of Greater New York.

Furthermore the Communists utilize this campaign to expose to the working class of this city the fact that the socialists and labor leaders will not enter into a united political struggle for the elementary demands of the workers by endorsing a united labor ticket against both old parties and their henchmen.

With the hand-picked Tammanyite and defender of the putrid meat trust on the democratic ticket; with Waterman on the republican ticket, and the insipid Thomas on the socialist ticket, the Communist have an opportunity to wage a brilliant struggle against the combination and to demonstrate to the intelligent strata of workers the fact that only a revolutionary party of labor can defend their interests.

## 1905 Rebels Plan Reunion Celebration at 20th Anniversary

A celebration in memory of the 20th anniversary of the Russian revolution of 1905 is being planned in Chicago by old rebels of the 1905 revolution.

The revolution of that year awakened the masses, it shook the throne of the czar, but it was not strong enuf to overthrow czarism and capitalism. As a result of that, a terrible massacre broke out, killing thousands of workers. Many were exiled to Siberia; some were more fortunate and fled to other countries.

A conference of the old rebels who are living in Chicago is being called to organize a monster celebration for the occasion. Old rebels are requested to send their names and addresses to the Chicago office of the Novy Mir, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

## Poor Farmers Not Wanted

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18.—(FP)—Poor men need not apply for land on government irrigation projects in the west. Secretary Work has issued new regulations that call for \$2,000 minimum capital or its equivalent, and two years of practical experience on the part of the would-be farmer.

# Proposed Constitution of the

## The American Section of the Communist International.

By C. E. RUTHENBERG, General Secretary, Workers Party.

THE new constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party which follows contains two new developments of the party which are of the utmost importance.

The first of these is contained in the fact that the party declares itself the American Section of the Communist International.

The Communist Party of America, organized in 1919, proudly declared itself the "American Section of the Communist International," but the Workers Party, up to the last convention could only declare its fraternal affiliation and acceptance of the leadership of the Communist International. With the adoption of the constitution which follows our party becomes openly "the American Section of the Communist International," and takes its rightful place with the other Communist parties of the world as an organic part of the Communist International.

THE party still retains the name Workers Party, but includes in it the word "Communist" preparatory to the change which will undoubtedly be made by the next convention of the party to complete the transition and have the party adopt its rightful name, "The Communist Party of America, American Section of the Communist International."

While unheralded in the reports of the convention this change marks an important stride forward and should inspire new pride in the party in the heart of every member of our party.

The second point of importance is that this new constitution outlines the form and structure of the party as it will appear after the reorganization of the party. Because of this fact it should be carefully studied by every member of the party.

THE party member who has a clear picture in his mind of the new structure of the party will be able to more readily fit himself into that structure. He will be able to aid in the work of re-organization, which is one of the most vital tasks before the party.

The party described in the constitution which follows is not an organization hanging in the air or existing for itself. The form of organization will root the party deep in the masses of workers. Through its nuclei in the factories, mines, mills, stores and wherever the members are employed it organizes itself where the workers are. Through its fractions in the trade unions, co-operatives, benefit societies, etc., it reaches to penetrate other groups of workers with revolutionary influence.

THE party organized, as described in this constitution, will be a much more powerful organization than the party we have, even though the party does not add a single new member. But the reorganization experience as shown in other countries will mean the rapid growth of our party. It will be a party capable of influencing a greater number of workers and of quicker action.

Every member must know this organization. Every member must study it and come to his party branch prepared to take intelligent action to quickly transform the organization of our party to that of a Bolshevik Party.

### Article 1. Name of the Party.

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA, the American section of the Communist International.

### Article 2. Emblem.

Section 1. The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top: "WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA" and underneath "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE".

### Article 3. Membership.

Section 1. Every person who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party, who becomes a member of a basic sub-organization of the Party, who is active in this organization, who subordinates himself to all the decisions of the Comintern and of the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues may be a member of the Party.

Section 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

At the time of being accepted as a member of the Party this pledge shall be read to the applicant who shall indicate his endorsement of same.

Section 3. New members must join a shop nucleus or a street nucleus (international branch) of the Party and the application must be accepted by a vote of the membership of the unit to which application is made and the acceptance ratified by the leading committee of the territorial division of the Party in which membership is held.

Section 4. Members who change their place of work, or in case they are members of an international branch, their place of residence, must secure a transfer card from the Party unit in which they have held membership and present this card to the unit to which they transfer. A duplicate of the transfer card given the member shall be sent to the leading committee of the territorial section from which the member transfers and transmitted by this committee to the territorial section to which the member transfers.

If the member transfers from one section of a city organization to another, the transfer card shall be transmitted thru the city executive committee; if the member transfers from one city in a district to another the transfer card shall be transmitted thru the district executive committee; if the member transfers from one district to another the transfer card shall be sent thru the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. Members of the Party who desire to leave the country and go to another country must obtain the permission of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 6. Every member of the Party who is eligible to be a member of a trade union must become a member of the union to which he is eligible.

### Article 3. The Structure of the Party.

Section 1. The Workers (Communist) Party, like all sections of the Comintern is built on the principle of democratic centralization. These principles are:

a) Election of the subordinate as well as the upper party organs at general meetings of the Party members, conferences and conventions of the Party.

b) Regular reporting of the Party committees to their constituents.

c) Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher Party committees by the lower, strict Party discipline, and immediate and exact

application of the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Executive Committee of the Party.

d) Any Party committee whose activities extend over a certain area is considered superior to those Party organizations whose activity is limited only to certain parts of this area.

e) The discussion on Party questions can be carried on by the members only until the proper Party committee has decided them. After a decision has been adopted at the Congress of the Comintern, the Party convention, or by the leading Party committee, it must be carried out unconditionally even if some of the members or some of the local organizations are not in agreement with the decision.

Section 2. The highest authority of each unit of the Party is the general meeting of Party members, conference, or Party convention.

Section 3. The membership meeting, conference, or Party convention elects the leading committee which acts as the leading Party organ in the interim between the membership meeting, conferences or conventions and conducts the work of the Party organization.

Section 4. The units of the Party organization shall be as follows:

a) The shop nucleus, of which the leading committee is the nucleus bureau.

b) The street nucleus (the international branch), of which the leading committee is the street nucleus bureau.

c) In small cities having not more than two hundred members the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) shall send delegates to a city conference, or if the membership is not large, a general membership meeting shall be held at which a city executive committee shall be elected.

d) Larger cities shall be divided into sections and sub-sections. The shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) in each of these sections and sub-sections shall hold conference of delegates which shall elect the section and sub-section executive committee. The sections of the city organization shall hold conferences of delegates which shall elect the city executive committee, except in the headquarters city of a district organization in which case the District Executive Committee acts as the City Executive Committee.

e) The city organization in each district shall send delegates to a conference which shall elect the district executive committee.

f) The delegates from the district organization shall send delegates to the national convention which elects the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. For the conduct of special work each leading committee organizes departments, such as the Agitprop Department, Organization Department, Trade Union Department, Women's Work Department, and such other departments, the need for which arises. These departments are subordinate to the leading committee and work in accordance with its instructions and carry out its decisions.

### Article 4. The Shop Nucleus and the Street Nucleus (International Branch).

Section 1. The basis of the Party organization is the shop nucleus (in factories, mines, workshop, offices, stores, agricultural enterprises, etc.) which all Party members working in these places must join. The nucleus must consist of at least three members. Newly organized shop nuclei must be endorsed by the leading committee of the territorial section in which the shop nuclei are organized.

Section 2. In factories where only one or two members are employed, these members are affiliated to the nearest working nucleus or form a factory nucleus jointly with the members working in neighboring factories.

Section 3. Party members who cannot be immediately affiliated with a shop nucleus, shall join the street nucleus (international branch) in the section of the city in which they reside.

Section 4. The nucleus is the organization which links up the Party with the workers and poor farmers. The tasks of the nucleus are to conduct Party work among the non-party masses of workers and peasants by means of systematic communist agitation and propaganda, to recruit new members to distribute and sell Party literature, to issue a factory newspaper, to conduct cultural work, to discuss Party problems, to carry on the work of enlightenment and education of the Party members in the fundamental principles of Communism. The members of the nucleus should strive for all official positions in the workers' organizations in the factory, participate in all economic conflicts and demands of the employees, interpret these from the standpoint of the revolutionary class struggle and seek to win the leadership of all the struggles of the workers by tireless nucleus work.

Section 5. The street nucleus (international branch) conducts similar work among the workers living in that section of the city in which it is organized.

Section 6. The shop nucleus and street nucleus (international branch) elects a bureau to conduct its work. This bureau should consist of from three to five members and conducts all nucleus work, assigns it to the individual members of the nucleus or international branch, as, for instance, propaganda, distribution of papers, fraction work in the trade unions, shop committee work, work among women, defense work, connection with the youth nucleus, etc. The nucleus bureau is responsible for this work and makes periodical reports to the next higher committee.

Section 7. The shop nucleus or street nucleus (international branch) bureau elects an organizer-secretary, whose duty it is to maintain the connections between the shop nucleus or street nucleus (international branch) and the next higher committee, conduct the correspondence of the shop nucleus or street nucleus and to carry out the decisions of the bureau.

### Article 5. Sub-Sections, Sections and City Organizations.

Section 1. In the small cities (of not more than two hundred members), the shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) shall each hold general membership meetings periodically, not less often than each three months. These membership meetings in January and July shall elect the city executive committee which shall direct the Party work in such cities.

Section 2. Larger cities shall be divided into sections by the city executive committee of such cities. The party members affiliated with the shop nuclei or street nuclei (international branches) in each section of such cities shall meet in a general membership meeting once each three months to discuss general party problems. At the membership meetings held in January and July or at a special conference of elected delegates from the shop and street nuclei a section executive committee shall direct the work of the Party in this section, shall be elected.

Section 3. In the very large cities such as New York and Chicago, the city shall be divided into sections and sub-sections. The shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) in each sub-section shall hold periodic membership meetings in January and July shall elect a sub-section executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in the sub-section.

b) There shall also be held periodic conference of delegates from the

## MANY MEMBERS IN MEETINGS IN PA REORGANIZATION

The dates of Worker list) Party membership ranged in the party's re campaign are as follow: District Da

1. Boston—Sept. 27.
2. New York—Sept.
3. Philadelphia—Sept.
4. Buffalo—Oct. 4.
5. Pittsburgh—Sept.
6. Cleveland—Sept. 2
7. Detroit—Sept. 27.
8. Chicago—Oct. 7.
9. Minneapolis—Sept.
10. San Francisco—Oct.
11. Connecticut—Oct.

An organization to ern districts is being C. E. C. Seattle, Portia San Francisco, Los A other party centers will arrange mass meetings to be address representative of the Centr. Committee.

## Working Wor Japan.

RECENTLY the socia Tokio published the investigation on professi The date on which the was conducted was Augus following description is t of the report.

The total number of women in Japan is 3,581, responds to about 13 per total female population try (27,000,000). Indus may be divided as follow: Engaged in:

Agriculture ..... Factories and mines... Intellectual professions Commercial employmen Domestic workers ..... Total women worker Total men workers...

Then the professiona Tokio, the following dat in the report according comes. They are divide categories of those who enough money to live in and those who receive m than this average, the which is set at 60 yen p

a—Those who receive yen: Physicians, writers ..... Musicians, artists ..... Actresses ..... Dentists ..... Beauty culture specialists Hair Dressers ..... Midwives ..... Entertainers .....

b—Those who receive to 150 yen: Higher grade teachers phers, pharmacists, rep seuses, solicitors, waitre government employes, ch dels, etc.

c—Those who receive yen on an average:

Typists ..... Office workers ..... Nurses ..... Telephone girls ..... Shop girls ..... Waitresses ..... Factory workers .....

Now as to the number of fessional women those with more than 500 memb are as follows:

Factory workers ..... House workers ..... Office workers ..... Telephone girls ..... Hairdressers ..... Midwives ..... Waitresses ..... Shopgirls ..... Nurses ..... Teachers ..... Higher grade teachers... Typists ..... Masseuses .....

# Workers (Communist) Party

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shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) in each section, and the conferences in January and July shall elect a section executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in the section.

c) In January and July of each year, there shall be held a conference of delegates elected by the section or sub-section conferences (of representatives of the shop and street nuclei) in the city, which shall elect the city executive committee, except in those cities which are the headquarters of the district executive committee. In the latter cities, the district executive committee functions as the leading committee.

Section 4. The size of the sub-section, section, and city executive committees, shall be determined by the respective conferences which elect these committees.

Section 5. As soon as the Party reorganization progresses so that at least 25 per cent of the Party members are organized in shop nuclei, at least fifty per cent of the members of the sub-section, section, and city executive committee shall be elected from the shop nuclei.

Section 6. The sub-section, section, and city executive committees elect a secretary-organizer, who is responsible for the maintenance of connections with the next higher unit and for the execution of the decisions of the committees.

## Article 6. Sub-District Organization.

Section 1. Wherever the district executive committee considers that the functioning of the Party organization will be improved, it may with the consent of the Central Executive Committee, create a sub-district organization, thru the combination of several cities. Such sub-district organizations shall hold a conference of delegates from the city organization or from shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) in the sub-district in January and July of each year and elect a sub-district executive committee.

Section 2. The number of members of which the sub-district executive committee shall consist shall be determined by the sub-district conference. Where the basic organizations of a sub-district are made up of shop nuclei to an extent of at least twenty-five per cent, fifty per cent of the members of the sub-district executive committee shall be elected from the shop nuclei.

Section 3. The sub-district executive committee shall elect a secretary-organizer who shall maintain connections with the next higher unit of the Party, and execute the decisions of the sub-district executive committee.

Section 4. In the city in which the sub-district committee has its headquarters, the sub-district committee acts as the executive committee of that city.

## Article 7. District Organization.

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee of the Party shall divide the country into districts. Once each year there shall be held a district conference made up of delegates from the city organizations in the district and such unattached nuclei and international branches as there may be in the district. This district conference shall elect a district executive committee. Special conferences may be called by the district executive committee or by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 2. The district conference also elects the District Control Committee which shall be charged with the control of the financial accounts of all the Party units in the district and which also deals with the appeals from the decisions of lower Party units against disciplinary action.

Section 3. The District Executive Committee is the highest Party authority in the district between district conferences. The District Executive Committee must be composed partially of factory workers and should include representatives of the chief towns of the district. The district committee determines how often full meetings of the district committee are to be held. But these must be held at least once a month. The district committee where composed in part of members not residing in the city of the district headquarters shall elect an executive council for the conduct of its current business.

Section 4. The District Executive Committee elects the district organizer in agreement with the Central Executive Committee. The district organizer must have been a member of the Party for two years. If a district paper is published the District Executive Committee elects the editor of the paper with the agreement of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. The district executive committee shall organize such departments for the conduct of the Party work as Agitprop, organization, trade union work, woman's work, etc. As a rule members of the district committee should be placed at the head of these departments. These departments carry on their work under the direction of the District Executive Committee and submit periodic reports to the District Executive Committee.

Section 6. The District Executive Committee is responsible for its work to the district conference and the Central Executive Committee. It must submit a monthly report of its activities to the Central Executive Committee.

Section 7. In the city in which the District Executive Committee has its headquarters the city organization does not elect a city executive committee and the Party work in this city is directed by the District Executive Committee.

## Article 8. The Party Conference.

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call party conferences. The delegates to these party conferences from the districts shall be elected by the district committee. The Central Executive Committee may co-opt individual party workers to attend the party conferences in an advisory capacity without voting rights.

Section 2. The decisions of the Party conference are not valid and binding on the party unless endorsed by the Central Executive Committee.

## Article 9. The Party Convention.

Section 1. The party convention is the highest authority of the Party and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year in agreement with the executive committee of the Communist International.

Section 2. Special conventions which shall have all the powers of regular conventions, may be called by the Central Executive Committee either at its own initiative and in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International or at the initiative of the Communist International, or upon the demand of party organizations representing half the members of the Party. Special conventions, however, can only be called with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Section 3. The call for the national convention and the proposed agenda of the convention shall be submitted to the membership at least one month before the date of the convention.

Section 4. The number of delegates to the convention shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee. Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts in proportion to the membership to be decided in accordance with the provision of article 10 of this constitution.

Section 5. The party convention shall hear the reports of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee, decide the ques-

tions of Party program, formulate resolutions on all political, tactical and organizational questions, elect the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee.

## Article 10. Elections of Delegates.

Section 1. Election of delegates to all party conferences and conventions shall be based upon the number of members in good standing on the first of the month prior to the date of the election. No party member can vote in the election if more than two months in arrears in dues payments. The secretary of the Party unit shall submit with the results of the election a certified list stating the names of the good-standing members in the Party unit. No election of delegates to any conference or convention shall be valid unless 5 per cent of the good standing members in the Party unit participated in the elections.

Section 2. The highest committee of the unit of the Party in which a conference or convention is to be held shall decide the basis of representation, that is, the number of good-standing members necessary to elect delegates.

Section 3. The shop nucleus and the street nucleus (international branch) or in case of large cities the sub-section, shall elect delegates to the city convention in accordance with the number of delegates they are entitled to based upon the certified list of good-standing members which the secretary shall send to the city convention in certifying the results of the elections.

Section 4. The city convention shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the city convention to the district convention based upon the number of members in good standing in the city as certified by the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches).

Section 5. The district convention shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the district convention to the national convention based upon the number of goodstanding members in the district as certified by the city convention.

Section 6. The same rule shall apply in the election of delegates to section and city conferences, provided for in Article 5.

## Article 11. Central Executive Committee.

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee of the Party shall be elected by the Party convention and shall consist of 19 members elected by the convention a representative of the Young Workers League and a neutral chairman with decisive vote. The convention shall also elect six candidates who shall have a right to participate in the full sessions of the C. E. C. with a voice but no vote. In case of vacancies the candidates shall become members of the C. E. C.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee is the highest authority of the Party between the party conventions. It represents the Party as a whole over and against other Party institutions and other institutions, organizes various organs of the Party, conducts all its political and organizational work, appoints the editors of its central organs who work under its leadership and control, organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party, distributes all the Party forces and controls the Central Treasury. The Central Executive Committee conducts the work of the Party fractions within bodies of a central nature.

Section 3. The Central Executive Committee elects from among its members a Political Committee for conducting the work of the C. E. C. between its full sessions. The Central Committee shall elect a general secretary, and a secretariat for conduct of the permanent current work, and establish an agitprop department, organization department and such other departments as the Party requires. The members of the Central Executive Committee should be the heads of these departments wherever possible.

Section 4. The Central Executive Committee shall divide the country into districts and create district organizations. The Central Executive Committee has the right to combine or divide existing organizations, either according to territory or otherwise in conformity with their political and economic characteristics.

## Article 12. The Central Control Committee.

Section 1. The Party convention shall elect a Central Control Committee of four members which shall audit the books and accounts of the national organization and supervise similar control of the financial accounts of the Party as a whole.

Section 2. The Central Control Committee shall also pass upon appeals from decision of lower party units in reference to breaches of discipline. The decisions of the Central Control Committee in such matters are subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

## Article 13. Qualifications.

Section 1. Members of the Central Executive Committee, general secretary, editor, and all candidates for political office must have been member of the Party for two years at time of their nomination.

Section 2. Members of the District Executive Committee, must have been members of the Party for two years at the time of their nomination.

Section 3. Members of City Executive Committees must have been members of the Party for one year at the time of their nomination, and of section and sub-section committees must have been members of the Party for six months at the time of their nomination.

## Article 14. Party Discipline.

Section 1. The strictest party discipline is the most solemn duty of all Party members and all Party organizations. The decisions of the Communist International and the Party convention, of the Central Executive Committee and all the leading committees of the Party must be promptly carried out. Discussion of questions over which there have been differences must not continue after the decision has been made.

Section 2. Breaches of party discipline by individual members may be punished by censure, public censure, dismissal from office, suspension from the Party, and expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party committees may be punished by removal of the committee by the next higher Party committee.

Section 3. Charges against individual members shall be made in the shop nucleus or international branch and the decision of the Party unit shall be confirmed by the Party committee in the territory in which the unit is located. Charges against individual members may also be made in any leading committee of the Party and such committees have full power to act. The member expelled may appeal to the next higher committee. Appeals can be made only by the punished members themselves or by a party organization in his behalf.

Section 4. No leading committee of the Party has power to suspend any of its members from the committee. Charges against members of committees must be filed with the next higher committee.

## Article 15. Dues.

Section 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of 50c which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the

(Continued on page 6)

# Proposed Constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party

(Continued from page 5)

Central Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the national organization.

Section 2. Each member shall pay 50c per month dues, which shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee. Members whose earnings are more than \$100.00 per month shall pay additional dues to the amount of one per cent of their earnings above \$100. The payment of the additional dues shall be receipted for by special stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 3. The district organization shall purchase regular dues stamps from the Central Executive Committee at 25c per stamp, the city organization shall purchase dues stamps from the city organization at 40c; the sub-section organization shall purchase dues stamps from the section organization at 42½c; and the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) shall purchase stamps from the sub-section organization at 45c. Where no sub-sections exist the shop nuclei and international branch purchase their stamps from the section organization at 45c. Where no sections exist, the shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) purchase stamps from the city organization at 45c.

Section 4. Special assessments may be levied by the national convention or the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamp.

Section 5. Members unable to pay dues or assessments on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness, or similar reason shall by vote of the nucleus or international branch be furnished with exempt stamps. No district organization shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten per cent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps, except by decision of the C. E. C.

Section 6. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member of the Party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

## Article 16. Language Fractions.

Section 1. All members of the Party now members of language branches must become members in either shop nuclei or international branches in the reorganization of the Party on the basis of this constitution, in order to retain their membership in the Party.

Section 2. The former members of the language sections of the Party, in addition to their membership in the Party, through affiliation with the shop nuclei or international branch shall form language fractions.

Section 3. The language fraction shall consist of all the members of the Party who speak a certain language, who are members of a sub-section, section, or city organization of the Party. The units of the language fraction should be formed on the basis of the most efficient method of working among their particular language group. The D. E. C. or City Executive Committee shall decide as to the units to be formed.

Section 4. Where there is more than one sub-section in a section organization, in which language fractions of a particular language group are organized, these language fractions shall hold general membership meetings of all the members of the language fraction, in the section in January and July of each year, and elect an executive committee of the language fraction for the section. Where there are several sections of a city in which fractions are organized, the members of the language fraction shall hold a city membership meeting in January and July of each year, and elect a city executive committee of the language fraction, subject to the approval of the respective Party committee.

Section 5. Once each year, there shall be held a district conference of delegates from the language fractions in the party districts which shall elect a district executive committee for the language fraction. The D. E. C. for the language fraction must be approved by the Party D. E. C.

Section 6. The Central Executive Committee of the Party may, if it deems it advisable, permit the holding of a national conference of a language fraction of a particular language group. When such national conferences are held, they shall elect, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee, a national language bureau. In cases where the Central Executive Committee does not deem it advisable to hold national conferences of a language fraction, it shall appoint a national bureau for the language fraction.

Section 7. The language fraction is an auxiliary organization of the Party, for work among a particular language group. Only Party members who are affiliated to the shop nuclei or the street nuclei (international branches) and pay dues to the basic units of the Party, can be members of the language fraction of the Party. The language fraction of the Party does not collect dues, but may, with the consent of the Central Executive Committee carry on special campaigns among their language groups for funds to carry on the work of the language fraction. The Central Executive Committee shall also provide a definite monthly appropriation from the dues receipts for the work of the language fraction national bureaus.

Section 8. It is the work of the language fraction to carry on agitation, propaganda, and organization work among the working masses of its language group. The language fraction must also organize fractions of party members in the fraternal and benevolent organizations of its language group, as provided for in the section of this constitution dealing with the organizational question, and carry on a systematic campaign to establish Communist influence and bring these organizations under the influence of the party, ideologically and organizationally.

Section 9. The language fractions of each language group shall also organize a workers' club of their particular language group in each city or the sections of the city. These workers' clubs shall consist of both party and non-party members. The language fraction shall function as a fraction in these clubs to carry on agitation and propaganda and bring the non-Party members under Communist influence and recruit them for membership in regular Party units.

## Article 17. Fractions.

Section 1. In all non-Party workers' and farmers' organizations (trade unions, co-operatives, cultural societies, educational societies, fraternal and benevolent societies, sports and other clubs, war veterans' organizations, factory councils, unemployed councils, at conferences and conventions, in local administrative bodies, state legislatures and the national congress) where there are at least two Communists, a Communist fraction must be organized for the purpose of increasing the influence of the Party in applying its policy in the non-Party sphere.

Section 2. The fractions are organs of the Party within non-Party organizations. They are not independent, fully authorized organizations, but are subordinate to the competent local Party committee.

Section 3. In case of differences arising between the Party committee and the fraction, the Party committee must investigate the question anew, together with the representatives of the fraction and come to a decision which must be carried out unconditionally by the fraction. In case an appeal is made against the decision by the fraction, the question shall be finally settled by the next higher Party committee.

Section 4. If questions are discussed by a Party committee which concerns a fraction, the committee shall accept a representative of the fraction concerned, who shall attend the meeting of the committee in an advisory capacity.

Section 5. The fractions elect their own officers who, however, must be endorsed by the Party committee in the section in which the fraction operates. The officers of the fraction are responsible for their activities to the fraction and to the Party committee.

Section 6. The Party committee, which directs the Party work in the territory in which a fraction is organized, has the right to send its representatives into the executive committee of any fraction or to recall any member of that body, after the reason for such action has been explained to the fraction.

Section 7. Candidates for all important positions in the organization in which the fractions are working are selected by the fraction, in agreement with the Party committee for the section.

Section 8. Questions which come up for decision in the organization in which a fraction is working must be discussed in advance in the meeting of the fraction, or by its leading committee. On every question on which a decision is reached in the fraction, or a decision made by the leading committee, the fraction members must act unanimously in the meeting of the organization and vote together solidly. Members who break this rule are subject to disciplinary measures by the Party.

## Article 18. Relations to the Y. W. L.

Section 1. A corresponding committee of the Young Workers League shall be entitled to send one representative with voice and vote into all sub-sections, sections, city and district and central executive committees of the Party, provided there is a corresponding Y. W. L. organization to the organization of the party to which the representative is sent.

Section 2. The Party executive committee, in the sub-section, section, city, district, and the Central Executive Committee shall send a representative with voice and vote into the corresponding Y. W. L. committee.

Section 3. The corresponding Y. W. L. organization shall be entitled to send representatives to all conferences and conventions of the Party organization. The number of representatives which shall be given to the Y. W. L. in such conferences and conventions shall be decided by the Party committee which calls the conference or convention.

Section 4. All members of the Party under 21 years of age must join the Young Workers League. All members of the Young Workers League over 21 years of age, should join the Party and must join the Party if 23 years of age or over, or be excluded from the League.

Section 5. Members of the Y. W. L. who are under 11 years of age and who are also members of the Party, shall be exempt from paying Party dues upon presentation of their Y. W. L. dues card, with dues stamp affixed. An exempt stamp, marked "Y. W. L." shall be affixed to the Party card of such member.

## Schedule.

1. The provisions of this constitution in relation to purchase of dues stamps from the district committee and city organizations by the basic units of the Party go into effect on October first. Language branches which have not been reorganized by that date must purchase their dues stamps from the district and city organizations.

2. The provisions of this constitution in regard to the elections of the sub-section, section, city and district committees go into effect as fast as the reorganization of the Party on the basis of this constitution take place in a locality. This provision also applies to the organization of language fractions which must be organized as fast as the Party reorganization takes place. The provisions of the previous constitution of the Party apply in a locality until such time as the reorganization takes place, except that the City Central Committee shall hold one session to constitute a City Executive Committee and then be abolished.

3. The reorganization of the entire Party on the basis of the provisions of this constitution shall be completed within six months from the time of its adoption. The Central Executive Committee is instructed to take all the necessary steps to carry out the reorganization in the period allotted.

## What Do You Say?

ONE of the features of the special issue of the DAILY WORKER for International Press Day, Sept. 21, will be the publication of replies to a questionnaire addressed to all the readers of our Communist daily. This day has been especially set apart in the drive for the Bolshevization of the Communist press. Every DAILY WORKER reader must join in this effort. Here are the questions:

1. Why do you read our Communist newspaper, the DAILY WORKER?
2. What shortcomings do you find in the DAILY WORKER, politically or otherwise?
3. What criticisms have you as to make-up, contents, display, etc., etc.?
4. Can you act as a worker correspondent for the DAILY WORKER?
5. What experiences do you meet with in getting others to subscribe for and read the DAILY WORKER?

Sit down today and write your reply to one, two or all of these questions and then mail them in to the Editor, the DAILY WORKER, 1113 West Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

# Our Press and Re-organization

By William F. Dunne

OUR party press has an all-important part to play in the reorganization work now being undertaken in accord with the shop nucleus basis laid down for all parties by the Comintern and the attention which it must devote to all problems arising out of the change from the territorial to an industrial base should be considered not a passing and temporary phase of development but a stage in its Bolshevization.

Fundamental changes will take place in our press as a result of the change in the base of our party. The Communist press is the voice of the party and of the most conscious section of the working class. It has to give the party the lead in the tasks of reorganization and at the same time carry without cessation to the masses the Communist program covering every form of working class activity in the struggles against capitalism. That this places a heavy burden upon our press can be understood when we realize the difficulty it has already encountered in its double task of speaking officially to the party membership and at the same time acting as an agitational organ in the mass movement.

COULD we drop our mass campaigns for six months or a year and concentrate on the work of party reorganization we would have a formal solution of the problem which would delight the right wing elements in our party. But the party that would emerge from this cloistered period would not be a Communist party nor would shop nucleus organization achieved in such a manner be anything but lip-service to the theory of Bolshevization—a change in party structure secured mechanically, sterile and meaningless.

The reorganization of our party, if

## Get Ready for Reorganization

IN yesterday's DAILY WORKER the Organization Department announced its plan to mobilize the membership for the reorganization of the party into shop nuclei and international branches.

With the beginning of this campaign to reconstruct our party, a series of articles on organizational questions is being printed in every organ of the party. Questions and problems confronting our members in the rebuilding of the party will be answered and analyzed in the DAILY WORKER by Comrade Jay Lovestone, head of the Organization Department, and other party members.

The DAILY WORKER has also established a special section for the Organization Department. In this section there is being printed articles on the progress of the organization campaign, the experiences of the comrades in the work of organization, and letters and reports from comrades giving their experiences in carrying on the party's activities thru the shop nuclei.

These articles will be living articles, and of intense interest. Watch these columns closely.

it is to be an aid to and one of the methods of building a firm Bolshevik core in the American revolutionary movement, must be achieved, not by any cessation of mass activity but side by side with, as part of and as a result of intensified activity in every sector of the labor movement.

On the party press rests the responsibility of keeping this correct idea of reorganization and the methods by which it is to be obtained before every member of the party.

Upon the party membership is the duty of reading the party press more assiduously and searchingly than ever before. Reorganization work will test every member and every unit of our party and only by careful appraisal and mutual study and solution of the important problems that arise can success be attained.

IT is certain that differences of opinion will arise—as a matter of fact

they have already arisen—over details of reorganization and the role of the party during the reorganization period. In the press there must be the fullest discussion of these problems—but not in the spirit of separating these problems from the revolutionary tasks of the party as the advance guard of the whole working class. Our press must urge and the membership must respond with articles giving the detailed experiences encountered in this stage of our development always in the light of adjusting our party as rapidly as possible to the tasks which it must carry out.

How strong is the idea of shop nuclei reorganization as a mere structural change in our party. I do not know but that it exists to some extent is evident. Our press must combat this wrong conception in such a manner that it dies for lack of nu-

trition—and speedily. The shop nucleus as the unit of our party gives us an efficient organizational base from which to carry on our Communist work but just as important is the complete proletarianization of our party that will result—not only by the elimination of non-working class elements but by the closer contact with and understanding of the needs and thoughts of the masses, the complete orientation of our party towards industry and the industrial workers as the only sound basis for a Communist party.

What are the conclusions from the above?

They are: (1) That our press during the period of reorganization must keep the attention of the party fixed on the mass movement to a higher degree than ever in order that our internal problems, important as they are for the future of our party, may not overshadow the need for constant participation in every struggle of the workers and thereby defeat the real purpose of shop nuclei reorganization.

(2) That our press must devote the greatest attention to the reorganization campaign itself and keep the membership fully informed on all its political and organizational implications.

(3) That our press must take the lead in stimulating the whole party to disciplined and continuous endeavor in reconstructing our party by discussion of all problems encountered. Especially must it concentrate on securing and publishing the experiences of the field workers who encounter the reorganization problems not as academic propositions which can be solved theoretically but who must solve internal party problems as part of the whole work of our party as a section of the Communist International—a living organism which must fight to live and fulfill its revolutionary role.

# British Labor Movement and Imperialism

By G. ALLISON

One of the outstanding features of the British working class movement, which is only now being rapidly liquidated, is its exceptionally nationalist outlook. It is true that both in the political and economic spheres British labor long before the war participated in international labor conferences. It did so, however, always with some reserve, always with the feeling that we were different, higher, more advanced.

The role of British imperialism in world politics goes a long way towards explaining this fact. Before the war, except for occasional crises, the empire was able to carry on its ramifications with little serious interruptions. Thru the medium of intensive colonial exploitation, the home employers were able to reduce the discontent of the British workers to a minimum. The labor movement both amongst the masses and in leading circles accommodated itself to this convenient arrangement. With the exception of the most radical sections British labor was unmindful of the conditions that prevailed on the continent, in the colonies, or elsewhere so long as fairly tolerable conditions could be obtained at home.

U. S. Enslaved Europe.

The post-war situation is entirely different. America has emerged as the supreme imperialistic power! She has adopted Canada, enslaved Europe, and is now casting covetous eyes at another cherished British dominion—Australia.

Britain on the other hand, has been forced to turn more than ever to her colonies and mandated territories. Egypt, India, Mesopotamia, and now China have all felt the extra pressure of British imperialism resulting from the American conquest.

But there is still a greater menace. The new Russia represents not only a boundary beyond which the frontiers of the British empire cannot extend, in addition, she is looked upon as a positive danger to the empire as it stands.

The policy adopted by the ruling

class in view of all these events was a far-seeing one. Not only did she take part in the general attack on Soviet Russia, but even when it was deemed advisable to cease open hostilities and when Russia was still engaged in deadly conflict with the "Whites" Britain established herself firmly in Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Baltic states.

Britain's Real Policy.

For quite a time thereafter the real attitude of British imperialism towards Soviet Russia has been apparent. Thru the trade agreement and later thru the activities of the labor government it was fairly obvious that Britain was prepared, at least, to tolerate the existence of the U. S. S. R. and it is only now that the real policy again shows itself.

Among the real representatives of British imperialism there is no confusion. Their aim is not only to safeguard the colonies, but is directed against the very existence of the workers' republic. Thru gross misrepresentation and acts of provocation the support for Russia in Britain is reduced to a minimum and "border hostilities" maintained at highest pitch.

On the other hand we see assembled the supposed "friends" of Soviet Russia. This group which includes within it a wide circle varying from prominent conservatives to supposed left wing trade union leaders aim at a more friendly attitude towards Soviet Russia; closer relations and a trading agreement. Fundamentally these two groups are in complete agreement. The "die hards" quite openly recognize and declare their hostility to Russia, and see in her overthrow the stabilization of the empire.

The Reason for Sympathy.

The "sympathetic" groups imagine they see in Soviet Russia, a means of temporarily dealing with the serious economic situation in Britain, reviving British industry and simultaneously stabilizing the empire and liquidating all the dangerous tendencies at home. This idea is clearly portrayed in the

attitude of the reactionary leadership in the British labor movement. The war against the Communist Party and the National Minority Movement is continuing as relentless as ever, but some of these same leaders let the secret out by explaining how "illogical" it is to advocate a trade agreement with Soviet Russia and at the same time to refuse as trade unionists to join hands with the Russian unions.

If further proof is required, the recent happenings in China provides it.

Similar Attitude.

Despite the authentic information supplied by the labor press and even its own organ, the Executive Committee of the labor party decided to take no definite steps until more news on the "causes" of the Chinese rising was available and even when the situation was the subject of discussion in the house of commons we find practically no difference between the attitude of the labor party and the cabinet. Both MacDonald and Trevelyan, the labor party spokesman, maintained that the duties of the government were first to safeguard the British lives in China, and then, in conjunction with the other interested imperialist powers, to establish a commission of inquiry to investigate the causes of the uprising. In other words the leaders of the labor party endorsed the aggressive policy of Britain in China and pleaded for a more scientific and less brutal form of exploiting. Chamberlain himself can wish for nothing more.

Hence we see that in actual practice the policy of the labor party is purely imperialist. It is but a short step from where it now stands to openly supporting an aggressive policy against the U. S. S. R.

Putting a Leading Question.

These facts present the Communist Party and the Minority Movement with their most important task.

To the left wing in the trade unions we must say: Are you supporting international trade union unity for the purpose of solidifying the proletarian forces for the international class

struggle, or are you sheltering behind a popular slogan to hide your imperialist intentions? To the left wing in the labor party we must say: Are you for the empire or for the masses it subjects and exploits? Only by this means can we have a clear estimation of our forces. We know where the masses stand. Under no circumstances will they allow fresh attacks on Soviet Russia, but thru the treachery of its chosen leaders the British working class may find itself tacitly supporting war against Russia, engaged in by the buffer states but engineered and supported by British imperialism.

Consequently our task is clear. In fighting against the dangers of imperialist onslaughts on Soviet Russia, we have to insure that mass opinion finds organized expression, and that all the imperialist tendencies within our movement are left behind.

Only then can we feel sure that Russia is immune from the covetous hand of British imperialism.

The DAILY WORKER subscription list is a Communist honor roll. Is your name on it?

**"NA BOYKOM MIESTE"  
PRESENTED TONIGHT  
AT WORKERS' HOUSE**

The Russian theater season will be opened formally this Saturday, Sept. 19, at 8 p. m., at the Workers' House, 1902 W. Division St. Under the leadership of the Russian actor L. Luganov, and with the participation of the Russian actresses Aza Namgova, Moiseyenko and others, the play "Na Boykom Mieste" by Ostrowski will be presented.

It is expected that the play will draw a big crowd.

The library of the Workers' House is now receiving magazines from Soviet Russia, also books published recently in Russia.

# Young Miners! Fight Against the Bosses!

(Continued from page 1)

same time hand bigger and bigger profits to "those who own."

Not only is it impossible for the hard coal diggers to accept these terms, but their very lives and the life of their union depends upon a militant struggle to get their demands granted in this strike. Already the coal barons have forced down the standard of living of the bituminous miners with the help of shifting operations to non-union fields and by conducting a huge campaign against the union miners. Now that this campaign is so well under way, the operators are concentrating a huge drive on the hard coal miners aimed as much against the union as against their standard of living.

## Young Miners, How Does This Affect You?

How does this present struggle in the anthracite affect the young miners?

In those fields where the union is strong and the conditions of the miners are best, the young miner finds himself equally well off. For example, in the Illinois district all young workers in and around the mines (with the exception of the trapper boys on mule haulage in a few of the smallest mines) get full pay and the miners refuse to allow any discrimination against the younger workers either in the way of lower wages or worse working conditions.

But as soon as there is any forcing down of the standard of living as there has been in the bituminous fields and in the anthracite, the young miners will be among the first to feel it and will be the first ones the operators will discriminate against. Not only this, but lowered wages and worse conditions for the miners force more and more of the youngest workers into the mines and factories when their fathers can no longer support the family alone on the small wages of a hard coal digger.

Young Miners! The fight in the anthracite is your fight. You will be among the hardest hit if this strike is not won. Get into the front ranks with the fighters, and not only see that this strike is won, but make sure that you will get your share of the victory and equal wages for equal work once the strike is over.

## For a Standard Wage.

While Lewis and other fake leaders of the United Mine Workers have been busy compromising every struggle of the miners for small wage increases (as in 1922) one of the greatest evils for the miners, especially the young miners, has been left untouched. This is the chaotic system of "scales" which has been in effect since 1900 in the anthracite. All the wage advances of the anthracite miners have been based on these scales and the operators have had a good chance to do a lot of juggling of wages and have been able to discriminate against different groups of miners whenever they felt strong enough to get away with it.

These scales are of great danger to the young miners. They offer the coal barons an opportunity especially to discriminate against the young miners, often paying him much lower wages even when doing the same work as an adult miner.

Young Miners! Fight against these scales in the anthracite. Fight not only for the increases but keep up the fight along with the progressive miners for a minimum wage of \$10 a day for all miners at the face, whether they are young or old.

## For Real Solidarity.

The anthracite operators are the best organized group of mine owners in the whole world. Anthracite is completely under the control of a small group of capitalists made up of a combination of banks, railroad companies and coal interests. Eight huge corporations of this type control more than 70 per cent of the anthracite field. Not only are the anthracite operators so strongly organized, but they are closely connected with the bituminous operators and will get their full support against the miners.

If the miners are to win in this strike the workers will have to show the greatest solidarity. In the past

not only have union railways men hauled scab coal during strikes of the miners, but there has never been real solidarity between the hard and soft coal diggers themselves.

Though Lewis and other fakers within the U. M. W. A. have always pretended to be for solidarity. They have permitted the hard and soft coal agreement to expire at different times and have never fought for a real national agreement covering the entire industry.

If the anthracite miners lose this strike it will be one of the greatest blows possible against the soft coal miners and all organized labor. Not only will it mean a further weakening of the miners' union, but once the operators are able to smash the resistance of the hard coal miners, they will be able to turn their attention towards forcing down the standards of the bituminous miners to an even lower level.

On the other hand, by joining in the strike the bituminous miners will have a chance to restore their old

conditions and to save the union from the present position to which it has been reduced by the campaign of the bituminous operators. If the railroad workers will also support the miners, the capitalists will be met by such a united front as is almost impossible to break.

## For Nationalization of the Mines and Workers' Control.

The winning of the present strike will not end the many grievances of the anthracite miners. The winning of the demands for a dollar a day increase; for the check-off, and the 10 per cent increase for miners will not put an end to the intolerable working conditions in the anthracite. It will not prevent the operators from taking the increases they are forced to grant out in worse working conditions for the hard coal diggers. It will not abolish contract labor in the mines. It will not abolish child labor in and around the mines. It will not end unemployment and all the anarchy at present existing in the industry. It will not get the 6-hour

day and 5-day week for the miners and thus regulate the hours so as to give everyone employment.

It is true that victory in the present struggle will prevent the bosses from forcing down the standard of the miners for the moment, and will strengthen the union. But as long as the present powerful group of capitalists is in unchallenged control of the industry, they will be able to force intolerable conditions on the workers and the greatest grievance of the miners will remain unsettled.

The only solution for this is a strong fight against this private ownership of the mines by a few corporations and a fight for the nationalization of the mines under workers' control.

## Against the Use of Troops in Strikes! Against Government Interference.

The powerful anthracite operators, linked up with the coal barons of the bituminous fields, never have any trouble in getting the co-operation of the bosses' government against the miners. First the government offers its help thru appointing a commission which is supposed to "arbitrate" and does its best to force the miners to accept only the slightest increases. Second, if this fails, the government intervenes to the extent of sending its armed troops against the unarmed coal diggers.

## For a Labor Party.

The manner in which the operators use the capitalist government against the miners in addition to their use of the courts, the press, the schools, etc., makes it clear to the miners that they must fight for political organization of the working class. Only by building a labor party supported by the masses of workers in America, can we be sure of the backing so necessary in order to carry our struggles thru to victory. Only with a huge labor party representing the workers can we fight the attempts of the bosses' governments to turn our industrial victories into defeats. Only with the help of a labor party can we force the nationalization of the mines and carry the struggle thru for a workers' and farmers' government that will be a government of the workers and will not issue injunctions and break strikes of the miners as the present bosses' government did in 1919 and 1922.

The young workers who know so well what wage cuts and worse conditions mean must be the first to rally to the support of the anthracite miners. If the government should call on scabs to break the strike the young workers must be among the first to rally to the aid of the union. They will refuse to fight against the miners if they are put into uniform and called upon for strikebreaking purposes.

The young workers who know from bitter experience what a victory for the operators will mean for the young miners, must give their militant support. They must fight with the anthracite miners and help to turn this strike into such a victory that it will mark a turning point in the retreat of the working class before the huge offensive of the American bosses. Young workers, young miners, fight for these demands!

A 6-hour day, 5-day week!

Standardization of wages and working conditions!

A minimum wage of \$10 a day for all miners, young or old, at the face! Nationalization of the mines and workers' control!

No government intervention! Against the use of troops in strikes! No arbitration!

For a labor party!

Support the Progressive Miners' Committee and its program! Repudiate Lewis and other fake leaders of the United Mine Workers who act as agents of the bosses within our union!

No young workers under 18 to be allowed to work in or around the mines!

Young workers! Young miners! Support the anthracite miners in their strike. Help defeat the big open shop wage cutting drive of the employers.

Young Workers League of America, John Williamson, National Sec'y. 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago.

## LIST OF CHARTER MEMBERS OF THE DAILY WORKER BUILDERS' CLUB WITH VOTE AT MONDAY'S MEETING IN N. Y.

NEW YORK, Sept. 18.—Each of the comrades whose names are given below have qualified for membership in the DAILY WORKER Builders' Club of New York by securing at least six dollars worth of subscriptions or three dollars in donations for the DAILY WORKER since July 1st, or by helping with the work of the DAILY WORKER New York agency a certain minimum of time.

Every one whose name is here given is entitled to a vote at the meeting of the DAILY WORKER Builders' Club which will take place this Monday evening, Sept. 21st, International Press Day, at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th Street, New York City.

Benjamin Anapol, George Ashkenudse.

Elizabeth Balogh, Lester Balogh, Stephen Balogh, A. Barkinsky, Lydia Bass, G. Basky, Louis Baum, J. O. Bentall, Philip Beral, Berkowitz (care of Markoff), Rae Berson, Pauline Berzon, Bordinaro, Herman Botwinick, S. Boyajian, Bessie Braden, Joe Brady, Bessie Brownstein.

Fred Cammer, Harry Canter, Beatrice Carlin, John Carras, Herry Casten, Gideon Cayer, Rose Chester, A. Chorover, Julius Codkind, B. Cohen, J. Cohen, Anne Coles, Copoulos, E. Cooper, Mrs. Cooper, J. L. Cooper, Leah Cooper, Joe Crane, Fay Croll.

Ben Davidson, Rose Davis, Yetta Davis, Solon De Leon, Benjamin Dickerman, Chas. Dirba, E. Willis Dirba, Chas. Disenhaus, Sonia Dropkin, Minnie Drosnin, David Dubinsky.

Samuel Einwohner, Harry Eisman, Irving Eisner, W. Elk, Abraham Elkin, F. Etkin.

Harry Fainaru, Joseph Feldman, Esther Finkelstein, N. Fishman, Anton Foders, Harry Fox, Harry Fox (Y. W. L.), Philip Frankfeld, Anna Frau-wirth, Zoltan Freedman, Ernest Friedman, M. Friedman, Abe Furman.

J. Gaal, E. Gardos, P. Gelman, T. Germ, Kate Gitlow, Veronica Golaszewski, Alice Gold, C. Golos, J. N. Golos, Max Goodman, M. Gordon H. Gordon, G. Gordon, B. Gordon, W. A. Gordon, May Gostin, Clara Gottlieb, Pearl Gottlieb, Lena Greenberg, J. Griman, F. Gross, Sylvia Gudesman, A. Gusakoff, A. Guttman, G. Gyorffy.

David Haas, Max Hagen, Samuel Halpern, Rae Heimowitz, Bessie Helfand, A. Hendrickson, M. Hershkowitz, Leo Hofbauer, Rachael Holtman, Mathias Holzbauer, Helen Horn, Morris Horwitz.

D. Ionescue, Annie Isaacson, E. C. Jaccod, Adele Jager, C. K. Jankaitis, Julius Janocsk, M. Jarosevsky, F. Jehn.

Edna Kagan, Morris Kahn, B. G. Kalfides, Dave Kanner, Peter Karklin, John Kasper, Bert Katterfeld, L. E. Katterfeld, Marjorie Katterfeld, Martin Katz, Mary Kerschner, Joseph Kertesz, Anna Kimberg, L. Charles Kin, Meyer Kirschner, N. I. Kishor, L.

Klein, Jearl Kleinman, Leo Kling, Abraham Koosis, Kosatchkoff, J. Kosove, Sophie Krieger, M. E. Kull, Sophie Kurey, Hyman Kusher, M. Kushinsky.

Leo Lamport, Joseph Lapides, I. Lasker, Lewis Lazer, Harry Leff, Nathan Leibowitz, Tessie Leibowitz, S. W. Levich, Eva Liberador, Alex Lifshitz, Edward Lindgren, Pearl Litvakoff, Leon Litvin, Harry N. Lorch, Wm. Lupu, M. Lurie, Jim Lustig.

Hugh McKierman, Miriam Machover, Mary Mackler, Fred Macy, M. Malkin, Max Manes, Freda Margulis, Leon Margulis, Wm. Margulis, Max Mariash, E. Marks, A. Mellina, Sophie Mellman, Clara Meltzer, Clara Meltzer (Y. W. L.), Lillian Michaels, Louis Michaels, Frank Miller, Elizabeth Mins, H. F. Mins, Chas. Mitchell, Louise Mitchell, A. Moss, Chas. Müsil, Henry Minogradoff.

Henry Nauthner, C. Nemeroff, Bessie Newman, Joseph Newman, Celia Nesin, Samuel Nesin, Joseph Nestor.

Oberfeld, Louis Objile, May O'Brien, S. Ogradnick, Arved Osol, Eugene Ossipoff.

P. H. Palter, Theano Pappasoglon, A. Popkin, Gussie Parr, M. Pasternak, Sarah Pecker, Arthur Peer Louis Pepper, C. O. Peterson, Wm. Peterson, George Petkus, Sophia Petkus, Mollie Picheny, Mrs. F. Pilat, Gertrude Pincus, Anna Podalsky, Podalsky, Sylvan A. Pollack, H. Paley, Stephen Poydashoff, B. Prsybyszewski.

Tadeus Radwanski, M. Rappaport, Anna Rieger, A. Riemer, Belle Robbins, Mary Rosen, B. Rosenfeld, Mae Rosenblatt, Rose Rotherberg, F. Rothman, H. Rothstein, Ed. Royce, Abe Rubin.

Victor Saarkoppel, Edith Sarachik, Matilda Schneider, Sophia Schneider, Rose Schwartz, S. Shkop, B. Seelen, Edith Segel, M. Shulman, I. Shurman, Sam Siegal, Ella Silverstein, Charles Simon, L. Siselman, Arthur Smith, Rosa Spiro, Victor Spops, Lena Starkman, Louis Steinberg, Sylvia Steinwasser, C. Stekloff, F. Surtshin, Max Sylvan, Geza Szepesi, Elizabeth Szoke, Lillian Tannenbaum, Jacob Tarle, J. Toplensky, Bernard Trembach, J. Undjus.

Hazel Venus, John Virkus, Beatrice Vogel.

Aranka Waldner, Sarah Wand, Milton Weich, Morris Weinfeld, Albert Weisbord, Frank Weisenburger.

A. Zablackas, Helen Zaikowski, Michael Ziebel, Mary Zfassman.

If any one who should be included in the DAILY WORKER Builders' Club of New York, does not find his name here he should immediately notify L. E. Katterfeld at 108 East 14th Street.

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