

# THE NEW MAGAZINE

Section of The DAILY WORKER

SATURDAY, SEPT. 24, 1927

This Magazine Section Appears Every Saturday in The DAILY WORKER

ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor

## EDITOR'S NOTES

By ALEX BITTELMAN

THE ruling bureaucracy of the trade unions comes to the convention of the American Federation of Labor with a record of "achievements" which may be very pleasing to the American capitalists but which must call forth disgust and resentment of every honest working man and working woman. The treacherous game of collaboration with the employers in which the Greens and Wolls are so fervently engaged is working out splendidly in the interests of the capitalists while at the same time continuing to sap the life of the trade unions and to weaken the working class generally.

We would like to ask the following questions: What has the class collaboration leadership of Woll and Green accomplished for the American trade union movement since the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L.? Where, if at all, have the conditions of labor been improved? What positive gains can labor register as a result of the "New Wage Policy" in which William Green takes so much pride? Wherein has the position of the workers been strengthened with respect to the employers consequent upon the numerous ventures of the trade union bureaucracy into so-called labor banking, insurance schemes, real estate enterprises, etc.?

A truthful answer to these questions would make a story of incompetence, failure and betrayal such as would condemn forever the reactionary bureaucracy in the eyes of every conscious and militant worker.

TO secure a clear picture of the exact position of the American working class today, it is necessary to compare the position of the workers with that of the employers. It is essential to know what policies with regard to labor the capitalist class is pursuing and what have the capitalists achieved in this respect. And the answer to this question is that the American capitalist class has continually strengthened its positions, has proceeded steadily on the offensive against the working class, forcing the workers and their unions to retreat and still further retreat.

We are living in the age of imperialism. And one of the outstanding events in this era of post-war imperialism is the emergence of the American capitalist class as the biggest and most powerful imperialist power in the world. This is evidenced by the tremendous accumulation, concentration and centralization of capital, the growth of capitalist combines and mighty super-trusts, the export of American capital to all parts of the world on an unheard of scale, the consequent extension of the rule of American capital into Latin America, China, etc., the sharpening of imperialist rivalries and the danger of fresh imperialist wars. The exploitation of the American workers is becoming ever more intensified.

The capitalist class of the United States is proceeding on the offensive against the working class. The wages of the millions of semi-skilled and unskilled workers are being kept at the lowest possible level. Through speed-up systems, company unions, welfare schemes, etc., the employers are increasing exploitation, undermining the unions, poisoning the minds of the workers with bourgeois illusions and weakening the working class generally.

At the same time the capitalist class is continually extending its power and control of the government of the United States. The machinery of the federal and state governments is becoming ever stronger and more centralized and systematically employed to crush the workers' struggles and to keep the working class down. The capitalist class on the political field is just as alert as on the economic field. Through its control of the republican and democratic parties the American capitalist class secures the fulfillment of its wishes and interests by all the agencies of the American government.

In the field of international relations, the American capitalist class and the government which serves its interests are militantly pushing ahead for the extension of American imperialist rule in Latin America (remember Nicaragua, Mexico, the Philippines, etc.), on the Pacific, in Europe, China, etc. With regard to the Soviet Union, the first country on earth ruled by workers and peasants, the American capitalist class maintains a consistent policy of hostility which heightens tremendously the danger of a united imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union for which British imperialism is feverishly preparing.

What has the official leadership of the American  
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—Will He Tackle Him Like This?

## The A. F. of L. Convention

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE 47th convention of the American Federation of Labor finds the labor movement in a deepening crisis. More than ever the class-collaboration policy of the Green-Woll bureaucracy is demonstrating itself to be utterly unfit to build the political and industrial movement of the workers.

The past year has dealt severe blows to this policy. Although it has been a period of high industrial activity, the unions have not succeeded in organizing the unorganized, save in the cases of a relatively few skilled workers. This failure to build the movement in a period of so-called prosperity is one of the most striking signs of the bankruptcy of the official policy of the A. F. of L.

The cringing "union-management cooperation" schemes, B. & O. Plan, etc., have not saved the unions from the open-shop attacks of the employers. As this is written, the United Mine Workers are engaged in a life and death struggle, the employers seeking desperately to destroy this once powerful organization. And Willard, the great champion of the B. & O. Plan, shows where he stands by endorsing

ing the program of big capital to introduce the ten-hour day on the railroads.

The Watson-Parker Law, the outstanding expression of the no-struggle policy of the "Higher Strategy of Labor" and hope of the bureaucrats, is proving itself such a millstone about the necks of the unions that even the upper officialdom are beginning openly to condemn it as a menace to the labor movement. The fight against this law will go on with increasing tempo.

Trade union capitalism received a body blow in the collapse of the boasted of B. of L. E. financial institutions, which exposed the squandering of millions of the workers' money by grafting officials and brought to light more clearly than any other incident in recent labor history the deep decay of the trade union officialdom.

The lickspittle political policy of the Green regime, in keeping the workers officially tied to the two old parties, has only resulted in a fresh series of governmental attacks against the unions. Never was there such a broadside of injunctions and hostile legislation directed against the unions as now. The newly exposed corruption in the New Jersey Federation of Labor shows the poisonous effects of the alliances between the officials of the unions and the capitalists, developed largely by the Gompersian non-partisan political policy.

The position of the labor movement is that of a general retreat before the attacks of the militant employers. The surrender policies of the reactionary bureaucracy, instead of protecting the workers, simply stimulate the employers to make fresh assaults upon the workers' organizations and ideology.

### The Tasks of the Convention.

In the face of this crisis, the convention is confronted with the most elementary tasks for the building of the labor movement. First, the direct strengthening of the unions themselves by the organization of the unorganized, by the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, by the democratization of the unions and the development of an honest and aggressive leadership.

Then there is the burning necessity to break the  
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Wm. Green, President of the A. F. of L.

# The A. F. of L. Convention

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alliance between the trade union officialdom and to establish a mass labor party. Until this is done the labor movement must flounder helplessly in the grip of reaction.

The rejection of the general class-collaboration policy of the bureaucracy and the initiation of a militant program to resist wage cuts, to increase wages, and to shorten the workday and work-week, is fundamental. This carries with it a repudiation of the B. & O. Plan, and similar schemes for speeding-up of the workers in industry. It also means the rejection of trade union capitalism and the illusions connected therewith, and the severance of the labor banks from the trade unions.

Finally, to indicate only the basic lines of policy necessary for the rejuvenation of the trade union movement, the convention, were it awake to the necessities of the workers, would launch a systematic struggle against American imperialism. It would condemn the growing campaign for the militarization of the workers, arouse the workers to the danger of a new world war, and join hands with the workers of the world for defense of the Chinese and Russian revolutions, and for the establishment of world trade union unity.

These are the burning necessities of the movement. They are indispensable in order to equip the workers politically and industrially to struggle against powerful American capitalism. A progressive convention would inevitably build upon these general lines.

## What the Convention Will Do.

It is not hard, however, to forecast a very different line for the A. F. of L. convention. It is practically certain that the ultra-reactionaries in control of the trade union movement, corrupt to the core, will do nothing of their own volition to change the course of the labor movement from a defensive retreat to a victorious advance. And the mass pressure is not at present great enough to force them along the line of progress. The convention bids fair to be one of the most reactionary yet held by the A. F. of L., despite the growing alarm among the bureaucrats at the manifest failure of their class-collaboration policies.

Doubtless the convention will cling to the main line of Green and his co-reactionaries. It will nauseate us with appeals to the employers to join with the labor leaders to company unionize the trade unions and to turn them into mere adjuncts of the profit-making machinery of the capitalists. It will smear over the scandalous corruption in the labor movement, exemplified recently by the B. of L. E. and New Jersey Federation situations, and will pour out its eulogies upon the corrupt politicians with whom the bureaucrats stand in illicit alliance all over the country. It will waste its time in the never-ending futile jurisdictional disputes. It will adopt the customary empty crop of resolutions regarding the organization of the unorganized. It will be the usual joy-ride, mutual admiration affair for the upper leadership and it will wind up by re-electing the old gang to power.

The convention, instead of beginning to orientate the labor movement towards a definite struggle against American imperialism, will doubtless mark a still more abject surrender of the bureaucrats to the plans of the employers for world conquest. The growing capitalist attack upon the Soviet Union, instead of being condemned will be glorified and supported. The Communists will be held up as the authors of all the troubles and difficulties of the working class. Such, in the main, will be the convention. If any progressive actions are to be taken, they are not yet discernable to the naked eye.

## The Perspective.

The foregoing would seem a somewhat dismal analysis to one not acquainted with the labor movement in this country. The American Federation of Labor convention is not representative of the working class, nor of the currents of protest surging through its ranks. It is a gathering of high-paid, reactionary officials. In no country is the central body of the labor movement so undemocratically constructed. At the A. F. of L. convention the rank and file is conspicuous by its absence. The only way a stray worker gets to the convention as a delegate is by coming from some obscure central body or federal union.

Although the A. F. of L. convention may create the appearance that all is serene, deep in the ranks of the working class vast currents of discontent surge. The great masses of workers are exploited bitterly. They work for impossibly low wages, as the general national average of \$29.00 per week for male adult workers amply proves. Passaic indicated what happens when this discontent finds favorable means for expression. The upheaval among the miners, resulting in the defeat of the Lewis administration, is another symptom. Likewise, the bitter struggle of needle workers, in the face of a treacherous officialdom, indicates that the workers are not in step with the class-collaboration policies of the Green bureaucracy.

By the use of autocratic methods, unparalleled in the history of the American labor movement, the upper bureaucracy, aided openly by the employers

and the state, manage to stifle much of the discontent and protest in the labor movement. But they are merely damming it up. The flood is bound to come, especially should the present recession in industry develop into a sharp industrial crisis. Then, in spite of the Greens and Wolls, the trade unions would be flung into the struggle and the doors opened for progressive developments in the labor movement. The hard shell of smug conservatism, coating over the top of the labor movement, as expressed by the A. F. of L. convention, is no real index of the state of mind of the working masses.

## EDITOR'S NOTES

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Federation of Labor done to counteract these imperialist policies of the American capitalist class? What policies and concrete acts have the Wolls and Greens produced to stop the offensive of the employers?

It is universally recognized that one of the cardinal tasks of the American labor movement is the organization of the unorganized. Even the Greens and Wolls feel compelled to render a certain amount of lip-service to this question. But what has the reactionary bureaucracy actually achieved in this respect? What has become of the decision of the Detroit convention to initiate an organization campaign among the automobile workers? The answer is: Nothing, because the bureaucracy never took seriously that decision. The only genuine efforts made in that direction have come from the Automobile Workers Union of Detroit which is an organization independent of the A. F. of L.

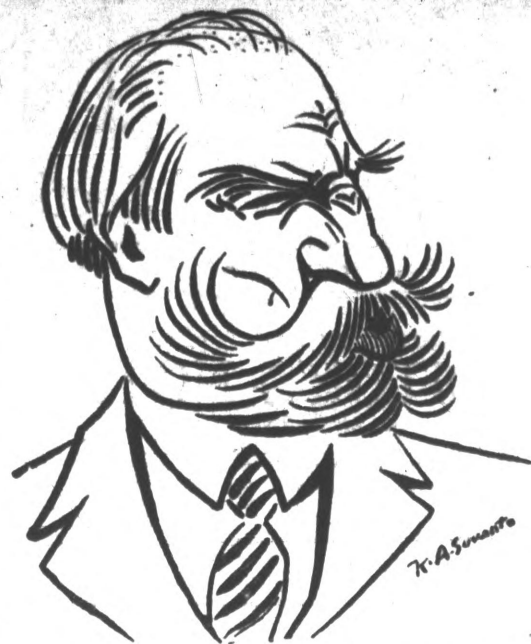
The organization of the unorganized is at present the acid test for true loyalty to the American working class. And the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., despite its official protestations, takes its position on this question on the side of the employers and against the workers. This fact was conclusively demonstrated in the Passaic strike where the organization campaign was carried through by the left wing and progressives in the face of the most damnable opposition and sabotage of the official bureaucracy.

For a period of several years the Communists and the left wing have been warning the American labor movement against the capitalistic ventures of the reactionary bureaucracy in the field of labor banking, insurance and real estate enterprises, etc. The answer of the bureaucrats was more persecution of the left wing. Their own capitalistic schemes they represented as something which was going to work miracles in the improvement of the conditions of labor. These labor banking propositions, together with the "New Wage Policy," were heralded through the labor movement as the discovery of a new path to working class freedom. It was even styled: The Higher Strategy of Labor.

Ask the Locomotive Engineers. They'll tell you. Theirs is one of the oldest and most powerful unions. It was the bureaucracy of the B. of L. E. that was first to start labor banking and other capitalist schemes and to develop them on the grandest scale. What happened as a result would take a book to tell, but the outstanding fact is that this powerful union has been brought to a most dangerous condition by the failures, corruption, incompetence and capitalistic ventures of the champions of labor banking and the so-called Higher Strategy of Labor.

In the momentous question of imperialism, militarism and war the reactionary bureaucracy followed the lead and supported the policies of the capitalist class. The last congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor offers a brilliant illustration of this point. Woll and Green once more demonstrated their loyalty to American imperialism by defending the domination of Wall Street in Latin America, by shielding the murderous acts of the American marines in Nicaragua, by crushing the opposition of several Latin-American delegates to the outrages of the American imperialists in those countries, etc.

The hostile attitude of the Wolls and Greens to-



Chas. E. Hughes, who not only sports the handsomest set of whiskers but is also the presidential candidate of Andy Mellon for the next election. As once before he will suddenly proclaim himself a friend of labor.

ward the Soviet Union continues unabated, the same as that of the American capitalist class. The delegation of American trade unionists to the Soviet Union, which is at present on its return trip home, was organized and proceeded to Russia in the face of the most bitter attacks, persecution and terrorism of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. Woll and Green have in this instance also served their masters well.

And as to the political task of the American working class, the trade union reactionaries continue to hold the workers back from independent political action pressing instead for more loyalty and support to the capitalist parties.

Just recently Matthew Woll delivered himself once more on the subject. And what was his message to American labor? No independent political action. No Labor Party, the old futile and discredited policy of labor supporting the "best" candidates on the tickets of the republican and democratic parties. The reactionaries are following a consistent line. Having abandoned the policy of struggle against the employers, having adopted as their gospel the policy of class collaboration (including the New Wage Policy, Trade Union Capitalism, B. & O. Plan, the Higher Strategy of Labor, etc.), the reactionaries are vigilantly guarding against the emergence of working class struggle on the political field.

INSTEAD of fighting the employers the reactionaries are devoting their energies to fighting the militants and progressives in the labor movement. When the capitalists attack the workers, Green and Woll attack the left wing. This is the sort of division of labor arrived at between the trade reactionaries and the capitalists. The disgraceful attitude of Green and Woll in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, two working class martyrs of capitalist class vengeance, will never be forgiven nor forgotten by the American working class.

One of the outstanding "achievements" of the Green-Woll combination in the past year is its vicious persecution of the left wing and progressives in the trade unions. It is to the extermination of the militants in the labor movement that the reactionaries are bending all their efforts. The trade union reactionaries, the same as the capitalists, seem to realize that in order to turn the working class completely helpless the left wing must be thoroughly crushed and exterminated.

But this is not going to happen. The American labor movement has already developed sufficient consciousness, stamina and militancy to be able to withstand even the combined attack of the capitalists, their government and the reactionary bureaucracy. The danger lies in the vital disintegration of the trade union movement, such as is threatening the United Mine Workers, as a result of the treachery and corruption of the bureaucracy. The left wing must therefore make the coming convention of the A. F. of L. in Los Angeles the starting point for a fresh concentration of all the militant and progressive forces in the labor movement to resist the disastrous policies of the reactionaries, to instill life, optimism and militancy among the workers to struggle against the capitalists, to draw into the labor movement the millions of unorganized, to develop the political consciousness of the masses and to move towards a Labor Party, to prepare the workers for the growing war danger and for the defense of the Soviet Union, to break completely with the capitalist business ventures of the reactionaries, to struggle against American imperialism and militarism and thus build a powerful and militant working class movement in the United States.





## The Trained Rams of Betrayed Unionism

THE cartoon accompanying this article gives you a better picture of the role played by the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor than thousands of words. But since people insist on reading articles they must be served.

Those who have had the opportunity of visiting that delightfully interesting and uplifting place, the stockyards of Chicago, will be better able to appreciate Fred Ellis's excellent drawing than those whose acquaintanceship with the "Yards" is confined to a reading of Sinclair's "Jungle" or the neat script on the wrappers that enfold Armour's choice hams.

There are trained fleas, trained dogs and trained animals of many varieties. We may live to see the day when even bed bugs can be trained to bite only democrats and republicans. But those animals and vermin do their stunts on the stage to the great delight of an audience and to the profit of their owners. They don't hurt anybody. But the trained rams, like the one pictured by Ellis, lead their fellows to the butcher's knife and return for more. Surely this is about as low a moral level as a four-legged animal could sink to. The only excuse we can make for the traitorous stockyards rams is that they don't know any better, not being able to think. We sincerely hope that some vegetarian or Freudian does not start an argument with us and insist that rams do think. As a matter of fact the rams are with the great majority of us in this respect, if we lump them with the one billion and a half or so of human beings that make up the population of the earth.

Be that as it may the prosperous, conservative, respectable, patriotic, law abiding, leaders of the American Federation of Labor will meet at Los Angeles in the early part of October to devote a week or two in that pleasant climate, to the business of devising ways and means to keep the working class of the United States, the slaves of mill, mine and factory, contented with the shackles of wage-slavery for another year. They will overhaul the policies formulated by them at past conventions if these policies may carry the slightest suggestion of class-consciousness. They will deliver well-directed rhetorical blasts against the radicals and scourge the Soviet Union with the scorpion whips of their vocal wrath. For all those services they will expect more than tolerance from the capitalists. The trained rams of the stockyards are merely allowed to live until old age palsies their limbs. The trained rams of betrayed unionism demand their milk and honey, the reward of their treason to the working class.

In all the great strikes that have taken place in this country for several years past, the high officialdom of the A. F. of L. has invariably functioned as trained rams in inducing the strikers to return to their slave pens before their demands were met. Of course strikers are human beings and human beings do not always act like sheep. So our trained trade union rams must use their brains as well as their pedal extremities.

When 400,000 steel workers walked out of the steel mills in 1919 and for six months waged a heroic battle against the mightiest industrial power in the United States, backed by the forces of the government, the reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor permitted Mike Tighe, president of the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Tin and Iron Workers to sabotage the strike. Despite the heroism of the strikers and the militancy of the radical leadership of that strike, the workers were forced back to the industrial shambles and the employes of the United States Steel Trust remain unorganized until this day, with the confidence of the workers in trade unionism impaired as a result of that treachery.

When the railroad workers struck in 1922 and crippled the lines from coast to coast there was no

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

leadership given by the high officials of the A. F. of L. Indeed the strike was almost unofficial except in a very technical sense. One threat from Daugherty and Bert Jewell, then head of the shop crafts division of the American Federation of Labor, threw up his hands and hoisted the white flag of surrender. The rank and file were allowed to carry on a long-drawn-out resistance for years, with defeat constantly staring them in the face. The protracted struggle transformed the militancy that once prevailed in the shop crafts into apathy, disillusionment and despair. The leaders had again played the role of trained rams. The slaves were again back in their fetters.

During a strike in the bituminous fields, John L. Lewis threw up his hands and declared that he could not fight against his own government. His own government had issued an injunction against the miners which enjoined the strikers and their leaders against taking any action calculated to bring victory to the strikers. The wily Gompers upbraided Lewis for this cowardly conduct at the Denver convention when Lewis ran against Gompers for the presidency of the A. F. of L. This was campaign dynamite. Gompers was no better than Lewis, but

he was more adept in the art of carrying water on both shoulders. Of course the miners were handicapped in the struggle against the operators. Their trained rams had only one object, to get them back to the mines as quickly as possible. Whatever gains the miners made were in spite of their leaders.

The story of the Passaic strike is fresh in the memory of every reader of *The DAILY WORKER*. It was organized by Communists and in face of a vicious campaign by the employers and the municipal government, reinforced by blasts from the propaganda mills of the executive council of the A. F. of L. and chiefly by Matthew Woll, the political poodle of the Civic Federation from his watch tower in the Metropolitan Insurance Company's building in Madison Square, the mill workers held out for almost a year and forced the bosses to make concessions. When Thomas MacMahon, president of the United Textile Workers stepped into the situation it was for the purpose of sending the textile slaves back to the mills.

Recently, officials of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Employes made a big bluff about organizing the New York rapid transit employes. After waging a battle in the newspapers for several weeks they quit cold when the workers were expecting strike action. The result of this policy is to discourage the workers, to make them lose faith in trades unionism and to make it more difficult for progressive and radical leaders who mean business to induce them to organize for a real struggle for a betterment of their conditions. This is just what the bosses and the Yakers want.

When, during the last election campaign there was widespread sentiment for a third party around the personality of Robert M. LaFollette, the executive council of the A. F. of L. was forced to bow to the wishes of the masses in the trade unions who wanted to break away from the old capitalist parties. The trained rams followed the flock for awhile but when the course of public sentiment was changed by clever Wall Street propaganda the rams trotted to the head of the procession and helped to lead the sheep back again to the republican and democratic political slaughter houses. Not that LaFolletteism offered the workers and poor farmers a solution for their economic ills. Nevertheless a third party would embarrass big business. It is much easier and less expensive to manage two parties than three and they feared that out of a third petty-bourgeois party would spring a Labor Party.

The trained rams of trade unionism are always on the job. But for them the capitalists would not sleep so peacefully. Without them the exploited workers would be in a better position to organize the unorganized and extract more of the product of their toil from the employers. They would not be so hampered in the effort to organize a Labor Party.

The workers of this country, and indeed of all capitalist countries must fight the capitalists for every concession granted them. This is to be expected. But they also have to fight the reactionary leaders who are paid by them to represent them. The progressives in the American trade union movement must understand that the Greens, Wolls and Lewises have nothing in common with the exploited, poorly paid workers who pay them their salaries. They have everything in common with the system they are pledged to defend; the system that enables them to live in luxury on large salaries extracted from the members of the trade unions and the unknown emoluments they derive thru other and more mysterious sources.

The trained rams of betrayed trade unionism must go down before a left wing movement that will clear the unions of betrayers and bring under the banner of militant trade unionism the millions of unorganized workers in this country.

### Vision

By EDWARD W. CONNAWAY.

Last night as I lay sleeping  
In my cold and cheerless bed,  
I saw in a dream the figures  
Of a thousand martyred dead

March by like troops to battle  
With a deep and measured tread,  
And I saw a wind-whipped standard,  
A banner of deepest red.

Like ghosts our lost battalions,  
The men who fell in the fight,  
Went down the street with measured beat  
To fade in the starlit night.

### Sacco and Vanzetti

By EDWARD W. CONNAWAY.

Now you are numbered with our martyred dead.  
The slender cord is severed, you are free.  
The flesh is burned, the fire of hate is fed.  
The butchers rant and rave that all was fair  
'Twas murder stark. The blindest man can see.  
They made a million rebels with their chair!



# Recognize the Workers' Republic

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

**T**HERE are many reasons why the demand should grow in the United States for the recognition of the Union of Soviet Republics. Among these are: (1) The growing recession in industry creating an increasing army of unemployed; (2) The growing trade war necessitating the hunt for new markets; (3) The large amount of capital available for export; (4) The continuing agricultural crisis; (5) The favorable report of the American trade union delegation that has been visiting the Soviet Union; (6) The favorable reports made by a multitude of trade union delegations visiting the Soviet Union from other countries; (7) The continuous stream of favorable reports concerning conditions in the Soviet Union made by returning business men, politicians, college professors and members of student delegations; (8) The indisputable development of Soviet industry and agriculture, resulting in the gradual lifting of the standard of living of Russian workers and peasants.

There are others. Those presented do not appear in the order of their importance. That order is dictated by the viewpoint of the individual considering this question.

It is important to discuss this question of "The Recognition of the Soviet Union" on the eve of the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, since some workers may be misled by the attitude on this question of the delegates now gathering in Los Angeles, California.

It may be stated now that few, if any, delegates to the A. F. of L. convention will raise their voices in favor of recognition. If a recognition resolution comes before the convention, it is certain that it will be fought bitterly, with the arguments coined by Samuel Gompers during the declining years of his presidency, and now adopted by the regime of President William Green and Vice President Matthew Wolf.

Even in 1921 and 1922, when workers' organizations with a membership of over 2,000,000 endorsed the program of the Committee for the Recognition of Soviet Russia, when Senator William E. Borah, head of the foreign relations committee of the United States senate, and William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists, supported this committee and spoke from its platform, it will be remembered that Samuel Gompers was the spearhead of the American capitalist government's attack against the Workers' Republic.

When Senator Borah provided for a hearing before his senate committee on the question of Soviet Recognition, it was Samuel Gompers and his lackeys, like William English Walling, Chester Wright, John Spargo and other renegade socialists who came into the committee burdened down with documents to show why the government of the employers in this country should not give recognition to the government of the workers and peasants in Russia.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**, at the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. last year stated the case for the American labor reaction and for American capitalism as follows:

"At the moment there stands an impregnable barrier between the working people of the government of that country (the Soviet Union) and the American Federation of Labor. . . There must come a psychological change, a change in the viewpoint of those who embrace the philosophy followed by the peoples of that great country (the Soviet Union) before we can even think of establishing co-operative relations between them and the American Federation of Labor. . . When they (the workers of the Soviet Union) embrace a philosophy that is so antagonistic to the philosophy embraced and followed by the American Federation of Labor, then it would be a waste of time and effort to attempt to reconcile our conditions."

In support of its position the A. F. of L. officialdom adopts as its own every falsehood spread by the Coolidge-Kellogg department of state at Washington, thus giving added testimony that it is a sharp claw of the American imperialist bird of prey.

It is well to remember, however, that the A. F. of L. reaction is not the American working class. It is not even the American Federation of Labor.

Returning idleness in industry, now as in 1921-22, will cause American workers to think more upon the problem of keeping the wheels of industry turning in this country.

The Soviet Union and the Chinese Republic today offer the greatest markets for the goods produced in capitalist countries.

Recognition of the Soviet Union means the opening of trade relations with the Soviet Union. It means that the Russian market can consume large quantities of goods produced in this country, keeping American workshops going and American labor busy. Under these conditions the workers in their local unions are not expected to give much heed to the wild attacks once more directed against the Soviet Union by the leading delegates in the convention of the A. F. of L.

Instead the role of the labor bureaucracy, as the agent of the imperialists, becomes ever clearer to an increasing number of workers. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia thus teaches to American workers the lessons to be learned in the American class struggle.

The growing trade war, between the United States and the great capitalist powers of Western Europe, also favors the position of the Soviet Union.

Immediately after the war the capitalist countries of Western Europe, industries disorganized by the war, consumed large quantities of American products. With the revival of European industry, this market is increasingly shut off, making it impossible to ignore any longer the one-sixth of the land surface of the globe contained within the Soviet Union as a market for its products.

Deprived of other markets, as in France, the American exploiters must turn elsewhere or see the dust and cobwebs gather in their mills and factories. It is logical that they should turn to the Soviet Union. This is seen actually at work in the case of the Standard Oil Company of New York purchasing Russian oil in order to improve its position in the competitive struggle with the English-controlled Royal Dutch Shell.

"But," says the capitalist newspaper editorial writer, "we can trade with the Soviet Union, but we are not compelled to recognize the Soviet government."

Evidently that is what the British tory government believed when it ordered the raids on the Soviet Trade Delegation in London, and later broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet government has a monopoly of Russian trade, foreign as well as domestic, and it can do business with whom it pleases. The British profiteers have learned this. Their government has lost them much business. If and when the Soviet government decides that recognition goes with trade, insofar as the

United States is concerned, then the United States government will be compelled to recognize the Soviet government or go without the trade.

The Soviet Union stands in need of credits in capitalist countries. The American money lords have much capital to export. Here is another basis for relations between the two countries, once the Wall Street bankers and their office boys in Washington get over the dream that the Soviet government may some day pay the czarist debts.

Henri Deterding, the head of the Royal Dutch Shell, still mourns the fact that the Soviet government took over oil fields to which he claims he is entitled. Therefore, he will have nothing to do with Soviet Rule. The Standard Oil Company of New York, in its hunt for profits, has no such scruples. American financiers may profit by the wisdom of "Socony."

The continuing agricultural crisis in this country draws a sympathetic view from the American farmer toward the Soviet Union. Idleness in industry in the cities means a diminished home market for the American farmer. The Soviet Union has also been a good purchaser in the United States, especially of cotton and live stock, even of grains, and this is not lost on the farmers, troubled by big crops but low prices.

There are other arguments for recognition, that are disheartening for the capitalist, an inspiration for the workers.

In the Tenth Year of Soviet Rule, an American trade union delegation finally makes its way across the Soviet border to study the achievements of the Workers' Republic. It has taken a long time, years after similar delegations have visited the Soviet Union from other countries. The American delegation, headed by James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, has already issued numerous favorable interviews on the conditions it has found among the workers in Moscow, in the Donetz Basin, of coal and steel, and other sections of the Soviet Union. The report that will be made should provide the basis for a new policy.

(Continued on page 7)



# The A. F. of L. Officialdom in the Last War and the Next

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

On April 6, 1917, President Wilson declared war on Germany and her allies.

On March 12, 1917, a month before, a special enlarged meeting of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor was convened at which were present 148 representatives of 79 affiliated national and international unions, railway brotherhoods and the five departments of the A. F. of L.

This conference, which it has since been learned was organized under instructions of President Wilson, adopted a declaration setting forth "labor's" attitude toward the bloody conflict raging in the eastern hemisphere in the event of American participation. The concluding paragraph of this declaration, which officially committed the labor movement to the war program of the House of Morgan, reads as follows:

"But despite our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declare as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard, and preserve the republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity, to devotedly and patriotically give like service."

In the name of Labor, labor officialdom sent out the call for labor to die for labor's enemies.

In the name of Justice, labor officialdom sold the American working class to the class justice of the war mongers.

In the name of Freedom, labor officialdom called for support of a government which suppressed labor and filled the prisons, state and federal, with the flower of working class manhood and womanhood.

In the name of Humanity, labor officialdom called for support of the most inhuman war ever waged, a war which ended in a peace more horrible than the battlefields, a war fought to determine which band of robbers should get the biggest share of the loot sweated from the workers in capitalist and colonial countries.

Samuel Gompers himself was appointed one of the seven members of the Council of National Defense. Under its auspices were organized the various sub-committees, including the Committee on Labor with Gompers as chairman.

Among the names of the members of this "labor" committee appointed by Gompers were Ralph M. Easley, now secretary of the National Security League, as secretary; Gertrude Beeks, then assistant to the secretary of the National Civic Federation; Elisha Lee, then general manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad; Frankel, one of the vice-presidents of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; C. E. Michael, National Association of Manufacturers, August Belmont, Daniel Guggenheim, Cornelius Vanderbilt, John D. Rockefeller and George Pope, president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

With Gompers on the Council of National Defense was Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Here we have the real beginning of that famous friendship which later resulted in Gompers endorsing efficiency unionism as typified by the "B. and O. plan."

Other members of the Council of National Defense were, in addition to the secretaries of the departments of war, navy, interior, commerce and agriculture, Howard E. Coffin, automobile capitalist, Bernard Baruch, capitalist and Wall Street operator, Julius Rosenwald, head of Sears, Roebuck and Company, Godfrey of the Drexel Institute and Franklin Martin representing the medical profession.

The Council of National Defense with its various sub-committees became the actual government of the United States.

With practically absolute power it ruled the masses in industry with regard only for the economic and political interests of the capitalists and their agents who dominated these committees.

Scott Nearing in his pamphlet "The Great Madness" furnishes some enlightening facts. Nearing says:

Mr. Willard's sub-committee on "Express" consists of four vice-presidents, one from the American, one from the Wells-Fargo, one from the Southern and one from the Adams Express Company. His committee on "Locomotives" consists of the vice-president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, a vice-president of the Porter Locomotive Company, the president of the American Locomotive Company, and the chairman of the Lima Locomotive Corporation.

Mr. Rosenwald's committee on "Shoe and Leather Industries" consists of eight persons, all of them representing shoe or leather companies. His committee on "Woolen Manufactures" consists of eight representatives of the woolen industry, and his committee on "Supplies" con-

sists of a retired business man, and one representative each from Sears, Roebuck & Company, the Quaker Oats Company and Libby, McNeil & Libby (meat packers).

The same business control appears in Mr. Baruch's committees. His committee on "Cement" consists of the presidents of four of the leading cement companies, the vice-president of four of the leading cement companies, the vice-president of a fifth cement company, and a representative of the Bureau of Standards of Washington. His committee on "Copper" has the names of the presidents of the Anaconda Copper Company, the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, the United Verde Copper Company and the Utah Copper Company. Mr. Murray M. Guggenheim is a member of the same committee. His committee on "Steel and Steel Products" consists of Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, Charles M. Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Company, A. C. Dinkey, vice-president of the Midvale Steel Company, W. L. King, vice-president of Jones Loughlin Steel Company, and J. A. Burden, president of the Burden Iron Company. The other four members of the committee represent the Republic Iron & Steel Company, the Lackawanna Steel Company, the American Iron & Steel Institute and the Picklands, Mather Company, of Cleveland. Perhaps the most astounding of all the committees is that on "Oil." The chairman is the president of the Standard Oil Company, and the secretary of the committee gives his address as "26 Broadway," the address of the Standard Oil Company. The other nine members of the committee are oil men from various parts of the country.

If before the entry into the war, the American workers had been scourged with nettles by the use of the ordinary machinery of capitalist government, they were scourged with scorpions by the tyrannical exercise of the power of these National Defense Council committees with Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, as one of the seven men in control of this huge machinery of oppression.

So much for the united front in industry between the official labor leadership and labor's enemies.

But the united front against the masses was not confined to industry. Acting in conjunction with the Council of National Defense, Senator Walsh of Montana drafted and introduced the Espionage Act, which, when it became law, was the means of jailing thousands of workers, who placed loyalty to the labor movement and to their class before allegiance to American imperialism.

Enacted without a single protest coming from the official labor movement, the Espionage Act was the father of the equally vicious criminal syndicalism laws enacted by a majority of the states. These too met with no opposition from the official labor leader, altho they became in the hands of the capitalists and their agents a method by which even the ordinary activities of the unions were outlawed and hundreds of workers jailed for long terms.

The paralyzing effect of the united front of labor officialdom, the capitalists and the government can be estimated by the fact that with the exception of the long and bitter strike in the metal mining and smelting industry in and around Butte, Montana, in 1917, NO MASS STRIKE IN BASIC INDUSTRY TOOK PLACE DURING THE WAR, altho the cost of living shot skyward.

Just as the suppressive purposes of the Council of National Defense were expressed in the Espionage Act, so the State Councils of Defense which also were organized as united fronts of labor officialdom with local capitalists, busied themselves with the application of the state criminal syndicalism laws as well as with the enforcement of the federal Espionage Act. (When I was tried and convicted of sedition in Helena, Montana, under the provisions of the state sedition law, the principal witnesses for the prosecution were the governor of the state, a copper trust lackey, and the president of the State Federation of Labor.)

Labor officialdom, big and little, national, state and local, with practically no exceptions, became part of the war machinery. Union officials worked hand in hand with the department of justice and the military intelligence service to railroad "troublesome" workers to jail. The captains of industry became the counselors and guides of the labor leaders.

Charles Schwab, head of Bethlehem Steel, toured the shipyards with labor officials and appeared on the platforms during Liberty Loan drives with his arms around their shoulders, all members of the unholy alliance hoarsely urging the workers to speed up production and "give until it hurts."

Liberty Loan committees, community war chest committees, Red Cross committees, war saving stamp committees, four-minute speaker committees,

home defense committees, "minute men" the organization of volunteer stool pigeons—all carried their quota of labor leaders.

Gompers himself organized, financed by a juicy sum from President Wilson's emergency fund, the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, composed of renegade socialists and union officials, to put down all expressions of mass discontent.

The fury of the labor leaders who deserted to the camp of the imperialist enemy during the war, against working class victims of the machinery of suppression who filled the prisons when the armistice was signed, had not subsided a year later.

The Atlantic City convention held in 1919 passed a resolution dealing with the Espionage Act and other war time laws which contained the following:

"No recommendation is presented for a general pardon of all those who have been sentenced under the espionage act or in connection with industrial crimes."

It was not until the great majority of political prisoners were pardoned, their sentences commuted, or expired, and the industrial depression which made millions jobless had disillusioned the masses as to the announced purposes of the war "to make the world safe for democracy," that labor officialdom took a stand for amnesty.

The blackest chapter in American labor history was written by labor officialdom during the last war.

Gompers is dead but Gompersism lives.

The so-called wartime laws have become part of the legal fabric of American capitalism. The state criminal syndicalism laws are on the statute books.

Labor officialdom maintains its united front with imperialism. Vice President Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L. is acting president of the National Civic Federation.

Communists, left wingers, a labor party, amalgamation of the craft and occupational unions into industrial unions, militant struggle against American imperialism at home and abroad, all are fought by labor officialdom as viciously, if less effectively, as during the war.

The militarization program of imperialism is accepted by the official leaders of the labor movement. The entire executive council of the A. F. of L. visited the military training camps previous to the Detroit convention and gave to the capitalist press a statement officially endorsing this pet project of the war department.

A united front is maintained with the officialdom of the American Legion by A. F. of L. officialdom. President Green cables to Paris:

"Howard B. Savage,  
"Commander American Legion,  
"Paris, France.

"In behalf of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor I extend greetings and the assurance of our continued cooperation with the American Legion upon matters of mutual interest."

President Green and the president of the New York State Federation of Labor drive a rivet in the keel of the new cruiser Pensacola to the popping of photographers' flashlights, flag waving and cheers from the assembled imperialists.

The preparations for imperialist war are to be seen on every hand. Already American imperialism makes war on Haitians, Nicaraguans and all other Latin American peoples who challenge its invasion.

In China American imperialism builds six gunboats for special duty in Chinese rivers and bombards Chinese cities.

Imperialist rivalry grows.

The imperialist front against the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union is welcomed by American labor officialdom.

The offensive of the capitalists against the unions and the whole working class develops.

Labor officialdom follows the policy of the state department in its foreign policy and does nothing to strengthen the labor movement at home. On the contrary it weakens it by joining with the capitalist class and capitalist government in attacking the Communists and the left wing—the most loyal and militant section of the labor movement. (Washington, Sept. 14.—The United States department of labor for some time has been backing the conservative elements of American labor in their campaign to rid their ranks of Communism. . . . There is close cooperation between the conciliation service of the labor department and the department's immigration bureau in handling this problem.—Dispatch to the Boston Traveler.)

Labor officialdom is getting ready to betray the labor movement in the next war on a scale which will dwarf the efforts it made in the last war.

They will succeed only if our party and the left wing fails to expose them before the working class and build a labor movement strong and conscious enough to deal with traitors at the top and in its ranks.

READ THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY

# The Minority Movement in Great Britain



"Like all previous conferences of the Minority Movement, the Fourth Annual Conference exceeded all expectations in the number of delegates present. That there should be 711 delegates representing 800,000 workers sent officially by trade union branches, district committees of the unions, local trades councils, cooperative guilds, etc., in face of the determination of the trade union bureaucrats to stop delegates being sent at all, proves how deeply the revolutionary principles of the Minority Movement have penetrated the masses. It is true that the representation was less than the last annual conference held last August during the miners' lock-out and after the great betrayal of the General Strike, when over 100 delegates representing 957,000 workers were present. There are factors, however, which offset in importance the decreased delegation.

In view of the determined opposition of nearly every national trade union official, this conference represents the minimum of a solid and reliable left bloc within the British trade union movement. It is also safe to say that the bloc is much stronger and larger when we consider the crises within the mining, metal and steel industries and the poverty within the local trade union branches, which have made it financially impossible for delegates to be sent from the provinces to London.

A quotation from the Executive Committee's report shows the development in membership and influence:

"The stronger we grow the more severe the attack made upon us. Many trade union executives forbid their branches to send delegates to our conferences. Others, like the National Union of General and Municipal Workers have definitely suspended both branches and officials for having dared to attend Minority Movement conferences. The N. U. G. M. W., being led by democrats like Mr. Thomas and Mr. Clynes, has actually issued a document which all candidates for official positions must sign, certifying amongst other things, that they are not members of the M. M. and do not believe in its policy.

"Yet reviewing the position as a whole, we can record in spite of the above facts, an increased membership and vastly increased influence compared with what we had last year."

The Executive Committee's report reviewing the general attack upon the Trade Union and Labor movement can be divided into two parts. The first shows that the Trade Union and Trade Dispute Act, the Poor Law Reform Bill, the Blanesburgh Report, to which could be added the proposals to "reform" the House of Lords, make impossible any serious "constitutional" change or attack upon British capitalism as the labor Party so ignominiously proposes. The second part correctly points out that the war on China and the preparations for war upon, and the attempted encirclement of the U. S. S. R., are both parts of the same struggle of the British employers and their tory government against the workers of the British Isles and the colonies.

The first series of acts are intended to: (a) make the trade unions impotent in struggle; (b) reduce wages and lengthen hours by giving the tory government power to remove constitutionally elected workers' representatives to prevent them from giving adequate relief to the poor to an extent which would result in decreased competition for jobs; and (c) reduce unemployment insurance benefits of single men and make heavy reduction for women and the youth, in order to further intensify the existing poverty and competition, to lower prevailing trade union rates, and to force the youth into the army or to emigrate to the colonies.

The conference endorsed the view that the British imperialists would attempt to crush every strike or rising of colonial workers as they are now doing in China, and as they desire to do in the U. S. S. R. because of the proletarian control in the Soviet Union which is an inspiration to the working class of the whole world.

To meet the certain attack made inevitable by the further decline of British capitalism, the conference adopted a fighting resolution as a lead to the Edinburgh Trade Union Congress which had a thesis attached explaining this decline. The thesis, among other phases, shows a decline in the total productive industries "from 1913 level (100) to only 65.5 per cent in 1926 with a corresponding decline in the volume of trade. In the normal year of 1925 the total production was only 80 per cent of the total of 1913." It shows that the United States is gradually invading the foreign and colonial markets of Britain.

In view of the continued preparations of the employers and the Baldwin government, the conference demanded that the Edinburgh Trade Union Congress to be held next week take definite action: (1) to organize the workers 100 per cent; (2) to form shop committees in accordance with the resolution passed at Scarborough; (3) to reorganize the Trades Councils into all-inclusive Local Trades and Labor

By GEORGE HARDY

(National Organizing Secretary of Minority Movement in Great Britain)

bodies to act as coordinating centres; (4) affiliation of Unemployed Workers' movement to the T. U. C. and the Trades Councils to have representation on the General Council; (5) reorganization of trade unions upon a basis of one union for each industry; (6) all power to the General Council of the T. U. C. which must be elected and nominated by the delegates present at each Trade Union Congress; (7) to fight for one trade union international centre by the General Council initiating propaganda through the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Committee for an international conference, and (8) the creation of Workers' Defense Corps. There are also a series of demands regarding the youth, women and cooperative movements.

The resolution on the Trade Union and Trade Disputes Act contains a strong demand for the non-operation of the act and for the use of the general strike against the government in defense of the first union attacked for refusing to change its constitution to conform to this anti-working class law. The General Council is condemned for its lack of policy which leads to confusion, as already the Postal Workers' Union is withdrawing from the Labor Party and the T. U. C., and while the National Union of Railwaymen has decided to change its rule to conform to the law, the Transport Union has decided not to operate the act. The resolution which was passed unanimously declares "this policy to be suicidal" and calls upon the union "to ignore the act by collecting the political levy as before."

Comrade Tom Mann, the chairman of the conference, had delivered to each delegate a lengthy report on his visit to China, which explained the significance of the Chinese struggle arising from the horrible conditions imposed by foreign imperialism, of which the British were "the worst exploiters." It tells of the huge successes of the international delegation of which he was a member. Regarding the Chinese trade union movement, he says: "Evidence of the growth of the workers' trade unions is seen by the following entirely reliable figures. In May, 1925, the total affiliated to the All-China Labor Federation was 1,200,000; in May of this year it was 3,000,000. The peasants' unions had made even greater progress having grown from three million to ten million." He further states: "I have listened to fully 500 speeches apart from interviews and on the strength of this experience, I am warranted in saying that the Chinese trade union movement is 95 per cent for a national revolution and fully 75 per cent clear-minded as to the Chinese national revolution being a part of the world revolution."

The resolution "calls upon the General Council and the British labor movement to force the Baldwin government to withdraw their forces from China, and pledges the minority movement to work unceasingly for the support of the Chinese workers and peasants in their struggle against militarism and imperialism."

There were two resolutions on the international trade union movement; one dealing with the I. F. T. U. Paris conference and the other with the Anglo-Russian committee. The first condemns the General Council's conference resolution as a "violation

of the agreement with the Russian unions" and also condemns them for not taking a determined and decisive stand to call for an unconditional international unity conference between the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U., but now asserts that "international unity will never be achieved through the leadership of the Amsterdam International," and therefore demands that "the Edinburgh T. U. C. arrange for an international conference between the British and Russian unions, so that these two sections . . . shall themselves take the initiative in convening a world conference to create one united Trade Union International."

It can clearly be stated that the delegates were absolutely hostile to the attitude of the British delegation at Paris, especially in view of the anti-working class utterances of George Hicks, in stating "that socialism was the antidote of Bolshevism and fascism," and intimating that the whole British delegation were opposed to Russian methods, interference, etc. The delegates were also well aware of the fact that the "left" display of the British did not mean any serious change of policy, but that they were primarily voicing the view of the British Labor Party in its endeavors, after the successes of the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, to get closer to the colonial workers with a view to making it easier to control them by the next labor government in Britain, and as a means of protesting against their continued and extended isolation within the I. F. T. U. In fact the whole British delegation gave the impression that they were half-hearted and insincere in their attempts to display "leftism."

The Anglo-Russian resolution says: "Had there been any real intention to fight for unity on the part of the General Council, a world conference could have been held . . ."; and that "the ineffectiveness of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council caused by the attitude of the General Council, encouraged the conservative government to increase its attacks upon the British and the Russian workers. This could have been prevented had the General Council been a real fighting instrument, mobilizing the workers of both countries against the present government." It also asks the delegates to the Edinburgh T. U. C. to condemn the General Council's sabotage of International Unity, and "its attitude towards the Advisory Council" while at the same time calling for the maintenance of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the carrying out of the London agreement of April, 1925.

A resolution was passed calling for the formation of a seamen's section of the Transport Union as the only effective means of organizing British seamen, and for the expulsion of Havelock Wilson's company union from the T. U. C. because of his treachery during the general strike and support for blackleg non-political miners' unions. Another resolution dealt with the abandonment of political neutrality of the International Cooperative Alliance.

Each conference that has been held, whether annual or special, has proven in the past to have conceived the correct estimate of the economic and political situation and we can safely say that the lead at this Fourth Annual Conference is one which will affect the whole labor movement and lead to a strengthening of the minority movement which is a preliminary to strengthening the unions, and to obtaining the leadership of the British trade union movement. The unanimity with which the resolutions were passed confirms the leftward tendency and the clearness of vision existing among the rank and file who are already accepting the leadership of the minority movement.



The Four Jacks: Walker, Mussolini and the Pope.

By Wm. Gropper

**Recognize Workers' Republic**  
(Continued from page 4)

Soviet Recognition Campaign in this country immediately upon the return of this delegation.

The reports being brought back, not only by the trade union-delegation, but by visitors of every hue, are the kind that should interest even the most backward workers in this country.

These reports show that the workers' health is protected in the Soviet Union, better than in any other country in the world. In the Soviet Union, under the Workers' Government, the worker is protected against all the ills that beset labor and make of life for the worker under capitalism one continuous agony. In the Soviet Union the worker is provided against old age, unemployment, sickness, accident and he prizes highly his annual two weeks' vacation at the expense of the industry in which he toils. The security of life for the worker in the Soviet Union must appeal to the American worker faced with the insecurity of existence under capitalist rule. Even the hostile capitalist press propaganda cannot hide these facts.

Then the big fact, "It Goes!" No one now speaks of the instability, of the probable overthrow of Soviet Rule. The Soviet Union has stood for ten years. In agriculture and industry, under Workers' Rule, in spite of the war, the interventions, the civil wars, famine, the food, economic and financial blockades raised against it by the capitalist powers, the conditions have recovered far beyond those that prevailed under czarism.

The Proletarian Dictatorship, that was denounced as a Bolshevik tyranny over workers and peasants that would ultimately crumble, still stands as the weapon of the toiling masses to bridge the gulf between capitalism and the new social order—Communism. This successful upward struggle of the Russian workers and farmers cannot help but have its tremendous appeal to American labor, in industry and on the land.

The question of Soviet Recognition may receive a better and more favorable discussion in the national congress that convenes in Washington, in December, than it will get from the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention in Los Angeles, in October.

But that does not mean that the working class in the United States is not now more sympathetic than ever toward the working class in the Soviet Union. That sympathy and solidarity must be organized in support of the demand for the Recognition and the Defense of the Union of Soviet Republics.

# VULCAN

By HENRY REICH, Jr.

(Dedicated to the Memory of Elbert Henry Gary.)

The ancients sang a god of mighty girth  
Who forged his steel within the bowels of earth  
Upon the sturdy anvil of the rocks.  
His bellows were the winds. The burning locks  
Of hell were made by him. The gleaming spears  
Of warriors and the swords that through the years  
Drip blood of battles.

Such the dreadful things

By Vulcan forged, the ancient poet sings.  
But I would sing you of a fiercer god  
Who rules today and wields a flaming rod  
Above his subjects in the seething mills,  
A god who crushes, breaks and often kills,  
His name is Gary.

For this god are forged  
By slaves, the guns of war, till Mars is gorged  
And spews them forth upon all earthly lands  
To breed new wars. Within his greedy hands  
Is all the steel of peace, the ships, the rails  
The locomotives—and the steel for jails.

You say this god is dead.

Yet look again—  
His forge is belching and his slaving men  
Still sweat at mill and furnace, still they make  
Their own steel chains that none of them can break.  
The sky still flames where shoots the mighty blast  
And still shall flame till Red Dawn comes at last  
To kindle Revolution. Then these fires shall be  
Relit for workers and to make men free  
To toil and rest.

Some ruddy break of day  
Men shall awake and look about and say  
God Gary was a myth as was that old  
God Vulcan in the happy age of gold.

## The COMRADE

Edited by the Young  
A Page for Workers'



## Young SECTION

Pioneers of America  
and Farmers' Children

### INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY

International Youth Day will be celebrated here in America as well as the rest of the world during this week. This special young workers' holiday was first started during the World War in Europe in 1915, as a protest against the most horrible bosses' war. The socialist parties, whose duty it was to lead the workers against this war, showed their true colors by issuing the slogan, "Defend Your Country." The betrayal was answered by Karl Liebknecht, Lenin and other comrades of ours, who raised the slogan, "Defeat Your Own Bosses' Government." They also formed a new organization, the Young Communist International, which fights the struggles of the working class youth and children especially against child labor, militarism and bosses' wars.

Now, at this time, the bosses of England, America and France are preparing for a war against the Workers' Government of Soviet Russia as well as the growing Chinese Revolution. The young workers and children all over the world, under the leadership of the Young Communist International must prepare to stop this war. We must go to the defense of Workers' Russia and the Chinese Revolution. On International Youth Day all young workers and children should come out and demonstrate.

Against bosses' wars!  
For the defense of Soviet Russia and the Chinese Revolution!

### Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 32 is: B O S S . The following have answered correctly: Madeline Finkel, New York City; Edmund Nudelman, New York City.

### Poor Children Underweight

Dear Comrades: One evening my mother came home from the Home and School League. She said that the doctor said that there were too many children underweight. But he did not say that those rich bosses ought to raise the wages of the poor working men so they could give their children more to eat, so they will weigh the same as the children of the rich bosses do.

Comradely yours,  
IRENE SAKALY.

### For the Cloakmakers

Dear Comrades: I am just going to write some things about a little girl. One day as I was going on a message for my teacher I happened to walk into a room just when a teacher asked a little girl who had a pin on which was written, "Buy Bonds For the Cloakmakers," why she wore it to school. The little girl answered, "What do you think? My father is a worker and I stick up for him, and not for the boss, like you."

Yours comradely,  
LAURA BORIM.

### PIONEER CHEER

By JULIUS FISCHER.  
Abey! Abey! You done well,  
Now we'll give a short fine yell.  
Pioneers Rah! Pioneers Rah!  
Rah! Rah! Pioneers! Yah!

Abey! Abey! Get the soap!  
We've got the bosses' nanny goat.

### More Answers to Puzzle No. 31

Sylvia Horinstein, Detroit, Mich.; James Mishkis, Chicago, Ill.; H. Kusher, Brooklyn, N. Y.

### More Answers to Puzzle No. 30

Elianora Ivanoff, Post-Falls, Idaho.

### THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE No. 33

This week's puzzle is a new one. The rule is as follows: give the opposite to the following words and the sentence formed will be the answer. For instance: PEACE—WAR, BLACK—WHITE. Let's go!

TO DISBAND .....  
OLD .....  
BOY SCOUTS .....

Send all answers to the Daily Worker Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., N. Y. C., giving your name, age, address and number of puzzle.

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## Love on the Dissecting Table

Sex Relationships in Theory and in Reality at Little Theatre Matinees

**I**n "Lovers and Enemies" by Michael Artzybasheff, the matinee audiences will have an opportunity of enjoying an excellent treatment of the eternally interesting love theme by a talented cast in the Little Theatre where the "The Grand Street Follies" hold forth nightly. The tragi-comedy is translated into English by Madame Strindberg.

Nicolai Ivanovich, an old professor would rather discuss an abstract subject than eat sunflowers, while the equally old but not equally garrulous Serge Karnovich, army physician, had some definite ideas on the foundations of the love emotion. "A disturbance of the inner secretions" was Karnovich's explanation of the mystery, but the audience was not left completely at the mercy of a pair of word-juggling philosophers. Half a dozen live subjects were trotted out to test the philosophers' theories to the great sorrow and pain of the philosophers, because it appears in real life as well as on the stage that the particular emotion called love bestows as weighty a sock on the philosopher as it does on the dock-walloper or the hill-hilly. Let us see what happened on the stage.

Professor Ivanovich that he was burdened with a fussy wife who made the dust fly around him for three decades. She pestered him thru sheer devotion. But he cried like a child in a forest when she died and between sobs admitted that he often wished she died, feeling that she was in the way of his ambition. His anaemic daughter Valentina was married to a husky person who went by the name of Peter and the doctor's quiet ascetic son Pavel was the spouse of a dashing, sensuous woman by the name of Irina.

The doctor's daughter Valeria seemed to Peter to be the girl he was waiting for, but when he is forced to choose between the new flame and the old one, he is undecided, but he puts enough business into his love-making to make Valeria happy, so she stages a dance on the veranda of the Ivanovich home to express her joy. While she is dancing to the great delight of Peter, Valentina takes a shot at her, an incident which is taken in good part by all concerned. Indeed had Valentina pulled the trigger on a Chicago husband a jury could not have treated her with more consideration.

To give the philosophical duo's theories wider scope a dashing lieutenant in the Imperial Guards, notices that Pavel is quite satisfactory to Irina as a human being but rather indifferent as a husband. So he decides to supply the deficiency and lays siege to her affections and after a gallant resistance she surrendered unconditionally, which fact came to the ken of Pavel thru the good offices of his sister, who did not relish the idea of having a cuckold in the family. This about covers the complications.

Peter is torn between his passion for Valeria, the sprightly one and his more seasoned, more tender and memory-filled love for his lawful wife. In fact it appears that Peter, the an honest fellow is quite capable of loving the two like a gentleman provided the delicate affair could be engineered without giving pain to the parties of the first, second and third parts. Indeed the learned doctor, furious because his daughter looked like the scapegoat in the piece, disturbed Valeria when he suggested that Peter would jump at the proposition that she be his mistress on the Q.T. As if afraid that the doctor knew what he was talking about, Valeria kept the proposition a secret. In the end Valeria makes a temporary exit and Peter seems to be happy again, having fallen at his wife's knees in abject repentance. And

RALPH MORGAN



Star of "Romancing 'Round" a comedy by Conrad Westervelt, opening next Wednesday night at the Little Theatre.

yet when Valeria called to say good-bye to him, much to the lawful's wife's chagrin, fickle Peter, embraces her and in half a dozen ways convinced Valeria and the audience that he was not a one woman's man.

"Every man is capable of loving a thousand women" blurted the physician to his daughter. There was no shaking of heads in the audience.

The fiery Irina returns from a clandestine tryst with the lieutenant and implores Pavel's forgiveness which is granted after a discreet period of suspense and the audience left, probably taking stock of its own past and wondering how close the play they had just seen came to real life and perhaps thinking how futile it is to seek a solution of the relationship between the sexes by laws, rules and regulations, and what a travesty on virtue this marriage system is that binds two incompatible individuals to each other for life with a divorce suit the only avenue of escape, and that a costly luxury.

Intelligence is written all over the piece and Leo N. Bulgakov, as Ivanovich, Eva Condon as his wife and Joanna Roos as Irina perform brilliantly. The others do as well as they are permitted by their roles. It should be popular when it gets out of its trial matinee swaddling clothes and on to the boards, not as a mere guest but as the star boarder.

"Lovers and Enemies" will not be relished by the morons that chuckle over a typical America risque play.

—T. J. O'Flaherty.

"Potemkin" the sensational Russian film, is being held over for a second week at the Cameo Theatre. A great number of the audience have indicated that they are seeing "Potemkin" for the second, and some for the third time. On the same program is a short film titled "An Alpine S.O.S.," which is a drama enacted in the Alps. Also a comedy, Lloyd Hamilton in "At Ease."

A new film version of the Carmen story comes to the Roxy Theatre today in the Fox feature, "Loves of Carmen," and which is based on the original novel of Prosper Merimee, not on the more familiar Bizet opera. The title role will be ordained by Dolores Del Rio, with Victor McLaglen, in the role of the Toreador and the part of Dan Jose played by Don Alvarado.

Alyce Fraser, soprano, will give her song recital at Town Hall Monday evening, October 3rd.

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VERDICT OF THE PRESS.

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—Alan Dale, "American"

"Potemkin" will shortly be followed by Emil Jannings in "Husbands or Lovers?" supported by Conrad Veidt and Elizabeth Bergner.

Senia Gluck and Felicia Sorel will give their dance recital at the Guild Theatre tomorrow night. The program will include dances by Debussy, Bach, W. C. Handy and George Gershwin.

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