



KATE KOLLWITZ
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Wholesale Arrests in Germany and Other Countries

Workers Imprisoned
in

Germany, about	7,000
Italy	8,000
Spain	23,000
Belgium	2,300
Lithuania	200
Latvia	500
Finland	1,200
Poland	12,000
Hungary	70,000
India	253,000
Roumania	3,000

Book!

380,200 Workers and Peasants Imprisoned
Their Wives and Children Need Help

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Chicago, Illinois
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Name

Address

City and State

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Kate Kollwitz

Germany Under the Dawes Plan



SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI

Wm. S. Fanning

oppressed masses were seeking a political instrument to use in their own behalf.

This movement of the workers for a political organization of their own offered great advantages to the Workers Party. The duty of Communists and the general principle by which a Communist mass Party must be built is the participation in the daily struggles of the workers against the capitalist class. The growing labor party movement offered us an excellent means of reaching the masses with our propaganda and of furnishing them with practical leadership in this, their first important step towards definite political organization.

Some elements in our Party looked askance at the proposition of working for the formation of a labor party, but the advantages were so patent that their opposition was broken down and the Party launched into the campaign. This campaign was waged with vigor. It was not long until the Communists became the acknowledged leaders of the labor party movement everywhere. Every place that sufficient consciousness developed amongst the workers and poor farmers for a political organization of their own, our hand was in evidence. The consequence was that our Party derived the most substantial advantages. The Workers Party became a definite and recognized factor

in the labor movement. Its gain in experience, prestige, and influence was invaluable.

Withdrawal from Farmer-Labor Party

The first stage of the W. P. labor party policy, that is active participation in the struggle to build a farmer-labor party, came to an end with the development of the LaFollette movement as distinct from the two old parties. This was caused thru the swallowing up of the Farmer-Labor Party generally by the LaFollette movement. The first active manifestations of this took place at the St. Paul convention of the Farmer-Labor Party on June 17 of this year. The growth of sentiment for LaFollette to take the field and the likelihood of his doing so upon an independent ticket tended sharply to cut to pieces the June 17 convention. LaFollette completed the job by his denunciation of that gathering. He succeeded in driving out of it most of the mass elements and attracting them to the July 4 conference of the C. P. P. A., where they were quickly absorbed into the general LaFollette movement. The National Farmer-Labor Party, born at the June 17 convention, was the merest shell of an organization.

This situation made necessary a rapid change of policy by the Workers Party. The only basis upon

Code. He forgot the fact that the Latin-American countries had not participated in the war. The Mexican delegates pointed this out, but finally voted for the resolution "subject to subsequent ratification by the Mexican Federation of Labor," and the shameful peace-treaty and the bandit League were endorsed.

A permanent federation was voted, to include the United States, Canada, Mexico, Central America and South America. The objects stated were:

(1) To better conditions for emigrants from one country to another. (To this day the Mexican workers are exploited shamelessly in the beet and cotton fields of the United States and Gompers does not lift a finger. The Mexican government sanitary officer at Juarez reported at the end of 1923 that all of the large number of Mexican workers deported from the United States as insane were driven insane by cruel exploitation.)

(2) To promote a better understanding between the nations of the two Americas and their peoples. (It's only unreasonableness or lack of education that makes Latin-America fail to "understand" why American troops should be in Nicaragua, Honduras, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Cuba and Mexico!)

The other objectives are similar.

Thanking Wilson for Santo Domingo.

The second Congress in 1919 was uneventful. Again the big federations of Argentine, Chile, and others, remained away. Gompers was elected president, Canuto Vargas of Arizona, Secretary, and James Lord, "expert on Mexico," was elected treasurer.

The third Congress, held in January, 1921, in Mexico City, brought a new storm. Argentinian workers again sent

a contemptuous answer to the invitation. Chile, Uruguay, and others were conspicuous by their absence. But in spite of the absence of powerful mass organizations, the Latin-American delegates were so up in arms against the continued occupation of Santo Domingo by American troops that they demanded a protest to the American government. This is not surprising because even the governments these "labor delegates" represented, were outraged, and attacked the occupation.

But Gompers, loyal battler for the House of Morgan, fought the protest resolution with all the arts at his command. It passed. As President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers was ordered to send a telegram of protest, signed by him, to the American president. He did not send it.

The convention lasted nine days, and near the end, a delegate demanded to know why the telegram had not been sent. "I don't like the wording; the text must be modified," said Gompers. As it was near the close of the convention, there was no time to "correct" the telegram to suit the tastes of his excellency. So the editing of it was committed to his tender mercies. The cable he finally sent thanked the American government for having sent troops into Santo Domingo and having "restored order," and added a request for the withdrawal of those troops now that the United States had done all the good it could for that hapless island. (Needless to say, the troops were not withdrawn.)

Gompers' "Services" to Latin-American Workers.

The Communists and the left wing elements generally in Latin-America are making every effort to prevent Gompers from being reelected again in December, 1924 as President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In this they have an easier task than the Communists in the United States have in their efforts to prevent his reelection to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor. The presence of the representatives of Latin-American workers, gives the Communists a powerful weapon in the exposure of Gompers' record of repeated services to American imperialism and repeated injuries to Latin-American workers.

Wide-spread publicity is being given the Santo Domingo incident, telling how Gompers thanked the American government for sending troops to Santo Domingo when he was ordered to denounce it for the same act.

Gompers, as usual, is also providing fresh ammunition. In the American Federationist for March, 1924, he publishes his report of an investigation made by him of conditions of labor in the Panama Canal Zone. In spite of the fact that the Zone in question is a strip of land stolen from a Latin-American country (Colombia) by force thru the fake revolution engineered by President Roosevelt and carried thru by the American marines, Gompers calls all Latin-Americans in the canal area, "aliens." He recommends that "aliens" be not employed except in unskilled labor; that all other positions be filled by citizens of the United States; and where it is impossible to secure "all-American" labor that the Latin-American "aliens" should be paid from 25 to 35 per cent less than the citizens of the United States working at the same jobs. That is the friendship for Latin-American workers on the part of Gompers of which Calles and Morones and even Gompers boast.

In the same report Gompers adds a gratuitous insult to the Latin-American and Negro population of Haiti struggling



Vargas Rea
Mexican Communist
K.A.P. Mexico, 1923

cowardly to act with decision. At the time this is written the headquarters has been locked up for three months by the injunction order. The convention met, sat for a month, and adjourned. But the lock is still on the I. W. W. headquarters.

The Red International Affiliation Committee has taken active part in every development. It has succeeded in dissolving the great barrier of unthinking prejudice against the R. I. L. U. and the Communist movement in the minds of the I. W. W. membership. This prejudice was the harder to erase because the I. W. W. had become possessed with the fixed idea that the R. I. L. U. wished to "liquidate" it. This delusion is vanishing now, owing to the unequivocal attitude and action of the R. I. L. U. It remains to have the friendly response to the activity of the R. I. L. U. register itself organically.

The course of the organization can only be the subject of conjecture. It may split over the injunction issue and the right and left tear the "universal chart" in two. The

reformist wing may be forced to discard Rowan, but may win control in time and abandon all revolutionary pretense. The organization may try to maintain its unity of organism and its duality of function, grow more confused and worse isolated from the realities of revolutionary struggle and go the sectarian way of the W. I. I. U. Or, as the R. I. L. U. hopes, the I. W. W. may without delay unite with the other revolutionary workers in America and thruout the world, and with them go out to organize the unorganized millions of workers awaiting such a movement in the basic industries.

Whatever the course may be, however, the Red International Affiliation Committee can claim that it has broken the resistance previously existing in the minds of revolutionary I. W. W., and whichever the course of the I. W. W. as an organization, the revolutionary workers belong and are coming to believe in the movement which holds aloft the revolutionary banner of the Communist International.

Next Month

The January issue will be packed full of interesting material. Observing the anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, will be several features, including:

Lenin, Leader and Comrade

By Alexander Bittelman

A Children's Memorial to Lenin

By Leon Trotsky

* * * *

The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was attended by J. W. Johnstone, of the Trade Union Educational League, who will draw the balance sheet of that gathering for THE WORKERS MONTHLY.

* * * *

The Fraud of "Workers' Education"

By James P. Cannon

Is the title of a scathing exposure of the systematic corruption of the labor movement now being carried out under the guise of "workers' education."

* * * *

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

This classic of Communist literature, unfortunately missing from this issue because of difficulty in obtaining competent translators, will be resumed next month and continued thereafter until completion. Alexander Bittelman is now making the translation from the Third Russian Edition which has just arrived in this country, thus guaranteeing a translation worthy of this great book.



"IMPOSSIBILISM"

The Rocky Mountain Miners

By Jack Lee

IMAGINE a desert region with long, flat, sandy valleys between low ranges of hills. The plain between the hills is treeless, and is cut by dry water courses—down by the Mexican border they call them arroyas, and farther north they call them wash-outs, but they are all the same—sharp, narrow, steep-banked things—very awkward to run into with a Ford. Transportation is rotten. There are no real roads, except near the cities, but there are sign boards standing lonesome-like in the plains, and wheel tracks going this way and that, where Fords or trucks commonly run to some mining camp or other.



You can watch distant dust clouds, where supplies are going to camp, as you sit on the hillside in the cool of the summer evening and look across the sage, which is purple when the light begins to fade, and see other hills—lavender hills, these are—with a greenish colored sky behind them.

I think it must be the amazing color schemes in this plateau region (which is most erroneously marked on maps, "The Rocky Mountains") that makes people go back to it the way they do. I can't see any other reason, unless, of course, they own a mine. For this stretch of hills and high barren plains, running from Arizona to Canada, is one of the world's treasure chests. The greater portion of the copper produced in the United States comes from here, and practically all of the silver, lead, platinum, zinc, and tin. Millions of dollars worth of gold comes out of here every year—much more, contrary to the public impression, than Alaska yields. Sometimes all of these metals are mixed together in the same mine, and gold, silver, lead, zinc are usually found together, and principally in the southern half of the region I have described. Copper is found mostly in the north, where there are a few real mountains.

The "Promoting" Industry.

Some of the mining, particularly copper mining, is done in little cities, like Butte and Helena, towns that are surrounded and supported by mines, but which are considerable settlements, for all that. But much of the mining, and all of the prospect work, is still carried on in distant canyons, twenty, fifty, one hundred miles from the railroad, and it is done by methods that would not justify the existence of these enterprises in a soviet system of economy.

A surprisingly large number of mining enterprises do not produce anything at all. The Bureau of Census Mines and Quarries Handbook states that in 1919 there were five hundred enterprises, operating 512 mines, or one-fourth the total number of mines in operation, which did not produce anything at all. These mines are supposed to be "developing," that is, being dug down to the ore bodies. Most of them never find any ore bodies that it will pay to work. They run on for a year or two, and disappear, but others start up instead of them.

All Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado, and much of Utah is

lined with low grade silver ore. It is the easiest thing in the world to find a mine, if you don't mind staking out ground that it will not pay to mine in.

After the enterprising prospector locates the "ground," his next and hardest task is to find the "live one." The live one is somebody from the East who doesn't know anything about mines, and can be persuaded to finance a mining company. Usually some professional promoter starts a company, and those who finance it are \$12 per day (two months a year) New York bricklayers, or tired middle western farmers who think they can buy mining stock with their second mortgage, and thus get rid of their first one; or they are retired grocers in some small Ohio or Indiana town looking for an easy way to serve the Lord. All money is the same, and it all goes to give the promoter a little rake-off, and to the original prospector or the wise bird to whom he sold out for a song, a somewhat lesser reward, and it provides a few months' work for the common miners and muckers. The miners and muckers get cheated out of their last two months' pay when the company goes broke. The farmers and petty bourgeoisie and the workers who have taken a fifty-dollar flier in mining stock, get nothing. But some silver and lead is frequently produced, at a cost of two dollars for every dollar taken out, and the stock of such metals in existence is thereby added to. Much mining is swindling, even by capitalistic standards, and practically all small mining is swindling. Every miner knows this.

Freezing Out The Small Producers.

I can remember the first sight I ever had of a silver mine. It was at Tybo, seventy miles from Tonopah, Nevada. A tall, raw-boned shift boss stood leaning over the railing around the mouth of the shaft, waiting for the cage to come up. When it was hauled level, the first muddy, dripping miner stepped on the ground and announced, "A new vein in Number Three Winze."

Says the boss, "How wide is it?"

"About as wide as my hand."

"Wide enough, wide enough—and I know it runs clear back to New York." (New York was where the "live ones" lived, in this particular case.)

That is the general attitude; and this universal atmosphere of fraud, "high-grading," petty graft and big graft, "salting" of mines, murder of unwelcome inspectors ("rolling them over with a short starter," the miners call it, meaning, getting the intruder killed by a purposely premature blast), may perhaps account for the rebellious and generally anti-capitalistic spirit of the metal miners.

When you see the time-keeper padding the pay-roll to get some graft for himself, and the mine superintendent stealing an occasional truck load of silver ore for his bucks, and the president of the company putting out the most ridiculous and exaggerated claims to get some sucker to buy stock, you know capitalism is rotten, and no one can convince you otherwise.

Time was when the individual miner might steal a few chunks of rich gold ore himself, every shift. That period is gone. You couldn't carry away in your pockets enough twenty-dollar-per-ton ore to help you much.

that the value of the product has enormously increased: in 1902 it was \$14,600,177, and in 1909 it was \$31,360,094, and in 1919 it was \$75,579,347. Nevertheless, in spite of this enlargement of the industry, there has been a concentration of control. In 1909 there were 977 enterprises with 1,947 proprietors or firm members, and in 1919 there were but 432 enterprises with 412 proprietors. Notice again that the proprietorship has concentrated faster even than the business units.

Many a man is still alive who can remember the time when George Wingfield was a "tin-horn gambler." Wingfield gambled in the way that never loses, and put the profits into banks and mining companies and smelters. Now he owns the Goldfield Consolidated Mines company, the Nevada Hills Mining company, the Buckhorn Mines company, and he is president of four big banks. He controls many more companies.

The Guggenheim brothers own both silver-lead and copper projects, among which are: the American Smelting & Refining company, Smelters Securities company, Braden Copper company, Guggenheim & Klein, Inc., Chile Copper com-

pany, Chile Exploration company, Braden Copper Mines, Nevada Consolidated Copper company, and a number of steamship lines and railroads. Morris Guggenheim is the treasurer of Gimbel Brothers department stores, and Simon Guggenheim was United States senator for six years, from Colorado.

These two are outstanding examples of the newer capitalism in the metalliferous lode mines. The Rockefeller family, too, is working in deeper all the time.

The Copper Trust.

When one considers the copper mining field, he will, at first sight, believe that no concentration is under way. In 1909 there were 188 enterprises with 79 proprietors or firm members, and in 1919 there were 195 enterprises, with 103 proprietors. But there is centralization of power, just the same. About a hundred of these enterprises are in the Rocky Mountains. One of them is the Anaconda Copper Mining company, with headquarters in Butte, Montana. Most of the other ninety and nine are also the Anaconda Copper Mining company, hiding under different names.

(In the January issue Jack Lee will take up the conditions of workers in the metal mines, their social composition, their organizations, and their prospects for the future.)



THE APOSTLE

J. de Miskey

the Communists must become factors in the labor party that may be formed. We can achieve this end only if we anticipate the formation of such a party and now adopt a policy thru which we will become established as a force in the political struggle of the workers and thus an important factor in the labor party. The participation in a United Front in local political struggles will give us a strong position in relation to the labor party."

A Party Based on the Unions

It was the general conception of our party that the Labor Party which we thought was coming into existence will be a political organization based upon and formed by the trade unions. Not necessarily by the Gompers crowd but by the bulk of the unions just the same. This was our basic idea of how the farmer-labor party will come into existence. Our party expressed that idea quite clearly in its statement "For a Farmer-Labor Party," written by comrade Pepper and issued in October, 1922. I quote from the statement.

"We understand, of course, by a Labor Party no renaming of bankrupt, disintegrating parties, nor a quiet refuge for effete politicians, but a great mass-organization formed by organized labor."

And further:

"A Labor Party will grow because of its formation by the organized workers. A Labor Party would deserve that name only if it were formed by the trade unions. A Labor Party of any other form would be a mere caricature, a political swindle, and a miscarriage. A Labor Party should be launched only if it is created by the trade unions."

The foregoing demonstrates the following propositions;

1. The main strategic aim of the Workers Party has been and is the development of independent political action of the working masses in the direction of the revolutionary class struggle and under its own leadership.

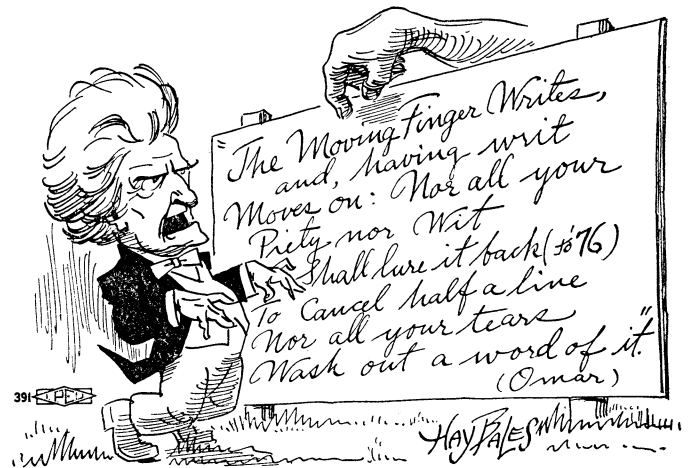
2. As a means towards this end the Workers Party adopted in the early part of 1922 a labor party policy, because there was then in existence a strong mass movement for a farmer-labor party.

3. This farmer-labor party was conceived by our party as an organization based upon and formed by the trade unions.

4. The Workers Party conceived of its immediate role in the farmer-labor movement as that of a left wing whose function it would be to drive the movement as a whole in the direction of more consciousness, militancy and determination in the class struggle.

5. The immediate tactical objective of the Workers Party under those conditions was to connect itself with the growing farmer-labor movement, to get on the ground floor of it, so that when the National Farmer-Labor Party is formed we can be a factor in it for the furtherance of the principles and policies of Communism.

It is well to recall these propositions now, when we are again discussing the question whether we must have a labor party policy. Go back to the origin of the problem. And when you will find that the whole problem arose out of an existing and growing movement for a farmer-labor party, you will undoubtedly ask yourself: What is the situation today? Is there at present such a movement, and if not, is



it likely to arise in the immediate future?

And since you are bound to come to the conclusion that there is no such likelihood, you will agree with the position of the Central Executive Committee that the present situation calls for neither a labor party policy nor a labor party slogan.

The "Chicago" Orientation

The first serious departure from our original labor party policy, as expressed in the thesis of May, 1922, was made by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party soon after the Cleveland Conference of the C. P. P. A. which convened on December 11, 1922. What did this departure consist of?

It consisted in this, that after the December meeting of the C. P. P. A. we began orientating ourselves on the Chicago Federation of Labor and on Fitzpatrick's Farmer-Labor Party. That is, we adopted a new conception of how the labor party was to come into existence. Prior to the December meeting we adhered to the idea that the Labor Party must be based upon and formed by the entire organized labor movement of America, not one section of it but substantially the whole. And our own role in this movement we conceived to be one of propaganda mainly, that is, the labor party to us was chiefly a propaganda slogan.

After the December meeting of the C. P. P. A. we began thinking in terms not of propaganda alone but also of organizational and political manoeuvres designed to bring about the actual formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. The tactical means to this end was to be an alliance or United Front between the Chicago Federation of Labor and Fitzpatrick's Farmer-Labor Party on the one hand and the Workers Party with its sympathizing organizations on the other hand. It is in this sense that I designate this period (January to September, 1922) as the period of our "Chicago" orientation.

The essence of this new orientation is well expressed in Comrade Pepper's analysis of the December meeting of the C. P. P. A. I quote from chapter VII of his pamphlet (second edition): "For a Labor Party."

"From the point of view of the class-struggle we have the following groupings within the labor movement, after the Cleveland Conference: 1. Gompers and the official A. F. of L., in alliance with the capitalists, in the form of support of the official Republican and Democratic parties. 2. The bureaucracy