

The DAILY WORKER
Raises the Standard for
a Workers' and Farmers'
Government

THE DAILY WORKER

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THE
DAILY WORKER
for 1925!

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AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

IN the early days of the world war when the rival propagandists for Germany and England undertook to sing the praises of their respective imperialism, one of the favorite arguments used by the supporters of John Bull, was that England carried civilization to hitherto uncivilized parts of the world. Now, what kind of civilization was this, that went forth in the bibles of British missionaries, followed by the whiskey of her traders and the bullets of her armed forces?

THE leading world powers recently held an opium conference. Of course it was a farce. Like the peace conferences held by the robber nations, it was merely a mask to deceive some sincere liberals who believe they can scrape off some of the filth from the capitalist system and make it less severe on the nostrils. That opium conference came to an end without a single constructive measure being adopted. And for the very reason that those who attended it were in the business of making profit from the production and sale of the deadly drug.

CHINA is one of the greatest sufferers from the opium evil. According to a French scientist, five per cent of the Chinese people smoke or chew opium, and social diseases have followed so fast in the train of the opium habit that the Chinese race faces the prospect of annihilation unless the cause of the plague is removed. And here is where the hypocritical British capitalists come in. England forced the opium curse on China at the point of the sword. It was not known in that country until the year 1700. The British "East India Company" poisoned China and the Orient with the drug and made fabulous profits on its sale. A Chinese emperor seized millions of dollars worth of opium and threw it in the harbor.

ENGLAND, Christian England, declared war on "heathen" China, annexed Hongkong for good measure and exacted a heavy cash indemnity besides. The British propagandists who polluted the atmosphere with praise for the pirate empire did well not to fish up these disagreeable facts, when it was necessary to inflame the minds of the masses against her commercial rivals. And Britain is not the only sinner against China and against the exploited peoples of the Orient. But she is the worst sinner, not because she is any more willing to poison a whole nation for profit and for diplomatic reasons, but because she has been at the game longer than the rest.

IRELAND threatens to leave the League of Nations if that organization supports the British contention that the Irish Free State had no right to register the Anglo-Irish treaty with the league. Those bourgeois Irish nationalists who thought they would be allowed to strut around like "independent fellows" by the hard-boiled British Empire will soon have good reasons to change their minds. They had better watch England swiping whatever concessions she gave Egypt in her hour of stress, now that things look a little brighter.

WHEN Comrade Rakovsky came to Paris after France recognized the Soviet government, the first thing he did was to look around for secret archives, where he might possibly run across some interesting documents that would tell a story of the czar's regime. Regrettably he announced that he could not find anything. But it appears that Comrade Krassin, the ambassador, was luckier. The latter got his fingers on the copy of a secret agreement entered into between France and Russia in the year 1916, providing for the partition of Turkey to the mutual advantage of Russia and France.

IF our readers allow their memories to go back to the year 1916, they will remember that England and Italy were the allies of France and Russia against the central powers. Yet here were the latter powers putting one

CAPPELLINI, THE TRAITOR, WAGES WAR ON MINERS

Coal Diggers Getting Ready to Can Him

By THOMAS MYERS COUGH.
(Special to The Daily Worker)

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 23.—After learning that the general grievance committee, representing the Pittston region strikers, had decided to give publicity to the many grievances existing in this district, so as to inform the general public why they had come out on strike, Cappellini, the renegade, told the press that he, too, would give publicity to some facts in connection with the strike, and at a meeting of the executive board in this district yesterday, he was given permission to do so.

Because it shows how far a "jockey" of this type will go, after riding a radical horse to power, I will give his statement in full:

To The Mine Workers of Pittston: "I refuse to call any more meetings of the executive board to meet the general grievance committee of the Pennsylvania Coal company, for the reasons that all the members of the board have committed themselves against this illegal strike and nothing can be done other than what they were told in the several meetings had with them; and they have deliberately refused to abide by agreement fairly entered into, and show their lack of regard for a solemn contract by calling all the miners of that company out on strike whenever it meets their fancy.

The Sacred Contract. "I regret very much the position in which the miners' organization has been placed, and believe the officers of our union and the great bulk of the men themselves are willing to abide by our contract. The district and national officers have already shown their good faith by requesting the general grievance committee to have their men return to work so that their complaints could be taken up properly for adjustment. This they refuse to do. Not only have they refused the district officers, but the national as well.

"In the face of the defiant refusal of the general grievance committee to have the men resume work, I, as district president, am making this statement. I believe, first, in the sacredness of contract; that agreements should be lived up to; that agreements made must be binding on both sides or the whole system of collective bargaining will fall flat. In view thereof I feel I am right in refusing to meet the general grievance committee, and I have acted in the only way honor and dignity permitted.

"It is not the men, the rank and file, who constitute the union, who have done wrong. They have allowed themselves to be misled by a general committee which has usurped authority not vested in it, and the sooner the workers wake up to that fact and take the advice of the regularly constituted authorities of the organization, the sooner peace and harmony will supersede chaos.

Against Fakers' Wish. "Men of the rank and file, how long can you continue this illegal strike and maintain your position? What will be the final effect on your great organization which has done so much in the past to better your wages and conditions? Can such an illegal strike last, and win, in the face of the opposition of your

(Continued on Page 2.)

UNEMPLOYED STAGE DEMONSTRATION IN AUSTRIA; MOUNTED POLICE RIDE DOWN WORKERS WHO DEMAND RELIEF

(Special to The Daily Worker)
VIENNA, Dec. 23.—Thousands of armed guards are patrolling the streets day and night, breaking up demonstrations of unemployed workers. Twenty per cent of organized labor is now unemployed.

The unemployed workers have served notice that if doles are not increased in time to make Christmas purchases, they will increase their activity. Large numbers of unemployed have marched on city hall, where a cordon of police repulsed them. Many workers were ridden down and injured by mounted police. Fifteen were arrested. The government has voted fourteen million dollars for immediate distribution.

SNOW IS FALLING THROUGHOUT MIDWEST; NO SIGN OF QUITTING

The heralded blizzard swept into Chicago yesterday bringing warmer temperatures and a promise of a "white Christmas."

Snow was falling today in virtually every section of the midwest, threatening the badly drifted roads which states farther west reported yesterday. Here the fall started shortly after midnight and continued all day.

IN ITALY



MUSSOLINI: "Here boys, be good now! I'm restoring your long lost sweetie."

MILITANTS IN MACHINISTS' UNION ANNOUNCE CANDIDATES FOR COMING ELECTION; FIGHT THE "B. & O. PLAN"

The left-wing group in the Machinists' Union, which has in the past been the leader of all the movements for progress in the metal trades organizations, the group that led the fight for amalgamation and all other progressive measures in the recent convention, is announcing a full slate of candidates for office for the nominations now taking place in the organization.

The left-wing militants compose the only elements that have a definite program to offer to the membership. All possible efforts have been made to

make possible a united front on the basis of a real fighting program of action with the so-called "progressive" group led by Anderson. But all efforts have failed due to their refusal to come out definitely for any program at all and also due to their failure to include any outstanding left wing fighters on their slate.

The left wing slate is as follows: For international president—Julius Emme, Local 459, St. Paul, Minn.

For general secretary-treasurer—Tim Buck, Local 235, Toronto, Ont., Can.

For editor of journal—A. Overgaard, Local 390, Chicago, Ill.

Members of the executive council, U. S.—H. S. McIlvaigh, Local 497, Tacoma, Wash.; John Otis, Local 538, Pittsburgh, Pa.; P. Jensen, Local 492, Chicago, Ill.; H. Garner, Local 209, Hammond, Ind.; Alfred Goetz, Local 62, Detroit, Mich.; Andrew MacNamara, Local 52, Pittsburgh, Pa.

These militants deserve the support of the rank and file. As their records show, they are the fighters for progressive measures. They are the leaders in the fight for amalgamation. They are leading the fight for independent political action and the fight against the B. & O. class collaboration, and they were the backbone

LOCAL CHICAGO GOES FORWARD IN BIG POLICY DRIVE

Shop Nucleus Making Good Showing

Shop Nucleus No. 5 printing workers in the DAILY WORKER print shop, leads the field in the DAILY WORKER insurance campaign.

Enlist Non-Party Workers. This unit has gathered in pledges amounting to \$515.00, of which \$318.00 has been turned into cash. Although the nucleus counts only 16 members, they have so far more than quadrupled their quota. The activity of the nucleus in the plant resulted in the non-party printing workers agreeing to subscribe \$10.00 each in policies and to take a year's subscription to the DAILY.

At the last meeting of the Finnish branch every one of the 116 members pledged himself to buy a \$3.00 insurance policy. The Bulgarian branch reports that at its last meeting it came within a few dollars of filling its quota.

English Branches Do Well. The North Side English branch has raised \$213.00 of its \$300.00 quota and has pledges on hand to carry it well over the top. Douglas Park English has paid in \$80.00. All of the English branches are making a commendable showing in the campaign.

While reports from most of the foreign-speaking branches are coming in slowly, there is reason to be

(Continued on page 2.)

ALLIED REFUSAL TO EVACUATE GERMANY AS TWICE PROMISED DISCREDITS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BERLIN, Dec. 24.—The announcement that the council of ambassadors of the allies, at the instigation of the interallied military committee headed by Marshal Foch, would refuse to carry out their promise to evacuate the Cologne bridgehead, strikes a vital blow at the social-democratic party of Germany, which has led the German nation into acceptance of the Dawes Plan as an exchange for the promised evacuation and will bring hundreds of thousands of workers to the Communists.

Entente Breaks Two Promises. Not only is the evacuation of the Cologne bridgehead promised to the Germans by the London conference which inaugurated the Dawes Plan, but it was also set forth in the Versailles treaty that this evacuation was to take place on January 10, 1925.

The excuse raised by Marshal Foch, who again appears on the stage with a saber dangling at his belt, is that France is endangered by Germany's failure to fulfill the disarmament provisions of the Versailles treaty.

It is charged that Germany really has more soldiers than allowed under the Versailles treaty, by calling most of them "police" and by shifting new classes of raw material into brief training and then keeping them out of service but in reserve. Never Objected to Workers' Resurrection.

The allied countries were quite well aware of this practice and never objected so long as the troops were used against the workers. In fact they encouraged Germany to arm and drill the illegal "Black Reichwehr" to crush the Communist attempts at revolution, especially during the Ruhr invasion.

The interallied military control commission which examined the military resources of Germany were, indeed, almost ordered to give Germany a "whitewash" report and let Germany go with a formal reprimand. Many of the officers who understood this and drew up such a whitewash report are now much astonished at the report being used to blackmail Germany again and refuse evacuation.

Politics and Business. Undoubtedly new political and trade factors have a hand in this sudden blow at the German hopes to obtain evacuation. England is unwilling to leave Cologne until the French also are out of the Ruhr. The French say that their departure is for the present physically impossible—and so the matter stands, neither wishing to leave first.

The social democrats told the sack. Want 1 Year Off in 7. NEW YORK, Dec. 23.—A sabbatical leave of one year in seven or one year leave on half-pay in 10 years service is asked for the teachers of New York by the Teachers' Union. Only 50 high school teachers and 100 elementary teachers in 1925 get leave. The union wants the leave to be as nearly automatic as possible to eliminate political or other favoritism.

Storms Sweep England. LONDON, Dec. 23.—Terrific gales were sweeping England today. Considerable damage has been done, meager reports reaching London said Shipping generally has been disrupted.

MEXICAN PEASANTS RESISTING ROBBERY, MEET CALLES' TROOPS

(Special to The Daily Worker)

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 23.—President Calles is showing rather early the traitorous politician that hides beneath the cloak of his claim to represent labor as the head of the labor party. The peasants, who armed themselves and fought to defeat De la Huerta, who, led by Communists, fought under the red flags bearing the hammer and sickle emblem, are now being attacked by government troops by order of Calles.

At Aguas Calientes yesterday, the peasants, angered at the profiteering of the proprietors of the city slaughter house, seized the premises and defied the authorities to oust them. At once, the Calles' government troops were ordered at all haste to entrain for Aguas Calientes. This act of aggression against the peasantry is sure to anger the whole peasant movement of Mexico.

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

INVESTIGATION REVEALS WORN OUT RAILS WAS THE CAUSE OF DEATH TO SOO LINE PASSENGERS

(Special to The Daily Worker)

CHIPPewa FALLS, Wis., Dec. 23.—Worn-out rails and defective equipment probably caused the death of eight and injury of seven persons when a Soo Line passenger car overturned and plunged into the Chippewa River. A coroner's jury has been impaneled and three investigations are under way, but it is already ascertained that the officials of the railroad will not be held "criminally liable" for the disaster.

It is now that the train overturned when a defective switch bolt splintered as the train was crossing the trestle.

Mexico Plans to Spend Huge Sum to Aid Education Work

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 23.—The department of education will ask and probably receive an extraordinary appropriation of 20,000,000 pesetas, it was announced today, to inaugurate the emergency expansion of the educational system.

This is the first step in the plan of Secretary of Education Puig Casaurando and President Calles to put a school in every rural community.

69,000 ARRESTS FOR DRY LAW VIOLATIONS IN TWELVE MONTHS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23.—During the last 12 months more than 69,000 persons were arrested for violation of the prohibition laws, according to records of the prohibition department.

Fines and forfeitures aggregating \$5,700,000 in criminal cases and \$855,300 in civil liability cases were collected.

Laborite Wins Over Liberal Opponent in Scottish Elections

(Special to The Daily Worker)

DUNDEE, Scotland, Dec. 23.—The labor party was victorious over the liberals here when T. Johnson, laborite, was elected to parliament over the liberal candidate, E. D. Simon. The vote was—Johnson, 22,978 votes and Simon, 10,234 votes.

Open Forum, Sunday Night, Lodge Room, Ashland Auditorium.

NO DAILY WORKER XMAS DAY

The next issue of the DAILY WORKER will be dated Friday, Dec. 26. The DAILY WORKER plant, editorial and mechanical, will be closed Thursday, Christmas Day, Dec. 25. Many party members will utilize the holidays to collect subscriptions for the DAILY WORKER, and sell policies to "insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925." What better holiday gift could a worker receive than a one year subscription to the DAILY WORKER or the WORKERS MONTHLY?

Insure the DAILY WORKER for 1925 with a Christmas present of a ten dollar policy! If you are a member of the working class, it will be a Christmas present to yourself.

PRESIDENT OF CARPENTERS LOCAL QUILTS

Expulsion of Militants Proves Hot Potato

The reactionary tools of President Hutcheson, of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in local 181 of this city, bit off more than they could chew when they undertook to railroad five militants out of the organization without the semblance of legality or trial according to the constitution.

At a meeting held last Monday night, the president of the local, Albert Jorgenson, resigned. There was nothing else for him to do as he was discredited thru his action in acting as a tool of Jensen and Hutcheson, in ridding the radicals. He is now of no more use to the chief fakers so they drop him like a hot potato.

The vice-president, also a machine man took the chair at the meeting. Three members of the trial committee of five have sworn to an affidavit that the expelled members did not plead guilty as the falsified report of the farcical trial declared. The chairman however refused to have the case reopened saying that is was now up to the general president.

As the expelled members did not have a trial they feel that no action has yet been taken by the local that would render it obligatory on their part to appeal to the general president. They did not have a trial to which they are entitled, as the membership agrees that the cooked-up proceedings against them was worse than anything that could be framed in a capitalist court.

The fight to secure justice thru working class action for the railroaded members of local 181 has only started. The members of the union should attend every meeting and not allow the victory to the reactionaries by default. They figure on the apathy of the majority of the membership and are adopting a policy of tiring out the opposition. The militants must organize their forces to meet the machinations and tricks of the bosses' lackeys. The members of the local note that John Steffen chairman of the so-called trial committee appears to have been rewarded without undue delay. He is now in Indianapolis in the Tabulating Committee, and the work of that outfit is to count Hutcheson in as international president.

EDITOR GETS 3 MONTHS CHARGING EBERT IS LOYAL TO WORKERS

MAGDEBURG, Germany, Dec. 23.—Editor Rothard was sentenced today to three months imprisonment and he must pay the cost of the libel trial in which he was accused of libeling President Ebert by saying that Ebert was guilty of treason during the war.

The decision of the court was taken by Ebert's friends as a complete vindication.

The Rothard article alleged that Ebert had been active in bringing about a strike among munition workers.

Our First Birthday

WITH the issue of January 13 the DAILY WORKER will be one year old.

In celebration of this event it will be an issue of 12 pages—a birthday number that will outshine any issue of our paper that has yet been published.

It will contain special features of value to every militant in the labor movement: cartoons by our very best artists; a review of the past year's accomplishments in the world of labor on both economic and political fields—and the part the DAILY WORKER has played in them. Special articles, reviews, cartoons—12 pages heaped full of interest and value to begin the second year of the life of the DAILY WORKER.

This issue on our very first birthday will be crammed full of facts of a busy year in the life of American labor; of facts concerning YOUR newspaper, its financial stability and its circulation—and a record of its accomplishments for our party.

Comrade Bob Minor will lead with his great cartoons. Comrades William Z. Foster, William F. Dunne, J. Louis Engdahl, Thomas J. O'Flaherty, Manuel Gomez are only a few of the talented writers who will contribute special features.

It will be a great number to celebrate in proper fashion the very birthday of OUR paper. Join in the festivities—get into this labor birthday party with an order at once! Give this 12-page issue to a worker you know and it will give the DAILY WORKER a new reader—and a new member for your branch.

ORDER NOW! 2 CENTS A COPY.

A bundle of 100 for \$2.00 is the very least you should order. Make January 13 a national birthday party—with a bundle order! Send your remittance with this blank:

THE DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. I want to celebrate the first birthday of my paper. I enclose \$..... for a bundle order of.....copies of the January 13 issue. Name..... Street..... City..... State.....

THRU LABOR BOARD'S DECISIONS ENGINEERS HAVE LOST WORKING RULES GAINED BY THEIR UNION

The five per cent increase in wages recently granted by the United States railroad labor board was no increase at all, as it lowered the standard of working conditions which had been obtained by engineers and firemen after years of bitter struggle against the employers. Robert C. McNall, for many years a railroad fireman and then an engineer, tells just what hardships the engineers and firemen must face.

"Before we ever had a union," said McNall, who now resides in Greenwood, Mo., "certain conditions were granted us by our employers, and since then they have been constantly trying to take those conditions from us. We used to get ten miles for 'doubling' a hill, i. e., when our train was so heavy we had to cut off on the side of the hill and take the train up a piece at a time. Likewise we got ten miles for running for water between tanks. Certain other conditions, too, we traded to the employers and the labor board to bring out a peaceful culmination of the Adamson law. We are considered overpaid when we receive seven dollars a day. Our overtime pay is blood money, and we undermine our health when we get it".

McNall then told of the short life of the engineer, whose arduous occupation kills or wrecks him at an early age. "The average life of an engineer from his promotion to his death, discharge or retirement is eleven and four tenths years" McNall said. "Since 1909 I have seen fifty-seven of our engineers discharged for some slight lapse, 13 retired on account of health, and 17 of our brave fellows go to their deaths after the manner traditional of a man who does his duty, 'died at the throttle'."

"Considering we have only about 78 men in all on our division, you can see that 93 men have been sacrificed in 15 years, and only 78 working. We are charged double rate for insurance that we may leave our families comfortable when we get bumped off. The engineers have to stand a harder physical examination than do recruits in the United States army, and the minute a man gets deaf or near-sighted or color-blind, he is cast aside, his services no longer satisfactory.

"The time has come that unless you force your employer you will get, not an increase, but a decrease in wages.

Cappellini, the Traitor, Wages War on Miners

(Continued from page 1) district and national union? Will you as mine workers of the Pittston district be benefited? These are the questions you should ask yourself now. In fact, you should have asked them before you laid down your tools. Had you done so and acted in accord with your contract, there would have been no strike. "As a result of the general committee calling an illegal strike, you have lost your membership in the United Mine Workers' organization, but let me say to you, the door is not locked, only closed. To open it you must first show that you will, as your consciences must necessarily dictate, return to work and abide by your contract; if you do this you will find the officers of the United Mine Workers of America, the organization you should be members of, ready and willing at all times to assist you in adjusting your grievances as provided by agreement solemnly entered into. "RINALDO CAPPELLINI, "District President." The above is Cappellini's pour-out of "facts" as promised to the capitalist press. Read it again, please, just

ALLIED ARMIES WILL NOT QUIT THE RHINELAND

German Government in Delicate Position

PARIS, Dec. 23.—The council of ambassadors scheduled to meet tomorrow to consider the report on German disarmament, today announced it had postponed the meeting until Friday, to give the council added time to digest the contents of the report.

Though Germany has been busy thru Ambassador Von Hoesch, seeking the evacuation of Cologne by Jan. 10, the date originally scheduled there was a strong feeling here today that the contents of the disarmament report would lead to a postponement of this date.

Dawes Plan in Jeopardy. Ambassador Von Hoesch has argued that unless Cologne is evacuated, Germany will not be able to select a government capable of carrying out the Dawes plan, to which the foreign office has replied that if execution of the Dawes plan rests on so slender a foundation, it might be often in jeopardy.

Reports that Germany has not carried out the disarmament terms of the Versailles treaty have led to the belief that evacuation will not be carried out.

Working Old Trick. The interallied military committee presided over by Marshall Foch decided that Germany had not carried out the provisions on disarmament of the Versailles treaty and was adopting the old trick practiced during the time of Napoleon, when a new army was trained by the strategem of shifting men under arms, but not increasing the number prescribed.

Until recently the interallied commission was in favor of giving Germany's secret military preparations a good coat of whitewash and the present action came like a bolt from the blue. It is held in some quarters that the British decisions not to evacuate Cologne on Jan. 10, is connected with dissatisfaction over the operation of the Dawes plan.

Misgivings as to Future. The social democrats and centrists who are the main support of the Dawes plan look with misgivings on the future. The nationalist elements are taking advantage of the situation for factional purposes and there is ever talk of a putsch to dissolve the reichstag.

Communists Gain Strength. In the meantime the Communist Party is growing in power and numbers. In the recent national election with practically all of its leading officials in jail or in hiding, it polled over 3,500,000 votes or little less than in the previous election when it sent 62 deputies to the reichstag.

Local Chicago Goes Forward in Big Policy Drive

(Continued from page 1) Have the greater part of them will subscribe their full allotments. In the special twelve-page anniversary edition of the DAILY WORKER a page will be reserved to list all those militant branches that have filled their quotas by January tenth of next year. LET CHICAGO LEAD THE COUNTRY! Push your collections. Rush your branch reports to the Local Agent, Thurber Lewis, Room 307, 166 W. Washington St.

Freezes to Death.

CHICAGO, Dec. 23.—Falling to locate on the "skid-road" any Coolidge prosperity, even to the extent of a shipment to some work camp, and not possessing the price of a night's lodging in Chicago, Oscar Johnson tried to avoid arrest for vagrancy by passing the night curled up out of sight in a fence corner. He was found in the morning, frozen to death, in the yard at 625 W. Madison. His empty pocket contained only a letter addressed to him at Chicago. He was apparently 30 years old.

More Museums in Russia.

MOSCOW.—Before the war there were 50 museums in Russia. Now there are about 250. Large numbers are being opened in the provinces and many of the art treasures from former noblemen's homes in Leningrad are being sent to provincial museums.

When you buy, get an "Ad."

RAID QUITE HOME AND ARREST COUPLE 'CAUSE WIFE'S SKIN IS DARK

In their effort to shield gunmen and their accomplices among the outrages committed by the police none is so dastardly as the one committed against the quiet little family of the Andersons. Arthur Anderson and his colored wife, Rosa, were descended upon at their home at 4638 St. Lawrence Ave., and thrown into cells at the 48th St. station. The reason given by Officers McMorrow and McKenna for this atrocious raid on a peaceful home was that they were tipped off that colored and whites were mixing. That was their sole excuse for the arrests!

Editorial Room Slaves of Brass Check Press Must Now Be Organized

By J. LOUIS ENGDahl.

TODAY, newspaper editorial workers constitute one of the most helpless lots of wage slaves to be found anywhere in the nation.

They get little encouragement to organize. The jurisdiction that the International Typographical Union once claimed over them has been surrendered.

Repeated appeals to the American Federation of Labor, especially to its late president, Sam Gompers, to aid in their organization, has always fallen on deaf ears.

The editorial worker today, for America's kept press, is as helpless as the unorganized slaves of New England's textile mills and just as poorly paid.

It is estimated that there are about 3,200 editorial workers on Greater New York's dailies. There must be tens of thousands over the nation. Howard A. Lamb, writing in "The Labor Age," estimates that there are continually 500 jobless seeking work in New York City alone. It is estimated that there are 20 schools of journalism pouring at least 2,000 new workers into this field yearly.

Workers on newspapers, mechanical as well as editorial, are faced with the large consolidations at frequent intervals. These are taking place continually. Frank Munsey, the steel trust millionaire, as well as newspaper and magazine publisher, within a few months, has put the Globe, the Mail and the Herald out of business in New York. Competition for advertising is eliminated, dual and triple expenses are wiped out, bankrupt institutions are made good money-getters, for Munsey, while new thousands of workers are thrown idle upon the streets. The number of newspapers, in 1923, decreased by 81, four of them dailies.

It is an excellent situation for the newspaper owners. Fewer jobs and more hunting them. Meager wage scales still further beaten down under the growing pressure of the unemployed.

Beginners in the editorial departments of the kept press, if they are lucky, may get the wages of low-paid stenographers, from \$20 to \$30 per week. Otherwise they will get much less, especially in smaller cities. Experienced men and women writers are forced to be content with a weekly wage of \$35 to \$50 per week. Anything above that is the exception rather than the rule. There is no limit to hours; no power, except the boss's will, to dictate the conditions of work.

To be sure the newspaper owners fear the flare-back from these brutalizing conditions. While the Typographical Union and the Printing Pressmen's Union, with other newspaper workers' organizations, have their own "homes" to take care of the sick, the aged and the incapacitated, the editorial "down-and-outs" in New York, as an isolated example, are to receive the charity of the late James Gordon Bennett, former owner of the Herald. He has set aside \$3,000,000 for the James Gordon Bennett Memorial Home for New York journalists. This charity, however, stands practically alone. Newspaper editorial workers are almost too docile even to receive this attention.

It is to the interest of workers in all newspapers trades that the editorial workers be organized. These helpless white-collar brain workers must be convinced of their identity of interest with the mechanical workers. No newspaper wage agreement is complete unless it dictates wages, hours and conditions for the editorial room workers, as well as those who set the type, make-up the pages, mould the forms, run the presses, do the mailing and finally those who drive the wagons and the boys who sell the papers on the streets and deliver them to the homes. Similarly, no struggle is complete, no newspaper strike is 100 per cent, unless it calls out the editorial workers as well as all the rest.

The big newspaper owners are everywhere strengthening their positions. They are ever ready to pick a weak spot in the front presented to them by the workers. One example is the recent bitterly fought strike of Hearst's sheet in Seattle, Wash., the Post-Intelligencer.

Amalgamation is sorely needed by all newspaper workers, just as badly as the organization of the underpaid, overworked editorial slaves is needed. Amalgamation of all the printing crafts will come. When it does come it must include all brain as well as hand workers.

AMERICAN WORKERS SEND FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO VICTIMS OF FRENCH CAPITALIST BRUTALITY AND TERROR

(I. W. A. Press Service)

The International Workers' Aid, having learned of the widespread raids thruout France and the arrests of 300 of their fellow workers by the white guard movement, sends its fraternal greetings to the victims of the white terror.

The International Workers' Aid which is now conducting a campaign on behalf of thousands of workers in capitalist dungeons thruout Europe and Asia declares that the brutality and terrorization to which the capitalists are resorting in their efforts to suppress the working class are proving futile.

American Workers Understand The American workers know what these wholesale arrests mean. In 1919 and 1920 the capitalists of America similarly resorted to such methods and despite the arrests of over 3000 and the deportations which are still going on, the capitalists and their henchmen could not succeed in intimidating the American workers. Such methods only aroused the indignation of millions of workers and those who carry them into effect have been politically destroyed.

Be assured, fellow workers of France, that the American workers are with you in your fight against the violent deeds employed by your master class in its endeavor to enslave you. Down with imperialist brutality and terror! Long live the fighters for the freedom of the working class! Hail International solidarity of the workers and farmers!

Union Bakers Fight R. R. Ward. LOS ANGELES, Dec. 23.—Union bakers at work in California are assessing themselves \$1 per capita to fight the R. R. Ward Baking Co. octopus in the state. The company has taken over plants in many cities from San Diego northward and had promised union representatives in particular that the San Diego and Los Angeles bakeries would be unionized. These promises proved to be stalls to stave off union agitation. Now the union fight against the concern is on in earnest.

WHITE GUARD KILLS LEADER OF MACEDONIA

Shoots Prof. Tchaulev in Milan Cafe

(Special to The Daily Worker) ROME, Dec. 23.—An agent of the Bulgarian white guard Zankov government, today shot and killed Professor Peter Tchaulev, a leader of the Macedonian League, in a small coffeehouse at Milan.

Dimitri Stephanov, the white guard-ist, picked a quarrel with Professor Tchaulev, accusing him of being a Bolshevik agent. Tchaulev, an intellectual leader of the movement which aims to liberate Macedonia from all its present spoliators, including Bulgaria, Greece and Jugo-Slavia, replied in a conciliatory way, but Stephanov drew a pistol and shot the professor five times.

Tchaulev Opposed Zankov. Professor Tchaulev was one of the three most prominent leaders of the Macedonian League. This is a purely national liberation movement. However, when the Zankov white guard overthrew the Stambulitsky peasant government of Bulgaria, the Macedonian League was inclined to oppose Zankov.

The white guards, led by General Protogerov, approached the Macedonians and made an agreement by offering some concessions, if the Macedonians would limit their activity. After this was agreed upon, however, the white guards were triumphant over the peasant forces and turned upon the Macedonians, murdering many of them in cold blood, including Alexandrov, one of the three Macedonian leaders along with Professor Tchaulev.

Following this, Professor Tchaulev announced that the Macedonian League would take a new position, and issued a program, advocating the federation of all Balkan countries in a union which would prevent the constant trespassing of one upon the other and the baiting of one another by imperialist intrigue of the greater powers.

A United Front with Communists. To accomplish this, he advocated that the Macedonian League would enter a united front with any elements willing to fight for this aim. Naturally, only the Communists were internationalists enough to agree. This was followed by an alliance between the various Balkan Communist parties and the Macedonian League.

Wage Increase Sought by Building Trades Workers' New Contract

The demand of the Chicago building trades workers for a flat wage of \$1.50 an hour, which in the case of the carpenters is an increase of 20 per cent, has been the signal for the Building Construction Employes Association to lament about "increased building costs."

The district council of the carpenters last spring signed a two-year contract with a wage rate of \$1.25 an hour, but stipulated in the contract that a raise could be asked provided notice was given before Jan. 1. The carpenters have now served such notice.

Plasterers, bricklayers, electricians, lathers and painters are already receiving \$1.50 an hour. The steamfitters receive \$1.37½ cents an hour and the ironworkers \$1.25 an hour.

'Not at Home,' Says Bancroft to Japan's Kick at Naval Show

(Special to The Daily Worker) TOKYO, Dec. 23.—A delegation of nine, including members of the diet, called at the United States embassy at noon today seeking to discuss the scheduled Pacific naval maneuvers of the United States with Ambassador Edgar Bancroft and present a protest. Ambassador Bancroft was absent and the delegation refused to talk to Charge Caffrey who promised to arrange a later interview with Bancroft.

Close Ford Plant Ten Days. DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 23.—Ford Motor company plants at Highland Park, River Rouge, Northville, Phoenix and Nankin, employing approximately 125,000 men, will close Wednesday night for the annual inventory which will require ten days.

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

MYSTERY! WHO KILLED HANNIBAL HURST? (The secret will be out in next issue of the Daily.)

ROTTEN HOUSING CAUSES DEATHS IN FATAL FIRES

Workers Hold Protest Mass Meetings

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES. (Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK, Dec. 23.—At the very moment that the Russian Soviet government had opened several of the most beautiful palaces as homes for the tired mothers and little children of workers, children and mothers of the working class were compelled in capitalist America to sacrifice their lives in a firetrap tenement to satisfy the greed of the landlords.

The fire occurred at 13 East 98th St., where six lives were lost, one family being entirely wiped out. Outside, the tenement stands as the nothing more were the matter with it than a bad case of broken windows. Inside, the rotten stairways are burnt to a crisp. The stairs and hallways are the charred witnesses of the death-trap conditions that prevailed before the fire broke out.

The fire had just started when a devoted friend and neighbor cried the alarm to a woman on the second floor.

"I'm coming," she replied, and it seemed that there would yet be plenty of time to escape. But the house was built—not for the safety of the workers but, for the profits of the landlord. I saw three coffins today, in one of them the charred remains of the mother who had cried "I am coming!" The others contained the bodies of the father and the daughter, all of them burned beyond recognition.

I talked with a man, the father of a family who lived on the ground floor. With a broken, quivering voice he tried to tell us how some of them were saved. He shook his head. "Yes, yes, it was not a safe place but, what can we poor people do? Everywhere we go, they ask always more and still more rent. We lived in these rooms for ten years, yet we had to fix everything ourselves. The landlord would never do anything necessary to make the house safe or comfortable or clean. Yet he always raised the rent—a few dollars at a time. Everytime a tenant moved we saw him ask ten or twelve dollars more for the rooms.

"Don't you think," I asked him, "that if the workers got together and established a government only for workers (for there are millions of workers for only thousands of bosses and landlords) a government of workers like Russia, that we should change all this for ourselves and do as the Russian workers are doing?" "Yes," he replied, "we could. I have been in this country for over forty years. As a worker, I was always a union man. I know what it means to be on strike for many long months. I know what it is to go hungry. I have been in the struggle and I know that we could do everything for ourselves if we would only get together and beat the capitalists. I'm an old man now, but I hope the younger ones will do what every worker knows we need to do."

A protest meeting against the fire-trap tenements has been arranged for Friday, Dec. 26, at 8 o'clock. The hall, 64 East 104th St., is in the neighborhood of the fire. The meeting is to be held under the auspices of the women's committee of the Workers Party and the United Council of Working Class Women. Already much local interest has been created in the meeting and a large audience of men and women of the working class is expected. There will be prominent speakers. Also, plain mothers of the neighborhood will have something to say.

IMPERIALISM A THREAT UPON EVERY WORKER'S LIFE, SAYS MANUEL GOMEZ AT CHICAGO OPEN FORUM

That the economic and ideological development of society do not keep equally advanced, the material development usually leaving the progress of ideas far behind, is shown by the rise of American imperialism and the lack of comprehension of its scope and importance, is the conclusion of Manuel Gomez, speaker at the open forum of the Workers Party at the Ashland Auditorium Sunday evening.

The natives of Santo Domingo are ruled by United States marines. Hayti is ruled by American troops. The elections in Honduras are influenced by sending warships and machine guns to make the choice of American bankers the president. In Cuba, the general strike was broken by demonstrations of force made by the United States.

These are not incidents of war, but the ordinary events of "peace time." Comrade Gomez dwelt at length on the rise of American imperialism as one phase of the whole historical age of imperialist development through the world. The United States has an empire in and around the Caribbean, as sort of "Mittel-Europa" like the Kaiser had before the war with Mexico as its center.

The speaker outlined the pre-imperialist stage of capitalism, citing the farewell address of Washington about "no entangling alliances" as one proof of the 100-year period of national development during which the policy of all countries was generally "no aggressive expansion." This was the age of national consolidation of Germany, Italy and other nations. Comrade Gomez cited Pavlovitch's work on imperialism which shows that Bismarck was not an imperialist in the strict sense of the word, but the unifier of the German nation. And so with other statesmen of that day, who considered colonies as expensive nuisances.

Beginning of Conquest Period. But from about 1880 the capitalist system had entered into a period of imperialist expansion, and in 25 years the great powers seized over 10,000,000 square miles of territory from weaker peoples. The period when "free competition" accompanied by "free speech" and "stable praframents" was over. Trustification and combination became the dominant factor and completely altered the political superstructure. Political power steadily became centralized and this affects every phase of life.

Imperialism is not something far away, in "far Cathay," but is a part of economic life, just as threatening to the worker in the shops, mines and mills of the United States as to the workers and the poor peons of Latin-America.

Comrade Gomez traced the rise of trusts, the Standard Oil, the Havemeyer trust, the copper and woolen trusts, but above all the steel trust, the first billion dollar combine formed by fusion of Morgan and Rockefeller interests. This was the first instance of outstanding importance of the penetration of finance capital into industry. Now, the bankers, once a mere auxiliary to industry, dictate all major industries. Monopoly ruled, monopoly princes came to be usual.

Government and Imperialism. This centralized power of finance and industry had been reflected in a monopoly power in government. The foreign policy of the United States, once diffused to respond to the needs of the whole bourgeoisie, became the policy of Wall Street, the crowning monopoly of the age. Trustified industry looked beyond the borders of the nation for raw materials, while trustified finance sought an outlet for accumulated surplus of capital, a market for the export of capital.

The contradictions within capitalism, chiefly the capital accumulation tended to choke further development if export of capital was not attained. Even now the banks in some cases are refunding large deposits. A New York bank had refused to take a \$2,000,000 deposit as it could not place it out and would only lose by paying interest to the depositor. Imperialism Bulwark of Capitalism. The way out in general, however, is temporarily provided by the exploitation of weaker peoples. Capital can be exported, and with the cheap labor enforced, a super-profit is returned. The United States has become the imperialist power par excellence.

The United States has three major imperialist maneuvers. The Dawes plan to conquer Europe; the open door in China to conquer Asia, and the closed door—the Monroe doctrine, to pillage Latin-America. Comrade Gomez, briefly gave a his-

How to Be Healthy

For many years people have been suffering from many sicknesses. Many have gone to doctors who have them treated for a trial. After several trials and operations they failed to regain their health. MEN AND WOMEN If you are suffering from any ailments, come to my office and I will try to help you without the use of medicine or an operation.

DR. TAFT
1555 West Roosevelt Road
Daily 9 to 12 a. m.—2 to 5—6 to 8 p. m.
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TELEPHONE CANAL 3459

COOLIDGE AGAIN WARS ON POSTAL WORKERS RAISE

Administration Senators Try to Block Bill

(Special to The Daily Worker) WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 23.—In another effort to block the passage of the bill increasing the pay of postal employees, the Coolidge administration senators have started public hearings on the Sterling bill which increases the mailing rates on newspapers and magazines.

The Coolidge administration will attempt to substitute the Sterling bill for the postal pay increase bill which was vetoed by Coolidge at the last session of congress. It is a certainty that this substitute bill will not pass the senate, as newspapers have protested against it throughout the country. Coolidge's postmaster general, New, recommended this bill in an effort to sidetrack the postal employe pay increase bill which Coolidge does not want passed over his veto.

"The financial stability of Russia is more secure than was expected. The Russians have almost balanced their budget and have restored their productivity relative to the pre-war standard at a rate which compares favorably with the general European average.

"Industrial undertakings are being rapidly developed, especially those responsible for electrical power and equipment. The high degree of organizing and administrative capacity and enthusiasm of the workers under the new system of state ownership deeply impressed the delegation.

Your Union Meeting

- Fourth Wednesday, Dec. 24, 1924.
- Name of Local and Place
 - No. of Members
 - Blacksmiths' District Council, 119 S. Throop St.
 - Boiler Makers, Monroe and Racine.
 - Carpenters, 17 Garfield Blvd.
 - Carpenters, Western and Lexington.
 - Carpenters, 5443 S. Ashland Ave.
 - Carpenters, 503 S. State St.
 - Carpenters, 1638 N. Halsted St.
 - H. Fehling, Rec. Sec'y., 2253 Grace St. Irving 7597.
 - Carpenters, 6414 S. Halsted St.
 - Carpenters, 1581 Maple Ave., Evanston, Ill.
 - Coopers, 8901 Escanaba Ave.
 - Hod Carriers, 714 W. Division St.
 - Hod Carriers, 810 W. Harrison St.
 - Jewelry Workers, 19 W. Adams St.
 - Ladies' Garment Workers, 328 W. Van Buren Street.
 - Marine Cooks, 357 N. Clark St.
 - Machinists, 113 S. Ashland Blvd.
 - Machinists, 735 N. Cicero Ave.
 - Maintenance of Way, 426 W. 63rd Street.
 - Painters, Sherman & Main Sts., Evanston, Ill.
 - Plasterers, 910 W. Monroe St.
 - Railway Carmen Dist. Council, 5443 S. Ashland Ave.
 - Railway Carmen, 6444 Wentworth Ave.
 - Railway Carmen, 5445 Ashland Ave.
 - Railway Trainmen, 426 W. 63rd St., 7:30 p. m.
 - Roofers, 777 W. Adams St.
 - Sheet Metal, 714 W. Harrison St.
 - Sheet Metal, 5224 S. Halsted St.
 - Teamsters, 175 W. Washington St.
 - Teamsters (Meat), 220 S. Ashland Blvd.
 - Teamsters (Bone), 6959 S. Halsted Street.
 - Tuckpointers, 810 W. Harrison St.
 - Tunnel and Subway Workers, 914 W. Harrison St.
- Note—Unless otherwise stated all meetings are at 8 p. m.)

The Daily Worker
We've Got It!
Let's Keep It!
And Build!

BRITISH TRADE UNIONISTS REPORT THAT SOVIET RUSSIA SHOWS HUGE GAINS FOR WORKERS

(Special to The Daily Worker) LONDON, Dec. 23.—The British trade union delegation, in advance of its full report, has issued a summary of its findings. This summary has riled the Tory press, which attacks the staid labor men, Purcell and Bramley, who are its signers, as "Bolshevist agents."

The statement, in part, is as follows: "Social, industrial and economic conditions of Russia have enormously improved since the visit of the British delegation in 1920. Members of both delegations and expert advisers formerly residing in Russia for many years are agreed as to the very rapid process of economic restorations now operating under the direction of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Workers Enthusied Over System.

"The financial stability of Russia is more secure than was expected. The Russians have almost balanced their budget and have restored their productivity relative to the pre-war standard at a rate which compares favorably with the general European average.

"Industrial undertakings are being rapidly developed, especially those responsible for electrical power and equipment. The high degree of organizing and administrative capacity and enthusiasm of the workers under the new system of state ownership deeply impressed the delegation.

Houses Better Than Britain's.

"Housing conditions of the workers are being rapidly improved. New housing schemes making provision for the erection of model cottages superior to some of the government houses provided in Great Britain are being pushed forward with great energy and ability.

"A great effort is being made to eliminate illiteracy, and many kinds of educational activity are being generously subsidized and urged forward by the Union of Socialist Republics and trade union organizations.

Care and Culture of the Workers.

"Workmen's clubs, holiday homes and rest houses are also being used for education of illiterates, including children and adults, and the proportion of the working class population without education is being reduced very rapidly.

"Administrative departments of the Soviet state are well organized and efficiently controlled, especially those to which members of the delegation devoted special attention, namely, those dealing with state insurance for health, unemployment and medical care of workers and their dependents.

Workers' Sports Real Benefit.

"Every effort is being made to improve the moral life of Russia, and prostitution, gambling and other vices are being rapidly eliminated by educational effort and drastic state regulations.

"By the creation of workers' clubs, rest houses, sport and physical culture centers, trade union organizations are securing for their members trade union benefits in addition to

WORKERS PARTY SPEAKERS FLY LABOR TRAITOR

Raises Big Issue in Connecticut Unions

(Special to The Daily Worker) NEW HAVEN, Conn., Dec. 23.—At a mass meeting held in Trades Council Hall, the Workers Party speakers gave a history of the Joseph Tone case, already familiar to the DAILY WORKER readers.

Tone, a former organizer of the International Association of Machinists, and leader of the striking shopmen, accepted the position of commercial agent for the New York, Ontario, and Western railroad.

Prominent officials of the Machinists, like Robert Fechner and Vice-President Connolly blessed the appointment. Even the New Haven Trades' Council officially congratulated Tone on his appointment.

Communists Attack Tone.

The speakers, Ida Rothstien, prominent militant in the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union, and William Simons, district organizer of the Workers Party, condemned Tone's act, marking it as desertion from the ranks of the workingclass. They urged the shopmen present to become active in their unions, to fight for amalgamation of the railroad unions into one industrial union; to fight against the class harmony policy of the labor leaders. Comrade Rothstien drew lessons from her years of experience in strikes, and in fighting against the rotten leadership in her union. Comrade Simons explained how the present state of leadership in the labor movement caused the Brockton shoe workers' revolt last year, and similar rank and file action in other industries.

Labor Council Endorses Tone.

Altho the Tone case (he is a state senator) is well known thruout the state, the only organization that sincerely attacked Tone for his desertion has been the Workers Party.

The Connecticut Labor News, a corrupt, double-faced organ of a labor misleader, who thanks to Gompers' exit took his place as first vice-president of the Cigarmakers' International Union, attacked Tone, but the action was prompted by rivalry for political plums. The labor leaders generally condone Tone's act, because it is quite natural to them to leave the working class ranks, whenever more money is offered. Loyalty to the working class is unknown to them. Labor is a stepping stone to personal profit. The Workers Party, local New Haven, will make this case an issue in the local unions of New Haven.

Bronx, New York, Attention!

Every Tuesday night at 1347 Boston Road, class in A. B. C. of Communism; all Workers Party members who have recently joined the party must attend. Others welcome.

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925

The Daily Worker Will Not Appear— ON XMAS DAY OR NEW YEARS

You will not receive the issue of December 25 or January 1, 1925—the printers insist these are holidays.

These will be ideal days to say to your friends: "Merry Xmas—will you subscribe to the best working class newspaper in this country?" If that doesn't work, try: "A Happy New Year is a sure thing—if you begin it by reading the DAILY WORKER. I'll take your subscription."

real wages, which is much appreciated.

Justifies Recognition.

In conclusion, the summary says: "Many other important changes will be referred to and dealt with in the report, which will contain necessary information to justify the trade union and labor policy supporting full diplomatic and economic recognition of Russia. The report will also prove that millions of new capital could be properly and safely invested in development of enormous economic possibilities of Russia and will fully justify the claim made on behalf of British labor that Russia under Soviet rule has so far improved material and moral conditions of its people as to have now earned a permanent place among European nations."

The delegation travelled about 6,000 miles, remained six weeks in Russia, some going to one section, some to another, and some particularly making a visit to the Soviet Republic of Georgia, which has long been a bone of contention between the Second International yellow socialists, among them Ramsay MacDonald, and the Union of Soviets. MacDonald had issued a number of statements that the Georgian people were "suppressed" by the Bolsheviks. The Moscow authorities sent the British labor delegates down to Georgia to let them see that Ramsay was lying.

We Want You in the Army!

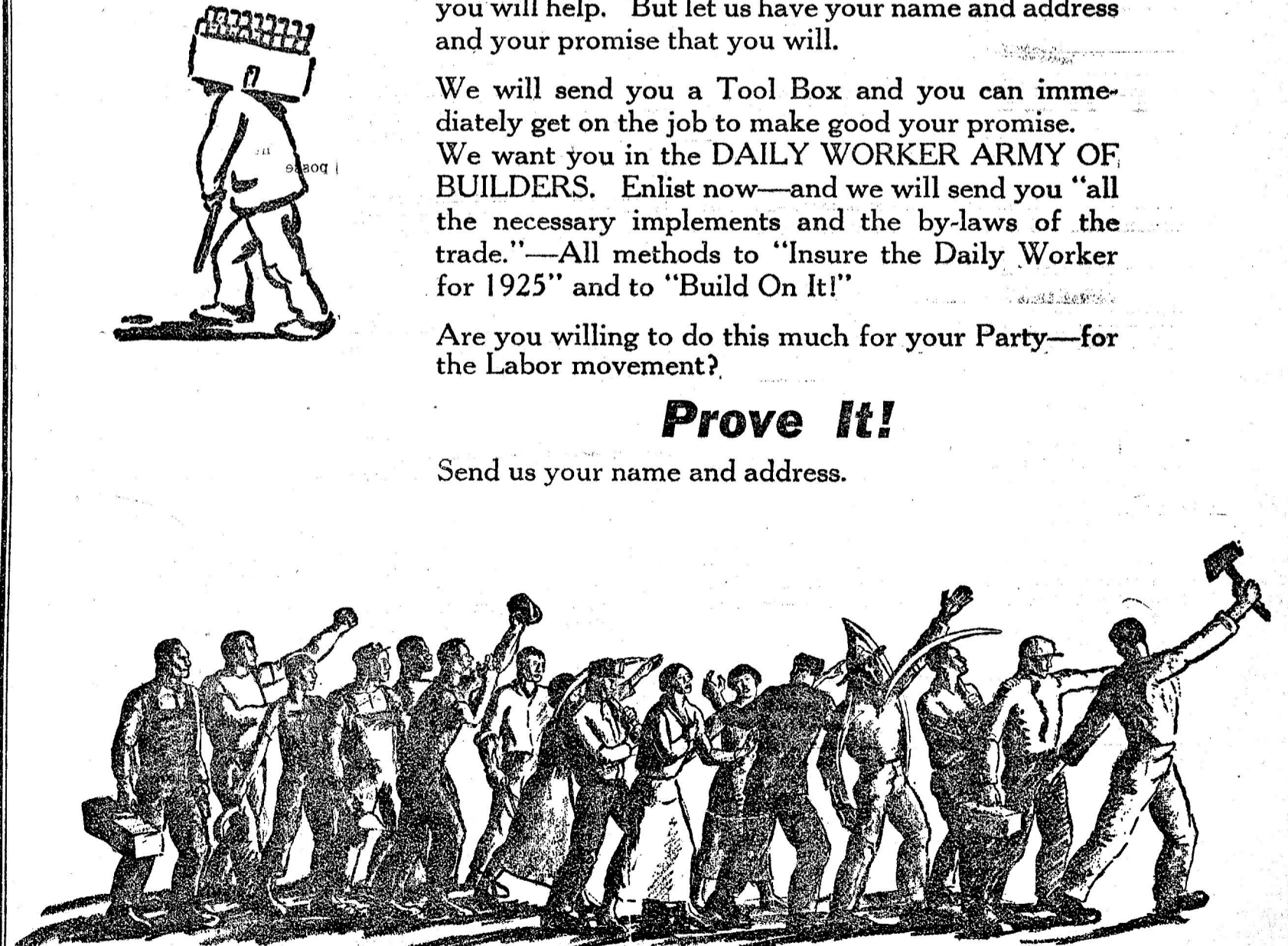
We don't want to miss a single worker. On this big job to "Build the Daily Worker" we know you will help. But let us have your name and address and your promise that you will.

We will send you a Tool Box and you can immediately get on the job to make good your promise. We want you in the DAILY WORKER ARMY OF BUILDERS. Enlist now—and we will send you "all the necessary implements and the by-laws of the trade."—All methods to "Insure the Daily Worker for 1925" and to "Build On It!"

Are you willing to do this much for your Party—for the Labor movement?

Prove It!

Send us your name and address.



WHO KILLED HANNIBAL HURST?

Was it ME?
(Riddle solved in next issue!)

Colds That Lead to PNEUMONIA

We have known men and women who have taken cold compounds, syrups, creosotes, plasters, etc., with no abatement whatever of the trouble.

When these same people tried DRUGLESS METHODS they made quick recoveries from their colds.

No matter what the ailment, try first Chiropractic and Electrotherapy (natural, drugless methods).

Consultation and advise free to all comrades on matters pertaining to health.

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Epstein Bldg., Cor. W. 25th & Wade Ave.
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CLEVELAND, OHIO
English, German and Slovak Spoken.

A Thousand Workers Bounced Out of Jobs At Montgomery-Ward

On Monday, the bosses in the Montgomery-Ward mail order house at Chicago Ave. and the river, notified 1,000 employes, mostly girls and women, that there was no more work for them. Rumors are that more will be laid off today.

While some promise is made that those laid off will be restored after the first of the year, most of those who are the sufferers are disconsolately looking for jobs elsewhere.

Coal Wagon Drivers Demand Increase of 20 Cents Per Hour

Chicago coal drivers are demanding a wage increase of twenty cents an hour, and a strike is threatened which would tie up delivery of winter coal. The teamsters' representatives are to confer this week with officials of the Chicago coal merchants' association. Over 2,000 coal company employes are involved. At present a 70 cent an hour rate prevails. The men work ten hours a day.

Your Policy Must Be Buy a Policy

Res. 1632 S. Trumbull Ave.
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Discussion of Our Party's Immediate Tasks

MINORITY THESIS PROPOSES PENETRATION OF THIRD PARTY

By WM. Z. FOSTER.

A significant feature of the minority thesis is its failure to acknowledge the mistake of the third party alliance. It is characteristic of the minority to be stiff-necked and to assume an air of infallibility. They never admit mistakes. They still persist in defending their opportunistic maneuvers in the Chicago and St. Paul conventions, in the grab at the farmers, and in the August thesis. A case in point is that of Comrade H. M. Wicks, a prominent leader of the minority, and one who speaks much of Leninist leadership. Just a couple of months ago he, in a wide breach of Communist tactics, principles, and discipline, supported the ultra-reactionary, James Lynch, for president of the International Typographical Union, for which he was censured publicly by the party. Typically, instead of confessing his mistakes, he persists in it and tries to justify it. In this attitude he merely follows the course taken by the minority generally regarding party policies.

But the minority attitude in failing to acknowledge the third party alliance mistake is far more sinister than merely their customary refusal to admit mistakes. Its real significance is that they still mourn for the third party alliance. And, more significant still, is that instead of being corrected and brought back to a Communist line by the Comintern decision, they are ignoring it and going still further to the right. Now, they are actually coming to accept the LaFollette movement as the expression of the labor party movement. This conclusion is inescapable after a reading of their thesis and the arguments they produce to sustain it.

The minority, simply substituting the term "farmer-labor party" for the "LaFollette movement," practically consider the latter in theory and practice as the mass political movement of the workers and poor farmers and propose to work within it. Stripped of verbiage and understood as it really is, the minority thesis does three things, (1) While presumably laying the theoretical basis for the "class" farmer-labor party, it actually lays the basis for the LaFollette movement; (2) While ostensibly indicating the organized expression of the "class" farmer-labor party movement, it is in reality pointing out sections of the LaFollette movement; (3) While proposing a pretended "class" farmer-labor party policy, it really outlines a program for penetrating the LaFollette movement. Let us look at these propositions more in detail.

1. Minority Falls to Find Theoretical Basis for "Class" Farmer-Labor Party

The minority thesis is supposedly written in defense of the use of the slogan "For a class farmer-labor party" by the Workers Party. Consequently if it has any purpose at all it must be to demonstrate the existence of a definite movement for the formation of a farmer-labor party of industrial workers and poor farmers and to analyze the forces producing it. With a great fanfare of trumpets this thesis sets out to do this. It speaks of the decay of world capitalism, of use of the government by the big capitalists against the workers and poor farmers, of the "open shop" drive, of the big agricultural crisis, of the industrial crisis, of the struggle of the petty bourgeoisie against the big capitalists, and of the general sharpening of the class struggle.

But after all the travail of the minority thesis, does it show the existence of a concrete "class" farmer-labor party movement or a tendency in that direction? It does not. It simply brings out the following propositions:

- That masses of workers, farmers, and urban petty bourgeois are deeply discontented from the growing pressure of capitalism.
- That these masses are breaking away from the republican and democratic parties.
- That they have formed themselves into a petty bourgeois movement under the leadership of LaFollette.
- That within this movement there are class antagonisms which will eventually disrupt it.

But where does the "class" farmer-labor party come in in this analysis? Nowhere. The minority thesis does not show such a movement to be in existence now nor does it even prognosticate that it will come into existence at the break-up of the LaFollette movement. The thesis, supposedly written to justify the use of the "class" farmer-labor party slogan, does not indicate a movement at the present time to correspond to that slogan, nor does it hold such a movement to be inevitable. The thesis says, "It is quite possible that the actual organization of a class farmer-labor party which will establish itself firmly and function over a period of time will not be the line of development."

What Minority Thesis Is.

What we have in the minority thesis is this: An analysis which simply indicates that there is a LaFollette movement, which analyzes the social content of that movement and the forces that produced it, and which prognosticates that eventually the proletarian elements will break away from the LaFollette movement. Then, without having showed that there is a "class"

MAJORITY RETREATS RIGHT INTO ARMS OF FARMER-LABOR PARTY

By JULIUS CODKIND.

TAKING the position that there is no present mass movement toward a farmer-labor party the majority proclaim that we should withdraw from this field and apply the united front tactic in other avenues, as the opportunity arises.

Where are these other avenues to lead us?

The majority holds forth, as the leading united front tactic of today, the establishment of unemployed councils in which the Workers Party should take the leadership. Very well, let us proceed to form these councils.

We are in the midst of our unemployed agitation. Comrade X, of the majority, is addressing a vast mass of five hundred unemployed workers. We assume for the sake of charity that in this unmixed crowd of unemployed there are no Communists or sympathizers. He speaks to them of the necessity of forming councils of unemployed to fight for "Work or Wages." He proves that every worker is entitled to a job. He holds them spellbound. They stand convinced that it ought to be. They accept his leadership, but within him he knows that he has yet two tasks to perform.

First, he must tell them how! Second, he must win them to the Workers Party.

If he can approach his average American crowd, even of unemployed, and convince them only thru the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will they gain their objective, the writer stands convinced that the majority is correct in abandoning the slogan of the farmer-labor party and the effort toward its attainment. At one stroke, Comrade X has performed his double task, and by repeating his success thruout the country before the great masses of workers he has prepared their minds for the revolution and there is no need for the farmer-labor party.

However, Comrade X of the majority will probably approach his task by explaining that only when the workers will control the government will they be able to impose on the bosses the "Work or Wages" proposition. He will explain that to accomplish this, the workers must organize their own class party and then like a good Communist, he will judge rightly that this is as far as he can go now without losing the confidence of his unemployed workers.

However, he is still under the necessity of gaining and holding prestige, not only for himself but for the Workers Party, so he will go on to describe fully the position of the Communists, emphasizing his own belief that the Communist determination to establish Soviets is the correct and only solution, but being careful to explain all the time nevertheless, that he and the party join loyally in the effort of the workers to attain government power thru those methods that the workers themselves deem best.

Now, what has Comrade X of the majority done?

He has gone as far as he could in urging a Communist program. He has explained the Communist position thoroughly, without creating prejudice. He has implanted in the minds of the listeners a doubt of their own remedy, and left a slight but subconscious idea that if this fails they can still try the Communist tactic.

Very good! Comrade X of the majority has done as well as anyone could have expected of him. Nevertheless, Comrade X (in company with Comrade Y of the minority, who dislikes the task fully as much as Comrade X) will have to march along on the road chosen by the very workers who have been made class conscious by his own unemployment agitation, until they get ready to try his Communist tactic. And that road is the

farmer-labor party outburst in his balliwick.

In their citing of mass sentiment for their "class" farmer-labor party slogan, the only things tangible are the granger farmer-labor parties, sections of the LaFollette movement. They are not "class" parties at all. They are the LaFollette parties. But this gives the minority no great difficulty. They are prepared to accept these parties and to work within them. The whole course of their thesis and supplementary arguments proves this.

3. A "Class" Farmer-Labor Party Policy Which Means Working With the LaFollette Movement.

In reality the thesis of the minority proposes a policy of working within the LaFollette movement, or "third party," an organization with which the Comintern prohibited Communists from even making an alliance. This is evident from an analysis of the minority "policy."

Three general lines of action are open to the advocates of the "class" farmer-labor party slogan. These are:

- They can remain within the realms of propaganda and simply advocate the principle of a "class" farmer-labor party.
- They can proceed to organize such sentiment as is to be found for their slogan into a definite "class" farmer-labor party.
- They can work within the LaFollette movement for the realization of their "class" farmer-labor party.

The first of these is the policy of Comrade Bradly and his group, the second is the old Pepper-federated policy, and the third is that of the socialist party. All three are untenable. The minority do not dare to declare openly for any one of the three. If they stood for the first one, they would be driven out of court at once, because in the very nature of things such a slogan as the "class" farmer-labor party demands a definite organizational policy. If they stood for the second policy they would fare no better, because the Workers Party has had its stomach full of federated parties. And if they stood for the third, frankly, they would also be defeated, for obvious reasons. It is a hard situation. So the minority meet it by advocating all three policies simultaneously and in utter confusion. In this way they hope to avoid the issue of a definite policy. The practical working out of their confused proposals, however, would amount in substance to putting into effect the third policy, that of working within the LaFollette movement.

The Heart of the Minority Thesis.

The minority thesis starts out with a great blare of trumpets to support (1) policy, that is of simply propaganda of the "class" farmer-labor party slogan. They enlarge upon its value as a propaganda instrument and minimize the organizational side. Says the thesis, "Our immediate campaign must be one of agitation. Whether the left class elements will be eventually organized into a farmer-labor party fighting the class battles of workers and farmers, is not the essential question at present." And again, "The slogan, 'For a class farmer-labor party' remains our most effective means of agitation for political action on a class basis by the workers and poorer farmers."

Having thus soft-soaped the elements in the party who realize the futility of a campaign to organize the "class" farmer-labor party, the minority thesis, by a typical example of its not letting the right hand know what the left hand doeth, plunges headlong into an immediate campaign of organization around its beloved and belabored slogan of a "class" farmer-labor party. This time it discovers a great love for (3) policy and unblushingly advocates permeation of the C. P. A., the heart of the LaFollette third party movement.

But upon this dangerous ground of penetration of the verboten third party, the minority thesis does not rest long. It hastily takes refuge in (2) policy, the famous August-thesis-Pepper-federated policy. We are told that participation in the third party is to be strictly limited in scope and time. Our dose of poison is to be small. The thesis promises us a plethora of splits from the C. P. A., and the inauguration of a whole series of fake federated all over the country. The minority thesis aims to please. In its grab-bag it has a little present for every group, except the one against the usage of the slogan at all, the majority group. It pleases those who are for the slogan for propaganda purposes only, those who foresee the glory of a new federated or, perchance, a flock of them, and those, who are a numerous group of minority followers, who stand squarely for participation in the LaFollette third party.

What Will Minority Do?

Now the question arises, which of these three general lines of policy, (1), (2), or (3), would the minority actually follow if the party were so unwise and unfortunate as to support their thesis? Let us consider each in phase: As for (1) policy, the minority would, of course, use the "class" farmer-labor party slogan for propaganda purposes. But, this propaganda would have to be followed up by a definite organizational program. That much is absolutely certain. Even the minority grudgingly admit it. Therefore, the attempt to create the impression that the slogan has a great value simply for propaganda

A Communist Catechism

More Questions and Answers

By MAX BEDACHT & JAY LOVESTONE.

14. Question—Who must be the leaders of all united front campaigns?

Answer—The Communists, of course. In this connection it is necessary to state that the Ruthenberg-Pepper group has had considerable difficulty in impressing this elementary Communist truth upon many of the comrades high in the councils of the present majority of the central executive committee. We cite the following from a report on the united front farmer-labor campaign in the city of Chicago made by Comrade Swaback, district organizer, on June 10, 1923, to the central executive committee.

"We had decided and did pursue the method of as much as possible following the lead of the national officers of the farmer-labor party and mainly stressed the necessity of unity."

The comrades of the present minority of the central executive committee fought against this anti-Communist concept of the united front tactics and will continue to do so.

15. Question—Where does the Foster-Cannon group get the notion that because of the fact that Hillquit and some other socialist party leaders may attempt to use the farmer-labor party slogan, therefore, this slogan becomes useless for the Communist Party?

Answer—This argument is the trademark of the centrist. The centrist has so little confidence in his own principles and tactics that when he meets apparently the same principles and tactics from some enemy he does not dare to put forth his own for fear that the masses wouldn't know the difference.

16. Question—Since the Foster-Cannon group is bitterly opposed to submitting the question immediately to the C. I. where does it get the nerve to fool the membership that the C. I. has as good as endorsed its stand already? What is the meaning of the C. E. C. majority spokesmen talking themselves blue in the face repeating the following section from the last advice from the C. I. on our farmer-labor campaign? "In case of a split at the June 17 convention the question of whether or not the Workers Party shall act altogether independently in its own name in the election campaign or whether it shall launch a campaign under the name of the F. L. P. will depend largely upon whether it (the Workers Party) is successful in the split and will depend on how far it maintains contact with the working masses at the June 17 convention?"

Answer—The declaration of the C. I. applies only to and was given only for the consideration of a method of conducting a specific election campaign at hand and was not put forward in any way at all and does not at all pretend to deal with the question of the farmer-labor party as an issue and slogan.

Commenting on the American question at the meeting of the commission in the presidium of the E. C. of the C. I. on May 20, 1924 Zinoviev said: "I believe that if we study everything we will say that in the year 1924 things are not so elementary that we can simply go along with any movement that is against the trusts and we cannot propagate the idea of an independent labor party. WE MUST DARE TO PUT FORTH THIS IDEA AND IT MUST BE REALIZED. NAMELY, A SEPARATE LABOR PARTY. IT IS OUR MAIN DUTY TO SEE THIS IN MOTION. IN AMERICA THERE IS A DANGER OF OUR FALLING INTO DE LEONISM. THAT WE MUST STATE QUITE OPENLY . . . The tactics of forming a farmer-labor party were absolutely correct on condition of course that we retain a Workers Party of our own. That is the American plan. In France it was possible to conduct the election campaign under the slogan of a 'workers' and peasants' bloc.' In America we must drive this party forward but at the same time we must build our own party. That must remain . . . We must not regret that we formed the F. L. P. We are glad about this fact that we have a farmer-labor

LABOR PARTY, WHICH HE HIMSELF HAS BEEN COMPELLED TO ACCEPT IN THE LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HIS OWN SPEECH. THE GENERAL LABOR CONGRESS AND THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

Another avenue that the majority suggests as a good way to establish a united front, is, to immediately begin to popularize the idea of a Labor Congress to prepare the minds of the workers for the coming tasks."

Of course, one might suggest to the majority that the sentiment for such a labor congress does not exist, and according to their own law on the labor party they contradict themselves when they propose to work for something for which no sentiment exists. It is well to remember that they criticize their own expenditures for the farmer-labor party for which so much actual mass sentiment did exist when the Workers Party took the field. How much more will it cost to build up a movement for a labor congress to prepare the minds of the workers for the coming tasks? Let us remember—to build up a movement for a congress that holds out no objective to the workers outside of the proposition that the Workers Party is to prepare their minds.

Let us assume, however, that the majority has gained its point. The victory has been won in the party. The farmer-labor party has been cast aside. All obstacles have been overcome; a labor congress is in session.

Can the majority there offer the program of the Communist Party, i. e., the Workers Party, for acceptance, in line with its own policy, which reads as follows:

"A fundamental principle of the united front tactics is that a Communist Party must absorb into its own ranks every section and group of the working class that accepts in the struggle the policies and slogans of the Communist Party."

Will the majority dare to dismiss this congress without affecting a permanent form of organization? No, they won't dare. They won't even dream of such an absurdity. They will provide a permanent form of organization. What will that organization be?

We must remember, if the form of organization is anything less than the Communist Party, that it becomes a violation of the thesis of the majority. Let us be lenient, however. Let us grope with the majority for a means to avoid the formation of the labor party, for this seems to be their real objective. Very well. Let them propose some form of organization whose character will be such as to make unnecessary for the organization to enter the parliamentary field, i. e., the elections, for if it enters the parliamentary field it becomes a political party of labor which must stand in conflict or in alliance with the Workers Party.

Perhaps the majority proposes a new I. W. W. You never can tell!

Who Are the Opportunists?

The majority is most solicitous of the welfare of the minority. It wants to save all these young Communists who have but found the party within the last couple of years as a result of the party's united front tactics. It wants to save them from the clutch of the farmer-labor party, so it declares war on the farmer-labor party for their sake. Pepper, Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Gitlow, must be saved by Foster, Dunne and Browder. In New York also, the old guard minorities are busily being saved, by newcomers.

The Workers Party seems to have disappointed our newer members. It held forth the idea of a vast labor party. Now it is evident that a labor party can never be proportionately as large as the labor party of Great Britain. What is more bitter still, is that the labor party here cannot hope to become a powerful factor on the

THE ARGUMENTS AND THESIS OF THE MAJORITY, MUST BE THAT THE ONLY USE OF SUCH A PARTY IS TO BREED OPPORTUNISM AND FARMER-LABORISM IN OUR OWN RANKS.

It is becoming evident that in the United States, a possible labor party must find its leadership in the Communist Party. To the minority this appears to be most welcome, but the majority seems to fear that the two class parties will become all mixed up and the Workers Party lost in the shuffle.

Even such an absurdity cannot prevent the determination of Communists to move toward the formation of a labor party to be dominated and led by the Communist Party of America, openly, fearlessly, determinedly to the goal of Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

parliamentary field, so why should we bother with it, wails the majority.

Certainly our majority, howling "opportunism" and "farmer-laborism" at the minority is not opportunist or "farmer-laborist." Of course, it was opportunism and farmer-laborism to prevent the majority from making the Workers Party look foolish by defeating their desire to maintain their "united fronts" with the Fitzpatricks at all costs, and from going into a third party convention to nominate LaFollette for president.

Of what use is a labor party that can serve only as a rallying point for such organized labor bodies as are ready to break their alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, but are not yet prepared to enter the Communist Party? Our answer to this question, based on

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17. Question—How many contradictions are there in the Foster Cannon thesis?

Answer—Altogether too many. In fact the whole thesis is a contradiction. For instance, they accuse the Marxian group of the party, the founders of the Communist movement in America, who were members of the C. I. at a time when many of those who are now yelling loudest "liquidate" were not at all connected with the Communist movement, of taking political action in the narrow sense of parliamentary action. The Lord have mercy on these new saviors of our movement! The whole Bittelmann thesis is nothing but one overwhelming proof that whenever the majority of the C. E. C. speaks of political action it has in mind only one form of political action—parliamentary action. The C. E. C. majority cannot imagine that a farmer-labor party can have any other purpose or function than that of serving as an election machine. They cannot imagine that even a farmer-labor party (in which the Communists are the dynamic force of course) can be made a school for the working masses in which to learn and to apply the many forms of political action, a school to teach that political action will only then become effective when the workers abandon the idea of being saved by proxy thru elected representatives and assume the idea that the workers must take over the job of emancipating themselves thru their own action, by mass political action.

18. Question—Why does the Foster-Cannon group always insist on befuddling the minds of the membership by insisting that the test of the correctness of their proposed change of policy lies in the correctness of the entrance of the Workers Party into the election campaign? Why does this basically opportunist group do so much yelling in its thesis about the minority not eulogizing the decision of the C. E. C. to enter the campaign as the Workers Party alone?

Answer—The minority of the C. E. C. refuses to make a virtue out of necessity simply because a set of circumstances which we were unable to control developed and compelled us, at the last moment, to abandon the farmer-labor united front as a basis for the election campaign. There is no reason whatever to pretend to theorize now that this abandonment represents an unshakable dogma. Zinoviev recently wrote to the Czechoslovakian Communists that: "We are all patriots of our own party. That is perfectly correct. But the best party patriotism is to see the weak side of one's own movement."

It is on this basis that the Marxian group of the party is of the opinion that the outstanding feature of the first election campaign of the W. P. is the fact that it was nothing but an election campaign in the narrowest sense. The Central Executive Committee made no effort to conduct a political campaign combining united front political actions, such as unemployment campaign, recognition of Soviet Russia, etc., with the election campaign in order to transform the election campaign from one of mere propaganda for our candidates into one of political action.

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The Struggle in the Anthracite

The news of strike action contemplated by the 10,000 miners employed by the Lehigh Coal company in the anthracite district in sympathy with the striking miners of the 10 locals whose charters have been revoked by John L. Lewis, shows that the discontent with the Lewis-Cappellini policy of supporting the coal operators against the members of the union is growing. The efforts of the executive board members of the United Mine Workers to close the breach between Cappellini and the miners whom he has betrayed all thru the year seem to have failed and the downfall of Cappellini is now a matter of time.

There is little doubt that Lewis is quite willing to let Cappellini hang himself. He has lost control of his district and it was this control that made him valuable to Lewis. When he fails to deliver and Lewis is put to the desperate method of revoking charters to prevent a landslide against him as in the recent election, it can be presumed that Cappellini, caught between a revolting membership on one side and on the other the vengeance of the officialdom, to whom he sold himself, is not going to last long.

In this game of internal union politics the anthracite coal diggers serve simply as pawns for the corrupt leaders who play fast and loose with their wages, working conditions and their very lives. The Lewis administration will try to provoke the miners into some form of dual unionism and then ultimately drive them back into the United Mine Workers, after the miners are demoralized on terms made by the officials.

The miners must not fall for this. The expelled members must maintain their organization and fight for reinstatement as a unit. If they allow themselves to be demoralized by the administration stoopidly they simply play into the hands of the operators and Lewis.

The expelled anthracite miners and their fellow-workers who want to strike in sympathy with them have a real issue on which to fight. They have the proof that violations of the working agreement have been continuously overlooked by the officials and that the agreement has been revised from time to time in favor of the operators.

They must have organization to carry on their fight against the Lewis machine and they must build a left wing group that wages the struggle the year around and not only in times of crisis like the present.

The Progressive Miners and their program furnishes the rallying center for such a movement. This left wing organization has put up a splendid fight in the recent campaign in the union and the anthracite miners should now join with their fellow workers in the soft coal fields and add strength to the growing movement for a union that fights for the rank and file instead of for the operators.

The membership organized around the Progressive Miners, can make the U. M. W. of A. something more than an incubator for secretaries of labor in strikebreaking governments.

"Peace" Plans—Their Meaning

The dove of peace, with feathers somewhat soiled from flights thru Egypt, Morocco, the Balkans and the Far East, is hovering over the capitals of the imperialist nations—if we swallow whole the recent bulletins from Washington, Downing Street, Paris and Tokio.

Messrs. Coolidge and Hughes breathe the sweetest sentiments for Great Britain and Japan and the spokesmen of these nations come back with all the alacrity displayed by the snappy end of a vaudeville team.

This is what it is, vaudeville—played on the biggest stage in the world—this love-thy-neighbor-as-thyself stuff that the mouthpieces of imperialism get off their chests these days.

On the same day that Coolidge announced that Great Britain would be entrusted with "our" interests in the Pacific and on the same day that Baron Hayashi repudiated war rumors and expressed the greatest friendship and admiration for the United States, came the news of an appropriation \$300,000,000 for "our" navy.

There are certain other factors, having on the surface little connection with the above facts, but nevertheless part of a new maneuver of world capitalism. Austen Chamberlain, British foreign minister, has made a tour of the European capitals and from Paris to Rome he left a trail of conspiracy against Soviet Russia. It was after his visit to Paris that Herriot issued his blast against Soviet Russia and the French Communist Party. It was after Chamberlain's visit to the Vatican that the pope issued his denunciation of Soviet Russia and Communism.

In the United States the wife of Cyril, claimant to the throne of the czars, has been received with royal honors and afforded the protection of the secret service department. The foreign minister of

Jugo-Slavia has arrived in Paris with a plan for an all-Balkan bloc against Soviet Russia.

Let us look for the cause of all this hustle and bustle in the dark places of world capitalism. We find it in China where the Soviet diplomacy, approaching the masses of the Chinese people as an equal, has solidified all the warring factions against western imperialism, where the Chinese eastern railway, the great artery uniting China and Siberia, is now operated by Soviet Russia with Chinese consent.

To what extent the American ruling class is committed to an alliance with Great Britain is hard to say. Our rulers are taciturn on these matters and all we know is that the deepening antagonisms of trade and imperialistic enterprise existing between America and Great Britain are disguised with the usual "blood is thicker than water" bunk and that the eastern peoples have turned to Soviet Russia as their friend and ally and left Great Britain and America, France as well, out in the cold. Japan is not displeased entirely with this state of affairs and can afford to smile benignly upon its erstwhile rivals for Chinese hegemony who are in a little worse fix than she is.

The dove of peace, therefore, is an imperialist dove. There has been no dulling of the rivalry between Great Britain and America or Great Britain and France, but the robber clique is willing, if able, to unite for the time being against the new great proletarian power—Soviet Russia.

The inspired dispatches telling of uprisings in Soviet Russia, of dissensions within the Russian Communist Party, the worked-over tales of disease, famine and death coming from Helsingfors, Riga, Warsaw, Vienna and Belgrade—are all part of this new attempt to weaken Soviet Russia and to wipe out national antagonisms long enough to concentrate on the destruction of the workers' and peasants' republic of Russia.

World capitalism plays with fire. Any offensive against Soviet Russia leaves in the rear of capitalism a working class that at once becomes an enemy of its rulers and hostile to their plans. The masses of workers may not understand just what Soviet Russia represents in their struggles and the major part it plays in their behalf, but they know that it is hated by world capitalism, they know that it does not fight the workers and they cannot be mobilized for a major war that an attack on Russia would precipitate.

Let us watch the "peace" moves of the Coolidges and Chamberlains and Herriots and not be fooled by a sudden apparent conversion to the gospel of light and love designed to give the working class of the world a false and dangerous sense of security.

The German Communists Win

A commission of allied ambassadors is to notify the German government that the expected withdrawal of French and English troops will not be carried out and another betrayal of the social-democrats is brought vividly to the attention of the German masses whom they cajoled into an endorsement for the Dawes plan in the recent elections.

Painful yelps arise now from the social-democratic press. They are loud in their denunciation of the allies who, say the Eberts and Scheidemanns, "have violated the Dawes plan." This is about the poorest excuse that these yellow windbags could have thought of because the essence of the Dawes plan is the enslavement of the German working class. Methods do not matter.

The allied imperialists had promised the evacuation of troops if the German people gave the incoming government a mandate for the Dawes plan. The social democrats painted a picture of peace and prosperity that was to come to Germany as a result of the generosity of the House of Morgan and they deceived millions of workers who were weary of the struggle.

Only the Communists fought the Dawes plan in a revolutionary manner. They rolled up some 3,500,000 votes for their program in the face of the worst persecution ever seen in Germany, with all their best speakers and writers in jail and with warrants issued for all Communist members of the reichstag.

Whatever Austen Chamberlain, British foreign minister, was able to organize against the Communist International during his recent European tour, has been more than discounted by the latest action of the allied imperialists.

Hounded by the nemesis of capitalist contradictions, the rulers of France and England have, by their latest act, made the German Communist Party the strongest force in Germany today.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

The "Communist revolution" in France was greatly exaggerated, declares United States Ambassador Herrick in a private memorandum to the Washington government. The only casualties were a sore foot for Herriot and palpitation of the heart for the frightened bourgeoisie.

Henry Ford's plants in the Detroit district will close for eleven days to give his managers a chance to make an inventory. The 125,000 employees will have a holiday, without any pay, of course. This means they will be unemployed for that length of time.

It is strange, observes Arthur Brisbane, that hostility to the catholic church is greatest where that church had complete sway until recently. Such a wise man as Arthur undoubtedly is, should know that is the very reason for the hostility.

Every day get a "sub" for the DAILY WORKER and a member for the Workers Party.

Election and Referendum in I. W. W.

The Red International Affiliation Committee, which is interested in assisting the revolutionary element in the Industrial Workers of the World, has issued a statement regarding the election and referendum ballot now in the field for action by the membership. The statement is as follows:

To the members of the I. W. W. Fellow Workers:

We have before us the referendum ballot submitted by the general administration appointed by the sixteenth general convention for the election of a general secretary-treasurer, perhaps other officers, and decision on proposed constitutional changes and other matters.

On the 25th day of the convention, the following were nominated for general secretary-treasurer: Ed Delaney, 18 votes; J. I. Turner, 11 votes; Arthur Coleman, 10 votes; James P. Thompson, 10 votes; Joe Doyle, 6 votes, and Charles Selleman, 1 vote. The convention took a special vote to break the tie between Coleman and Thompson and gave third place to Coleman.

The constitution of the I. W. W. states: (Art. III, Sec. 3-a) "The General Secretary-Treasurer, the Assistant Secretary, and the General Organizer . . . shall be nominated from the floor of the convention and the three candidates for each respective office receiving the largest number of votes in the convention shall be submitted to the general membership of the organization for election; the one receiving the greatest number of votes for each respective office to be declared elected."

In spite of this, the referendum ballot carries the names of Turner and Coleman alone, and there has been no announcement that the other nominees have declined, or why they did so.

There seems to be some mystery about this, which may be solved by the suggestion that those who made up the ballot did not want the vote split between two supposed friends of Rowan as against one supposed enemy of Rowan.

The Red International affiliation committee does not endorse either Turner or Coleman, because it knows only by rumor what they stand for. But we call upon each one of them to declare himself in a public, signed statement, just where he stands in the struggle over principles which the last convention did not settle, or even put into form so that the membership could settle.

Candidates Must Speak Up. The entire membership has a right to know how each candidate stands: (1) For or against the "injunctionites"; (2) For an I. W. W. based on the revolutionary class struggle or for a non-revolutionary job union; (3) For half-cat, anarchist decentralization or democratic centralization based on job committees; (4) For building the I. W. W. by organization of the 2,000,000 unorganized, or by withdrawing revolutionary workers from and splitting up existing unions; (5) For or against affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions, and why; (6) Will they act legally but with resolution against the split movement developing in California and the northwest; (7) Will they enforce obedience to the order of general administration by the Industrial Worker or take it over; (8) Will they open organization papers which actually reach the members to discussion on policies, or will they continue the present censorship?

When the candidates have taken a stand on these vital subjects, and on the important questions now on referendum, the members will not have to vote blindly and take grab-bag chances.

Could "Politicians" Do Worse? There are 78 questions besides elections on the ballot. Nearly all the tedious decisions are left to the referendum, the only ten per cent of the membership votes on referendum, and most of the real workers are away on jobs. This shows the need of basing the unions on job committees.

Further, the complicated nature of this ballot makes it almost impossible for anyone not a student of constitutional cross-word puzzles to tell just what will happen in case any given question is carried. The I. W. W. scorns "using the ballot"—then issues one as big as a bundle of stiff blankets. Just as an example of what may happen, we take the attempt to change from the present form of the G. E. B. back to the old form composed of representatives elected by the unions. At present, the G. E. B. is composed of the general organizer and the chairmen of the general organization committee of the various unions, as adopted at the 1923 convention and in

the referendum following (See article III, Sec. 1-a-b, Sec. 2, Sec. 3-a and b). An Example of Confusion.

One would expect in a referendum ballot to find this clearly indicated and a general, internally coherent substitute for the whole provided, thus minimizing the possibility of internal conflicts resulting from the adoption of only a part of the provision for a return to the old order. This was not done.

The provisions for a return to the old style of the G. E. B. are contained in eight separate questions on the referendum ballot, numbered 12 to 19, inclusive, each a substitute for some single part of the present constitution, except for questions No. 18 and No. 19, which provide new features.

The result is that if "12" is carried and "15" is not, there will be a considerable conflict, for "15" repeals a section which provides for a general organizer and an assistant secretary, and "13" excludes these officials from the general administration!

The same is true for No. 17. If No. 12 and No. 15 are carried, and No. 16 or No. 17 is voted down, a Philadelphia lawyer will be required to tell just what will happen, for No. 15 says: "Shall Art. III, Sect. 3 (a) and (b) be stricken out, and the following substitutes adopted?" This is voted on, "Yes" or "No," and then the substitutes are made in Nos. 16 and 17 into separate questions, each of which is to be voted upon, "Yes" or "No"! There are numerous others which we will not deal with for lack of space.

A Heritage of Socialist Rubbish. This social democratic theory that manifold ballots and many referendums can take the place of leadership, courage and revolutionary theory has resulted in "democracy" only for a small minority and shut off genuine membership rule.

True democracy demands centralization and leadership, responsible leadership. It demands that members have an opportunity to discuss every important problem that faces the organization both in press and in meetings. It demands that general policies be thrashed out in this manner, voted upon only after being understood, and experienced, able and revolutionary officials elected and held responsible for carrying them out in detail.

For Real Conventions. Instead of long and fruitless conventions, such as the 25-day one just endured, composed of timid and colorless members chosen like jury-men because they have no opinion or experience, unwilling to take a stand and unable to frame their suggestions intelligently, we should have large, representative conventions made up of delegates from every branch—especially job branches—with full power to act decisively on major matters. On questions that have been thoroughly discussed, these delegates would stand instructed, and business be thus greatly expedited and really settled.

Of the 78 questions submitted only 9 have importance vital enough to consider. The R. I. A. C. has considered these 9 questions very carefully. The others are unimportant or trivial, two referring to clauses of the constitution which do not exist.

No Stifling of Issues. Question No. 23 shows a laudable desire to limit the length of the annual convention, and to systematize work. But by the form in which the question is put the G. E. B. is given power to arrange the agenda and to limit debate on any matter. This is plain dictatorship by the G. E. B. Any action in control of the G. E. B. can cut off all debate on any important question, or keep it off the floor entirely by confusing it with nonsensical variations of it. Ten days is long enough for a convention. There should be an order of business. But the only sensible, fair and democratic way to make it up is for the convention itself to draw up the order of business when it first meets.

One move in the right direction, and a very encouraging sign is question No. 14, designed to get a little efficiency in the general headquarters by permitting officials to succeed themselves in office.

Decentralization and Petty Bourgeois Proposals. No. 45 provides that an already impoverished general administration is made still more feeble by having its income slashed in two. Reduction of the per capita tax from 15 cents to seven and a half cents is decentralization and was intended as such.

Along with it goes question No. 7, providing for striking out the constitutional provision that "None but actual wage workers shall be members of the Industrial Workers of the

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