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Workers' Party Growing!

Second Convention Hails Communist International; Reviews Past Activities and Prepares for Future Struggles Against Capitalism; Adopts Revolutionary Program and Outlines Plans for New Campaign for Labor Party.

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

The second convention of the Workers' Party is over. The party comes out of this convention a militant, revolutionary party and with greatly increased strength.

The delegates who had the privilege of participating in the three-day proceedings and listening to the reports and resolutions and discussion on these felt that the party had consolidated itself, that it was moving forward with new impetus and vigor.

The convention of the party was not the ordinary convention in which two-thirds of the time is consumed in petty organization struggles. The convention was organized and delving into the problems which confronted it within a half-hour from the time the gavel fell.

The Central Executive Committee had prepared a complete agenda, with resolutions summarizing the proposed policy to be followed on each question. A representative of the Central Executive Committee reported on each subject and then the delegates expressed their views.

The result of this method of handling the business before the convention was an enlightening discussion during which a common understanding was arrived at. As a consequence practically every resolution was adopted unanimously at the close of the

debate, although wide differences of opinion sometimes manifested themselves during the debate.

The convention approved of the policy of the Central Executive Committee in regard to the Labor Party and outlined the policies to be followed in the new campaign for the Labor Party. It confirmed the trade union policy the party has followed for a year. It intimated a new campaign to protect the foreign-born workers against special forms of oppression.

The party program adopted by the convention is a clear-cut statement of communist principles and at the same time is a propaganda document which sets forth those principles in convincing form. The relations of the party with the Communist International was a special point on the agenda and was thoroughly discussed and a resolution establishing fraternal relations adopted.

The convention discussed such questions as emigration to Russia, the party language sections, the defense of class-war prisoners, the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, the party press, and adopted resolutions establishing the party position on each question.

There were comrades in this convention who had attended many conventions; one and all they voiced their opinion that never be-

fore had they sat in a convention which had concerned itself with the problems of the movement as this one had and which achieved so much constructive work.

The second convention will stand as a landmark in the history of the Communist movement in this country. The party has established itself. It is a growing power in the life of the workers of this country.

The delegates to the convention left with a new enthusiasm for the party work, a new determination to build the party, to make it a powerful, revolutionary force in the life of the workers of the United States.

This enthusiasm which they take back to their district will communicate itself to the members everywhere. There is not a delegate who will not go to his home city to tell of the achievements, to tell of new faith in the party, to express his convictions that at last the Communist movement in this country is on the road to great things, that its roots are planted firmly on that rock which will take it to the position of leadership among the working masses of this country.

Long live the Workers' Party! Long live the Communist International! It was with these cheers that the convention closed, and in them there was a new consecration to the work of the Communist movement, a new determination to go forward to victory.

OUR NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP INCREASING RAPIDLY

The new Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party was selected by the party convention to consist of the following:

- Israel Amter, New York.
- Alexander Bittleman, New York.
- Earl R. Browder, Chicago.
- James P. Cannon, Kansas City.
- William F. Dunne, New York.
- Marion L. Emerson, New York.
- J. Louis Engdahl, New York.
- Abraham Jakira, New York.
- L. E. Katterfeld, New York.
- William F. Kruse, Jersey City.
- Edward Lindgren, New York.
- Ludwig Lore, New York.
- Jay Lovestone, New York.
- Theodore Maki, Brooklyn.
- Robert Minor, New York.
- Michael Nastasiewsky, New York.
- M. J. Olgin, New York.
- John Pepper, San Francisco.
- C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland.
- Rose Pastor Stokes, New York.
- Alexander Trachtenberg, New York.
- Alfred Wagenknecht, Cleveland.
- William W. Winston, New York.

An amendment to the constitution adopted by the convention provides that this central executive committee, with one additional member to be chosen by the Young Workers' League, shall meet every three months, but that an executive council of eleven members with full power to act shall be chosen by it to function between meetings.

CLERICAL WORKERS PSYCHOLOGIZED.
A Physiological Corporation has been organized in New York for the purpose of testing the fitness of clerical workers for employment. This is expected to save money for employers which is generally the object of all such innovations.

The Second National Convention of the Workers' Party opened its sessions with the singing of "The International." It finished its work on December 26th with the same rallying song of the revolutionary workers of the world.

The convention lost no time in getting down to business and the following committees were appointed as soon as C. E. Ruthenberg finished his opening speech.

Report of the Central Executive Committee, Cyril Lambkin, Detroit; N. Dozenberg, Chicago; Fred H. Merrick, Pittsburgh; A. J. Hayes, New York; H. R. Canter, Boston.

Constitution: Elmer T. Allison, New

York; Herman Jacobs, Young Workers' League; Charles Krumbin, Chicago; Fahle Burman, Finnish Federation; B. Lipschitz, New York.

Resolutions: William F. Dunne, New York; H. M. Wicks, New York; T. R. Sullivan, St. Louis; Caleb Harrison, Cleveland; Alexander Bittleman, New York.

Ruthenberg's Report.

The Secretary read the report of the Central Executive Committee reviewing the work of the party since its first convention one year ago. The report showed the rapid growth of the party organization, the average membership for March, April and June being 8,320 while for July, August, September and October it had gone up to 12,394, the dues payments for October showing 14,556 members, incomplete reports for November showing 16,500 dues stamps sold.

"It is a safe estimate," declares the report, "that with all the new members recently added to the party thru the Czechoslovak Federation, the Scandinavian Federation, and the United Toilers that the dues payments for December and January will reach a total of 20,000."

The report makes a special appeal for the building up of the English-speaking membership of the party. The main strength of the party now lies in 16 foreign language federations, with the possibility of five more joining the party in the near future, so that, in the words of Secretary Ruthenberg, we will have "An international party all our own."

The report reviews the extensive political campaigns of the party and its industrial work during the past year, also the party's

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CONVENTION OF WORKERS' PARTY GREETES COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

To the Communist International, Moscow, Russia.

(Cablegram.)

Second national convention Workers' Party sends greetings to Communist International. Convention reports with joy absence of all factionalism. Convention devoted itself to constructive work of building a powerful revolutionary movement in America. All reports indicate greater influence of party in actual struggles of workers. We go forward with new strength and enthusiasm. Long live Communism and the International.

WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA,
C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive secretary.

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1923.

Voice

IN RECOGNITION OF THE MANY TRIALS OF RADICALS



Drawn by ART YOUNG

THE JUDGE'S CHARGE: "Now, gentlemen of the jury, you are to decide on defendants' guilt or innocence beyond a reasonable doubt. A reasonable doubt is a doubt that is not unreasonable. What is reason? Reason is the application of jurisprudence to the body politic, so that the sacred and time-honored rights of the best people may remain inviolate.

(Juror No. 3 has a rush of reason to the head and calls for a drink of water). If you are satisfied that the defendants with wilful intent conspired to overthrow, deface, undermine, climb up, lean against, crack, bend, push or otherwise transfigure the pillars of our glorious government you are to bring in a verdict of guilty.

HERRIN MINERS ROSE IN DEFENSE OF HOMES

Opening Statement of Defense Attorney

HERRIN, Ill.—A. W. Kerr, chief counsel for the Illinois Mine Workers, in making his opening statement to the jury in the first of the Herrin trials, said, that the defense would prove that the killing of armed guards was the result of the unlawful invasion of Williamson county by these same armed guards and of the many acts of brutality culminating in the ruthless murder of three peaceful unarmed union coal miners.

"We are going to state the facts bluntly, truthfully, as they actually happened." He described the beginnings of the operation of the Southern Illinois Coal Company, told of the agreement between that company and the United Mine Workers of America whereby the company was allowed to strip but not to mine coal, and touched on the early days of coal mining in Illinois before the union came.

Mining Conditions Pitiful in Old Days.

"No doubt many men in this jury will recall the days when the lot of the actual miner of the coal was a pitiful one indeed. No laws were upon the statute books to protect him, disasters that might well have applied to them the terms of 'massacres' were of frequent occurrence in this industry. Human life was snuffed out in the gaseous recesses of the earth to the number of countless thousands. Public officers having failed in their duty, some redress must be had. The single miner, speaking alone, was ineffective:—his was a feeble protest. If he were killed, his widow and orphaned children were thrown upon the mercy of an uncharitable world for sustenance. The employer dismissed the death of his miners in practically every instance with a mere expression of regret for the killing. Then, too, working conditions were such that they sent the mine worker to an untimely grave. His vitality was sapped and weakened by the gasses which the greedy employer permitted to exist for want

of the expenditure of a few dollars to drive them from the mine. No escapement shafts were provided. No ventilation was thrown into the mine. There was no securing of unsafe roofs. No guarding against other bad conditions. Protest by the individual meant his discharge and perhaps lack of bread and butter for his family. Hours of work sometimes were as long as fourteen and sixteen and eighteen hours out of twenty-four; and wages were so low that the miner was compelled to drag his baby boys from their mothers' knee into the mine. Before the union came to Williamson county 18 cents a ton was considered high pay. Some of you men remember these things.

Miners Organize for Better Conditions.

Then the miners organized. At least they sought to organize, and that effort at organization in the state of Illinois presents one of the finest chronicles of the courage of the American worker ever recorded in history. What did these oppressed workers fight for? Why did they seek to organize? To better the condition of their babies, to give them more food and clothing, to give them mental, physical, moral food so that there might be that development of mind and body and conscience which would provide a finer, happier, more intelligent citizenship. And in that battle, at every step these determined workers were met with the powerful forces of organized capital. The miners lost. They lost again and again and again. But they persisted. Private armies of gunmen in the employ of the operators directed their guns against the breast of the workers. The miners went on against all the power of the organized employers of this state until finally they won for themselves an organization. They won their liberty. And now in this case they are assailed for wanting to protect and conserve this organization which has meant so much not only

to the state itself, and when I say 'state' I mean the people, because after all it is the people that constitute the state."

Coal Company Broke Contract.

Mr. Kerr said that violating his contract with the union, W. J. Lester, the president of the Southern Illinois Coal Company, proceeded to recruit a private army from among "professional man killers outside the law, with reckless disregard for the taking of human life." He said Lester had not brought them into Williamson county to protect property which was being invaded or destroyed. "No," said Mr. Kerr, "Lester brought them in here with machine guns; with high-powered rifles, with automatic police pistols, with all the most destructive fire arms known to modern science. None of Lester's property rights was assailed. There was a Sabbath like calm from one end of Williamson county to another. With an equipment of men and guns Lester established an army headquarters from which base he could invade and terrorize the community to the extent of murder. Among the gunmen we find the deceased Howard Hoffman, now said to this jury to have been in the 'Peace of the People' when he was killed."

Gunmen Inflict Violence.

Mr. Kerr then narrated sixteen specific instances of acts of violence committed by Lester's gunmen upon farmers and miners and their families in the neighborhood of the mine from the 15th of June to the day before the rioting when three union miners were killed by the mine guards. He characterizes these as "acts of oppression or challenge." "They were provocative in character and we will show that they tried to provoke by this conduct, that they tried to draw the citizenship of this county into range of their artillery, that they avowed pur-

(Continued on page 8.)

WORKERS PARTY LEVIES DAYS' PAY ASKS BURNS TO EXPLAIN ASSESSMENT ON MEMBERSHIP FOR DEFENSE OF MICHIGAN CASES

Campaign Set for January 15th to February 15th by Labor Defence Council.

The Workers' Party has levied a voluntary Day's Pay Assessment on its membership for the benefit of the Labor Defence Council in its drive for the defense of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Cases. On recommendation made by the Central Executive Committee the Workers' Party convention unanimously endorsed the Day's Pay campaign and invited the Labor Defence Council to set a time for putting it into effect. The dates have now been set and the campaign is to take place from January 15 to February 15.

Party Branches called to Action.

The Party Branches will be the bodies which are to put this campaign into effect co-operating with the National office of the Labor Defence Council. Every branch will receive in the course of the next week instructions and material printed in the respective languages of the branches. The latter, which will be printed in sufficient number for every party member, will point out the necessity and importance of the Day's Pay Drive and will have attached an "Honor Card." This card when filled out by the comrade paying his assessment, will be signed and sealed by the Labor Defence Council and returned as a memorandum of working class loyalty.

The Voice of Labor wishes to add its word to that of the Workers' Party and the Labor Defence Council as to the great importance of the defense work in general and this campaign in particular. For the working class, defense of those of its members who are subjected to attack by the enemy has always been a function of the first concern. Every workers' organization, trade union, fraternal society or political party has always taken upon itself wholeheartedly the task of supplying the best possible defense to its militant members, who, being in the first line of offense, are always most likely to be assaulted. The history of militant labor organizations the world over is filled with heroic defenses conducted by their memberships. During strikes and lockouts, in any labor struggle where the most militant were always the heaviest sufferers, labor organizations and the working class itself have made their most brilliant records of sacrifice and achievement.

For there has always been infinitely more at stake than the freedom or imprisonment of a few militants, the success or failure of a campaign for more wages or better working conditions. In every major working class defense activity the stake is always the preservation and progress of working class organization and the onward march of labor

militancy. The kind of defense which a labor organization can put up under fire is the ultimate test of militancy, the crucial test of the ability to maintain itself.

Michigan Defense is Responsibility of Workers' Party.

While the defense in the Michigan cases is the concern of the entire working class, (and the working class has recognized this as is manifested by the support it is giving to the Labor Defence Council), it is pre-eminently the duty of the Workers' Party to give its very utmost in its allegiance to the Labor Defence Council. It is Workers' Party members who are under attack in Michigan. It is the Workers' Party that will have the most direct gain in an acquittal, the Workers' Party that will suffer the most direct blow if these comrades go to jail. Who then can deny that on the Workers' Party and the Workers' Party membership rests the major responsibility for the Michigan Defense?

Is the Workers' Party Militant?

How often have rebels the world over applauded when a labor union assesses its membership in order to carry on a defense for its members? How often have we attested to the labor militancy which such unions have shown in their support of those under fire? How the whole world acclaimed the tremendous sacrifices which the Russian workers and peasants made in helping their comrades who in the famine area were fighting the great fight, not for their lives alone but for the preservation of the Soviet Republic?

Can we then say that we have sacrificed? Can we say that we have done everything we could in the struggle which is being fought most openly in the Michigan cases?

Let us remember that it is not only the twenty comrades who are on trial. The Workers' Party itself is on trial both in the Berrien county court and before the eyes of all American workers who look to the party for militant leadership. Is the Workers' Party militant? That question will be answered by their support in the Michigan cases. Are the party members militants? That question will be answered by those who can show their "Honor Cards."

Our party members must be defended. Our party members must make possible the defense.

Our party rides forward to new conquests in a Michigan victory.

Our party suffers terrible loss in a Michigan defeat.

On the success or failure of the Day's Pay Campaign depends in large part the success or failure of the Michigan defense.

On acquittal or conviction in Michigan depends tremendously the future progress of our party.

BUY YOUR HONOR CARD! SHOW IT! IT IS YOUR EMBLEM OF SACRIFICE AND MILITANCY.

HERRIN MINERS IN DEFENSE OF HOMES

(Continued from page 2.)

lose was to assault, abuse, intimidate and, as a last resort to kill and murder in order to make tremendous profits and break up the miners' union. For remember that the operators all through the country were watching the progress of the efforts in this county with keenest interest. If Lester had been successful in his attempts to mine coal during the strike his tactics would have been adopted by other operators and the strike would have been broken.

Mr. Kerr said the result of these acts of violence and murder was to arouse the good citizenship of Williamson county, "a community," he said, "rose up in defense of its homes. By this act of self defense it served notice on the American gunmen and upon those who would employ the American gunmen, that this was not a safe community into which to send hired murderers."

Gunmen's Bloody Toll.

He then gave an outline of the history of the use of gunmen in labor disputes in this country. He cited 23 instances, beginning with the Homestead strike in 1892 and continuing through Cripple Creek, Colorado, Ludlow, Mine county, W. Va., the Michigan copper strikes, up to the present time.

He said in the cases cited more than 300 workers had been killed by gunmen who went unpunished for their acts. "This is the bloody background of the men who invaded your county," he told the jury. "You are now asked to convict somebody in this case because some of these men lost their lives as the result of their invasion into this county."

Defendants Not in March.

He accused the prosecution of having been "wickedly careless in the selection of their defendants. We will show you in this case that Otis Clark, Bert Grace, Joseph Carnaghi, Leva Mann and Peter Hiller not only had nothing whatever to do with the killing of Howard Hoffman or any of his associates but that they were in positions and places at a time when it would have been physically impossible for them to have had anything to do with it. We will produce here a great number of men of repute in their community who were standing along the line of march which led to the place of killing. They will tell you that not a single one of these defendants was in that march." He concluded by quoting from authorities to show that the killing of Howard Hoffman could not be regarded as a single event but must be taken in connection with the circumstances preceding it.

Murderous Gunmen the Real Criminals.

"I have shown you," he said, "from court decisions that even a lawful act, if calculated

The American Civil Liberties Union, for the third time, has called upon William J. Burns, chief of the Bureau of Investigation, to explain why Federal agents were involved in the arrest and prosecution of the Communists at Bridgeman, Michigan.

The letter in full follows: "You are quoted in the New York Herald this morning as saying 'There is an organization at the present time in New York called the American Civil Liberties Union that is seeking to investigate us in order to determine why we had men at Bridgeman, Michigan.' This is stated as being one of the difficulties you experience in curbing the activities of radicals in the United States.

"The charge against the men who were arrested in the raid at Bridgeman, Michigan, in which agents of the Department of Justice participated, is, so far as we are aware, that holding radical opinions, they had the temerity to meet together to discuss them. Such conduct violates no law of the United States and the charge was lodged under a state statute.

"We inquired why Federal appropriations were thus being used to repress radical opinion which violates no Federal law. After a number of evasive replies from the Department, not signed by you but bearing your initials, we were at least told that the men arrested at Bridgeman were under surveillance by Federal officers for some other supposed Federal offense. We then inquired why agents of the Department of Justice were assisting in the preparations of the case for trial. To this you again made not a direct, but an evasive answer.

"We believe it imperative to the end that the public retain confidence in the Department of Justice, that you make an unequivocal statement about this matter. If, as you say, the charges in the Bridgeman case do not involve any violation of Federal statutes, Federal agents should either be withdrawn from the case, or their presence in it should be explained."

KU KLUX KLAN FOR LAW AND ORDER!

The Imperial Serpents, Toads, Wizards, Lizards and plain demphools who compose the Ku Klux Klan are out with a broom to clean up Bolsheviks, Communists, Socialists and all others who use their heads for something else than a resting place for a white hood or a clown's cap.

Klan No. 211 of Meridian, Texas passed a resolution condemning all things calculated to break down our existing order of government, to bring about political chaos, and to displace the Christian ideals, standards and traditions handed down to us by our forefathers.

We never heard that Christ favored going around at night wrapped in an old shirt scaring the lives out of women and children and cowardly beating or killing helpless victims who were unable to defend themselves against superior numbers. Christ has certainly more crooks and fourflushers using his name in vain than any other character that ever existed either in myth or in reality.

The Voice of Labor stands for progressive policies in the trade unions. Militant! Take a bundle to your union meeting.

to excite disorder and cause breaches of the peace, becomes unlawful. Who brought on this difficulty? The men who first invaded this community, the men who piled crime on top of crime and finally took the lives of your own citizens."

Private Influences Behind Prosecution.

"The state has told you that 2,000 people or more formed the mob, which killed the scabs. Out of 2,000 or more people the state has selected five whom they want to make victims. Why, then you ask, are these five indicted? Because the prosecuting authorities of Illinois yielded to private influence. Their place and their statute is taken by a private organization composed of men of great wealth, 'The Illinois Chamber of Commerce.' Actuated by a desire for vengeance, eager to do anything that will help to destroy organized labor. The Chamber of Commerce is the organization that prosecutes in this case. "You and you alone," he told the jury, "stand between these defendants and this cry for revenge. Let the law be your guide, let the facts be your support and let justice be your product. We want nothing more."

Ask your fellow workers to read the Voice of Labor and be to it.

For progressive policies. Take a bundle to your union meeting.

IN RECOGNITION OF THE MANY TRIALS OF RADICALS



Drawn by ART YOUNG

THE JUDGE'S CHARGE: "Now, gentlemen of the jury, you are to decide on defendants' guilt or innocence beyond a reasonable doubt. A reasonable doubt is a doubt that is not unreasonable. What is reason? Reason is the application of jurisprudence to the body politic, so that the sacred and time-honored rights of the best people may remain inviolate.

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FIVE VITAL CONFERENCES

By WM. Z. FOSTER
(Courtesy of THE LABOR HERALD.)

During the latter half of November there were held five meetings of militants, inaugurating movements destined to play most important parts in the near future of Organized Labor. These were conferences looking to the establishment of National Industrial Sections, or educational committees, in the Textile, Clothing, Printing, Food, and Boot and Shoe industries. They were organized by Joseph Manley, Organizer for the T. U. E. L.

Friends and enemies alike admit freely that the Trade Union Educational League has made a tremendous showing in the short time it has been in operation. But the most remarkable thing is that the League has achieved these results with only the barest skeleton of an organization. As yet the League consists of hardly more than general groups of militants in the various industrial centers carrying on the work of regeneration in a necessarily planless and unorganized way. The National Industrial Sections, upon which will fall the burden of the task of systematizing the work in the respective industries, have not yet come into existence, save in the railroad industry. The encouraging fact is that if the League has been able to accomplish so much with so little organization it will surely make astounding progress when its real machinery, the National Industrial Sections, get under way in the near future.

The National Industrial Sections will be the backbone of the Trade Union Educational League. They are a recognition of the fact that the reactionary trade union bureaucracy are a national machine whose leadership and policies can be defeated only by national movements of the militants. Little can be accomplished upon a local basis, which is the present status of our movement. What must be done is to map out programs and to set up national educational organizations in all the industries. These will unite the militants everywhere and enable them to sweep ahead victoriously against the reactionaries. At its National Conference the League recognized this fact and instructed the National Committee to get the National Industrial Sections into action as soon as possible. The following described conferences were the first steps in that direction:

The Textile Industry.

The first of the conferences related to the textile industry. It took place in New York on November 10th. A group of militant workers from several of the textile unions participated. The first thing done was to survey the industry generally to determine the state of unionism therein. This was found to be fragmentary enough. Of a total of about 1,000,000 workers in the textile industry only 100,000 are organized. Approximately half of these are in the United Textile Workers, which is affiliated to the A. F. of L., while the rest are scattered through a score or more of independents, among which the principal organizations are the American Federation of Textile Operatives, Amalgamated Textile Workers, Mule Spinners' Association, Amalgamated Lace Operatives, Brussels Carpet Weavers, Tapestry Carpet Workers, Knit Goods Workers, Art Square Weavers, National Loomfixers' Association, Associated Silk Weavers, One Big Union, Friendly Society of Engravers, Wool Sorters and Graders, Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, etc., etc. In August, 1922, an alliance was completed between the nine first-mentioned of these independents. It is called the Federated Textile Unions of America.

The confusion in the industry, from an organizational standpoint, is unequalled in the United States. Besides the flock of craft unions, there are several industrial organizations, including the United Textile Workers, American Federation of Textile Operatives, Amalgamated Textile Workers, and One Big Union, not to mention the I. W. W. and W. I. U., both of which have a certain following. The welter of unions has developed in the course of many years largely by a splitting-up process. Originally the Textile Workers was predominant, but because of the secession took

demoralized condition has been arrived at. The long continued dualism of the rebels has also been a big factor. Instead of the militants standing their ground in the old unions and fighting the bureaucrats there, their tendency has been to abandon the field and to launch new organizations.

The conference delegates were unanimously agreed that this multiplicity of organizations spells defeat for the textile workers and that means had to be found to crystallize all existing organized bodies into one militant industrial union. But the big question was how this could be done. Two courses of action lay open. First, the League could throw its support to one of the existing industrial unions and help it try to kill off or absorb all the rest, or, second, it could start a drive to consolidate them all upon a genuine amalgamation basis. Faced by this alternative, the conference was not long in choosing. The first course would be a dog-eat-dog policy, which is essentially the one now prevailing. It would mean war to the knife all around and hopeless division in the ranks of the textile workers for an indefinite period. So the second course was determined upon. Taking a non-partisan stand the League militants will appeal directly to the rank and file of all the organizations to call a halt to the present chaotic condition and to unite their forces into a general amalgamation.

To put this program into action the conference selected a provisional committee to carry on the educational work. This was named the General Amalgamation Committee for the Textile Industry. It has since met and mapped out a plan of industrial unionism, providing departments for the principal divisions of the textile industry, wool, cotton, silk, etc., and sub-departments for the respective crafts. This amalgamation plan will be printed and then submitted to every union in the industry, A. F. of L. and independents, for their consideration. And to those who are acquainted with the attitude of the organized mass these days the power of such an appeal is at once evident. It is safe to say that before many months have passed the new movement will have created a great demand for a general amalgamation in the textile industry, a demand that will sweep all opposition before it. Dualism, the course of the textile workers, is doomed. Solidarity and industrial unionism through amalgamation are the new watchwords of the textile industry.

The Clothing Industry.

Perhaps the most important of the several conferences was that of the needle trades. It was held in New York on November 22. The meeting was of a representative character, comprising 40 delegates from Shop Delegate Leagues in the following organizations and industry branches: Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Waist and Dress Makers (I. L. G. W. U.), Cloakmakers (I. L. G. W. U.), Capmakers, Millinery Workers, Furriers, and Journeymen Tailors. Two of the delegates came from Philadelphia, the rest were local.

In the clothing industry a splendid opportunity presents itself for the realization of many features of the League's program. The workers employed there are by far the best educated in the whole labor movement and they are ready for real progress. A tremendous body of sentiment exists for industrial unionism, the shop delegate system, affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions, active support of Russia, a more militant conception of the revolutionary task, and all the other left policies, advocated by the League. The situation is ripe for a great move upward and onward by the clothing workers.

But as yet, so far as the industry as a whole is considered, this splendid sentiment is very little organized. There are many League branches in the industry, but these are mostly local and of a craft character. In nearly all the big needle trades centers will be found these groups, mostly called shop delegate leagues, in the respective trades carrying on a more or less detached and desultory movement in favor of the League's policies. The need of the situation is to crystallize all these local bodies into one

The Evidence Accumulates



Lawyer: "Did you ever notice anything strange in my client's conduct?"

Witness: "I certainly did—he wore black shirt-studs with a full dress suit."

sweeping-national movement which will at once include all crafts and every locality.

It was to satisfy this need and to place the left-wing movement in the needle trades upon a national basis that the New York conference was called. Joseph Manley, Eastern District Organizer for the League, presided. When he and others had presented the necessity for organizing the League groups nationally the conference accepted the suggestion at once. A provisional national committee was selected, consisting of one delegate from each of the organizations represented, except the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers, which were allowed two apiece. Places were provided also for two delegates from the Italian League groups. Although the United Hatters were not represented at the conference, they were considered to be part of the general needle industry, and efforts will be made to have their militants select a member for the national committee. The new organization calls itself the Needle Trades Section of the Trade Union Educational League.

The conference instructed the provisional national committee to launch an active campaign of education immediately in all the unions. To this end it will draft a plan of a departmentalized industrial union for the industry based upon the shop delegate system. This will then be submitted to the various international and local organizations for their consideration. An intense campaign for amalgamation will also be started in all branches of the industry. To facilitate this educational work joint committees of all the needle trades will be set up in the various clothing centers. If possible a representative of the provisional national committee will be sent out to organize these educational committees.

The conference was full of enthusiasm. Every one present recognized the need for united action in the needle trades and also that the plan of the League offers the best means to achieve such unity. It will be strange, indeed, if the newly organized Needle Trades Section does not become a great factor for progress in the clothing industry before many months have passed. The times are overripe for its policies. Craft unionism and Amsterdamism are altogether out of place in the ranks of the militant needle trades workers.

(Continued next week.)

VOICE OF LABOR

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TRADE UNION PROGRAM FOR THE WORKERS PARTY

Adopted Unanimously at the Convention held in New York on December 24, 25 and 26

The trade unions are the basic organs of the struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation.

Although unconscious of their essential social function, and dominated by reactionary agents of the capitalist class who constantly cultivate a bourgeois ideology among them, yet the trade unions are formed upon strictly working-class lines, carry on the class struggle with the most extreme bitterness, often with arms in their hands. They are essentially revolutionary by nature, even though they are blind to it.

The objectively revolutionary nature of the trade unions is made apparent in the fact that, even under yellow leadership they inevitably generate great struggles which throw them into conflict with the capitalist state. Our task is to clarify their aims, to give them political and industrial consciousness, and by making them conscious of their revolutionary role prepare the unions for their part in the final struggle against capitalism.

The mass unions are therefore objects of prime importance to the Workers' Party as a revolutionary party. Our first task must be, to obtain the spiritual and intellectual leadership of the mass unions.

While obstructed by innumerable practical difficulties, this desired end is open to our achievement. All the major forces of society combine to deliver the leadership of the mass unions into revolutionary hands. With the growing centralization of the capitalist state, and its open use against the workers, combined with the constantly fluctuating and unstable economic and social conditions, continually larger masses of workers are thrown into action, where the reformist policies are shown in their futility and inadequacy, and the yellow leadership is displayed in all its cowardice.

The capitalists are able to defeat the workers in their immediate struggles by means of dividing them, using one section of the working class to defeat another. This is done through the instrumentality of the bureaucracy, which is under their spiritual and intellectual domination, taking as a basis

the common ideology, a united front is created between the forces of capitalism and the union officialdom, against all progressive influences in the unions. The result is backwardness and division in the union ranks.

Against the slackness and disunity now prevailing, the work of the Communists, members of the Workers' Party, must have as key-notes the slogans of "Militancy" and "Solidarity," which respond to the most pressing needs of the masses in their struggles today. They must be followed with specific and correct programs to put them into effective action, when they produce a galvanizing effect upon the entire working class, whose response is immediate.

The reactionary officialdom, however, fights against these slogans and programs with extreme bitterness. It is in this fact that the revolutionists find the lever for overthrowing the reactionary bureaucracy, and obtaining the leadership of the masses in the trade unions. By thus putting the yellow officials clearly in opposition to the immediate needs of the workers, a wedge is driven between the masses and their betrayers, and the former brought under communist leadership.

Keeping all these facts in mind, the following practical tactics in the trade union work naturally follow:

1. The Communists must be the firmest exponents of proletarian discipline; they must never be instrumental in breaking the solidarity of the workers in the struggle against the employer but, on the contrary, must bend every effort to extend the discipline and consolidate it. The fight against the reactionary leadership must never be allowed to split the masses. Responsibility for disunion of every kind must be placed clearly where it belongs, upon the officialdom. The latter's disruptive work must be made clear to the rank and file.

2. On the basis of the union discipline, communists develop slogans and policies for more effective action, and more complete solidarity, against the capitalist forces. The programs take the form of movements for amalgamation, for increasing the scope of the union and its discipline, and for broadening the interests for which it fights. The communist policy always drives toward more militant struggle, of larger masses, for ever greater conquests.

3. From these two basic tactics arises the necessity for the most closely-knit organization of the Workers' Party members within the trade unions to put the policies into effect in the life of the masses. The party can fulfill its function of leadership only if it has the proper organs; for this purpose party members must form nuclei in every industrial center and union organization, to formulate common policy and action. The communist nuclei are the basic units of all labor progress.

4. The party nuclei must, in turn, form an alliance with all sympathetic and progressive forces in the unions. This alliance should take the form of a left bloc, in which the communist nuclei should be the most active elements, and through which, as disciplined members of unions, they put their programs before the rank and file. The left bloc within the unions is the principal channel at our present stage of development of communist trade union activity.

5. Every step taken by the W. P. nuclei in the unions should be clearly to advance the interests of the union and its members. Care must be taken to block the reactionaries in their attempts to misinform the rank and file, charging the communists with violating union autonomy, and imposing the will of an outside organization. These inevitable charges, the last refuge of discredited officialdom, is best refuted when an attack upon the W. P. nuclei becomes an attack upon some pressing immediate need of the workers for which the W. P. nuclei are carrying on a fight. The party industrial activity is upon the healthiest basis when it cannot be attacked without attacking the vital needs of the masses.

6. As the Workers' Party more and more, through its nuclei activities and its correct programs, establishes communist leadership in the trade unions, to that extent the political education of those organizations becomes a matter of prime concern. The educational work of the party within the union is intensified, as its leadership is consolidated; the party nuclei function more and more openly as the recognized leadership of the organization. This is the goal toward which all communist work drives, communist leadership of the masses, for the conscious struggle to establish the workers' control of industry and society.

RAILROADS SQUANDER MILLIONS TO DEFEAT STRIKERS

Class 1 railroads paid almost a quarter of a billion dollars for their labor policy during July, August, and September alone, according to an article by Evans Clark of the Labor Bureau, which appeared in "The Nation" of December 27. This was due, Mr. Clark claims, to enormous increases in transportation costs and maintenance and equipment expenses during the shop strike, and to the failure of the roads to meet exceptional traffic demands because of inadequate equipment.

Citing returns to the Interstate Commerce Commission from class 1 railroads for July, August and September, the article shows that increased operating expenses pushed net operating revenue down to \$48,000,000 below the June level. \$8,000,000 in possible revenue was lost because of the record breaking car shortage which had already set in during September. \$105,000,000 more, that should have been gained through the heavy summer traffic, but the railroads lost this sum through inability to meet this demand.

To illustrate the increased operating expenses Mr. Clark cites examples:

In spite of the wage cut which precipitated the strike actual wages paid in the shops in September were eight cents an hour higher than wages before the cut. Average hourly wage of union shopmen in June before the cut was 72 cents. In July wages paid to strikeworkers were 76c, in August 79c, and September 80 cents. With 23 per cent fewer men in the shops in September there was a 17 per cent increase in the cost of repairs. Overtime bonuses and board and lodging for strikeworkers brought the wage bill still higher. Straight overtime paid to shopmen in September was 117 per cent greater than before the strike, and punitive overtime 1,524 per cent greater. The bonus bill for September alone was \$3,700,000. The heavy overtime was made necessary by delays and accidents due to defective equipment and operation. During July, August and September over

\$19,000,000 was spent in wages to private police and detectives—over six times the usual expenditure for such purposes.

The experiences of individual roads were equally significant. Baltimore and Ohio lost \$10,000,000 in three months because of the strike. It settled with the men, ahead of most of the roads, in the end of September. In August the financial reports had shown a deficit \$2,000,000. The October figures showed a surplus of over \$2,000,000 and now the Baltimore and Ohio is free of embargoes from end to end. "If industrial policies are to be judged by dollars and cents," says Mr. Clark, "the recent labor policy of the railroads has proven a monumental failure."

PROLETARIAN EDUCATION.

The W. P. and the Y. W. L. realizing the need of educating our members to become the vanguard and leaders of the revolutionary movement, have organized a study class that will fill this need.

Comrades who are interested have here an opportunity to acquire a real proletarian education.

It is necessary for all active members to have a sound theoretical knowledge to guide them in their work.

Comrade D. Early of the Workers' Party is the instructor of this class which meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock, 2613 Hirsch Blvd.

At present the class is taking up the study of ancient society. Two very good books that will yield a wealth of information on this subject are "Ancient Society," by LEWIS H. MORGAN, and "History of the Family, Private Property and the State," by FREDERICK ENGELS.

MALT SYRUP OF PABST COMPANY NON-UNION.

CHICAGO.—Union bakers are asked to remember that the malt syrup manufactured by the Pabst Brewing Co., Milwaukee, is made under nonunion conditions, the company being at outs with the International Union of Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers.

"This malt syrup is being principally sold to bakery proprietors," declares the official organ of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers' union, "and being an unfair product it ought to be avoided by our members as much as possible."

Freed at Last



After a trial and conviction, then the added expense and struggle in higher courts, the sixteen radicals indicted under the criminal syndicalism law of Illinois were sent to Joliet penitentiary. But after eight days of confinement they were pardoned by Governor Small.

Militants! Send us news of what is going on in your industry. The Voice of Labor is a rank and file labor paper.

SORRY FLIGHT OF W. VA. MINERS.

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Families of evicted union miners are living in tents without flooring in some of the tent colonies of Cabin Creek, Coal River and Elkins fields. Frank Kenney, president District No. 17, U. M. A., has called on all locals to pay up their assessments promptly so that the union may provide so far as possible for its evicted members.

Continuing its appeal to the public to come to the aid of the miner families, The West Virginia Federationist caustically says:

"Donations both stupendous and small are being freely made for institutions of a religious, educational and benevolent character, funds, food and clothing are being sent to the unfortunate of many foreign climes, but never a word or a whisper have we heard from those in charge of these social uplift drives about the suffering and misery of the several thousand little children who are living in flimsy and sordid tents in the Cabin Creek, Coal River and Elkins coal fields of West Virginia."

Editorial Page

Amalgamation

The Philadelphia Public Ledger of Dec. 11 had an editorial on the "One Big Union." It was inspired by the conference of the Committee for the Amalgamation of the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations held in Chicago on Dec. 9 and 10. The editorial carries such an excellent lesson—the opposite of that intended by the Public Ledger—that we quote the greater part of it here:

This is an echo of last summer's railroad strike and something more. It is an expression of the hope in many workers' hearts that one of these days they may be in a position to paralyze every wheel on every road in every part of the nation.

Last July the "Big Four" Rail Brotherhoods did not join the railroad strike. They played with the idea, some of their membership did go out here and there, but the forces of rail unionism remained divided and the shop strikers lost the strike. Thanks to that division and thanks to the brotherhoods standing by their contracts, the nation was saved from transportation chaos, suffering and certain disorder.

W. G. Lee, of the Brotherhood of Trainmen, saw how nearly we came to a general strike. Hereafter, he has announced, the trainmen will act alone. He understands that solidarity on the part of rail unionism will force the public and the government to take some form of drastic action if a strike is called. In the clash that would be inevitable he proposes that the trainmen shall have no part.

Not all rail unionism has the Lee viewpoint. It would be better for the nation and in the final analysis better for unionism if it did; but the dream of "One Big Union" will not come down. To the worker there is a powerful fascination about it. It is human and natural that the sixteen standard unions should turn to it again after the lessons of last summer.

For the nation and the everyday American, however, it is the far-off but moving shadow of trouble on the horizon.

Of course the capitalists have good reason to thank Mr. W. G. Lee and the other Grand Chiefs who by refusing to throw the united strength of the railmen behind the shop strike enabled the bosses to smash the unions and drive the workers back into the shons demoralized on most of the railroads, "Thanks to that division," etc. Well, that is the reason why the convention of the railworkers was held in Chicago and unless all signs fail, the result of that conference and the work that it planned to do will end that "division" that has brought defeat after defeat to the workers and comfort to their enemies, the bosses. And it may not be as "far-off" as the Public Ledger hopes.

The Legion and Labor

Following recommendations from Samuel Gompers the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon, opened negotiations with the local legion post for an exchange of fraternal delegates. This proposal was swallowed greedily by the legion and the result so far is that D. Quisenberry, a delegate to the Council from the Sign Painters' Union, was elected as a member of the legion executive board. This unholy alliance between the labor fakery and the reactionary American legion is interesting in view of the statement recently made by the head of that organization that the Fascisti of Italy and the legion are kindred spirits.

It is also a fact that the labor misleaders of the Gompers' stripe in Italy are lined up with the Fascisti. Evidently Gompers did not waste his time when he reviewed the parade of the American Legion recently with his friend Judge Landis of Open Shop

fame. It is likely that he cemented the friendship between reactionary labor officialdom and the White Guards and Black Guards of capitalism. Mr. Berry, president of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, is also vice president of the American Legion. Gompers is a very close friend of Major Berry's.

The American worker should wake up before it is too late. Under the leadership of Gompers the American ruling class will entrench themselves in the labor unions and with the aid of the American Legion capture the only protection that stands today between the American workers and industrial slavery. What has happened in Italy can happen here. The American capitalists are quick to take advantage of the lesson taught by the renegade member of the Italian Socialist Party Mussolini.

"Is That All?"

The above is the title of an editorial in the Chicago Tribune on the subject of the Herrin riot. The Tribune is considerably frightened lest the miners who defended themselves against the armed attacks of degenerates hired by detective agencies should escape the gallows.

It fumes because the defense sets up the theory of justifiable homicide. Is it justifiable homicide to torture and slaughter men because they are on the other side of an industrial and economic controversy? "Has the 'scab' any rights at all or may any union man kill one at will?" shouts the Tribune.

The Tribune knows quite well that the scabs who were sent to Herrin by the Hargreaves Agency to take the bread and butter out of the mouths of the women and children of the Herrin miners were a band of armed thugs and that before the righteous wrath of the union men of Williamson county was visited on them UNION MEN WERE MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD BY THESE HIRELINGS. It was in defense of their lives and the honor of their homes and womanhood that the miners took up arms in their defense, therefore the plea of counsel of the indicted miners does not involve any such wandering outside the realm of fact as that assumed by the class biased editorial in the Chicago Tribune.

In defending their homes and their lives the Herrin miners taught a lesson that should not be lost on those moral perverts who hitherto had the gun and the law on their side. This time they have the capitalist courts on their side, but the opinion of the workers in every part of the country is with the Herrin union men and when that opinion is mobilized they need not worry what the Chicago Tribune thinks.

The Naked Truth at Last

No more does the British Lion put on the lamb's skin when going forth on one of his piratical pilgrimages. Perhaps he is getting foolish in his old age or perhaps he is so strong that he is itching for a fight.

However the case may be he is roaring like his old self at the Lausanne conference and talking "cold Turkey" to the Turks. He no longer claims that what makes him so far away from home is his heartbreaking consideration for the women and children of Armenia or the destitute and homeless females who formerly graced the harem of the Sultan before that potentate was introduced to the boot-tip of Kemal Pasha, or the hundreds of starving eunuchs now unemployed because of the destruction of a Sultan's most priceless possession—his family.

The Lion is not camouflaging any longer. He is thirsty for oil. He believes the best way to get it is to growl and show his claws. The trouble is that for centuries the Turks owned a certain territory which happens to have the blessing of Allah on it in the form of oil. This paradise is in Mesopotamia. The British, while they were fighting for the "honor of Belgium," the rights of small nations," etc., grabbed this oil territory, ex-

pelled the Turks and hoisted the Union Jack over it.

When the Turks licked the Greeks they wanted the land back. England claims the place by the right of conquest, mind you. This is international highway robbery, but our good "silent observer," who sometimes says a mouthful in the interests of John D. Rockefeller, sides with England in holding up the Turks at the points of the big guns, which look at Constantinople from the British dreadnoughts anchored in the Straits. Though the American and British oil pirates fight among themselves for the spoils they unite against the victim. But perhaps the Turk is not yet in such a bad position that he must throw up his hands.

It is refreshing to learn that the British lion is shedding his mask of hypocrisy. No more pretensions. Just plain loot and murder.

An Oft Repeated Tale

Frank Morrison, \$10,000 a year secretary of the American Federation of Labor, during a recent visit to Portland, Oregon, where the next convention of the Federation will be held, turned a crank and reeled off a speech on amalgamation. The A. F. of L. says Frank is not opposed to amalgamation. Did it not pass a resolution as far back as 1901 recommending the consolidation of unions of kindred crafts? The reason Mr. Morrison exhorted the 1901 corpse was for the purpose of chloroforming the sentiment for amalgamation in Portland. To criticize the Federation for not enforcing amalgamation is not justified, he declared. It has no power. The power is in the international unions. The Federation is democratic. Oh, indeed! What about Sam's nice little machine, the Royal Family? It is almost as hard to break into the mystic circle as it is for the Biblical camel to go through the needle's eye.

And if the Federation is not opposed to amalgamation why the furor caused in the Gompers cage over the passing of the resolution for amalgamation at the Chicago Federation of Labor? Why did the great little Napoleon, the head of the Grand Dual System and his Crown Prince, come down from Washington to shake the rod of chastisement at the naughty children in the Chicago Federation of Labor? But finding that his bluster could not scare the militants in Chicago, Samuel laid low and confined his opposition to senile attacks on Soviet Russia and Communists. The A. F. of L. is still in favor of the 1901 resolution—in favor of leaving it buried.

Mr. Morrison stated that the three objects of the Federation are organization, legislation and education. Where is the organization carried on? There is no sign of it. The Federation has lost hundreds of thousands of members in the past few years. The reactionary officials of the unions evidently do not want any new members and the Federation heads are making no effort to recruit new members. As for legislation Morrison boasted of the non-partisan policy which resulted in so many "friends of labor" going to the Congress in the last election. One of them is Hiram Johnson, who came to the rescue of William J. Burns, who appears to be an enemy of Samuel Gompers for what reason we do not know. Sam was on very good terms with government stool pigeons during the war, and we believe stool pigeons who were just as dirty as Burns.

By education said Morrison "the worker becomes more secure in his position." What about the striking shopmen? We know many of them who are as well educated as even Mr. Morrison himself, yet they are not very secure in their positions because they were guilty of doing what Gompers and his lieutenants have no intention of doing; that is fighting the bosses. What kind of education does the A. F. of L. believe in giving the workers? "A fair day's work for a fair day's wage." The game of "Put and Take." Telling them that the capitalist system is the best we have had and that it will last

(Continued on page 7.)

MEMBERSHIP INCREASING RAPIDLY

(Continued from page 1.)
defense work, that has taken on new proportions thru the Michigan raid resulting in the arrest of 20 of the most active members of the party.

Urges "Make Party Grow" Stamp.
The report urges that a special "Make the Party Grow" stamp be issued to be purchased by every party member, and that the foreign language branches be called upon to actively engage in the sale and distribution of the party literature.

The report was so detailed and comprehensive, that it called forth but little discussion when the reading had been completed.

Delegate Earl R. Browder, Chicago, associate editor of the Labor Herald, declared the report showed that the party had definitely got on its feet, that it was a promise of future increased party activities and continued progress.

The remainder of the first day's session was taken up with the discussion of "The Labor Party" and "The Party in the Labor Unions."

The Party and the International.
C. E. Ruthenberg was chosen chairman of the second day's session and Alexander Bittleman, vice chairman.

Following acceptance of the report on the question of the protection of foreign born workers, Bittleman reported on the question of "The Workers Party and the Communist International." He showed the collapse of the Vienna (2 1/2) International and then dwelt at some length on the waning strength of the Second (Socialist) International in the face of the growth of the Communist International. He showed that the struggle of the Third International was toward the development of a World Communist Party.

He declared that the "Left Wing Sickness" that had paralyzed the Communist movement in many countries for a time, had now been completely eradicated.

He pointed out that the Workers Party had fraternal delegates at the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, but that they had

not returned to the United States in time to report personally to this convention.

There followed a discussion as to the possibilities of the open struggle for Communism in the face of the black reaction in this country after which the Convention voted unanimously for the report submitted by Bittleman, which appears as part of the party's program, under the heading of "The International." It reads as follows:

Statement Unanimously Adopted.

"The Workers Party accepts the principle that the class struggle for the emancipation of the working class is an international struggle. The workers of Russia have been obliged to fight against the whole capitalist world in order to maintain their Soviet Government and to win the opportunity of building their system of production on a Communist basis. In this struggle they have had the support of the enlightened workers of every country.

"The future struggles against capitalism will take on the same character. In order to win the final victory in the struggle against world capitalism the working class of the world must be united under one leadership.

"The leadership in the international struggle which inspires hope in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country is the leadership of the Communist International.

"The Workers Party declares its sympathy with the principles of the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

"It rallies to the call 'WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!'"

(A more complete report of the Convention will appear in the next issue of the Voice of Labor.)

BROWDER TO SPEAK AND STUDIO PLAYERS TO ENTERTAIN WITH ONE-ACT PLAY

Large numbers of workers, American as well as foreign born, are desirous of actively influencing the great movement of organized labor in this country but are unable to see any way in which they can do it. Some of these comrades are true revolutionaries, but remain outside the stream of the American movement because somehow or other they could not find their place in it. Others are in close contact with certain phases of the movement, but are nevertheless isolated from the rank and file of the American organized workers.

All of these elements—and everybody else who is interested in the particular problems of the working class in this country—will want to hear Earl R. Browder, member of the District Committee of the Workers' Party and associate of William Z. Foster in the Trade Union Educational League, when he speaks Sunday, January 7, at 2:30 p. m., on "How YOU Can Influence the American Labor Movement." Preceding Browder's address, the Studio Players, well known for their excellent productions of plays by Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, etc., will present the absorbing one-act masterpiece, "The Web," by Eugene O'Neill, author of "The Hairy Ape" and "Anna Christie."

The meeting and performance will take place in Belmont Hall, 3205 North Clark Street, under the auspices of the Workers' Party of America. Admission is 25 cents.

Beginning Sunday afternoon, January 14, and every 2nd and 4th Sunday of month thereafter, the Workers' Party will conduct an open forum in Viking Annex, 3253 Sheffield Ave., where live topics of the everyday struggle of labor against capital will be discussed.

American Defense Society Against Workers

Anti-labor literature of American Defense Society confidentially circulated, reveals the big business soul of this organization. Through its Washington director, R. M. Whitney, the Defense Society recently blasted against the release of political opinion prisoners. Previously the same Whitney published a series of unreliable articles in the "Boston Transcript" against Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg and their co-defendants, awaiting trial on January 15th at St. Joseph, Mich., for alleged violation of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalist law.

"What the American Defense Society is working to do" is a subject head of one of the society's broadcasted pamphlets. Enlisting its activities, the organization folds itself in the American flag and makes itself out a kind of an industrial Ku Klux Klan.

An outstanding plank in its platform calls for the creation of Home Defense Committees, to act under proper officials in case of general strikes that public service facilities may continue and the life of American communities may not be at the mercy of irresponsible agitators." Another proposes the elimination of "Labor reds and outlaw strikes."

An interesting bit of psychological terrorism is seen in the society's plan to "educate" the workers through their pay envelopes. "Encourage industry and increased production," the pamphlet advises. "The society provides printed leaflets to be placed in pay envelopes, demonstrating that increased production can reduce the cost of living and that all must give their best efforts to increase output. Samples of these will be gladly furnished on request."

As a fitting conclusion a selected public is asked "to contribute in support of the work American Defense Society is doing." The circular requests that "your check" be made "as large as your interest permits."

The Labor Defense Council, headed by Frank P. Walsh as chief counsel, is concerned not only with the defense of the group of workers arrested in Bridgeman last August, but also with the protection of the constitutional guarantees of the entire working class against the anti-social practices of all such organizations as the American Defense Society. Therefore, personal interest, at least, should urge all workers to do their part in winning a big victory for civil liberties against the forces of reaction. Contributions may be sent to the Labor Defense Council at 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill., or to their Eastern office at Room 434 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

"A Revolutionary Party at Last."

Earl Browder, Associate Editor of the Labor Herald and one of the delegates from District 8 to the Workers' Party convention declared in an interview to the Voice of Labor on his return from New York that the convention he had attended was an inspiration to all those who had the good fortune to be there.

"At last we have a revolutionary party," said Browder, "which has its roots firmly established in the organized labor movement. The heart and soul of the convention was the four hours given to the trade union work and the resolution adopted marks the beginning of a new era in the labor movement. (See resolution on page five).

The Labor Party program was adopted unanimously after a complete discussion lasting six hours. The effect of the industrial work of the party was apparent in clarifying this issue on the political as well as the industrial field. The Workers' Party has demonstrated that it has got its finger on the pulse of the masses."

The Voice of Labor stands for progressive policies in the trade unions. Militants! Take a bundle to your union meeting.

AN OFT REPEATED TALE.

(Continued from page 6.)
forever and the best we can expect is to have the shackles of wage slavery a little less tight on our limbs. Morrison wound up by huring a deft at Daugherty. "No power—not even that of Daugherty—can take away from the workers the right to think."

That is satisfactory to the bosses as long as they think silently. But as soon as they think loudly Mr. Daugherty will have them locked up and Morrison will denounce them as being un-American. The American workers, even if they lack class consciousness, should have some pride in themselves. How they allow such incompetent fellows as Gompers and his official family to represent them would be beyond the comprehension of anybody who did not know the peculiar conditions that exist here in America. But amalgamation is coming and all the inane speeches of Morrison and the other ten thousand a year men will not block its progress.

And if Mr. Morrison will permit a reminder! All the education in the world will not make their position secure for the workers as long as the Capitalist System exists. The only remedy is the Workers Republic.

Black Jack Pershing

is not invited to the surprise Masquerade Ball and Red Revel on Saturday, March 3, 1923, at the West End Club, because he is already funny enough and we only want people who like to get funny once in a while for a change. Some people are funny and some people are born funny. Black Jack belongs to the latter category. We want to surprise each other on that night. A serious comrade like Charlie Krumboltz is liable to disguise himself as the Shah of Persia. In fact even the members of the Young Workers League are expected to smooth away the thoughtful wrinkles from their troubled brows and trip the light fantastic like elfs from fairy-land.

Comrade Gomez invited Judge Gary to lead the Grand March on that night as "The Sheik of the Twelve Hour Day." The Grand Poodle of the Ku Klux Klan will be there disguised as a human being if the Civil Liberties Bureau is successful in retaining for him the right of free speech and tarring and feathering.

Next week we will publish a further installment of the program promised by the committee which has charge of the arrangements. I might add here that a specialist has been imported from Greenwich Village, New York to add all the nice little freak touches that have made Costume Balls so famous in that city. In addition we have representatives from all European countries on the arrangements committee.

This will be the funniest, queerest and most artistic event ever planned to put shekels into the coffers of a revolutionary journal such as the Voice of Labor is. Oh! I almost forgot. Away with Sousa, Paderwhiskey and the rest of the noise makers. When you want music that will make your feet automatically jump out of your shoes, you want jazz. That is what the Greenwich Village Band will supply you with on that night of nights. Watch for the next announcement!

The Masquerade Ball will be held at 37 So. Ashland Blvd., Cor. Monroe St.

"Yellow Kid" Peddling Hokum.

A confidence man known to the sporting fraternity as "Yellow Kid" was recently pardoned from the penitentiary by Governor Len Small of Illinois. He promised to go straight. But he went straighter. He became painfully straight. He became holy. He spent a good part of his life making an easy living outside the law. He got wise and from now on he intends to follow the example of the capitalists and their servants and make a living within the law.

On Christmas day he went back to Joliet to his prison associates with Bible in hand and informed them that he "got religion" and that the only hope of salvation was in "the good book." His advice was "read the Bible every day and you will never have to go back here once you get out." As O. Henry would say "He is now engaged in a legitimate line of graft."

LABOR PARTY MUST BE FORMED!

Manifesto on the Cleveland Conference by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party

The Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action is at an end and the hopes of labor have again been betrayed.

This conference was the outcome of the movement among the industrial workers and farmers for independent political action. The industrial workers and farmers have, during the years since the war, received heavy blows from the government. They have learned from their experiences that the government is an instrument through which the capitalists protect and advance their interests and which they use to fight against the workers and farmers.

The farmers have learned to know this from the legislation by the government which has made worse the exploitation from which they suffer. The industrial worker has learned it through injunction, courts, decisions of railroad labor boards, and soldiers, used against them in their struggles to maintain a decent standard of living.

The result of these experiences was that millions of industrial workers and farmers voiced their demand for a political party which would fight their battles. They demanded a party representing the interests of the industrial workers and farmers to carry on their political struggles against the old political parties and against the employers and exploiters. This desire of the industrial workers and farmers was betrayed by a group of reactionary leaders, who sat in the Cleveland conference.

The Struggle at Cleveland.

The struggle in the Cleveland conference was between a group of reactionary trade union officials aided by the Socialist Party, who wish to continue the policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor," on the Republican and Democratic tickets, and the group which desires to realize the demand of the exploited farmers and industrial workers for an aggressive, militant political party of labor.

The representatives of the railroad unions were against the labor party. The representatives of the organization of the well-to-do farmers did not want a labor party. The Socialist Party used its strength in the convention against the labor party.

This bloc played the part of the betrayers of the aspirations of the industrial workers in the Cleveland conference. They used all parliamentary tricks to gain their end. Through W. H. Johnston, president of the Machinist Union, who was chairman of the conference, they headed off every effort to make the conference the means of realizing the fighting political organization which will fight labor's political battles.

These reactionary labor leaders do not want a labor party. The road to public office is easier through political deals such as the policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor" on the old party tickets leave open. They betrayed the interests of the exploited industrial workers and farmers in order to advance their political fortunes.

This group of leaders had participated in the La Follette conference in Washington and they want to make the movement for independent political action by the industrial workers and farmers the tail to the kite of the ambition of La Follette, Borah and other so-called "progressives."

Industrial workers and farmers of the United States! You cannot win relief from the exploitation by the banks, the railroads, the coal barons and industrial magnates through another "progressive" movement. The La Follette-Borah "progressive" group does not represent the interest of the exploited farmer and industrial workers. It represents the interest of the middle-class, of the well-to-do farmers and the small business men. Its policies are not "progressive." It is a backward, reactionary group because it advocates policies which mean an effort to go backward economically in place of forward.

Should the group which betrayed the industrial workers and farmers at Cleveland gain power it would quickly become as great an enemy of the exploited industrial workers and farmers as the servants of the capitalists who now carry on the government machine in the interest of the capitalists. All these "progressives" want of the industrial workers and farmers is to use them as the means of gaining power—and then they will betray them!

The Socialist Betrayal.

Even greater than the betrayal by the Johnston-Stone-Keating "progressive" group at Cleveland was the betrayal of the industrial workers and farmers by the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party claims to be a working-class political organization. The Socialist Party claims that it is for independent political action by the industrial workers and farmers. In the past the

Socialist Party has appealed to the workers and farmers to support it because it represented their class interests.

At the Cleveland conference the Socialist Party representatives aligned themselves with the reactionary trade union leaders who were fighting the idea of a labor party. Morris Hillquit was the lieutenant of W. H. Johnston, chairman of the conference, in heading off everything which would help the advocates of the labor party.

The Socialist representatives sat quietly in the conference while the Workers Party delegates were denounced as "un-American" and "against the flag"—a form of denunciation which was leveled at the Socialist Party before they joined the betrayers of labor. The Socialist Party delegates gave no aid to the fight to seat delegates from local unions who would have helped the fight for the labor party. Morris Hillquit, as chairman of the organization committee submitted the report calling for a form of organization which excluded the labor party. James O'Neal, another socialist delegate, voted against the resolution calling for the formation of a labor party when it was before the resolutions committee.

In the final session of the conference the Socialist delegates introduced a statement declaring that they were not against the Workers Party delegates because they were "un-American and against the flag," but because they did not believe in the method of democracy—the Socialists apologizing for American democracy after their experience at Albany when their representatives were thrown out of the state legislature because they were Socialists!

Industrial workers and farmers of the United States! The Socialist parties everywhere have shown themselves to be the betrayers of the workers. Kerensky betrayed the Russian workers. Scheideman betrayed the workers of Germany. In Italy the Fascisti rule the workers through violence and bloodshed because of a Socialist betrayal in time of crisis. The American Socialists, the Hillquits and Bergers, do not wait for times of revolutionary struggle for their betrayals. They betray the workers at the first sign of independent action by the industrial workers and farmers, as in the Cleveland conference!

The Fight for the Labor Party.

The struggle for the formation of a labor party in the Cleveland conference was carried on by the Farmer-Labor Party delegates, the delegates from the Chicago Federation of Labor and other central labor bodies and state federations, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' delegates and by the Workers' Party delegates.

The Workers' Party delegates were refused seats in the conference by the Johnston-Keating-Hillquit machine. It was known to this anti-labor party bloc that the Workers' Party delegates would carry on an aggressive fight for a labor party, that its delegates would begin the fight at the opening of the conference and fight every inch of the way to the end of the conference.

Such a fight might have won the day even in this conference, dominated by the Johnston-Hillquit machine. Through such a fight many delegates, who were uncertain of the right policies for the conference to pursue, could have been won for the labor party. The delegates from the United Mine Workers, who played no important part in the conference, might have been compelled to take an open stand for the policy which their organization has endorsed. The delegates from some of the farmers' organization would have been brought into line.

But the reactionary machine knew the danger. They knew if the Workers' Party delegation sat in the convention they might lose in their effort to make the conference a tail to the La Follette movement. They first tried to bar the Workers' Party delegates by dodging the issue through not reporting their credentials and when forced to take a stand Chairman Johnston railroaded a decision of the credentials committee to bar them without giving the delegates a chance to act on the question.

Although the Workers Party delegates were barred their influence upon the conference was not eliminated. The Workers' Party literature, voicing the demands of the industrial workers and farmers for a labor party, was in the hands of the delegates. The Workers Party program for a labor party was presented to the delegates to contrast against the ridiculous "progressive" legislative program adopted by the betrayers of the labor party.

The Labor Party Will Come.

Industrial workers and farmers of the United States! The struggle at Cleveland was only the first skirmish in the battle for the Labor Party.

The life experiences of the industrial workers

and farmers which have aroused the demand for independent political action will make that demand louder. The use of the government power against the workers and farmers will yet arouse such a powerful movement for the labor party that it will sweep all the reactionary leaders and betrayers of labor from its path.

The Cleveland Conference shows that the labor party has already won the approval of a large section of the industrial workers and farmers. The strong group which fought for the labor party in the conference will continue its fight. The Workers' Party will continue to give its strength and militant leadership to the fight for the labor party.

The Workers' Party calls upon those workers who wish to help build a powerful mass political party of the farmers and industrial workers and to help give such a party a revolutionary leadership to join the Workers' Party, and fight with it for a labor party.

The Workers' Party calls upon the industrial workers in the trade unions to voice their demand for an independent political party of labor in such terms that the reactionary leaders of their unions will not dare longer obstruct the movement for a labor party.

The Workers' Party calls upon the farmers to place their organizations on record for the labor party, for independent political action of the farmers and industrial workers against their common exploiters.

Industrial workers and farmers! The labor party is a milestone on the road to better things for the industrial workers and farmers. The labor party must be formed if the struggle against those who amass great fortunes out of the labor or farmer and industrial workers is to be won.

The past political movements of the industrial workers and farmers have been lost in the mire of "progressivism." This time labor must build its own party for a winning struggle against its enemy.

FORWARD TO THE LABOR PARTY!

Down with "progressivism" and the betrayers of labor!

Forward to the Workers' Republic and the rule of labor!

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA

C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Sec'y.

Robert Farmer to be Tried January 10

Robert Farmer, vice president of Sub-District 5, will be tried on January 10th, according to Prosecutor W. T. Dixon, and the trial of Mike Muscello has been set for January 24th. Both Farmer and Muscello are defendants in the New Lafferty cases, charged with murder in the first degree.

Farmer was not within two miles of the trouble which resulted in the death of John J. Major, at New Lafferty, but despite this fact he has been indicted solely because as a miners' official he called a meeting of miners.

"Until Hell Freezes"

MINNEAPOLIS.—An army overcoat among clothes donated to local railroad had the following note in the pocket:

"I hope you fellows stick until hell freezes over, and when it does, wear this overcoat and keep up the fight until you whip the roads. I wore it when I believed I was fighting 'to make the world a better place to live in.' Give it to some striker and tell him to wear it and fight to make the world a mighty tough place for birds like Atterbury and his gang who want to see the railroad men working for 20 cents an hour."

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SAMUEL W. BALL,
1605 W. Van Buren Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL MEETING of the

Labor Defense Council
SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 6
8 o'clock at
166 W. WASHINGTON ST., 6th Floor.
All Delegates Be Sure to Attend!

The Folly and Futility of Impeachment

By A. VERBLEN

The petty-bourgeois has one remedy for every kind of governmental or political ill from which the masses suffer. Is there anything wrong? Are the farmers suffering? Is the cost of transportation high and the price of commodities exorbitant? Are the workers subject to disguised and undisguised attacks by the employing class? If all that is the case then it is due to the malevolent intentions of some individual politician and the cure is—remove the bad man and put a good man in his place.

"Good government" is the somewhat vague ideal of all middle-class liberals. And the sum and substance of good government is electing honest men to office. Once honest men are elected to Congress then laws good for all the people will be passed; as soon as honest men are placed in executive offices the laws will be enforced equally for all classes; and if men of integrity are appointed to the judiciary, then justice will be meted out to poor and rich alike. The constitution, the government are beyond reproach. The whole trouble is that bad men are elected to office. The millennium will be ushered in when politicians with good intentions will fill all offices.

To the petty-bourgeois the individual is the incarnation of good or of evil. Good men fight against bad men; virtue struggles against vice and in the end the upright and honest man will conquer. The middle-class liberal and politician does not think in terms of class and class interests. And even if he does attempt to advance the interests of his own class on the political arena, he invariably visualizes the struggle as one between good-men and bad-men, the politicians of the middle-class personifying all that is good while the politicians of Big Business represent all that is bad.

The Good Man Fallacy.

Middle-class politicians fail to see that the notions of an individual belonging to a party that is in control of the government reflects not the will of the particular person but of the party of which that person is a member, and truer still, of the class whose interests that party represents and defends. Their failure to see this simple fact, and their habit of attributing actions not to their liking to the evil genius of this or that politician are factors that partly explain why they cling so tenaciously to their policy of boring from within the old parties. All that is necessary to make the Republican and Democratic parties serve the interests of the people is for good men to get control of those parties. This idea of putting good men into office is also behind the A. F. of L. policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies." Needless to say, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are essentially middle-class in their ideologic make-up.

Representative Keller's attempt to impeach Atty. Gen. Daugherty, aided by that middle-class liberal

lawyer, Samuel Untermyer of New York, and by Gompers and his lieutenants, is a typical illustration of the attitude of middle-class politicians to government and the individuals composing that government. Daugherty did certain things which aroused the ire and resentment not only of the middle class but of the workers who were the direct sufferers of Daugherty's high-handed acts. To Representative Keller and his middle-class colleagues, including the labor leaders, Daugherty is the individual responsible. Daugherty is a bad man and the thing to do is to impeach him and put a good man in his place. The problem will then be solved.

Daugherty, Tool of Capitalists.

What are the out-standing crimes or misdemeanors for which Daugherty is facing impeachment? At a time when 400,000 railroad shippers were out on strike resisting a wage reduction granted by the fool of the government, the Labor Board, Daugherty asked for and obtained an injunction which practically made it impossible for the workers to continue the strike, providing the injunction was obeyed. It does not require profound thought to recognize that the injunction was not obtained by Daugherty on his individual responsibility. The strike was a struggle between the railroad workers and the employers and the injunction, which would insure the victory of the bosses, was obtained by Daugherty at the behest of the capitalist class. Not Daugherty but the class which he represents is responsible for the injunction. And not against Daugherty personally but against the government responsible for his actions must a fight be waged.

Again, the head of the Department of Justice is charged with failure to prosecute the profiteers who swindled the government out of millions of dollars. Well, were he to make a serious attempt to prosecute all the profiteers, he would find himself bringing to court the very men who placed him and his party into power. Is it reasonable to expect the servant to prosecute his master? The Republican Party, which is the ruling party, is composed of and supported by profiteers and can hardly be expected to prosecute itself and its supporters. It is folly to hold Daugherty responsible; it is useless to attempt to impeach him. The whole government of profiteers must be impeached and that can be done only by the organized political force of the working class.

And the appointment of Burns as the chief detective of the Department of Justice, in spite of the fact that Daugherty knew of Burns' tampering with a jury in order to get a conviction, is another one of the high crimes and misdemeanors charged against the Attorney General. The appointment of Burns is symbolic of the whole trend of the present government. No greater aim in the face of labor could be imagined than this choice.

By it the government openly stated its intentions of persecuting all forms of labor activity, from framing innocent workers to issuing injunctions against strikes. In fact no choice could be more appropriate for the government and in this case, as well as in the other two instances, not Daugherty but the government and the class he represents are responsible.

Daugherty Serving His Class.

And the conduct of the committee appointed to hear the charges against Daugherty was of such a nature as to convince any one of the futility of such a method to fight against injunctions and other evils. Daugherty is a member of the Republican Party. The Republican majority of the House of Representatives appointed a committee composed of a majority of Republicans to investigate the charge. The committee made a farce of the whole matter. Everything requested by the lawyers acting for Daugherty was granted while the lawyers acting for Representative Keller were given short shrift. Finally the latter became so incensed that he refused to continue with the charges. The committee was appointed not to investigate but to whitewash. And the report undoubtedly will bring a verdict of guilty against Keller. Not unless some official commits a crime against the class that put him to office will he be impeached. He will never be impeached for doing what he is told to do and Daugherty was put into office to attack the workers and he is doing it to perfection.

Some may say that it may be advisable to support impeachment proceedings against a capitalist official as a method of propaganda. Even for purposes of propaganda a working-class party could not afford to give its support to any attempt to impeach an individual. It would turn the attention of the workers away from the system, from the class, from the government that is in reality responsible for all attacks upon the working class and would make them think that the individual is responsible. This would strengthen the petty-bourgeois conception that all that is necessary to have a good government is to have good men elected. What difference does it make to the working class if Daugherty or Palmer or any other individual gives out an injunction? If it is not Daugherty it is Palmer; if not Palmer it is some other henchman of the capitalist class.

The working class can and will fight against injunctions but not with such silly, petty-bourgeois methods as impeaching the individual who happens to act as the tool of the class in power. Injunctions and other acts hostile to the working class can not be prevented by impeaching an individual, even if that were possible. They can be prevented by throwing the government of the capitalists out of power and electing a government of the workers and that can be done only through a labor party.

ments. Are you interested in the freedom of these class war prisoners? Show it by your contribution and send it to: National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th Street, New York City, Neema Berman, secretary.

Governors Keep Mum on K. K. K.

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va.—Taunted to stand up and be counted against the Ku Klux Klan, the governors of a majority of American states, most of whom had gravely expressed opposition to the Klan, remained silent when Gov. John M. Parker of Louisiana, Democrat, exclaimed: "Why duck your heads when you see these conditions coming and menacing you? Let us be vigorous, outspoken Americans, and meet the issues as they present themselves to us. Go on record here and now."

Gov. Ben W. Olcott of Oregon, who at to-night's session attacked the Ku Klux Klan nearly as bitterly as did Gov. Parker, this afternoon, was momentarily absent from the meeting hall of the Governors' Fifteenth Annual Conference at the Greenbrier Hotel here. Consequently a very significant silence fell upon the assemblage after Gov.

WISDOM OF THE POOR FISH.

By ART YOUNG.

The Poor Fish Says:
Wall Street Ought to Be Closed Up for Three Months. It Would Teach Them a Good Lesson.

The Poor Fish represents the conventional type of mind. He is becoming as popular a figure as Uncle Sam.



Parker had challenged his fellow governors to arise and take issue with him.

To the question whether anyone wanted to discuss the subject there was absolute silence. Silence greeted the reiterated inquiry of the chairman, "Is there any governor here who cares to inject his ideas into this discussion?"

The silence of most of the governors on the Klan issue would appear to give weight to current rumors that most of them were elected by the Klan and are under its discipline.

Ask your fellow workers to read the Voice of Labor and subscribe to it.

Where to Go.

- Every Sunday, Open Forum; Emmet Memorial Hall, Taylor & Ogden Aves., 2 P. M.; 2815 So. State St., 3 P. M.
- Every day, between 3 and 10 P. M. to see and buy handicrafts and other toys received from Soviet Russia. At 1417 N. Hoyne Ave., and Peikets Hus, 2733 Birch Blvd.
- Jan. 6—Special meeting of Labor Defense Council; 8 P. M., 166 W. Washington St., 6th floor.
- Jan. 6th (Saturday evening)—Concert and Dance given by National Defense Committee at Division Hall, 2441 Division St.
- January 7th (Sunday 3 P. M.)—Earl Browder on The Labor Movement and a one act play by Eugene O'Neill at Belmont Hall, 3283 N. Clark St.
- Jan. 19th—International Lithinect Day, held by Y. W. I. 2133 Birch Blvd.
- Jan. 20th—Polish Masquerade Ball at Welsh Hall, Ashland and Noble Street.
- Jan. 21st—"Fair" and Banquet, Lithuanian.
- Jan. 27th—Veberich's Russian Brunch.
- January 28th (Tuesday) Night—Defense Rally—Latest reports on Michigan case, and the work of Labor Defense Council at Workers' Lyceum, 2733 Birch Blvd.
- March 2—Red Revel Surprise Masquerade Ball in West End Club Hall, 37 So. Ashland Blvd., Cor. Monroe St.
- Apr. 15th—Entertainment and Ball (Sunday afternoon and evening), benefit "Voice of Labor."

The Health School

The Federated Press Health Service
Conducted by DR. P. L. CLARK



Good resolutions now are made and all old scores are met and paid. A lot of things occur to me as I greet nineteen twenty-three.

Now Harding he could vow and vow that he would gather some sense now, quit being just a rubber stamp and pour some oil in freedom's lamp, by letting wartime prisoners go, which should have been done long ago.

Then Daugherty could curb his rage and start a fresh and pure-white page, let up on "reds," nab profiteers, and rid himself of deadly fears that government would surely burst; if he don't get his hand in first.

Mellon could run the treasury to help the guys like you and me, without a single backward look at his own family's pocketbook.

A lot of these big army men could chase themselves to work again, and help to bring the great peace-day by separating from their pay.

Big navy men could leave the deck and save us money by the peck, while makers of the poison gases could come out straight and call us asses, for tapping of the public till, experimenting how to kill.

The Legion could jump in the lake and die again for country's sake. I pledge a nickel for a mound, if they will just go underground.

The Ku Klux Klan could shed its mask, and meek and contrite, it could ask that Washington resume its sway on this the coming New Year's day.

The Rot'ry folks and such-like clubs could cease from being common' duds, and learn that culture will endure if they will take the talking-cure.

The Daughters of the Revolution could go and study evolution, and learn that wisdom did not die when founding fathers closed their eye.

The Volsteadites can take a nip from something carried on the hip; and learn the joy of being free to hit a three per cent of tea.

A Happy New Year!

Is There Cause for Joy?

The London Daily Herald is the official organ of the British Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress. The British Labor Party is affiliated with the Second International which sent representa-

tives to Moscow to defend the social revolutionaries who attempted to overthrow the Workers' Republic of Russia. This gang protested, violently against the prosecution and possible execution of avowed counter revolutionaries. But there is no protest against the execution in a most cold blooded manner of the Irish rebels by the Free State government which is a tool of the London government. And as the Russians pointed out they did not protest against the execution of the Socialist James Connolly in 1916 by the government of which Henderson was a member.

On the contrary when the Irish Free State constitution bill passed its third reading in the House of Lords the Herald carried a head, "New Day Dawns for Ireland" on the front page in the premier position, with three subheads. But underneath it had in italics the following paragraphs, showing what the "New Day" brought to Ireland: "Meanwhile, from West Cork, comes news of fierce fighting and the infliction of heavy casualties on irregulars by Free State airplanes manned with machine guns."

The Communist members in the House of Commons were the only ones to expose the Irish Free State constitution bill for a fraud perpetrated on the Irish workers. The Labor Party members praised it as a sign that England had at last granted a long delayed measure of justice to Ireland. This again proves that the Communists are revolutionists and always fight for the workers and against imperialism and its government, while the alleged Socialists in the Labor Party are simply liberals.

Shipment of Drugs to Russia

The Hospital Products Company, 2808 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, is sending a large shipment of drugs and medicinal material to Soviet Russia through the Friends of Soviet Russia. The shipment is a voluntary contribution and speaks well for the firm's humane spirit. All packages sent will be examined by the F. S. R. with a view to eliminating unnecessary material, packing securely and assuring safe delivery in Russian hospitals.

The first shipment includes, thermometers, cotton, bandages, liniments, antiseptics, hot water bottles, soaps, syringes, and a big selection of drugs.

Washington Park Forum

Meets every Sunday, 2:45 P. M., at Abe Lincoln Center, 3927 Langley Ave., one block west of Cottage Grove Ave. Good Speakers. Ten minutes discussion from the floor. Admission free. Come and enjoy a mental fight.

Sing Red Flag

Sixty members of the unemployed walked into the House of Commons in London a few days ago and began singing "The Red Flag." They displayed signs reading, "We want work, not doles," etc.

Workers' Party members purchase an extra copy of Voice each week and introduce it to a friend. He may become a subscriber. Become a booster for your paper.

MR. GARY ON "THE TWELVE HOUR DAY" By A. V.

Mr. Ebert H. Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation, king of kings, chief potentate, sublime ruler of millions of wage-slaves, was gracious enough to grant an interview to the reporter of the world's greatest liar, the Chicago Tribune. And considering the fact that the interview dealt with the slaves in his steel mills and that it took away forty-five minutes from his Christmas holiday it was indeed a noble act.

His majesty was in an expansive mood. The spirit of Christmas was upon him. His face had a kindly look and tears were in his eyes as he spoke to his poor slaves who are compelled to work twelve hours a day. "Yes," he murmured softly, "it gives me so much pain to think of my 'hands' working twelve hours a day. My heart breaks when I think of the men going to work early in the morning and coming home late at night. My sorrow knows no bounds when the thought of wife waiting for husband and children for father comes into my mind. You know that I would like so much to give my workers the 8 hour day but," and here his face lit up, "I have great responsibilities to the industry, to my business. I do not intend," he continued in a firmer tone and with a more forceful look on his benign countenance, "to wreck my business because of my tender sympathies with the workers. If it is a question of wrecking my business or the lives of the workers and their wives and children then, why then business is business you understand. It's pretty difficult to establish a new business but workers — why you can get all you want of them."

The above may not be the exact phraseology Mr. Gary used but it is undoubtedly what he meant and he proceeded with his interview in behalf of the 12 hour day, giving arguments so profound that only a Tribune reporter could listen to them without laughing.

Would Mean Less Profits.

Gary, as other capitalists are doing, complained of a shortage of labor. Consequently the introduction of the eight hour day would mean a still greater shortage. It would mean far less production and staggering losses to the steel magnates. Those who are acquainted with the first volume of Marx's Capital are familiar with similar arguments given by Gary's illustrious predecessors when the question of reducing the working-day from sixteen to twelve hours or from twelve to ten hours confronted them. They too howled that a reduction in the number of hours would mean a shortage of labor, decrease in production and losses in profits. That was over fifty years ago and we should

not expect Gary to know anything that occurred so long ago.

For the capitalist class there is a shortage of labor whenever the normal reserve army of unemployed is not sufficiently large to make possible a further reduction in wages. The million-and-half workers who are under normal conditions unemployed can not be used to reduce the wages of the workers who are employed in as effective a manner as the capitalists desire. There is a "shortage" of labor only from the point of view of Gary and his kind who are anxious to reduce wages to the lowest minimum. But from the point of view of the workers, as long as there are men without work—as there are at present—there is no shortage of labor whatsoever.

And the argument that a reduction in hours means decrease in production has been exploded long ago. The hours of labor have constantly been reduced in this country and in other countries and production, on the contrary, has continually been increasing. Mr. Gary, no doubt, would see to it that for every hour reduced there would be added machinery to assure the necessary amount of production.

But the profits—ah, there's the rub. The surplus value extracted from the workers will not be as much in an 8 hour day as in a 12 hour day and after all Mr. Gary is not in business for love in spite of the fact that he is a good Christian; and never fails to eat a good Christmas dinner. And if need be Gary can pay some sycophant, bourgeois economist to prove that the whole profit is made in the last four hours and if you take those hours off there would be no profit left. Did not N. Senior once prove that the whole profit of the capitalist is made in the twelfth hour? (see Marx's Capital). And surely in a case like this Mr. Gary would not refuse to tread in the footsteps of his ancestors. But most peculiar thing of all the hours have been reduced in steel mills of England, France, Germany, and Italy and still the capitalists are not getting any poorer.

"Germany and France and England," declares Gary triumphant, "are going back to the twelve hour day because they must compete with us." But, Mr. Gary, in spite of the fact that you are a captain of industry, you appear to be quite idiotic. The only reason why the capitalists of those countries want a twelve hour day (I assure you the workers will not give it to them as a Christmas present) is because they have to compete with you. And if there would be an eight hour day in your industry the foreign capitalists would not have to meet your com-

petition. Is that too deep for you, Mr. Gary? Why even the editor of The Tribune could grasp that.

But Gary's best and most convincing argument for the twelve hour day, a veritable jewel of an argument, comes from his extreme solicitude for the welfare of his men. Why, the men love the twelve hour day. They would quit his place instantly, were the eight hour day to be introduced. They might make a revolution if they are allowed to work eight hours instead of twelve. (Perhaps they will if they are not allowed.) The men would not make enough money in an eight hour day. Oh yes, Mr. Gary, you make wages low enough so that the workers should be compelled to work twelve hours a day in order to be able to exist. But did it ever occur to you that men can work eight hours and get more money than in twelve hours? You will undoubtedly learn that lesson in the near future. Foster almost succeeded in giving you such a lesson in 1919.

It is not difficult, however, to get at the real reason why Gary and his fellow steel magnates so strenuously oppose the eight hour day. Long hours brutalize the workers. All they can do is work, eat and sleep. They have no time for recreation, no time to read, no time to think about their problems and how to solve them. Long hours make slaves of the workers physically and mentally. And that is what Gary wants. He does not want the workers to think and learn. They might get a desire to better their conditions, to organize into a union and this would give Mr. Gary heart-failure.

Where the Responsibility Lies.

And the officials of organized labor are responsible for the twelve hour day in the steel industry and undoubtedly Mr. Gary is grateful to them. Were Gompers and his crew really-anxious to organize the steel workers, not even Gary's opposition could prevent the eight hour day in the steel industry. But Gompers is afraid and not only the steel workers but the whole of American labor must suffer. So long as the workers in the steel industry are compelled to work twelve hours, so long will the eight hour day of all of organized labor be threatened.

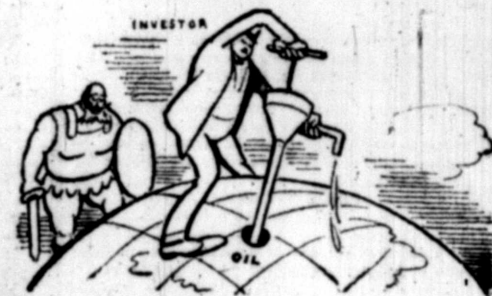
The eight hour day will not come as a result of Mr. Gary's kind intentions. Nor will the agitation of kind-hearted liberals and churchmen bring it about. Only the steel workers themselves supported by the rest of labor can win the eight hour day.

"Eventually," says Mr. Gary, "we hope to bring it about." And we say to the workers: eventually—why not now?

Concessions in the Far East.

When the next war again turns loose its horrors on the human race and the workers of the world are called upon to cut each others throats in the name of democracy, civilization, or Christianity behind all the hypocrisy will stand the sinister figure of the oil pirate. The next war will be over oil. Will the workers of the world again go to the slaughter pen like sheep? Or will they be ready to take the control of society away from the capitalist pirates?

The so-called peace conference at Lausanne is really a council of war. If the oil thieves cannot rob Turkey at the conference their armies and navies will essay the task. And if they succeed in frightening Turkey into surrendering her oil fields then the capitalist robbers will fight among themselves for a division of the spoils. Red Russia alone stands for justice at Lausanne.



Drawn by ART YOUNG in the Nation.

Where the Oil Is, Look Out for War.

Volunteers Wanted.

To All W. P. and Y. W. L. Branches and Members in Chicago!

Comrades: The Labor Defense Council, National Office, Room 307, 164 W. Washington St., still has tens of thousands of circular letters to be mailed out—as soon as possible. Over \$100,000.00 must be raised—the Michigan

trial comes up again January 15th. Only a quarter of the necessary money has been raised to date. Therefore all Chicago comrades must do their duty—respond at once to this call for workers to fold circulars, fill envelopes, etc.

Branches should see that a group of three to ten Volunteers for this work. Most everyone can give an evening or more a week. Let us know well ahead of time when groups of comrades are coming so that arrangements can be made not to have too many on one night and none another evening and so the office will surely be kept open. Write or phone State 5959 NOW and each time you know when comrades will come. Experience has shown that the work speeds along pleasantly for the evening—"mailing parties."

GEORGE MAURER, Secretary, Local Chicago, W. P. of A.

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The leaflet "For a Labor Party" and Foster's latest book "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement" are enjoying great popularity among the workers. Large sales were reported.

The Young Workers' League announced that a Lenin Day celebration would be held on Jan. 20, 8 P. M. at Workers' Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd. The executive committee was authorized to arrange a rally for the Labor Defense Council on Tuesday, January 30th, at Workers' Lyceum.

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The Fourth Congress of the Communist International

(This is the concluding installment of the Executive Committee's report; and Comrade Zinoviev's closing reply to the discussion)

(Continued from previous issue.)

With the erection of the labor government two things are to be distinguished: First,—it is a means of approaching the workers; secondly—the historical possibility exists for it. We have an enslaved working class which is still spiritually dependent upon the bourgeoisie. The process of enlightenment must proceed in different ways. Zinoviev then refers to the tactics of the united front.

Whether a labor government will actually come is very questionable; perhaps its possibility is only an exception. The chief content of the labor government is the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

We must combat every illusion that the labor government signifies a peaceful and painless transition. The labor government is no substitute for the dictatorship or for the civil war.

The opportunist danger is very great.

Ruth Fischer complains that the Third Congress failed to deal with the Levi group as it deserved. But at the time some of the best elements of the German Communist Party were in this group. It was necessary to isolate Levi in order to save these elements of his group for the party. This has been done. The executive had also criticized the errors of the Rathenau action. The united front without the possibility of independent propaganda is suicidal. It was right to fight the monarchists but not to awaken illusions regarding the bourgeois republic. We must not permit the party to be treated like "poor relations." Ruth Fischer greatly exaggerates when she says the slogan of the united front has driven the German Independent Social Democratic Party to the Social Democratic Party and has made the Independent Party the prisoner of the Social Democratic Party. Inwardly the Independents differed in no way from the Social Democrats and therefore very readily became "their prisoners." Apart from this there was no variance between the Berlin organization and the Communist International.

Bukharin was too strict towards Duret. If Duret has erred and wishes to atone for his mistakes, so much the better. His argument that the tactics of the united front are only possible in Germany, where we are confronted with strong Social Democratic parties is not correct. It is much easier to unfold the movement among the unorganized masses, where the revolutionary initiative has greater success. Duret was right when he pointed out the danger of a split. A portion will come to us. We shall submit to them not twenty-one but forty-two conditions.

Bordiga asks what criterion there is for testing whether the majority is with us. There are many criteria. It is not a question of embracing the majority in the party organization but of gaining the influence over the majority. The small Communist

Party of New South Wales has succeeded in bringing 200,000 trade union members into the R.I.L.U.

The attitude of the Italian party in regard to the trade union question is still narrow-minded. It detaches itself from the masses instead of going to them.

The successes of the united front tactics in Spain are certainly very important.

Vajtauer's program is very bad. This will not solve the problem of the Czech opposition. The executive has acted rightly in the question of expulsions. The International must everywhere strive to retain good working elements. The opposition must either submit or it will have the whole International against it.

Donski claims that the tactics of the united front are not correct for Poland. But it is precisely in Poland where the Polish Socialist Party displays the sign-board of a labor government that the united front tactics have good prospects of success. At the time when the Red Army was marching on Warsaw, Donski was against military assistance. That was nationalism in disguise. If the bourgeoisie mutually assist each other with arms, the workers can also do the same. It makes no difference whether it is the Hungarian, Polish, Italian, German, French or Russian Red Army that brings aid. (Stormy applause from the whole congress.)

The Norwegian group shall remain in the party and not form a separate group.

In controversy with Varga, Zinoviev remarks that the workers must be told that the way to the dictatorship is thorny, and is eventually bound up with hunger.

The greater danger at present in the Communist International comes from the Right and not from the Left, which is grounded in the objective conditions. Opportunism is being combatted. Bad times of world reaction will come, yet the Communist International at the given time will lead the working class to the offensive. (Sustained applause.)

Before the vote on the resolutions, Duret, Souvarine and Dornoy, in the name of the factions, declare that they will vote for the resolution of the executive to prove their loyalty to the Communist International.

The resolution expresses full approval of the actions of the executive and declares the decisions of the executive, reached in the interval between the Third and Fourth Congress to be binding, and their infringement a breach of discipline. The strict execution of the twenty-one points is demanded.

The resolution is adopted by the congress, the Italian majority abstaining from voting.

BOOKS

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IMPERIAL WASHINGTON, by ex-U. S. Senator R. F. Pettigrew. "The United States has already passed from the Republic to the Empire . . . We have a government of the thieves, for the thieves, by the thieves. It might be stated thus—a government of, for and by the corporations. Capital is stolen labor, and its only function is to steal more." Everybody should read it. Lenin says: "It's a great book." PricePaper 25c; Cloth \$1.25

CREATIVE REVOLUTION, by Eden and Cedar Paul. A study in Communist Ergotacraz. There are two labor movements, two Socialist movements. One is parliamentary and democratic in its methods; the other is proletarian and Sovietist in its principles. There will have to be a reckoning with the revolutionary communists, whose numbers grow as their policy gains coherency and becomes more sharply differentiated from that of socialists of the old school. The philosophy of the new movement is eloquently stated. Cloth bound\$2.50

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THE FOUNDATION OF IMPERIALIST POLICY, by M. Pavlovich. A masterly study of the economic basis of the great empires of to-day and of their influence on the lives and welfare of the working classes. Pavlovich is by general consent one of the clearest and deepest economic thinkers that Russia has produced. Price, cloth\$1.00

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM, by Bishop W. M. Brown, translated in all modern languages. 6th edition, completing 100,000 copies printed. The author, 5th Bishop of Arkansas, Member House of Bishops, Prot. Episc. Church, Sometime Archbishop of Ohio, special lecturer at Bexley Hall, The Theological Seminary of Kenyon College, calls upon the readers to "Banish Gods from Skies and Capitalism from Earth." Paper25c
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