

Strikers in Buffalo Holding Lines Intact

Rank and File Warning Heretic Fight While Officials of Their Union and Reactionary Labor Leaders Do Nothing to Aid Them.

(Special Correspondent) The beginning of the third week of the street car strike in Buffalo still finds the strikers splendidly organized and the public remains firm on their side. The company is running a few cars, operated by strikers and protected by police armed to the teeth. The membership of organized labor in Buffalo is giving the strikers splendid support and the public remains firm on their side. The strikers are holding their lines intact and the public remains firm on their side.

The mayor of the town, known as a disreputable individual who works hand in hand with the Canadian bootleggers and gamblers, the most vicious vipers in the city, is doing his utmost to keep the strikers out of the streets. He has given orders to "shoot to kill" in case of strike trouble. The company, working under the protection of Chief of Police Burdick, is straining every nerve to keep the streets open for the carrying of passengers through the streets.

Labor Leaders Control Central Council The Central Labor Council is under the leadership of a big fakir named Stuart A. Hayward, who has not only been a trade union leader for years, but also a leader of the "red" faction of the union. He is a man who has been known for his "soft" attitude towards the employers and his "sell-out" tactics.

Harding Uses Government as Scab Herder in Mines

After restoring all efforts of the mine owners and their tools, the strikers in the coal regions of the United States are still standing as one against the greed of the exploiters of labor and the spoils of the war. The government is being used as a scab herder in the mines, and the strikers are being used as a tool to crush the workers.

UNITED HEBREW TRADES AID MINERS

The United Hebrew Trades, representing about 20,000 Jewish workers on the east side of New York City, has started a campaign to raise \$10,000 to be turned over to the "United Mine Workers" to aid in their present mine strike. It was announced last night. The union has appointed a committee of twenty-five to immediately begin the canvass for the funds.

Four Slain in West Virginia Mine Fight

Cliffside, W. Va., was the scene of a bloody battle Monday between the forces of the sheriff, a hired tool of the mine baron and some striking miners. The trouble started when a gang of gunmen and guards, under the leadership of Sheriff H. H. Duval, fired a volley of bullets at a tent occupied by sheltering women and children who had been thrown out of company houses by the officials in the employ of the mine baron. The fact that the miners and their families were able to exist in the vicinity of the mines estranged the owners so they instructed their hired thugs to wipe them out. The attempt caused fatalities on the part of the strikers.

The attack on the tent colony resulted in the deaths of two strikers, Frank Mitchell and a man named Cook. This so enraged the strikers that they immediately proceeded into the hills toward the barracks behind which the mine guards and the sheriff were concealed. Deputy Sheriff W. Matigale had started forward with intent to shoot the strikers but was brought to the ground with a rifle shot to the mouth and is not expected to live. Then Duval, the sheriff, thought he would lead the attack but he fell with a bullet wound in his head that caused instant death.

Immediately after the sheriff was shot the miners poured down the valley toward the barracks and stormed it. Company was fired and Richard Coal Company was freed and returned to the ground. The son of the sheriff who brought his body to the undertaker declared that he saw ten or more bodies lying in the woods nearby, but his story is attributed to the workings of his imagination. The fighting Monday was the climax of disturbances that have occurred in the district for a long time. For weeks the deputies had been terrorizing the strikers and their families and had arrested first those who were working, then women and children.

QUAKERS TO HELP W. VA. MINERS

Investigators find starvation and widespread disease as result of malnutrition and recommend immediate assistance to families of strikers. The Quaker organization, known as the American Friends Service Committee, which did relief work among the children of devastated territory in Europe during the war and which conducted relief expeditions in the famine region in Russia is going to do some famine relief work in the United States. The organization has started work among the destitute families of striking miners in West Virginia and Pennsylvania. The first of the announcements last week from the New York office of that organization at No. 30 East 43rd Street.

TEXTILE STRIKERS START TENT COLONY

Lansdale, Pa., July 22.—A tent colony of striking textile mill workers who have been evicted from their company-owned homes was started here today.

After a week's illness the workers have found themselves unable to pay taxes, and mill owners have begun evictions.

FAKE ARRESTS OF MINE ORGANIZERS DON'T WORK

Powers Haggood and Michael Douglas, two mine union organizers, went to Harrison, Pa., where the Quakerbon Company operates for the purpose of talking to some strike breakers. When they appear to the men, asking them if they were on a strike was on a gang of guards pushed up and placed them under arrest. They were charged with trespass and Haggood was charged with disorderly conduct and, resisting arrest.

Russia Replies To London Archbishop

Head of Canterbury See Is Rebuffed By Soviet Government When He Protests Against What He Has Labeled the Call "Persecution of Churches." The Soviet Government has sent its reply to the Archbishop of Canterbury in answer to his protest against the trials of a gang of pious hypocrites, who tried to convert their treachery to the working class of Russia under the guise of religion.

The Archbishop's insane meddling, not unlike most preachers, suggested that a delegation from British churches be sent to Russia to investigate the situation, and the trials of the Russian ecclesiastics. At the time the impudent communication was sent the CHALLENGE expressed the opinion that the proper answer to the archbishop would be to tell his holiness, gently but firmly, that what transpires in the very material realm of the Soviet government, was of no concern to an individual of his type whose sole occupation was supposed to be devoted to the fanciful speculative realm of transcendental things. However, the archbishop, like all his ilk, is prone to bludge, nose into worldly affairs and to make an infernal nuisance of himself generally. Few simply considerately tolerate such freaks and endeavor to avoid their company as much as possible.

LARKIN AND GITLOW LOSE COURT APPEALS

Court of Appeals Affirms Convictions in 1920 on Charges of Criminal Anarchy. Out of Publication of "Left Wing Manifesto." Ruthenberg and Ferguson Get Ten Year.

The conviction on charges of criminal anarchy of James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow in 1920 have been affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals. Both men have served almost two years of the five to ten year sentences imposed upon them and were recently admitted to bail on certificates of reasonable doubt, while their cases were pending before the higher court.

TO THE STRIKERS OF THE MINES, RAILROADS, TEXTILE MILLS AND STREET CAR COMPANIES!

The Workers' Challenge is fighting your battles today. We are part of the great working class struggle against the oppression of the master class. In your hour of need, struggle and of sacrifice in order to defend the bloodstreams of capitalism we are with you. When the strike are over we want you to remember us. Remember that we are always fighting for the working class. Every place the workers are struggling we struggle with them. We are asking from you now, when you get a chance to go to work we want you will remember us when you are back in the struggle. We are asking from you now, when you get a chance to go to work we want you will remember us when you are back in the struggle. We are asking from you now, when you get a chance to go to work we want you will remember us when you are back in the struggle.

SCAB TARRIED AND FEATHERED

Bob Dickson, shop foreman for the Chicago and Alton at Roundhouse, Ill., was tarred and feathered today and sent to jail for one hour of lock-up. Dickson walked out with the shop men July 1 but returned to scab July 4. He was taken by 30 men to a factory nearby where the tar and feathers were applied. Dickson is a nephew of President Bird, of the C. and A.

COAL SHIPMENTS HALT DUE TO RAIL STRIKE

Product of Scab Mines in Southern W. Virginia and Southeastern Kentucky Halted by Strike of Shipments 2,000 Cars Consigned to Detroit Industries Brings Critical Condition in Automobile City.

The railway shippers' strike is commencing to interfere with the movement of coal from non-union coal producing districts, the only source of coal supply left. Reports being made on Saturday indicated that the strike in the districts where they were expected first, the heavily producing non-union coal areas which have been supplying this territory and the lake trade since the coal strike started on April 1. Coal shipments from the Smithfield district of the Connellsville region today practically ceased. This was one of the few places in the great coke region not affected by the miners' suspension. Baltimore & Ohio railway workers hadly needed in other cities, were being railed to the shops in the vicinity of Connellsville.

Last Friday 190 cars were sent out of the Connellsville district. By Monday only 20 cars, valued at \$200,000, and by the end of the week only a few cars left the region. Any congestion at Smithfield would bring the movement of coal out of the Morgantown section, where mines were reopening with scab workers. The 1,000 cars of coal consigned to Detroit industries on account of the production of coal are off today from Henry Ford to lease the branch of the L. & N. to Baltimore & Corbin, where the shortage of motive power exists.

For several days railway congestion, apart from the shippers' strike, has been the result of the coal strike in Southern West Virginia and Southeastern Kentucky.

IRON AND STEEL HIT BY LABOR TROUBLES

The iron and steel trade is commencing to express concern over the coal situation. According to the Iron Age, this is said to be due in part to lessened production of last week, but largely to car shortages and congestion produced by the strike of railroad shopmen. Conditions are so acute with the Norfolk & Western, Louisville & Nashville and Chesapeake & Ohio, which have been moving scab coal from the Kentucky and West Virginia fields to coke ovens and steel plants in the Pennsylvania district, that producers of pig iron are facing a shut-down of their furnaces.

GUARD JAILED AND FINED

W. J. Sparks, 43 years old, of Newport, Ky., a guard in the Covington yards of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, was tried in Police Court Tuesday on a charge of pointing firearms at two railroad shopmen who are on strike and was fined \$100 and costs and sentenced to fifty days in jail. The courtroom was filled with strikers and strike sympathizers at the time the verdict was given and they greeted the result with cheers.

MAINTENANCE OF WAY MEN WILL STRIKE

It is becoming apparent that Corbin, head of the shop men, his executive committee will not be able to hold the rank and file of their membership more against them. Meanwhile, the rank and file of Grable is unparalleled in the history of the betrayal of labor in the United States. After an strike so that they can secure the job of organizing company unions, composed of scabs in order to continue to draw his salary. It is now apparent that the rank and file are determined to walk out so the executive of the maintenance of way men, after an strike so that they can secure the job of organizing company unions, composed of scabs in order to continue to draw his salary. It is now apparent that the rank and file are determined to walk out so the executive of the maintenance of way men, after an strike so that they can secure the job of organizing company unions, composed of scabs in order to continue to draw his salary.

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Ranks of Rail Strikers Growing Day by Day As Thousands Down Tools

Maintenance of Way Men Flock to Ranks of Strikers Despite Treachery of Grable and Executive Board That Serves the Interests of the Railroads in Effort To Crush Workers Who Pay Dues That They May Draw Fat Salaries.

PRES. HARDING PROCLAIMS TRAINS MUST RUN

Issues Document that Outlaws Strikers, But Membership of Striking Unions Laugh at Him as Train Service Becomes More Uncertain and Approaches Complete Breakdown Because of Faulty Equipment Due to Lack of Repair Work.

A complete tie-up of the transportation system of the country looms as the railroad strike rapidly spreads to all classes of employees. Over one million railroad men will be on strike in a few days, despite the vapid ravings of President Harding and the whole retinue of kept politicians at Washington who have been floundering against the strikers and threatening them with dire calamities unless they yield to the dictates of the tool of the railroad owners, the Railroad Labor Board, under the half-witted frenzied Ben W. Hooper, who was the part of a "Burr" trade in the Harding administration, and who first "outlawed" the strikers and they tried to deny the plain implications of his act.

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WORKERS' CHALLENGE

THE CURRENT CHALLENGE

In other words, the part of a contemporary...

Thousands Walk Out Daily
Walkouts of railroad workers have been constant since the calling of the strike July 1...

Thousands of clerks, freight handlers and all other classes of railway employees are refusing to work...

Added to the situation on the railroads was the effect of the strike on the coal shortage as a result of the coal strike...

Outside Shops Prohibited From Working on Repair
Members of a committee allied with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed in orders...

The first days of the strike, the railroads were in a panic over the effect of the stoppage...

Big Four Membership Uneasy
The membership of the 'Big Four' Unions, the Engineers, the Electricians, the Dockworkers and the Teamsters...

The heads of the brotherhoods have acted a part similar to that of Grable in the maintenance of the status quo...

The terrific assault of the capitalist class, the treachery of the conservative leaders of labor...

Another Move to Save Miss Whitney From Pen
O'Connell, Cill—Filing of a writ of habeas corpus, John J. Moran, James Nevean, George Charles, Louis Whitney...

Torture 'Confessions' Banned
Chicago, Ill.—Confessions elicited by Chicago police through torture can not be used as evidence...

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LIARS DECLARE SACCO'S FREE BIRTHDAY

By the UNITED TOILERS OF AMERICA TO THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA

The most who are on strike in the mines, mills and on the railroads of the United States are in the front line of the fight against the most reactionist assault that has ever been waged against American labor...

For fifteen weeks the miners have borne the brunt of the struggle while the government declared it would remain neutral...

Like all profiteers, patriots, hoodlums and exploiters of the masses, the employers fear the approval declaration into the homes of the miners who are striking...

The flag, the government, is used to inhibit the world progress of the capitalist class. Whenever the workers sought shelter under the flag...

In Ludlow, Colorado, the American flag was hoisted over the strikers tent colony, when the question of John D. Rockefeller levelled it to destruction...

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LIARS DECLARE SACCO'S FREE BIRTHDAY

By the UNITED TOILERS OF AMERICA TO THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA

In other words, the... part of a contingent...

THEir OWN STRONG ARMS

By the UNITED TOILERS of AMERICA TO THE WORKING CLASS of AMERICA!

The men who are on strike in the mines, mills and on the railroad...

For fifteen weeks the miners have borne the brunt of the struggle...

Like all proletarians, patriots, hoodlumpers and exploiters of the people...

The fact, like the government, is used to alienate the world interest...

Their rights they have not only lost but they have lost the right to have...

It might be said that it has been through all the past history of the world...

Your members should exert every ounce of their energy in order to unite...

Remember this—you are many, the overwhelming majority, and the capitalist class...

To action, comrades! Make the strike general! Make the train strike with the other railroad...

Close your ranks and you can administer a crushing defeat to the bloody counter-attack...

By putting you will be able to exercise your organized POWER against the highly organized power of the capitalist class...

Another move to save MISS WHITNEY FROM PEN Oskland, Calif.—Filing of a writ of error by her attorney...

TORTURE 'CONFESSIONS' BARRED Chicago, Ill.—Confessions elicited by the police through torture...

UNITED FRONT IN GERMANY THREATENED BY INDEPENDENTS Communists in Germany have published a proclamation...

LIARS DECLARE SACCO'S FREE

European Workers Lead Their Echo and Vanetti Are Pled to Effort to Disrupt the International Proletariat...

Boston, Mass., July 30.—Deliberately false stories to the effect that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanetti have been freed...

The intention of the authors of these lies is obviously to confuse and if possible to disrupt the magnificent international protest...

Several of the labor papers arriving here from France, Italy and South American countries indicate that the "news" has been planted by those responsible for it in industrial centers...

The Defense Committee has only suggestions as to the origin of the new lie...

The present falsehoods are in line with a statement in the American Consular Bulletin...

The international labor press of course is entirely blameless. The new lie is entirely false...

Refuse Workers' Party The most interesting feature of the sheet was the attempt of the editors of the Workers' Party...

COLORADO TO GUARD MINES A conference with Governor Shoup at Denver, Colorado, last week, Adjutant General...

CALIFORNIA STRIKERS MAKE IT HOT FOR GUARDS Fifty strikers drove a gang of guards and scabs out of the Western Pacific Shops at Oroville...

EMPLOYING PRINTERS ASK FOR 48-HOUR WEEK The pressmen in the book and job printing offices of New York have been asked to accept a forty-eight hour week...

MINE-STRIKE RELIEF The New York English Branch of the United Mine Workers of America will receive donations...

CAMPAIN FOR RELIEF OF ANTHRACITE MINE STRIKERS President Thomas Kennedy of District 7, United Mine Workers of America...

BRITISH LABOR PARTY

Socialist and Farmer Labor Parties in Two Day Convention Annamurate Their Forces for 1922 Election and Organize Permanent Party for Later Activity

Another non-political party was hatched in the United States at a convention held in Bethoven Hall, Saturday and Sunday...

The first day was devoted to preliminaries, with speeches by the leading labor leaders...

There is no doubt that the new formation of the Socialist and Farmer Labor parties will be a success...

As the HALLIENG representative visualized the contest of candidates...

In harmony with the reaction in the labor movement throughout the world...

The affair concluded by speeches of benediction between candidates...

It is our opinion they are doomed to a sad awakening in case their new party should be organized...

The new party will be watched as an interesting experiment by all socialists and revolutionists in the labor movement.

QUAKERS SAY HARDING PLAYS WITH REVOLUTION Baltimore, Md.—Any nation that forcibly suppresses the expression of its people's opinion...

NO BARRERS GUARD ON STRIKEBREAKERS TRAIN Olean, N. Y., July 16.—More than men and women tonight met a train on the Olean branch...

There were 250 strikebreakers on the train. All got away without injury but are not likely to return.

W. P. Program Is More Reactionary than Socialist Party Program.

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The Whole Murder in Penn. Mine Region

Stem Police and Sheriff's Forces in Search While Victims of Panic From Company Houses, Assaults and Murder Continue to Make District a Place of Horror.

The Atlantic Coast Company's mine, which has been known in a deputy sheriff's report as an unprovoked murder and pillage, depicts a common occurrence in the state of Pennsylvania and a great deal of the disorder is attributed to the narrow badge of military authority.

Last Tuesday the 64 members of the Pennsylvania State Police (P.S.P.) were acquitted of charges of kidnapping a miner by a jury.

The coal strike situation in Eastern county is growing more tense every day as an unprovoked murder and pillage become the normal mode of life. The total deaths in the killings of Sunday night, July 9, now number three, Alex Koskiak, the third victim having died Tuesday night. The other two murders died instantly when they were shot on provoked and all of them were done. The murders were tried by Judge Roy S. Lincoln, Jr., superintendent of

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Gomper's Nails 'Times' Lies

New York Newspaper Accuses Labor Leaders of Telling Lies and Is Said to Be Getting a Copy of the Report 'Friends of Labor'.

Samuel M. Gomper, president of the American Federation of Labor, was attacked by the New York Times, along with other labor leaders, in an editorial in the Times which was published in the Times on July 11. The editorial in the Times which was published in the Times on July 11. The editorial in the Times which was published in the Times on July 11.

GUARD KILLED IN OHIO

A gunman named John Gopkins is charged with the murder of a police officer who was guarding a group of strikers.

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DETROIT LABOR DEMANDS FREEDOM FOR TIME POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Detroit Federation of Labor has demanded that the Detroit Police Department release political prisoners.

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7,500 MINERS IN ERTE IN ONE COUNTY

In Fayette County, Pennsylvania, there have been so many evictions of miners' families since the beginning of the strike that there are over 7,500 families living in tents.

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THREAT OF LABOR DRAFT ATTACKED

The chief threat of President Harding to compel labor continue transportation was met with a decisive rebuff last Saturday at Rochester, N. Y.

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GUMMEN KILL MINER IN OWN HOME-ATTACK WIFE IN A DELICATE CONDITION

The shooting down of a union miner by deputy sheriffs and an assault upon the dying man's wife who is in a delicate condition.

The shooting down of a union miner by deputy sheriffs and an assault upon the dying man's wife who is in a delicate condition.

SHERIFFS BEAT AND SHOOT MINE STRIKER AND 14-YEAR OLD SON

John Dabak, a miner on strike at Brownsville, Pa., and his 14-year old son were beaten and shot by sheriff's deputies.

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THE NEW YORK ENGLISH (Downtown)-BRANCH No. 69

THE UNITED TOLLERS OF AMERICA
111 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK CITY
Every Friday at 8 P. M.
New York City

THE UNION

The union by the Westmoreland strip recalls the violence struck upon the miners by the sheriff's deputies.

VOLUNTEER for HOUSE-TO-HOUSE COLLECTION For Relief of STARVING TEXTILE WORKERS

Enrollment Stations:
10 Stages Street, Brooklyn, New York
85 East 64th Street, New York
American United Textiles of America

SUBSCRIBE for the WORKERS' CHALLENGE

Subscription information and contact details for the Workers' Challenge.

THE WORKERS' CHALLENGE

Subscription information and contact details for the Workers' Challenge.

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

By KARL RADEL

Moscow, June 20th, 1922 (By Mail). This is only the tenth day of the Social-Revolutionary Trial. But every day of this trial presents a new and vivid picture of the crimes committed by this petty-bourgeois party against the workers and peasants of Russia, and against the World Revolution.

The Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionary Party organized an armed intervention in the name of a peaceful transition to the Soviet Power. But its aim was not to overthrow the Soviet Power, but to overthrow the Soviet Power, but to overthrow the Soviet Power, but to overthrow the Soviet Power.

The Court has only begun its work. The hearing is now already promised to present more evidence and proof of the guilt of the Social-Revolutionary Party.

Vandersee opened this truth-truth thought, when he led to Russia, that he would have to use the usual Parliamentary methods.

The courtroom scene at the Social-Revolutionary Tribunal received their attention in the presence of the Social-Revolutionary Tribunal.

The court room scene at the Social-Revolutionary Tribunal received their attention in the presence of the Social-Revolutionary Tribunal.

THE WORKERS' CHALLENGE
111 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK CITY
Every Friday at 8 P. M.
New York City

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT Wholesale Murder in Penn. Mine Region

By KARL RADEL

Moscow, June 20, 1922 (By Mail)

This is only the tenth day of the Social-Revolutionary Trial... The day of this trial precedes a new and vivid picture of the crimes committed by this petty-bourgeois party against the workers and peasants of Russia...

war, now being proclaimed in the court room by the social traitors... The Social-Revolutionary Party... The Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionary Party...

State Police and Sheriff's Force In-Closed While Evictions of Families From Company Houses, Assaults and Murder Continue to Make Detroit a Place of Horror... The coal strike situation in Fayette county is growing more tense every day...

the Atlantic Coal Company's mine, who had been known as a deputy sheriff... The strike of the miners in Fayette county is growing more tense every day...

CHICAGO BAKERS ARE ACQUITTED ON CONTRACT CHARGE

Rule to Grant Bakery's Matter Before Judge of Union Strike... Out While Jury Acquits Victims of Strike

The Chicago Bakers' Union... The Chicago Bakers' Union... The Chicago Bakers' Union...

of the Communist International on the Liberation of Algiers and Tunis

French proletarians! Proletarians of Algiers and Tunis! Mitterand, the President of the plotters...

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French proletarians! Proletarians of Algiers and Tunis! Mitterand, the President of the plotters...

Gomper's Nails Times' Lies

New York Newspaper Accuses Labor Leaders of Telling Lies and Is Proudly Rejoicing—Takes Rap at 'Friends of Labor'

Samuel M. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor... The New York Times... The New York Times...

GUARD KILLED IN OHIO

A gunman named John Gopkanski is charged with the murder of a police officer...

DETROIT LABOR DEMANDS FREEDOM FOR WAR TIME POLITICAL PRISONERS

DETROIT, Mich., July 5.—At the regular meeting of the Detroit Federation of Labor last night the following resolution was adopted...

500 CINCINNATI SHOE WORKERS ARE OUT AGAIN WAGE CUT

Milwaukee, Wis., July 17.—Five thousand shoe workers are out on strike in Cincinnati...

SPECIAL AGENT NOW PRIVATE DETECTIVE

John G. Sawken, special agent of the department of justice, who put Eugene Debs in prison...

NEGRO SCAB DOWNS 5,000 MINERS IN ONE COUNTY

James Shugart, who came from New York City to work at a coal mine...

GUMMEN KILL MINER IN OWN HOME—ATTACK WIFE IN A DELICATE CONDITION

The shooting down of a union miner by deputy sheriffs and an assault upon the dying miner's wife...

THREAT OF LABOR DRAFT ATTACKED

The cold threat of President Harding to conscript labor to continue transportation was met with a decisive rebuff...

SUBSCRIBE for the WORKERS' CHALLENGE

Volunteer for HOUSE-TO-HOUSE COLLECTION For Relief of STARVING TEXTILE WORKERS JULY 22-23

the Court has only begun its work... The Court has only begun its work... The Court has only begun its work...

Anyone who witnessed the demonstration... Anyone who witnessed the demonstration... Anyone who witnessed the demonstration...

THE GREAT SCENE IN THE STREETS

The great scene in the streets of Detroit... The great scene in the streets of Detroit... The great scene in the streets of Detroit...

WHENAS, THEY WILL REMAIN IN THE FEDERAL PRISONS OF OUR COUNTRY

Whenas, they will remain in the federal prisons of our country... Whenas, they will remain in the federal prisons of our country...

WHENAS, NOTHING IS MORE DESTRUCTIVE

Whenas, nothing is more destructive of our good reputation... Whenas, nothing is more destructive of our good reputation...

FRANCE IN PHILISTINE SURRENDER

France in philistine surrender... France in philistine surrender... France in philistine surrender...

UNITED TOGETHER AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS

United together against the exploiters... United together against the exploiters... United together against the exploiters...

the Court has only begun its work... The Court has only begun its work... The Court has only begun its work...

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VOL. I July 22, 1922 No. 18

A LABOR DRAFT

The suggestion of the possibility of drafting labor to man the railroads and thereby crush the strike of the shop man has aroused the workers of the nation as no event in the history of labor struggles in this country has aroused them. Workers who are considered weak and mild under normal conditions declare unhesitatingly that such an attempt by the government would result in industrial paralysis of the nation.

While Harding is so stupid as to suggest the possibility of such a move, Albert B. Cummins, senator from Iowa, and one of the collaborators of the infamous Esch-Cummins transportation act, suggests an amendment to that act, making it a crime to violate a decision of the Railway Labor Board. So both from the executive and legislative sections of the government come threats of labor conscription.

Labor conscription is absolute slavery; to resist it would be construed as treason. But in face of these facts labor will undoubtedly resist it with all its power.

There is only one answer labor can ever have to the suggestion of industrial conscription, no matter under what name it may appear and that is to declare a strike at its very inception on such a gigantic scale that the minions of capitalism at Washington will tremble before its wrath.

TAR AND FEATHERS

In a number of railroad centers there have been reports of scabs being tarred and feathered by strikers or strike sympathizers. The capitalist class apologists are horrified at such conduct on the part of the workers.

We used to think the workers have very short memories and that they soon forget lessons taught them through bitter experience. No doubt they still have short memories for some important things they should remember, but there are some things they have not forgotten that was taught them during the war. The "four-minute men" and other patriotic orators used to incite violence against everyone who didn't accept the iniquities of the government; there were many cases of mob violence and the use of tar and feathers against all dissenters. At that time it was patriotic to apply burning tar to the naked bodies of people who had brains enough to know the war was not being fought to make the world safe for democracy; at that time it was eminently patriotic to indulge in the most ferocious form of mob violence, even to the extent of murder.

The use of tar and feathers was taught the working class by the patriotic jingos. It was an American practice and distinctive of this country; therefore it was American. Today, however, when the workers use the same tactics against the scabs who enter the communities in which they live, for the purpose of driving them and their families out, it is considered anarchy and terrorism.

How the whelps of capitalism do yell when the workers turn the tables on them!

SAMMY QUARELS WITH HIS "FRIENDS"

Mr. Gompers has been accused of prevarication by the New York Times and hastens to reply. In his reply he accuses the Times and suggests that, perhaps, the directors of its policy would also like to direct the policy of the labor movement.

Samuel objects to control of labor by the Times, yet he still persists in his policy of supporting candidates on the Republican or Democratic tickets in election campaigns, provided they promise to be friends of labor. In a vein of sarcasm in his reply to the Times, he says:

"... it is not always the case that the 'friends' and 'advisers' of the workers' have always known more about what the workers ought to do than the workers themselves."

Can it be that Gompers is thinking his mind about the "friends of labor?"

That is precisely what we have been saying concerning labor's alleged friends for a long time. We hold the opinion, which we claim is founded on fact, that labor has no friends; that it will never be presented with anything worth having by its so-called kind-hearted "friends." Labor can only win when it has the power to enforce its demands.

If the "open shop" drive continues in intensity in this country it may perform a miracle and convince even Mr. Gompers that there is a class struggle and that the Times and the Republican and Democratic parties all represent capitalism, therefore are enemies of the working class.

THE ACT OF A TRAITOR

E. F. Grable, boss of the unionism of any name, has granted the independent ownership of common carriers to organized labor, by his infamous act of sabotaging the railway strike. He, along with the heads of other crafts, signed an agreement to the effect that if the membership of the United TOLLERS' PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION in favor of a strike for the national transportation strike, the vote was overwhelmingly for a strike. Instead of calling the strike, this traitor to the working class insisted that the men remain on the job after the Labor Board, through its chairman, Ben W. Hooper, had outlawed those who did strike.

So insistent was the demand of the membership for a strike that Grable had announced the intention of his executive board not to call the strike, the vast majority of the general chairman, in response to the strike demand, requested of the general chairman, T. C. Carroll, that he call a meeting of the General Chairman's Association for the purpose of perfecting plans to call the 400,000 members of the rank and file off the job in spite of the opposition of the executive board and the traitor, Grable.

The action on the part of the officials of the rank and file was worth literally millions of dollars to the railroad managers. We do not know that Grable was paid for his dirty work against the membership of his union, but if he were paid it would have been impossible for him to have rendered greater service than this.

There is only one solution for the evils of official domination, labor unionism, and strike for the rank and file to take control of its own affairs.

LABOR UNION STRATEGY

If labor leaders devoted half as much time to studying the problems that confront their organizations, in relation to the struggle against the capitalist class, as they do manipulating the political machinery of the unions so that they can maintain their precious jobs by tricky and petty stratagems against the membership, strikes would be successful and of short duration.

The successful leader of labor, that is the leader who produces results for his membership, does not depend for his re-election upon the manipulation of a political machine, but upon concrete results achieved in the actual conflict against the encroachments of the capitalist class.

There is an art in labor leadership, no less than in generalship in conducting a war. As a matter of fact the labor struggle is a form of warfare, depending for its success or failure upon skilled strategy. Just as the leader of an army endeavors to keep informed on the relative strength of the opposing camps and is prepared to strike at the moment of the enemy's weakness; so the leader of labor unions should be able to determine at precisely what time the opposition is weakest—and then strike and strike hard.

There is some difference between military maneuvering and strike maneuvering. The nature of mistakes on the military field destroys the army, while on the field of organized labor its effect is not so immediately discernible. The men participating do not perish in large numbers. But as an army is destroyed by a combination of defeat, so a labor union is destroyed in the same manner. As a result of the statement we only need recall to mind the terrific reduction of trade union membership among those organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Many unions have been reduced to a condition of impotency. The only function of these conjuring agencies that enable their gallant leaders to draw fat salaries.

As we have said time and again, the present strike wave is the last resort of labor leaders who have worshipped at the shrine of compromise and conciliation for so long that they have never had an opportunity to learn the strategy of union leadership, except to the extent of perpetuating themselves in office. Neither John L. Lewis, Bert M. Jewell or any of the rest of the leaders of labor are fighting because they have suddenly become militant, but because their own membership would no longer tolerate their inefficiency and constant betrayal. Another motive for them to fight is that the capitalist class has decided it can well dispose of the services as labor lieutenants of capitalism. Hence the labor leaders are fighting for their existence as servants of capitalism.

Their treachery to labor is nowhere more clearly exposed than in their attitude toward militants in their own ranks. A policy of violent oppression against radicals has become the set policy of Lewis and his machine in the United Mine Workers of America. Only a few weeks ago one of the best organizers in the Pennsylvania district was removed by a member of the Lewis machine, simply because he endeavored to serve the rank and file to the best of his ability, and advocated militant action on the part of the strikers in order to assure victory. His militancy consisted of endeavoring to persuade the rank and file to strike, and to organize a class struggle among the transporting coal.

Such aggression is a crime in the eyes of the servants of labor, who support Lewis and the official machine. The persistence of Lewis in keeping Alexander Howes and others in prison in Kansas is further evidence of the real degeneracy and his servility, before the sworn enemies of capitalism in the United States.

THE WORKERS' CHALLENGE

and his servility, before the sworn enemies of capitalism in the United States. Aside from his complete betrayal of individuals who have signed up for labor, Lewis has consistently been the rank and file of his membership. He was accidentally kicked into the office of president of the United Mine Workers of America, owing to the illness of Frank Howes, who was a leader of the rank and file of labor, but he was unscrupulous. He could build a political machine that would enable him to perpetuate himself in office. He devoted four years to that job alone and is still working at it. He never moves beyond his political effect upon his own job. He would never scruple to wreck the organization rather than surrender to the will of the rank and file of the membership. If a state organization is opposed to his policy he simply finds an excuse to expel the whole state, thereby removing his enemies for having the audacity to vote against him. A simple expedient and one that enables him to hold his job. Its effect upon the membership is another matter.

Lewis' betrayal of the miners in 1920, when he yielded to Woodrow Wilson's plea to postpone the threatened mine strike, exposed him as the traitor to labor that has since made his notorious. Like the apocryphal that he is, he now crawls before President Harding. He refuses to accept Harding's arbitration board because certain specific demands are not recognized, such as "no change in the wages" until the fact is proved that the operators in the whole competitive field be compelled to enter into the negotiations.

Not one objection is raised to the arbitration proposal in itself. When the President of the United States brazenly announces that his arbitrary proposition is three representatives of the miners, three representatives of the operators for the so-called public, Lewis agrees, and insists to state that at the beginning of the present controversy he personally urged the establishment of such a commission. His total infidelity as a labor leader is exposed when he reveals that he has since made his own requirement of a successful labor leader—an understanding of the society in which he lives; an understanding of the simple facts of the class struggle. He is in the category of an idiot general, who is incapable of recognizing the enemy when he meets them face to face.

In his reply to Harding's arbitration proposal, Lewis is enough admissions to forever condemn Lewis as a labor leader. He admits that the Presidential commission of 1920, a commission that he supported, reduced wages "below accepted standards as to healthful and decent living requirements." Instead of frankly confronting his betrayal of the miners, and of Woodrow Wilson, he simply postpones the time when Warren G. Harding will repeat the performance.

In 1920 there was a distinct strategic advantage in a nation-wide coal strike and Lewis failed to grasp the opportunity. Likewise Lewis refused to grasp the opportunity of the sweeping reductions of the wages of railroad workers. The country was just recovering from the war, the industrial structure of the nation was weakened and could not endure the combined assault of a rail and mine strike. By selling the officials of the labor unions the capitalist class weakened the labor movement and disorganization. Through the failure of labor leaders to rally the membership to action against the worst phases of capitalism the "open shop" drive gained headway and labor everywhere in the country is now faced with a terrific struggle for its very existence.

Today after three and a half months the mine strike is still holding its own, but is being sabotaged by its officials; the rail strike started in an abortive manner through the treachery of Grable and the Grand Lodge of the Maintenance of Way Men.

Bert M. Jewell is likewise just as guilty of betrayal of his membership as Lewis is guilty of betrayal of the miners. In 1919 as the time of the shopmen were on strike in many parts of the country Jewell could have justified his existence as the head of that organization by sanctioning a strike, instead of aiding Johnston, president of the Machinists, and other exal militant members from the unions who insisted upon making advantage of the weakness of the enemy to strike.

Today, when both the miners and the shopmen are striking, the capitalist class openly boasts of the stupidity of labor leaders. When Brothers & Co., bankers, who furnish confidential information to numerous capitalists and who are rated high in Wall Street as experts in their line, announce that:

"The two great strikes which are now under way could hardly have occurred at a time when they would be so harmful as at present. The coal strike began just when stocks of soft coal were at their maximum and the demand for hard coal was down almost to the minimum. The railroad strike commenced at a time when the railroads had on hand a large supply of idle freight cars and although the passenger traffic has interfered with the car service, the freight movement is not extensive and not likely to become so unless the strike lasts for many weeks."

What would a nation think of a general of an army that would strike and the enemy was strongest and then led his army into the field of the well-organized? Lewis, Jewell, Grable and

the United States president, the equivalent in that respect to the strike per day in two hours labor-time. But the workers don't stop work against the end of two hours; instead he works on an average, six more hours. The first two hours constitute what Marx calls "necessary labor-time," the time necessary for the worker to produce means to the food, clothing and shelter required for him to live. The extra six hours is called surplus-labor-time—the time devoted to producing surplus-values, which the capitalist class appropriates by virtue of its ownership of the machinery of production, without rendering any service whatever to society.

Now the value of commodities is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor-time embodied in them.

Surplus-values cannot be realized by the manufacturing capitalist unless there is a market available for his commodities. Here is where the merchant comes in: As the manufacturing capitalist cannot maintain agencies in every city and town for the purpose of disposing of his surplus-value, he is compelled to sacrifice a portion of his surplus-value in order to find the merchant capitalist to handle it.

One merchant capitalist—jobber, wholesaler, retailer—may handle the products from thousands of different manufacturing establishments; realizing but a few cents profit from each article, but regardless of the amount of his profit it is part of the surplus-value he is compelled to sacrifice in order to realize the necessary profit. The merchant capitalist and disposes of his commodities for a share of the plunder extracted from the slavery of countless wage-workers. The merchant does not create any value, but merely obtains a share of values already created in industry.

Thus if it is seen that the shop-keepers, producers of refined clothes, hat-makers, grocers, cart vendors, street hawkers, in fact all varieties of peddlers, great and small, constitute a part of the capitalist class, even though some of the smaller fry do all their own work and exist below the standard of living of the average worker.

As to the farmers, many of them are capitalist. They employ labor in the form of farm hands, and exploit them in the same manner as the wage-workers in other industries are exploited. It is not difficult to understand who among them comprise the different classes.

The lawyers, editors, preachers, teachers are, for the most part, plain funkies of the capitalist class. The business of the lawyers is to devise legal safeguards for the preservation of the system of private property; editors furnish the poison gas with which to mentally asphyxiate the adult populace, while the preachers and teachers pollute the minds of children so they will be susceptible to the editorial dope when they reach maturity. The class of officials which is growing quite numerous in the United States exists for the sole purpose of enforcing the mandates of the ruling class and suppressing the working class.

Having eliminated all the element that is commonly considered the public from that category, we must search further for people who belong neither to one class nor the other.

Having exhausted most phases of life in this society, we have failed to discover that mysterious "public" who are disinterested. We did find some "publicities" might yield an answer to our query. The "public" is the public, but alas, even in the penitentiaries the inmates work and produce for capitalism, even though they usually produce for other state institutions. Speaking of other state institutions we come upon a clue to the elusive public: an inmate of the penitentiary. In the asylums for the incurable insane we find people who are neither capitalists nor workers. They must be part of the public. Then there are whores, procurers, perch-climbers, pickpockets and others of the professional criminal class who prey alike upon the capitalists and the workers and who are not concerned about strikes and their outcome.

We have about exhausted the possibilities of this society and we come to the conclusion that the only people in the United States who can qualify as the public, separate from the capitalist class or the working class are the helplessly insane and the professional criminals.

We would not be so inattentive as to accuse our distinguished President of speaking for this element.

Argument to convince our readers, that he does not represent the working class is superfluous.

The logically logical conclusion is that the "public" which he claims to represent, is a part of the capitalist class who, although they may not be directly interested in the welfare of the capitalist class, will always defend the interests of their class.

As we understand the line-up under this system of wealth production, the miners would certainly have gotten the worst of it if they had accepted Harding's arbitration proposition. Instead of there being three for the capitalists, three for the miners and five for some disgruntled persons, there would have been eight for the capitalist class and three for the workers.

Even then, it would not have been hopeless had the railroads gone on strike with the miners. But to hurl one division against the entire enemy and permit it to reach the point of exhaustion before recruits are furnished is immeasurable treachery to labor.

Had the late of the strike in the mines and on the railroads depended upon the incompetent leadership of labor, the workers would long ago have been defeated and driven to the slave pen again. The strikers are gaining in spite of the leaders. Hundreds of thousands of non-union miners walked out at the beginning of the mine strike, and today half of them are not organized, so busy are the miners' organizers playing the spy upon militant members in mine. The experience of the workers is forcing them to realize the necessity of the formation of leaders and creating a militant leadership that derives its power solely from the rank and file and that qualifies for leadership because of its understanding of the class struggle and its ability to exercise a high degree of strategy in the playing of the working class instead of continuously playing into the hands of the ruling class and delivering labor bound and gagged to its oppressors.

MINE STRIKE ARBITRATION

After declaring for fourteen weeks that the government would remain neutral in the coal strike, President Harding changes his attitude and now advocates arbitration. It has become apparent that the operators are losing the struggle, even though they have had free reign to employ thugs and gunmen and have also been ably assisted by injunction judges, who are part of the government. Leaving the rail strike out of consideration it is evident that a few more weeks of the coal strike would seriously impair the fuel supply of the industries of the country.

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TAR AND FEATHERS

In a number of railroad centers there have been reports of scabs being tarred and feathered by strikers or strike sympathizers. The capitalist class apologists are horrified at such conduct on the part of the workers.

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How the whelps of capitalism do yell when the workers turn the tables on them!

SAMMY QUARRELS WITH HIS "FRIENDS"

Mr. Gompers has been accused of prevarication by the New York Times and hastens to reply. In his reply he accuses the Times and suggests that, perhaps, the directors of its policy would also like to direct the policy of the labor movement.

Samuel objects to control of labor by the Times, yet he still persists in his policy of supporting candidates on the Republican or Democratic tickets in election campaigns, provided they promise to be "friends of labor." In a vein of sarcasm in his reply to the Times, he says:

"I am a friend of labor, but it is not always the case that the 'friends' and 'advisers' of the workers have always known enough about what the workers ought to do than the workers themselves."

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If the "open shop" drive continues in intensity in this country it may perform a miracle and convince even Mr. Gompers that there is a class struggle and that the Times and the Republican and Democratic parties all represent capitalism, therefore are enemies of the working class.

THE ACT OF A TRAITOR

E. F. Grable, head of the maintenance of way men, has joined the notorious conspiracy of conscious traitors to organized labor. By his infamous act of sabotaging the railway strike, he along with the heads of other crafts, signed an agreement to the effect that if the membership of the unions affected by the wage cut voted in favor of a strike, the executives would surrender. The vote was overwhelmingly for a strike.

Instead of calling the strike, this traitor to the working class insisted that the men remain on the job after the Labor Board, through its chairman, Ben W. Hooper, had outlawed those who strike. So insistent was the demand of the membership for a strike that after Grable had announced the intention of his executive board not to call the strike, the vast majority of the general chairman, in response to the strike demand, requested of the general chairman, T. C. Carroll, that he call a meeting of the general Chairman's Association for the purpose of perfecting plans to call the 400,000 members of the rank and file on the job in spite of the opposition of the executive board and the traitor, Grable.

The action on the part of the officials of the maintenance of way men was worth literally millions of dollars to the railroad magnates. We do not know that Grable was paid for his dirty work against the membership of his union, but if he were paid it would have been impossible for him to have rendered greater service than he did.

There is only one solution for the evils of official domination in labor unions and that is for the rank and file to take control of its own affairs.

LABOR UNION STRATEGY

If labor leaders devoted half as much time to studying the problems that confront their organizations, in relation to the struggle against the capitalist class, as they do manipulating the political machinery of the unions so that they can maintain their precious jobs by truckery and petty stratagems against the membership, strikes would be successful and of short duration.

The successful leader of labor, that is the leader who produces results for his membership does not depend for his re-election upon the manipulation of a political machine, but upon concrete results achieved as the actual conflict against the encroachments of the capitalist class.

There is an art in labor leadership, no less than in generalship in conducting a war. As a general who leads his army to victory is a form of warfare, depending for its success or failure upon skilled strategists. Just as the leader of an army endeavors to keep informed on the relative strength of the opposing camps and is prepared to strike at the moment of the enemy's weakness, so the leader of a labor union should be able to determine at precisely what time the opposition is weakest, and then strike and strike hard.

There is some difference between military maneuvers and a strike, inasmuch as a series of mistakes on the military field destroys the army, while on the field of organized labor its effect is not immediately discernible. It is not until the military general is defeated in a large number. But as an army is destroyed by a continuous series of defeats, so a labor union is destroyed in the same way. As proof of this statement we only need recall to mind the terrific reduction of trade union membership among those participating in the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Many unions have been reduced to a condition of impotency. They only function as dues collecting agencies that enable their gallant leaders to draw fat salaries.

As we have said time and again, the present strike wave is the last resort of labor leaders who have soured at the shrine of compromise and conciliation for so long that they have never had an opportunity to learn the strategy of union leadership, except to the extent of perpetuating themselves in office. Neither John L. Lewis, Bert M. Jewell or any of the rest of the leaders of labor are fighting because they have suddenly become militant, but because their own membership would no longer tolerate their inefficiency and constant betrayal. Another incentive for them to fight is that the capitalist class has decided it can well dispose of their services as labor lieutenants of capitalism. Hence the labor leaders are fighting for their existence as servants of capitalism.

Their treachery to labor is nowhere more clearly exposed than in their attitude toward militants in their own ranks. A policy of vicious oppression against radicals has become the set policy of Lewis and his machine in the United Mine Workers of America. Only a few days ago one of the best organizers in the Pennsylvania district was removed by a member of the Lewis machine, because he refused to endorse the rank and file to the best of his ability, and advocated militant action on the part of the strikers in order to assure victory. His militancy consisted of endorsing propaganda, to the effect that the strike should be broadened to include everyone engaged in transporting coal. Such a proposal is a crime in the attitude of the trustees of labor, who support Lewis and the official machine. The persistence of Lewis in keeping Alexander Howat and others in prison in Kansas is further evidence of his total depravity

and his activity, before the worst elements of capitalism in this country.

Aside from his treacherous betrayal of individuals who have fought the good fight for labor, Lewis has consistently betrayed the rank and file of his membership. He was accidentally kicked into the office of president of the United Mine Workers of America, owing to the illness of J. J. Harbo, a labor leader of no ability, as a leader of the rank and file of labor, but he was unscrupulous. He could build a political machine that would enable him to perpetuate himself in office. He devoted four years to that job alone and is still working at it. He never thought of considering his political effect upon his own job. He would never succumb to wreck the organization rather than surrender to the will of the rank and file of the membership. If a state organization is opposed to his policy he simply finds an excuse to expel the threatened mine strikers, exposed him as the traitor to labor that has since made him notorious. Like the apocryphal that he is, he now crawls before President Harding. He refuses to accept Harding's arbitration board because certain specific demands are not recognized, such as "no change in the wages" - until the fact-finding commission completed its work and rendered a report; and that operators in the whole competitive field be compelled to enter into the negotiations.

Not one objection is raised to the arbitration proposal in itself. When the President of the United States, in announcing that his arbitration board proposition is three representatives of the miners, three for the operators and five for the so-called public, Lewis agrees, and hastens to state that at the beginning of the present controversy he personally urged the establishment of such a commission. His total indifference as a labor leader is exposed when he favors such a commission. It proves that he has yet to learn the first, most fundamental requirement of a successful labor leader - an understanding of the society in which he lives, an understanding of the simple facts of the class struggle. He is in the category of an idiot general who is incapable of recognizing the enemy when he meets them face to face.

In his reply to Harding's arbitration proposal are enough admissions to forever condemn Lewis as a labor leader. He admits that the Presidential commission of 1920, a commission which he is supposed to endorse and accept, set standards as to healthy and decent living requirements, etc. Instead of frankly confessing his betrayal of labor at the request of Woodrow Wilson, he simply postpones the time when Warren G. Harding will repeat the performance.

In 1920 there was a distinct strategic advantage in a nation wide coal strike, and Lewis failed to grasp the opportunity. Likewise there occurred that same year the beginning of the sweeping reductions of the wages of railroad workers. The country was just recovering from the war, the industrial structure of the nation was weakened and the workers were being assailed of a rail and mine strike. By palming the officials of the labor unions the capitalist class weathered the storm of post-war disorganization. Through the failure of labor leaders to rally the membership to action against the present phase of the "open shop" drive gained headway and labor leaders who the country is now faced with a terrific struggle for its very existence.

Today, after three and a half months, the mine strike is still holding its own, but is being sabotaged by its officials; the rail strike started in all these manner through the treachery of Grable and the Grand Lodge of the Maintenance of Way Men.

Bert M. Jewell is likewise just as guilty of betrayal of his membership as Lewis is guilty of betrayal of the miners. In 1919, when the shopmen were on strike in many parts of the country, Jewell could have justified his existence as the head of that organization by sanctioning a strike, instead of aiding Johnson, president of the Machinists, and others expel militant members from the unions who insisted upon taking advantage of the weakness of the enemy to strike.

Today, when both the miners and the shopmen are striking, the capitalist class openly boasts the strength of labor leaders. When Brothers & Co., bankers, who furnish confidential information to numerous financiers and who are rated high in Wall Street as experts in their line, announce that:

"The two great strikes which are now under way could hardly have occurred at a time when they would be less harmful than at present. The coal strike began just when stocks of soft coal were at their maximum and the demand for hard coal was down almost to the minimum. The railroad strike commenced at a time when the railroads had on hand a large supply of idle freight cars and although the passenger traffic was interfered with the curtailment of the freight movement is not extensive and not likely to become so unless the strike lasts for many weeks."

What would a nation think of a general of an army that waited to strike until the enemy was strongest and then led his army into the field but had organized? Lewis, Jewell, Grable and

the rest of the leaders of labor could long ago have marshaled their forces for an offensive against the mine barons and the railroad magnates. At the close of the war there was still opportunity for labor, that had neglected to act during the war, to successfully fight off the offensive of capitalism that everyone in good will the labor situation never would be launched. But instead of rallying labor to the struggle, the professional politicians at the head of the unions postponed action until the ruling class had reorganized its forces and was firmly entrenched.

Even then, it would not have been hopeless had the railroads gone on strike with the miners. But to hurl one division against the enemy and permit it to reach the point of exhaustion before recruits are furnished is immeasurably treachery to labor.

Had the late of the strike in the mines and on the railroads depended upon the incompetent leadership of labor, the workers would long ago have defeated and then cut their throats, the slave pawns again. The strikers are gaining in spite of the leaders. Hundreds of thousands of non-union miners walked out at the beginning of the mine strike, and today half of them are not organized, so busy are the miners' organizers playing the spy upon militant members in order to safeguard the interests of the Lewis machine. The railroad strike is developing in spite of the brazen acts of the arch-traitor Grable of the maintenance of way men. The rank and file of labor wants to carry on the fight to victory, but are being sabotaged by their officials.

The experience of the workers is forcing them to realize the necessity for disposing of their leaders and creating a militant leadership that derives its power solely from the rank and file and that qualifies for leadership because of its understanding of the class struggle and its ability to execute a high class strategy in the interest of the working class, instead of continuously playing into the hands of the capitalist class and delivering labor bound and gagged to its oppressors.

MINES STRIKE ARBITRATION

After declaring for fourteen weeks that the government would remain neutral in the coal strike, President Harding changes his attitude and now advocates arbitration. It has become apparent that the operators are losing the struggle, even though they have had free reign to employ thugs and gunmen and have been able to assist by injunction judges, who are part of the government. Leaving the rail strike out of consideration it is evident that a few more weeks the coal supply of the industrial country will be seriously impaired.

The capitalist class is in danger, so its servant, Mr. Harding, as the head of its executive committee, the government, comes to its aid. He proposes that an arbitration board be chosen, three representing the workers; three representing the employers and five to represent the public. The miners and operators are to choose their men and Harding, as the representative of the "public" will choose the other five.

It is not out of place at this time to determine just what constitutes this "public" that Mr. Harding represents.

As we Marxists, have always contended that there were only two classes in this country, the working class and the capitalist class, therefore there is no such thing as a public separate from one or the other of these main classes. All those individuals in society who sell their labor power belong to the working class; that includes weekly the miners and operators, whether so-called hard or brain workers, and those who employ labor in any capacity, aside from servants, etc., that is, all those engaged either in the production or distribution of commodities and who invest money for the purpose of realizing a return upon it - belong to the capitalist class, regardless of the size of their business.

The capitalist press, in speaking about the arbitration plan of Harding, is unanimous in the declaration that the proposition is so fair that it is incredible that it should be declined by either operators or miners. Their arguments, of course, being based upon the false assumption that there is such a thing as the public that stands outside the class conflict between capital and labor.

The public that we hear so much about and that Harding claims to represent is comprised of merchants, farmers, lawyers, editors, grocers, teachers, officials and others of the so-called middle class, in addition to those capitalists and workers not engaged in the industry affected directly by the strike.

Let us take the merchant class, the most numerous of the so-called "public," aside from the agricultural class. The jobbers, wholesalers, retailers, etc., are supposed to be representative of a large section of that "public" that we hear so much about. They are supposed to form a class separate from either the capitalist or the working classes. Where do they belong, if there are only two classes?

The Marxist unhesitatingly places such people in the ranks of the capitalist class; not arbitrarily, but by a mechanical grouping, but because a scientific analysis of the system exposes their true character.

In the sphere of production the worker produces a surplus-value that is appropriated by the capitalist class. According to the most reliable statistics obtainable, the working class in

the United States produces the equivalent in what it receives in wages per day in two hours' labor-time. But the worker does not stop working at the end of two hours; instead he works, on an average, six more hours. The first two hours constitutes what Marx called necessary labor-time - the time necessary for the worker to produce values equal to the food, clothing and shelter required for him to live. The extra six hours is called surplus labor-time - the time devoted to producing surplus-values, which the capitalist class appropriates by virtue of its ownership of the machinery, production, without rendering any service whatsoever to society.

Now, the value of commodities is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor-time embodied in them.

Surplus-values cannot be realized by the manufacturing capitalist unless there is a market available for his commodities. Here is where the merchant comes in. As the manufacturing capitalist cannot maintain agencies in every city and town for the purpose of disposing of his particular product, he is compelled to sacrifice a portion of his surplus-value in order to induce the merchant capitalists to handle it.

One merchant, capitalist - jobber, wholesaler, retailer - may handle the products from thousands of different manufacturing establishments; realizing but a few cents profit from each article, not regarding the amount of his profit. It is part of the surplus-value created by the unpaid labor of the working class. It is plain to even a superficial observer of this system of wealth production that the various manufacturing capitalists could not afford to pay a representative in each town to dispose of their commodities. Therefore the system itself creates the modern merchant, who steps into the shoes of the manufacturing capitalist and disposes of his commodities for a share of the plunder - extracted from the slavery of countless wage-workers. The merchant does not create any value, but merely obtains a share of values already created in industry.

Thus it is seen that the shop-keepers, grocers, hardware dealers, clothiers, haberdashers, plaster vendors, street hawkers, in fact all varieties of peddlers, great and small, constitute a part of the capitalist class, even though some of the smaller fry do all their own work and exist below the standard of living of the average worker.

As to the farmers, many of them are capitalists, who employ labor in the form of farm hands and exploit them in the same manner the wage-workers in other industries are exploited. It is not difficult to understand who among them comprise the different classes.

The lawyers, editors, preachers, teachers are, for the most part, plain funkies of the capitalist class. The business of the lawyers is to devise legal safeguards for the protection of the system of private property; editors furnish the poison gas with which to mentally asphyxiate the adult populace, while the preachers and teachers pollute the minds of children so they will be susceptible to the editorial dope when they reach maturity. The class of officials which is growing quite numerous in the United States exists for the sole purpose of enforcing the mandates of the ruling class and suppressing the working class.

Having eliminated all the element that is commonly considered the public from that category, we must search further for people who will constitute the one class not the other.

Having exhausted most phases of life in this country, we are left to discover that mysterious "public" who are disinterested. We did think the penitentiaries might yield an answer to our query as to who constitute the public, but alas, even in the penitentiaries the inmates must work and produce for capitalism, even though they may be confined for other state institutions. Speaking of other state institutions we come upon a clue to the evasive public and believe we have definitely located it. In the asylums for the incurable insane we find people who are neither capitalists nor workers. They must be part of the public. Then there are whores, prostitutes, porch-limbers, pickpockets and others of the professional criminal class who prey alike upon the capitalists and the workers and who are not concerned about strikes and their outcome.

We have about exhausted the possibilities of this society and we come to the conclusion that the only people in the United States who can qualify as the public, separate from the capitalist class or the working class, are the helplessly insane and the professional criminals.

We would not be so inconsiderate as to accuse our distinguished President of speaking for this element.

Argument to convince our readers, that does not represent the working class is unnecessary.

The only logical conclusion is that the "public," which he claims to represent, is a part of the capitalist class who, although they may be directly interested in the welfare of the capitalists who own the mines, will always defend the interests of their class.

As we understand the line-up under this system of wealth production, the miners would primarily have gotten the worst of it if they had accepted Harding's arbitration proposition, instead of their being three for the capitalist class and three for the miners and five for some disinterested persons, there would have been eight for the capitalist class and three for the workers.