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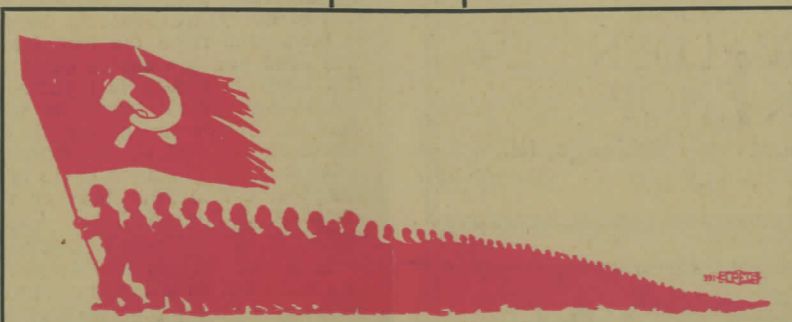
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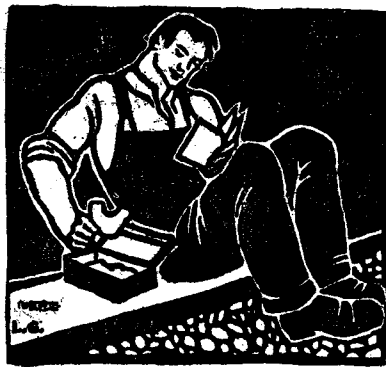
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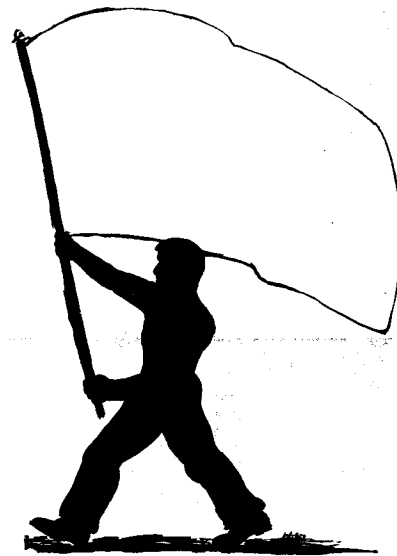


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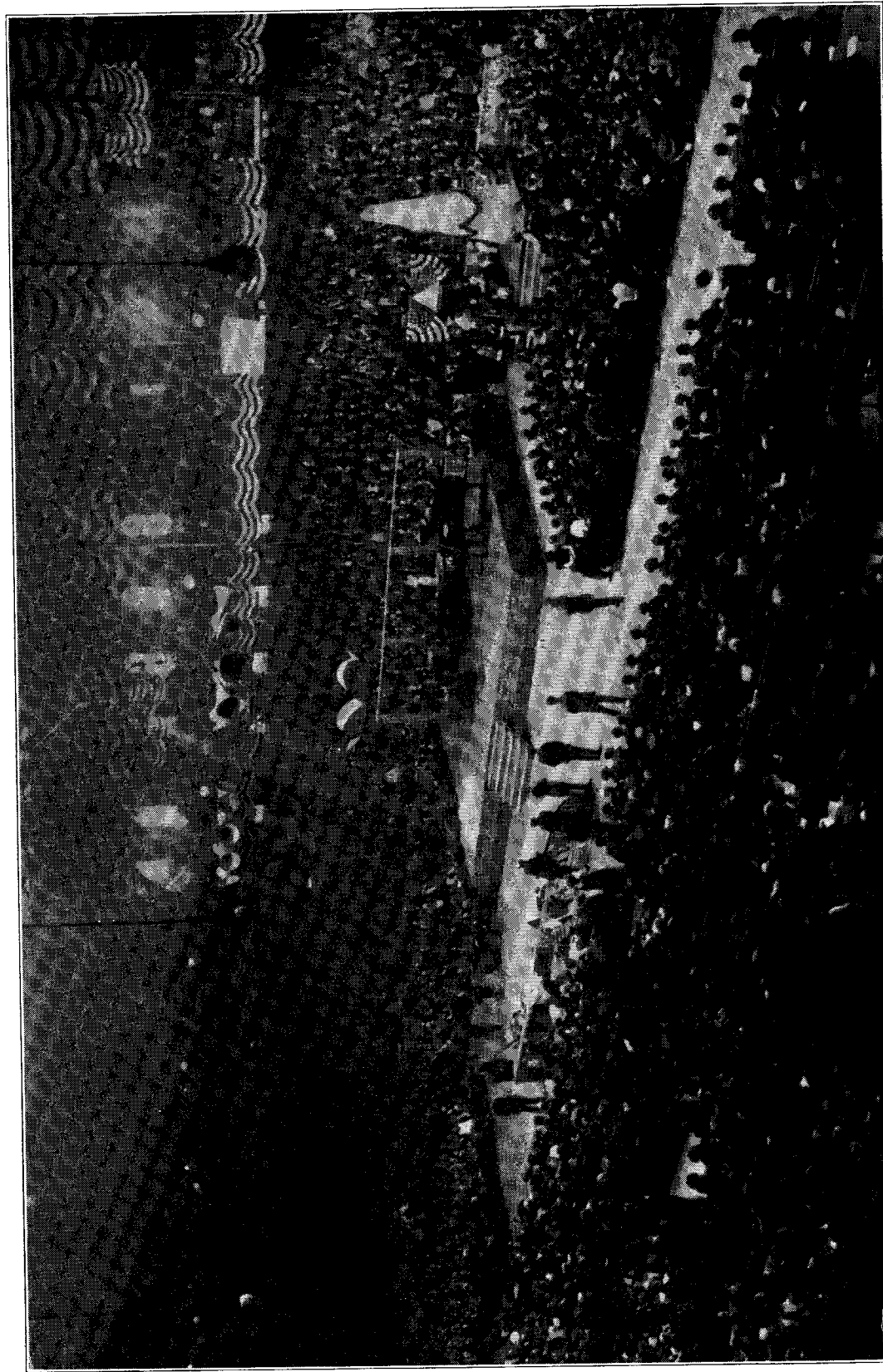
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THE WORKERS MONTHLY

A Combination of the Labor Herald, Liberator, and Soviet Russia Pictorial

Published monthly at 1113 W. Washington Blvd. Subscription price \$2.00 per year. The Daily Worker Society, Publishers. Entered as Second Class Matter November 3, 1924, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. IV.

MAY, 1925

No. 7

Gudok

By Wm. Z. Foster

WHEN the Communist Party came into control in Russia, upon overthrowing the reactionary Kerensky regime, one of the tasks that it saw clearly before it in laying the foundations for a real workers' society was that of building a system of proletarian journalism. Tremendous strides have been made in this direction, and many new methods have been worked out which are of the utmost importance to the working class of the world.

Among the many splendid proletarian journals that have been developed since the revolution, the *Gudok* (The Whistle) takes high place. This daily paper is the official organ of the railroad workers. The union, which is industrial in character and numbers 815,000 members, has various other publications, including a Siberian daily with 22,000 circulation, and several monthly and semi-monthly journals. But its pride is the *Gudok* which ranks along with the *Pravda* and *Isvestia* as the greatest papers in Russia. Its circulation is 274,000 daily and it is constantly rising. That of the *Pravda* is 600,000 and the *Isvestia* about the same.

The *Gudok* was founded in 1920. At first it was subsidized by the government and issued free of cost to the subscribers. Its circulation was about 25,000. It ran up to 75,000 in 1921, but with the introduction of the New Economic Policy, when the *Gudok*, like so many other institutions, was put on a self-sustaining basis and the subscribers had to pay for it, its circulation dropped off about 50%. But since then it has rapidly picked up until it has reached its present gigantic figure. It is steadily extending its mass of readers, who are found not only among railroad workers, but in the ranks of the working class generally. Last year it produced a financial surplus after paying all expenses.

The *Gudok* is one of the most popular papers in Russia. Its organization, both in respect to the make-up of the paper itself and its connections with the masses, is magnificent. Labor papers of the world, especially dailies, would do well to adapt themselves, so far as is practicable under capitalism, to its revolutionary methods. The paper is not a mere trade

paper, though it is issued by the railroad workers' union. Its scope of activity covers the wide world of economics and politics. It informs the workers of the greatest political events and problems of the world, and it also digs down deep into the everyday life that they live.

The paper is thoroughly departmentalized. Ordinarily it has six pages, except once a week when it has a special double page in the Ukrainian language. Each of the pages is devoted to certain specific subjects. It will be well for us to glance at them briefly. The first page is devoted to news of the general social and political life of Russia and the world at large. The items are brief and to the point. The yellow journalism of capitalist papers finds absolutely no place in the *Gudok*. Page two is devoted to special articles on the general political situation, economic life, and Party affairs. This might be called the intellectual page of the paper, using the term intellectual in a



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EDITORIAL STAFF OF GUDOK AND WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

strictly proletarian sense. Many of the most brilliant Russian writers contribute to it constantly. There is also a splendid staff of foreign correspondents, 15 in number, who contribute on an average 60 articles per month dealing with every phase of world development.

Page three is devoted primarily to the trade problems of the railroad workers. These are handled in the most simple manner. This page is a very popular one. Like the others, this page is conducted as a distinct department. Page four is one in which the most strikingly revolutionary feature of proletarian Russian journalism comes to the fore. It is the page of the Workers Correspondents, or "Rabkor". Here is where the voice of the workers is heard on their daily life and problems. The *Gudok* has 10,000 of such correspondents, and letters come pouring in from them at the rate of 400-600 daily. They cover every imaginable subject. They are boiled down and re-stated briefly. They are the life blood of the *Gudok*, and as we shall see further along, are of great political importance. Such of them as are used are paid for.

Page five is another "Rabkor" page. Its special feature is to deal with the economic problems of the industry, with the actual running of the railroads. From all over Russia the workers pour in their suggestions as to how improvements can be made. Problems are posed on this page and the workers are asked to give their solutions for them. Valuable suggestions constantly come in. Sometimes these are of the very greatest importance. The technical experts of the industry watch this page closely. It is the mass of the

railroad workers taking an actual part in the technical direction and development of the railroad and they have much of value to contribute.

Page six is the most famous page of the *Gudok*. This is the page which the editors say is the real making of the paper. It is another "Rabkor" page and it is based upon the mighty flood of letters that constantly pours in from the workers in the shops and on the roads. It is the so-called "Life Page." It is devoted to criticism. In this criticism the sky is the limit. All that is necessary is that it be true. Here all the worst features of the railroaders' life are

brought forth. It is the sensation page of the *Gudok*. If there is a tyrannical foreman he is bound sooner or later to see his name in the *Gudok* and to have his conduct condemned. If he is a Communist who by his conduct fails to lend credit to the Party he will be called to order by a "Rabkor" in the *Gudok*. If he is an old time specialist who is still inclined to sabotage the operation on the railroads his actions will soon see the light of day in the *Gudok*. If he is an engineer who takes more liquor than is good for him a fellow worker will check him up in the *Gudok* about it. In fact every abuse on the whole railroad system, no matter from what source it comes, is criticized scathingly by the workers in their beloved paper. The effect of such criticism is tremendous in eliminating sabotage and petty tyranny of all sorts. Many of the letters which contain criticism of importance or of a humorous character are turned over to expert writers who play them up in cartoons, poems, jokes, articles, and every conceivable way to make them readable and effective. The workers are intensely interested in the "Rabkor" system in general, but they follow the "Life Page" of the *Gudok* with special avidity.

The "Rabkor" system is not only the foundation of modern Russian newspapers—the *Pravda*, *Isvestia*, and other leading papers also use it to a greater or lesser extent—but it also has profound political significance. It is one of the many marvellous institutions that the Russian Communist Party has developed to sink its roots deep into the masses of the proletariat. Through the "Rabkor" system the masses,

hitherto voiceless, give some degree of expression to the deep social currents that are surging among them. All the Russian leaders follow carefully the workers' letters in the newspapers. These show them what the masses are actually thinking and feeling. Often they get the most valuable leads to political policies. The "Rabkor" system is also playing a highly important part in raising the efficiency of Russian industry. The valuable suggestions of the workers and the feeling of responsibility for the operation of the industries which the "Rabkor" gives them, has done marvels for increasing production. And the merciless exposure of saboteurs by the workers' correspondents has been decisively effective in eliminating these pests from Russian industry. It is a bold individual indeed, who, surrounded by workers who will "write him up" if he goes wrong, dares to venture upon a campaign of sabotage. Within recent months, realizing the Nemesis-like character of the "Rabkor" system, counter-revolutionary elements have embarked upon a campaign of murdering workers' correspondents who have either exposed them or are likely to do so. A number of such cases have been reported especially from the villages. The "Rabkor" system connects up the masses with the newspapers and enables the Communist Party to bring its message all the more forcefully to them. It is a great connecting organ between the Communist Party and the masses, through which the Party receives vitally necessary impulses from the proletarian masses, and through which it communicates to them its own revolutionary spirit and intelligence.

The editors of the *Gudok*, like the leaders of the Russian Party in general, are keenly aware of the tremendous importance of the "Rabkor" system and they spare no effort to develop it. In January of this year the *Gudok* held a national convention of its "Rabkors". There were 321 delegates. They came from the "Rabkor" committees, which exist at all the 208 division points on the 28 railways of Russia. Some came all the way from Siberia. All the railroads are



GROWTH OF RABKOR SYSTEM FROM JUNE, 1923, TO DECEMBER, 1924



NUMBER OF RABKORS ON THE VARIOUS RUSSIAN RAILWAYS

covered with the network of committees, which bring the paper to the masses most effectively. The convention elaborated plans for the still further extension of the "Rabkor" system in all its ramifications and to make the *Gudok* more than ever the real mirror of the aspirations and experiences of the railroad workers. Elaborate charts were presented the convention showing the rapid development of the *Gudok* and the "Rabkor" system which is its foundation. By the end of 1924 there were 5870 intermittent and 4423 regular correspondents. The most careful analyses are made of the make-up of these correspondents from the standpoint of age, sex, occupation, Party membership, etc.

A feature of the workers' journalism which is common in all industries but especially well-developed among the railroad workers are the wall papers. These are big poster-like affairs containing articles, designs, cartoons, etc., made up by the workers and posted on the shop walls. Many of them are extremely beautiful. The workers are intensely interested in them. They deal with the immediate problems of the factories and the news of the workers' lives. On the railroads there are 2000 of such wall papers regularly appearing. At the convention of the "Rabkors" prizes were offered for the best specimens of these wall papers. An interesting one was composed by adult workers just learning to read and write. The simple messages composed by these workers just emerging from the darkness of illiteracy were touchingly beautiful.

The Russian railroad workers are very proud of the *Gudok*. And well they may be. It is a magnificent specimen of proletarian journalism, and it is just entering upon an era of much wider development and effectiveness. It is a type which the workers of the world can well study. When it is compared with the pitiful sheets gotten out by the American railroad unions, it stands out as a mountain against a lot of molehills. Speed the day when the railroad men of all countries will be equipped with as splendid intellectual weapons as the Russian *Gudok*.

A Negro Labor Organizer

By Earl R. Browder

NEWS of the stevedores' strike in Philadelphia brings the interesting item that Ben Fletcher, Negro labor organizer who went to Leavenworth prison with the I. W. W. boys in 1918, is again on the job leading the struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

Fletcher is a living symbol of the possibilities of unity between white and black workers. He proves the ability of the Negro to organize. He demonstrates the class-consciousness, loyalty, and capacity for self-sacrifice of the Negro workers.

It was my pleasure to become acquainted with Fletcher while I was in Leavenworth with him. It is significant that among the political prisoners there, almost all workers, Fletcher was held in high respect. Any suggestion of racial prejudice between the white and black political prisoners would have been hooted down as ridiculous. We were all comrades in prison together.

In the March issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY, Maurice Becker portrays in his splendid lithographs some of the tortures that the political prisoners had to undergo. Among these was one which carried a line underneath describing it: "Guards Urge Negro Murder to Attack I. W. W. Prisoners," based upon an actual occurrence in Leavenworth. Some attempt has been made to interpret this as a sign that the political prisoners harbored race prejudice against the Negroes. Nothing could be further from reality, nor from

Becker's intentions in writing this line. And no one who had been in prison during that period could make such a suggestion. While one Negro, a degenerate, was being used as a tool by the prison officials, another Negro, Ben Fletcher, was a leading figure among the political prisoners who stood up heroically under their persecution.

The reason that it has been possible for anyone to criticize Maurice Becker's cartoon and the line beneath it is because the capitalist press continually carries on a vicious and malicious campaign, in which they use the trick of continually stressing the word "Negro" as applied to criminals of that race, while no Negro ever receives favorable mention from them unless for abasing himself before his capitalist overlords.

The Communist attitude toward the Negro and his problems differs from that of the bourgeois-sentimentalist who proclaims himself a "friend of the Negro," as it does from the dastardly capitalist propaganda of race hatred. The Communists meet the Negroes as comrades, unite with them in close organizational co-operation to realize our common tasks, and wage war upon bourgeois-cultivated prejudices. We greet and offer our co-operation to the Fletchers, Whites, Dotys and Phillips, who are undertaking the gigantic task of organizing the Negro workers for common struggle with the white workers, and for their common emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

To a Man Sleeping In a Subway Train

MAN, you are ugly,
Excruciatingly ugly,
Sleeping in this train
That hurtles your graceless self
Through the black veins of the city.

Yours is the sleep of a sodden lethargy;
Yours is the sleep of a conscious death;
Yours is the sleep of the masses.

Man, you are ugly,
Sleeping in this crowded train,
Where men's eyes spit contempt at you,
And men's lips write smirking sneers
Within the secret pages of their minds:
You know these pitying smiles
Curling in the corners of men's mouths.

Man, you are ugly,
Sleeping so,
Unguarded by your little conceits.
Your face shrieks out the dumbness of the clod
Louder than the faces of cows.
There is a heavy stupidity about your eyes and mouth,
Known of mute beasts only.

Man, you are ugly,
Sleeping so,
Sleeping the sleep of the masses.
I would shake your limp shoulders,
Even with the mighty hands of revolt.
I would wake you,
Even with the terrible hands of pain,
And cry:

Hear you not the tender voice of beauty
Whose lips press close to the earth
Above the subway's darkness,
That you may hear?

And cry:

Hear you not the swift feet of the wind
Running down the sun splashed street
Over your head,
That you may follow?

And cry:

Good God, man, wake up,
You are ugly,
Sleeping so,
Sleeping the sleep of the masses.

HERSCHELL BEK.

Revolution in Trade Union Terms

By William F. Dunne

MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION

TRADES UNION CONGRESS GENERAL COUNCIL DELEGATES

HERBERT SMITH, J.P.
Nineteen years President Yorkshire Miners' Federation. President, Miners' Federation of Great Britain since 1921. Vice-President, 1907. Served on several Royal Commissions. President, International Miners' Committee. Member of School Board, West Riding (Yorks.), County Council and other Public Bodies for many years. Member, Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress, 1913-16 and General Council, 1923-24. Appointed J. P. in 1915. Member, Central Committee, Miners' Welfare and Central Committee, Mining Examining Board.

BEN TILLET
General Secretary of the Trade Unions since 1889. Founder of Dockers' Union which originated from the Tea Coopers and General Laborers' Union established in 1887. A pioneer of Trade Union Movement nationally. Contested several Parliamentary elections. Elected for North Salford 1917. Seat held until 1924. Remained Dockers' General Secretary until amalgamation to Transport and General Workers' Union. Now Secretary of Political and International Department of Amalgamated Union. Member of Trades Union Congress General Council since 1922. Member of Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress, 1892-4.

JOHN TURNER
Associated with Socialist organizations since 1884. Intimate with founders and leaders of Socialist thought, such as William Morris, Belfort Bax, and other Pioneers. Closely associated with Prince Kropotkin from 1886 until his return to Russia in 1917. A pioneer of Shop Hours Legislation and founder of Shop Assistant's Union. Official of this union from 1898 until retirement as General Secretary after twelve years in this position until 1924. Elected to General Council, Trades Union Congress, 1921; re-elected by Congress each year to 1924 for period to September, 1925.

JOHN BROMLEY, M.P.
A pioneer of Railway Trade Unionism and held many positions of trust prior to appointment as Branch Secretary of Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, 1904. Elected Organizing Secretary of the union, 1910. Secretary also of Conciliation Boards. Elected General Secretary of the union, 1914. Elected member of Labor Party Executive, 1920 and 1921. Elected member of Trade Union Congress General Council, 1922-24. Member of Labor Party delegation to Ireland. Three times candidate for Barrow, elected 1924. Prominently associated with Labor and Socialist propaganda for many years.

ALAN A. H. FINDLAY
Member of United Patternmakers' Association since 1893. Branch Secretary and other offices. Elected Assistant Secretary, Executive Department, 1913. Elected General Secretary, 1917. Formerly Treasurer, Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation for three years, subsequently appointed President, at present occupying this position. Elected to Trades Union Congress General Council, 1921, re-elected each year until 1924, for term ending September, 1925.

A. A. PURCELL (Chairman of Delegation)
Member, Furnishing Trades Union since 1891. Member, Social Democratic Federation many years. Member, Salford Borough Council for six years. Sectional Secretary, subsequently Organizer, Furnishing Trades. Parliamentary candidate, West Salford, 1910. Contested Coventry, 1923-24. Elected 1923. Successful Arbitrator in Co-operative and other disputes. Elected to General Council, Trades Union Congress, 1919, re-elected each year. Elected by Trade Union International Conference, Vienna, 1924, as President. President at 1924 Trade Union Congress. Vice-Chairman, General Council. Appointed delegate to American Labor Convention, 1925. Accompanied the Delegation to Russia in 1920.

FRED BRAMLEY (Secretary to Delegation)
Many years active with political and industrial branches of the Labor Movement. Several years full time Lecturer on Social and Economic subjects in connection with "Clarion" Newspaper. Formerly Organizing Secretary, Furnishing Trades Association. Appointed Assistant Secretary, Trades Union Congress, 1917; General Secretary, 1923. Served on several Government Committees. Member of Royal Commission on National Health Insurance and National Debt Commission.

ADVISORY DELEGATES

HAROLD G. GRENFELL
Entered Navy, 1883; retired in 1920 with rank of Captain. Admiralty Intelligence Department, 1904-1905. Governor of Hong Kong Naval Prison, 1907-8; Admiralty War Staff, 1910-1911; Naval Attache, British Embassy, St. Petersburg, April, 1912 to November, 1917; Head of Naval Mission to Finland, December, 1918-June, 1919; Joined Independent Labor Party, 1919. Member of Advisory Committee on Army, Navy, and Pensions.

A. R. McDONELL
Educated St. Paul's School, London. C.B.E. (Civil); Resident in Russia, 1902-1919; British Vice-Council, Baku, South Russia, 1901-1916. British Military Forces in Caucasus and North Persia, 1916-19 (Temporary Major). Foreign Office Temporary 1st Division Clerk, 1919-1923.

GEORGE YOUNG
Educated Eton and Foreign Universities. M.V.O. Diplomatic Service (passing in Russian 1896-1915.) Admiralty Intelligence, 1915-18. Volunteered in ranks, February, 1918 and commissioned R. M. A., August. "Daily News" Correspondent through German Revolution, December, 1918-August, 1919. Professor of Portuguese, 1919-22, and Examiner in Ottoman Law, London University. Joined the Labor Party, 1915, and accompanied Delegation to Russia in 1920. Member of Advisory Council on International Affairs. Parliamentary candidate, South Bucks, 1923, and 1924. Author of numerous works on foreign affairs.

It is because the language of the report is the language of trade unionists at conventions of central bodies, state federations of labor, congresses and trades councils as they call them in England, the language of convention reports, that it will be understood.

It is wonderful in its dignified British fashion unhurried, careful, restrained, documented and beautifully dispassionate. It might be a report on housing conditions read before the local group of trade union secretaries at their monthly meeting.

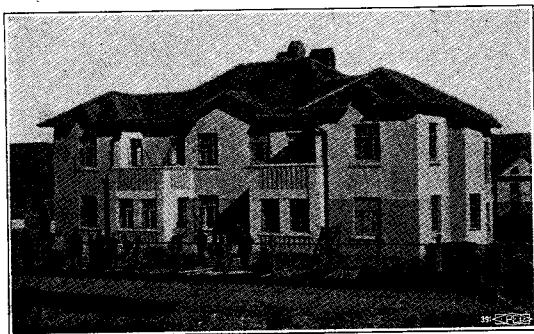
But this very caution of utterance has aroused the fury of the yellow socialists and other masked counter-revolutionists the world over. Perhaps I am mistaken but it seems to me that no one is more surprised at the abuse heaped upon them since the publication of their report than the members of the British Trade Union delegation.

But they are not merely surprised—they are resentful. They apparently thought there was no one but outright imperial-

CONSERVATIVE, schooled in the loved intricacies of British democracy which keeps a king for the sake of contrast, nurtured in the belief that the world outside is full of howling savages, brought up to reverence the rigid moral code of non-conformism, it has yet remained for the British trade unionists to bring the Russian revolution 3000 miles closer to the masses of organized workers of the Anglo-Saxon nations than has been done heretofore.

The British Trade Union delegation to Soviet Russia in a unanimous report which, with preface and appendix, covers 275 pages, has told the story of the Russian revolution in language that trade unionists can understand. "Ah", someone will say, "we told you Communists you were talking over the heads of the workers." But the organized workers will understand the British Trade Union report not because of its simple language—not at all. Its language is not simple.

ists like Lord Curzon who would object to the truth about Soviet Russia. Having found otherwise they are now striking back at their traducers with right goodwill. In defending themselves they have had to defend Soviet Russia, the Red International of Labor Unions,



NEW TYPE OF RUSSIAN WORKERS' HOME
(From Report of British Trade Union Delegation.)

World Trade Union Unity and to some extent even the Communist International.

It may be beside the point but it appears that these staid British trade union officials have somewhat enjoyed doing this.

It is difficult to say what part of the report has caused the most consternation on the part of the enemies of the working class in England and America. It is full of surprises even for the sophisticated Communist, who finds revolutionary statements couched in language that gives no inkling that the author of them had the least idea of their dynamic character.

It must be painful as the very devil for those who looked for denunciation to find instead a recital of amazing facts followed by conclusions that remind one of the New Republic but which systematically demolish every pet lie and half-truth tenderly nursed by the capitalist, socialist and reactionary trade union press:

For example, we find on Page 17 this "General Conclusion" of the investigations of the Soviet governmental system recorded in the first chapter:

Finally, the delegation is of the opinion that the Soviet system of representation and its scheme of constitutional and civil rights, so far from being undemocratic in the widest sense of the word, gives to the individual a more real and reasonable opportunity of participation in public affairs than does parliamentary and party government. In other respects, such participation is still severely restricted. For the system has as yet been kept under close control by its originators with the tacit consent of an immense majority of their fellow electors. This consent can be accounted for partly by the energy and efficiency with which these leaders carried the country thru one crisis after another, and partly by loyalty to the pioneers of the Revolution. But this permanence in power is a result of past circumstances, not of the present constitution. Under

that constitution there are certainly as great—and possibly greater—possibilities than elsewhere in respect of popular government, political peace, and social progress.

In these few lines the British Trade Union report manages to compliment the Soviet system, the leaders of the revolution and justify the revolution itself—spelt in the original with a capital R. But the highest praise is reserved for the system of government—the Soviet system first seen in the Paris Commune, again in the Russian revolution of 1905, and what we now know to be the living proof of the Marxian theory that the revolution would produce its own state form thru which the dictatorship of the working class would be expressed.

This, let me remind you, is like waving a red flag in front of an Andalusian bull so far as the second internationalists are concerned. Yet the British Trade Union delegation pays it the greatest tribute of which they can conceive. In so many words they say that the possibilities of social progress "are certainly as great—and possibly greater—than elsewhere."

Elsewhere includes the British Isles, so this is praise indeed. It takes a good deal to get this sort of an admission from natives of a nation in which neither king nor nobility ever has been strong enough to rule without the yeomanry.

The Soviet government must be judged by results. This is the premise laid down on Page 3 of the Introduction. We deal here with the remarks of the delegation on this phase of the Russian question because, while in the report itself it is one of the first things taken up, in this article it follows logically after the conclusions already cited.

Another Marxian theory is that of "the withering away of the state" after the seizure and consolidation of power by the proletariat—after the resistance of the capitalist class and all its hangers-on has been smashed to bits.

The British trade unionists noticed this "withering process" which the dictatorship is undergoing, the "withering away" that the social reformists claim can come before the seizure of power and on which they base all their charges that the Communists are anti-Marxian, conspiratorial sectarians, etc.

This is the way the report describes what is happening to the dictatorship as the traces of capitalist power become ever fainter:

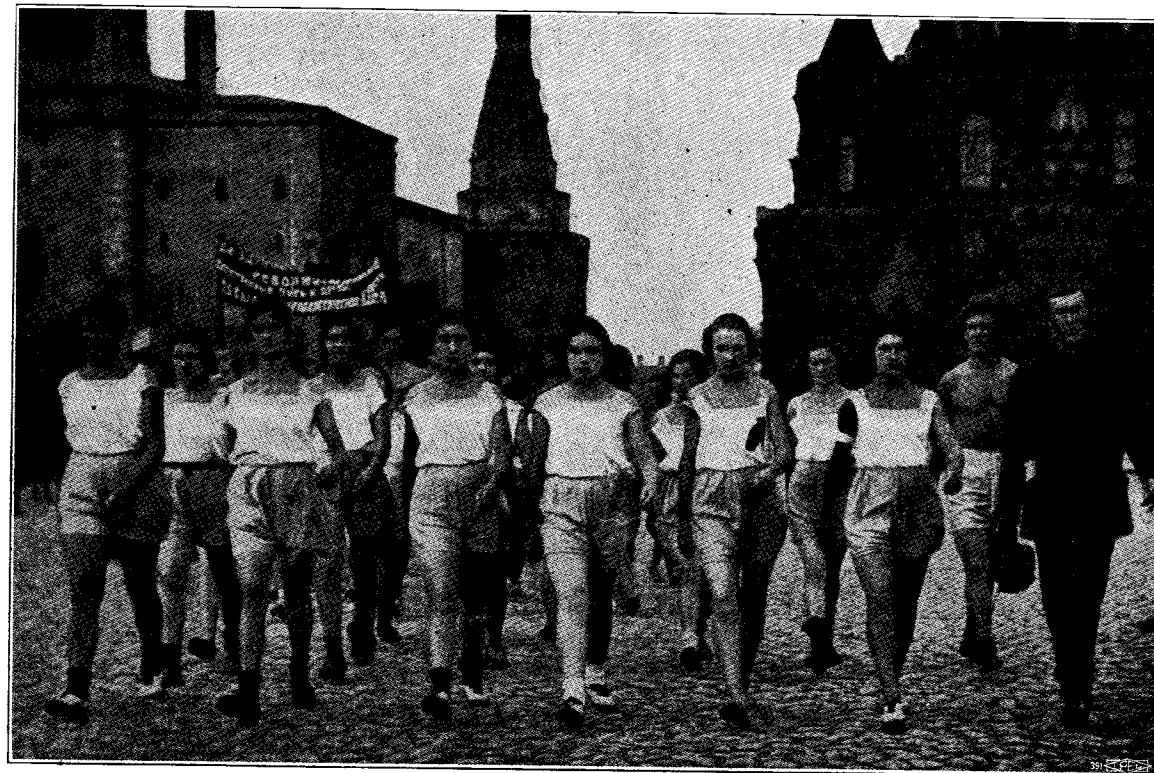
A reading of these reports, however, may suggest a conclusion, that is very probably correct, that the control by the Communists of the central authority is not so absolute as is claimed. The present tendency seems to be that the Communist organization is becoming more and more distinct from the Government, more and more a religion—a sort of State Church with an educational function. The governmental organs and the representative system are moving along lines that make their central control by a Communist caucus increasingly difficult. In

other words, recent developments are towards a "democracy" in the sense of a Government based on the expressed approval of the majority of the electorate, not merely on its tacit acceptance. . . . At the same time, the precautions intended to prevent . . . carrying revolution right around into reaction have been very carefully elaborated as a result of constant experiment and have so far been effective. . . . Meantime, the Russian Communists hope that the education of the younger generation into a collectivist creed and a civic conscience instilled with all the fervor of a religion will remove any risk of a relapse into reaction when the present precautions are relaxed."

The dictatorship then is accepted—accepted so well that it begins to lose some of its dictatorial character. "Moving along lines that make control by a Communist caucus increasingly difficult." I can almost hear the debate going on as the cautious compilers of the report discussed this phrase. "Don't you think we should add 'and unnecessary,' old chap?" "No, we don't want to show too bloody much favoritism, do you think?"

Thus they wrote, these very sincere investigators of the greatest event in human history, with the thought of the insular British public always in mind.

They saw both the dictatorship and its "withering away" but they write of the Communists as a religious body and the beginning of Communist society as a tendency towards democracy—these are terms that the British working class, with its tradition of non-conformist preachers as leaders in the earlier struggles of the workers, can understand.



YOUNG COMMUNISTS DRILLING ON THE RED SQUARE

It is only when the report begins to deal with the All-Russian trade unions that the restraint relaxes and the delegates allow themselves to show some solid satisfaction in telling the achievements of the Russian workers in this field.

This portion of the report, relating with patient detail all there is to be said about the Russian unions, from the form of organization down to dues payments, from their study clubs to their political activities and position as the foundation of the Soviet power is probably the most remarkable study of trade unionism ever made. That as their investigation proceeded and the blazing facts presented themselves, the British Trade Union delegates felt a great upsurge of pride in the working class that has built this remarkable organization, cannot be doubted by any one who reads their report.

The facts presented justify the first sentences of the section on the All-Russian trade unions. It says:

A report on the labor conditions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics must begin by pointing out that in Russia the workers are the ruling class. . . . For unless the reader bears this in mind thruout he will be misled by much in Russian labor conditions that at first sight seem very much the same as with us. Really everything is quite different. . . . No one who grasps this—and the report will, it is hoped, make it plain—will ever be misled by the lies he can read almost daily that the worker in Russia lives a life as limited as, and with even less liberty than, with us. . . . The workers are the ruling class of Russia. They enjoy the rights

and the police. The clubs of the "officers of the law" of American capitalism were used freely upon the heads of demonstrating workers in the effort to establish Abramovich as a "representative of democracy," not to mention the activities of a small army of professional private strong-arm men. All known revolutionary workers were excluded from the meetings. But all the force and violence used by Abramovich agents and police, with the stringent weeding-out process at the hall doors to keep the Communists out, failed to suppress the anger and resentment of the workers and their enthusiasm for Soviet Russia.

In Chicago, especially, the demonstration for Russia took on the character of a mass demonstration. For hours the streets around the Garrick Theater, in the downtown loop district, were crowded by thousands of workers who listened to Communist speeches, and greeted with roars of applause the emerging workers who were thrown bodily out of the theater by police for asking questions of Abramovich and demonstrating their disapproval of his lies. The forces of the Chicago police were insufficient to guarantee for Abramovich a docile and receptive audience for counter-revolutionary propaganda.

The Liberals Get Entangled.

An interesting example of how middle-class liberalism finds itself being ranged with the enemies of the working class is seen in the attempt of the Civil Liberties Union to help Abramovich. The Union is directed by liberals who, individually, are known to be friendly toward Soviet Russia, although distinctly not Communists. But when they saw the meetings of Abramovich becoming, against the will of the speaker, demonstrations for instead of against Russia, and when the forceful ejection of workers from the meetings caused the gatherings to break up in confusion—then the Civil Liberties Union thought that the rights of free speech were being interfered with. Not, however, the right of workers to protest against Abramovich's lies, but the right of Abramovich to lie without interruption or heckling. So far the Civil Liberties Union has not protested against the beating up of workers because they asked questions of Abramovich.

The Workers Party very properly refused to engage in a debate on the question of whether heckling becomes improper interference with a meeting at the thirteenth or the thirty-third hiss, or whether an auditor may, under the liberal code, boo seven or eleven times. Inasmuch as the spokesmen for the Civil Liberties Union concede the right to heckle and express disapproval, the Workers Party declared that it had no issue with them. The struggle for free speech is a struggle of the suppressed workers against the capitalist state, and in this struggle the Workers Party is always in the forefront on the side of the workers.

It is no accident, however, that in the eyes of the masses, and in reality so far as the practical effect is concerned, the liberals found themselves, even though it may have been against their conscious desire, battling on the side of reaction in this struggle. That is because they approached the question, not from the living realities of the class struggle, but from the angle of idealist abstractions. It is the fate of liberals that their political incapacity shall eventually reduce them to the role of servants of reaction. Those who will escape that fate in America will do so by ceasing to be lib-

erals and by joining the forces of the revolutionary working class.

Picketing the Polish Embassy.

White terror rages in Poland. All over the world the workers have been watching with horror the outrages committed by the puppet government of that unhappy country, in execution of the policies of French and allied imperialism which are directed equally against the Polish working class and Soviet Russia. And when this white terror culminated in the threatened execution of Lanzutsky, Communist member of the Polish parliament, because of his speeches and writings in defense of workers engaged in strikes to protect their already miserable living conditions, and because of his efforts for unity of workers and peasants with Soviet Russia, there were demonstrations of protest by workers all over the world.

For the first time the workers of America were represented, in an organized and nation-wide fashion in such an international demonstration. Under the leadership of the Workers Party, demonstrations of protest were carried out before the Polish embassy in Washington, and before the Polish consulates in New York, Chicago and Detroit. Hundreds of workers, men and women, carrying banners inscribed with the slogans against the white terror and demanding the release of Lanzutsky, paraded the streets of four cities, and scores of meetings were held in cities where there are no Polish consulates. In Detroit there were eight workers arrested by the police in an effort to break up the demonstration, but the police interference only roused the fighting spirit of the Detroit workers, and made the demonstration even more militant and enthusiastic.

In passing, it might be noted that the Civil Liberties Union, ranged on the side of Abramovich in that campaign, took advantage of the Detroit arrests to demonstrate its impartiality by offering assistance to protect the arrested workers. Fortunately the workers in Detroit were able to obtain their release without assistance.

The thousands of Polish workers in America learned through these demonstrations, for the first time, what is going on in their native land. Our demonstrations have roused a profound ferment among them, as was shown in the week following the protests, when mass meetings called in the Polish sections of the larger cities were attended by large numbers of workers hitherto without contact with the revolutionary movement, and Polish miners arranged protest meetings in the mining camps.

For the native American worker, and for the workers of other national origin, the demonstrations served not only as a political demonstration against white terror in Poland, but also welded the bonds of solidarity in the class struggle at home even more closely. Every worker who participated in these demonstrations carried away a profound feeling of solidarity with his fellow workers at home and abroad.

Linking White and Yellow.

The death of Sun Yat Sen, a severe loss to the national and revolutionary movement of the Chinese masses and of the world, was at the same time the occasion for concerted fraternization of white and yellow workers everywhere. The workers of every land sent messages of condolence to China, to the Kuomintang, party of Chinese national liberation. They held memorial meetings at which white and yellow speakers and audience fraternized in a demonstration of

international and inter-racial unity of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. In this world-campaign for a common front against world imperialism, we in America also took part, again demonstrating the growing consciousness and maturity of the American revolutionary movement and working class.

To the Central Committee of the Kuomintang (Nationalist revolutionary party) in Peking, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party sent the following cable:

"Workers (Communist) Party of America in name of conscious proletarians and poor farmers sends condolences to toiling masses of China on death of great leader Sun Yat Sen. We pledge co-operation in continuance his great work for freedom of Chinese people from yoke of imperialism."

Joint memorial meetings of workers of all races, Eastern and Western, were held throughout America, from New York to Seattle. Chinese, Japanese, Hindu and Negro, joined with the native American, German, Italian, Finnish, Jewish, Slavic and other workers in doing honor to the departed leader of the anti-imperialist struggle. It was the first extended fraternization of all these races that has taken place in America. This historic campaign was initiated and carried through under the leadership of the Communist International which is achieving the same process of unification of the oppressed masses all over the world.

Masses in America Stir.

There are two facts of great importance that emerge from the events of these three campaigns: first, the revolutionary movement in the United States is at last united, not only ideologically and in theory, but organically and in flesh, blood and action, with the international working class and with the oppressed peoples. Second, this unity, sealed in

common action and made clear to the masses through the public demonstrations, has stirred the American workers politically more deeply than has ever been done before. The political activity of the American movement has stepped out into the streets of America and commanded the support of mass sentiment of the working class.

These events here briefly reviewed took place with a background of unprecedented ferment within the masses of the American workers. They crystallized out of the struggle against capitalism in America, a struggle which is making clear to American workers, that it is not a battle within national boundaries, but that it is an international struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples against the monster of capitalist imperialism. This background of the American struggle, showing such mass movements as the officially recorded vote in the United Mine Workers' election, where Communist candidates were credited with more than one-third of the vote in a union of a half a million members; the heroic struggle of the Nova Scotia miners; the unprecedented polling of thousands of left wing votes in the carpenters' election, and the successful mass struggle against expulsions in that union; the national campaign in the machinists' union by the left wing; the battles in the textile industry; the great mass struggles of the needle trades workers against the employers and against the collaboration of their officials with the bosses—this background gives us the assurance that the active internationalism being shown by the American workers has deep roots. We have become a living, breathing, acting part of the body of the international working class, stirring and affecting in turn the still dormant masses of the working class in America.

Into the lives of the workers of the United States, there has been carried, with a richer and deeper significance than ever before, the glorious slogan: "Workers of the world, unite!"



DUNNE ADDRESSING CROWD OUTSIDE GARRICK THEATRE, CHICAGO, AFTER SOVIET SYMPATHIZERS HAD BEEN EJECTED FROM ABRAMOVICH MEETING BY POLICE

May Day in America

By Harrison George

BY the chance of having been born along with the era of capitalist imperialism as a "son of the middle border," my first experience with May Day lingers in my recollection as something totally apart from the labor movement.

Those were the days when we were still "remembering the Maine" and chanting songs of our heroic soldiery who were revelling in the romance of freeing the Philippines from the rule of the tyrant Spaniards to the tune of the "water cure" in the interest of capitalist expansion.

* * * *

The school children of Lincoln, Nebraska, were—at the orders of imperialism—celebrating "Dewey Day," the anniversary of that First of May when the brave admiral, at the head of the Pacific fleet, rushing to the rescue of the victorious Filipino insurrectionists, swept into the waters of Manila Bay in time to seize the fruits of victory from the unsanctified hands of our little brown brothers and raise over the whole archipelago the star spangled banner of the United States of America.

May Day was "Dewey Day," and decked out in white blouses and caps, and carrying American flags which were waved according to drill-master instructions, the Lincoln school children were parading down "O" street to the music of bands.

But "Dewey Day" was fated for ill luck. Our parade was interrupted and the children forced to scatter for their lives to the sidewalk by clanging fire-engines rushing down the street.

* * * *

That is my last and only recollection of "Dewey Day." In some way the capitalists could not make that particular corruption of International Labor Day stick. But, being artful, they are always discovering some new substitute to palm off on the American workers to distort May Day from its revolutionary meaning and to furnish a competitive celebration wherein the "mechanic slaves with greasy aprons, rules and hammers" may be induced to put aside the red flag of proletarian revolt and wave aloft the banner of class collaboration.

This year the word has gone forth that May 1 will be observed as "Child Health Day." This is particularly appropriate for a capitalist nation which has just finished the murder of the Child Labor Amendment to its constitution, and which feeds the lives and happy hours of little children by the hundreds of thousands into the Moloch furnace of sweatshop slavery.

It is announced that twenty national organizations, including the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Legion, Boy and Girl Scouts, and so on, will join in the "Child Health Day" movement which is directed by none other than the well-known enemy of the workers, Herbert Hoover, head of the "Child Health Association."

* * * *

For better mobilization of mass sentiment around this competition celebration as against the possibility of nationwide May Day strikes of rude and even revolutionary work-

ers, Mr. Coolidge himself has addressed a letter for publicity purposes to Mr. Hoover, expressing confidence that:

"The people will be glad to make May Day the occasion of re-dedicating themselves to the happy task of safeguarding our most precious asset—our 35,000,000 children."

As the Workers (Communist) Party of America had some days previously issued a call to the whole American working class to "Down Tools on May Day" in protest against wage cuts, child labor and many other injustices and to celebrate the unity of all workers with the cause of proletarian revolution, the purpose of our Strikebreaker President is obvious. His desire is that International Labor Day may be rendered meaningless and confused with other emotional appeals.

* * * *

When the Communists ask the workers to down tools on May Day, they seek to commemorate no capitalist anniversary, no "Dewey Day," no hypocritical cant of "Child Health" as a mask over the actual murder of child slaves in the profit mills of industry.

The First International headed by Karl Marx declared, "The limitation of the work day is the first step in the direction of emancipation of the working class." And in calling for May Day strikes and celebrations, the Communists pay homage to the heroism and to the tragedy of hundreds of thousands of workers who struck and fought to win for the working class the leisure of an Eight-Hour Day.

* * * *

American workers should lead in the observance of May Day as an International Labor Day, as they led in its inauguration. Before the stifling pall of class collaboration and craft separatism choked off its militant spirit, the working class of America fought like lions for relief from the almost unbelievable oppression which was imposed upon them by capitalists in the 70's and 80's of the last century.

Driven to the wall, a general strike of the workers swept the nation in 1877. Armed workers' defense groups sprang up everywhere. Strikers drove the militia out of the city and into the hills at Pittsburgh, battles raged from Baltimore to Chicago. At St. Louis a Workers' Committee seized and held complete power over the city for a week. It was an era of struggle, and in spite of Gompers' opposition—as shown in the 1883 convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, that organization began to fight for the Eight-Hour Day.

On the motion of Gabriel Edmonston of the Carpenters, the 1884 Convention passed a resolution declaring: "Eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886." The Knights of Labor were invited to participate in united action.

It was a slogan to inspire the masses. A rush into the unions began and on May Day, 1886, 200,000 workers struck for and won the Eight-Hour Day, while 200,000 more got shorter hours as a result. The capitalist terrorization which culminated in the legal murder of Albert R. Parsons and his fellows in Chicago, did not fully halt the upheaval of the

working class, and the eyes of world labor were on America.

* * * *

It should be remembered that the American Federation of Labor requested the International Labor Congress, meeting at Paris in 1889, to adopt the First of May as an anniversary to celebrate the victories of the Eight-Hour movement.

It should likewise be remembered that the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. was slowly strangling the militant spirit of the American unions.

* * * *

The officialdom dared not, at first, make a frontal attack on May Day and the Eight-Hour movement. But is being by limiting the May Day strike for Eight Hours to the

It was also enough for the capitalists to profit by in substitution for the day they feared and dreaded as a symbol of revolt, May Day. The American capitalist congress made common cause with the union bureaucracy and in 1894 made the First Monday in September a nice respectable "Labor Day"—a legal holiday.

All efforts within the Federation to repudiate this corruption of Labor Day by giving May Day and not the first Monday of September the approval of organized labor as its own Labor Day, failed. May Day was condemned by the bureaucracy as "European," "foreign" and "socialistic."

* * * *

How well the perversion of Labor Day has succeeded



MAY DAY ON THE RED SQUARE

Carpenters alone in 1890. Then, after the A. F. of L. had, in 1894, started a movement to repeat the struggle of the 80's and demand a universal strike for Eight Hours on May Day, 1896, the Gompers' group defeated the whole program and had the plan revoked. Thus was the fighting spirit and the definite aspiration of the American workers for shorter hours betrayed and murdered by the treacherous leadership of the American unions—the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie.

* * * *

But this did not complete the infamy of the class collaborationist union officialdom headed by Gompers. He continuously opposed any observance of May Day as International Labor Day, and profited by the fact that the old Federation had, in 1884, declared the first Monday in September as Labor Day. That day was "enough" for Gompers.

may be seen by observation of the class collaboration between the union bureaucrats and the capitalist government and its supporters at any Labor Day of recent years. It is sickening to the point of revulsion.

Examine, for instance, the Labor Day celebrated on September 1, last year—1924—by the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City.

The Council had "a committee of citizens outside of the labor movement" to co-operate with its own committee. The secretary of the Council invited President Coolidge to speak at the celebration, which was held at Fort Hamilton. He was busy receiving John L. Lewis and the heads of some railroad brotherhoods that day, but sent a message by carrier pigeon.

The celebration began with an airplane bombing attack engaging field artillery and anti-aircraft guns under the com-

mand of Major General Bullard, commanding the Second Corps Area, who, so stated the press dispatch, "is co-operating with the labor union committee." Such co-operation is not observable in strikes.

The 62nd Coast Artillery performed drills for the "benefit" of the New York workers on their holiday, and the artillery, after the sham battle, was parked so as to be viewed "conveniently." The same workers on strike may view the same artillery "inconveniently"—that is to say from the muzzle and not the rear of the guns.

The afternoon meetings began with prayer by a Catholic priest, and the speakers included Tammany's Governor Smith, Secretary of Labor Davis, a congressman, an alderman, Major General Bullard and James O'Connell, president of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

* * * *

The capitalist press was its usual self on that day. The New York Times had editorially advised against any reference to class struggle and for class collaboration. I quote a few pearls of this sort of exorcism of the devil of revolution from the body of labor as given by the Times:

"Labor Day has sometimes been regarded as a nuisance, but this year it is treated with uncommon seriousness. The role it may fill in the presidential election is in everybody's mind. It is to be hoped that Mr. Davis (presidential candidate) will not content himself with referring to class interests. The occasion demands broad discussion. There is no reason why laboring men should not be called upon to merge their individual demands and policies in a general national interest. There will be plenty of claptrap appeals to labor tomorrow, but it is devoutly to be desired that some voices be raised to show that all classes must co-operate and make sacrifices for the common good."

* * * *

The prayer of the Times was answered at the Fort Hamilton celebration, just as it was answered from coast to coast by the combination of labor fakers and capitalist propagandists.

Secretary of Labor Davis, so the Times reported, "called for a day's work every day and warned against visionaries demanding government ownership of industries." He further predicted the day when workers and capitalists would work toward substitution "of reason for force to settle disputes." The parked artillery and the bombing planes overhead were, doubtlessly, an argument calculated to give weight to Mr. Davis' speech.

Major General Bullard, according to the punctilious Times, "told the crowd the army wanted to understand and be understood by labor, and called for co-operation between the two groups." One may be permitted to observe that if labor had understood the army as well as the army understood labor, the sham battle of the morning would not have been fought with blank cartridges.

As for James O'Connell, president of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., he learned his lesson so well from the Major General that he went to the Department convention at El Paso later in the year and had a resolution passed demanding, in the name of labor, more and bigger warships!

* * * *

The Fort Hamilton celebration of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, collaborating with the bitterest foes of working class interests and organization, is, as stated above, only a sample of the perversion of the day, May Day, which should belong to labor alone as a token and sign of its class power.

It remains to the Communists of the Workers Party and the left wing revolutionary unionists of the Trade Union Educational League to thwart the perversion of May Day by capitalists, to stigmatize the unspeakable class collaborationist "Labor Day" in September as a capitalist substitute for International Labor Day on May First, and to call the workers to down tools on May Day as a pledge to their class determination to bear forward the banner of proletarian revolt until capitalism is overthrown by the organized might of the proletariat.

Business

OVER the butcher's counterr,
Over the baker's counter,
They slip across to you
so much for so much.

Through the iron bars,
To a man with a number for a name,
They shove across
a little for everything.

I remember seeing the eyes of an old woman,
And the old eyes of a hungry child,
Boring through the plate glass window

Of a baker's shop,
And they got
nothing for nothing.

And by these signs I know,
in the Temples of Business
it is all counters,
cash registers are the Gilded Gods.
And hunger is a lead nickel,
And hunger is a tin plug
with a hole in it.

HERSCHELL BEK.

Coke Miners in Revolt

By Arne Swabeck

"STRIKE!"—"Refuse to accept the wage cut."—The call went from camp to camp in many tongues and the miners in the heart of the coke region between Uniontown and Brownsville, Pennsylvania, dropped pick and shovel and came out from pit and shaft on Monday, March 16th, unorganized but ready to fight the wage cut. The coal operators had already prepared their battle lines.

Notices of this wage cut were posted by the W. J. Raney Coal and Coke company, the Hillman company and the Oliver Snyder Steel company in all their mines in this territory on March 14th, and the next few days the strike spread. At the Oliver camps it took about a thousand leaflets, "Strike Against Wage Cuts," well distributed by a few militant miners, but they come out to a man. Although the H. C. Frick company, the largest operator in the coke region, still maintained the old scale, the wage cuts made by the others mark one additional part of the encircling onslaught now being prepared; hitting heaviest in the unorganized fields and drawing constantly nearer to the central competitive field, the stronghold of the United Mine Workers Union. The coke miners have formerly borne the brunt of such attacks and experienced the class struggle in all its grim realities.

Almost everything within the coke region is company-owned. The soil with its wealth below the surface, the camps, buildings and all, on the lower slants of these black hills, the stores and supply depots are company-owned. During strikes the companies assume control over the public highways and decide who may pass. Naturally the few small so-called independent towns which have grown up where a number of camps are closely concentrated, are completely in the hands of the companies, politically and otherwise.

This iron-controlled field produces a high grade coke, supplying all the mills around Pittsburgh which crowd the banks for miles of the Ohio, Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. Between the hills lie dotted numerous of the old type bee-hive coke ovens, stretching their low-built structure for blocks with the rows of open fires resembling miniature open-hearth steel furnaces. Daily these ovens belch out smoke blackening everything in sight, while during night hours the radiant, flickering glare pierces the sky. The whole of this Fayette County coke region seems to have become accustomed to the conditions under which the miners live here, almost completely at the mercy of the operators. The company sets the price for their labor and sets the price for their necessities of life. It owns the homes in which they live and controls the form of education and amusement which they may enjoy. It demands that each applicant for a job in the mines or at the ovens undergo a physical examination to make sure that the buying of the labor power becomes a profitable investment. If any limbs are weak it is discounted at future possible claims for accident compensation.

Every company maintains an up-to-date blacklist system. Once a miner gets his name on the list his jobs will last just about as long as it takes to thoroughly compare records. In this manner one of the militants in this strike was kicked out of the mines eight times during a short period

last year. Firmly to solidify its control, each company has its own police force of deputized plug-uglies who are kept well supplied with arms and ammunition from its own store room in the office. Yet these miners have made many brilliant fights in the past. This soil, with applied labor power, not only produces coke but it also produces militancy and revolutionary ideas.

Strikers' Families Evicted.

When the miners went on strike in refusal to accept the wage cut the operators prepared for action. The "yellow dog deputies," the popular name for the coal and iron police maintained by the companies at the royal salary of \$3.00 per day, were posted at the mines, the ovens, the camps, and took possession of the highways, questioning anybody whom they thought suspicious. Following the usual ruthless policy and



MINER — CLEANING UP AFTER ACCIDENT: DOWN HERE WE'VE GOT TO KEEP ON CLEANING UP THE WHOLE GOD DAMNED TIME—UP THERE WE'D ONLY HAVE TO CLEAN UP ONCE.

with no regard whatsoever for women and children, eviction notices reading like the one herewith reproduced were served upon the strikers:

"ORIENT COAL AND COKE COMPANY...
"Orient, Pa., March 19th, 1925.

"To Toney Ulrich,

"Sir:

"You are hereby notified and required to move from and deliver up possession of the premises known as House and Lot No. 00, located at Orient, Redstone Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, within ten days from the date hereof which is in accordance with the lease under which you occupy the property.

"Respectfully yours,

"ORIENT COAL AND COKE COMPANY.

"By A. W. Young,

"Superintendent."

On the first day of the walk-out the difference in the mental makeup of the men became apparent. All had experienced victimization by the treasonable conduct of the United Mine Workers officialdom and the ruthless suppression of the operators in 1922. But they had not all drawn the proper conclusion. As it was, they became sharply divided. The more conscious elements, led by the Communists, insisted on a strike against the cut, to be conducted in complete understanding with the United Mine Workers and on the basis of re-establishment of the union. They recognized that there must be only one union in the mining industry. A second and larger group were for the strike but would hear nothing of the United Mine Workers, thus confusing the union with the bureaucratic machine. They spoke of a union of their own. One Stanley Ketty became the spokesman for the tendency of the second group. During 1922 he was a coke field organizer and a staunch supporter of the machine, up to the conference at New Salem, Pa., January 18, 1923, when the betrayal was finally sealed and the coke region strike called off. He has since been out of the union and out of the mines. Now he just happened to blow in.

Negro Miners Solid with Strikers.

About 40 per cent of the strikers were Negroes, remnants of the fifteen to twenty thousand Negro workers brought in from the South to work in the Fayette county coke mines during the strike of 1922. Witnessing the victimization of many of their race as soon as the strike was broken and the experienced miners returned to become better objects of exploitation for the operators, coupled with the two years of further experience working in the mines, had taught these Negro workers an important lesson regarding class interests. They now stood solid as a rock.

The operators continued, however, by all means available, to harass the strikers. Eviction notices increased in number, the "yellow dog deputies" were active chasing pickets, rump meetings were called to advocate going back to work, stories were spread of men returning in various camps. The opposition to re-establishment of the formerly existing locals of the United Mine Workers, as a policy to be pursued, hampered the organization of the strike. Local strike com-

mittees for each mine were organized but the linking up into one central committee was delayed. The strikers became isolated within their own camps, their ranks began to break, and on March 27th the mass meetings scheduled for the following day had to be called off and those still remaining out advised to go back. At that critical moment, when Stanley Ketty was sought by the men, he could not be found.

Now these coke miners have been set back to the scale of 1917. With one stroke the operators cut wages on day work from \$7.55 a day to \$5.05 and 33 per cent on tonnage work, which will amount to an average reduction of \$3.00 per day. It is the usual thing that when the coke operators settle accounts after the fight the most militant workers become the first victims of their efforts to crush all future attempts at resistance. So this time again many miners were told on twenty-four hours' notice to pack their belongings and move on.

1922 Betrayal by Union Bureaucracy.

To place the responsibility for the present unorganized condition of the Fayette county coke miners it is necessary to recall the brilliant fight made by them during the strike of 1922 which evoked the admiration of the whole labor movement. Within three weeks after the issuance of the strike call by the United Mine Workers' Union, on April 1st, and the appeal to the unorganized fields to join, every coke miner had come out. Local unions were established as fast as organizers could handle the job. The coke miners made common cause with their fellow workers in the rest of the industry, and demanded the same working conditions. The operators replied with the most ruthless repressive measures and evicted 6,000 families.

The officials of the United Mine Workers had promised to make no settlement of the national strike which would not include the coke field. The men believed their words and kept on fighting, moving their families into tents and barracks, until on August 17th the first treasonable blow was struck at the vitals of this splendid young movement. John L. Lewis signed the Cleveland agreement leaving out the coke region and these miners found themselves sold out, caught in a death trap. Still they kept on fighting with yet greater determination.

Financial support to continue this struggle was promised by the officials of the United Mine Workers and the members paid assessments mounting up to nearly \$2,000,000. Official reports, however, show that from Sept. 5th, 1922, to March 1st, 1923, only about \$220,000 were paid out for relief, and lately, internal revenue agents have been camping on the trail of the two fakers, Feeney and O'Leary, who were in charge of the distribution of funds, and have since succeeded in heavily increasing their personal deposits in so many banks that these agents have had great difficulty in determining their income tax assessments.

It was during these days of despair in the midst of heroic struggle that the Miners' Relief Committee, organized by Pittsburgh Communists, became known as a real friend of the striking coke miners. All through that following winter the battle continued and the Miners' Relief Committee brought food and clothing and gave encouragement in the fight. Not only that, but it also brought the message of Communism. Naturally, the Miners' Relief Committee became hated by

the Lewis machine and labeled dual union, destructive, and so forth.

As the struggle went on, the coke miners completely lost faith in this whole machine. On several occasions they asked, through their established locals, that they be given a District charter and permitted to elect their own administration. But their requests were promptly rejected and they were kept under provisional government with an appointed member of the family of bureaucrats in charge.

In proof of how much these rank and file coke miners recognize the need of organization, at a monster mass meeting held on Labor Day, 1922, at Uniontown, Pa., they proposed to go back to work on whatever terms obtainable, and thus keep their organization intact, if sufficient funds were not available to continue the strike. But they were told to carry on and promised relief. So it went on until the betrayal was completed and the strike officially called off at the New Salem conference held January 18th, 1923, which was composed of officials appointed for the coke field, and officials representing the union. Still living in tents during the bitter cold winter, suffering repression and persecution, it took nearly three months before the coke miners finally surrendered. Their organization blew to the winds, and thus a splendid fight was turned into a dismal defeat through treasonable leadership.

While the experiences have been bitter, the lessons learned by the 45,000 coke miners have been valuable. Those who go among them say that they are as ready to organize as ever. Once again during this last strike they proposed to John L. Lewis that they be granted a District charter, but on the condition that they elect their own administration and support their own organizers. Once again it will receive the same fate as the former requests made. John L. Lewis will not consent to this field being organized unless he can control it through his own appointees.

The Parasite

I'M a happy-go-lucky son of a reckless brood:
Painter of smoke stacks, steeples, flag poles and sky-scraping cornices.
Give me a piece of rope and I'll climb to God-knows-where,
and dance a sailor's hornpipe a' top of it;
For I'm at home where the eagle soars, where the aeroplanes purr and zoom.
Guess my thoughts as I clutch for dear life any windy afternoon.
Here they are: "Stick it out old kid, you got to bring home the bacon."
I never think of falling
Till I'm on my way.
One Blue Monday I fell a hundred feet, struck three roofs on the way down, and landed neck deep in a pile of coal.
I dug myself out and walked home with this thought in mind:
"I'm off that Hungarian bootlegger for life."

Communists Work for Shop Committees.

Undaunted by these obstacles the militants, the Communists, are working diligently to crystallize the sentiment for organization. Smarting under the effects of this new wage cut, the coke miners have become willing listeners. The organization of shop committees as applied to the mines is being proposed, and here is how it is being explained by the militants.

All grievances arise in the mines, that is where the struggle takes place, and it is also where the working class forces must be united and organization begin. Each mine is naturally divided into various sections. Where the main entry is driven into the mine from shaft to shaft, crossing the coal vein, the butt entries branch out into the vein itself with the rooms laid out in which the miners dig the coal. Each such butt entry constitutes a section. Under the mine (shop) committee organization each of these sections would elect its own delegate, the committee thus becoming the direct representative of the men, responsive to their needs, expressive of their desires and responsible to them. All actions of the mine committee would be reported back directly to the men for them to act upon and easily understood by them, and thus the most close and intimate connection would be established. These mine committees would become the basic instrument of the power of the workers, controlled by them, increasing their militancy, solidarity and confidence in their ability to meet the struggle. The next development would necessarily be to connect these committees within each section of closely located mines and throughout the whole territory. The preliminary organization for the establishment of the union in the coke region would be brought into life and become the basis of the union once it was created.

The Communists are organizing shop nuclei and taking the leadership in forging ahead toward the complete organization of the coke miners to prepare them for the coming struggle.



READING ROOM IN RUSSIAN TRADE UNION BUILDING.

The Fight for Unity in Minnesota

By C. A. Hathaway

ON March 20th a convention was held in St. Paul which materially changed the outlook for the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. At this convention the control of the organization passed completely into the hands of a group of middle class office-seekers who will use the party, not to fight the battle of the workers and farmers, but to advance their own political interests.

This new situation makes it necessary to examine the development of the Minnesota movement and also to work out a program of activity that will make it possible for the left wing not only to combat the petty bourgeois leaders and ideas, but to put forth a program on which the workers and farmers can carry on a victorious struggle against the capitalist class.

Background of the Present Struggle.

The political movement of the workers and farmers in Minnesota started in 1918 as a purely farmers' movement growing out of struggle against the growing pressure of the financial interests. It was only after the Farmers' Non-Partisan League had failed to nominate its candidates in the Republican primaries that the support of the labor movement was solicited and obtained in the filing of a set of independent candidates bearing the designation on the ballot of "Farmer-Labor." These candidates gave expression to the confused, middle-class ideas prevailing among the farmers generally, and in no sense represented a program of militant struggle against capitalism in the interests of the industrial workers. In fact, many of those elected to the legislature as farmer-laborites have consistently voted against many labor measures and have been severely criticized for so doing by the workers.

Under the early forms of organization, the Non-Partisan League composed entirely of farmers and the Working Peoples' Non-Partisan League made up of affiliated trade unions, political log rolling between the two groups was a constant source of resentment to both the poor farmers and the industrial workers. Conventions of the two organizations were held simultaneously, each convention elected conference committees, usually made up of the "leaders," and then after much delay during which the rank and file were compelled to listen to tiresome petty-bourgeois speeches, these committees would recommend a slate of candidates to the conventions which was invariably endorsed.

The rank and file of both organizations soon came to realize that they were being made the goat by a few politicians who were using their movement to serve their own political ends. The resentment continued to grow until in 1922 many local unions instructed their delegates to demand a joint convention of the two groups. This resentment was further intensified at a convention held in Minneapolis in 1922, by the action of the leaders in conferring with a committee of the Democratic Party and attempting to fuse the Farmer-Labor movement with the Democrats as had been done with all agrarian reform movements in the past. A revolt took place in the labor convention which was later

carried into the farmers' convention. This led to a joint convention of the two groups and the nomination of a slate of candidates for all state offices on a Farmer-Labor Party basis for the first time.

Middle Class Leaders and Left Wing.

The revolt against the middle class leaders had been organized and led by the confused left wing that was just beginning to form in the movement. After the convention an agitation was continued for the liquidation of the two separate organizations and for the uniting of the economic and political organizations of both workers and farmers into some sort of a federation. This led to the formation of the Farmer-Labor Federation at a convention held in 1923.

With the formation of the Federation the industrial workers became the leading group in the movement for the first time. A more militant program was drawn and with a few exceptions more progressive candidates were chosen. The Communists also took part in this agitation and before the convention was over had become a powerful factor in this struggle of the workers and farmers against political domination by the steel trust and the banks. The more militant program and the increasing influence and activity of the Communists was made the basis of a bitter attack against the new Federation by both the capitalist press and by the leaders of the Farmer's Non-Partisan League, which made it impossible to gain the support of the farmers for the new organization. The unions affiliated with it, but the farmers, frightened by the scare of Communism in most cases, stayed out.

The apathy of the farmers, coupled with the attack of the LaFollette movement nationally, and the sabotage of the self-seeking politicians and labor fakers, prevented the Federation from developing into a militant mass organization. In the last campaign all of the leaders, such as Mahoney and Harmon, turned the organization over completely to the petty-bourgeois LaFollette and did not even attempt to wage a campaign in behalf of the Federation. In Ramsey County, at least, the organization under the leadership of Starkey, Fisher and Mahoney was turned over to the rotten, corrupt underworld political machine that had for years controlled the Democratic Party. This led to the complete demoralization of the Federation—betrayed by its leaders, the rank and file was disgusted and discouraged and is only now really beginning to come back.

Officials Profit from Demoralization.

The demoralization within the ranks of the movement was taken advantage of by the reactionary labor officials, the old leaders of the Non-Partisan League, and by the O'Connor machine in the Twin Cities, to grab control of the workers' and farmers' movement. The Democratic Party was dead—their only chance to regain their fast-waning political influence was to fasten themselves to the Farmer-Labor Party. A conference of these fakers was held in St. Paul at which time they decided to issue a call for a convention that would

lend the cloak of legality to their game. At this conference the call was drawn in such a manner as to exclude the possibility of any rank and file representation and a clause was specifically inserted barring Communists from seats in the convention even though they were elected to represent bona-fide labor or farmer organizations.

At this convention, which was held on March 20th, a new organization, known as the "Farmer-Labor Association," was formed under the control of the worst bunch of fakers and political crooks that could be found within the state. Mahoney and Harmon, without any mandate whatsoever, immediately attempted to turn over to this gang the remains of the Farmer-Labor Federation. A glowing report was sent out to all the organizations affiliated with the Federation, telling them of the "unity" established at the St. Paul convention and asking them to immediately ratify this new organization and become affiliated with it.

The District Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party saw in this move a distinct effort on the part of the leaders to turn the movement over to an unscrupulous gang of office-holders and office-seekers and determined to use all the energy at the command of the party to prevent the interests of the workers and farmers from being thus sacrificed. Seventy-five thousand leaflets were printed and circulated throughout the state, ten thousand letters were sent out to all local unions, co-operative organizations and farmers explaining what was being done and calling upon them to save the Farmer-Labor Federation.

Communists Expose Betrayal.

This campaign conducted by our party has effectively exposed the betrayal that was about to be put over on the rank and file workers and poor farmers. It will be continued energetically by all party units and will make it impossible for this gang of political shysters to get away with their program of disunity and disruption.

Our campaign will do more than merely prevent the formation of the Farmer-Labor Association, it will tend to inject a definite class viewpoint throughout the entire Minnesota working class political movement and will tend to develop a clear struggle, both within and without the farmer and labor movements, against the supporters of the capitalist system.

The Farmer-Labor Party is made up of a conglomeration of all kinds of elements; its program and its campaigns have always been an effort to unite workers, poor farmers, wealthy farmers and capitalists into one political organization to oust the Republican Party which now controls the state. The most that could be stated of the party platform at any time is that it was anti-republican. The speeches of the candidates of the party have been merely criticisms of the republicans on questions of taxation, etc., but at no time have they ever advanced a program giving expression to the economic or political needs of either the farmers or the industrial workers. Although about one-third of both the house of representatives and of the state senate were elected as Farmer-Laborites, not a single program has been advanced. Judging from their votes it is impossible to differentiate the Farmer-Laborites from the politicians of the old capitalist parties.

The Communists will carry on an intense and continuous campaign in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party to win still more of the rank and file over to a program of class

struggle. We will point out to them constantly that electing a new set of individuals to office does not benefit either the workers or the farmers, but that the rank and file must organize their forces and themselves wage a constant fight against the capitalist class and must exert pressure on their elected representatives to compel them to give expression to a militant workers' program.

The farmers of Minnesota will have to organize themselves into a definite block on the basis of an agrarian program giving expression to their needs. We recognize that the farmers have definite needs and in order to effectively put forth demands covering these needs they must have their own organization. The Communists will do their part to rally the poor farmers against the LaFollette, Republican and Democratic politicians on the basis of the following program:

- (a) Confiscation of all large estates and the free division of the land among the toiling farmers.
- (b) Lower interest on mortgages, lower rent and lower taxes. No foreclosures on mortgages.
- (c) Nationalization of all natural resources, water power, banking institutions, means of transportation, grain elevators and all other marketing facilities. All these organizations to be controlled by organizations of toiling farmers and workers.
- (d) Development of co-operative buying and marketing by the toiling farmers.
- (e) Active opposition to imperialism, militarism and war.

The industrial workers, through their unions and other organizations must be solidly organized into a labor party on the basis of concrete industrial demands and for a militant fight against the entire capitalist system.

In the cities this labor party must put forth its candidates and wage constant campaigns in the interests of the workers. In the rural districts the farmers must be broken away from petty-bourgeois leadership and they in turn must put forth their candidates and program. In state elections these two classes must unite their forces in the Farmer-Labor Federation behind one set of candidates in the common struggle against capitalism.

In Minnesota the workers and farmers have made progress. Their break from the two old parties was the first step in their struggle for economic freedom. They must now learn from their experiences, they must fight against the middle class elements who are trying to steal their movement. They must fight to build a party of exploited farmers and a party of industrial workers. These two parties must be held together by the fight of both against their exploiters. In this struggle the Communists will lead the way.

This is Number 40

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RENEW!

The Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League

By Manuel Gomez

LATIN America is imperial domain. Whether the United States or Great Britain shall exercise dominion over it is a matter that is still being fought out in the ceaseless struggle for oil, minerals, investment areas and markets. With astonishing ease, American capitalists are displacing their rivals from one stronghold after another. Wall Street, with half the gold of the world at its command, is conquering ever wider markets—nor are these markets being subdued by gold alone. Wall Street also sends troops, who conquer territory by the simple process of assault and occupation.

The correlation of forces is admirably expressed in the Monroe Doctrine, which, it should be remembered, is now something more than American foreign policy, having achieved for itself practically the status of international law. The unmistakable import of the Monroe Doctrine today is American protectorate over Latin America.

And what of the Latin Americans? What of the peoples whose countries are the objects of American imperialism, whose citizens are ordered about by U. S. marines and whose workers produce the wealth which goes to swell the treasure house of Wall Street?—their hatred for the "protecting" government needs no elaboration here. It is traditional. They look upon the sanctimonious invader as an enemy that must be driven out at all costs.

But they are weak and disunited. Hitherto American imperialism has been able to work its will on one Latin American country after another—Cuba, Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico—in isolated fashion, without experiencing any hostile action on the part of the nations not immediately involved. All of Latin America has long had a strong sense of natural Latin American solidarity but up to the present no unifying medium has existed to coin this solidarity into effective results for the struggle against imperialism.

To accomplish this purpose, to give international leadership to the struggle against imperialism in the west, the Pan American Anti-Imperialist League was created. The Pan American Anti-Imperialist League will carry on the fight for the complete emancipation of the peoples of the western hemisphere. It has issued a manifesto expressing its fraternal kinship with every organized force fighting imperialism anywhere in the world.

The League represents the linking up of the struggles for national liberation with the movement of the revolutionary proletariat. It was organized through the joint efforts of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and the Communist Party of Mexico. The basis for it was laid during the visit to Mexico of J. W. Johnstone in December, 1924.

Affiliations have been received from political parties, trade unions, peasant leagues, groups of students, patriotic societies. Every element ready to join in the fight against Wall Street has a place in the P. A. A. I. L. The League aims at crystallizing the forces of resistance to imperialism from Alaska to Cape Horn.

Certainly the most significant thing about this alignment is that it includes the Workers (Communist) Party of Ameri-



COVER DESIGN OF "EL LIBERTADOR"

ca, giving it a determined fighting force, however small at this time, in the very home country of American imperialism. And the Communists express the interests of the American working class as a whole. Unreasoning and unclear though it sometimes may be, there exists among the workers of this country an undoubted sentiment against imperialistic ventures abroad, and whenever they have had an opportunity to register their opinions on the question of imperialism they have answered loudly in the negative. The American workers are natural allies of all exploited peoples fighting to throw off the domination of Wall Street.

Of what interest is it to American workers to combat American imperialism? It is of interest because the imperialists are the same financial oligarchy that exploits American labor at home.

American imperialism makes use of foreign cheap labor to force down the standard of living of the working class at home. Through imperialist control of the system of contract labor, or "engancho," a steady stream of scabs is brought into this country to break strikes, the Mexicans or Cubans who are imported, being kept in complete ignorance of the purpose of their importation.

By means of imperialism Wall Street is enabled to draw renewed strength from its investments abroad to continue its parasitic rule; in fact, if it were not for this outlet for its surplus capital American capitalism would soon collapse of

its own contradictions. Capitalism continues to exist only through the intense exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

The American workers have nothing to gain by capturing Santo Domingo for the National City Bank, yet they are called upon to risk their lives for this and similar reasons.

Imperialism means inevitable war. A large and efficient army and navy become therefore necessary. This military force—to which must be added the militia of the various states, state police, etc.—is the private army of Wall Street. Once in existence, it is used against ALL of Wall Street's enemies without exception. Now it goes into battle to protect the foreign loans of J. P. Morgan & Co., now it is called out to perform "strike duty." American workers are asked to fight and die for American imperialism but in so doing they merely build up a machine which is used against themselves.

It is a mistake to think of imperialism as just "foreign policy," without relation to the class struggle at home. American imperialism is impossible without the domination of a group of Wall Street monopolists in this country, and finance capital monopoly here is impossible without American imperialism. They form part of a single system, growing out of a common economic soil.

To agitate for the removal of all American troops from foreign soil, to aid the national liberation movements in the countries under the heel of Wall Street, to unite with every progressive force carrying on a fight against American imperialism—this is to participate in the common struggle against imperialist domination abroad and capitalist exploitation in the United States.

In Central America and the islands of the Caribbean alone, Wall Street controls over 150,000 square miles with almost 10,000,000 inhabitants. And everywhere in Latin America the signs of imperialist domination are found; seizure

of strategic positions, support of personal dictatorships in return for economic advantages, military occupation of customs houses, actual invasion and threat of invasion—these are some of the methods by which the state machinery of the United States is being steadily expanded to include a huge Latin American empire, while in Europe and the Far East the same imperialist forces are at work. Move these buttresses and the whole structure of American capitalism shakes.

The Pan American Anti-Imperialist League proposes to carry on the struggle on all fronts. In the few short months of its existence it has established connections with elements in almost every country of North, South and Central America. It gave its support to the Cuban labor congress held in Cienfuegos, Cuba, last February. It made its influence felt in the international convention of marine transport workers which met in New Orleans early in March. It exposed the true role of President Coolidge in the Tacna-Arica dispute between Peru and Chile. It has addressed a manifesto to Latin American peasants and another to Latin American students. From the Central American secretariat in Mexico City, it issues a 16-page monthly organ in the Spanish language called "El Libertador" (The Liberator), the first number of which has already appeared. Some of the leading intellectual figures of Latin America, such as Jose Ingenieros and Ricardo Marin, have been invited to contribute.

The next step of the League will be to call a convention somewhere in Latin America, of all elements ready to go along with it in its fight. This convention should be called as soon as possible. Its tasks will be to work out a common program and basis of struggle for all.

When the oppressed of the world join forces the oppressor's knell has sounded. If it fulfills the promise of its origin, the Pan American Anti-Imperialist League should prove an important factor in the overthrow of capitalism.

Subway

HERE, below we have noise,
big noise,
brother to thunder,
close kin to Niagara Falls.

Rivets of iron sound
drive into the ears
pound against the ear drums,
driving steady long
rivets of iron sound
into the ears,
pound-pound-pounding the drums.

Words struggle up
balancing on struggling lips

twisting into silent contortions.
Abortive words are swept away
into no-where
like dust motes on the wind.

Stop up your ears
with soft memories.
Plug them with hill thoughts
star silence
and the talk of grass.

Here, below,
let us speak,
only with our eyes.

HERSCHELL BEK.



The Two Big Fellows

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

CHAPTER III.

IN the present lecture, I shall treat of the five years from 1898 to 1903; that is, of that period which lies between the first and second congresses of the party, and which may be looked upon as the ante-chamber to the revolution of 1905.

The Student Movement.

Up until now I have spoken of the germination of the working class, and of the formation of its party. Now I must pause, to speak of several other phenomena, and, above all, of the student movement of this time. In its general features, it developed in the following manner.

At the outset, it was the worker who awakened the student, though, later on, the student supported the worker. Chronologically speaking, the strike movements of the workers preceded the student demonstrations, and their political movement in general. Hence, it is clear that it was the workers' movement that called into being the student movement, and not vice versa. However, at certain stages the student movement, in turn, greatly contributed to the growth of the workers' movement.

The student of those days was an entirely different type from the student of today. There was a time, particularly during the second half of the nineties, when the concept "student" was synonymous with the concept "revolutionary"; for, at that period, the pupils in the higher educational institutions were very largely revolutionary or opposition in their outlook, and supported the revolutionary movement of the workers. Today it is difficult to conceive of this state of affairs, since, during the last years of civil war, we saw the students almost continuously on the other side of the barricades. In 1923, the situation has somewhat altered, inasmuch as there are undeniable signs of a certain new evolution among the students.

The Evolution of the Student.

Considering the matter attentively, it may be said that the student developed "according to Hegel." At the beginning, the student was without exception revolutionary, unreservedly aiding the working class; then, from 1917 to 1920, we had the antithesis to this situation, when the student movement was wholly directed against the working class and against the revolution; finally, at the present time we observe something in the nature of a synthesis, a considerable part of the students, it appears, beginning to guess at their duties in relation to the toiling class, and, to step over into the camp of revolution, albeit with one foot only.

The first stage in the above-mentioned growth, went on at the end of the nineties, when the students gave entire support to the then workers' movement. Not without cause did the autocracy reckon the students, along with the workers, as its most dangerous enemies. And when the students, deepening their own movement, began gradually to advance from academism to open political activity, the Czarist government began to take determined measures against them.

The academic movement of that time, in distinction to

that of the present, was covered with a veneer of revolutionism. Now, after the deposition of the bourgeoisie, academism, in comparison with that which existed until the revolution, has acquired a different meaning. Of course, in the time of Vanovsky and Plehve, even the demand for autonomy of the universities was revolutionary, and from that point of view deserving of support: even the academism of that day was a movement directed against the Czarist autocracy. So-called academism has acquired an entirely different meaning, in our day, when within the walls of our educational institutions, as on the barricades, certain more or less White Guard professors and students are trying to hold out against the proletarian revolution.

The student youth of that day, albeit closely bound up with liberal and democratic society, sought after the mass force that would shatter autocracy. And at every step the students became more convinced that such a force was the working class, that it alone held in its hands the hammer that would smash in the head of Czarism. And in one way or another, the students gave support to the workers' movement of the time.

The Struggle of Czarism Against the Student Movement.

The Czarist government, seeing the tendency of the students to link up with the workers, fell upon them like a swarm of scorpions. The most stupid measure of all that they devised was the drafting of the rebellious students into the army. Tens and hundreds of them were seized at street demonstrations and stormy student meetings, and sent into the army. But this only threw oil on the flames. The movement broadened, grew, and at the same time the student youth, flung into the barracks, kindled there too the flame of discontent, and spread propaganda throughout the army. On this soil the terrorist movement began to gain among the students. Soon there rung out the shot by which Karpovitch killed Bogolepov, Minister of Public Instruction, and not long after Lagovsky shot Pobyedonostzev. Bogolepov's place was taken by General Vanovsky, with his program of "heartfelt solicitude," at which the students, of course, laughed.

The Students and the Socialist Revolutionaries.

It is important to note one circumstance: The student terrorists, though afterwards connected with the socialist-revolutionaries, previously adhered to social democracy. The terrorist tactics of the socialist-revolutionaries attracted two groups of students: On the one hand, men of the highest courage and absolute sincerity, like Balmashev, Karpovitch and Sazonov, drawn to terrorism by their fiery hearts, not sufficiently believing in the mass workers' movement, and thus, seeking to substitute for it their own activity as individuals; and on the other hand, there went over to the socialist revolutionaries men of Savinkov's type, attracted to this path by the adventurist tendencies and enmity toward the workers' movement that already at that time were present in them in embryo form. (Savinkov also at one time counted himself a social democrat.)

The Relation of the Social Democrats to the Student Movement.

The social democrats of this period were confronted by the question of what attitude to adopt in respect to the student movement. From what has been said of the "Economists," it obviously follows that exponents of this viewpoint should ignore the student movement as exclusively political, having, they claimed, nothing in common with the economic aims of the workers. But the exponents of political struggle, the revolutionary wing of social democracy, especially Comrade Lenin and the future "Iskrovtzi", did not look at the matter in this light. Of course, Comrade Lenin and his followers also recognized the fact that the student movement of that time was not proletarian; they realized that it was a temporary phenomenon, and that the time would come when the students would turn from the workers; likewise they knew that when the students of that period, being the sons of parents of the possessing class went out into the streets and took part in demonstrations it was not because they wanted socialism or Communism, but because of their desire to obtain political freedom, and to establish the rule of bourgeois democracy in the land. But Comrade Lenin and his followers, standing as they did for the hegemony of the proletariat, held the opinion that if the working class is leader—if it is the fundamental force and prime mover in the revolution, it must use as aids and auxiliaries every force in any way disposed to war on the autocracy. As revolutionary Marxists, standing for the viewpoint of the hegemony of the proletariat, they said to themselves: In a large household all may be of use; thus the student movement may be of use to us in the struggle against Czarism. We must avail ourselves of every opposition movement directed against the autocracy. The students are rebelling against the Czar—excellent, let us take them in tow to the working class, aid them, try to guide them, and direct their blows against the stronghold of autocracy.

Revolutionary Marxism and the Students.

Thus the revolutionary Marxists of this period, the future Bolsheviks, in contradistinction to the Economists, not only did not ignore the student movement, but gave a great amount of consideration to it. This circumstance must be carefully borne in mind if you desire to gain a correct understanding of certain most important and characteristic features of Bolshevism. The Bolshevism of the pre-revolutionary period, up to 1905, is often censured for the fact that it showed too great an interest in the bourgeois liberals, and in the bourgeois opposition: the students, the Zemstvo movement, "the Union for Liberation," etc. The Mensheviks availed themselves of this, time and again, to strike an attitude and assert that they were greater friends of the working class than we. They said: What are Zemstvos and students to us? Our business is exclusively with the workers; we think only of the workers' movement. They frequently accused Comrade Lenin of seeking too much contact with the bourgeois opposition—the liberals, the students, etc.

The Tactics of the Bolsheviks in Relation to the Students.

What were the motivating ideas of these tactics of the Bolsheviks? If Bolshevism, from its very begetting took an interest in any manifestation of opposition or revolutionary activity, however slight, directed against Czarism; if it extended a hand to any group whatsoever opposing the autocracy—

—this did not mean subordinating its program to that of the liberal bourgeoisie. No, it remained true to its own position. Putting up the maximum program (the overthrow of the bourgeoisie), at the same time Bolshevism believed that before all, the overthrow of the Czar was necessary to its realization, and that to this end use should be made of each and every current striving to wash away the dam of the autocracy. Consequently, from the very beginning the Bolsheviks looked upon the working class as leader, and declared that the workers not only would advance beyond either the student or the liberal movements, but, as Comrade Lenin expressed it, they would keep on pushing them forward. But at the same time Bolshevism warned the workers: Be on your guard: today the students are supporting you; today the liberals are making common cause against the Czar; but tomorrow, when the Czar has been overthrown, they will go against you; having received all that is necessary to them, i. e., political freedom, they will turn against you.

In this manner a twofold task lay before Bolshevism: on the one hand, to build up a class party capable of carrying on the struggle up to the complete victory of socialism; and on the other hand, to make use of every force directed against Czarism, including the students, the liberals, and the bourgeois opposition. And hence—the clearly marked difference in attitude toward the students, at the end of the nineties, on the part of the economists, the future Mensheviks and the exponents of political struggle, the future "Iskrovtzi", the Bolsheviks.

The Union for Liberation and the Union of Socialist Revolutionaries.

At this time there could be observed the beginning of a liberal movement, not limited to the students; there was also taking form the "Union for Liberation," headed by Miliukov, Kuskova, Struve, Prokopovitch, Bogucharsky and others, standing, from the beginning, with one foot in the social democratic camp, and the other in the camp of the liberals. The Socialist Revolutionary Union was formed at the end of the nineteen-hundreds. In the first period of their existence, both of these groups—"The Union for Liberation" and the Socialist Revolutionary Union—drew away adherents from the ranks of the social democrats.

At the same time the workers' movement, especially the strike movement, grew rapidly. In the middle of the nineties, May Day celebrations were initiated in a number of cities, and every year May Day assumed greater and greater significance. And here the movement developed, in a certain sense, counter to the Economists, who always followed along at the tail of the workers' movement, performing the role not of vanguard, but of rear guard. It was with good reason that in his book, "What is to be Done?" Comrade Lenin jokingly styled them "the Khvostists (Tailists); and Plekhanov in his "Vademecum," said of the Economists somewhat ribaldly, but with absolute truth, that they did not see the head of the workers' movement, not its face, but only its posterior.

Workers' Unrest in Petersburg and Other Cities.

Once under way the workers' movement went forward swiftly, drawing to itself ever wider circles of the workers. The year 1901 was the stormiest period of this movement, particularly in Petersburg. The revolutionary feeling in the capital rose with great rapidity, each day sweeping further beyond the program of the Economists. In 1901, in connection with May Day celebrations, great excitement flared up

in the Viborg district of Petersburg, culminating in bloody collisions with the police and real street battles. For the same causes, and after, a student demonstration in which workers also took part, in particular workers from the Obukhovskiy Works, riots broke out, ending in organized skirmishes with the soldiers and police. This so-called Obukhovskiy Defensive was participated in by several thousand workers and provoked tumultuous movements throughout Petersburg. And when the students went out into the streets not only in the capital, but in Moscow and Kiev as well, when the May Day worker demonstrators went out into the streets, especially in Petersburg, then the struggle took on an exceptionally clear-cut character.

Workers' Correspondence.

In the literary sources on the history of the workers' movement, one comes across fragments from "letters to the editor," which the workingmen and women of those days sent to the illegal papers. Here is what one workingwoman writes after the battle in the Viborg section:

"You don't know how outraged I was, and all of us. We wanted to get to Nevsky or to the town. It is very bitter to die like a dog in a corner, so that nobody even sees it. . . . And here is another thing I want to tell you: although very many of our people were taken—they may be dead now—in spite of it, we shall stand fast."

Worker B. observes:

"It's a pity that we didn't have any flags. Another time there'll be a flag, and we'll get guns."

Comrade Lenin and his group treasured these letters that they procured like gold, and printed them in the course of the struggle against the "Economists," in proof of their contention that it was not wage increases alone the advanced workers desired, but that they were conscious that they had to go out into the streets, to get hold of guns, and to battle with the Czar's police. With great joy Comrade Lenin printed the following excerpt from the letter of a worker from the district beyond the Nevsky Gate, who wrote as follows about the Economists:

"I showed it (1) to many of my comrades, and its all worn out. And it is dear to me, much dearer than "Misl" (2), although it doesn't deal just with our little everyday concerns. It's about those of our affairs—all Russia's affairs—which can't be valued at so many kopeks or fixed by hours. . . . Now the working people can easily be inflamed; they're all smoldering underneath—it needs only a spark and there will be a fire. Oh, how truly it was said, that from sparks shall be kindled a flame (3). Before, each strike was separate, but now, everyone sees that one strike is nothing; now we must try to get freedom, to take it with our own bodies. Now it isn't funds that we need, not groups, not even books—just teach us how to go into battle and how to fight."

The Paper "Iskra."

The exponents of Leninism of that time eagerly seized on such statements from various workers, wishing to show that the advanced worker was no longer thinking of limiting the struggle to economic demands alone, but asking to be taught how to go into battle, how to overthrow the autocracy by force of arms. That is, he desired to create a genuine revolutionary party, which should help him to play the role of leader, the basic force in the revolutionary struggle. And

thus, against the background of these facts and of these events, the paper "Iskra" was created.

In the beginning of the nineteen-hundreds, Comrade Lenin was recalled from exile, and together with him a group at that time sharing his views—Martov, Potresov and several others. In Petersburg they met Vera Ivanovna Zaslitch, one of the founders of the group of "The Liberation of Labor," and through her they formed connections with this group, the center of which was in Geneva, Switzerland. As I said in my last lecture, Comrade Lenin commenced his struggle against Economism when he was still in exile. Returning to Petersburg he set about mustering those of like views, discovering them in all the cities where the workers' movement had begun to develop. Among other things, he began to seek out all those workers together with whom in 1895 he had created "The Union for Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class." He thus got into connection with the Moscow workers and together with Martov and Potresov he became convinced that for carrying on the struggle with the "Economists," for the foundation of a real revolutionary proletarian party, it was imperative to found, as they then said, an "All-Russian" political paper.

Soon after this, in 1900, an illegal conference was held in Pskov, in which Lenin, Martov and Potresov participated, as well as two representatives of the local revolutionary movement: Stepan and Liubov Radchenko. (She is living today and known to many of us for her activity in the Moscow strikes of 1905 to 1906, when she was, unfortunately, a Menshevik.) It is interesting to note that the Pskov conference was also attended by Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky, who were planning to create a liberal-bourgeois organ, "Liberation"; inasmuch as they did not wish to sever connections with the workers' movement, they were attempting to patch up something in the nature of a coalition between the illegal liberals and the illegal social-democrats of the time.

At the Pskov conference it was decided to create the paper "Iskra." Comrade Lenin left for abroad with Potresov in order to put this decision into action. In December, 1900, there appeared in Munich the first issue of "Iskra," destined to play such a tremendous role in the history of revolution in general, and of the Communist Party in particular. It was not merely a paper, it was a printed weapon that succeeded in becoming the arbiter of thought of a whole generation, and in fulfilling a great literary-political task, carrying on meanwhile organizational-political work of the first importance for uniting the forces of the Party.

The Role and Significance of Iskra.

Comparing "Iskra" with the papers best known to you, it can be said that it played not a lesser, but rather a greater role than "Zvezda" (The Star), or "Pravda" (The Truth), from 1910 to 1912. As "Pravda," during the pre-revolutionary period aroused large circles of the workers, so in its time, "Iskra" stirred up a definite section of the workers and revolutionists. As "Pravda" gave rise to a whole generation of "Pravdists," from "Iskra" there arose a whole generation of "Iskrovtsi" or "Iskraki," as they were then called.

"Iskra" appeared under the editorship of Plekhanov, Lenin, Martov, Axelrod, Potresov and Zaslitch. Among these six individuals was one future Bolshevik and five future Mensheviks. Comrade Lenin's role in connection with "Iskra" was so important that after a short time the paper was known as the "Leninist" paper, and such in truth it was.

The Death of Sun Yat Sen

By G. Zinoviev

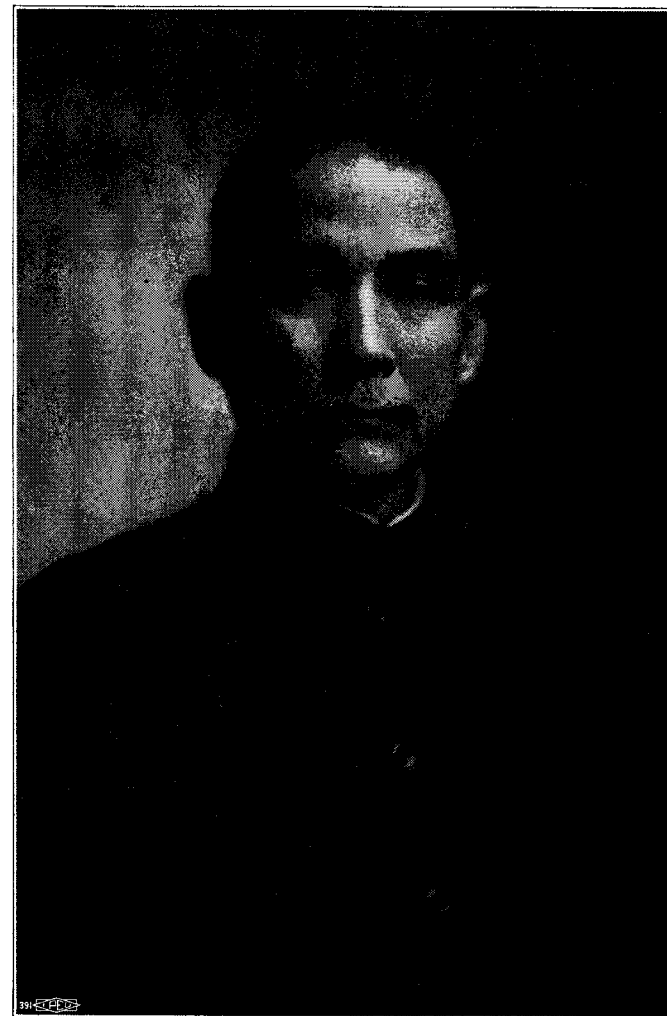
THE death of the leader of the Chinese revolution compels every class-conscious proletarian once again to ponder over the fate of the great national revolutionary movements which are growing and spreading before our eyes.

"Four hundred million backward Asiatics have attained freedom and awakened to political life. A fourth of the population of the globe has, so to speak, awakened from its torpor and is going forward to the light, to movement and to struggle." So wrote Lenin in November 1912. Nevertheless, these four hundred million Asiatics have had, and still have, to do not a little fighting for their freedom and independence which is threatened in an increasingly brutal manner by western imperialism.

Sun Yat Sen will go down to history as the greatest figure of a leader of the national revolutionary movements of the East in the first quarter of the twentieth century. He was neither a Communist nor a Marxist. His program—"nationalism, democracy, socialism"—bore all the signs of the backwardness of the social conditions of China. He tentatively sought his way, but he hated with a righteous hate the imperialists who had subjugated his native country. He devoted his life fully and entirely to his people, and what is more important, in the last years of his life he perceived more and more clearly that the suppressed peoples can only emancipate themselves and create the pre-conditions for a new life in close alliance with the world proletariat.

Sun Yat Sen was not a Ghandi, the leader of the moderate wing of the nationalists of India. Ghandi, during the last few years, has developed more and more along a descending line. To the brutalities of the English imperialists, Ghandi replied with—a thirty days fast. The incapacity of those groups which are led by Ghandi will unavoidably lead to their coming to an understanding with the imperialist suppressors, which is tantamount to a surrender.

Not so Sun Yat Sen. During the last years of his life in particular he developed along an ascending line. A few



SUN YAT SEN.

months ago the Kuomintang Party, which was led by Sun Yat Sen, found itself at the cross roads, in connection with the new attack against Southern China. Sun Yat Sen showed sufficient strength to break decisively and ruthlessly with the counter-revolutionary fascist groups (the so-called tigers). He succeeded in encouraging his followers to take up a decisive defensive struggle against the hirelings of imperialism and against the hesitating elements in their own ranks. He thereby saved the honor of the Kuomintang Party and showed to what heights the national revolutionary movement in China had already risen.

"In Asia a powerful democratic movement is growing and spreading. There the bourgeoisie still sides with the people against reaction. Hundreds of millions of men are awakening to life, to light, and to freedom. What joy this world movement awakes in the hearts of all class-conscious workers. . . . And "advanced" Europe? It is plundering China and helping the enemies of democracy, the enemies of freedom in China."

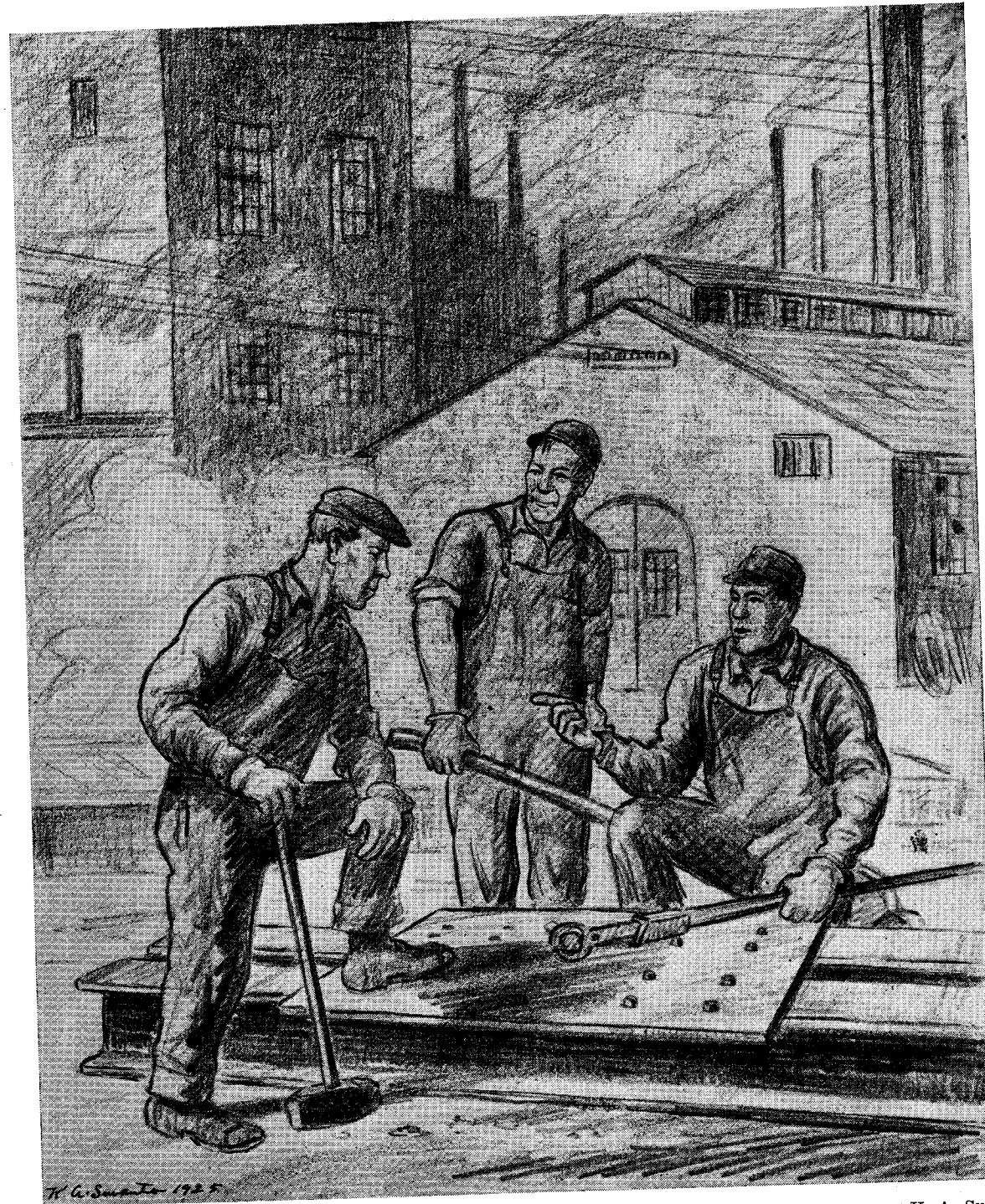
So wrote Lenin in an article in May, 1913, entitled: "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia."

This title of the article by Comrade Lenin is highly characteristic. In advanced Europe there appears as the advanced class only the proletariat, said Comrade Lenin, but the bourgeoisie is prepared for all cruelties, crimes and bestialities in order to maintain declining capitalist slavery.

A few weeks ago there died Frederick Ebert, the President of the German Republic, a former worker and a leader of German social democracy. Involuntary, one is led to draw a comparison between Sun Yat Sen and Ebert. Ebert was characteristic of that upper section of the European working class which has come completely under the influence of the bourgeoisie. To compare the names of Sun Yat Sen and Ebert is to confirm the words of Comrade Lenin regarding the backwardness of Europe and the advanced state of Asia at the present time. In our time, throughout the whole of Europe, there is not only the bourge-

(Continued on page 331.)

1) Speech appearing in the first issue of Iskra.
2) "Rabotchi Misl," organ of the Economists. (See foregoing lecture).
3) The motto of Iskra: "From sparks shall be kindled a flame."
—From the memorable reply of the Decembrists to Pushkin.



SHOP NUCLEUS.
(From Vappu).

K. A. Suvanto.

Communism in the Shops

By Martin Abern

BOLSHEVIZING the Communist parties and Young Communist leagues throughout the world is directly linked with the problem of completely organizing the parties and leagues on the shop nuclei basis, that is, making the combination of party members at the place of work the basic political unit of the organization.

Popularization of the historical and practical necessity of building the Communist Party units in the shops has gone on for a considerable length of time. The theory has been accepted. Today, the parties and leagues are concerning themselves with the actual organization of shop and factory nuclei. Still there have not been sufficient written directions to help the parties and leagues in this work.

Comrade Richard Gyptner was the first to write a detailed and lucid pamphlet ("FROM ISOLATION TO THE MASSES"), on this subject. This was based a good deal on the experiences of the Russian party and league and presented a solid, well-thought-out pamphlet dealing with the theory and practice of shop nuclei. Every comrade should make an effort to read it.

Practical Instruction on Organizing Shop Nuclei.

The Young Communist International has been instrumental in pushing the shop nuclei reorganization both in the Communist parties and in the Young Communist leagues and has gotten out the most literature on the subject. Now it comes forward once again with the very instructive and valuable pamphlet, namely, "INSTRUCTIONS ON THE BUILDING UP OF SHOP NUCLEI,"* and their practical work as the basic units of a Communist organization. It is the first of a series of pamphlets on this and other questions affecting party and league work. The series is called "The League Worker." This particular pamphlet, very simply written, based not on theories alone, but on actual experiences in the work of organizing shop nuclei, is of real value to every Workers (Communist) Party and Young Workers League member.

That shop nuclei work has passed from theory to practice is shown by the fact that in Germany, the Young Communist League has over 300 shop nuclei, Czecho-Slovakia 108, Italy 84, Poland 45, Sweden 40, Great Britain 12, American 10. These figures are several months old. All the organizations have more nuclei today. In Esthonia and Finland where the Communist movements are underground the Party and League are organized altogether on the shop nuclei basis. This is the main reason why the Esthonian and Finnish movements have been able to survive during the period of fearful oppression and white terror. The Communist parties, also, following pressure from Comintern and Y. C. L., have made great headway in organizing parties on the shop nuclei basis especially in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia.

Every factory must be a Communist stronghold. That is the strain which runs all thru this fine little pamphlet of instructions. In detail it takes up the technical side of organizing nuclei, such as number of members needed, time

and place of meeting, officers, the activities at the meeting, work of each member, etc. The pamphlet goes into the manner in which the literature should be distributed in the factory and how to meet the antagonism and position of the boss on this and other questions.

Beginning with the problems of shop conditions, wages, strikes, hours, grievance committees, the pamphlet deals with the means by which the shop nucleus develops the elemental job problems into broad political issues.

The workers organized in the basic and large-scale industries, the industrial proletariat in the mines, mills, railroads, etc., are the backbone of any revolutionary movement. They must form the absolute majority of a Communist party or Young Communist league.

Reaching the Industrial Proletariat.

This improvement of the social composition in Communist organizations and the prevention of decay and petty bourgeois development can be gotten through shop nuclei which bring about permanent mass contact with the working class. How the ideas of the party members and the direction and conduct of their work are changed because of their being organized in the shops and not in a stuffy hallway mainly used for social purposes, is clearly indicated in this pamphlet.

Many other questions, such as systematic educational work, the struggle against the opposition bourgeois and socialist organizations, anti-military activity, the future organizational questions, unemployed members and so on are dealt with in this lucid pamphlet of instruction and experiences in shop nuclei organizations. The historical necessity of shop nuclei has been fully treated in previous literature. Practical experiences in every form of Communist activity have demonstrated the superiority of a party and league organized in the shops over the social democratic (territorial) form of organization which still prevails in most parties and leagues.

The Workers (Communist) Party and the Young Workers League are in process of organizing shop nuclei. That is the first step; the second step, and it must follow quickly thereafter, is the complete organization of the Workers (Communist) Party and the Young Workers League into shop nuclei. Such a party will give an enormous impetus to revolutionary activity and organization. Such a party, a party of shop nuclei, means a party that has mass contact and mass influence. Such a party insures a successful Communist revolution. The road from isolation to the masses lies in the organization of shop nuclei.

Every party and league member should read this pamphlet issued by the Young Communist International and distributed in America through the Young Workers League, 1113 W. Washington Blvd, Chicago. The pamphlet sells at 15 cents retail.

* Instructions on the Building Up of Shop Nuclei, and their Practical Work as the Basic Units, published by the E. C. of the Y. C. I.

The Lenin School in Chicago

By Thurber Lewis

INTENSIVE training is always one of the attributes of war. By much the same token it must be one of the attributes of revolution. The difference is that training for war is a much simpler process. Training for revolution involves a curriculum far and away beyond the requirements of a preparation for a mere career in arms.

Intensive training for the Class-war is novel. It is new because the Class-war itself, until recently, has not been intense. Or if it has been intense it has been confined to a guerrilla, pointless warfare.

The object of training for the class-war is to supply leadership. Not merely leaders, but leaders with a oneness of purpose. This latter is important: a dozen leaders leading in as many directions are worse than none at all. The history of the working class is a history of being afflicted by just this kind of leadership. That volume of its history is drawing to an end. The first chapter of a new volume is being written by the Workers (Communist) Party.

The Communist Party takes the revolution seriously. It has no doubt about its coming. It has very little doubt about how it will come. It is the only Party in America that is taking the trouble to prepare for its coming. It is the only party that is trying conscientiously to help it along. The business of accomplishing both these ends is not easy. Knowing this, the Party is doing what a good general always does; it has gone in for training.

On the morning of March 16th, forty students appeared in Chicago for a two-weeks' course in the Intensive Training School of District Eight of the Workers (Communist) Party. The students were drawn from the coal fields of Southern Illinois, from the steel districts around Gary, from Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Milwaukee and of course, from Chicago. The students were workers: coal-diggers, steel-puddlers, truck-drivers, machinists and carpenters. The first part of their training, and perhaps the most important, they had already gotten; the training that all proletarians get and that only the conscious ones profit by: the struggle itself. The students that came to Chicago were among the conscious ones. They came to round out their educations.

No time was wasted. The greetings were short. The student body went right to work. The usual class-room idiocy was strikingly absent. There was no frivolity about these students. They knew their time was limited; they knew what was expected of them.

The course was well laid out and those who were assigned the task of being teachers were well prepared. The teachers were Party workers, members of the executive committee, editors of party publications and local functionaries. For them, the school meant extra work. They were required to prepare themselves and teach in addition to their already heavy duties. They did it gladly. They knew what this school meant, they knew it marked an epoch, they realized that this beginning, however humble, held out inestim-

able possibilities for creating the stuff out of which will come the kind of Communist Party they all want.

Well, what was taught in this new kind of school? It is not easy to explain. There is one word, "Communism," that will answer the question, but that word means more than it appears to at first sight. The point is, "Communism" is more than a mere "ism." It is science, politics, history, strategy, tactics, economics, dialectics and action all at once.

Let us take the courses one by one. Marxian Economics. Here we lay the basis, we study the fundamentals of capitalist economy, we learn how, by virtue of ownership, capital exploits its slaves through the medium of surplus value. We look into the machinery of the system and see its contradictions, we see that the machinery is wearing out and that it will soon fall apart. And we see a new force appearing within the old economic system, one that is growing up and is destined to displace the old and to be guided by the hands of the very slaves exploited by the old. Marxian economics supplies the sound theoretical ground upon which we stand, affirms the correctness of our efforts to overthrow the old system, and proclaims the inevitability of the coming to power of the now exploited proletariat.

Leninism. Here we have something comparatively new, but vital and indispensable to the stock in trade of the Communist revolutionary. It is Marxism again, but the Marxism of a later day—Marxism in the epoch of imperialism, the age of international capitalism, intensive and gigantic concentration of industry, ceaselessly centralizing and expanding financial monopoly—the Marxism of our own day, the period that marks the last stage of capitalism and that witnesses the coming to power of the organized proletariat. In Leninism we find not only the key to the Marxian interpretation of capitalism as it is today, but as well the chart that indicates the trails that lead to working class power, a chart drawn in bold, clear lines by the hand of one who led the Russian workers and peasants to victory.

Next we learn the History of the International Labor Movement. The early struggles of the new proletariat, the First International, its glorious ten years and its dissolution, the rise and collapse of the Second International, the Russian revolution and the birth and growing power of the Third International. In this we broaden our vision and comprehend the cosmic significance of the movement we are a part of.

Then we take our own labor movement. It is traced for us from its earliest beginnings. We follow it closely through its stages of action and reaction. We see its mistakes and recognize its successes. Its full significance is brought home to us. We no longer look upon it as a thing in itself; we see it as a process and we are better able to calculate the tasks of the Communists within it.

The Communist Movement is passed in review before us. In studying its background, its painful birth, its struggles through the period of illegality, its many splits and controversies, we learn the lessons of its mistakes and are impressed by the fact that despite all its internal strife and all its numerous early errors, these served, together with its



STUDENTS OF WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL

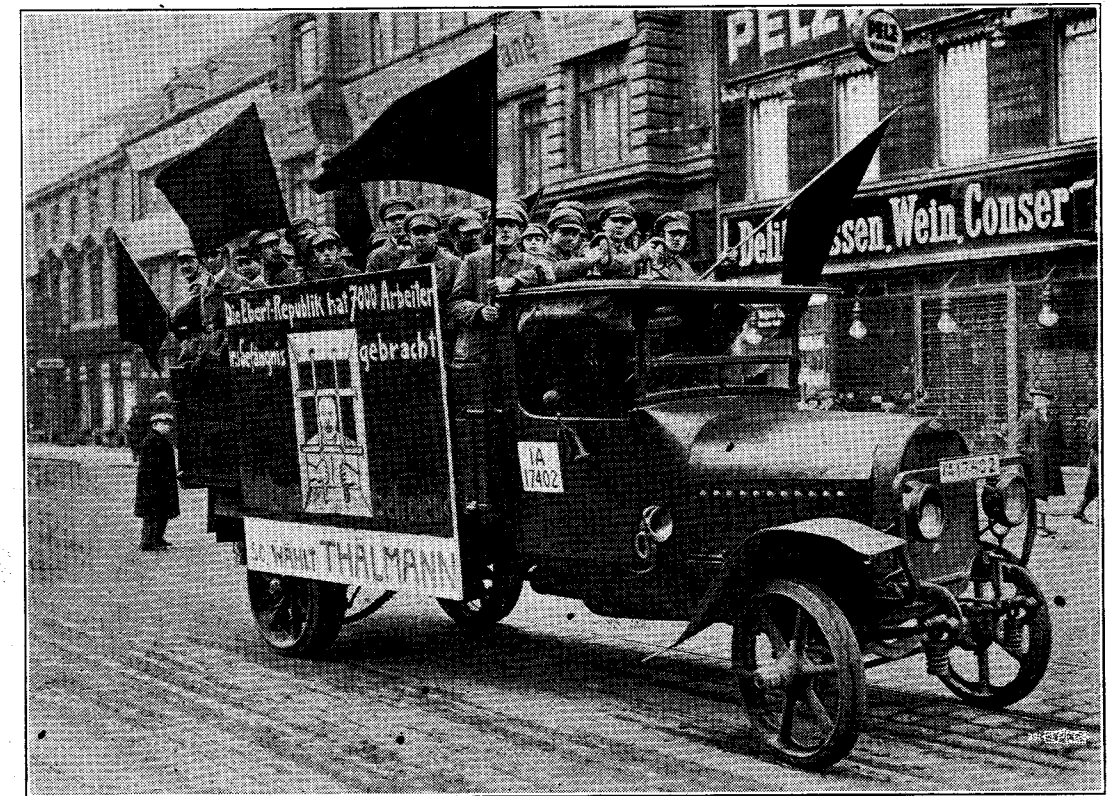
experiences in the struggle, only to clarify it and to make it a better and more efficient instrument of working class leadership.

We come now to the concrete business of party functioning and organization. What is the role of the party? How is it constructed? What are the duties of its members and officers? These questions are answered in detail. The functions and tactics of a Communist Party in action constitute no simple problem of two times two. It is a complicated business. But the unity of purpose of that business serves to blend all its many ramifications into a centralized whole.

A Communist always has a lot of talking to do. Inside and outside of his party the Communist must be prepared to make speeches on the most varied number of subjects and under the most varied conditions. We are taught not merely public speaking, but Communist public speaking. Begin well and slowly, speak deliberately, say something, know when to stop and stop, are the precepts. But that isn't all. A Communist has a way of his own. We learn what that way is.

Such, briefly, is the curriculum of a Communist intensive training school. At least it was the curriculum of the one we are talking about. If the description were less brief it would still give you but an inadequate idea of its comprehensiveness. It is absolutely surprising how much information was crowded into the two weeks of the school. Let us admit that the students were a little jaded on the fourteenth day; let us admit that much must have passed a good many by; one thing is certain, those workers went back home ten times better fitted as working class fighters, as Communists and as revolutionary leaders than they were before they came.

No one is being fooled. Two weeks is a short time. The students were not geniuses, the faculty were not Lenins and Bucharins. No one expected to turn out full-fledged Radeks. But it was a beginning. It was a beginning in practical and systematic training of captains and generals for the class-war in America. Lord knows they are needed badly enough. We are satisfied if we have made corporals and sergeants of them. There will be more such schools.



TYPE OF COMMUNIST MOTOR TRUCK DEMONSTRATION FOR THALMANN, COMMUNIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF GERMAN REPUBLIC

(Sign on truck reads: The Ebert-Republic has imprisoned 700 workers—Do you want to free them? Then vote for Thalmann)



Demonstration of Communist Women in the Streets of Berlin for Thälmann, Transport Worker, Leader of the Hamburg Insurrection, Organizer of the "Fighters of the Red Front of Hamburg," Communist Candidate for President of Germany.

Thousands of Workers Went on Strike on the Day of the Funeral of the Halle Victims, and Held a Great Demonstration Before the Grave of Their Comrades.



The Slaughter of Workers in Halle

A Prelude to the Presidential Elections

By Peter Maslovsky

THE C. P. of Germany arranged its first meeting in the presidential election campaign for Friday, March 15th, in the "red heart of Germany," in Halle. The meeting was held in the "Volkspark," the historical place where in 1921, the majority of the Independent Socialist Party, after hearing the speech of Comrade Zinoviev, decided for Moscow. Huge masses such as had never been seen before in the Volkspark attended the meeting: workers, clerks, officials, even members of the bourgeoisie, who were obviously present in order to enjoy the sensation of hearing the "Red President" speak. In addition to this there was an enormous overflow meeting in the garden of the Volkspark. At least 10,000 people were present.

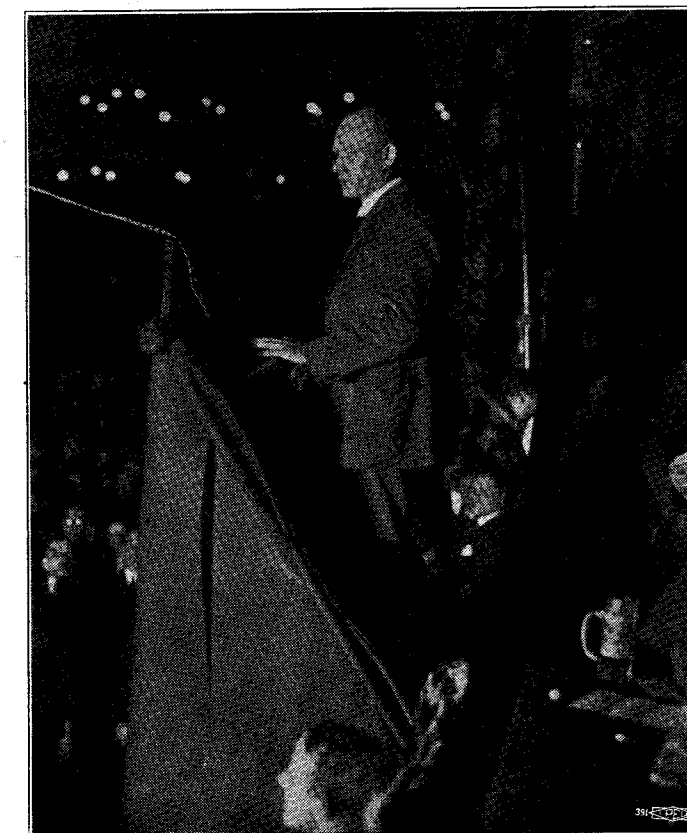
The social democratic police president Runge had, from the commencement, handed over the leadership of the police action against the C. P. of Germany, obviously planned beforehand, to the notorious police blood-hound, Lieutenant Pietzker. Although foreigners have spoken at all sorts of demonstrations of the black-red-gold parties, the police, as they could not very well forbid the election meeting, used the announcement of a French and an English speaker as a pretext for sending a heavily armed force into the meeting hall itself, in addition to placing a strong guard at the entrances. The two foreign comrades, who spoke in the name of the French and English proletariat respectively, were allowed to express sympathy with the red candidate for the presidential election, Thälmann, in their own language, without interference.

It was only when the chairman of the meeting announced Comrade Thälmann—who was greeted with loud cries of "Long live the Red President"—as the speaker, and even before the speeches of our two foreign comrades had been translated, that Lieutenant Pietzker suddenly sprang on to the table and forbade the meeting, while at the same time he flourished a revolver in the air like one possessed. The chairman immediately endeavored to calm the meeting. He offered to close the meeting in perfect order if the chief of the police would withdraw his men, who were already standing with drawn truncheons, revolvers and machine-guns ready to attack. The chief of police, who according to sworn witnesses had already before the commencement of the meeting spoken of "breaking up the meeting" and had also said that "something will happen today," threatened to shoot the chairman immediately. And as the crowd, which were tremendously excited, naturally broke out into cries of protest, he gave the order to fire.

About fifty to sixty shots from machine-guns and revolvers were fired into the dense crowd of people who were trying to escape. A fearful panic arose. The masses made for the exits which were too narrow for such a crowd. The rail of a staircase proved too weak to stand the pressure of such a weight of fleeing humanity. Although made of iron

it bent like lead and broke. Men and women, one after another came crashing down below.

Then deaths are to be recorded up to the present, among them being two women, and forty wounded. After the shooting the police behaved like beasts. People who came to inquire after their wounded relatives were driven from the hall with truncheons. Members of the Workers' First Aid Corps were also beaten. A policeman who broke into tears when proletarian women called "murderer" after him, and swore that he had not taken part in the shooting, was discharged by Runge.



COMRADE THÄLMANN SPEAKING TO 20,000 BERLIN WORKERS, MARCH 27.

The indignation in Halle and throughout all Germany is enormous. On Sunday, twenty-four hours after the outrage, demonstrations were arranged by the C. P. of Germany in all parts of the country. In Halle this protest demonstration was more strongly attended than the Thälmann meeting at which the massacre took place. At least 12,000 people attended. At the conclusion of the meetings the masses demonstrated before the police presidium crying: "Down with the murderers!" In view of the enormous masses, the tre-



WORKERS COVER COFFINS OF HALLE VICTIMS WITH RED FLAGS AND HUGE MOUND OF CRIMSON BLOSSOMS.

mendous excitement and the revolutionary mood the police did not venture to disturb these meetings.

Meanwhile a factory council meeting in Halle demanded the removal of the Police President Runge, the arrest and punishment of the murderer Pietzker, the maintenance of the dependents of the victims, the burial of the victims from public funds, ample compensation for the wounded and the complete withdrawal of the police from all workers' meetings. A committee consisting of five members of factory councils of the five greatest factories in Halle, among them a social democratic worker, constituted itself as a workers' committee of investigation.

The Communist fractions in the Reichstag and Prussian Landtag demanded that measures be taken against all officials connected with the massacre, and repeated the demands of the factory councils. The dismissal of Runge has already been forced through.

On the day of the funeral of the Halle victims tens of thousands struck work in the shops of the city. An immense crowd of workers, bearing red banners, accompanied the coffins, red-draped and heaped with crimson blossoms, to the cemetery, where a great demonstration was held despite the efforts of the social-democratic police.

Even in the bloody post-revolutionary history of Germany the Halle massacre is unique as regards its brutality, baseness and cynical blood-lust. That workers are shot down at demonstrations or in open struggles, that has up to now been part of the order of the day. But that unarmed working men and women who attend a perfectly legal election meeting, should be shot down like dogs in a closed room, that exceeds

even the Noske terror.

But the brutality of the massacre is surpassed by the profound baseness with which the bourgeois and before all the social democratic press are seeking to deceive the public regarding the massacre of Halle. According to these lying reports, it was the participants at the meeting who fired first. This lie is so absurd that it can only be attributed to the bad conscience and the fear of the murderers and of their social democratic supporters. The ten dead and 2 severely wounded were all participants at the meeting. If however, as the bourgeois and social democratic press report, there was shooting on both sides, then it is very remarkable that not a single police officer received any injury.

This palpable fraud on the part of the enemies of labor is having an effect favorable to the Communists, upon the indifferent masses as well as upon the social democratic workers, many of whom were present at the Thalmann meeting and saw with their own eyes what took place.

It is not a mere chance that the murderers selected the first demonstration on behalf of the Communist candidate in order to carry out a massacre. The social democratic police president Runge and the social democratic provincial governor of Halle, Grutzner, wished to furnish a fresh testimonial as to their reliability for the bourgeoisie in view of their threatened "dismissal." But this time the case is too monstrous. The murder will recoil on their own heads: the German workers recognize in the murders of Halle all the more clearly the nature of the fascist republic which is draped with the black-red-gold colors. The murder gang have shown to the proletarians the necessity of the united class front.



BOOK REVIEWS



Masses Aflame

"Flying Osip," Stories of New Russia: New York, International Publishers, 1925, introduction by Alexander Charnov, translations by L. S. Friedland and J. R. Pirozhnikoff.

IT is unfortunate that the English rendition of the stories cannot retain their original color and rhythms—the full, rounded maturity of Seifulina's broadly swinging voice, the nervous staccato and the mad twirls of Pilnyak's incantations, the patterns of gay sparks strewn all over Ivanov's carefully constructed improvisations, the heavy peasant-like melody of Kasatkin's yarns all woven of the tendrils of folk lore, the transparent brevity of the most even-voiced of all the younger gang, Arosiev, the matter-of-fact impertinence of the hidden romanticist and outward cynic Shishkov. To attempt a translation which is not only "correct," but in perfect unison with the original, is the task of an artist who would recreate in his native tongue the fierce delights of the newest Russian literary productions. Even so, many of them, perhaps most valuable, would not yield to the efforts of recasting, being of a material that is uniquely revolutionary and inimitably Russian.

However, the world at large cannot await the coming of a master-remodeler who would unite with a creative sensitiveness to the timbre, tone and modulations of the English language a fondness for modern literature and a predilection for the Russian revolutionary contents. It is, therefore, a distinct social service that the International Publishers have rendered by making a few Russian stories available in an unassuming and honest translation of two native Russians whose English is vivid and sound enough to give at least an intimation of the Russian.

The choice of the matter offers even more formidable obstacles. Some of the most pungent specimens of present-day Russian literature, some of the most fervent outpourings of a passion whirling itself into space, would remain incomprehensible to the outside world. Most of the agonized frenzy, of the demoniacal clashes, of the blood-curdling mockery, of the pain-laden grotesqueness of an entire world in a state of catastrophe, are too much of an intimate affair of the doers and fighters and sufferers of the Great Revolution to "appeal" to the essentially indifferent mass known as "general reader" whose main demand is to be amused. Comrade Charnov, who is responsible for the selection, had to steer the difficult way between the Scylla of the "abstruse," and the Charybdis of the non-typical. He discharged his task with

honor. The stories and fragments in this volume are both representative of the new literature and, with all the cruelty of their attack, they will fascinate even those alien to the revolution, not to mention its friends.

Each of the stories reveals another facet of the revolution at the same time retaining its intrinsic value as an expressive literary work (with the exception, perhaps, of Kolosov's "Thirteen" marred by an overdose of sentimentality). One can hardly expect to find even the outstanding features of the most colossal event in history focussed in one single volume. However, "Flying Osip" opens before the amazed beholder a world illuminated by the flames of multi-colored conflagrations, and inundated by sweeps of emotion as can be generated only by revolutionary struggle. Here is the Red Army warrior whose wife and children were tortured to death by the Whites. He seeks death. He throws himself into the thickest fire of battle only to emerge with an unscathed body and a tormented soul. Under the cloak of greenish light between one battle and the other he creeps to the bedside of his dying comrade, the sole witness of the death of his beloved, to beg for a repetition of the oft-heard tale of horror. ("Flying Osip"). Here is the ugly companion of civil war and blockade—hunger in its degrading, dehumanizing aspect, brutal, elemental, irresistible, craving for a mouth-full of food, for a quarter pound of bread ("Hunger").

Here is the uncouth, unorganized, unenlightened band of armed peasants which has to be broken into accepting revolutionary order and discipline as against wilful robberies under the leadership of nondescript native "fathers" ("A Mere Trifle"). Here is the Chinese member of the revolutionary detachment who, in order to halt the approaching armored train of the Koltchak forces and thus give the revolutionary peasant army an opportunity to board the train, throws himself across the rails. "The pines threw forth the armored train. It was gray, square, and the eyes of the locomotive burned an angry red. The sky became overcast with gray mildew, the trees stood like blue cloth. . . . And Sin-Bin-On, clinging closely to the earth, listened to the ringing reverberation of the rails" ("On the Rails"). And here are the Bolsheviks! The iron in the sluggish and backward body of the nation, the element of will, energy, persistence, conscious planning, hard and efficient leadership in the turmoil of a momentous upheaval! "Leather jackets! Skin fitted tightly to the jaws, lips set, movements downright and firm. They are the pick of the flabby and uncouth Russian people. You cannot dampen them. This we know, this we want, this we have decided—and no turning back" (Leather Jackets"), "Flying Osip" is a timely book. It ought to be read by everyone eager for a glimpse of newest Russian literature and for an understanding of the psychology of the Revolution.

MOISSAYE J. OLGIN.

The Bourgeois Tower of Ivory

"Mammonart," published by author, Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal.

UPTON SINCLAIR'S "Mammonart" is an important book and it comes very opportunely to the revolutionary movement in America. It so happens that in the "conversion" of an individual to the idea of revolution, his imagination is only partly, and sometimes not very deeply, colored by the change in his political and economic views. That part of the imagination which is left untouched thus remains under the alien and hostile influences of a bourgeois culture; or perhaps, in his confusion, the young revolutionist tends to identify anything "new" in the world of art and literature as "revolutionary," and falls into the traps of aesthetic obscurantism, pessimism, and mystical reactionism. The imagination, that deep storehouse of emotion, is too precious a part of our human equipment for us not to care whether it is sick or well, starved or fed. We have needed guides and helpers here. Upton Sinclair is an admirable teacher, not infallible by any means, but one of the best in this special subject that the revolutionary movement has ever produced in the world's history. He is eloquent, a great satirist, a sound interpreter of the theory of economic determinism in its literary aspects; a fiery and high-hearted critic of life, of writers, of writing, from the point of view of the revolutionary working class struggle; fully capable of helping equally the least and the most wise of us to discriminate between the poisonous nonsense which we have all been carefully taught and those living truths about art and literature which we need to know. It is a book which I think would have been applauded by Lenin, who so fully realized the importance of imaginative literature in preparing the way for acceptance of revolutionary ideas.

The book has a special importance to those young people in the revolutionary movement who are, or hope to become, writers. We live in a period of general intellectual and artistic depression, in which, throughout the bourgeois intelligentsia, the most reactionary fads are rife. The young revolutionist who wants to be a writer, Communist though he may be, is to some extent at the mercy of this miasmatic atmosphere. He (or she) will hear pessimism exalted, mystical balderdash praised; he will find that what is called the "Unconscious"—and what ever may chance to tumble out of it on to writing paper—is regarded with the superstitious reverence which savages have for their fetishes; he will be invited to worship this literary Numbo-Jumbo, and will learn that "purpose" in art and literature is being sneered at. More than this, he will tend to fall into imitation of the highly prized attitudes and habits of bourgeois "bohemia," and take to himself the vagabondage and the laughing evasions of responsibility which are more fitting to the intellectual fringe of a capitalist society that has begun to decay than to the pioneers of a revolutionary working class literature. These things are already happening, and will keep on happening, to the weaker and more susceptible young people of talent in the movement. But

to the stronger ones, who can see their true path when it is lighted up by such a lightning flash as this book it will come as a welcome event.

Finally, I think it should be left to the bourgeois critics of this book to call the book "Puritanical." The intellectual bourgeoisie prefers to think that America is suffering, not from capitalism, but from Puritanism; and its greatest gesture of defiance to tyranny is, accordingly, to safely break the eighteenth amendment! But those whose courage reaches higher than that will not be likely to compare the morals of this book with the morals of their grandfathers. (In fact, the young writer who should strictly follow the moral precepts of this book would stand quite as good a chance as Shelley of being regarded by pious neighbors as a "moral monster"—so much for the book's "Puritanism"!)

Yet it has morality in it, implicitly and explicitly set forth: a morality for revolutionary artists and writers, precisely. What it is I leave Upton Sinclair to tell them in his 386 eloquent, uproarious, sad, wise, noble pages.

FLOYD DELL.



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May Day

MAY DAY, the revolutionary holiday of the working class, is marked this year by two developments of the greatest importance to the workers of the world.

The first is the consolidation of the power of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the immense increase of its strength at home and abroad. Internally, the alliance of the workers and peasants is unbreakable, economic improvement in the last year has been such as to shatter all the inspired tales of the enemies of the workers' and peasants' government. Externally, recognition has followed recognition until the United States remains the only nation that does not deal directly with the Soviet power. Well-informed political observers predict some form of recognition by the United States within twelve months. The Russo-Japanese treaty has been a blow to the ambitions of American imperialism in the Far East and the paeans of praise for the Hughes' policy have turned into recrimination for the "short-sighted attitude of our state department."

Second is the extension of power and influence of the Communist International. In every nation, and notably in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most vulnerable spot on the imperialist body, the parties of the Communist International lead the struggling masses.

World capitalism recognizes the Communist International as its only enemy, and capitalist nations, torn asunder by their rivalries, give evidence of unity only in the hostility each displays towards the forces of the world revolution aligned for battle under the banner of Communism.

The decay of the second international by reason of its open treason, its shameless advocacy of the blackest forms of imperialist reaction, has left the field to the Communist International. May Day, 1925, finds the heritage of revolution bequeathed to the workers by the First International safe in the hands of the general staff of the Communist International with millions of workers of every race acclaiming it their leader, willing to fight and die for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Communism in Hawaii

THE savage sentences of 40 years imprisonment with hard labor imposed on Private Crouch of the American quartered in Honolulu and of 26 years imposed on Private Trumbull, have dramatically drawn the attention of the American working class to the true inwardness of the imperialist policy pursued by the United States, and the significance of the naval and military maneuvers now being conducted around Hawaii.

The two soldiers were selected for punishment as an example to all other workers in the uniform of the capitalist military machine. Their offense was a written objection to a local capitalist paper against the stupid lies printed therein on conditions in Soviet Russia. The more incriminating evidence submitted to a court martial was the work of a stool pigeon who testified that the defendants made disloyal attacks on the president of the United States and that they insulted the flag.

The convicted soldiers admitted that they believed in the principles of Communism. But does not the constitution of the United States guarantee freedom of political belief to even those who wear the uniform of the army or navy? The trial of Privates Crouch and Trumbull gives this pleasant fiction a death blow. So long as American workers, whether they are in the army or not, support the capitalist system, any political or religious beliefs they may have are perfectly constitutional. For those who are opposed to the system, there is the dungeon or perhaps the firing squad. What is the army for anyway, but to protect this system? And surely Wall Street cannot afford to let its main weapon of offense and defense become poisoned!

Capitalist editorial writers make no attempt to hide the fact that the maneuvers around Hawaii are directed against Japan. Hawaii is the farthest flung outpost of American imperialism on their American protectors.

The Communist International is not only organizing the industrial workers for the struggle against capitalism, but it is also mobilizing the colonial slaves of the robber empires. Communism anywhere is dangerous, but it is hell in the army of capitalism and a blazing inferno in an army stationed among conquered people who are as susceptible to anti-capitalist propaganda as a barrel of oil is to fire.

International Unity

THE two main national bodies comprising the trade union movement in Europe, namely, the British and Russian sections, have taken another long step forward on the road to international unity with the signing of an agreement in London recently which bids fair to establish in the near future a united trade union international bringing within its fold the organized workers of Europe.

The basis for this development was laid when the delegates from the Russian unions attended the Hull trade union congress as fraternal delegates, to be followed by a fraternal visit of British trade unionists to Soviet Russia.

The report of the British delegates on present conditions in the Workers' Republic is a historic document and its publication in Britain had caused more consternation in the ranks of the British ruling class and their yellow socialist allies than any event since the establishment of the Soviet government in 1917. Since the report saw the light, the allies of the bourgeoisie in the trade union movement in Britain have been beating a retreat, and despite the clever sabotage of the leaders of the Amsterdam International, the prospects of closing up the ranks of labor on the continent for a fight against the common enemy appear bright.

In this struggle for unity, the Communists, under the leadership of the Red International of Labor Unions have taken a leading part. The Communists have convinced the leaders of the British trade unions that they are sincerely for unity, not unity for the sake of unity however, but for

the purpose of waging the struggle for the emancipation of the workers from the yoke of capitalism, more effectively.

This development in Europe cannot fail to have a beneficial effect on the left wing movement in the American trade unions. The Trade Union Educational League takes the lead in bringing about a united front among the organized workers in the United States. Its program, branded disruptive by the labor fakery here, is accepted by the new leaders of the British trade union movement as the only one that can consolidate the forces of labor and put the unions in the necessary shape to fight their way to final victory. That program will win here as it is winning in Britain.

The White Terror

THE annals of human history do not record a more merciless persecution against a subject class than that now prevailing in the satrapies of the imperialist powers of Europe, in the Baltic states and in the Balkans.

Poland, Esthonia, Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Italy and Spain! Here is the bloody cordon of murder that runs from the Atlantic to the Baltic. This is the kind of a "cordon sanitaire" that the bourgeoisie like to draw between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world. A wall built with the bodies of murdered workers and cemented with their blood.

The workers of other countries cannot afford to look on unconcerned at the debauch of death now indulged in by the ruling classes of the Baltic and Balkan states. They are but the puppets of French, British and American imperialists. It is up to the workers of these countries to make their protests so strong that the cut-throats who now suppress the efforts of the workers to emancipate themselves with dagger and rifle will be compelled to call a halt to their orgy of assassination.

The French Crisis

THE fall of the Herriot government as a result of the pressure on France by the House of Morgan which insists on serious efforts to cut down the huge war debt has called attention again to the instability of European capitalism.

Right at the time when French policy demanded at least a semblance of unity in the face of increasing German aggressiveness there comes a ministerial crisis that has its roots in the insane financial policy followed by every French cabinet since the war. Debt has been piled on debt, loan on loan, the population was kept quiescent by promises that Germany would be made to pay all costs of the war, a huge army and air fleet has been maintained, loans have been made to the vassal states like Poland and Roumania, revenues have decreased while expenditures increased.

The end has come. Whatever the personnel of the government formed it must initiate a program of heavy taxation. Then the real trouble will begin.

That in the present decadent period of capitalism a political crisis can have serious consequences even when industry is active is shown by the fact that there is almost no unemployment in France at present. But French prosperity is based on purchases made by little states to whom France has made loans and is an artificial condition. German competition is increasing and with a budget that has never balanced since the war, the French government lives in hourly danger of a financial panic that might wipe out the franc.

That some kind of a Dawes' Plan will be drawn up for and accepted by France is inevitable. French imperialism is of a secondary character and can operate only within the circles of American and British imperialism. She will be forced to submit more and more to the dictates of the House of Morgan just as has been the case with Germany.

The French Communist Party has had a remarkable growth in the last six months and has become a real power. The support of the Herriot government by the socialists has disgusted many former followers, while the program of the Communists which calls for unity of the French and German working class against the Dawes' Plan attracts thousands of workers as the prospect of a Dawes' Plan for France bears out the statements of the Communists that the House of Morgan is the counter-revolutionary force backing all assaults by the capitalist state on the working class of all countries.

The Nova Scotia Strike

THE Nova Scotia coal miners have challenged the British Empire Steel Corporation again. They are on strike and the Canadian capitalist press is outdoing its previous efforts in its denunciation of them.

The Red International of Labor Unions has sent \$5,000 for relief and this has set the capitalist world by the ears. Wild tales of Bolshevik gold are being put into circulation, but just as in the strike of the Shanghai textile workers, the contribution of the R. I. L. U. has given a great impetus to the drive for world trade union unity and set to the whole working class an example of international solidarity.

As we go to press the news is that John L. Lewis is on his way to "investigate" the strike. He stopped long enough on his journey, however, to interview Canadian government officials. He heard their story of the strike before the members of the union could get his ear.

The miners of Nova Scotia have already shown that they know the caliber of Lewis and how to deal with him. This hobnobbing with capitalist state officials simply bears out their opinion of the man who revoked their charter the last time they were on strike with James McLachlan in jail by orders of Besco.

In the June Issue of the Workers Monthly will appear more of the Series of Powerful Lithographs by Maurice Becker on Incidents in the Life of the Political Prisoners With Whom He Shared His Prison Sentence at Leavenworth. Introduction by Roger Baldwin.

The International

GREAT BRITAIN THE mine war for which the militants in the British Miners' Federation have been urging preparedness, and above all, the formation of a united fighting front of the miners with the railwaymen, transport workers and metal workers has been declared. By a vote of 208 against 143 the House of Commons has rejected the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Bill, under which the miners would have been guaranteed a minimum wage of from 10 to 12 shillings a day—that is about three pounds (14.25) a week. The Tory and the Liberal coal owners united to defeat the bill, and the Tory Cabinet stood solid against it.

In the course of the debate in the House facts of the first significance regarding the progressive enslavement of the British miners, under the competition growing out of the Dawes' Plan were brought out. The mines were characterized as slaughter-houses under present conditions.

"The men employed in mining," declared a Labor member, "are not obtaining sufficient nourishment to enable them to resist the forces of nature against which they have to contend. The mines are ceasing to be commercial undertakings and rapidly degenerating into slaughter-houses.

"There has never been in the history of the industry such a slaughter going on in the mines as there is today. In 1919-20, when the average weekly wage was £4 a week, the average non-fatal accidents numbered 117,000. In 1922-23, when the average wage was £2 10s. the accident figure was 200,000, out of 1,200,000 work people in the industry, one-sixth of the total number."

A. J. Cook, general secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and a leading figure in the Minority (militant Left Wing) Movement in the unions and advocate of trade union unity, has sounded the call to battle:

"We will now prepare the machinery to establish by our might," he declares, "what we have failed to secure by reason.

"Tories and Liberals showed a united front to defeat the miners' claim. What an object lesson to workers!

"The Prime Minister's plea for peace in industry meant nothing more or less than peace for profit-making and the re-establishment of Capitalism, which, in turn, meant for the workers permanent slavery and poverty.

"Four hundred idle pits and paralyzed mining villages with over 120,000 unemployed miners bear witness to the ravages of Capitalism, and we are determined, as an industry, to take our stand definitely on the right to live, and to insure that industry, instead of making slaves of human beings shall be made to serve mankind.

GERMANY

THE German government has broken the railway strike, which promised to shake the very foundations of the Dawes' Plan, by making obligatory the arbitration award of three pfennigs (about half a cent) per hour wage increase.

Over 2,000 strikers have been victimized. In view of the fact that, according to the Dawes' Plan, the German railways are to yield one milliard and 70 million marks a year, a general strike of railroad workers would have constituted an extremely heavy blow to the whole Plan, and the Luther Government, with the fullest support of the social democratic leaders in the Reichstag and Trade Unions, used every method of menace and deception to break the strike while it was yet in its beginnings.

In 1924, under the Emergency Powers Act, the former Marx Government "stabilized" the wages of the railwaymen, always an extremely poorly paid class of labor in Germany, at two-thirds of the normal pre-war wage, and announced the dismissal of 300,000 workers within the coming months. A work-day of nine or ten, and for some types of work, 12, 14 and even 16 hours was introduced, together with a brutal speeding-up system and work rules.

In 1925, new mass dismissals were announced, "without any consideration as to time of service, years, etc." The growing anger of the rank and file finally forced the bureaucracy of the German Railworkers' Union to demand a change in the agreement of the union with the companies, which expired on March 1. The union chiefs put the demands very apologetically, however, and negotiations dragged on and on, the companies refusing to make any concessions whatsoever. Angered at the intransigent attitude of the bosses, and sick of the long-drawn-out negotiations, numbers of railworkers in Chemnitz, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and practically all the stations of Saxony and Thuringia, struck work without waiting any longer for word from their yellow chiefs. The Fascist "Civic Union" and the police immediately began action against the strikers, and the Government threatened military measures.

The strikers demanded the proclamation of a general rail strike, and the formation of a fighting alliance with the miners and metal workers, who were also facing a struggle for the re-establishment of the eight-hour day, and a wage increase. Instead, however, the chiefs of the Railworkers' Union did everything in their power to prevent the extension of the strike, officially declaring "that the strike had not been sanctioned by them, but they had instructed the local officials to support the strike and to take part in its leadership in order to prevent it from coming under the leadership of the Communists."

On the parliamentary field the same sabotage of the strike was carried out by the social democrats, who voted, in common with the bourgeois parties, a resolution charging the Minister of Labor with the task of "liquidating" the strike. The latter issued a decision maintaining the long work-day, and intolerable work-rules, and specifying a three pfennig wage increase. The decision was received with great indignation by the railworkers, voiced in numbers of protest demonstrations. Despite their present defeat and their betrayal by their union chiefs, the men are determined to reopen the fight again before long.

Revolution in Trade Union Terms

(Continued from Page 298)

from Moscow in time."

Mr. Bromley: "Then it would not be true to say, as has been said in England, that there was a properly constituted Government here, order prevailed, and everything was stable, and that the Red Army marched in and overthrew this stable Government?"

The Witness: "I was a member of the Central Committee of the Trade Unions at that time, and we fought all the workers who wanted to turn Bolshevik. The Mensheviks destroyed four unions because they would not fight against the Bolshevik leaders. The Mensheviks prevented meetings of their own Trade Unions because they feared the Bolshevik influence and power in these unions. After some of this kind of treatment, such workers left and went abroad and formed detachments to fight the Government. The 5th Regiment and 7th Detachment of the People's Guard went over to Bolshevism. A revolt then broke out in one district. A Soviet Government was formed. All this was done by the Georgians themselves, with not one Russian."

Perhaps there are items in the report more important than those we have selected for comment. The best way to test this is to get a copy and read it thru. It is a great story, told in matter-of-fact language, the story of millions of workers and peasants marching towards Communism over all obstacles; it is history hot with the breath of the struggle in the style of a convention report, yet nothing since the Russian revolution itself has caused such a stirring in the foul nests of the world counter-revolution.

The value of the report has been heightened by recent events.

The British trade union leaders whose observations and conclusions are there set down had their honesty and sincerity tested even before they left Russia. On their return they were met with a barrage from the poison gas batteries of the social-traitors of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam).

The attack was all the more vicious because A. A. Purcell, chairman of the delegation is also chairman of the I. F. T. U.

To the everlasting credit of men brought up in the atmosphere of British respectability they have met this test like class conscious workers. They have taken the initiative in the drive for World Trade Union Unity, they have joined hands with the Trade Unions of Soviet Russia with the same sincerity which they wrote of them.

The social-patriots are now on the defensive—the class peace advocates are in retreat.

The reactionary trade union bureaucrats are the last outposts of capitalism in the ranks of the working class. They are being driven in and to the British trade unionists who have had the courage of their convictions much credit is due. Lest we become too eulogistic of individuals however, it is well to remember the rise of class consciousness in Great Britain and that work of the British Communist Party that has made such an offensive against the right wing possible.

The Daily Worker, when the first intimation of the contents of the report was received, said editorially that it

marked the real beginning of the sweep of the influence of the Russian revolution into the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Nothing further can be added except to say that the report, a beautiful piece of typography, 275 pages, 18 illustrations from photographs, four of them in color, published by the Trade Union Congress General Council of Great Britain, should be given the widest possible circulation in the jungles of the American trade union movement where mere literacy passes for education and where roams the wary pure and simple trade unionist spitting fire when he hears of Communism, untamed except by the boss.

Let this product of our 100 per cent American public schools read the report of the British Trade Union delegation and let his literacy lead him to look with a new understanding upon the trade unions of America, prostitute to a futile policy of "collective bargaining" when history demands that they organize and strip for combat.

Revolutionary Russian and stubborn, slow-moving Briton both call to the American worker from the pages of the British delegation's report.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF THE WORKERS MONTHLY, published monthly at Chicago, Ill. for April 1, 1925.

State of Illinois, County of Cook.
Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Moritz J. Loeb, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the WORKERS MONTHLY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, Daily Worker Publishing Co., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago; Editor Earl R. Browder, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago; Managing Editor none; Business Manager, Moritz J. Loeb, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago.

2. That the owner is: (If the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and address of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given.)
William Z. Foster, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, W. F. Dunne, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, C. E. Ruthenberg, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, J. L. Engdahl, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., E. R. Browder, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., L. Lore, 15 Spruce St., New York City, B. Gitlow, 108 E. 14th St., New York City, Max Bedacht, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, J. P. Cannon, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Martin Abern, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, F. Burman, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, J. Lovestone, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, A. Bittelman, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago.

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There are none.
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in case where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company's trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is—(This information is required from daily publications only.)

Moritz J. Loeb.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of March, 1925.

S. T. HAMMERSMARK.
(My commission expires May 22, 1928)

The Death of Sun Yat Sen

(Continued from Page 317)

oisie which is the most reactionary force, but also the upper section of the aristocracy of labor which runs in harness with the bourgeoisie. Ebert came from the party which was at one time the most advanced party of the advanced working class of Europe. He claimed to be a social democrat and even a Marxist. He was a disciple of and afterwards succeeded August Bebel, the really great tribune of the German working class. This did not prevent him from becoming a counter-revolutionary and the mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

At the same time the social development in such a backward country as China, where the working class is only just arising and where Marxism has yet to make its first conquests, resulted in Sun Yat Sen gradually developing from pacifism to nationalism to the role of the real leader of the national revolutionary movement, which allied itself with the international proletarian movement which is marching under the banner of the Communist International.

The Russian Revolution can be proud of the great influence it has had upon the national liberation movement of the peoples of the East. "World capitalism and the Russian movement of 1905 have finally awakened Asia. Hundreds of millions of the intimidated peoples living under mediaeval conditions, are awakening to new life. . . . The awakening of Asia and the commencement of the struggle for power characterizes the period of world history opening at the commencement of the twentieth century." These are the words of Comrade Lenin. If our revolution of 1905, which did not even immediately vanquish Tsarism and not by any means the bourgeoisie, exercised such a powerful influence upon the awakening of the East, what a far greater influence the great victorious October Revolution of 1917 must have exercised! And this it did in fact! If our Revolution had succeeded in doing nothing else than fulfilling the task of awakening hundreds of millions of peoples in the East, it would thereby alone have fulfilled a world-historical mission.

The views of Bolshevism regarding the great significance of the national revolutionary movement of the suppressed peoples as one of the most important constituent parts of the proletarian world revolution, are one of the most important contributions of Leninism to the total teachings of Marx. The life and activity of such people as Sun Yat Sen are a brilliant illustration of the correctness of the views of Leninism on this question.

The advanced workers of the whole world, who are organized under the banner of the Communist International, are perfectly clear as to of what great importance such men as Sun Yat Sen are for the world revolution and what a great future awaits the movement which has been created by Sun Yat Sen.

The Communist International does not hide from itself or from others the weak sides, the vagueness of the program, the deviations, the tendency to compromise which exist in the camp of even the most revolutionary representatives of the national liberation movements of the East. But at the same time it is clear to the Communist International that the national liberation movement of the East is a desirable and powerful ally of the advance-guard of the world proletariat.

The advanced workers of all countries who belong to the Communist International will revere the memory of Sun Yat Sen as one of the greatest representatives of that movement of the suppressed nationalities which is marching side by side with the advanced sections of the world proletariat to the fight against imperialism. "The place of the bourgeoisie, which is decomposing while it still lives, will be taken by the proletariat of the European countries and by the young democracy of the Asiatic countries which is filled with belief in its own powers and trust in the masses." These words which Lenin wrote a year before the outbreak of the imperialist world war are of special import at the present time, when the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union is now in its eight year and when the great national liberation movement throughout the whole East is ripening so rapidly. The difference between Chamberlain and Ebert is considerably less than the difference between Ebert and Sun Yat Sen. The Eberts are the allies of the world bourgeoisie, the Sun Yat Sens the allies of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that the final victory belongs to the world proletariat and to the armies of the national revolutionary movements of the East which are marching forward to unite with it. This victory is no longer distant.

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IN the "Century Magazine" for April an eminent professor of anthropology reports upon the low state of Europe. and as evidence records: "These 'sophisticated' Russians acclaim Upton Sinclair as a 'magnitude of the first order.'" The professor knows the reason for this. and gives it in a sentence: "The Russians admire Upton Sinclair simply because he is a Socialist."

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THE professor implies that the popularity of Upton Sinclair is a matter of mass-prejudice; overlooking the fact that the men of letters here lead the masses. Is Upton Sinclair the favorite American writer of Georg Brandes because he is a Liberal? ("Frank Norris, Jack London, and Upton Sinclair," says Brandes.) Of Henri Barbusse because he is a Communist? ("L'hommage d'admiration devouee," writes Barbusse.) Of Romain Rolland because he is a Humanitarian? ("One such work will survive in an epoch," writes Rolland.) Of Blasco Ibanez because he is a Constitutionalist? ("Mon grand confrere," writes Ibanez.) Of Frederik van Eeden because he is a Catholic? ("Verwonderlijke kracht," writes van Eeden.) Of H. G. Wells because he is a Utopian? ("Dear and Only Upton," writes Wells.) Of Johann Bojer because he is an Artist? ("Dear Master," writes Bojer.) Of Rabindranath Tagore because he is a Saint? ("I felt immediately a bond of sympathy," writes Tagore.)

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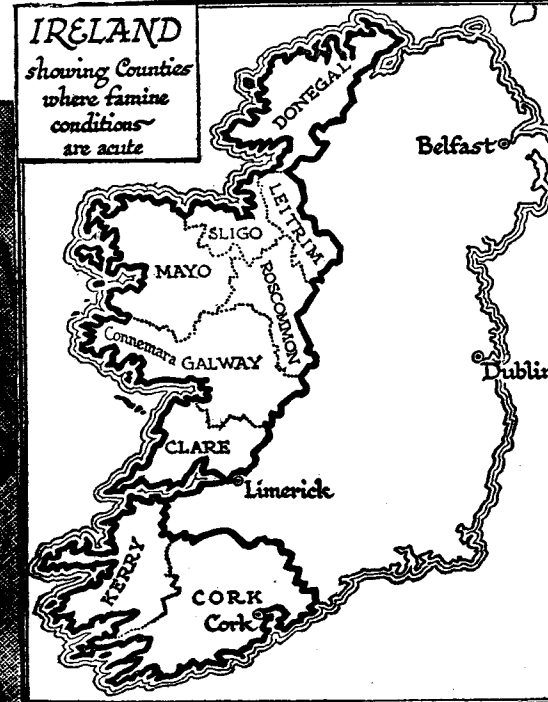
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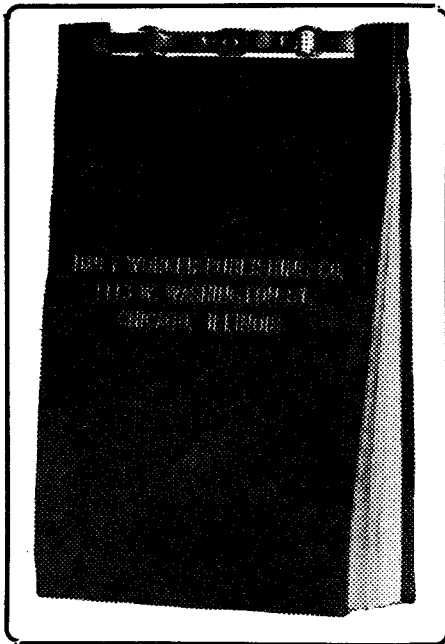
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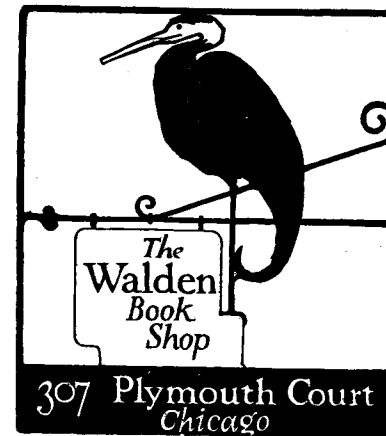
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