

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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WHILE THE WAR WAS ON THEY PLEADED—



TODAY THEY RIDICULE AND FIGHT LABOR

World-Wide Significance of International Red Aid

By ISRAEL AMTER.

White reaction holds the working masses of the world in its bloody grip. In Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, Roumania, Letland, Esthonia and Finland, in Java, India, China and Japan, in Spain and France, in the United States, Canada and South America—tens of thousands of the best workers are languishing in prison. They have been sent to these hell-holes for daring to fight in the front ranks of the workers against the brutal exploiters. In the interests of the workers they have defied the authority of the capitalist State, and today are paying the penalty of their heroism.

Post-War Annoyance.

The World War filled the international bourgeoisie with great pride. THEY had won the war; they were well armed, the working class was split into warring camps. Despite the fact that they had accumulated billions of debts; created values to the amount of more billions had been shot to pieces; and despite the fact that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia had taken from them one of the most fertile lands for exploitation, they felt strong. Many capitalist governments were on the verge of ruin and collapse; many shuddered before the menace of the working class. The international bourgeoisie felt safe; they would not allow the proletariat of another country to seize power. Together they would drown the workers in blood.

In Hungary, the workers might attempt to establish their Soviet power; in Finland they might declare parliament their own; in Italy they might seize the factories and fight for State control; in Germany they might overthrow the Kaiser and proclaim the country a republic—the bourgeoisie did not fear. The war taught them the necessity of standing together. However much they may fight among themselves for the spoils of war and for the right of exploitation—against the working class and the militant peasants they are a unit.

The Black International

Hence the workers of Hungary, Italy, Finland, Roumania did not fight against their bourgeoisie alone. Behind the bourgeoisie of these countries stood the mighty capitalist governments of France and England, aiding them with guns and ammunition, with millions of gold. Just as they had tried to throttle the Soviet Government with guns and aeroplanes from England, France and the United States; just as they sent American, English and French boys to shoot down Russian workers and peasants who threw the bourgeoisie out of their land for ever—so, too, they aid the bourgeoisie of every other country in beating down and crushing the working class.

The capitalist system of production is truly anarchic. But the capitalist mind is clear. The capitalists very well understand their mutual interests and they are organized to protect their interests. Armies are not created by one capitalist government only to beat another capitalist government in the race of profits, for sources of raw material and fields for investment. Armies are created in order to shoot down rebellious workmen and militant peasants. They are to help other capitalist governments in subduing their workers. We have returned to 'peace' yet the standing armies of the world are larger than before the war. The capitalist world is preparing not only for another world war, but also to curb the revolution.

The Bogeyman of Capitalism

The capitalists have operated well to befuddle the minds of the workers regarding the meaning of revolution. They have held up to them the "blessings of democracy," the "splendors of civilization." They have calumniated the revolutionists, the "Reds," the Communists. They have pictured them as bloodthirsty ruffians bent upon destroying the world. Under the pressure of the press, the school and the church, the workers have yielded to the influence. But the spirit of revolt cannot be curbed in this manner. Capitalist exploitation and capitalist government—upon which the power of the bourgeoisie rests—are teaching the workers a better lesson. The

struggle for existence against the pillage of the capitalist class and the brutality of all capitalist governments are pounding into the head of even the most stupid worker the fact that as long as there is a capitalist there will be a capitalist government, and its function is to crush the working class and keep it in subjection.

The shrewd-minded capitalists have succeeded in keeping the workers apart. They are well organized, but in every country they have carried on vicious campaigns to destroy the organizations of the working class. Trade unions, cooperatives, peasants organizations—all of them have suffered under the blighting hands of the capitalists and the capitalist governments. In Italy, Mussolini, the idol of the international bourgeoisie, whose methods they are copying in all capitalist countries, has obliterated the unions and cooperatives and has turned them into organizations against the workers and peasants. In Germany Stinnes, Thyssen and Wolff have carried on one vicious campaign after the other with the aim of destroying the unions. In France, Spain, Norway and Sweden, in England, United States, Canada and Argentine, in Japan, India and Australia,—in all the countries of the globe, the capitalists, or

these are the bloody triumvirate which has strewn Germany with the corpses of German workers and filled the prisons with ten thousand workers who have dared to rebel.

In Bulgaria, five thousand workers and peasants have been slaughtered, five thousand more languish in prison, five thousand have been sent into exile for fighting against the fascist government.

In Italy and Poland thousands of the bravest workers and peasants are rotting in the dungeons of capitalist prisons.

In Spain, France, Holland, Finland, America, Canada, Japan, China, Java and Korea, the best fighters for the working class are tortured in the prisons; many are driven to madness and suicide, others are murdered.

The largest number of the workers who were massacred and imprisoned are Communist. The masses of India have been told by the MacDonald Government of Great Britain that if they dare to fight for their freedom, the full force of the British Government will crush them. But the masses fight on, altho their leaders and their best comrades are in prison.

Thousands Doomed To Death.

Tens of thousands of the world's most courageous fighters will die in

pon they will free themselves from capitalist tyranny... They must stand solidly behind the militant revolutionary workers in prison. They must aid their families. They must help the imprisoned peasant who are paying the penalty for their heroism.

The white terror in Europe and Asia demands that the workers of the whole world unite in defence of the imprisoned comrades and their families. It demands that the workers of countries where the hand of reaction does not yet press so heavily, form their Red Aid organizations at once, before the guns of capitalist soldiery and gendarmerie mow down the best fighters of the working class. **SELF HELP AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY MUST BE OUR SLOGANS!**

The International Red Aid.

The barbarous torture of the White Terror caused the formation of the INTERNATIONAL RED AID one year ago. The need of it is apparent. In this short period, the International Red Aid has sent tens of thousands of dollars to aid the fighting working class prisoners in Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, Spain, Hungary, France, Esthonia, Letland, Finland, Lithuania, Roumania, Java, China, Palestine.

Where has this money come from? Chiefly from the Russian workers and peasants. The Russian workers and peasants cannot forget the solidarity that the workers of the whole world manifested towards them when they fought against international reaction in defence of their Soviet Government. They cannot forget the aid that the workers and peasants gave them when famine threatened their land. They cannot forget how, in the times of the czars, their political refugees were aided by foreign workers. Russian workers have given of their earnings. They pledge themselves to aid their fighting comrades abroad, and their starving families. They know that the CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS HATE MOST OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS, BECAUSE THEY ARE THEIR BITTEREST ENEMIES IN THE CAUSE OF THE WORKING CLASS. Russian peasants give of their grain; their last trinkets they contribute. **FIGHTING WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES, NO MATTER WHERE, MUST BE SUPPORTED. THERE IS NO MORE GLOWING TESTIMONY OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY THAN THAT OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS!**

Four hundred Russian workers and peasants are in the organizations of the International Red Aid. Their slogan is ONE MILLION MEMBERS by May 1. The workers and peasants of other countries should take an example from these workers.

There is no more urgent task than that of the International Red Aid. It is a powerful weapon of the working-class against the White Reaction.



May Day Apparition

ganized in their associations, and leagues, have left no means unused in their campaigns to exterminate the last remnants of labor organization.

Betrayers of Workingclass

In this brutal onslaught, they have been aided by the reactionary trade union leaders and the reformist politicians. These "labor leaders" and representatives of the working class—Ebert, Leipart, Turati, Modigliano, Jouheaux, MacDonald, Thomas, Gompers, Lewis—stand for "social peace," which means working class surrender. It means the acceptance of hunger and starvation, of wages that will not keep body and soul together, of prostitution and child labor, of hours and conditions of labor that crush the very life of the worker. **AND ALL FOR THE SAKE OF PROFITS!** This is the meaning of "social peace" which is preached and practiced by the reactionary, reformistic "leaders" of the working class.

The militant workers revolt against such conditions. In every country of the capitalist world, the workers are rebelling. For five years in Germany they have fought against the combined attack of the German bourgeoisie and the French imperialism, who are aided by the upholders of social peace. Poincare, Ebert and Stinnes—

capitalist prisons. Tens of thousands more must face capitalist courts to be sent to decay in the pest-holes of prison, others to be shot. Tens, yes, hundreds of thousands of women and children are doomed to hunger and death by the savage hand of capitalist "justice."

The international bourgeoisie could not succeed in its diabolical plans were the working class not disorganized and disunited. The capitalist class will succeed still further if the workers of the world do not unite in defending their fighters. The capitalists do not ask about color and complexion. They are indifferent to race or faith; they do not ask about political affiliation. Militant workers are a menace and must be removed; prison torture and death are their reward.

President Wilson first heard of Tom Mooney when the workers of Lenin-grad demanded his release. Dato was released from a Spanish prison after the workers of France had demonstrated. **INTERNATIONAL RED AID IS THE DEMAND OF THE HOUR.**

International solidarity is the strongest weapon of the working class in the fight against the bourgeoisie. The working class must learn to stand together as the international capitalist stick together. With this

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ERS' AID, Philadelphia Conference.

The Economic Conditions of the Landless Farmers in the U. S.

By LOUIS ZOOBOCK.

THE contention of many agricultural scholars that tenancy is only the first step on the "agricultural ladder"—in other words, the first step toward farm ownership—is absolutely without any foundation. An investigation by the Department of Agriculture for the period January, 1920, to March, 1923, for 94,000 farmers in 15 states showed that 8.5 per cent lost their farms thru foreclosure or bankruptcy and "that 15 per cent were in fact bankrupt, but still held their farms"; that "the percentage of farm owners who lost their farms varied from 6 per cent in the North Central States to nearly 20 per cent in the Mountain States." Another report showed very clearly how difficult it is for an agricultural laborer to acquire a farm out of his earnings. In 26 farm management surveys made in different parts of the United States it was shown that if the agricultural workers tried to buy a farm of average value there would be nothing left to live on in 13 out of 26 communities surveyed. "In other words, even making no allowance for living expenses there would be less than enough to make the annual payments on interest and principal, the deficit ranging from \$28 to as much as \$722. In eight of the remaining communities, after meeting the annual payments for interest and principal, there would be less than \$200 for annual living expenses. Only in three communities was the remainder for living expenses above \$300."

The farmers, under pressure of financial capital, are forced more and more into the status of landless agricultural workers; it has become next to impossible for an agricultural worker to acquire a farm; this will especially become clear when we describe the actual living conditions of the farmer-laborer.

Extent of Farm Labor and Character of Work.

In 1920 there were over 4,000,000 agricultural wage earners. Since that date the number has considerably increased.

The type of work performed by these workers can be classified into regular and seasonal labor.

The development of machine agricultural production; the heightened land values, caused thru the speculation of financiers, tend to prevent laborers from becoming land owners and to fix them as a distinct economic and social class. The "hired man" is now an established institution on the farms of the United States. The conditions of work of the "hired" regular laborers are deplorable. They are characterized by long hours, poor housing and lack of social recognition. The hired men are "expected to do with their might what their hands find to do." The type of more or less regular labor work either by the month or year; they are boarded in separate boarding houses provided for them by the employers. Another class of farm workers lives either in self-owned or rented houses and hires out for wages by the day or month. In the South, where the Negro is the larger source of farm labor, racial lines are observed and the Negroes are separately housed and fed.

In many places the hired men suffer under poor living conditions and harsh treatment. This is especially true in those places where the factory system of agriculture appeared. On the huge estates operated by managers, the wages are often exceptionally low. The large estates embrace whole towns and counties and are a law unto themselves; they are dictators of the lives, liberties and happiness of their employes, because they control the schools, churches and local governments, as well as the chance and means of labor. Not seldom the workers are paid in coupons or scrip which must be traded out at the estate store. The absentee landlords, who generally live in the East or in Europe, thus sapping labor of its just dues and the local community of its income. In the South, as it is well known, considerable peonage exists.

One of the worst features of farm labor is that of seasonal employment. Seasonal labor at present comprises a large proportion of the farm workers. It is made up of workers who hire out usually for the crop season, and those who work in gangs, at day labor, or at specified tasks six to eight weeks in duration.

The industries of the cities are the greatest ultimate source of supply of seasonal agricultural workers. Thousands of city workers, during periods of industrial depressions, emigrate to nearby farming communities for a few weeks or a whole season in order to supplement their meager earnings. The conditions of life of this class of agricultural workers are such "as to inevitably weaken their character and physique, to make them carriers of disease, and to create in them a habit of unsteadiness and migration." On the farms these workers are regarded as social pariahs; they are usually lodged in barns and stacks. When they return to the city to spend time between seasons, "they not only meet the unhealthy and demoralizing influences of the cheap lodging houses, saloons, houses of prostitution, and other similar establishments in the slums, but they fall easy prey to gam-

self out for a season for bread and clothes for himself and family." This description explains why the children of the agricultural laborers work on the cotton fields of the South; Thruout the cotton regions, children between the ages of 6 and 15 work in the fields performing a large proportion of the labor.

Somewhat similar conditions prevail in other parts of the country. In the sugar beet fields, "children of 5 and 6, thin, weed, pull, top, pile and cover beets at the various stages of the season." They work between 10 and 14 hours a day, which leads to countless accidents. A national Child Labor Committee says: "we saw wrists that were swollen and lame, hands that were sore, cracked and full of dirt, and knees that were sore, cracked, and calloused. The glare of the sun is a very severe strain upon the eyes of many children." Fingers accidentally amputated in "topping" the beets, rheumatism and other ailments from exposure to all weathers, were cited as being all too common. On the cotton fields of California children as young as four pick from sunrise to sunset, etc.

The hours of labor of the agricul-

thruout the U. S.; in many regions the wages are very much lower than the average quoted. In the South, where the cropper system of tenancy prevails, "life is reduced to its lowest terms in money." A study of conditions of 329 farmers in Chatham and W-m-s counties, North Carolina, has shown the following results:

GROSS DAILY INCOME (1921)

	Per person daily
135 White Owners	34c a day
41 Black "	32c " "
38 White Renters.....	14c " "
13 " Croppers	8 " "
66 Black Renters.....	16c " "
36 " Croppers	10c " "

The above figures are fairly representative of the conditions which prevail thruout the South. The croppers, as shown, live on an average cash income of 8 cents and upon some such pauper wage the South over. Can they hope to ever secure and pay for a farm of their own?

Housing Conditions

The housing conditions of the landless farmers are shocking. They are characterized by unendurable filth, primitive sanitary facility and overcrowding. Thruout the rural regions of the United States, a marked contrast is noticeable between the housing conditions of the farm owners and farm tenants. An investigation of the Interchurch World Movement made in 1920 in some of the best farming sections of New Jersey and Pennsylvania shows wretched housing conditions of the tenant farmers; the houses were described as merely places, whose function was "to furnish a roof and rooms in which to eat and sleep."

In the South, the housing of the tenants is particularly bad. On many plantations, it is the custom to supply the house free of rent; the reason being that most of these rent houses "are not fit to house the landlords' hogs." The houses are usually very small, consisting of two or three rooms; the negro tenant's house often does not possess even glass windows; and "light and ventilation are received thru the opening that is protected from rain and by a small door on hinges." In most of the dwellings of the farmers "it is possible to study astronomy thru the holes in the roof and geology thru cracks in the floor"; and it is in a building of this kind that as many as ten people are housed.

The housing of the large numbers of migratory workers is beyond any description. The types of housing and accommodations include barns, "shacks on wheels," "bunk houses," shacks which are often mere coverings from the weather, etc. On the truck farms of Maryland, the camps provided for the workers are barn-like shacks; usually one or two rooms are shared by 30 to 100 persons of both sexes and all ages. In the Michigan sugar beet fields, it was found that 14 families of four and five persons, and four families with from six to nine persons were living in one room shanties. One family of eleven, the youngest child, two years, the oldest 16 years, lived in an old country store which had but one window; the wind and rain came thru the holes in the walls, the ceiling was very low, and the smoke from the stove filled the room. Here the family ate, cooked and washed. In Tuscolo county a family of six was found living in a one-room shack with no windows; light and ventilation were thru the open door.

Such are the living conditions of the landless farmers; conditions which they were thrown into by the ruthless exploitation of the capitalists. The natural question to ask is: How to remedy these conditions? And there is only one answer to be given; remove the cause; destroy the system that generated these evils, and this can only be accomplished thru the organization of a strong class-conscious Farmer-Labor Party, whose slogan should be: A Workers' and Farmers' Republic of the United States.



The Dream of Henry Ford

blers, small private bankers and all sorts of parasites." Such is the lot of the seasonal agricultural worker.

Child Labor.

In the South conditions are shocking. Here, as professor J. Smith has described there is a very "large class of one-mule tenant croppers who are forced early every spring to sign papers that mortgage away their crops long before they even break ground to plant them. They must have bacon, bread, coffee, clothing, and mule-feed; they want tobacco, ribbons, chewing gum, and other indulgences, but before the landlord will sell to them or 'stand for them' at the country store they must sign the papers, tho it takes the bread from their babies' mouth, keeps the winter shoes from their little feet, and deprives them of their only cows that supply their babies with milk. The landlord sees to it that the papers are signed either with name or crossmark, and he furthermore sees to it as a rule that the amount he 'stood for' comes out of the crop before any of it can go for shoes, dresses, ribbons, or anything else for the personal use of the cropper. Such is the tenant system of very poor thruout the Southland, and it applies to white and negro alike. It guarantees the rent to the landlord, and it insures poverty to the tenant and deprives him of his freedom. He binds him-

self out for a season for bread and clothes for himself and family." This description explains why the children of the agricultural laborers work on the cotton fields of the South; Thruout the cotton regions, children between the ages of 6 and 15 work in the fields performing a large proportion of the labor.

The wages of the agricultural workers are miserably low. In 1920, the average monthly wage of the farm laborer was \$46.89 with board and \$64.95 without board. Since that date there was a decided drop in wages. In 1921, the monthly wages of the agricultural hand were: \$30.14 with board, and \$43.39 without board, and, by October 1, 1922, the figures were \$28.97 with board and \$41.58 without board. At present they are still lower. The figures show that between 1920 and October 1, 1922, monthly wages with board declined 38 per cent; without board 36 per cent while the cost of living declined only 23.2 per cent for the same period.

The figures quoted above represent the average wages of the farm-hand

Emphasis on Communist Education

By MARTIN ABERN

Comrade Rebecca Grecht writes interestingly in the DAILY WORKER on the subject, "Communist Education—A Pressing Need." Substantially, there can be little disagreement with her opinion that Communist education has not been sufficiently emphasized and that there is a need of co-ordinating the various phases of Party activity so that each balances the other in a beneficial way.

A big problem of the Party is to gather organizational strength. A strong organization campaign is essential. The Party has been carrying on political struggles beyond its organizational strength. It has gained much influence among sections of the workers and farmers thru its political activity, especially in the campaigns for a mass Farmer-Labor Party and for the protection of the foreign-born workers. Its political influence exceeds its organizational strength. It is necessary therefore that the Party gain more than it has organizationally from its political and industrial activities. Unless such an organizational strengthening is obtained, then the political value of the Party's work is somewhat diminished. In Germany, for instance, the Communist Party carried on immense campaigns among the workers; its ideas dominated the masses, but recruits to the German Party in a corresponding degree were not obtained. The masses did not fully recognize that it was the Communist Party of Germany which was instrumental in putting forward these ideas and slogans. Consequently, much of the work of the German Communist Party did not materialize in organizational gain. It did not receive the proper credit for its work. Much of the work must perforce, therefore, be done over again, in a measure, in order to turn the minds of the workers directly towards the German Communist Party as the genuine working class leader.

Workers Party Dynamo of F.-L. P.

The Workers Party has been, and is, the dynamic force behind the Farmer-Labor movement. This is recognized in a greater or lesser degree, but not sufficiently so. The emphasis of the Party has been on the campaign and propaganda by the Workers Party for the formation of a mass F.-L. P. and not enough on the need of organizing the influence thus gained into the ranks of the Workers Party itself. Propagandically, from the standpoint of gaining much influence for the Workers Party among the rank and file trades unionists and other workers, the July 3rd Conference in Chicago is an example. Leaving aside the question of the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, there can be no doubt that the Party enormously increased its prestige and influence.

But passing events, the swift development of the Farmer-Labor movement, sweeping into its ranks many who formerly opposed such a movement, or were lukewarm toward it, have resulted in the Party not holding entirely the influence obtained thru its farmer-labor party campaign. This is in part because the Party stressed the political necessity of a mass farmer-labor party, but not enough the role of the Workers Party and the need of organizing those workers close to it into the ranks of the Workers Party. Because the Party placed foremost, it seems, the necessity of the formation of a farmer-labor party and not enough of the W. P. itself, many now accept the F.-L. P. movement, but do not see the positive role the Workers Party played in it. Today there are more who will stress the need for a huge organizational campaign by the Workers Party.

Our Party played a tremendous role in the recent United Mine Workers Convention. It is necessary to organize this influence into membership into the Workers Party. Only the Communists, in the last analysis, can be depended upon. Many miners are very sympathetic to the efforts the Party comrades made at the U. M. W. A. convention. Strong attempts must be made to bring them into the Party and to acquaint them closely with the role and program

of the Workers Party in order that the future activities in the U. M. W. A. can be even more positive and steadily broadened, and the work of transforming the U. M. W. A. into a revolutionary organization hastened.

Party Education is Imperative.

Political, organizational, industrial and Communist educational activity must go on simultaneously, in as close a degree and ratio to each other as is physically possible. Then our members will better understand and more surely carry out the Party's political directives and other work. Even as the political influence of the Party is greater than its organizational strength, so also is the political activity not sufficiently countered by a corresponding Communist understanding on the part of the members as a whole. In efforts to get out mass political propaganda, we have often run away from the members insofar as the mass of the members did not always comprehend clearly what the Party was trying to carry out. There was not sufficient clarity of the members on policy. The Labor Party policy, among others, is one. If there is to be a 100 per cent response from the mem-

we faced by this situation, but even in Russia the Party is confronted with the task of raising the cultural level of the nuclei (the Party political units) in order that they may distinctly remain far ahead of the non-partisan elements. Of course, purely pedagogical means are not enough; for the raising of the Party intellectual standard is a political problem, which means that besides the internal teaching mediums, the whole Party must carry out the Party tasks. Thus, thru schooling and struggle the level of Party understanding is raised. Every member, then, must be drawn into Party life and made to understand that he is a necessary part of the Party organism.

Bring Branch Discussions To Daily Questions.

There must be at the Party meetings, especially in the branches, more discussions on topics very close to the daily lives of the workers. The large political problems will interest the Party member, of course, but these must, further, be brought closer to his daily life and to the lives of other workers. The branches should have discussion by the members on life in the shop. Every member can and should speak five or ten minutes

greater degree, the Party will find itself greatly handicapped in its organizational, industrial and political activity.

Education Thru Class Struggle.

Organizers and speakers who have visited the membership from coast to coast are frank to declare that not only must there be a greater intensification of Communist educational activity, but that there must be carried on activity to make the members understand how to carry out even the elementary and routine work of the Party.

To build up the Party, to increase its political and other activities, we must have a trained officialdom. Functionary training must be made a vital part of our education. Organizational and functional strength, trained officials, will be obtained thru actual work in carrying out the Party program and thru functionary classes to hasten the development of trained officials. Functionary classes should be started wherever possible to teach the members how to handle meetings and other posts, large and small, in the Party. Each member should be assigned duties to perform with a view to building up the Party and learning thru work and experience the best methods of procedure. Communist education, whether in theory or in training of Party functionaries, cannot be gotten just from text books. A theoretical training is essential. At the same time, we must recognize that one of our slogans is: Education, not only thru books, but education thru active participation in the class struggle, in the daily lives and struggles of the workers. Education thru activity and activity thru education is our method.

Making the Work Cohesive.

Another need, in the writer's opinion, is to bring the members closer to the Central Executive Committee of the Party, and other official bodies, such as the District Executive Committees.

The Central Executive Committee must not be removed from the members, as if one were composed of the untouchable goods and the other of the lowly meek. Of course, this situation or impression by no means prevails.

There can be no doubt, however, that it would produce a healthy effect if comrades active in the various political, industrial, or other spheres, were brought more often before the Central Executive Committee to discuss and give their points of view.

Youth is Keynote in Problem.

In carrying out its political and other policies, the Party must not forget the Young Workers League movement. In the Young Workers League, an English-speaking young Communist movement is being developed. The real basis for an American leadership of the Communist movement which can make itself felt in the American labor and political movement is here being laid. Every encouragement should be given to the young workers' movement. Those who are joining the Young Workers League are new to the radical and revolutionary, or Communist movement. Their brains are open to clean cut Communist education and activity. They have not most of the confusion which many comrades of the Workers Party brought with them from the Socialist Party. The latter is nothing to be scornful about; it is merely a condition of fact. The young workers have been born into a period of militarism and imperialism; there are no pacifist illusions about them. They can grasp Communist thought and action without difficulty, whereas many Party comrades who have lived in the period of social reform and pacifism find it difficult. These are but a few of the reasons why the Party must lend strong encouragement and aid to the Young Workers League and thus lay a real basis for a strongly-knit Workers Party.

Shop Units Organization of the Party.

A very essential matter which must claim the attention of the Party more than ever before is the shop nuclei, or shop unit form of organization. The shop nuclei form of organization has been proved the correct political

(Continued on Page Seven.)



Back Again!

bership, they must fully know and understand what is wanted. The need of more intense Communist education is hence, as Comrade Grecht says, obvious.

The Two Forms of Education.

Our educational work takes on, of course, the forms of internal education, or education within the Party, and external education, or education among the masses. With the latter we need not deal here, except to say that our propaganda among the masses must deal with the elementary principles of the class struggle and the A B C of Communism. We must not speak above the heads of the members of our class who have, on the whole, never been affected by radical or revolutionary doctrines, but, on the contrary, have been poisoned against them.

But the problem and need of the education of the membership has reached a point where every possible action to satisfy this need must be taken. The level of Communist understanding of the members must be raised; it must easily be above the understanding of those outside the Party, if the Party members are to make their influence felt among the sympathetic, neutral or non-partisan workers. Not only in America are

on conditions as he finds them in his shop and how it affects him and his fellow workers. These are matters which are close enough to him to understand thoroly. This is always interesting.

An effort should be made to develop more systematically the Communist education of the members. Theoretical training will be obtained, in a large measure, thru study classes, lectures, discussions on important current events, a study of the labor movement, its problems in this country, etc. All branches must institute study, lecture, or shop nuclei classes. Whether the lecture, text books, or other methods will have to be employed by a branch or shop nucleus will have to be determined by the local conditions and teaching facilities, but a strong effort must be made to increase the educational and teaching apparatus. It is to be hoped that the Party can institute soon District and National training schools where the selected comrades can go thru a course of Communist theory and practice. One thing is certain, that not as much has been done as is possible, even with the physical limitations prevailing in the Party. Still, unless the Communist understanding of the members is increased in a much

AT THE DOORS

By BORIS PILNIAK

(Continued from Last Saturday.)

II.

On Christmas Eve a special messenger called at certain houses and delivered the following confidential note:

Please do not confound us with the numerous Fakers now common. Ladies and Gentlemen:

If you wish to have the following goods:

Sugar, refined	1000	rbls. per lb.
Sugar, pulverized	800	" " "
Mutton	450	" " "
Pork	700	" " "
Meat, Cherkask	225	" " "
Meat, Russian	100	" " "

—you will please state the quantity desired to our messenger, who will call 6 p. m. (old time) and the specified goods will be promptly delivered to you. No deposit is required. We trust your honesty.

Your Friends."

Christmas Eve.

A big bright star was to rise on Christmas Eve to unite all men—but no star could yet be seen. The mother of Doctor Federoff was busy making pies and was happy because a Christmas star would rise in the evening, because there would be pelmenis* in the house, and for once, no potatoes at all, and, above all, because Vassia was her only son—her all. And there would be napkins, and a table cloth, and kerosene oil, and sweets, and pelmenis—the best pelmenis in the city.

Joy mixed with deepest sorrow—was the mother's; sorrow mixed with keenest joy—was the son's. The Doctor chopped wood and heated the stove for his mother, and his heart was overflowing with a fervent tenderness, with a fervent love for his mother. His mamma, his mammy, troubled and happy at the same time, was fussing around the pelmenis, sweets and the mutton pie.

On Christmas Night a ball was given at the Voenkom's. There was an orchestra, waiters, geese, pork, cognac, cavalry, jjonka*, cakes, pies, candy, tableaux vivants, games of forfeit, charades, flying post, speeches. It was a joint meeting of the third element, i. e., the Intelligentsia, and the representatives of the Communist munist Party.

But nothing special was happening on Christmas at the house of Ivan Petrovitch Bekesh, for if some people could and did find various provisions in the starving city, Bekesh was completely helpless. Together with his wife, mother, god-mother, and child he was forced to live on potatoes which, altho including all his rations up to July, were in just sufficient quantity to end the starving family's days by certain death in spring.

Early on Christmas Eve Doctor Federoff and the writer Iakov Kamynin stepped in to see Ivan Petrovitch Bekesh. In the blue twilight they came, walking in the crisp snow along many side-streets. Skirting the fields they came thru the suburbs and past houses buried in snow to the roof. They found Ivan Petrovitch playing vingt-et-un with his wife, mother, and god-mother. He took his guests into his study containing a double-bed, a Japanese fan, and a table with postal cards arranged in symmetric order. Kamynin who nearly reached up to the ceiling, sat down without removing his hat. Ivan Petrovitch knew why the writer and the doctor had come. Still he said:

"Well, how did you blow in? It's quite an age since I saw you."

"On foot" answered Kamynin, "Yes."

"Ha, ha ha," Bekesh snickered, "of course."

"Have a smoke; the makhorka *** is quite strong; how are you getting on?"

"Hm... poor business. We live and eat, tho, truth to tell, there is precious little to eat."

Silence. Smoke.

"We came to see you about the diary."

"Oh, I see, about the diary. All right, I have not changed my mind, but..."

"Then you agree to sell it?"

"I have not changed my mind, but,

really, of what use is it to you? Amusement, I suppose."

"I need it" said Kamynin and drew the smoke.

"It is for Olga Veralskaya, for my dear Olenka"—Doctor Federoff was thinking with acute pain.

"Yes, I suppose, as material for your writing."

"That's it, I need it as material."

"But allow me to ask, Iakov Sergeevitch, what you found interesting in it."

"Well, you know... Quite a lot, yes."

"Are you going to write a novel around it?"

"Well, I do not know. Perhaps."

They remained silent.

"How about the diary?"

"I am afraid I can not give it to you at this price."

"What price?"

"The one agreed upon. I am selling it to you only because you are a writer. I would not sell it to any one else."

"But nobody else would buy it except as wrapping paper."

"You are right. You are absolutely right. Remember, however, that I put all my soul into it, all my life."

"May be."

"And you want it for a thousand roubles!"

Doctor Federoff looked at the trem-

bling hand of Ivan Petrovitch Bekesh and at his pale forehead. Ivan Petrovitch sat unnaturally erect, fidgeting as if he were on strings. And in the movements of his body, in the sweat of his forehead there was something loathsome, something cringing, calculating, Ivan Kamynin, who had written fifteen books, and who looked like another Don Quixote, sat there with his bony legs spread wide apart, with his hat on, smoking wearily, speaking slowly and also wearily. "Olenka, Olenka, dearest, precious" thought Federoff and his heart was filled with love and pain.

"There is some of my poetry here, too."

"All right, how much do you want for the whole thing?"

"Oh, you want to know the price? Upon my word I did not intend selling it. I really do not know."

"What human wretchedness" thought Doctor Federoff. "And what if one believes in nothing? Olga Veralskaya believes in nothing, and yet her comb is sewn up carefully with cotton so that no one may notice it is broken. And mother, mammy dear, is busy making pelmenis in the city. And all for him, for Doctor Federoff. But the diary is for Olga Veralskaya."

Then the Doctor said aloud:

"Listen, it is getting late. I have a headache. Hurry up with that business."

Ivan Petrovitch was watching Kamynin turn the pages, and suddenly his face brightened.

"All right, I accept your offer; only, please, leave me this copy book. It is quite small; it contains the story of my love for Olga Veralskaya. Her own notes on the margin are a precious memory for me. My first love. It is nothing to you. But to me her notes are most important. She wrote them in pencil. Leave them there."

"I am, but I must write the book."

Kamynin added that he had beside potatoes and cod-liver oil also some denatured alcohol. Then the two separated.

"Kamynin's wife was absent. Keeping his hat and coat on, Kamynin found an old sword, peeled some potatoes with it and cooked them. He was crouching on the floor, and as he went into his work his mouth twisted convulsively to one side. He drank some denatured alcohol, some cod-liver oil, and soon fell asleep. His face now bore a calm and bright expression, tho his lips were still nervously contracted.

And Doctor Federoff had pelmenis. There were also pies, napkins, a big lamp, and his mother was fussing about and repeating:

"Eat, Vassienka, eat, my darling, have some more, my boy."

The food was nice, but there were not enough pelmenis to appease his hunger. And his mother had been too busy to do her hair up for Christmas or to remove her old apron.

But all over the earth people were celebrating the holiday when Satan cast his spell over the earth for the last time before the coming of spring, sunlight and joy.

A note was brought to Doctor Federoff.

"The Soviet of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies of the village Popovka

Certificate

This is to certify that the refugee from Popovka, citizen Anton Iusofat Panashchiuk wants to be vaccinated against catching the cholera on his journey. His mother, who is in the city, wishes the same.

For the County Soviet,
President I. PTITZIN.



THE AMERICAN WORKER
They Are Safe While He Sleeps

"Yes, I can leave them" said Kamynin.

"No, no, take them too," said the doctor with emotion.

"Leave them, doctor," said Kamynin; "it's a trifle."

"Vassia, you are the friend of my childhood days, leave them with me"—pleaded Bekesh.

"All right, it's all the same to me, all the same. Still I am very sorry"—said Doctor Federoff. "All right."

"My soul. And so cheap!"—this from Bekesh.

And again the two walked silently thru side streets, in the deep snow, in the blue twilight. Only the red light in the West had now gone out, and the twilight was driving the starry Christmas nails into the firmament. A beautiful woman was coming, towards them. She was wrapped in a shawl and two pails were hanging from a beam across her shoulders. Ivan Sergeevitch looked intently at her and stopped, spreading his legs wide apart—which made him look like Don Quixote and a pair of scissors at the same time. Then he said:

"Have a smoke... There is beauty even in pain. What a beautiful woman. Yes... and do you know, I've got three poods**** of cod liver oil

"Show me the diary, anyway."

Ivan Petrovitch turned to get up, then remained in his place.

"Upon my word, Iakov Sergeevitch, I do not know where it is. Parts of it are in the lumber room and you have other parts. Let us speak of something else."

"Nonsense; let us have done with that first."

Ivan Petrovitch got under the table and took out a bundle of copy books.

"How disgusting all this. Very disgusting. And what if one believes in nothing"—thought Doctor Federoff and turned his glance away. Kamynin rolled up another cigarette and began to undo the bundle.

"Have another smoke! The Ma-

**** Pood—Forty Russian pounds.

and potatoes, and I can go on living and cultivating beauty for two years. I must write a book. I have written fifteen books already and each about a different woman. My wife, I think, is living with Tanatar. What does Olga Veralskaya really represent? She is very beautiful. What a beautiful woman—the one with pails!"

"It is the wife of Bekesh"—said Federoff.

"Maybe. But Bekesh is already selling his diary and I have still plenty of cod-liver oil."

"Iakov Sergeevitch, are you not afraid?"

"I am, but I must write the book."

—Kamynin added that he had beside potatoes and cod-liver oil also some denatured alcohol. Then the two separated.

"Kamynin's wife was absent. Keeping his hat and coat on, Kamynin found an old sword, peeled some potatoes with it and cooked them. He was crouching on the floor, and as he went into his work his mouth twisted convulsively to one side. He drank some denatured alcohol, some cod-liver oil, and soon fell asleep. His face now bore a calm and bright expression, tho his lips were still nervously contracted.

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President I. PTITZIN.

AT CHRISTMAS people usually

dress in their best clothes, go visiting their friends, retire at 4 in the morning, make merry, organize soirees, five o'clock teas, balls, make love and feel reborn as it were, tho in reality they remain the same; they suffer exactly as they did before or

dodge suffering—also as they used to do. On this particular Christmas day everybody went to the Communist Club. All day long comrade Tanatar was driving thru the city in his troika,* giving rides to every girl he knew.

And all night long Tanatar, the handsome Caucasian, Tanatar, lay like a huge tired cat before the holy images in the empty house of his father. The image lamps were burning in front of him, the silver of the ikons was shining dimly. Comrade Tanatar lay there crouching as if ready to leap, and his eyes, deep-set under the eyebrows, intense black spots on his dark thin face, seemed frenzied with the yellow reflection from the image-lamps. His wife, pale and white, appeared on the threshold and said noiselessly:

"Get up, Samuel." And Tanatar pressed more closely to the floor in maddening, agonizing fear. Once, at the front beyond the Volga, Tanatar stepped accidentally on a black lizard. Its bowels leaked out, its eyes started from its head; if Tanatar's wife had seen that lizard then, she would have noticed that Samuel's eyes on this Christmas night were exactly like the eyes of the lizard on that day in the steppe.

"Get up, Samuel." His wife, all white was wandering that night thru

*Team of three horses.

(Continued on Page 8.)

Death Brings United Front To Mexico

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

In face of the tremendous loss of their greatest national figure, Felipe Carrillo, and their greatest international leader Nicolai Lenin, the peasants and workers of the federal district here joined hands irrespective of party or faction in the most complete united front that Mexico has ever seen. In the auditorium of the school of engineering assembled members of the Agrarian, Communist, and Labor Parties and of the Socialist Party of the Southeast. Louis N. Morones, leader of the Mexican Federation of Labor, presided over the memorial meeting. Gutierrez Cruz, president of the League of Revolutionary Writers, bitter personal enemy of Morones, stood on the same platform to recite a poem he had written in honor of Nicolai Lenin. What was perhaps more impressive was the joint presence of long-standing political enemies on the same platform united in the bond of a common sorrow.

Inspirational Atmosphere.

The vast auditorium was decorated by the Union of Communist Painters. The center of the platform was occupied by an enormous canvas of the face of Lenin painted by Mexico's greatest artist, Diego Rivera, who had known the great Communist leader personally, and put all his love and admiration for the man in his futuristic canvas painted in jet black upon a red background. To the side of the Lenin painting was one painted by Xevier Guerrero of the dreamer's face of Felipe Carrillo, martyr governor of Yucatan, Socialist leader killed by the rebels in the recent uprising. The foreground of the stage was decorated to represent the soil, symbol of the agrarian movement in this dominantly agrarian country. The soil was jet black and torn by red furrows, and on it stood red plows with black steel blades. Above the stage hung a silver hammer and sickle, and o'ertopping everything else, the red star of Communism, illuminated, and casting over everything a strong red glow.

The side walls bore manifold legends such as; "The rifle in proletarian hands is the guarantee of liberty"; "The hennequen of Yucatan ties the sheaves of Russian wheat"; "Peasant, the earth yields a hundred for one and you get one for a hundred"; and most prominent of all—"Lenin has died but his work continues."

The meeting was opened by a speech of Diego Rivera on behalf of the Communist Party of Mexico. He traced the significance of Lenin in the world revolutionary movement, declaring that Leninism consisted above all in the judging aright of the role of the farmer and peasant in the revolutionary struggle. He pointed out that the slogan of 1905 of "a workers' and peasants' government", the slogan, "All power to the Soviets" of 1917, the new economic policy, the so-called Trotzky shears, and the formation by the Communist International of an international peasant-farmer organization, were logical realistic applications of the Leninist estimate of the significance of the peasantry.

"Lenin Lives—Carrillo Lives!"

Turning with great emotion to the lifelike face he had painted on the stage, he declared: "Lenin lives! Carrillo lives! In the audience and in the Mexican region there are thousands

of peasants, rifle in hand, avenging the death of Felipe Carrillo and carrying on his work to complete socialization of the land. In Russia there are millions of peasants rifles in hand ready to defend the work of Lenin and carry it to its conclusion in the socialization of the entire world. His work is the man and will live forever."

Followed two minutes of profound silence on the part of the audience and then Manuel Carpio, private secretary of the Minister of Agriculture, Ramon P. De Negri, got up the speak. He read De Negri's address to the audience for De Negri was on the Western battle front with the president. Lenin, declared the address, was a man of sober realities. He preached no creed or dogma. He created no glistening dreams. For this he was the greatest leader the workers and peasants had ever had.

The workers, the address continued, demand all and will continue to demand all till they win all. Lenin understood that to win all, a dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary. In place of the dictatorship of the Czar, he proposed neither the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie nor a personal dictatorship by himself, but the dictatorship of the working classes.

Leninism, declared De Negri's message, implied a new social ethics. Sooner or later humanity would put into practice this Leninism. The triumph of labor was written on the dawn by Lenin. His name will live while lives on the earth one man who toils.

Of Felipe Carrillo, De Negri's message spoke more briefly, but with equal intensity of feeling. He told how the Maya Indian and the mestizo (mixed breed) worker, had received a baptism of ideas from their great leader and how the Yucatan peninsula had been working out the problem of the emancipation of those who toil, under his able guidance. "The cowardly attack upon Felipe Carrillo is useless," concluded the minister of Agriculture. "His work lives on and his murder will be costly to the traitors who have perpetrated it and the rebel leaders who are morally responsible for the assassination, for he is transfused into the blood of a host of workers and peasants and they will avenge his death and complete his work."

Followed the secretary of the Agrarian Party, Lauro G. Galoca. He summed up what Leninism meant to him with a few simple maxims such as "he who works shall eat, and he

who does not work shall not"; "To each what he produces"; "Where there is no economic liberty, there exists none of the liberties whatsoever," and the like. The justice he preached, applied to Mexico meant redistribution of the land to those who tilled it. Caloca emphasized what he called Lenin's gift of knowing how to be mistaken.

Rifle Necessary Adjunct.

Followed again two minutes of silence and then a poem to Lenin by the revolutionary poet, Gutierrez Cruz. A band of 75 pieces played a funeral march and then Deputy Mena of the Socialist Party of the South East, of which Carrillo had been leader, spoke of the work of Felipe Carrillo in Yucatan. "Felipe's motto," he declared, "was: 'Give the toiler land, books and liberty.' Now from his death we learn to add to land, books and liberty, a rifle to protect these dearly bought freedoms from the oppressor."

Perhaps it is this realization of the lesson of the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship that explains the

sudden drift toward Communism in certain circles in this land of contradictions, during the last month or two. Be the explanation what it may, the drift is obvious. The fact that Luis N. Morones stood on the same platform with Deigo Rivera the Morones said never a word, is eloquent of that tendency. The frank praise on the part of the Minister of Agriculture for the dictatorship of the proletariat is even more eloquent. "We thought we could do it peacefully, but the rebellion has proved us mistaken. We see we may have to borrow a few leaves from Russian history," declared Robert Haberman, ever an avowed enemy of Communists and Communism, in a recent interview to an American newspaper. At all events, the loss of the greatest leader that the struggle for social freedom has produced, brought for a night at least, the united front for which worker and peasant are longing, and all factions of the farmer-labor movement voiced their gratitude as Mexico acknowledged its debt.

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UNCLE WIGGLY'S TRICKS



The Voice of May Day

By Harrison George

"There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today!"—August Spies on the scaffold.

Capitalism is insanity, its voices come from madman throats, the hysterical shrieks of homicide, the moans of the wounded, the mutterings of masses in despair... But clear and beautiful with the beauty of relentless purpose, there arises above all the discord of the voices of those workers who would be free, voices which inspire and direct the struggle; voices which call to arms.

Because these voices were raised on May First, 1886, four workers were strangled to death in the Cook County Jail at Chicago. But tho these workers were strangled and the years have fled, their voices on this First of May, 1924, ring round the world!

What did May First mean in 1886? Whose were these voices? In what cause were they raised? Who strangled them?

The N. L. U. Sells Out.

For twenty years, since the Eight Hour Leagues joined in the first nation wide movement in the National Labor Union formed in 1886, labor had fought futilely and pitifully for an eight-hour day. But the N. L. U. was an undefined entity, directed by simple-minded or self-seeking leaders. The first begged scornful capitalist politicians for legislation, the latter sold out the workers. President Johnson lied to them, and the eight-hour laws were passed in six states, they were never enforced. When this fraud was protested one governor answered that, "Every law is obligatory by its own nature and can derive no additional force from any act of mine." The sacred "right of contract" was injected into the laws by providing that only "when the contract was silent" on the matter of hours did the eight-hour provision become effective. Workers had to sign any contract presented if they wanted work—and there were hordes of unemployed. The soldiers who had fought to free the chattel slaves had merely created a fairly homogenous class of wage slaves and found themselves among it, unemployed and starving.

With the inspiring exception of the successful strike of 100,000 building 1872, economic depression discouraged strikes and, naturally, the workers turned to politics; and, just as naturally, the theoretically ignorant, the organizationally mixed, divergent and inexperienced workers failed to accomplish anything. Even the so-called labor party formally started by the N. L. U. in 1872 was killed in the cradle by the treacherous leaders of the national trade unions withdrawing their forces—leaving nothing but an ideal, a shadow; for the N. L. U. was a hopelessly mixed body of Eight-hour leagues, co-operatives, local unions, assemblies and national trade unions.

Play Capitalist Politics.

But, then as now, the "no politics" of the trade union leaders transformed itself into capitalist politics: their spokesman, H. J. Walls of the Iron Molders, who said in 1873 that his union withdrew from the N. L. U. because the N. L. U. had "become a political organ," himself played the game of capitalist politics so well that he was appointed by the Republicans as Commissioner of Labor for Ohio in 1877.

It is necessary to understand the immaturity of the labor movement at that time, as well as the savagery used in representing its first unscientific efforts to ease its burden only a little, to comprehend the great collision of social forces on the First of May, 1886, and how those who lead the workers' struggle gave their lives to advance, if only by a step, the interests of the proletariat.

The 70's were dark years for labor. Unemployment sent not only men by the tens of thousands to tramping the country, but women and girls. The unions were wrecked, wages were but a disguise for starvation, blood flowed at the least sign of resistance, the Pinkerton gunner and the murderous militia held back the blind rebellion.

In March, 1876, Albert R. Parsons, who later died on the scaffold, joined the Social-Democratic Party, which became a part of the First International, then crumbling in Europe but guided by Marxists in America. How this flaming souled type-setter, then a member of Typographical Union 16, was influenced by Marxian thought may be seen by comparing the following instruction issued by the International as guidance to its Chicago section, with Parsons' own expressions: Said the International:

"The trade union is the cradle of the labor movement, for working people naturally turn first to that which affects their daily life, and they consequently combine first by trade. It therefore becomes the duty of the members of the International not merely to assist the existing unions and to internationalize them, but also to establish new ones. Economic conditions were driving the trade union from the economic to the political struggle against the propertied classes."

The Social Democratic Party faded into the Socialist Labor Party, which nominated Parsons for president in 1879. But we find Parsons writing from prison in 1886, in the same language as that used today by the Communists in the unions:

"Examination of the class struggle demonstrate that the eight-hour movement was doomed to defeat. But the International gave its support to it for two reasons. First, because it was a class movement, therefore historical, evolutionary and necessary; secondly, because we did not choose to stand aloof and be misunderstood by our fellow-workers. We therefore gave it all aid. I was regularly accredited by the Central Labor Union, representing 20,000 organized workmen in Chicago, to assist in organization of unions and do all in my power for the eight-hour movement."

We can understand why, tho the "International", Parsons here refers to probably was the so-called "Anarchist International" then following the First International into oblivion, the Marxian revolutionists claim Parsons and his fellows as their own.

The traditions of the 70's were working in the struggle of 1886. The wave of general strikes of 1877 was witnessed by Parsons and the rest.

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNIST EDUCATION

(Continued from Page Four.)

form not only in Russia but also in Germany and is being proved so in other countries. The organizational and political roots of the Party must be in the shops, where the real life of the worker revolves. The shop unit lends itself splendidly to work among the masses of workers. The shop unit is the political pivot around which the Party work will turn. In this life of the workers as it appears at first hand can be keenly and understandingly discussed and the lessons drawn therefrom. The members organized politically in the shops, factories, etc., can be mobilized immediately for any campaign of the Party. It is essential that the Party take up more avidly the matter of reorganizing and organizing the Party on the basis of shop units, since they will be the greatest stimulus to political and industrial activity.

The Party is in a very healthy condition. It has carried on a great political and industrial activity; it has grown and gained strength. Branches are being organized daily. The Party is virile and alive. That makes it all the more necessary for the Party to look itself over and see what are its most pressing needs at the moment.

Battles were fought by workers against murderous Pinkertons and, in Pittsburgh, workers enraged by slaughter of thirty strikers by the militia, first besieged the soldiery then drove them from the city. In St. Louis a workers committee ruled the city for a week. At Chicago the police clubbed and shot workers wantonly. The Militia fired into crowds without compunction. Parsons addressed meetings of 40,000. He was then President of the Chicago Labor Assembly—its first president. In 1879, when Parsons' group called for celebration of the Paris Commune, 60,000 people responded.

"Now, men, I warn you, that if you do not go to work at once for a \$1.50 a day, the military will be sent here to compel you." So said the Sheriff of Cook County to striking workers in 1885, and this exemplifies the reckless repression used by the capitalists in those years. "Such treatment," says Parsons, "Would of necessity drive the workingmen to employ the same method." It would.

Group of workers, armed for self-defense, sprung up everywhere. The Sunday before May Day in 1886, Parsons spoke at Cincinnati at a great eight-hour demonstration. Thousands marched in a parade headed by two or three organized companies of workers armed with Winchester rifles under the red flag. A rising tide...!

The reason was that both national labor bodies had, in 1884, declared that on and after May 1, 1886, eight hours should constitute a day's work and that a general strike should demand it. Enthusiasm reigned—600,000 poured into the unions in the first four months of 1886. Gompers in the old Federation was opposed, and Powderly of the Knights of Labor was indifferent; but workers everywhere believed—and Parsons and his comrades were with the masses.

The great strike broke on May Day 1886. Parsons says 360,000 struck, others say 200,000; 40,000 in Chicago. May 3rd, police fired on strikers, killing one, wounding several. At a protest meeting next day at the Haymarket, some unknown person threw a bomb, when the police attacked the crowd, killing seven policemen.

Tho the murder of workers was an everyday occurrence, the press suddenly went frantic over the dead police; the Chicago Tribune and Times drove the "better classes" into frenzy. Police "found" bombs everywhere. Tho not one of the seven men who were arrested, or Parsons, who surrendered voluntarily, had been at the meeting when the bomb was thrown, all were pronounced guilty after a farcial trial. Three were commuted and pardoned after seven years. Louis Ling robbed the

hangmen. Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer and George Engel were hanged on, November 11 1887.

From under the hood on that morning came the cry of Parsons, cut short by the crash of the death trap: "Will I be allowed to speak, O men of America? Let me speak, Sheriff! Let the voice of the people be heard! Oh...!"

Sleep, my murdered Comrade! Sleep! Your life, your words, your deeds, your death, are today being told around the world. Your tongue was silenced, but your voice, the voice of the proletariat is raised today in every land, in every clime—in the chant of *The Internationale*. The flags they march under are red, my comrade, and—led by the Communist International—they march to victory!

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