

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

AUGUST 23, 1924

The Results of the Fifth Congress

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

WE have had five congresses. Everyone of them has been of great importance to the revolutionary movement of the working class. Every single one of these congresses has marked a milestone in the forward march of the international proletariat towards its final goal. Some of these congresses, particularly the second and the third, were basic and fundamental, in the sense that they have given us our basic principles and fundamental policies. But none of these congresses were as instructive in an immediate and practical sense as was the Fifth congress. None of them, it seems to us, have contributed as much as the last congress toward the education, training and building up of a constant and reliable Communist leadership. Why? Because the Fifth congress was devoted mainly to questions of strategy and tactics.

Principles Versus Tactics.

It is comparatively easy to grasp and even master the contents and implications of a Communist principle. What is necessary for this is a living sense of loyalty to the working class, hatred of the bourgeoisie, faith in the revolutionary mission of the proletariat and a will to fight to the very end.

If you are in possession of these things, you will have no difficulty in grasping and accepting the fundamentals of Communism.

However, it is an entirely different proposition when it comes to Communist strategy and, particularly, tactics. Here revolutionary instincts alone will not suffice. We have known excellent revolutionaries, men and women with flaming hearts and iron wills, people with boundless devotion to the cause of the workers—and yet we have seen them time and again go wrong even on some of the most elementary propositions of revolutionary tactics.

Why is it so? Because the question of tactics is a matter of revolutionary leadership. Because the application of Communist tactics requires a highly developed and well-trained ability to gauge situations, to seize and hold on to the most determining factors in each given situation and sufficient flexibility of mind and will to change when necessary and move.

To develop these abilities, it takes time, struggle and experience. Schooling in the revolutionary struggle is the thing that will give us experienced tacticians. Guidance of the Communist International in the spirit of Leninism will, no doubt, greatly enhance the process by developing a capable Communist leadership. Considered from this point of view the Fifth congress of the Comintern was about the most important gathering of our international organization.

Wrong Applications of the United Front.

The Fifth congress has dealt with quite a number of wrong applications of the United Front tactics. These had taken place almost in every section of the Comintern. In some places, as in Germany, the mistakes were of such serious a nature as to threaten the very existence of the Communist Party as a revolutionary factor.

These mistakes—right deviations—in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and to some extent in England and in America, can be treated from two angles. One angle is basic, that is, it enables us to answer the question to what extent these deviations were contrary to the revolutionary aims and strategy of the Comintern. The congress rendered its judgment. It said in effect, that the manner in

which the United Front policy was applied in Germany and in some other sections has been leading the parties straight into the mire of opportunism. It called a halt to these deviations and introduced the necessary correctives for the prevention of such mistakes in the future.

What was the basis of these right deviations? The congress found this basis to be a wrong conception of the intent and purpose of the tactics of the United Front. Some sections of the Comintern have conceived this policy to be a tactic of peace and alliance with the renegade socialists and reactionary union-bureaucrats instead of a tactic of merciless struggles against these leaders and for the winning over of the working masses to the cause of Communism.

The congress adopted a thesis on

Comintern forthwith.

The trouble with them—and with us—has been the lack of sufficient training in the art and science of Leninism. The congress has realized that too—hence its decision for more education, more training and a stricter supervision of the Comintern over the doings of its national sections.

The English Communists and the Labor Government.

England has received more attention at this congress than at any of the previous ones, and for an obvious reason. The political situation in England is fraught with many possibilities for the Communist movement. That's why the congress has gone into very many details to devise a policy of action for the British Communists which would enable them to play its part in the great days to come.

GET THE BANNER OF THE COMMUNE



The Moscow Proletariat Receiving the Banner of the Parisian Communards

tactics, also dealing with the United Front, from which we quote the following:

"The United Front policy has been and remains a means of revolution and not of peaceful evolution. The United Front policy has been and remains a tactic of revolutionary strategic maneuvering of the Communist vanguard, which is surrounded on all sides by enemies, for its struggles first of all against the treacherous leaders of the counter-revolutionary social-democracy, and is under no circumstances to be construed as a tactic of alliance with these leaders.

"The United Front policy has been and remains a tactic for the gradual winning over to our side of those workers who are still following the social-democracy and of the best sections of the non-partisan workers and under no circumstances is this tactic to be used to lower and limit our aims to the understanding of those backward workers."

There is, however, another angle to these right deviations in the matter of the United Front. It is the angle of leadership with which we started out in this article. Surely the comrades of the old C. E. C. of the German party were not opportunistic in a conscious and deliberate way. They have committed opportunistic mistakes, it is true, but not because they wanted to. Were that the case, they would have been expelled from the

The resolution on tactics contains a special section on England which is in many respects so important to ourselves that we quote it in full:

"Because of the existing world situation Great Britain is playing at present, the first role in all international questions. In connection with this is also growing the importance of the English Communist Party. It is, therefore, one of the most urgent tasks of the C. I. to so develop and educate the Communist Party of England as to enable her to fulfill all the Communist duties.

"We found some ideological and tactical deviations in the attitude taken by the Communist Party of England toward the Labor Party. At present the Communist Party of England must concentrate all her forces toward the following end:

"a. To support and promote the further growth of the left wing of the Labor Party in order that it becomes a real revolutionary wing within the Labor Party and in order to intensify the activities of the minorities in the trade unions.

"b. To fight against the so-called 'Labor Government' of MacDonald, clearly explaining to the masses its bourgeois and anti-working class character.

"c. To maintain a clear Communist line in all possible bye-elections, and in the coming national election.

"d. To conduct economic strug-

gles in such a fashion as to concentrate the main forces on the creation of united front organs from below (strike committees, factory committees, etc.) and to explain before the working masses the political implications of their economic struggles.

"e. The Communist Party of England must carry out an active campaign for the creation of Committees of Action in the factories and in trade unions in order to exert pressure upon the so-called 'Labor Government' thus compelling it to realize those portions of the program of the 'Labor Government' which it refuses to carry out, namely, the socialization of the railroads and mines, increase the compensation for the unemployed, construction of dwellings for workers, etc. Only by exposing the treachery of the 'Labor Government' with regard to the immediate and pressing needs of the working class and by attempting to draw the working masses into the struggle for the satisfaction of these needs will the Communist Party of England be able to destroy the illusions of the masses in the so-called 'Labor Government.'

"f. The Communist Party of England must attach particular significance to the building up of connections with the colonies, to the support of the national revolutionary movements in the colonies, to the question of militarism and navalism, to the question of disarmament, to the relations of England to the Soviet Union; to imperialist France and to the Experts' Report.

"g. Further, the Communist Party of England must begin a careful campaign to secure influence over the unemployed.

"h. The Communist Party of England must pay particular attention to the internal organization of the party. It must draw into the party new members from among the ranks of the workers. It must organize shop nuclei and must develop a campaign of education among the members of the party for the purpose of keeping them informed of the situation in the international labor movement."

The Shop as a Basis.

The Fifth Congress issued a definite and categorical instruction to all its sections to immediately reorganize on the shop nucleus basis. We shall have to take this instruction very seriously not only because it was meant so, but also because the future of our movement depends upon a successful reorganization of our party with the shop as a basis.

We speak of winning over the masses to the cause of Communism. We expect eventually to succeed in mobilizing them for a struggle for power. But how? How can we ever succeed in accomplishing this task when our party lacks the most elementary prerequisite for getting in contact with the masses?

The shop is the basis of industry. The shop is the starting point of the struggle between capital and labor. The shop is the place where the workers spend most of their lives. And yet we persist in disregarding all these facts and continue to build our organization along the old social-democratic lines.

The Comintern proposes to put a stop to it, not abruptly, not without preparation, but just the same, the reorganization will have to be carried thru.

The Fifth Congress was a great congress. It contributed as no other did toward building a strong and reliable Leninist leadership.

The Passing of Pittsburgh Plus

BY J. RAMIREZ (Gomez)

THE West is full-grown now. News that Pittsburgh Plus may soon disappear into the limbo of played-out phrases marks the passing of a whole epoch. In place of the Wild and Woolly West of the old Jesse James days, we have—Hollywood, with its salaried armies of movie desperadoes, manufacturing reel after reel of standard "westerns" for a worldwide market. Seattle has become the fourth greatest port in the United States, and Los Angeles one of the most populous cities. . . . But there was always another, more familiar West, without definite geographical limits, a West which spread out persistently year by year from its early enclaves in the foothills of the Alleghenies. It was for this West, with its headlong industrial development, that Pittsburgh Plus was invented.

Steel for the new industries was shipped from the East, first from Philadelphia and then from Pittsburgh. Later, the all-powerful Steel Trust began to establish mills farther west, closer to the western ores and shipping terminals; but the Steel Trust did not proceed to lower the price of steel accordingly. All metal was sold "Pittsburgh Plus." Regardless of where it was fabricated, the imaginary freight from Pittsburgh was added to the selling price. Thus a Chicago contractor might get his steel from South Chicago or Gary, but he paid the same price for it as tho it were actually shipped from Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh Plus has become a basic consideration in the constructional activities of the West. Business men reckon with it in their financial calculations. It enters into every phase of industrial planning. The imaginary freight on steel paid by the so-called ultimate consumers last year, in only eleven middle Western states, amounted to more than \$30,000,000—and those states include only a small percentage of the Western and Southern population affected by Pittsburgh Plus!

Obviously, Pittsburgh Plus is a symbol of monopoly. The existence of the practice bears ample and candid testimony to the dominant role of the Steel Trust in American heavy industry. "Combinations in restraint of trade" may be persecuted so earnestly that workers are thrown into jail every time they go on strike, anti-trust laws may come and go, Bob LaFollette may shake his pompadour ever so menacingly; but the \$2,430,000,000 assets of the United States Steel Corporation continue to make themselves felt in one way or another. Pittsburgh Plus takes the place of the old steel pools and other outlawed schemes for cashing in on monopoly power. Nor will the passing of Pittsburgh Plus put an end to all this.

It is merely a question of finding a new basis for the exaction of monopoly price. Steel pools furnished the medium at one stage of economic development, Pittsburgh Plus at another. Big capitalists are planning to do away with Pittsburgh Plus voluntarily now, for the simple reason that it no longer corresponds to all their interests. Perhaps "voluntarily" is not the right word. Some capitalists are merely responding to pressure from important business allies; the whole movement is also influenced by political considerations, and the inherent issues in the present election campaign have had a whole lot to do with hastening the progress toward a new policy. The fact remains that there is a great and growing sentiment among the leading capitalists themselves, in favor of the abolition of Pittsburgh Plus. This, of course, implies a change in the relation between the money-power of the East and the industrial forces of the West.

It must be kept in mind that, in addition to being a mechanism for the maintenance of monopoly price, Pittsburgh Plus signified the exploitation of the West by the East.

The West has been a sort of colony of the East. Students of imperialism long ago pointed out that America's delay in getting into the race for world

empire was due to the existence of vast, rich and undeveloped lands lying within its own borders. This territory was not long allowed to remain unproductive. Hardy pioneers, starting out over the mountains, conquered the Indians and wild beasts, felled the forests, planted the fields, and overcame innumerable obstacles in preparing the way for the hosts of settlers who were to follow. The story of "the winning of the west" is a great epic of human courage, resourcefulness and indomitable will. But the early settlers possessed only their strength and skill; they had no capital, and as a consequence they were soon paying interest to the merchants and money-lenders of the East.

The attitude of the East toward the West was much the same as that of Great Britain toward the American Colonies in the pre-Revolutionary War days. It was dominated by a single, guiding principle, and that was to get

because of the extra profits they were making there and because of the protection Pittsburgh Plus afforded to their undertakings in the East.

Equilibrium could not be maintained on that basis, however. The West grew up. Its power multiplied. The importance of its manufactures steadily increased. It too began to have a surplus of commodities, for export to the East and to foreign countries—and it could not afford to tolerate discriminatory charges against its output, if it was to meet the competition of the general market. An aggressive local capitalism had sprung up, with interests distinct from those of the absentee investors. The local capitalists resented the subordination of Western initiative to the economic imperialism of the East. Circumstances like the continued domination of the state of California by the Southern Pacific Railroad, united native capitalists with ranchers and farmers

THE CHANT PROPHETIC

By JOSEPH KALOR.

Oh, the bones and the blood and the hearts of men!
Tirra boom boom boom—tirra boom boom boom!
Oh, the sobs and the cries and the tears of men!
Oh, the scars and the scabs and the wounds of men!
Tirra boom boom boom—tirra boom boom boom!

Hear the tramp and the stamp and the roar of feet!
Tirra boom boom boom—tirra boom boom boom!
See the grass and see the trees and see how fresh they be!
Hear the clang and hear the bang of dropping chains!
Tirra boom boom boom—tirra boom boom boom!

See them laugh and see them smile and see their joy!
Tirra boom boom boom—tirra boom boom boom!
Hear the bang and hear the clang and see the chains slip free!
See the hearts and see the souls and see them fresher grow!
Tirra boom boom boom—tirra boom boom boom!

as much out of the newly-opened-up territory as possible. The welfare of the West was never considered. It was thought of only as an inexhaustible, exclusive market which should and must pay tribute to the "homeland." For a long time, the Eastern capitalists consciously and deliberately retarded the development of the West. They objected to the apportionment of public lands in the West; they have steadfastly opposed the development of Western waterways. The famous Aaron Burr Conspiracy was based on Kentucky's fear that the East would prevent the river settlements from gaining the mouth of the Mississippi and the markets opened there. The Whiskey Rebellion was a protest of trans-mountain grain growers against the excise tax with which the East was burdening their toil.

As capital began to accumulate in the East, the irresistible call of the higher rate of profit led the Eastern capitalists to invest more and more of their surplus out West; the conception of imperial purpose was therefore modernized. This period corresponded with the rise of the Republican Party, the party of expansion. Rails were laid everywhere. Industries were opened up. New cities were built. And at every stage of the process the Federal Government, owned body and soul by the Eastern money power, defended the imperial interests of the exporters of capital. Subsidies, scandalous grants of Western lands to the railroads, discriminatory legislation and other abuses became fixed in practice.

Periodically, the West revolted against the investment-holding seaboard; the revolts found expression in the granger movements, the soft money agitation, the free silver campaign and, to a large extent, in populism.

Iron and steel are the backbone of modern industry, and steel was now a basic factor determining the form of export of capital to the west. Pittsburgh Plus came into its own, as a levy on Western production. The big security holders with interests in the Western states were quite satisfied to pay a premium on steel for the West

in energetic protest.

Not being the outgrowth of actual colonial exploitation, the "national liberation" movement of the West expresses itself in the struggle of local capitalism for equal competitive opportunity inside the circle of American economic life. This is the basis for the "new radicalism" of the West. It is the secret of the resurgence of a militant movement of the lower middle class in a country where Big Business long ago consolidated itself in power over the wreck of a vanquished petty bourgeoisie. We often refer to LaFollette as the spokesman of the middle class, but it is not always appreciated that the middle class element actively supporting him are almost exclusively Western. Aside from the condition of the farmers, LaFollettism has for its principle background the insurgent attitude of native Western capitalism toward the East. LaFollette's appeal to the workers is merely for the purpose of exploiting the political power of the masses in the interests of the rich middle class.

There has been another struggle between West and East—in the field of large-scale industry. This is really a phase of the historical rise of American banking capital; the struggle of finance capital against industrial capital in the United States became a struggle on the part of Wall Street to complete its hegemony over the new West. That the struggle is already virtually won is shown by the recent absorption of Western shipping interests and by the gradual lapse under banking control of the Armour, Morris and Wilson packing business, representing the last important stronghold of independent capital in the West.

The financial kings of the East now have a tremendous stake in the West. Theirs is the dominant influence there, politically as well as economically. Thus the same individuals control both East and West. But in a different measure. It is a mistake to think of modern American monopolistic capitalism as a single, perfectly co-ordinated mechanism, fitting neatly into place under the direct ownership

and management of the big-boss in Wall Street. Control is exercised now directly, now indirectly. Sometimes it is merely on the basis of a tacit business alliance—and this is an important factor in the rule of Eastern finance capital over the West. I have already referred to the class of smaller local capitalists who grew up with the developing West. These capitalists have been dominated, of course, by the big interests, and they are quite prepared to continue in the role of satellites; nevertheless, they demand a certain freedom of movement. If they are to remain at such an obvious disadvantage in competition, if there is to be a sort of internal customs barrier constantly raised against them, they will simply refuse to play the game.

LaFollettism carries with it a threat that the Wall Street buccaneers cannot afford to ignore. They are obliged to find a way out, a way which will satisfy Western aspirations and turn the LaFollette ferment into a diffused and meaningless "equal rights" movement—without at the same time injuring their own always paramount interests.

That is not so difficult as it may seem. As a matter of fact, it is no longer to their interest to impose sectional restrictions on industry. Their stake in the West is so great that the capital involved can not wisely be treated as "colonial capital." The West must become completely absorbed into a unified American economic system! That is the substance of the Western demands, that is the desire of finance capital, and that is the development which is actually being consummated.

All over the world, capitalism tends to become national capitalism, with the national tariff boundaries as greatly extended as possible.

In the light of the changed economic relations between the East and the West, the abolition of Pittsburgh Plus became an issue of much greater significance than may appear to the casual observer. Instead of being a simple anti-trust maneuver, a blow at price-fixing, the plan to do away with Pittsburgh Plus is a move for a homogeneous capitalist industry. Pittsburgh Plus did not disappear when the Federal Trade Commission ruled against it, declaring it to be in violation of both the Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act (The Commission just discovered this last month!) Elbert H. Gary and others, whose holdings are primarily in steel, may oppose the ruling in the Supreme Court; they may temporarily defeat it; but the chances are that Gary will have to take his orders from the real bosses of the United States Steel Corporation—the finance capitalists of J. P. Morgan & Co. The end of Pittsburgh Plus is clearly in sight.

No one need suppose for a minute that we are about to witness the capitulation of monopoly. The capitalist press editorializes sagely on "the decentralization that will now take place in the steel industry," but the truth is that, if the Pittsburgh Plus practice is discontinued, there is likely to be a real squeezing out of "independents," who are able to compete in the industry now only because of the big margin of price protection assured them by Pittsburgh Plus. The passing of Pittsburgh Plus means not less, but more centralization. It does not signify the end of monopoly price for steel, but the extension of monopoly price from a sectional to a nation-wide proposition.

All over the world, capitalism tends to become national capitalism, and the national tariff boundaries are as greatly extended as possible. The finance capitalists have come into their own in the United States. They can now give their undivided efforts to the extension of the imperial dominions in South America and overseas.

If it were not for Organized Labor the working classes would not be getting a third of the wages they do.—Gladstone.

One hour spent in the execution of social justice is worth seventy hours of prayer.—John Ruskin.

On My Way to Soviet Russia

By ANNA PORTER.

THREE days out toward Russia, and things are livening up a little. The sea, which was so quiescent that it seemed a camouflaged affair, on which, after a few placid rounds, we should tie up again under the statute of Liberty, is now showing itself in the character of a "mighty monster," tossing us about drunkenly and drenching the decks with sudden unexpected swashes. But we have our sea-legs on.

Our sailing seemed problematical for awhile. Harold Ware, who is taking his group out to the Ukraine, for his most interesting agricultural project, and who is experienced in threading red-tape labyrinths, was indefatigable and more than humanly good-natured in pursuing vises back and forth and around, thru and over and under, between Chicago, Montreal and New York and da capo. And finally the last photograph was pasted and the last seal set, and our entry into the promised land assured. My own experience would suggest to other applicants that if they wish to go next year, they must begin last year at latest to make applications. It was mere chance that I made connections which gave me entrance with this group, after three years' effort to obtain an individual permit.

This is an unpretentious little boat and by no means crowded. At our first stop at Copenhagen, we lose our Danish passengers; next, at Danzig, the Germans and Poles disembark; and there the rest of us must transfer for Libau to take train for Riga and Moscow, with probably some days' delay at each place. In New York, at the party bookstore, the Comrade in charge said to me, "You are the third today to come in and tell me you are sailing for Russia Saturday," and so today I looked up Esther Mar in the unit for Kusbas, in order to send greetings to our California group out there. I did not exactly look her up either, for a few of us had been mysteriously beckoned and led by devious decks and gangways to the deserted second cabin, where we held a meeting, called and chairmaned by one of the Kusbas group, who wished to unite the three "strata" on board, in the interest of raising money by a concert for some penniless deportees being sent back in our boat,—a woman with two small children, who was not allowed to join her husband, and an old couple whose son had sent for them in good faith. It is no use going into the reasons, which as in most cases, seem to be quite unjustifiable. Committees were appointed, and we closed the meeting with the "International" and the "Red Flag," while one Comrade waved a red bandana with the hammer and sickle imprint.

It was a most interesting group who met there, Russians going home and those visiting for the first time the country they were born in and had left as children. The most eminent, a Russian professor, Dr. Tutyskhyn, who has been lecturing in America for ten months in the interest of international science, is a scientist of the highest standing. With his family, he lived thru the Revolution in Moscow, and seems to be one of those rare intellectuals whose poise was undisturbed by the shifting of foundations, and who has continued, "above the battle," to pursue his constructive way in the midst of change and destruction. Whatever his original reaction may have been, he now evidently understands and sympathizes with the Soviet aspirations, as it would seem every scientist must if he has intellectual independence and integrity. He is of our group since his introduction on the wharf, and he and the Hilcovitz brothers make a brilliant trio. The Professor and Dr. Hilcovitz have volunteered to teach us Russian, but as both are very positive and dominating personalities, and as they disagree with good-natured determination as to method, one is to have us at 10 a.m. and the other at five. The Professor wishes it to be competitive with the same classes. The Doctor contends that

this is no test. When you experiment with guinea-pigs, he says, you divide them into groups, for you cannot make both tests with the same guinea-pigs. But the guinea-pigs in this case, not being interested in professorial experiments, decided the question by insisting on being inoculated with both methods, hoping one or the other may "take."

These first evenings on a Summer sea, we have been entertained—or not—by movies on deck. Last night we had a fine labor play. Wicked Corporation prosecuted and wickedness extracted. Strikes—with foreign agitators, bombs and bootleggers. Agitator's boomerang returns in form of ruined

his fascinating personal story. After a year and a half in this country, where he has met with success as a musician, he has found nevertheless that he does not fit into our American life, and is returning to his own idealistic society. His father was killed in the 1905 revolution, leaving in the South Ukraine, the mother with 14 young children. He was put into an orphan home where he had a chance to study the 'cello. His mother took all the children she could manage, to New York, leaving him at 12 years to support two younger ones by his music. Then came the war and the Revolution. He joined the Red Army and was kept in Moscow, living with Lun-

ested than informed, and as he is an indefatigable help in the Russian language, and several of us are indefatigable propagandists, and as Russia itself is the best confirmation of our assertions, it is hoped he will come home—or stay—as entirely won over as Harold Ware's first contingent. One of his group of young Dakota farmers, who went over hopelessly ignorant and seemingly incorrigible, came back an ardent convert, and gave a most convincing practical talk before a large committee, of varied sympathies, at St. Paul. That is the double accomplishment of many of these industrial projects,—they help the Russians and they educate us. Most of all he appreciated the education given the workers of Russia, and regretted his own inadequate command of language in trying to give an idea of his experience over there. To return to our passengers, both these young Russians are fine, energetic, wide-awake and well-educated fellows, able to give efficient service to Russia, and as both are Jews, it is natural that they should feel an enthusiasm for the only country in which the Jew is accepted on his merits, and hardly with a consciousness as to whether he is Jew or Gentile.

Another passenger, a band-master of fifty or more, is returning to his family after eleven years in America, dating from the year before the war. His wife, it seems, has well-off connections and "Nep" inclinations, but he has told her not a cent that he sends her is to be used in making more money. From Germany, he will take musical instruments as a gift to Russia. His young daughter, tho able to go to a "Nep" school, scorns to do so, and his son writes him that there are millions of youths like himself ready to die for the Russian idea. And so it seems that both the young and the older are rapidly coming under the new influence, some in the midst of the marvel of reconstruction—some inspired from abroad, in spite of all discouraging propaganda.

July 16th.

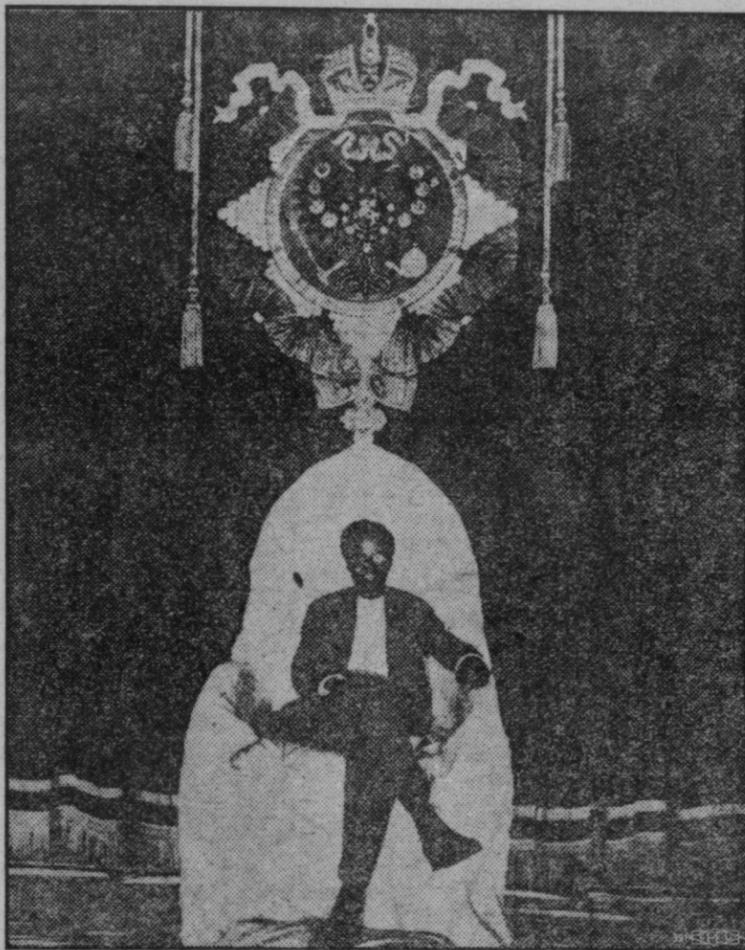
Mail goes off tonight from Copenhagen, where we merely anchor and send off the Danish passengers. Our concert was a great success both artistically and financially. Our young 'cellist and a forcer counter-revolutionary Russian violinist playing amicably together. This artist fought in the White Army in Russia, and was twice "stood up against a wall," but now he thanks the Bolsheviks aboard for a complete conversion, and says that if Russia would pardon him and invite him as an artist, he would rejoice in giving his art for a mere living, and renounce hope of further American profits. Indeed, it is remarkable what this small group—I include all radicals aboard the boat—has accomplished in winning sympathy and interest for Russia. The concert was preceded by the traditional "Captain's dinner" and followed by dancing and punch into the small hours. Incidentally, we collected a good sum to send the heart-sick deportees "back where they came from," to use the hospitable phrase so popular in the U. S. A.

The guinea-pigs were not inoculated after all, by either method, for with so many brilliant minds on board—not least in debate, Comrade Coleman's,—a series of discussions developed in a broad range of subjects, and raged daily in the bar-room. In the course of these, a reactionary American lawyer expounded ably capitalist law, tho he did not call it that, and barred the word "economic" from the discussion; and it took some ingenuity for a radical to avoid the word and "get over" his points.

Some of us inferior people—this is not the mock-humility it may sound—feel as if we have been having a liberal Summer University course. And it is a new and pleasurable sensation for radicals to be in a numerically equal position, where the other side is inclined to listen with more or less respect, not being in a position to suppress us, and not afraid to let us talk.

Later, I want to write something of the Ware project.

NEGRO AT COMMUNIST CONGRESS



Comrade Leunion, representative of French Colonial Negroes, at Fifth Congress of the Communist International, is shown here resting on the ancient throne of the Moscow Czars in the Kremlin.

sister. The noble son of the Corporation persuades the strikers, with much arm-flinging, that votes are better than violence, and they return to work, while he keeps his promise to—it is not clear just what,—but his reward is a beautiful wife, a "Rolls-Royce" and a terraced garden with fountains, while the reformed agitator grins benevolently his blessing. We also had Charlie Chaplin in "The Immigrant" and perhaps the deportees were among the privileged to enjoy the "comedy." It was funny yes—and sentimental, but I hope they all found something besides, even tho in this film as in the other, the problem seemed satisfactorily solved by the lucky fortune of the one and silence concerning the many at Ellis Island.

A Few Days Later.

The mighty monster is still rampant, and sea-legs do not avail. Most of us are up and down. Carrying a cup of tea to my cabin, companion feels exactly like Charlie Chaplin in his unsteady farce. Today we have the encouraging word that we are in the midst of a storm, "and going in the same direction and with the same velocity." Several Party members have introduced themselves to me, some in the Kusbas group, and I have met and talked with other passengers for Russia, going over for individual reasons, and these individual reasons are what interest me most. I have spent the morning with a young Russian 'cellist, forgetting my physical discomfort in

acharsky and teaching for two years in kindergarten. When he returned to the Ukraine, himself but 18, his two young brothers had been killed fighting in the Revolutionary Army. Later he helped organize and became first 'cellist and soloist in the Moscow Symphony Orchestra, playing also for opera and ballet, and tells with pleasure of playing in the Tchaikovsky Sixth Symphony for Isadora Duncan's dance interpretation. This type of dancing is to him far more interesting than the classic Russian ballet, but he feels disappointment at the limited progress of this school in the direction of modern revolutionary interpretation. This young fellow from the most oppressed class of any country, has a face of real classic beauty of the Jewish type, regular and finely cut, with fresh coloring and a high-bred, intellectual spirited expression. His wife was first dancer in the ballet corps, and with his lithe slimness, one wonders that he too was not lured into that art.

A useful member of our American Communist Party is going over to see if he can find a place of usefulness there, when he will send for his wife and children and settle down. Another, unattached, and not officially a Communist, but who answers gladly to the title of Comrade, is going for the same purpose, having brother and sister there who have urged him to come and see for himself what the Soviets are doing. He is more inter-

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'Flaherty

THE NEW YORK NATION says that the London conference ended in perfect good will. "The Dawes Plan is launched in a most auspicious atmosphere" is the wind-up of its comment on the most outrageous conspiracy on the part of dominant international capitalism against the lives of the German working class. How easy it is for the liberals and the extreme reactionaries to get together? What liberals of the Villard type really want is peace among the capitalist nations. Given that they will worship at the shrine of the most reactionary exploiter of labor.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, British M. P., got quite excited when Justice McCardie in the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice declared that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, butcher of Armistice, was wrongfully punished. Lansbury moved in the House of Commons "that an humble address be presented to His Majesty praying that he will cause the removal from the bench" of the judicial defender of wholesale murder. Of course the bill was not pressed because Ramsay MacDonald felt that further discussion of the subject might arouse class feeling and he also that the learned judge was not informed as to what took place. George Lansbury is of the so-called Left Wingers in the British Labor Party. Can you imagine a Bolshevik member of the old Russian Duma moving to present "an humble address to the Little Father?"

HOW many of our readers know that the late Theodore Roosevelt while president of the United States entered into an agreement with the Japanese government giving Japan a free hand in Far Eastern affairs even to the extent of the occupation of Korea, receiving from Japan in return a pledge not to look with longing eyes on the Philippines. This looks suspiciously like secret diplomacy. We thought only monarchist governments had such habits. And "Teddy" above all.

THE NEW YORK TIMES regrets that General Pershing is to retire from the active army list with a reduction in his compensation. What Pershing has accomplished that would entitle him to reward from a grateful country is quite plain. He defended the interests of American capitalism since America entered the

world war and since the signing of the treaty of Versailles his mind has been active concocting plans to thoroughly militarize this country and turn every able bodied man into a potential scab. The "Mobilization plan" is his work. He will retire with the title of General but with a reduction in pay. His present salary is \$13,500 with an additional \$8,000 for expenses. No doubt grateful capitalists will find some way of showing General Pershing their appreciation.

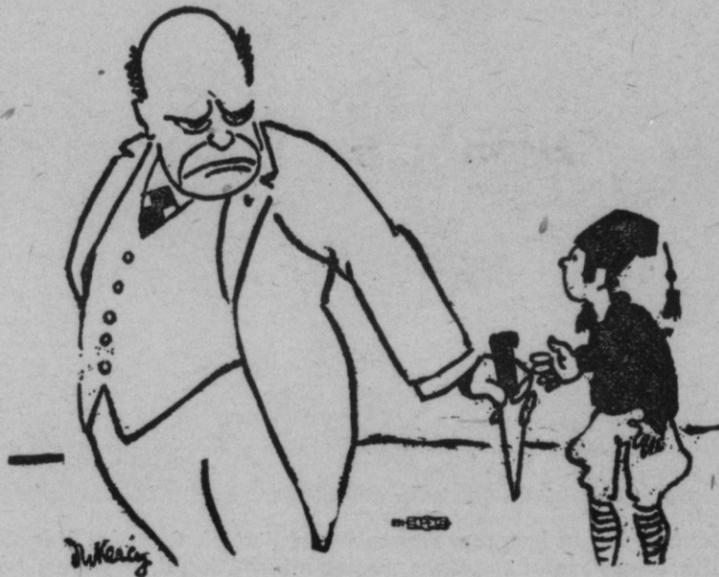
GRAND DUKE CYRIL VLADIMIROVITCH, cousin of the late Czar, recently emerged from his favorite Berlin sewer and issued a proclamation. The press dispatch does not say whether he had to use the tail of his shirt for writing material, but what he gave utterance to is substantially as follows: Having learned with amazement that Great Britain signed an agreement with the bunch of traitors now in charge of Russia and actually promised a loan to the Soviet government, be it known that I as legal heir to the emperor of all the Russias will refuse to recognize this loan as binding on Russia when I take over the country and mount the Czar's throne.

WHILE optimistic Russian Czarists, such as the above named gentlemen are at large, the insane

asylums are being cheated of their legitimate prey. There is as much probability that the Grand Duke will occupy the throne of the Romanoffs as there is that the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan will be the next Pope of Rome. That the capitalist press gives generous space to such rubbish only proves how very happy they would be if the monarchists succeeded in overthrowing the Soviet Government.

THE election campaign for International officers in the United Mine Workers Union has started in Nova Scotia. The overwhelming majority of the locals have nominated a militant slate in common with the militant miners of Illinois. In one local in New Waterford the backward miners unconsciously played a dirty trick on Czar Lewis by nominating him for Vice-President. Worse still the same local nominated Silby Barrett for president. Silby Barrett is celebrated because he is possibly the only pie card artist in the trade union movement who is totally illiterate. His knowledge of the English language is so extravagant that he once declared that the miners of Nova Scotia were "organized 100 per cent." The manly breast of Czar Lewis must be swelling with pride at the honor the most backward miners in Nova Scotia paid him!

COME ON NOW, OBEY!



According to Mussolini.

PHILIP SNOWDEN, chancellor of the British exchequer expresses forceful disagreement with the result of the London conference. Snowden is not opposed to the Dawes Plan but he believes that French occupation of the Rhur gives the French capitalists an unfair advantage over the British capitalists and this the socialist chancellor is opposed to. It is interesting to watch the British socialists stepping on each other's heels trying to outdo each other in anxiety to help the capitalists.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE grows facetious in discussing the Communist election campaign. An editorial entitled "The American Red Campaign," after stating that Foster has more contempt for LaFollette, Mangus Johnson, and the petty bourgeois elements represented in that movement now dictated to by the Wisconsin senator than he has for Coolidge and Dawes, makes the rather intelligent observation that Foster and Coolidge are the only two candidates who stand on a record of accomplishments. There is a big grain of truth in that statement. Foster is the chosen spokesman of the most advanced section of the American working class, because he has proven by deeds as well as by words that he is a worthy representative of revolutionary labor. In fact he is everything that Coolidge is not to the workers.

COOLIDGE, on the other hand is a class conscious supporter of capitalism and his record shines with deeds that bring smiles in Wall Street. Coolidge points to the present condition of American capitalism, as a measure by which the Republican ticket must be judged. When pointing in that direction let us hope for the little man's sake that the voters don't see Fall, Denby, Daugherty and the rest of the grafters. "Mr. Foster has the achievements of the Soviets in Russia back of him." Yes, and a mighty achievement it is, which every revolutionary worker in the world is proud of. And if there was some work for the undertaker in Russia, after the Soviets took over the Government, it is possible the undertaker was not put on the job in time. The workers will mourn less over the few thousand Czarists who lost their useless lives in Russia than for the millions of Russian workers and peasants who lost their lives under the Little Father.

Negro Business Men Fear K. K. K.

Robert R. Moton, president of the National Negro Business league, president of Tuskegee institute, vice-chairman of the National Urban league, president of the National Negro Finance corporation of Durham, North Carolina, and member of the Elks, addressed the convention of the Business league here this week.

He made a veiled reference to the Klan, coughed, hesitated and stopped. He leaned over the press table and asked reporters to make no mention of the story of how last year his life and the lives of thousands of students at Tuskegee institute had been endangered by the threat of the Klan to wipe out grounds and buildings if he did not refuse to accept the appointment of a Negro physician to the hospital on the grounds of the institute.

Careful About Speeches.

The advance copy of the speech, given out to the press, contains no

reference to this part of the address. This is not carelessness. The league has an efficient publicity manager—Cary B. Lewis. Cary B. Lewis took the DAILY WORKER reporter in charge, after inquiring as to the nature of the paper. He introduced her to members of the executive committee: "This is the representative of the DAILY WORKER, a-a-oh, a newspaper."

"A Communist paper," suggested the reporter, helpfully.

"If you insist," said Mr. Lewis, stiffly.

A Level Head.

Robert R. Moton has been characterized by Calvin Coolidge as "one of the most level-headed of men." Dr. Moton was careful to return the compliment last night by praise of Wall Street, the present administration, and white "supremacy." "The white man is supreme today, not because he's white, but because he rules in righteousness. When he is no longer righteous, God will take from him his supremacy, and give supremacy to the black or the yellow race," said Dr. Moton.

"Let us plan our association so that Wall Street will have faith in us."

Slave Driver Gets Ovation.

Julius Rosenwald, of Sears Roebuck and Co., one of Chicago's slave-pens, received his measure of ovation at the

hands of Dr. Moton for his contributions to Tuskegee Institute.

Dr. Moton came to the session after a dinner with Roscoe Simmons, organizer among Negroes for the republican party. Roscoe Simmons is prominent in the convention of the league. He is ready to address its sessions at any time.

But women garment workers of the Negro race, protesting against the scabbing of other colored women, drawn from the Urban league, during the recent strike of the International Garment Workers' Union, found that Roscoe Simmons was not available as a speaker before the meeting at Unity House, 3140 Indiana Ave., when they pleaded with women of the South Side not to support the Urban league in its program.

Negroes Should Work Harder.

Oscar A. Priest, welcoming the delegates to the city in place of Mayor Dever, urged that Negroes work harder and give full measure of labor to their employers. He said that if Negroes would speed up in their work the United States would find it unnecessary ever to lift the bars of immigration again.

The spirit of the convention was expressed by C. H. Brooks, vice-president of the Business League, who said that "the purpose of this organ-

ization is to corral the five-dollar bills." Mr. Brooks hazarded a guess that when the recording angel writes the names of the greatest men of history, three will stand out—Napoleon Bonaparte, Bismarck and Booker T. Washington. The incident of Booker T. Washington's invitation to the White House to visit Theodore Roosevelt, was repeated in detail by Mr. Brooks.

Negro Press Controlled.

The National Negro Press association is represented at the league by the Honorable B. J. Davis, its president. The DAILY WORKER reporter was introduced to a writer on a Negro paper, who had something to tell of the tactics of the Negro Press association, most of whose executive board are to be found also on the boards of Tuskegee and of the Business League. This reporter had been detailed to cover the unveiling of the monument to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee last year. Davis of the press association made an address condemning Harding. When the reporter wired his story to the International News Service, reference was made to this address. Melvin D. Chisum, secretary of the association, ordered the story killed. Thru an accident, the Birmingham News failed to receive its orders, and the story appeared in print.

"POWER" Play in One Act By Charles Ashleigh

Characters: A Premier,
A Docker, and
A Crowd of Workers,
Men and Women.

(The sun is dying in the brown haze of a London evening. The water of the Thames is darkening into cold, black steel. Down the long curve of the embankment the lights stud the dusk like a row of liquid pearls. In an angle of the embankment wall, the Premier stands, leaning against the parapet, gazing down the long quiet reach of the river. There are shadows about him. He is resting, after his short, but nervous and violent, walk from Downing Street. As he speaks, the sun goes down gradually and completely; the shadows thicken, and the details of the place are lost in darkness.)

This is a new thing—this doubt. This is the first time it has arisen since I have come to my new power.

What can it be, this treacherous creeping doubt, which came gnawing at my heart, while I was in the midst of my great discussions? There are princes and premiers of all the earth who come to speak with me—with me, who have come up from the low places to confound them with admiration! Ah, once there was contempt in the eyes of the rulers. Once they looked at me with pity or with a negligent despising. I have shown them! Now I am at the highest place—all the secret dreams of my long nights are fulfilled.

Then why doubt?

Oh, this is solid, if anything in the world is solid! Here is the massed might of an empire which obeys my word, which stands about me to protect me and do my bidding. I have stood with the princes territorial, and the princes of the church; I have welcomed kings, and have supped with ambassadors from far empires. Surely I have not failed?

Out of the ruin of the world, I said I would make order. I, the poor one who once was mocked, am to be the restorer. Now I am come—and let the world know there is a new master, ordained by God and everlasting righteousness! Look, you people of the world, I am he who is the new Savior!

Then, why this creeping doubt? Perhaps I am not well tonight; my labors have made me tired, and my thots will not be stilled or controlled.

Yes, it is true that, in pursuance of my great purpose, I have done things which once I abhorred. But, since I came to this power, it seems that only the power is essential—and the means do not matter. Otherwise, why should I be put in this place—by God, by destiny, by whatever powers rule this shifting life?

Yes, I can remember how, in the old days, we cried out against some of the things to which I now willingly set my hand. My hand. . . .

My hand? What? Here I raise it till the beam falls upon it. Is there blood upon it? Ah, fool! My nerves are broken with the strain. What are the lives of a few—or of many—when world issues are at hand, for me to settle? Those yapping idiots who prate about promises and pledges! What I said in this speech or in that! There were a thousand speeches, and a thousand things said—that is poli-

tics. Must I be bound to them all, by these fools?

Voices—there are voices tonight. There is the far-away crying of millions who seek freedom, bread. India? Ah, it is not politic! We must go on—despite all; the great machine must go on.

But, why, then, this doubt?

Ah, there is the worst doubt of all, and it has only come to me tonight. This is a poisonous and devilish doubt, the most wounding of all. Do I in truth hold power? Or have I been made drunken by the outward forms of power? Can it be that those who once despised me, still do so, beneath their polite friendliness? Can it be that those dark colossal forces are using me, as they have used all others? Am I a tinselled puppet in their hands, drunk with the thot that I am a new Messiah, come to make a new world, or a new Napoleon of statesmanship, come to rule with firmer power? Doth my right hand know what my left hand doeth? Or am I still he of whom they talk with quiet smiles of derision, in the high places where the kings of gold and iron and steel foregather? Have I sold my people, and my early high thots and dreams, for this empty show of power? Oh, there is blackness in the night, and in my heart! Let this moment be cursed. Put out the lights, deaden-

is one rather large building which abuts onto the stage, with lighted windows. It is some sort of public meeting place, in a poor quarter. He is erect now, and more confident. He has thot himself into a new mood.)

Where on earth am I? This must surely be the quarter of the workers. Yes, these narrow houses. . . . I remember. . . . Well, I must not forget, tomorrow, to tell the Chief Secretary to prepare all the papers on the Cuban Compensation question. Then, there is the Duke of Cambodia who comes to dine at eight. Also I have heard that the tribesmen of Astolen are becoming insolent. It is regrettable, but, if they will not submit to our efforts to bring them peace and civilization, we must act with firmness. The Air Force, I hear, is in excellent condition and morale. And tomorrow there is the matter of a new fleet—there are not enough ships, it appears, of the new formidable type—we must have more! We must have more, so that My Government shall be feared in all parts of the earth!

Ah, this is the essence of power. I have been foolish, thus evening. My nerves. . . . I was not used to those rich foods. . . . There was once a boy, who lived in a poor house, in a village, and he ate plain oatmeal. But this plain food fed his dreams. He went out into the world, and men lis-

his words of revolt, and were strengthened thereby. But that was long ago.

. . . . It seems like centuries. . . . There was a strange fire in me, in those early days when I still believed. What have I said? When I still believed? Ah, we must face facts! There has been a war, and the world has crumbled. All that matters is power. Let me grasp that amidst the ruin.

What is that black shadow, bending to pick, from the gutter, foul scraps of food. Look, it is rising, straightening its crooked height. It points at me. What did you say? (He staggers back, Whispering:) "Judas!" "Judas," it said; and pointed at me its accusing finger. Ah, I dream again! I must see the royal physician; I am sick. There was no one there. . . .

Well, then—YES! I will be frank, here in this dark place where no one hears, frank with the shadows and with my soul. I AM JUDAS, if you will! I WILL HAVE POWER! I AM PART OF THE GREAT MACHINE OF POWER. Away with your trumpety protests, fools! You were made to be ruled, and ruled you shall be; altho I must lull you in your chains with the phrases you love to hear!

I have been disturbed by your protests, your cries of revolution. It seems I once aided that illusion in your minds. But now I care no longer for you. I have conquered! I am power! And you—you are silent, and my servants.

(He stands, with folded arms, madly exalted, filled with a maniacal self-worship. Suddenly the lights in the windows of the hall darken from white to scarlet. A great voice from within cries, "Down with the traitors! Long live the Revolution!" and a thousand voices take up the cry. Then the "Internationale" is heard, sung by many voices, loud and full-throated. The meeting is over. The doors of the hall are thrown open, and a great red light streams out upon the stage. The worker-audience begins to pour out, still singing. The crimson beams are full upon the frock-coated, top-hatted figure, standing in the center of the stage.)

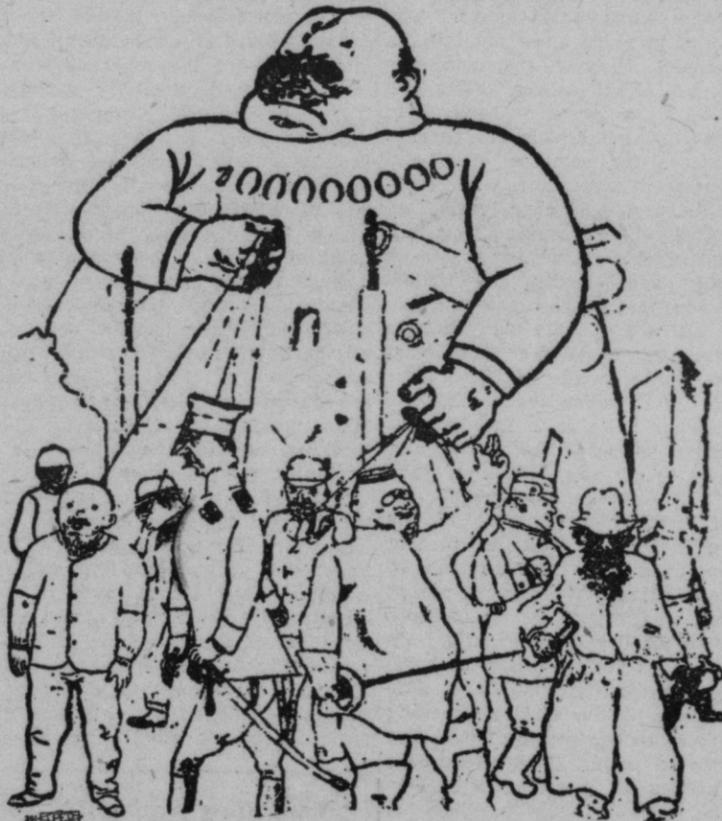
Ah, scum! What do you do? The rabble is trying to overthrow my authority. What is this noise of Revolution? Where are my guards? Where are the police? Order, we must have order, so that we may proceed peacefully, gradually, gradually, gradually. . . . Where are the police, my police?

(Several workers stop, gazing curiously at the distraught man. An immense burly docker, in working-clothes, with a scarlet band about his arm, and a rifle slung across his back, comes up to him, and contemptuously inspects the raving figure.)

The Docker: Gor'blimy, mates, look at this toff! 'E ain't 'alf excited! Looks a bit dotty, don't 'e? 'Armlless, tho, I suppose. 'Ere, mate, you better get off to bed, and out of our way! We got work to do tonight which ain't too safe for the likes of you! Come on, mates!

(They once more start the "Internationale," and, singing, the mass pours across the stage, from the hall, and out at the other side. They are still marching and singing as the curtain descends.)

THE LONDON CONFERENCE



And it is always capitalism that pulls the strings of its political puppets: Herriot, MacDonald, Theunis.

my mind—I cannot look upon myself!

(He rushes into the night. The scene is blackened; then again dim forms appear; the forms of houses, whose angles are just discernible against the darkness. It is a narrow sordid street, along which he has come, after hours of wandering. There

tened to his words, for he had a great power of words.

He painted a fair world that might come, when all of the oppressed were united. He told them they should cease from complaining, and should fight. There were some great gatherings, and tens of thousands heard

forever. No more clash of interests, of races, religions and nationalism would ever brew again.

Today some of us live to tell the tale about our experiences—and a sorry, pitiful tale it is. A good deal more wiser are some of us after coming out with our skin. We did not heed the Communists. Some of us now are militant Communists!

Since that slaughter which still bleeds from the workers' blood, to this date a new youth soldiery has grown up. We who had former experiences in the art of warfare are now going to talk to these younger (future) soldiers like the Communists talked to us. Are we going to let them be carried away by the empty bubbles that swayed us to enlist? Comrades, a profound moral

duty lies before us! Let us not be meek moral cowards and so fail to tell the truth by not exposing the war created by the international bankers for their sole gain at the sacrifice of our lives and the enslavement of those that survived.

War enslaves the workers of all countries! War destroys home and degenerates the physical and mental bodies of both sexes! War on war! Comrades, let us war on war now with our voices and international solidarity. Expose the two agencies, sole gainers, that create wars: 1. The dope houses (the churches), and 2, the international bankers. Let our voices be a clarion call to all our comrades to war on war so that our voices will make the corrupt capitalistic socie-

ties and the dope house agents, priest, parson and rabbi tremble with nightmares.

The world still bleeds from the debacle of the World War and destitution is rampant everywhere. While in one-sixth of the globe's surface (Soviet Russia) peace reigns and workers go about with heads uplifted and brows not knitted from dire wants.

On with the propaganda—the DAILY WORKER! More power to your press!

You editors that are risking your lives daily by exposing this viper monster of international bankers, long live! More power to your trains and pens on war on war and for the ultimate overthrow of capitalism.

War on War

The Disillusioned Soldier Speaks
By LOUIS REGUERA.

We who were disillusioned by entering the World War for the international bankers, let us pause for a moment on that date, August 4, 1914, and also let us vision our experiences through those years that ended (temporarily) in the armistice of November 11, 1918.

With the flare of drums and flags, patriotism—honor of home and acclamations of the versatile pen prostitute, Woodrow Wilson, we enlisted. Thousands like myself, believing that this was to end war for all time and peace would reign

Culture Versus Life

BY A TEACHER

INTELLECTUAL VANITY, the prop of the metaphysical doer, is the attitude which secretly sermonizes thus: "Nature has endowed a few persons with unusual ability. The vast majority of humans, sad to acknowledge, are congenitally rendered immune from the germs of true culture. Evidently it becomes the business of the wise to ponder, to converse, to publicize, to rule. Contrariwise, obeying Nature's inexorable cleavage, the "people" must remain, willy-nilly, the beasts of burden, to be domesticated for the manifold household services of their superiors. Cruel stratification—but there it is older than history. Such is the cherished belief of the whole leisure class. The Catholic Church has immortalized this disunion of rabble and elect. In a very unique way the Church has met the dilemmas of Culture. The select among the Clergy are permitted by infallibility to read books-heretical in order that they may be shrewdly prepared to confute the blasphemies contained therein. Of course, only the dependable Brothers are chosen for so delicate and scrupulously honest a task. The celebrated Index Expurgatorius interdicts this surreptitious knowledge to the majority of Catholics,—the humble laity. The divine purpose of this dualism is to keep the masses in blissful ignorance. Thinking for oneself is the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost. This disjoint and most untenable theory of culture will find subtle advocates so long as blindness continues to flourish as virtue, so long as respect for official superiors continues unsophisticated. The Catholic Church loves the poor and ignorant so tenderly, it would fain relieve them of the cruel necessity of thinking sceptically about their hard destiny. "Knowledge bringeth sorrow" is the Catholic motto.

The profitable inferences that follow from the apotheosis of haught-culture are numerous. The masses are neither capable nor worthy of the "higher" education. They are naturally fit to obey, serve, pray and beget. No revolt or criticism or discontent should be encouraged, no less permitted to spread, amongst the "people." The iron hand of authority best rules the ignorant, the multitudinous, know-nothings. The joys and quests of the elite are in the nature of things beyond the horizon line of the nihilite.

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Why disturb the unleavened mass with ideals of art, beauty, culture, which they will never be able to realize? Only morbid discontent will breed in a mind made restive by unattainable aspirations. Circuses and bread and ragtime and dime novels—these be the pabulum of the nihilite. Culture for the cultured. A dumb show for the people. Oscar Wilde, that great sentimental boy, expressed the aristocratic view of culture when he said to his friend, Frank Harris: "The poor are poor creatures, and must be hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are really the dung hill out of which men of genius and artists grow like flowers. Their function is to give birth to genius and nourish it. They have no other raison d'etre. Were men as intelligent as bees, all gifted individuals would be supported by the community, as the bees support their queen. We should be the first charge on the State, just as Socrates declared that he ought to be kept in the Prytaneum at the public expense.

"Don't talk to me, Frank, about the hardships of the poor. The hardships of the poor are necessities, but talk to me of the hardships of men of genius, and I could weep tears of blood. I was never so affected by any book in my life as I was by the sordid misery of Balzac's poet, Eugene de Rubempre."

This mischievous theory of culture is strongly entrenched as a living faith amongst the leisure class. Faith in the masses is a lyrical line of laudation from humanitarian poets. The mighty of mankind know not faith in the masses. Distrust, suspicion, contempt, yes, Faith—never. Faith, like respect, is a genuine bond only amongst equals. Equals are persons who strive for common ends—and share common experiences while striving. All rules, golden or leaden, operate best where respect flourishes. Respect flourishes where power is equitably and equally apportioned. Faith and respect and power are a triple alliance tenable and durable only amongst economic or intellectual equals. Power is the breath of life: a bad breath when monopolized, a sweet, when socialized. Increase the aggressive power of the masses and as if by magic you behold a "pro tanto" increase in the respect accorded them by "superiors." It is amazing how instinctively we respect persons of power. And yet not so amazing, either. We respect power, because, flattering its possessors brings us privileges and security; antagonizing its holders brings us hardship and insecurity. The most difficult problem of our social democracy is to socialize the power of men and the men of power. The sweet uses and abuses of power must be curtailed.

In 1906 an essay entitled "Education and the Socialist Movement" was written by a "distinguished" American economist to prove the necessity and moral discipline of cleavage in society. It is the feeblest essay ever penned by an intelligent apologist for the status quo. Conscious thruout that his vetoes on socialist hopes were arbitrary and biased, Professor John Bates Clark desperately concluded his peroration with this exciting outlook for the laboring class: "Like the village blacksmith, he may look the whole world in the face with independence, but with no latent enmity. Manly self-assertion there may be with no sense of injury. The well-paid laborer may stand before the rich without envy, as the rich will stand before him without pity or condescension. . . . It will always be better to have something than to have nothing; but it may, at some time, be better to have relatively little than to have inordinately much and the worker may be able to come nearer and nearer to the state in which for him, comforts are plentiful and anxieties are scarce. Amid a vast inequality of mere (!) possessions, there may be less and less of inequality of genuine welfare. Many a man with a modest store may have no wish to change lots with the multi-millionaire. For comfortable living, for high thinking, and for the

finer traits of humanity, the odds may be in his favor."

Was ever more namby-pamby preachment imposed upon a hard-working world? (If the reader is interested in a shattering refutation of this essay by the self-same author, let him read Professor Clark's "Philosophy of Wealth" written when that gentleman's insights into graphic reality were fresh and penetrating.) The ultimate plea of the menaced leisure class is a study in equivocation. The honorable worker is to have his lot improved. He is to see his dreams modestly realized. He is to be given a fair education. He is to be admitted (on judgment day) to the sanctum of his millionaire-comrade who will not look down upon him with condescension. Envy and abuse of power will have disappeared from man's world. The billionaires will be a standing challenge to the finest traits in proletarian human nature. Only by promoting divisive inequalities, can a stratified society hope to evolve a real brotherhood, wherein love and respect will cement a friendship between the "relatively poor and the inordinately rich." "But it is in the power of humanity to project its fraternal bonds across the chasms which such conditions (of divisive inequality) create. Tho there be thrones and principalities in our earthly paradise, they will not mar its perfection, but will develop the finer traits of its inhabitants." (my boldface.) No, this is not a travesty on common sense indited for the amusement of an awakening proletariat. They are the sober assurances of an old man, mentally exhausted from a half century struggle with obstinate reality. The essay from which I quote is supposedly a contribution to economic science. In truth it is a gift to "Christian Science." It is a foolish labor of love, vapid to the point of nausea. "Many a man with a modest store may have no wish to change lots with the multi-millionaire." Suppose he has the wish, what can he do to realize it in a stratified society where startling inequalities are inherited and legally perpetuated? "For comfortable living, for high thinking, and for the finer traits of humanity, the odds may be in his favor." This last sentence sounds like the rankest nonsense or sheer charlatanism. Why not, as amiable Christians, out of pure good-heartedness, exert our best efforts to "save" our inordinately rich folk from the vexatious lot of uncomfortable living, of sordid thinking, and of cheaper traits of character, which they may develop as multi-millionaires? Perhaps the professor has in mind a refurbished

Epictetan ethic, something like the following: "Any person may live happy in poverty, but few in wealth and power. So great is the advantage of poverty, that no wise man would exchange it for disreputable wealth; unless indeed Themistocles, the son of Neocles, the most wealthy of the Athenians, but poor in virtue, was better than Aristides and Socrates. But both himself and his wealth are perished, and without a name. For a bad man loses all in death; but virtue is eternal."—When apologist of special privileges are hard beset for honest explanations for the necessity of perpetuated inequality they do say some stupid things. Why doesn't a sense of humor thrill them with shame at their own fool performances? So the dearly beloved poor man in our "inordinately rich" capitalism of the future will be equipped for plain living and high thinking, like the Thoreaus and Emersons and Tolstois and Whitmans? H'm! But suppose his high thinking leads him to pooh-pooh "plain" living? What then? Suppose he relishes the elaborate living of the inordinately rich more than his own simple fare? What then? No! The dramatic cleavages of present day capitalism will either disrupt society or what is more likely, society (in the sociological sense) will urgently disrupt them. Capitalism as the perpetuator of harsh inequalities will not endure forever.

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The Situation in Bulgaria By G. DIMITROV

IN the course of its forty-five years existence as a politically independent state, Bulgaria has experienced not a few reactionary regimes, but when compared with the present reaction which is raging, all these reactionary regimes of the past seem the merest child's play.

The working class and the peasant masses are robbed of all rights and rendered the prey of the bankers and speculators. All workers' parties are dissolved. Their press is annihilated. Their best representatives are killed, flung into prison, or driven into exile.

In the background of this political reaction, the gangs of bankers and speculators are busily engaged in pitilessly exploiting the working masses of the country.

Up to the coup d'etat the dollar cost 92 leva; its present price is 140 leva. Thus the Bulgarian currency has suffered a depreciation of over 40 per cent.

Whilst the state budget for 1922-23 amounted altogether to five milliard leva, the budget of the Zankov government for 1923-24 amounted to 6.2 milliard leva and that for 1924-25 to 7 milliard leva. The outgoings for one year for the army, the police and prisons amounted alone to one and a half milliards. Before the coup d'etat the expenditure for the police amounted to 1,476,777 leva annually; it now amounts to 15,388,520 leva.

The indirect taxes have been increased by 2 to 3 milliard leva. The tobacco tax has been increased by 365 million leva. The land taxes, which fall upon the peasants, have also been increased by 340 million leva while the tax upon limited liability companies has only yielded 3 million leva.

Foreign trade for the year 1923 showed an unfavorable balance of 2,257 million leva.

There is a very big decline in agriculture. The area given to Autumn

Heads Balkan Federation



G. Dimitrov, Secretary of the Communist Balkan Federation.

sowing in the year 1923 was 11 million hectares, as compared with 13 million hectares in 1922.

Prices have increased from June, 1924, by 30 to 50 per cent. The price of bread has increased from 5 to 7 leva per kilogram, meat from 24 to 30 leva, salt from 4 to 6 leva etc.

The wages of the workers have fallen by 40 per cent as compared with 1922. At the same time 80 per cent of the factories and works have abolished the eight hour day.

On the other hand, the profits of the banks and joint stock companies offer quite another picture. The profits are enormous. For example, the Commercial and Industrial Bank with a capital of 6 million leva had a net profit of 1,900,000 leva (35 per cent); the Bank for Export and Import

(capital 3 million leva) has a net profit of 1,020,000 leva (30 per cent); the international joint stock company, "Maritima" (capital 5 million) has a profit of 1,700,000 leva (34 per cent).

In the sphere of foreign politics the Zankov government is driving the country into conflicts, with Yugoslavia on account of Macedonia, with Greece on account of Thrace, with the Soviet Union on account of the Wrangel troops, whom it welcomes with open arms. In order under these circumstances to retain the support of France, England and Italy, it is prepared to concede to them valuable resources of the country, as for example the state-owned "Pernik" stone quarry.

But the hate of the working masses of the people against the bankers and speculators found expression during the recent elections for the provincial and municipal councils, which were carried out under a fearful reign of terror. In all the important parts of the country, especially in the towns, the elections resulted in the repulse of the offensive of the Zankov government.

At the municipal elections in the towns the government received 72,000 votes as against 90,579 polled by the opposition, and many thousands of votes were cast for the Communists, but which were declared to be invalid.

The Zankov government feels that it is losing foothold before the sweep of the rising wave of indignation of the people and of the growing movement of the working masses. It is therefore carrying on a still more furious and reactionary policy and has recourse to a series of political murders of popular leaders, among them recently being the leader of the peasants union, the member of parliament Petkov.

The organ of the national liberal party (the party of industrial capital) 'Nesavissimost' (Independence) gives

the following estimation of the present position in the country:

"The results of the provincial and municipal elections prove only one thing, that no security and peace prevails in our country, because, objectively considered, the influence of the destructive elements is not only not weakened, but has become stronger. We are now experiencing, in Bulgaria a war, because the fronts are set up for fresh bloody struggles. The destructive elements, which are welded together in the united front, have already gone over to the offensive. . . . And if in spite of everything (exceptional laws against the Communists and the peasant population) we see their magnificent successes in the elections, it means that their strength and their influences is by no means broken. At the present time our country is experiencing, not a struggle between political groupings, but a fight for victory between sharply distinguished tendencies, for the victory of different methods of state administration. . . . The tendencies which appear as the representatives of bolshevik ideas, have actually realized the united front. Actuated by similar motives to seize power, they have sunk their minor differences of opinion and are proceeding determinedly to one end—the annihilation of the ruling powers. . . ."

The bourgeois paper has, in a sudden fit of candor, let out the truth. The facts are as stated. In Bulgaria the fight is proceeding over "different methods of state administration:" Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the fascist government, or dictatorship of the proletariat by the workers and peasants.

The fronts are sharply drawn. The forces are being mobilized, the decisive struggle is no longer distant.

The days of the fascist reaction in Bulgaria are numbered.

COLOGNE--EISENACH--LONDON

By ARTHUR ROSENBERG.

On the 22nd June last the representatives of the Communist parliamentary fractions of Germany and France met together in Cologne, in order to initiate common action against the Experts' Report. On the 29th June, 400 delegates from all parts of Germany assembled in Eisenach, in order to issue the protest of the whole working class against the policy of the German government. The Cologne conference was allowed to proceed without interference. At Eisenach the delegates to the conference were arrested by Herr Ebert's police. It is true that all those arrested were liberated on the same evening, as there are limits even to the absurdity of the actions of the German republican government. On the 16th of July there commenced in London the Conference of the Allies, which will once again "decide" upon the fate of Germany. The dictates of the entente are this time to be rendered more palatable by the presence of a few statisticians of the German government.

The official German state apparatus is working feverishly in order to hinder the struggle of the C. P. of Germany against the Experts' Report. For this purpose the most ridiculous means are adopted. The chief maneuver consists of the prosecution of the central of the C. P. of Germany, the so-called Tchekatrial, with its 80 volumes of evidence in the hands of that specialist against the Communists, the Berlin judge, Director Voigt, and with allegations as to the use of cholera germs and other boogies with which to terrify the public. The trial is intended to discredit the Communist Party in the eyes of the great mass of the population, and in addition to provide the pretext for imprisoning as many as possible of the leading functionaries of the party and to abolish the immunity of the Communist members of Parliament. The present German law forbids the press

to comment upon pending legal proceedings. But with the will and knowledge of Herr Severing, the Social-Democratic Police Minister, the police are supplying the sensation-mongering newspapers with information as to the proceedings at the preliminary examination. The greatest eagerness in this connection is of course being shown by the Social-Democratic press.

The Tcheka-Process is gradually developing into the greatest swindle of the 20th century. The alleged murders, on account of which the Communist Party is being prosecuted, exist only in the evidence of Herr Voigt. But the bogus trial has provided the pretext to search the whole of the apartments of the Communist fractions in the German Reichstag and in the Prussian Diet: a proceeding which is absolutely unprecedented in the history of parliament. This action, which of course, brought nothing to light, was, as one might have expected, instigated by the Social-Democratic president of the Landtag, Leinert and by the Social-Democratic vice-president of the Reichstag, Dittmann. Another heroic act of the Social-Democratic party was the suppression of the "Rote Fahne" for 14 days at the commanding of Herr Severing, and this on account of an article warning against acts of individual terror!

All these shabby maneuvers can, however, not prevent the action of the C. P. of Germany against the Experts' Report and its supporters. The Social-Democratic and the bourgeois parties were able to produce a certain degree of approval of the Experts' Report only because the masses had no notion of what was contained in this report. The more the details of the Dawes report become known to the proletariat, the more impossible will become the position of the Social-Democratic Party. The Berlin organization of the Communist Party is at present circulating the original text

of the Experts' Report among its functionaries and in the work shops. If the party succeeds in having only one Communist in every workshop who possesses the text of the Experts' Report, and who is in a position to read the chief paragraphs to his work mates, it will settle all the propaganda of the Social-Democratic Party.

The entry of the Herriot government into office gave the Social-Democratic Party and the bourgeois center parties the opportunity to proclaim the most exaggerated promises and hopes. One only had to hear the enthusiastic speech with which Loebe, the former Social-Democratic president of the Reichstag, greeted those twin stars, MacDonald and Herriot, in order to measure the extent of these hopes. But the young blossoms quickly withered. The attempt was made to render the Experts' Report more attractive to the masses in Germany by persuading them that the acceptance of the Dawes' report would lead to the evacuation of the Ruhr area by the French. Meanwhile, the Herriot-Nollet government have plainly declared that the occupation of the Ruhr district is solely the affair of France and Belgium and of no one else. The evacuation of the Ruhr district is out of the question at present.

Besides this, one has been able to perceive in the last few days that the Anglo-French antagonism has not in the least been abolished by the overthrow of Poincare, and that a furious storm of opposition has been raised against the Herriot ministry because it does not in all respects sufficiently exhibit the Poincare spirit, while Herriot himself is endeavoring to avert this attack by showing the requisite energy against Germany and England. Since the development of this state of affairs the "Vorwarts" has begun to sing very small. It only continues to plead that Germany must be allowed to enter the League of Nations, but the Social-Democratic Party has no longer any serious argu-

ments in order to persuade the masses to accept the Experts' Report.

The Communist fraction in the Reichstag recently invited the factory councils of the large factories in Berlin to a conference in order to discuss the present political situation. This conference was attended by representatives from 55 big factories, among them being several Social Democratic and non-party factory councils. The conference declared unanimously against the Experts' Report and elected an advisory committee of factory councils which shall collaborate with the Communist Reichstag fraction. Preparations are being made for enlarging this committee by factory councils from the provinces.

The working class had set the highest hopes in the labor conference in Eisenach, which Herr Jarres, with the help of the Social Democratic police officers, caused to be broken up. All the greater therefore were the efforts of the government and its spy apparatus to wreck this conference. In spite of all this it was possible for the conference to meet together and pronounce its approval to the resolution against the Experts' Report. By breaking up the conference, Herr Jarres and the Social Democratic party have only rendered a service to the revolutionary cause in Germany. The delegates have returned from Eisenach with the firm will to organize straightaway the fight against the Experts' plan and against the treacherous reformist leaders.

The London conference will render apparent the complete futility of the pacifist illusions. It will further drive home the truth that the working class have nothing to hope for from capital.

The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the working class itself.—Marx.

Impossible! Never name me that blockhead of a word.—Mirabeau.

Views of Our Readers on Many Subjects

Hits MacDonald Treason.

To the DAILY WORKER—I feel I must say something about the attack by the British government upon the Communist Party of Great Britain, the raiding of its headquarters and the arrest of one of its officials for advising soldiers not to shoot strikers. If my memory serves me, it was in the year 1911 or 1912 that the I. L. P., along with other British organizations of labor, made a stand on this question, and the Labor Leader, the official organ of the I. L. P., together with the rest of the labor and socialist press, published appeals to soldiers not to shoot strikers.

The hubbub arose when a young member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, Fred Crowsley, was arrested at Aldershot for distributing copies of an article which he had had reprinted from the Syndicalist, a paper published by Tom Mann and Guy Bowman. Subsequently these comrades were also arrested, and also the brothers Buck, printers of the paper. All served terms of imprisonment, but the advanced thinkers unanimously defied the government, and every paper and every speaker made appeals of this kind. I do not remember particularly any utterance by Ramsay MacDonald on the subject, but I remember being at Aldershot to report Crowsley's case for the Syndicalist, and meeting Josiah Wedgwood, then a Liberal member of parliament, and now a prominent labor man, who provided bail for Crowsley, and we all three returned to London. Our policy at that time was to have so many people utter this particular "sedition" as to make it impossible for the government to send us all to prison and suppress all the papers. And we pursued this policy with the most complete success. In the midst of this situation, the Daily Herald first appeared under my editorial direction. The paper supported the agitation up to the hilt.

I await with great interest the mails which will bring me, I hope, some copies of the Herald for this week, to know how the Labor Party will justify its change of attitude. I prophesy, with the greatest confidence, that this action will lose for it an enormous amount of support. We knew it was leading the workers' political movement to destruction, but I, for one, scarcely expected that it would do it in so spectacular a way. The present administration has done other things in India and elsewhere which are more important in reality, but which I can well imagine my former comrades, MacDonald, Snowden and others glossing over with a cloud of words, and getting away with it, so far as the less advanced workers are concerned; but knowing England as I do, I could imagine no shrewder blow at the confidence of the workers in the Labor Party than that party has thus dealt itself.—Andrew Shelly, Chicago, Ill.

For Army Propaganda.

Editor, "The Daily Worker,"
Dear Comrade:

In the August 12th issue of the DAILY WORKER I read the appeal of our British comrades to the armed forces of that country. That appeal, in my estimation, is in line with Communist tactics for winning over the uniformed proletariat to the class-struggle as against Imperialism. After reciting pertinent facts and principles of the class-struggle, the appeal points to, and urges definite action upon the part of the men . . . tho I personally believe that even that appeal falls short of a concrete and more elaborate program of immediate tasks along organizational lines, rank and file slogans, demands, suggestions for carrying out these tasks, etc.

With "Mobilization Day," Sept. 12th coming, militarism running amuck, new wars in the making, and the class-struggle becoming ever sharper and intense, our party should be first to formulate and offer something definite and tangible affecting the men in uniform. We ought to awaken and inspire the men, and hold aloft the torch that shall blaze the path of action.

Mass-meetings can be held in seaport cities like Boston, New York, etc., at places where sailors and marines hang around. For instance, I witnessed an anti-war meeting conducted by our party on Boston Common. There were more than three thousand in the crowd of which estimate, over four hundred were uniformed men—sailors, marines, airmen, soldiers and some petty officers. At a meeting like this, one speaker should dwell only on subject matter as I refer to above—a special message in plain, definite language with a clear outline of action for the uniformed men. The uniformed men will think, and think hard after hearing such talk—such thots in their minds will some day lead to specific action.

I would like to see the party start something along this line in the DAILY WORKER.

Your for Communist agitation in the army and navy—H. Sidney Bloomfield, Worcester, Mass.

Foster's Youngstown Meet.

To the DAILY WORKER: The opening of the Communist campaign amongst the steel workers by the huge Foster mass meeting at Avon Park when the first Communist presidential gun was fired off by W. Z. Foster has stirred up the steel barons and their poison slinging press in Mahoning valley. Steel workers were pictured driving to the meeting in Cadillacs and Pierce-Arrows and throwing handfuls of greenbacks into the contribution.

As a matter of fact thousands of steel workers were compelled to remain away from the monster mass meeting because they lacked carfare, so well is prosperity affecting them. It stunned the 100 per cent plussers to find out that a few thousand reds were willing to turn out and give the first Communist candidate for president a fitting welcome at his first campaign meeting.

All of the foreign nationalist societies held picnics on the day that Foster spoke, to attract their members away from the meeting. The capitalist press carried big scare lines telling the folks that Foster and the Reds want a Soviet government for the U. S. So far there has been no denial on part of the steel workers that they oppose this form of government. Finding fault with the

Communist presidential candidate because he mounted the speakers' platform with holes in his shoes and a smile on his face, the steel trust organs even announced that Foster was getting bald, and didn't have his trousers pressed, and was such a well mannered person off the platform but a bear cat in action. The steel workers are very much amused over the petty fault-finding of the steel trust mouthpieces.

The Steelworkers' Band organized and named in honor of the first Communist candidate for president will greet Ben Gitlow when he speaks in Warren on Sept. 4. This band can play the International in such a way that it would make E. H. Gary and the Pope of the A. F. of L. have cold chills.

About the most amusing incident connected with Foster's first campaign speech amongst the steel workers was press announcements that the steel mills would operate 100 per cent starting August 18th.

The Red Campaign is well under way and the Communists are hammering away in the strongholds of the steel barons all thrue the Mahoning and Shenango valley bringing to the steel workers a message of international working class solidarity.—Wallace T. Metcalf.

Thoughts for Defense Day.

To the DAILY WORKER—In re the September mobilization act: By orders of the war department, Major General Crowder issued, July 5, 1918, certain legalized land value orders in which gamblers, "real estate dealers," their agents and clerks were specifically exempted from the 1918 work or fight ordinances. These privileged characters received vast sums in rents from the United States treasury for land sites our government needed urgently.

The "hurrah boys" and "flag wavers," having nothing to offer or give, proceeded to sell the land of America to the people for quite a profit, and afterwards forgot the size of their income for tax returns.

Frank Vanderlip of Hog Island, Pa., and John Spreckels of North Island (San Diego, Cal) are notorious cases.

In the face of an imaginary "foreign enemy," will this privileged class again receive similar exemption?

Who cares besides the war veterans? —Waldo J. Wernicks.

Want Ministers to Read DAILY WORKER.

To the DAILY WORKER:—A war is being waged by the ministers in South Bend, Indiana, against dancing on Sunday. For the life of me, I cannot see the difference between dancing on Friday and Sunday. If dancing is immoral on Sunday, why is it alright on every other day?

I would like to place into the hands of each of these ministers a copy of the DAILY WORKER where they will find something of vital interest to humanity to put up a fight for. It's high time these arch hypocrites began to have something to say about the workers' struggles, about poor wages, about the miserable homes the workers live in and about the energy sapping long hours they must slave.—Amos E. Kirk.

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