

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
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Wheeler's "Labor" Party - - - By Alexander Bittelman

Now, let's get that thing straight again. What is it for that the Socialist Party has surrendered to LaFollette? It is for the sake of getting a Labor Party formed sometime in the future, isn't it? This is what we are being told by Debs, Hillquit, Berger, Oneal, etc., etc.

to this our reply was that it is nonsense. No one in full possession of all faculties and could seriously believe that a Labor Party will result out of the Gompers-LaFollette-Socialist outfit. Why? Simply because this combination does not want a Labor Party. They are not interested in it. A Labor Party pursuing an independent working class policy would constitute a serious menace to the class and group interests of the LaFollette-Gompers combine.

Now Comes Wheeler.

Now comes Wheeler himself, vice-presidential candidate on LaFollette's ticket, and what does he say? Well, he says many things, but the one thing that is of most interest to us at this moment is that he is opposed to the formation of a Labor Party.

He does not mince words, either. In fact, he should be congratulated for his frankness in the matter. One would wish that his socialist followers might follow him also in frankness and sincerity.

For example: Wheeler does not like the word "workers," particularly industrial workers. To him the mere sound of it is objectionable. His healthy class instinct, the instinct of a petty bourgeois, of one who is identified and associated with the well-to-do middle classes, simply revolts at the idea of a party of workers.

Does he conceal this fact? No; he couldn't very well. His class instincts seem to be stronger than his political intelligence. Thus it happened that when confronted by a Federated Press reporter with the question of whether he would favor a Labor Party, he innocently replied: No, he doesn't favor any such thing. He is opposed to it.

Anything But a Party of Workers.

Here is a portion of the interview with Senator Wheeler as reported by the Federated Press.

"Are you in favor of a definite, organic third party developing out of this movement?" asked the interviewer.

"Yes," replied Wheeler.

"Would you like to see it a labor party, say the American Labor party?"

"No," answered Wheeler; "You must remember that laborers constitute only a certain proportion of the people. What about the farmers?"

"Well, of course," explained the interviewer; "I mean all workers—a party made up of industrial workers and farmers."

"Well, there is already a Workers Party—a Communist group," answered Wheeler. "We don't want to have anything to do with Communists. And as for industrial workers—I confess I do not like the use of that term either. There are the Industrial Workers of the World."

Please, note the reasoning of the man whom the Socialist party has seen fit to endorse as its candidate for vice-president. The reporter asks Wheeler whether he would like to see a Labor Party, say the American Labor Party. Wheeler says: No, he does not want that. Why? Because "you must remember (thank you, senator, for the kind reminder) that laborers constitute only a certain proportion of the people."

We just wonder how Gompers likes this identification of labor with labor-

ers. The old betrayer of the American Federation of Labor usually draws a very clear distinction between what he considers labor and the mass of laborers. The latter are to Gompers just as repulsive as to Wheeler, only Gompers does not commit the folly of identifying "Labor" with laborers.

However, this is beside the point. We are concerned now with the senator, who objects to a Labor Party because laborers—you must remember that—constitute only a certain proportion of the people. The implication of this objection would seem to indicate that what the senator is after is a party not of a portion of the people, but of all the people.

The reporter understood the nature of the senator's objection and immediately volunteered an explanation. He said: "Well, of course, I mean all workers—a party made up of industrial workers and farmers." In mak-

ing this explanation the reporter probably thought that a party made up of all industrial workers and farmers would look all-inclusive enough to satisfy the senator as to its being a genuine party of the people.

But no, you cannot satisfy the senator so easily when it comes to discussing the "people." He seems to be very anxious that the party which he is in favor of should include every single member of the people. Alright. How, then, does he propose to bring this about?

As to the workers, the senator is of the opinion that: "Well, there is already a Workers Party, a Communist group. We don't want to have anything to do with Communists." Bravo, senator! That's good. If you are looking for a party of workers, there is already such a party in the field—the Workers Party, and its candidates are not LaFollette and Wheeler, but Foster and Gitlow. Alright, this little statement of the senator suits us perfectly.

But how about a party of the people? Aren't the workers, the Communists, part of the people? Don't they deserve to be included in the senator's party, which is to be, according to Wheeler's own words, a party of the people? Don't these Com-

munist workers suffer hunger and starvation at the hands of "special privilege" and "monopolies" which LaFollette and Wheeler are supposed to be fighting against?

And the Farmers.

Then what about the farmers? Surely they are entitled to be considered as part of the people. And the reporter distinctly explained that when he said Labor Party, he meant a party of workers and farmers. But the senator did not seem to have heard that. He merely passed it over.

But the reporter seems to have been determined to squeeze out of Senator Wheeler some sort of a party that would include the people who work, who produce, who are being exploited. So he proceeds to press the original question, only somewhat differently worded. The reporter's question:

"What about a party made up of all people who gain their living by

say that he will not debar from his party a man "because he happens to have money."

Now, now, here the senator said something. He wants for his party the "people," men who have ideals, and who are they? Not the workers, these are Communists and with Communists we have nothing to do. Not the farmers, about them we keep quiet. We want the men who "happen to have" money.

Great stuff. We knew right along that this was the sort of a party that LaFollette and Wheeler are after. But what about Debs, Hillquit and Berger? Are they too, after Wheeler's men of "ideals"?

Refers to British Labor Party.

However, it seems that the senator has sensed that he had begun letting the cat out of the bag. So he proceeds to explain himself:

"Take the British Labor Party. Aren't there many such in it. In

MUSSOLINI'S GOVERNMENT IN CONFERENCE



Decide to Remain at Their Posts

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useful work, whether of brain or brawn?"

Now, one would think, the reporter at last got the senator into a corner. Now, really, can LaFollette's vice-president speak against a party "of all people who gain their living by useful work, whether of brain or brawn?" Aren't these the kind of people that LaFollette is supposed to be fighting for?

It seems not. Just read what Senator Wheeler himself has to say:

"I am less interested in the avocation of a man than in his ideals—what he believes in," answered Wheeler. "I would welcome into the party any man who subscribes to the aims and purposes of the party. I will tell you what I mean. In Connecticut I had placed at my disposal a beautiful, enclosed automobile. And the man who owned it also contributed liberally toward the campaign fund. Are we to debar him because he happens to have money—even tho he is sufficiently with us to do these things?"

Senator Wheeler is interested in the "ideals" of a man more than in its avocation.

Ideals Mean Money.

The senator does not tell us what sort of ideals he is after, but he does

the British Labor Party in Britain, you will find all possible sorts of people—workers, farmers, school teachers, bankers, manufacturers. They are all of them agreed on one common ground—the aims and purposes of the party."

Well, senator, you have not told us the whole truth about the British Labor Party. It is true that there are in that party bankers and manufacturers. Even lords. It is also true that MacDonald and his government are trying very hard to transform the Labor Party, which at present is based upon the organized labor movement of Great Britain, into a party of bankers, merchants and manufacturers, i. e., into a party of Wheeler and LaFollette. It is also true that the Labor government of England is already acting as if it were put into power by a party of bankers and manufacturers.

But that transformation—from a Labor Party into a capitalist party—which MacDonald seeks so anxiously to achieve—this transformation has not yet been accomplished. The British workers, the rank and file of the British trade unions don't want that. In other words, what's happening now in the British Labor Party is that
(Continued on Page 2.)

What Can Shop Nuclei Do?

By Martin Abern

THE Workers Party has now set itself in earnest to the task of reorganizing and building the Party on the basis of Shop Nuclei. Much has been and will be written concerning the need for this change of the organizational structure of the party. Everyone accepts the necessity for the change; nearly everyone hesitates to start making the change. Yet were the start once made, there can be no doubt, as experiences of the Young Workers League in America and the parties and leagues in other countries show, all would be enthusiastic for actual and practical reorganization.

Let us concern ourselves here with what our present territorial branches do and what shop nuclei do and can do.

Branch Efforts Are Scattered

What does a party branch activity usually consist of? Reports are made by branch officers. Reports are heard of city central committee meetings. Some comrades distribute or sell literature. Every now and then the branch listens to a lecture, in nine cases out of ten on some theoretical subject, to which there can be no objection of course, but which is hardly ever taken up in relation to some immediate work. Comrades discuss the necessity of joining the union and then go home to sleep on the thought. Everybody gives the other lots of advice, good and bad, and generally act upon neither kind.

The members of the branch have no real practical contact with one another. They usually see each other only at monthly or semi-monthly meetings or at general party affairs. They exchange a few words of greeting, express fond hopes and desires for the revolution, curse or laugh at the stupidity of the capitalist class.

It amounts to, "Well, comrade, you go your way, I go mine."

At home they read *The DAILY WORKER* and go to bed. Thus a day's work for the revolution has been accomplished. We speak here of the average activity of the party members. We even assume that all of them pay their dues regularly and are in good standing.

There is, of course that small section of the party which is alive, virile and active in the branch and outside of it, in the union, etc.

We do not find among the members thru their branch activities, real discussions on vital problems of the day. No real discussion of how to carry on the work among their fellow workers in the shops or factories. Instead of a direct vital working class thought, we find in the branch what might be called community or neighborhood thought, a sort of middle class rebellion tinted with working class knowledge.

Shop Nuclei Ensures United Action.

But how about the shop nucleus? Where in does it differ from the party territorial branch? Why is it superior? First, what is a shop nucleus? It is the basic unit of the party, made up of party members working in the same shop or factory or mill. What does it mean when the party members are organized in that way? It means that the party members are in close contact with one another EVERY DAY. Further, the party members are in contact with the workers in the shop. But so are they with the workers in the shop when they belong to the branch. But there is a difference. In the shop nucleus the party members are in conscious contact with the workers. They know they are in the shop nucleus in that particular factory with a definite aim in view relative to their fellow workers, and they proceed to carry out a program in the shop.

In our present party branches, comrades tend to hypnotize themselves with all sorts of phrases, prophecies and views about what they think, but do not know, is going on in the world. But organized politically in the shop with a program of action, the members strive to realize in reality what's what in the industrial and political world.

Shop Nucleus Work More Numerous Interesting and Vital

What are the things which party members in the shop nuclei do? First, they must have meetings, of course,

and they can meet almost at any time since they are always together. They can meet together at the noon lunch for instance, and discuss some problem which may come to their mind. They pay their dues thru the secretary of the shop nucleus. They get literature from the shop nucleus literature agent, and they undertake to sell or to distribute it to their fellow workers in the shop.

Conscious of what needs to be done; they recognize in the slogan of the Communist International—"Education thru direct participation in the class struggle" not merely a phrase but a fact arising before them in a thousand different ways in the shop.

The party members look about them in the shop. What is really going on? Are the workers in the shop satisfied with their conditions? Are they thinking about shorter hours, more wages, better conditions? Are they thinking about organizing, if they are unorganized? Are their fellow workers giving any thought to political problems? Do they read anything else besides the capitalist papers? Do they think about anything else besides going home after work to eat, to rest, perhaps to go to a movie, a ball game, a prize fight, a pool room?

These are things which a member of a shop nucleus begins to think about because he with the other party members are organized in the shop.

The shop nucleus members see that, if they want to make any headway among the workers in the shop, they must try to respond to and to gauge and see all the needs and activities of the workers in the shop. The shop nucleus must meet regularly to take up the questions of the day in the shop, the economic questions. Then they must see what they can do to crystallize and carry out the problems in the shops with a view towards their political or Communist development.

The shop nucleus, therefore, works out a practical program for itself as a nucleus, as a party unit, and for the rest of the workers in the shop whom it tries to get to carry out that program.

Should the girls in the National Biscuit Company be in dissatisfied mood because of the dirty aprons they have to work with, the shop nucleus begins to carry on an agitation for clean aprons. Small, true, but step into a shop any day and find out what little things workers think about. Is the food in the cafeteria in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx firm poor? Is Ward's scab bread being used in the so-called union cafeteria? The shop nucleus members begin discussing how to compel the cafeteria to get better food, to get union-made bread there. Is half an hour lunch time too short a time in which to gulp down the meager lunch? The shop nucleus takes up the issue of an hour for lunch time. Is there a possibility of a wage cut in the Pullman or Hege-wisch car shops? The shop nucleus members begin to raise a protest, to discuss the standard of living today; how to organize the men against the wage cut; how a union could perhaps prevent that. Is there an election campaign on? The shop nucleus members make sure to distribute among the shop mates leaflets, to start a discussion on the candidate or to try to take up a collection to help

M. CACHIN



Leader of French Communist Party

our campaign. A machine shop nucleus in Chicago is doing the latter.

These are the small things, it can perhaps be said: it is true, but they are the living issues which arouse workers and which organize them for concrete issues of the day and develops their thought for greater, for political problems.

Party Thinks In Terms of Shop and Struggle.

What the shop nuclei activity does for our party members is that it changes their attitude towards the class struggle.

Not in a fundamental political sense, that is, but it makes our members face the realities of the every day practical world. It destroys any dilettante attitude toward the struggle and makes them, instead, apply political knowledge to concrete economic conditions and use their Communist understanding to develop their fellows workers politically.

There are so many things that can be pointed out which a shop nucleus does, but which a party branch cannot very well do.

There is the work to establish shop committees, to help organize the union, to make a conscious effort to develop politically. The activities and duties of the members in a shop nucleus are so numerous that pages could be written on each. But it is important to begin with, to point out only some of the immediate activities mentioned hitherto, to indicate the possibilities of shop nucleus work.

The small attempt at factory campaigns by the Young Workers League and Workers Party in Chicago at the Western Electric, International Harvester, Hegewisch and other places is only a slight indication of the propaganda and organization for communism that is possible. But if results of a good character can be shown when such factory campaigns, etc. are directed by the party from outside the factory, how much more effective would these and other campaigns be if the party membership in these factories were organized as political units within them to carry out such a campaign with preparations beforehand within the factory, and with a knowledge of what are the conditions therein and what the worker's think and want?

There is the question of wall newspapers or bulletins written in ink or pencil, if need be, and pasted in the factory somewhere for the workers in the shop.

It is very true that it is difficult at first to organize and to work politically in the shop; for these is the tendency to take up the shop and immediate problems and forget the main thing, the political development; however, in the work, all class strug-

gle activities find, in one way or the other, political expression.

A manual cannot very well be given to a party member as to how to conduct themselves in a shop. Only general outlines can be given, but experience will show the shop nucleus how to round out its activities politically. First start the job of organizing the shop nucleus; being to lead the workers in the shop ideologically economically and politically, and you will begin to get and retain confidence of the other workers. You will learn to measure the political maturity of the workers and how to develop that further. The work is hard and there will be direct rebuffs from the workers and perhaps even worse, but that is another matter. The safety of the party is, in short, in political organization in the shops, but that is a discussion for another time.

To close, then, the party is serious in its efforts to reorganize the party, and the membership should give its support to the necessary change. There can be no question of this resulting in building and developing our party. Our slogan must be:

Every member an agitator!

Every member of the party a member of a shop nucleus!

Every factory a shop nucleus of the Workers Party!

WHEELER'S 'LABOR' PARTY

(Continued from Page 1.)

the masses are preparing to resist the attempt of MacDonald to sell them out to the capitalists.

This, dear senator, is the real truth. What you really favor in America is not the British Labor Party as it exists at present, but the sort of a capitalist liberal party which MacDonald is trying to build. Why, the senator wouldn't even consent to call his future party a Labor Party! The reporter asked:

"What would you call it?"

"Liberal party would be suitable, or Progressive party would do."

A Liberal or Progressive party. A party of people who have "ideals," that is, money. A party of bankers, merchants and manufacturers, that is the sort of a party that Wheeler and LaFollette stand for.

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Unity of the International Trade Union Movement

By A. LOZOVSKY

DURING the course of its development the labor movement has undergone many crises. One of the most important of these crises, owing to its character and consequences, is the national and international split in the trade union movement. The root and source of this split is to be traced back to the outbreak of the war, when the leading elements of the socialist parties and of the trade unions identified the fate of the labor organizations with the fate of the capitalists of their respective countries. The four years of war and the six years of peace which followed it opened the eyes of broad masses of workers and made it clear to them wherein lies the source of weakness of the proletarian masses. This experience has proved the following: the more peacefully the socialist parties and trade unions were disposed towards the bourgeoisie, the deeper they drove a wedge into the working class. The history of the last ten years is the history of the decay of the social democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions; it is the history of a slow recovery on the part of the proletarian rank and file by means of the founding of Communist parties and revolutionary trade unions, or trade union minorities. The splitting of the political parties, the drawing of all sound proletarian elements away from the influence of these parties, was the prerequisite for the overcoming of the crisis. The process of the formation of the Communist parties began, with the exception of Russia, with the commencement of the war and found its international expression in the formation of the Communist International, the five years existence and success of which we have recently celebrated. While the political labor movement faces all the revolutionary elements with the direct task of building up the Communist parties as rapidly as possible, the interests of the labor movement demand the preservation at all costs of the unity of the revolutionary movement by means of a struggle within the trade unions for a revolutionary program and revolutionary tactics. There is no contradiction in the fact that the revolutionary workers have, on the one hand, split the social democratic and the so-called independent parties in order to form revolutionary Communist organizations and that, on the other hand, these same workers combat with all their power, those communists, who wish to split the trade unions. The different character of these two types of workers' organizations compels the communists to conduct a different policy regarding them in order to achieve the same end: the capturing of the masses. The setting up of the communist parties was everywhere accompanied by the slogan: "fight for the unity of the trade unions, fight against the theory of destroying the trade unions", and in those cases where such a theory has arisen, the Communist International declared the most energetic fight against it.

But if the Comintern has always fought against splitting the trade union movement, why then was the Red International of Labor Unions created? The R.I.L.U. was created after the Amsterdam International had linked up its fate with the League of Nations, after the Amsterdam International had, along with the representatives of the largest employers' organizations, taken part in throttling the revolutionary labor movement in all countries, after the Amsterdam International had proclaimed the sharpest struggle against the Russian revolution and the Communist International. From the beginning of 1920 the discontent with the old program and the old tactics made its appearance in all countries, but this discontent did not yet possess a sufficiently clear and definite ideological character. It was necessary to bring together these multifarious views, to assemble the revolutionary forces existing in the International trade union movement around an ideological and organizational centre, to work out a clear policy and to take up the struggle against reformism which was poisoning the labor movement in a common revolutionary front. There therefore arose in 1920 the R.I.L.U. which

continued to develop. From the first day of its existence the R.I.L.U. emphatically pronounced against the splitting of the trade unions. That alone is to be seen from the following facts:

1. The R.I.L.U. pronounced itself against the slogan of destroying the trade unions.
2. The R.I.L.U. proposed to the Amsterdam International to restore the unity of the French and Czechoslovakian trade union movement.
3. The R.I.L.U. has at all its congresses decided that all revolutionary unions shall affiliate to their respective internationals.
4. The R.I.L.U. has several times openly declared that the International Propaganda Committees will be dissolved as soon as the revolutionary unions in question are admitted into the respective internationals.
5. The R.I.L.U. at its II. Congress issued the slogan of the united front and often approached the Amsterdam International with the proposal for common action.

class struggle, and in spite of every provocation stood by its standpoint; against splits and for unity.

The III. Congress of the R.I.L.U. drew the logical conclusion from the four years' struggle for unity in proclaiming the slogan of amalgamating both Internationals by means of an International Unity Congress. The conditions for this have become much more favourable, as the consciousness of the necessity for unity has penetrated the broadest masses. A change can be seen in the English labor movement as a result of the bourgeois policy of the "Labor Government."

We must openly admit that the raising of this question at the Congress of the Comintern, as well as at the Conference of the R.I.L.U., met with resistance. This resistance is mainly to be explained by the fact that the opponents of this slogan had not thoroughly thought out the trade union tactics of the R.I.L.U. and of the Comintern. This slogan met with specially energetic opposition on the part of the German delegation which

international organization with such people as do not recognize our program. Our program has been recognized by history and it will finally be recognized by the whole working class. This unity proposal is not, as some comrades think, a coalition between the leaders of the R.I.L.U. and the Amsterdam International. The unity of the international trade union movement can be set up in the event of our succeeding in arousing ten millions of proletarians to take an interest in this campaign. Some comrades are so afraid of reformism that they anxiously ask: "What will happen if the Amsterdam International accepts your proposal and agrees to the International Unity Congress?" To which we answer: "Excellent! We will be only too pleased if the Amsterdamers accept this proposal, as it is precisely the task of our unity resolution to realize this unity." — "Well, and what if you are in the minority in this united International?" ask the same comrades. — "If we are in the minority then we shall fight for the majority and hope to win this majority." — "You are prepared to take part in an international unity Congress without any previous conditions?" — "Yes, we are prepared to take part in an international unity congress without any previous conditions. The relation of forces at the unity congress will decide the program and tactics of the new international." — "And if the Amsterdamers lay down conditions, what then?" — "If that is the case, the negotiations will soon show what conditions of either party are acceptable and what are not acceptable by both parties. The working masses will judge themselves." — "And if the Amsterdamers refuse negotiations regarding unity?" — "If they refuse so much the worse for them. We will not abandon our struggle for unity."

In our struggle for unity we have our eye on the masses and attach very little value to the good-will and the mood of this or that leader. As soon as the unity of the international trade union movement is a necessity for the masses, we have to fight for this unity and mobilize the broadest masses against those who oppose this unity. And there is not the least doubt that unity is threatened. The danger comes from two sides: before all from the side of the right wing of the Amsterdam International. This was to be seen at the Vienna Congress, when the right Amsterdamers endeavoured to render the resolution as vague as possible in order to leave open every loophole. After the Vienna Congress the Bureau of the Amsterdam International sent a letter to the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council proposing negotiations on the basis of the decisions adopted in Vienna. To these negotiations the Amsterdamers attached the following two conditions:

1. They will conduct negotiations only with the Russian trade unions and only with regard to the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions to Amsterdam.
2. The negotiations regarding the affiliation shall have as their basis the program and statutes of the Amsterdam International.

That the Amsterdamers laid down such conditions is not to be wondered at. They are continuing the sabotage which they began at the Vienna Congress. If we look up the letters which have passed between the Amsterdam International and the All-Russian Trade Union Council during the last two or three years, we see that all these proposals have already been made on many occasions, to which the All-Russian Trade Union Council has always replied that it had no hand in drawing up the program and the statutes of the Amsterdam International and therefore has no reason to recognize them as pre-conditions. It is in this manner that the right Amsterdamers sabotage the unity of the trade union movement. There is nothing surprising in this. But it is less easy to understand why the representatives of the left wing take part in this combination. Do the leaders of the left wing of the Amsterdam International believe that this way is the shortest cut to the restora-

RED UNIONS EXTEND FRIENDLY HAND



For a United International Trade Union Movement

6. At the International Peace Congress at the Hague the R.I.L.U. attempted to propose the united front to the Amsterdam International. Similar attempts were undertaken after the Ruhr occupation and before and after the Frankfurt Conference.

7. The R.I.L.U. regards the united front in the trade union movement as the first step towards the organizational union of the divided portions of the movement.

8. In every case in which tendencies to split the trade unions appeared in the ranks of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. the R.I.L.U. has opposed this attitude with the greatest determination and defended the slogan of trade union unity with all the means at its disposal.

All these facts are known to those who have more or less carefully followed the activity of the R.I.L.U., the decisions of its congresses and the instructions of its executive organ.

How did the Amsterdam International and the organizations affiliated to it reply to all these measures of the R.I.L.U.? They replied with a furious campaign against the Communists and with their expulsion from the trade unions. If the R.I.L.U. had allowed itself to be actuated by the same motives as the Amsterdamers, that is by the wish to get rid of their opponents at any price, then to-day the disruption of the trade unions along the whole line would have been an accomplished fact. The R.I.L.U. was only prompted in its attitude by its regard for the requirements of the

regarded the slogan of the amalgamation of the two internationals as "opportunism," even "menshevism." Why the communists can be together with the reformists in a common national organization and why they cannot be together in an international organization would be hard to say. The opponents of this slogan have unwittingly promoted the splitting tendencies which are to be found among a section of the German workers. We must prove our will to unity by facts, and the proposal to convene an international unity congress is the best proof that trade union unity is for us no empty phrase and no maneuver as a few over-clever comrades think. The National Council of the C. P. of Germany adopted a resolution regarding this question which is anything but clear. Here it was said that the slogan of uniting both internationals is to be understood in the sense that unity is to be accomplished on the basis of the programme of the R.I.L.U. To understand the decisions of the R.I.L.U. and the Comintern in such a way is not to understand them at all. Of course it would be best if all the workers were to recognize the platform of the R.I.L.U., but in that case what sense would there be to speak of amalgamating the two internationals? We propose however an amalgamation of both internationals and the creation of a united international in spite of the fact that half of the organized workers do not accept the program of the R. I. L. U. We are not at all afraid of being in an

"Pacifist" Imperialism of the United States

By L. TROTSKY.

THE advent of America into the field of active world imperialism is not of a very recent date. If we should attempt to trace events chronologically, we might say that the decisive change of foreign policy of the United States coincides approximately with the close of the XIX and the dawn of the XX century. The Spanish-American war took place in 1898. In that war America seized Cuba thus securing for herself the key to Panama and, consequently, an opening into the Pacific, China and the continent of Asia. In 1900, in the last year of the 19th century, the exports of manufactured products from the United States, for the first time in history, exceeded the imports. This fact alone placed America, statistically speaking, among the nations active in world politics. In 1901 or 1902 America is already securing for herself the province of Panama-Columbia. America has had a policy of her own in such matters. This policy she has carried out on the Hawaiian islands, on the islands of Samoa, I believe, and at any rate in Panama. She is now carrying out the same policy in Mexico. When a democratic republic wants to grab and subjugate foreign territory or enforce a humiliating treaty upon another nation, she first stirs up a little revolution among the nations and then appears on the scene as a pacifier and benefactress. That is what General Dawes is now doing in Europe. He has come from America to soothe and pacify Europe which was ruined by a war conducted with the help of this same America.

In such a manner America seized Panama in 1902, set out to dig the canal, first opened the canal for navigation in 1914, and in 1920 the completed Panama Canal literally opens a new and probably the greatest chapter in the history of the United States and of the entire world. The United States has radically changed the map of a portion of the globe in the interests and for the benefit of American imperialism. The industry of the United States is concentrated, as you know, in the East. The West is primarily agricultural. The trade and industry of the United States is gravitating towards China with her 400 million population, with her inexhaustible, immeasurable wealth. Thru the Panama Canal American industry has opened for itself a waterway from East to West thus shortening it several thousand miles. These dates—1898, 1900, 1914 and 1920—mark America's determined appearance upon the highway of world robbery, i. e. of world imperialism.

The imperialist war was the most important milestone on this road. As we all remember, the United States entered the war at its very end. For three years the United States kept out of war. Moreover, two months before America entered the war Wilson had declared that America's participation in the bloodbath of Europe's madmen was out of the question. Up to a certain moment the United States was content to coin dollars out of the blood of Europe's "madmen." When it appeared, however, that the war may end in favor of Germany, America's most dangerous potential competitor on the world market, the United States joined the allies. This event decided the outcome of the struggle.

Killing a Competitor for Love of Peace.

The remarkable point, however, is this: America has been greedily feeding the war with her industry, has selfishly entered the war for the purpose of destroying a menacing competitor, and yet she has managed to preserve her pacifist reputation. This is one of the most interesting paradoxes, one of the most curious jokes of history—jokes which are far from arousing our merriment. Unlike the imperialist swindlers of the old world, America has had the possibility of hiding her cruel, rapacious and thievish imperialism under the cloak of pacifism due to a special environment. In the imperialist game of the old world the motives are apparent on the surface. But in America things are different.

Due to the special conditions of America's development this very pacifist mask has become so well attached to her imperialist physiognomy that it is impossible to tear it off.

This is not an incident. Both geography and history have contributed to this state of affairs. The United States has had no need for a large standing army. Why? Well, just try to reach them. On the right side there is the Atlantic, on the left the Pacific (even their ocean is pacifist)—how then can you get at them?

Peculiar Geographic Position of U. S. England is an island and this is the most fundamental cause of her peculiar position and at the same time one of her most important advantages. The United States also represents a gigantic island in relation to the group of continents of the old world, Eng-

land has already been divided up and enslaved. The imperialist advances of the United States are thus being carried out under the slogans of "freedom of the seas," "open doors," etc. Therefore, whenever America carries out an act of open militaristic robbery, the people of the United States and to some extent of the rest of the world, are made to believe that the responsibility for such an act falls upon the citizens of other countries, but not upon America.

Wilson was the one who helped to complete the destruction of Germany and then, as you remember, he appeared in Europe, armed with his 14 points in which he promised peace and prosperity to all, self-determination to small nations, punishment for the criminal Kaiser, compensation to the virtuous nations, etc. Such was

ensued a period of prosperity based almost exclusively upon the domestic market, i. e. due to a temporary state of equilibrium between industry and agriculture, between East and West. This period of prosperity was of short duration. It lasted only two years. Then, since last year this period of prosperity came to a halt and became unstable—and in the spring of this year there could be noticed sure symptoms of an industrial crisis following in the footsteps of a most severe agrarian crisis which hit hard the agricultural parts of the United States. And, as it always happens in such cases, this crisis gave a new impetus to American imperialism as a result of which financial capital of the United States has sent its representatives to Europe in order to finish the business which was begun with the imperialist war and was pursued thru the peace treaty at Versailles, i. e. the business of the economic subjugation and enslavement of Europe.

A Plan to Put Europe on Rations.

What does American capital seek, what is it aiming at? It seeks, we are told, to reestablish the European markets for the Europeans to enable Europe to pay her debts. But how, by what means and to what extent? American capital does not want to create a competitor for itself out of Europe. American capital will not allow England, still less Germany or France, especially Germany, to regain their old world markets. It needs the entire world for itself, since American capital has reached the stage of self-export, i. e. American capital is now exporting both products and capital. American capital is seeking world domination and wants to establish an American imperialist monarchy on our planet.

But what about Europe? We are told that American capital wants to pacify Europe. But how? Under its own hegemony. And what does it mean? It means that American capital will allow Europe to recuperate provided it does so within certain prearranged limitations, i. e. American capital will allot Europe only certain limited portions of the world market. American capital is already giving orders, dictating to European diplomats. It is preparing also to dictate to European banks and trusts, to the bourgeoisie of Europe as a whole. It is moving in that direction. American capital will allot markets, will regulate the activity of the European financiers and industrialists.

If we should clearly and plainly answer the question as to what American capital wants with Europe, we shall have to say that it wants to put capitalist Europe on rations. It means to dictate to Europe the kind of products and how many pounds, litres and kilograms of such products she has a right to buy and sell.

Already in the theses to the Third Congress of the Comintern we stated that Europe was being Balkanized. Now this comparison is even more apparent. The governments of the Balkan peninsula have always had their protectors: Tzarist Russia or Austria-Hungary. Their entire political life, such as a change of ruling parties and even a change in dynasty (in Serbia) was centered around and was subject to the will of their powerful protectors. Now Balkanized Europe is being reduced to a similar position in relation to the United States and partly Great Britain.

In the measure in which the antagonisms among the European governments will become more acute, they will be found knocking at the doors of Washington and London. The final say in such matters as a change in political parties and governments will belong to American capital which will dictate to Europe how much she should eat and drink. Now, we all know from our own experience that a ration does not always taste sweet, especially when this strictly regulated American ration will be offered not only to the common people of Europe, but also to its rul-

(Continued on next page.)

MODERN "CHINESE SHADOWS"



land is protecting herself by means of her fleet. But if you once break thru the line of defense of the English fleet, the British islands remain unprotected, and you can run thru this narrow strip of land with the sword of your cavalry. But try to run thru America in this fashion! It is an island which has at the same time all the advantages of Russia—her gigantic expanse. Even without a fleet America would be almost invulnerable to an attack from Europe or Japan due to her immense distances. Here is the fundamental geographic cause for America's pacifist mask which has become identical with her true physiognomy.

Unlike Europe, unlike all other nations, America failed to establish a large standing army. And when during the late war she did create a strong army naturally, she was forced to do so. Who forced her to it? Why, of course, those barbarians, the German imperialists and the Kaiser, who were not brot up in the benevolent spirit of the Presbyterian church.

Our Peculiar History.

Another cause of America's pacifist piety must be sought in history. The United States has appeared on the world arena at a time when the entire

the Wilsonian Gospel! We all remember it still. And all the petty bourgeoisie of Europe and to considerable extent also the workers, i. e. the men-shevist workers of Europe, lived for months and months by that Wilsonian Gospel. This provincial professor, called by American capitalism to serve as its spokesman, deeply immersed in blood—since he incited continuation of the European slaughter—later appeared in Europe as the apostle of pacifism. And all the people said: Wilson will give us peace, Wilson will restore Europe.

Wilson, however, did not succeed in reaching that goal for the realization of which General Dawes has later been sent to Europe accompanied by a host of bankers. Wilson had left Europe with a feeling of disgust. He returned home to America. And pacifist social-democrats all over the world came out with their lamentations and bewailings over the madness of the European bourgeoisie which did not want to come to an understanding with Wilson and thus failed to achieve peace and normalcy in European affairs.

Wilson was displaced. The republican party came into power. There

The Modern Innocents Abroad

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

In the year 1867 a group of Americans chartered a ship to carry them on a pleasure excursion to Europe and the Holy Land, and Mark Twain's famous book, "The Innocents Abroad," one of his best literary productions, was a description of the tour and the great humorist's impression of the places visited by the "innocents."

Again the innocents are abroad, this time not to "see" Europe but to "save" it. And the impossibility of saving Europe by the methods employed by our modern innocents, suggested the title for this article.

The modern innocents who have set out to save Europe and rebuild its shattered constitution are the bankers and finance capitalists of America. By the time they are thru with Europe, that once healthy continent will have either passed thru the undertaking parlor or a revolution.

When a patriotic Serbian fired a bullet into the noble anatomy of the Archduke Frederick Joseph of Austria in 1914, causing that gentleman to make a hasty the involuntary exit from a then smiling world, Europe was in a fairly satisfactory state of health and its ruling class was quite conceited, and looked on the shirt-sleeved aristocrats of America with ill-concealed contempt. Most of the American millionaires were of the Jiggs type, made immortal by MacManus in "Bringing Up Father." They did not have much of a family tree. If there ever was such an heirloom, it is likely that some indigent ancestor had to chop it up for kindling wood, when making a fire to cook his breakfast preparatory to setting out to dig a ditch or lay track on a railroad bed.

But the shot that killed the archduke was heard round the world and before the echo returned to its base, there was a different story to tell. Many of the kings of Europe who made wars just to keep from getting bored, found themselves throneless and some of them headless. They started something that they were not able to finish. Instead they got finished.

The bullet that killed the archduke did not really cause the world war, tho it would appear that it was an agreed signal like shooting off a blank cartridge in a hundred yards dash. Hardly had the smoke from the explosion cleared away before Austria, Germany, Russia, England, France and other more or less consequential countries were mobilizing their troops and getting ready to shoot each other but the monarchs never expected that by the time the battle was over the ex-navvies of the United States who graduated into bankers, capitalists and manufacturers would be on top and the titled rulers of Europe would be very much at the bottom. But it came to pass.

Now, it happened that Europe tho apparently healthy was on the verge of a breakdown in 1914. The kings were getting unnecessary and the capitalists barely tolerated them for decorative purposes and because the

"PACIFIST" IMPERIALISM

(Continued from preceding page.)

ing classes who are accustomed to sweets.

In the last analysis this concerns not only Germany and France, but also Great Britain. Yes, even Great Britain will have to prepare for the same fate. In spite of what we often hear about the harmonious relations between America and England, of the Anglo-Saxon bloc, "Anglo-Saxon capital," "Anglo-Saxon policy," we are told that the most dangerous world antagonisms lie between American and Japan. This opinion, however, comes from those who do not understand the affairs of the world. The fundamental world antagonism is running along the line of interests of the United States and Great Britain. And this fact will become more and more pronounced as time moves along.

masses were impressed by kings. Every time a king's concubine had a child or king's daughter was sold to another king's son the papers made quite a fuss about it, the priests dwelt on the affection in which the royal families were held by God and when the masses grumbled too much, the Little Father would warble a promise and say that he would right those wrongs which some misguided servants of his inflicted on the people.

The kings were tolerated rather than needed. Most of them were gouty and rheumatic if not worse. Those of them who had the use of their limbs were frequenting the watering places and setting up in business as bathing beauty judges. A few of the monarchs, notably the Emperor of Germany and the Emperor of Austria held on to their dignity, as best they could. So also did the Czar of Russia. The poor fellow did not live long to enjoy it. That however is another story.

The real power in 1914 was in the hands of the capitalists. In countries like Germany, Russia and Austria, vestiges of the feudal order remained, so the Kaiser with his "Me Und Gott"

in the form of wages, the rest going to the capitalists in the form of profits. The capitalists sold what they could of the accumulated wealth, but as every capitalist country was producing more wealth than their own population could consume, they were competing for foreign markets. Finally they went to war to settle the question.

For four years they battled. Europe was divided into two armed camps and when it appeared that the Central Empires were about to win, the American capitalists who had bet their money on the Allies stepped in on the side of their investments and helped to snatch victory from the mouth of defeat. The Central Empires and their allies were vanquished. Democracy was saved! The war to end war was over! There would never be another! So the masses were told by the prophet Woodrow Wilson, who was the spokesman of the House of Morgan when this country entered the war.

But a funny thing happened. At first it looked good but a little later not so good. One of the crowned heads that was in on the ground floor

bread and land. Go and take what belongs to you."

Soon Kerensky and his gang were in flight and are now doing mind reading stunts and other tricks to amuse the jaded bourgeoisie of England and America. The Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and are still in the saddle, making good time. That was the little thing that spoiled the game and made the capitalists who were yet in the fight, begin to furrow their brows. "Suppose our workers and peasants follow the Russian example" they said. They did not, however because for one thing they had no Lenin revolutionists in these countries and for another their rulers were wiser and more powerful than the Czar and his lieutenants.

But to make a long story short the war finally ended with Europe very, very sick. The capitalist system overexerted itself. It came very near drawing its last breath. In fact a little kick from the European working class boot would have saved the world a lot of subsequent bloodshed and misery. But the social democrats saved the system temporarily and it is still tottering along.

But peace has its terrors even as war and peace brot Europe no relief. Capitalism could not provide employment for the workers. The continent was impoverished. Millions were out of work. Rebellions and revolutions became the order of the day. America, the young capitalist giant of the West, loaned billions of dollars to Europe during the war. America grew rich at Europe's expense. We mean the capitalists of America. They had gold in their vaults until they threatened to burst and didn't know what to do with it. Soviet Russia was to them like a red rag to a wild bull. They made war on it. All the capitalists countries in Europe joined in the fight. Japan chifed in. It was all to no avail. The Soviet republic beat off all its enemies and insisted on surviving.

Then some of capitalists of Europe decided to make the best of a bad bargain and recognized Soviet Russia. They would sup with the devil for the sake of trade. Still the United States held aloof. It would not recognize Soviet Russia because there was a dictatorship of the proletariat there, tho it did recognize the black shirt dictatorship of the Italian Fascist chief, Mussolini.

Things were going from bad to worse in Europe. Germany stood trembling on the brink of a revolution. A revolution in Germany would set the fashion in the rest of Europe. The American capitalists finally decided it was up to them to "save" Europe for themselves and from a revolution, so the "innocents" were sent abroad to do the job.

Europe owes the capitalists of the United States billions of dollars and they have no money with which to pay their debts. In order to win the war for democracy and civilization France and England needed money so they borrowed from the United States. When the war for democracy was won American wanted its money back. Europe simply said "search me." Secretary of State Hughes scratched his whiskers and got an idea. The way to get this thing straightened out was to place Europe in the hands of a receivership composed of efficient American bankers who would run it along the lines of the Standard Oil and Steel trusts.

The plan was to make Germany pay the reparations to the Allies imposed upon her by the Peace of Versailles. When the Allies received these preparations from Germany they would then turn over the billions they owed to the United States.

Three great men were selected to do the job. Dawes, Young and Robinson. These bankers went to Europe and prescribed for the patient. They went over Germany and come to the conclusion that hundreds of millions of dollars could be taken out of the bodies of the German workers every year. In order to start the bleeding process, the German capitalists must have a gold loan, the German paper money being very good

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MELANCHOLY

By Oskar Kanehl.

And those, who living still, are so:
The one is longing from dark cell for light,
Which behind grates tells him a lie of liberty.
Perhaps already happler, who in the neighbor-cell
Is running against stone-wall with the madness-skull.
The rest are working-animals.
Straps are cutting them deep in the flesh.
They don't more feel it.
They don't feel the whip upon the bony back.
They don't feel the wounds upon the naked foot.
They devour every fodder from the master's crib.
Joyless already long ago, now also without will.
Their faith chokes
In illness, dirt and disgust of treachery.
Hunger strangles revolution.
The fists fall and the hate becomes tired.
The hope-spark of their eyes goes out.
The hunter-poet's strophe hits upon deaf ears.
Look your exploiters' cynical luxury!
—it doesn't disturb them.
Do you hear raging the soldiery's victor-sneer?
—it doesn't provoke them.
Knowledge dies.
Sense extorted.
Farther no more.
On gas-cock hangs the hollow look.
Only this last class-pride is awake:
Although—then rather—
On pavement trickles our blood.
Slowly we are murdered.

—Translated by Paul Acel.

made quite a hit in social circles in the early days of the war.

Simple minded people and others not so simple minded held that the cause of the war was the hatred of Emperor William of Germany toward England because Queen Victoria once sneered at his withered arm. Others professed to believe that the crazy prophet Nietzsche with his superman philosophy was the cause of it and that the great blond beasts from the Thuringian forests were setting out to rule the world. The socialists (who afterwards become known as Communists) held that it was a war between rival groups of capitalist nations for foreign markets and new territories. The socialists (who afterwards became lackeys of the bourgeoisie) held that every country in which the socialists found themselves, was fighting a war of defense and they felt it their duty to fight for the fatherland. The priests felt the same about it and they asked their God to bring victory to their country. At the same time other priests in enemy contries made similar requests on the same God. You can readily understand that he was in a most awkward position. The only thing he could do was to let them fight it out. They did.

The workers of Europe had labored long and arduously creating wealth, a small part of which went to them

when the European war started found himself non persona grata with his people, after he had killed several millions of them playing tag with his royal cousin the Kaiser. While the two Czars were enjoying this game of kings, none of them suffered as much as a scratch. But the Kaiser had better generals than the Czar and his capitalists were more efficient, so they produced more bullets than the Czar's capitalists with the result that the Czar lost more soldiers and got licked. Instead of sympathizing with the Little Father in his misfortune as they were taught by their priests, the Russian workers and peasants and the soldiers at the front simply said: "Here is where the Czar gets his and we get ours" and they hiked with long swinging strides back to the rear of the front and the Czar took a fast train to the Crimea where he thot he was safe. But he was only for a while.

Socialists and capitalists got together with the intention of forming a government and bluffing the people of Russia with fine promises until the strom blew over but they were caught in the act by the Russian Bolsheviks, who shouted to the workers and peasants: "These rascals are only agents of the Czar in disguise. They will murder you and starve you even as the Little Father did. They want to continue the war in the interests of the Allied capitalists. You want peace

An Appeal

By the Bulgarian Communist Party

Dear Comrades:—With the exception of a handful of big capitalists, bankers, speculators, and exploiters, the people as a whole, are determinedly opposed to the Fascist regime in Bulgaria on account of its anti-national internal and foreign policy, and because of unheard-of violence and bloody outrages perpetrated upon the toiling masses during its reign of terror. This fact is easily explainable to all those knowing that the terrorism and the extreme cruelty of the Zankov Fascist government, far surpasses the notorious outrages of all reactionary regimes ever known in the other countries, even the abominable cruelties of Italian Fascism; that in Bulgaria all the rights and liberties of the workers and peasants are suspended; that their organizations (parties, unions, co-operatives) are dissolved and every attempt at their restoration is most ruthlessly suppressed; that their press is continually raided and confiscated; that they are allowed no meetings; that the prisons are filled with workers and peasants whose only crime is that they are against the unbearable and intolerable Fascist regime; that the political opponents of the Zankov government are deprived of every kind of personal rights; that the organized political murders by the government secret service continue and finally that in the back of this political reaction, the gang of capitalists, bankers and exploiters are holding under their iron heels the workers and peasants and all the working people in the country.

The popular indignation against the Zankov government is rising still higher on account of the fact that the government appears as an agent of the old national annexationist policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie in regard to Macedonia and Thrace, thus pushing the people imminently toward new sanguinary conflicts with the ad-

jacent countries, especially with Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

The endurance of the masses is already exhausted. A national mass movement is spreading all over the country in order to liquidate once for all the unbearable Fascist regime. And it will inevitably be done away with, because it is impossible for a

as a bolshevist revolution "framed up" by the agents of Moscow, though it is well apparent at the present moment, that the question is not about a pending Communist revolution, but about a mass anti-Fascist movement, in which participate not only the workers, peasants and craftsmen, but also the Macedonian emigrants in Bulgaria,

during the second half of August, wholesale arrests of Communists and peasants, part of whom will be exposed to cold murder, as it happened last year, after the defeat of the September uprising, with several thousands of the best militant workers and peasants killed.

The central committee of Bulgarian Communist Party considers it its duty to warn the proletariat and all advocates of national liberty and all fighters against Fascism in the Balkans, in Europe and all over the world that the growing national movement against the bloody administration of Zankov is aimed exclusively toward removing the cruel Fascist regime and for the establishment of a real popular government in the country, and that the lies which the Bulgarian government is spreading concerning a pending "bolshevist revolution" planned by Moscow, is done with the purpose to justify the new bloody acts upon the masses which it has decided to resort to in order to save its shaky Fascist power.

The central committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party appeals most ardently to all other workers' and farmers' organizations and to all sincere friends of national freedom, to raise their voice of protest against the newly prepared terrors and murders of the working masses, by the Zankov government, and to exert all their influence in order to avert a new era of white terror by Bulgarian Fascism.

The Bulgarian working people need the broadest support of the international proletariat, in order to free itself of the unheard of tyranny which is menacing them with complete annihilation. They send distressing calls for this help, deeply convinced that they will get it and with this help will succeed soon in breaking the chains of the cruel Fascism and gaining its lost freedom.

Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

WHITE TERROR IN BULGARIA



whole nation to allow itself for long to be robbed, terrorized and murdered by a small clique of criminal capitalists, bankers and speculators, who seized the state power in their hands by the coup d'etat of June 9, last year.

And it is just for this reason that the Zankov government, completely isolated in the interior of the country, is making superhuman efforts to get the support of the neighboring countries and the big capitalist governments, by endeavoring to present to the outside world the existing national movement against the Fascist regime

part of the reserve officers and a considerable majority of the intelligencia.

Simultaneously with this the Zankov government is planning new bloody pogroms upon the followers of the Communist Party and the Peasant Union, which pogroms it wants to justify with the necessity to avert the pending "bolshevist" revolution during the autumn.

The central committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, is in possession of positive information about the new plan of the government, according to which it will undertake

Unity of International Trade Union Movement

(Continued from Page 3.)

tion of the unity of the international trade union movement? If they really believe that they will soon be convinced of the incorrectness of their standpoint. Some leaders of the Amsterdam International, apparently, consider it possible to prescribe conditions, thereby forgetting that the conditions depend upon the actual relation of forces. We must therefore advise the one and the other to abandon the idea of their being able to impose their will upon the revolutionary trade union movement.

What is the explanation of this policy of the Amsterdam International? It is due to the fact that there are a number of men in this international who would rather split the Amsterdam International than declare themselves ready to unite with the revolutionary workers. At the International Congress of the Metal Workers the representative of the French Federation declared that in the event of the Russian Metal Workers' Federation being admitted into the International, the French Federation would withdraw from it. For those people who have concluded an alliance for life and death with the bourgeoisie, who grovel before Herriot, splitting is better than unity. We must at all cost destroy that will for further splitting and dismemberment of the labor movement, which to a large extent still exists in the Amsterdam International. We can only do this if all the revolutionary organizations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. realize that the fight for the unity of the international trade union movement is a long and serious one, that it is no mere maneuver, but a real desire corresponding to the needs of the masses. Unity can only be the result of a long, persistent, systematic propaganda among the masses. The followers of the R.I.L.U. must link up the every day struggles against national and international capital, our struggles for

the eight-hour day, for improving the conditions of the workers and our defensive and aggressive actions, with the question of unity of the trade union organizations, we then shall be able to mobilize the masses for this slogan and convert this slogan into a battle-cry of ten million proletarians. It is hard to say how much time we shall require to achieve this unity. But no matter how much effort it may cost us, the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. will continue the struggle they have taken up and will, in spite of all the sabotage of the reformists, bring about the national and international unity of the trade union movement.

OUR DATES

Workers Party Units and Friendly Organizations do not arrange conflicting dates in Chicago.

Saturday, Sept. 20.—Concert and Ball—Benefit THE YOUNG WORKER, Workers Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., Jewish Propaganda Committee.
 Sunday, Sept. 21.—Workers Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., Entertainment and Dance by Vanguard Junior Group.
 Sept. 27.—Communist Social — Benefit DAILY WORKER, North Side Y. W. L. Branch.
 Saturday, Oct. 11.—Dance—Hersh Lekert Branch, Workers Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd.
 Sunday, Oct. 12.—Foster-Gitlow Campaign Meeting, Ashland Auditorium (afternoon).
 Sunday, Oct. 12.—Concert and dance, Russian and Ukrainian branches of W. P. Schoenhofen Hall, Ashland and Milwaukee Aves.
 Saturday, Oct. 18.—John Reed Memorial Meeting.
 Saturday, Oct. 25.—Freiheit Ball, Ashland Auditorium.
 Friday, Nov. 7.—Seventh Anniversary Russian Revolution, Ashland Auditorium.
 Saturday, Nov. 15.—City Mask Ball.
 November 22.—Marshfield Branch Social.
 November 27-30.—DAILY WORKER, Labor Defense Bazaar, Workers Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd.
 Wednesday, Dec. 31.—T. U. E. L. Dance, West End Hall.
 Wednesday, Jan. 21.—Lenin Memorial Meeting, Ashland Auditorium.
 Saturday, February 23, 1925.—Red Revel, West End Women's Club, 37 So. Ashland Ave.
 Sat., Oct. 4.—Russian performance at the Soviet School, 1902 West Division St. Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia.

Dinner Pail Epics by Bill Lloyd



I learn it with an awful shock that Pershing no more punch the clock. He hangs his sword upon the wall and won't work any more at all.

These army men don't till the soil, or mine the coal, or dig for oil. They build no houses for our use; no ounce of food do they produce; they make no clothes for us to wear. But of these things they get full share.

When real producers get too old, the boss, he shoves them in the cold. The boss he sez: "You are no good, because you can't work as you should."

If he had only told the truth, he'd say: "I've minted down your youth. Your strength has gone into my till; I've coined your energy and will; I've salted down your vital power for

which I've paid you by the hour. Your limbs is stiff, your muscles weak, your energy has passed its peak. My bank account demands I should get younger men whose strength is good. Now out to pasture you must go. Praise God from whom all blessings flow. If no good pasture you can find, you can't blame people of my kind."

Not so with Pershing who's been able to feed his face at public table, whose rent and tailor bills wuz met by adding to the public debt. I see the daily papers say he will retire on full pay.

In summing up I must not fail to point the moral of the tale. The workers should be very wary of backing up the military. Just tell the bunch of khaki gobs that they must hustle for some jobs. They must create the means of life, instead of living off of strife. When you do this, you may be able to have T-bones on your own table, and usher in the glorious day when you'll retire with full pay. Company fall out—and down!

THE COMMUNE.

From the red barricades of truth, They stemmed the tides of tyranny; Progressive proletarian youth, Waged war on set senility.

The dying dawn blushed deepest red, From a lad's breast, a waist was torn, And wrapped around a worker's head, And thus, the workers' flag was born.

Stained by the heart's blood of despair, Washed with the tears that fell like rain, Beneath its folds brave millions swear That it shall never fall again!

For plebians everywhere have kissed Now, at the mere word "Communist," Reaction trembles, faints and swoons. Edward James Irvine.

NOTICE!

The new headquarters of the Workers Party in District No. 9 is Rooms 2 and 4 617—4th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn. You should change your records at once in conformity with the above changes. C. A. HATHAWAY, District Organizer No. 9.

Letters From Moscow

By Anna Porter

THIS week, I had the opportunity of joining a very interesting excursion into the country with Padboeski, the head of the Young Pioneer and Sports movements. He is a most vivid and delightful personality, and full of the idea of developing the working class, thru out door life and vigorous sports, into a strong and healthy race, to carry on the great proletarian task of rebuilding the world.

We met in front of the First House of the Soviets—two other Americans and myself—where we were joined by our host, who took us in; for without tiresome formalities (no doubt, necessary) of giving our credentials, taking a receipt, and receiving them again on leaving, you may not call even upon a friend in any of these hotels set aside for officials and representatives. It is nearly as hard to see Bill Dunne and Haywood (tho I have not tried) as to call on our Mr. Coolidge. So we were glad that Padboeski came along just then with his breezy salute and his red Pioneer neckerchief, and white Russian blouse and ushered us in without formalities. In his large family room, a few flannel shirts were strung on a rope across the extravagant window space, and his wife at once brought tea and bread and butter, which were served, as I imagine all meals are, on a small table drawn up informally before a sofa. His young son appeared, also in white blouse and red neckerchief, equipped with a camera and tripod, and with an air of great eagerness and responsibility. Then there was a tedious time of telephoning for an official "automobil," and of receiving a message that a working men's excursion club was about to board their train and must without fail have the honor of Padboeski's presence.

We finally picked up an attractive young Czecho-Slovak couple, and packed in, sardine-fashion, drove off directly thru the Red Square for the railway station. It was worth a sensation or two to dash thru the Red Square in a Soviet car, and we paid that tribute. The excursion train had already left, so, calling a G. P. U. man, (successor to the Cheka) we requisitioned, on the Crimea train, a "hard" or third-class section, sacred to railway officials. As we passed thru the car, crowded with all sorts and conditions of people, a young nursing mother quickly closed her dress. Another mother was glad to exhibit her little one, and answered proudly that he had been thru the "October ceremony," a rather new and not yet fixed form of dedication to the Red cause. October, the month of the Bolshevik Revolution, corresponds of course, in the Russian calendar, to our November, and we find streets and other places bearing the name of "Red October."

Our train pulled into Podolsk, a special stop for our distinguished selves, just ahead of the excursion train. A moment later, our company of Young Pioneers streamed out of the latter, and drew up in a very exact line all in their red neckerchiefs, boys and girls, in no fixed arrangement, and listened to a short address from their chief, followed by the young Bohemian, who spoke in German, in a spirit that was perfectly understandable if his words were not. Meanwhile, the Excursion Club, bearing the name of a comrade who had died in the cause, had descended and formed in line of march with a brass band at its head, and we fell in behind the band, and marched thru the little village with its deserted Singer sewing machine factories, to the place of encampment of the united Moscow Young Pioneers. As we entered the village street, two stately geese fell into line just in front of us, behind the band, taking themselves very seriously, but falling out of step with the "International," abandoned us like Tired Radicals.

At the encampment-place, a vast hollow square was formed, the excursionists, the Young Pioneers and the villagers making a crowd of perhaps a thousand. In the center, on a low mound, the guests of honor took their stand while half a dozen addresses were given, punctuated by salutes and watchwords and as usual at such gat-

herings, by strains of the "International". It was a beautiful and rather a gorgeous sight, all the boys and girls with their gay red neckerchiefs, many in abbreviated gymnasium suits with their great red banners, mottoed in gold, and surmounted by the hammer and sickle, enclosed in a flame-shaped hollow metal frame; and mingled with them the young excursionists joining with equal spirit in the ceremonies; and in the background on one side, a shaft with a statue of Marx, symbolizing, as it were, the new faith, and challenging on another side, the old faith, symbolized by a picturesque little old domed village church.

After several addresses, and many exchanges of salute by word and lifted arm, the working-men went on to their excursion grounds, and we left them and the Young Pioneers, in order to join others in the Moscow suburbs; but not until we had visited their Lenin Memorial House, in its little fenced apple-orchard, with lawns and flowerbeds about the house, behind it an open-air theater and back of that again a football ground. Within the house, on each side of a central hall, with a large portrait of Lenin facing the entrance, were a library with reading table and literature and a visitors' book, and a work room with exhibits of various kinds of art and handwork of the young people. From there we caught the train, and enroute back to town ate the huge slabs of bread and butter that our host's thoughtful wife had provided for us.

At the Moscow Station, we were met again by the Soviet car and driven out to the Lenin Hills, where one formerly went for a well-ordered evening meal and to see the place from which Napoleon had shelled Moscow. The old restaurant is in ruins, and the whole locality has been taken over for a people's play-ground, and specifically for a great stadium, which in hope at least will be built in the triple amphitheater of terraced wooded hills that follow the bend of the river, gay with clusters of row-boats. Washing the Kremlin walls, the Moscow River sweeps out in great curves through the country, and from these vantage hills, one looks out across two curves of the river to the domes and towers and walls of "Mother Moscow."

The green plateaus and wooden terraces were alive with Sunday picnickers. The Young Pioneers had organized the day,—as they have organized the place. Concessions have been leased to Nep providers, which helps to pay expenses and to start a fund for future development. Kiosks are scattered about and we had milk and cookies in an airy pavilion. Far off on the green, we spied a group of red satanic imps, who as we drew nearer, proved to be dancing-group of workers' children, who have been taught by the children of the Duncan School. Only now and in this way has Isadora been able to begin to fulfill her dream of carrying her art among the people, for her struggle for existence (as an instructor) has paralleled the struggle of the Soviets, and I hear at the School the tale of the struggle and hopes and discouragements and the courageous persistence which have been hers. Out at the station, these workers' children gave a dance interpretation there on the green, of the "International," while another large group sang with the band "con amore." Here too, we found the inevitable open-air theater, though today nothing dramatic was offered. Instead, all the different groups were amusing themselves quite independently with ring-games, ball, gymnastic or rowing, and finally forming in military line, each with its own banner and drums, and each leaving at its own time this idyllic gathering on the terraced hills beside the river.

This "Stadium" is not only a sport place, where sometime an architectural enclosure will be built, but is also an organization,—an organization with a dream of a great future. The dream is Padboeski's,—of an International Red Stadium to build up the working class of the whole world for worthy fulfillment of its mission. Its

name already suggests the dream,— "Mekrstad,"—formed after the Soviet fashion, from the leading syllables of the words of its title, "International Red Stadium." We all joined the organization, of course, signing membership cards and paying in our rouble. And sooner or later, our American young people will be appealed to for membership roubles, and will be shown the very picture we made on this holiday. Watch for Pictorial Russia, and the Makrasted number, and be prepared to give your whole-hearted enthusiasm—young and old—to the support of Padboeski's dream, the building of an International Red Stadium.

On our way back, we visited the Exposition outside the town where we saw the Red mounted-soldiers jump-inf hurdles. It really was interesting watching the worker-soldiers training

for the defence of the Revolution.

Back again in Moscow, we dropped Padboeski at his "Soviet dom" with outstretched hands ready to express our gratitude and enthusiasm, and to seal our promise of help for his Red Stadium with a cordial grasp. And we felt just a little rebuffed when we found we must part with a mere salute even so gallantly and joyously given. For, says this original man,—one of the signers, by the way, of the October Ultimatum,—the bourgeois hand-clasp is meaningless, and the thing that unites us is higher than the personal—above our heads, as he raises his hand high. And so we can only imagine what a pleasure it might be to feel Padboeski's cordial hand-grasp. But the thing that unites us, we shall remember just the same, and that specifically for the moment is the International Red Stadium.

MODERN INNOCENTS ABROAD

(Continued from page 5)

for certain purposes but it had lost its self respect.

Now, the trouble began. Our American bankers were so innocent! But France did not want to see Germany getting on her feet and England tho France was too strong for her own health and the United States did not like the idea of having German goods flood the world's markets in competition with her own products. If the Germans must pay reparations, they must pay in goods and if they produce goods that means congested markets which is not to the liking of the manufacturers in the so-called "enemy" countries.

It is a ticklish job. For instance Belgium was receiving thousands of tons of reparations coal from Germany. The Belgian coal mines not being able to compete with the German coal mines whose coal diggers worked for a lower standard of living shut down their mines throwing thousands of Belgians out of work. What can be done about it? The "innocents" are abroad but they cannot save Europe.

England wanted France to get out of the Ruhr, because the once proud dictator of Europe feared a combination of Alsace-Lorraine iron and Ruhr coal. France finally decided to get out, but slowly. Germany is beginning to pay reparations and a young American banker is chief bill collector. Already England fears that a great industrial revival in Germany will shut down British factories and the French fear that the same condition will place Germany in a position which threatens the safety of France. The capitalist groups hate and fear each other, because they know each other.

They also hate and fear the United States capitalists because they see in them young and powerful competitors, with plenty of money and raw wealth. America has become the dictator of

Europe. The shirt sleeve aristocrats are now sitting on top of the world and the only thing that stands between them and happiness is the fear of a revolution.

The American bankers cannot restore Europe, because the capitalist system has outlived its usefulness. Germany can pay reparations only at the expense of further sacrifices of the German workers and the increased production in Germany necessary to pay the reparations means decreased production and unemployment in other countries. A system under which wealth is produced socially but owned privately cannot last. It cannot survive its own contradictions.

There is only one solution to what ails Europe. That solution is not the Dawes Plan. It is revolution. Had the workers of the rest of Europe followed the lead given by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917 the world today would be on the road to recovery from the systematic poisoning of capitalism. But necessity will compel them sooner or later to follow that example.

Capitalism as a world system has seen its best days. In Europe it is making heroic efforts to return to normalcy with the aid of blood transfusion from its lusty American cousin. But history has decreed that it will die. And to aid history perform its mission the Communist International is organizing the proletariat of Europe and of the world to hasten its exit and build on its ruins the Soviet Republics of Europe and of the world.

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The Negro Worker and the Next War

The War That Made The World Safe
For Imperialism
By PASQUALE RUSSO

DURING the presidential campaign of 1916, the democrats organized a huge political machine, spending millions of dollars in an effort to re-elect the late Woodrow Wilson, ex president of the United States.

In every political campaign it is customary to use slogans, the purpose of which is to mislead the people. In the Wilson campaign, the slogan brought forth was: "He kept us out of War." Implying by this that the safety of the country demanded the re-election of President Wilson. The phrase became popular and aroused a wide spread interest and enthusiasm. It created the impression that Wilson was a lover of peace and under no circumstances could he be induced to consent to the participation of the United States in the war then raging in Europe. The result when the votes were counted was to be expected. It was a great victory for the democratic party and for the second time Woodrow Wilson was honored with the high office of the presidency.

All during the campaign, election and inauguration of Wilson, Europe was in the throes of the greatest war in history. Europe had been brought to the depths of agony and was bleeding from the iron rule of the militarists.

From the very beginning of the World War, in 1914 a very insistent propaganda was carried forward in the United States, by Morgan and other financiers in an effort to induce the government to join the other European assassins in the slaughter of the working people.

After three long years of effort, the ruling class was successful and decided to satisfy their demand for a war by entering the one then raging in Europe. As usual they did not ask the permission of the people. All the wolves of Wall Street saw fit to do was to instruct the newspapers, churches and chambers of commerce, in fact all bourgeois institutions to sanctify and bless our participation in the carnage.

The newspapers, as loyal servants of big business, began printing falsehoods alleging that atrocities were committed by German soldiers during the invasion of Belgium, while remaining silent regarding the ten million colored people in the United States living under worse conditions, many of whom were persecuted and lynched, not by Germans but by 100 per cent loyal Americans.

Woodrow was inaugurated as president early in March and on April 6th, 1917, forgetting the promises made to the people, informed congress that a state of war existed between the imperial German government and the United States of America. Thus the former pacifist and internationalist changed from "keeping us out of war" to "Make the World Safe for Democracy."

The next move of the president was the issuance of an appeal for volunteers but since the responses were wholly inadequate it became necessary to pass a compulsory draft act, thus saving the situation.

When the people definitely realized that the war was to be prosecuted with force and vigor they gave way to hysteria declaring for the defense of the Belgians and death to the Kaiser and German huns. Every lackey of the capitalist class declared themselves for the war; preachers, bankers, profiteers and other parasites, as far as speech was concerned declared for war. They instructed the people to make preparation for the battlefield while they secretly made arrangements to stay at home. Their policy being, of course to encourage and preach war while it was quite well understood the working class would do the actual fighting.

Some few individuals and several labor organization protested against the war policy but were quickly and rudely suppressed by the government. The colored population, in no instance offered a protest, but appeared to be very enthusiastic for the war and en-

deavored, up to the limit of their ability, to help the government crush Prussian militarism.

For several generations, the Negro race have been persecuted and exploited in America, but when the country was in need of their service they straightway forgot the past and gladly offered their lives for the glory of the "Stars and Stripes." This attitude during crises has happened during every war. In the World War, 500,000 colored men and boys were drafted without one of this number attempting to evade.

They would have shown some strength of character if they had at that time asked the capitalist class this question: "You ask us to fight the Germans in order to make the world safe for democracy, but why do you not first make America safe for the colored people? You speak to us about German atrocities, but what have you to say respecting the atrocities actually committed against the colored people in the United States? In the past you have persecuted us, now you demand of us our lives that your interests may be furthered, to which we say 'nothing doing.'"

Right at that very moment an excellent opportunity presented itself for the Negro workers to refuse to fight. Like the white workers they

had nothing to fight for. Unfortunately the Negroes had not their minds on their own best interests and foolishly let slip a golden opportunity. In place of taking advantage of the opportunity they offered their lives for imperialism and demonstrated that they heeded the negro politician and preacher. Everywhere colored men and women were exceedingly proud of helping the capitalist class in their war upon the Kaiser and it is with some regret that we remember seeing thousands of the parading in Michigan avenue exhibiting their loyalty to their masters.

The Reaction Against The Negro

It was an important event in the lives of many colored persons when they marched in one of the world's great boulevards, singing war songs while the white business men stood on the fringe of the crowd and vociferously applauded them. Every banker was enthusiastic about the loyalty of the Negro; every crooked politician, every business man was proud of the Negro soldiers. Their sentiments, at that time, were, "the Negro boys are good boys." Meaning, of course, that the boys were willing to die for the interests of their masters, the bankers of America. But this fake love for the Negro did not last long. At the conclusion of the war, the

war which had made the bankers of America safe in their exploitation of the workers, the Negro and white soldiers came back. The white soldier was told, by the master, he was no longer wanted in the factory because of over-production with no market for the goods already on hand. This was cruelty and ingratitude indeed, but the Negro received even worse treatment. Not only was he denied work but it was as much as his life was worth for the Negro soldier to appear in the streets of Chicago, Washington, Tulsa and many other cities in the country.

Gratitude for colored loyalty during the World War manifested itself during the years 1919 when many negroes were lynched or killed in the barbaric race riots of that year. The capitalist beast, organized mobbery, was at large, hunting and gunning for Negro blood, for which we may thank the folly of the colored people in their support of a capitalistic war.

Two years have now passed since the atrocious race riots but the general situation has in no wise changed. Today Negroes are lynched, discriminated against in factories, restaurants, hotels and other public places, just the same as in the days before the war, aye, even the days before the civil war.

Letters From Our Readers

"Force and Violence."

To the DAILY WORKER:—You can hardly pick up a newspaper without reading the words, "Force and Violence." A bulky, brutal-looking policeman brings in a frail, innocent girl, beaten up and bleeding, and accuses her of "force and violence," while the truth is, the girl is the innocent victim of a bully with blood in his eyes, exercising force and violence under the convenient camouflage of, "law and order."

A man with a night stick in his hand, a gun in his holster, or black-jack in his pocket, represents Force and Violence. So does the soldier, the Baldwin-Feltz cutthroat, the Burns and other detectives, the under-cover man, the labor syp.

Use Force Against People.

The writing of an article, the criticism of an illegal act, the freedom of assemblage and speech, the peaceful picketing by a striking worker, are not "force and violence," but are termed so by the authorities who want to keep knowledge from the great mass of people.

As soon as a state becomes aware of its infirmity, it issues decrees of restriction, curtails liberty of the masses and uses force and violence against the people, especially against the workers at every opportunity.

Germany, because of its infirmity and fear of revolution has established a military dictatorship to deny birth-right to the inevitable revolution.

Say Revolution Is Manufactured. Reactionaries in America slyly try to create the conception that revolution is a manufactured thing; that something like a trick could be put over by a few revolutionary, educated men.

The world is confronted with two alternatives, either to let history pursue its natural course and grant birth-right to the new state of society or murder the child revolution, bolster up the old bank of hair and let that staggering carcass drag on for a few years longer and perform that same reactionary trick over again. See Austria!

Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy, all have the same reason and the same fear.—PETER KRONBURGER.

Hears Wheeler After Foster.

To the DAILY WORKER:—I receive your paper in my home daily (my first subscription for it) and altho I am not a member of your party, I sympathize with it in every respect.

The night after I heard Foster speak I went to hear Wheeler, the progressive party's candidate for vice-presi-

dent, at the labor hall with about 2,000 more workers.

Wheeler Says Nothing.

Coming to my purpose in writing this letter I wish to inform you (and if space permits in your paper to publish my letter) I wish to inform those thousands of your readers, that Wheeler's speech was, in plain words, "First Class Capitalistic Bunk."

Besides the child amendment he practically said nothing that would benefit the masses of workers. He classed the workers as the "common people."

He didn't tell us what he stood for or what his party would do when elected except that such "crooks" as Dougherty would go to the Atlanta penitentiary. He did not prove to us that his party could destroy a system in which such men as Daugherty can be put in high office. He did not even mention the K. K. K.

His whole talk was practically devoted to jokes about the old parties and about Coolidge. He said he would tell us the real inside facts about Teapot Dome. Many of those present thought that he did, but you can go to 95 per cent of those present and ask them to tell you about Tea Pot Dome and they'd be "stuck."

Any one of your Communist speakers could have made him feel like "two cents" if they were there to ask him just about two questions. I'm sure two questions is sufficient. I hope I have "shown up" Wheeler and that you can find room in your wonderful paper for my "first" letter.

JOSEPH BASKIN.

Tribune for Jim-Crowism.

To the DAILY WORKER—The Chicago Tribune in its issue of Aug. 22, contains an editorial suggesting to Jim-crow recreational and amusement places in Chicago.

The Tribune states that Negroes and whites work together on the job without friction, but that the attendance at a theater, park or other amusement or recreational places of both Negroes and whites causes friction.

What About South.

Of course this is the worst sort of rot and rubbish. According to the Tribune, ideal relations should exist in the southern states between Negroes and whites. But we know just the opposite is true. The Negroes are constantly emigrating from the southern states, due to the very bad relationships between them and the whites in Jim-crow Dixie land.

The Chicago Tribune knows very well that Negroes and whites become friendly and understand each other by mixing and mingling together. The Tribune, the mouthpiece of the em-

ployers, endeavors at all costs to prevent that condition between black and white workers.

Jim-crow Good for Bosses.

The ideal state of Negroes and whites, according to this yellow capitalist sheet, is to keep Negroes and whites separated so that it will be easy for the bosses to direct the hatred of white workers against Negro workers, and the hatred of the Negro workers against white workers, while the exploiters and real enemies of both groups of workers, the employers, will escape unnoticed.

Negro Baiting in Tribune.

Of course the employers keep up The Tribune by their advertising, and this kept mistress must cater to their every want and desire.

This accounts for the constant Negro baiting of The Tribune.

GORDON OWENS.

Likes O'Flaherty Column.

To The DAILY WORKER:—I wish to renew my subscription on The DAILY WORKER for another six months. It is a very good paper for the workers and farmers to read. Mr. O'Flaherty is a powerful writer. I read his articles before I read the others, but of course, the others are good too.

I wish we had a paper like the "Worker" here in Minneapolis. We had a paper once, the "Daily Star," but it is gone against the wall. 6,000 workers and farmers lost our money (including myself) in that paper when the court ordered it to be sold. But I hope some day we in Minneapolis and Minnesota will have a real paper like the "Worker" to tell us the truth.

GUNNAR ANDERSON.

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