

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."

—Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION

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

APRIL 25, 1925

With the Food Workers' Union in Russia

By ANISE.

JUST across the street from the hotel where I lived in Moscow is the headquarters of the Food Workers' Union. The provision trades are based on the immediate needs of the population; consequently they were the first to revive after the long civil war and famine, and are in a very prosperous condition. And since the wages of workers go up in Russia as fast as an industry revives, the provision trades workers are somewhat better off both in wages and in organization than some of the other trades, such as metal workers, whose industries revive more slowly.

THERE are any number of labor headquarters in Moscow. There is the giant Palace of Labor, where the central trade unions of all the Soviet Federation are housed.

There is also the Hall of the Unions, a sort of Central Labor Temple of the Moscow Unions, with its wonderful Hall of the Columns in marble and crystal, with its library in many languages, and its paintings and statuary ordered from modern Russian artists to decorate the assembly place of the workers with subjects of workers' life.

THE Food Workers' Union is just one of the twenty-two industrial unions. Yet it also has two floors of a downtown building, with financial department, statistical department, executive offices. At one window I saw the sign, "Theater Tickets." Union members get their tickets here, at 50 per cent discount.

ON the floor below was the Central Club of the Food Workers, supplementing the dozens of other clubs at factories and places of work. Here was a good little library, with reading rooms and rest rooms. There were a number of men using it. No women were visible, for this was daytime and the women were working. The men present were those employed on night shifts who were using their days to get some extra culture. But no women work on night shifts; it is against the law.

CLEANLINESS and order and enjoyment made up the atmosphere of the place. For the unions are the workers' own organizations, built anew from the ground since the revolution, and not contaminated by any of the left-over civil service workers from the days of czarism, who still clog the government apparatus. There is also much hospitality in all union headquarters. I have never seen any group in any land which seems to have such a good time welcoming folks as the organized workers of Russia. Anyone who knows any foreign language comes out at once and tries cheerfully to practice on the visitors. Anyone who has been in America also appears and gaily begins inquiries about the workers of the United States.

WE got into an automobile with the secretary of the union and were whirled out of town to a macaroni factory. Incidentally, if you want the convenience of an auto in the Soviet Republic, don't come as guests of the departments of education or health or any branch of the government, but come as a guest of the trade unions. For the government is poor, having to live on a budget and acquire a gold currency. I believe the department of health has two automobiles for the higher members of its staff. But every trade union has autos; the trade unions and the Communist Party, being supported by membership dues, are the really flourishing organizations.

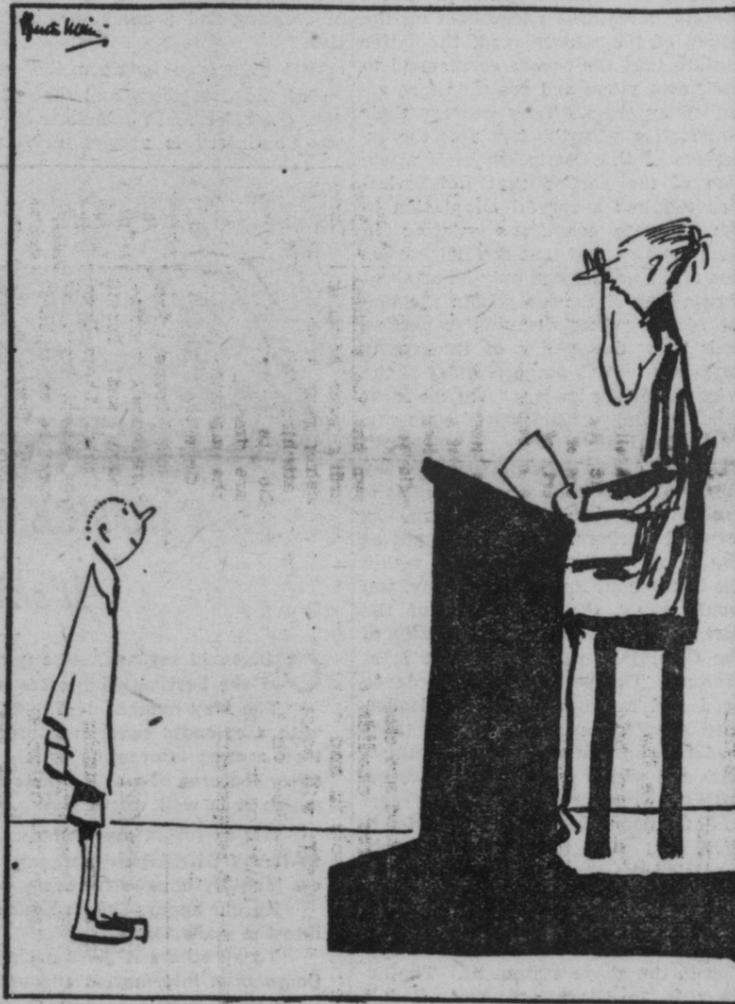
WE visited first a macaroni factory, on the outskirts of the city. The day before we had been at the Red October Candy Factory, a modern and flourishing place. The macaroni factory was more ancient; it had a serious housing problem and antiquated buildings. We passed through a corridor in which there were signs about cleanliness and wiping your feet, and came to the directors' office.

"WHAT is your experience as director?" we asked right away. "And how is your factory organized?" No one minds these personal questions in Russia. He told us he had

eral assembly of the workers, held every six months," he answered. "The Communist yacheka holds a preliminary meeting and nominates a slate, but the assembly does not have to elect this slate. It is the aim of the Communists to keep closely in touch with the workers' wishes, so that their slate will be chosen without contest, and this usually happens now in our plant. Back in 1921 there was a maximalist who organized a committee and got himself nominated, but he didn't get far in the assembly."

THE shop committee, we learned, was paid by the factory, an amount

History As She Is Taught



(By Hendrik Willem Van Loon in The Survey.)

Johnny! Why did Abraham Lincoln set the slaves free?
I dunno, ma'am! I suppose he done it on orders from Moscow.

been a mill worker before the war, but had been director of this factory since the new economic policy came into effect. He was a Communist.

"UNDER me comes the production manager, who is not a Communist," he said. "Then we have our macaroni specialist, who has worked forty years in this organization; he is also a non-party man, but an expert. We three are the technical heads of the work."

"THERE are 720 workers, of whom 100 are Communists and 85 in the Young Communist League. The workers have their shop committee, five members, three of whom work full time. Then we have our Communist yacheka, consisting of all the Communists in the plant; and now we have also the NOTE, a special committee which is studying the ways of increasing production. These are the various groups in control of our working life."

"HOW is the shop committee chosen?" I asked. "In the gen-

equal to 2 per cent of the total wage scale being set aside for this purpose for their wages. The majority of the workers were women.

THE secretary of the Food Workers' Union, who was with us, admitted to getting \$75 a month, whereupon the workers began to "guy" him. "See how fat he is," they cried, pointing to his full cheeks. "See how much he eats." "I don't get all the rebates you do," he retorted, and this was true. We later learned the number of things which the workers got free through their factory organization.

AT 12 o'clock the courtyard filled with women pouring into the basement dining hall. We also partook of the solid meal of soup and meat and macaroni served here for a few cents. We also visited the offices of the Communist yacheka and of the shop committee. On the wall was the factory newspaper, beautifully lettered and illustrated, with colored cartoons and sketches, with letters and complaints and gossip about factory life.

Every large factory has one of these wall newspapers, edited by the young people's organization.

BEYOND were two busy class-rooms, where workers from the night shift were spending their afternoons studying reading and writing and politics. The director himself taught an evening class in the same factory school. When the workers finish here, if they wish for more advanced courses, they go down to the regional center.

ACROSS the court was a tall building devoted to club purposes. We saw upstairs the room of the Young Pioneers, children of factory workers, gay with banners and posters. Next to it was the sewing-room of the women's club. Downstairs was a theater, with a forest scene still set. They invited us to come on November 7th to the celebration for which they were preparing.

IT was still lunch hour, so the work-rooms were empty. We went to visit a new apartment house under construction for the factory workers, out in the park at Sokolniki, fifteen minutes' walk away. "It is not a model house," said the secretary of the union. "There are not nearly enough bathrooms. It is just a bit of emergency construction to get the workers out of the rain."

FOR the macaroni plant was expanding and there was no room for the workers who were coming in from the country for jobs. Many of them were camping out in an old barn, with carpets hung between the rafters to shut off the quarters of different families. The barn was warm and clean, but it was hardly the place for winter quarters for the women with babies who looked up at our entrance. "You see why we are hurrying to get the house finished," said the secretary.

THEY had taken an old brick warehouse and adapted it for living quarters. Painting and woodwork and plastering were going up rapidly. Two rooms per family was the allowance in this new place. Next spring the brick barn is to be raised to three stories and remodeled into a dwelling to relieve the crowding still more.

WHEN we returned to the factory, its workrooms were humming. We passed from floor to floor, following the elevators which carried the flour to the top of the building, the revolving urns where it was mixed with water, the turning tables where it was greased and cut into great slabs, the giant machines whence it came out as thin streams of macaroni. Then the capacious drying room piled to the ceiling with the product. Enough to supply all of Moscow and to export to Leningrad and Nijni.

We noticed everywhere the cheerful faces of the women. They spoke to us; they laughed at the jokes of the union secretary. Many of them wore red handkerchiefs over their hair. There was no atmosphere of strain anywhere.

A WOMAN whose face showed strong intelligence and personality joined us. She began in this factory as a girl of twelve in the days of the czar. She has worked there seventeen years. Now she is president of the Women's Communist Section of the factory. She went with us back to the director's room, where we all had tea together. What I remember most about that factory was the democratic atmosphere of the director's office, with workers coming in and out, and with all of us, union secretary, Communist secretary, head of the women's section, and director of the plant, all having tea around the table together.

Sessions of Enlarged Executive of the C. I.

(Continued from last issue.)

Moscow, April 4.—(By Mail.)

AT today's session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International Comrade Gussev read the joint decision of the Central Commission of Control and the International Control Commission in the matters of Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf, Walcher and Moeller. After an enumeration of the facts, the decision reads as follows:

"On the basis of the facts enumerated above, the Central Commission of Control considers the existence of organized factions in the German Communist Party as established. There exists a faction consisting of a few groups within the party as well as of a group of members of the Central Committee of Russia (Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, and others); these groups conduct factional work on the basis of a political platform as expressed in a series of articles and documents (Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek—the anonymous authors of different circulars).

"In view of the above facts, in view of the difficulties under which the German Communist Party has to work at present, and in view of the extremely hostile attitude manifested by the party membership against Brandler and Thalheimer, the Central Commission of Control is of the opinion that the German Communist Party was justified in its demand that Brandler and Thalheimer be expelled from the Communist Party of Russia. The German Communist Party was also justified in its demand that Comrades Radek, Felix Wolf, Heinz Moeller and Walcher be checked by the party in their factional activities within the German Communist Party.

"BUT, whereas the Central Commission of Control desired to liquidate the factional groups in the Communist Party of Germany in as painless a manner as possible, and in order to give Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek a chance to prove by deeds that they were really willing to abide by the declarations they made at the session of the Central Commission of Control to the effect that they would carry on no factional work, the Central Commission of Control considers it possible to confine itself to the following decisions:

"1. To censure severely and to warn Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Felix Wolf, Heinz Moeller and Edda Baum, for their systematic factional activities and flagrant breach of party discipline.

"2. To forbid Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Felix Wolf, Heinz Moeller and Edda Baum to interfere in any way with the work of the German Communist Party.

"3. The Central Commission of Control warns these comrades that any further factional activities on their part, or interference with the work of the Communist Party of Germany, will cause their immediate expulsion from the Communist Party of Russia.

"4. The Central Commission of Control considers the participation of Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek in the work of the Comintern as inadmissible.

"5. The Central Commission of Control considers it necessary for the central committee of the Communist Party of Germany to start an extensive campaign within the party, for the purpose of elucidating the political significance of these decisions to all party members."

This decision was greeted with a storm of applause, and was adopted unanimously.

A STATEMENT by Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek was then read, in which they declare that their differences with the executive in the question of a workers' government are now overtaken by history. The idea that the workers' government could be more than an agitational slogan was based on the condition that capitalist society was in a state of

acute dissolution, which would rouse the social democratic masses against their leaders, and enable us, thru a temporary coalition with the left social democratic elements, to conquer intermediate positions in the struggle for the dictatorship. The rapid stabilization of capitalism in western Europe strengthens the social democracy, and makes it necessary that the entire front of the Comintern be sharply turned against the social democracy, and turns the slogan for a workers' government into a pure agitational slogan.

UNDER what conditions the new revolutionary wave will rise, and what tactics it will require of the Comintern, cannot at present be foreseen. The undersigned (of this statement) felt, in the year just past, that the mass character of the Communist parties was endangered by the opposition of the German party to partial, transitional demands, and by the organizational policy of the German party, which eliminated many valuable proletarian elements from the party because they wanted to save the party from the fate of a revolutionary sect.

The theses of Comrade Zinoviev show that the executive of the Comintern see threatening dangers. Regardless of the fact that the theses contain unjustified allegations on the policy of the undersigned, the latter declare that the theses correspond to their own views and are therefore accepted by them. They express their satisfaction with the fact that the executive of the Comintern calls attention of the parties that Bolshevization requires a careful adaptation to the concrete conditions existing in each country, and that the Bolshevization of the parties can only be attained thru a free discussion within the limits of the young Communist parties, and thru the policy of inner-party democracy which alone permits of the selection of the leaders from the most reliable and experienced elements. The undersigned declare that they will do everything to attain this goal. They point out that to attain this end it is necessary to reinstate more than fifty expelled workers. This would put an end to all factional activities within the Communist Party of Germany, and would effect the real unity of the party. At no time was the unity of the Comintern as urgent as it is at present. The parties must be developed and a synthesis of the leadership effected—a synthesis of those leaders who matured in the conflicts with and within the social-democracy, with the younger elements who came to Communism during the struggles of 1919, and who represent the sentiments of the young generation which grew up after the war.

COMRADE MANUILSKY then read the answer of the Russian delegation to the above statement. The answer is to the effect that Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer were most responsible for the social democratic tendencies in the tactics of the Communist Party of Germany, which have caused so much damage to the German revolutionary movement in 1923. The Radek-Brandler-Thalheimer group attempted to turn the revolutionary united front tactic into a tactic of coalition with the social democrats. The banal Saxon parliamentary farce revealed the complete political bankruptcy of these three comrades.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Party declared unanimously that Radek's policy had nothing in common with the policy of the Communist Party of Russia. The Frankfurt Congress of the German Communist Party condemned the policy of Brandler and Thalheimer with no less emphasis.

THE Fifth Congress of the Comintern condemned most severely the menshevik tendencies of these same three comrades. But instead of admitting their mistakes, they have now made them still more grievous thru their declaration. They proclaim their solidarity with the theses of the executive, but consider their differences with the Comintern in the question of

the workers' government as historically finished just because the period of steep decline of capitalism is at an end.

They still hold to their belief that if the revolutionary situation becomes more acute their old tactics will again become necessary. The form of their declaration shows that they still fully defend the tactic of a coalition with the social democrats, and that they are getting farther away from Bolshevism and nearer to menshevism. During the Fifth Congress, Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer persisted in their anti-Communist attitude.

IMMEDIATELY after the Fifth Congress, Thalheimer and Kreibich expressed their anti-Communist attitude still more strongly. The entire activity of these comrades during the interval between the Fifth Congress and the Enlarged Executive was wholly directed against the policy of the Fifth Congress.

The statement of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer, to the effect that last year they were worried over the mass character of the Communist Parties, cannot be taken seriously. The Comintern which was created under the direct leadership of Lenin, and which has remained loyal to Leninism, has from its very inception, up till now, been guided by the policy of creating and preserving mass parties.

THE difference between the policy of the Comintern and that of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer is, that the Comintern is always striving to

create and preserve real Communist, Bolshevik mass parties, whereas Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer are pursuing a semi-menshevik "mass-party" policy. Revolutionary words in the mouths of these comrades sound like the similar declaration made by Paul Levi. The position taken up by these comrades in the Trotsky discussion was just as politically insincere as their present one. In Russia, Radek directly supported Trotskyism. By making ambiguous statements on the "rejection" of Trotskyism, Brandler and Thalheimer hoped to get an opportunity of attacking the Communist Party of Germany. Some light is thrown on the declaration of this group, by the fact that their statement was made at the time when the Central Commission of Control of the Communist Party of Russia was investigating the factional, splitting activities of these three comrades, coming to the conclusion that Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer deserved to be expelled from the Communist Party of Russia and from the Comintern. For these reasons the Comintern cannot take their declaration seriously. The plenum looks upon this politically insincere declaration as upon a tactical maneuver peculiar to social democratic leaders, and directed against the policy of the Fifth Congress. Hence the plenum refuses to take this declaration into consideration.

This answer was adopted unanimously with stormy applause.

(To be Continued)



BUILDERS AT WORK

A NOTICE TO EVERYBODY!

It's About the—

ONE could say, without any question, that it is about a very fine issue of the best working class magazine ever issued in this country.

The May number of *The Workers Monthly* is all of that. Beginning with a splendid cover that breathes full promise on this May Day, and thru a most interesting article from Russia by William Z. Foster, thru other features of world events and Communist activity, it is an issue on which it is well worth giving notice to everybody.

Not to forget our Communist magazine (even in the second annual DAILY WORKER sub campaign), news of the May number of the *Workers Monthly* is news for every builder of the Communist movement.

To our agents this is notice that it is already off the press—it went into the mails today.

To all others it gives notice that here is more material that leads to Communist information and understanding.

Get a bundle—subscribe—give away copies for other workers to read—the MAY ISSUE OF THE WORKERS MONTHLY.

In the Second Annual DAILY WORKER Sub Campaign

New York leads by a wide margin on all subs sent in on April 23.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—L. E. Katterfeld (43), Fred Cammer (2), J. Toplensky (2), H. Casten, M. Malkin.

DETROIT, MICH.—A. E. Goetz (4), N. Stoyanoff.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—H. Stoltz (2).

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Lena Rosenberg (2).

SOUTH BEND, IND.—Amos E. Kirk (2).

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—M. Valkys.

CHISHOLM, MINN.—M. Ricanic.

KANSAS CITY, MO.—Hugo Oehler.

CHICAGO, ILL.—M. J. Loeb, Amos Maki.

WORCESTER, MASS.—J. Ginsburg.

Chicago Comrades—A Job for You!

A NUMBER of comrades are urgently needed to visit prospective subscribers to the DAILY WORKER that have already been circularized with free copies. This will take you only an hour at most on

SATURDAY OR SUNDAY.

Call for details or phone Monroe 4712.

James Connolly--In Memoriam

By T. A. JACKSON

"The working class can only think and speak in language as hard and definite as its life. We have no room for illusions in our struggle, least of all for illusions about freedom." James Connolly, July 31, 1915.

WHATEVER it may mean elsewhere and otherwise, "Easter Week" in Ireland is fixed and sacred to the memory of James Connolly and the "men of 1916." So much so that there grows a danger—one that Connolly himself would have been the first and fiercest to revolt against—the danger that he himself will be lost in the devotions paid to his corpse.

JAMES CONNOLLY was more than the commandant-general of the forces of the Irish Republic. For the firmness and thoroughness of his nationalist faith his end speaks unanswerably. His whole life testifies to the equal force and virility of his internationalism.

He who would explain Connolly must be able to unriddle the paradox—"How came the first and greatest leader of working class internationalism in Ireland to be the last and greatest leader of an Irish nationalist rebellion against the British crown and empire?"

THAT the Irish common people should be passionately nationalist was inevitable from their history.

When the Norman invaders first passed over from England to begin the process of "extirpating vice" and establishing the supremacy of holy mother church—with incidental "pickings" for themselves and their overlords the kings of England—there clashed, not two armies of differing speech and descent, but two distinct and incompatible social systems.

EVERY step in the establishment of British rule in Ireland meant to the conquered, not merely the temporarily physical losses of defeat, conquest and dispossession. It meant the destruction of everything traditional and sacred in Irish social existence.

The Irish clans could only survive as clans in the teeth of perpetual war and ravage. Inevitably to be "Irish" meant to be "poor, miserable, hunted and outcast." The Irish survived as a peasantry tolerated because they were too poor to be worth disturbing—except so far as their very poverty combined with the inaccessibility of the hills and the bogs to which they were driven, had by driving them to live as plunderers of the plunderers provoked reprisals.

TO be born of the poorer peasantry in Ireland at any time between 1600 and 1916 was of necessity to be born into a tradition—they are Connolly's own words—of "stubborn physical resistance to the forces of Britain." And this was intensified thru every generation from the peasants' rising of 1798, thru the Tithe war, the Black famine, and the Fenian days to culminate in the bitterness and fury of the land war of the '80's.

To be so born was to have added to all the other incentives to rebellion incidental to a worker's life, a tradition, not merely of revolt, but of the fact that even defeat could be borne, recovered from and avenged.

James Connolly was born in County Monaghan, in 1870, of peasant ancestry.

BUT it would be folly to attempt to explain James Connolly—one of the least emotional of men—in terms of personal psychology and heredity wholly.

Had he been a nationalist born and nothing more, he would never have returned to Ireland in 1896 with the express and avowed object of founding an Irish socialist movement.

CONNOLLY was above everything a proletarian. His Irish birth and breeding and his knowledge of Irish men and things made it easier for him to organize Irishmen and deal with Irish politics than another. But that he should want to organize the Irish workers, and into an Irish socialist republican party, came from his proletarian instincts and his training in the working class movement.

And both as a socialist theoretician and as a practical Irishman (and hereditary rebel) he saw from the first the need to organize the Irish workers on Irish soil, since they alone could grapple with Irish problems as Irish historical development had forced them forward for solution.

THE natural revulsion of an Englishman—not too far gone in sin—at reading the history of the British empire is one of shame, disgust, and pity for the victims.

The shame is soon shed; since it is that of others. The nausea passes. But the pity abides. And that is possibly the worst that could happen.

Connolly could not have lived ten days in Britain without meeting "pity for Ireland." You or I can walk into the street, now, and find quite a lot of "pity" for the Indians, the Egyptians and so on. And when the industrial development of Britain was in such a stage that British factory lords and financiers had no use for either Ireland, India or Egypt, except as milch kine from which to draw sustenance for their home industries, pity was, possibly, as much as could then be placed upon the order of the day.

BUT that day has passed and Connolly saw clearly that a new era had come—and seeing it, hated with

WHEN the chance came in 1914 to arm a body of working class volunteers Connolly was glad to seize it. He of all men had "no illusions about freedom"—none about the power and relentlessness of the British empire.

He seized the chance, first, because before him, too plain to be missed, was the chance to put the Dublin workers on something of an equality with the police guards of the strike-smashing Murphys. Secondly, because he saw (as no man else in Ireland) that only the working masses could be trusted to put up a fight even for so limited a thing as a democratic Irish republic—that the strength of the volunteers was in the workers.

And there was yet another motive soon to become actively operative.

WHEN the war came, it is not too much to say that to one of the "old guard" of Marxism, in the English speaking world (as Connolly was) it seemed as though the end of every hope had come. Only slowly did such as he recover from the horror that came with the realization that the world army of social democracy had melted overnight, leaving behind nothing but "leaders" serving their kings and kaisers, and the masses disorganized into mobs drifting every whither "as sheep having no shepherd."



American Workers Aid Irish Famine Sufferers.

all his splendid power of hate the Irish politicians who, at Westminster, had no other song to sing than of the woes of their "distressful country."

He saw that the very need to get cheaper and ever cheaper raw materials for the expanding manufactures of Britain had done two things—not only in Ireland, but elsewhere.

It had crushed the peasantry down to the level of a proletariat, and it had made possible the development, on their backs, and at their expense, of a native small-capitalist class who in time, with British surplus capital, would grow into a native capitalism even more rapacious (if possible) than the alien capitalism had been.

SEEING that, he saw, too, that while this native small-capitalist class would be (for sound fiscal and other reasons) even more violently nationalist than the common mass—nationalist from ingrained tradition—they would in equal measure be the first to flinch from a fight which entailed arming the common mass against the "common enemy."

For, at long last, whatever his nationality or nationalism, the capitalist is—a capitalist. The native, Irish capitalist was willing enough to be freed from his English exploiter and rival. But when the price of that release was to run the risk of placing himself at the mercy of his proletarian fellow-countrymen he, "with one consent, began to make excuses."

GO over the history of Irish revolts—1798, 1803, 1848, 1867—everywhere there is to be detected, if one reads aright, the same symptom. Always the moral is that of the old piper in Tom Burke—"curses on the gentlemen: they always betrayed us."

Go over the more modern history of India and Egypt—go over the history of Easter week, 1916. The lesson is no different.

As the horror of shame and disgust was replaced by the horrors of war, so there grew, even with the sound of the guns and the tales of the slaughter, the sense that the masses were regathering—however blindly; that there was a chance that the right lead at the right time might be the

GOLDEN RULE EMPLOYER GIVES BUSINESS TO HIS EMPLOYEES

(A PARABLE)

D. Rocky Vanderfeller, internationally celebrated as the teapot king, and head of Vanderfeller, Inc., a five billion dollar corporation, threw a bomb shell into business circles yesterday when he announced that his vast organization would hereafter be run exclusively by his employees.

Beginning July 1, Mr. Vanderfeller will make over his entire business to the men who have been working for him, and they will receive practically all profits.

Has Money Enough.

"I have money enough," said Mr. Vanderfeller last night, at his home in Park avenue, "so I am going to give my loyal employes a chance. After all, it is they who have made the business, so why should they not have an opportunity to share in the profits?"

"For many years Vanderfeller, Inc. has been earning four million dollars a year. Under the management of my employes, who will work harder because they will be working for themselves, the profits should be at least ten million."

What Might be Called A "Fair Deal."

"To be conservative, however, and to give my old workers a chance, I am fixing on eight million as a fair figure, and every cent of profit over this amount will be divided among the employes."

"Hereafter the business will be theirs to do with as they wish. A board elected by the men will govern the business, and I will not interfere

spark to explode their stored-up wrath.

FROM the first day of the war, when he had decorated his headquarters with the legend—all across the front of the building—"We serve neither king nor kaiser; but Ireland!" Connolly had grown fiercer and more impatient.

He pressed ever closer his relations with the more ardent among the republican volunteers. He won his way by the sheer compulsion of the command of the technique of the business, until he stood high in the inner councils of those ready to risk all upon the chance that "England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity."

IT is known now that it was he, more than any other, who had urged on the rising; that when at the eleventh hour MacNeill cancelled the order for mobilization, which was the agreed signal for the volunteers of all Ireland, it was he who insisted, backed by Pearse, in going forward whatever betide.

It is told how he said as he marched out—without emotion or display, in his natural matter-of-fact tone, talking to an intimate—that he knew he was going to his death.

Is there any explanation—to those who knew him—other than this: that his whole being was filled with the desire to strike such a blow as might even by a change rouse the revolutionary explosion which would lay capitalism, its wars, subjections and exploitations, conquered beneath the feet of the workers of the world?

AND how far was he wrong?

He had said that with 1,500 men he could take and hold Dublin for long enough for all Ireland to rise. With half that number he held it for a week.

Only twelve months after he had fallen before the firing squad the Russian masses stirred, czarism crashed, and the Russian workers' revolution had begun.

IMPATIENT? perhaps. Duped, in spite of himself, by national conceit?

Neither of these. His heart was with the working mass, and he scorned to live safely while they were passing thru the torments of hell. He took his chance, knowing it was a chance. He fought for Ireland. But he lived, fought and died that the workers of the world might rule.

in any way except to decide things. If the men agree with me on important points, they will have their way about everything.

Must, of Course, Show Loyalty.

"To show their loyalty to America's dead heroes," said Vanderfeller, "the men will be asked to contribute ninety-eight per cent out of all profits over and above the eight million I figure on for myself, to a fund for the benefit of the poor widows and orphans of America's unknown soldier, and in case the widow never makes application for the fund it will, of course, be turned over to my account."

Under the new arrangements, Mr. Vanderfeller said, he would be able to reduce the number of his employes by ten per cent, and produce many more teapots.

Philadelphia, Notice!

Weber Printing Co.

350 N. FIFTH STREET,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Party Functions of Nucleus Members

By OSSIP PIATNITSKY.

(Continued from last Saturday)

6. Several nucleus members should be entrusted with keeping up a connection with the nucleus of the Young Communist League. If there is none in the factory, they should proceed to establish such a nucleus.

Party members appointed for this work should work jointly with the youth nucleus among the young workers according to a plan drawn up by their party committee, paying special attention to the young workers of military age.

This work is of the utmost importance, factories and works are the best ground for work among army recruits as they provide an opportunity to establish close contact with these young men for the time when they will be already in the army.

7. One of the nucleus members should concentrate on the co-operative question which plays a fairly important role in the life of the worker. He should find out to what co-operatives the workers belong, he should collect information concerning these co-operatives and also get into touch with the Communist fractions of the administrative bodies of these co-operatives.

8. One or more comrades should work among workers who have not yet lost touch with their villages. Thru them relations could be established with the agricultural laborers and poorest peasants. They can also be the means of supplying the latter with literature.

Relations established in this manner could be handed over thru the proper party organs to the party organizations working in the district where relations with the agricultural laborers and poorest peasants must be maintained.

9. In many factories foreign workers, not knowing the local language, or workers belonging to the national minorities of that country play an important role. The nucleus bureau should appoint several comrades with a knowledge of the languages of these workers for work among them. The local committee will probably be able to procure literature in the desired language and agitators and propagandists for these workers.

In America, France and Czechoslovakia, such workers play a very important role in the labor movement.

10. One nucleus member should keep in touch with former workers of the respective factory now unemployed. He should help them to organize, agitate among them, provide them with literature, etc.

11. One or several nucleus members should be entrusted with work among men and women factory workers belonging to various sporting, choral and musical organizations. The said comrade should collect material concerning these working class organizations and get into touch thru the nucleus bureau and the local leading party organ with the Communist members of the administrative bodies of sporting, choral and musical organizations and societies.

12. One or more comrades should take up the work in connection with the protection of labor and various forms of social insurance.

13. Comrades should be allotted to tasks of distributing literature, collecting correspondence for the party press and for the factory newspaper of the nucleus. Several comrades will also be required for the printing and editing of the paper.

14. The same applies to the organization of political education circles and of circles for the study of Leninism.

15. A couple of nucleus members will also have to be spared for International Red Aid work—collection of information about arrested persons, etc.

It is a matter of course that all nucleus members take part in all agitational campaigns, in the recruiting of new members, etc., but all the same every nucleus member must concentrate his or her attention especially on the work which the bureau assigns to them.

It would be preferable to distribute the work in such a way that every member should have only one kind of work to do. But if circumstances demand, and when it is useful, several kinds of work may be assigned to one person.

MANY more kinds of work could be enumerated which nucleus members could perform. With a rational distribution of party duties all party members will have definite work to do, and this will bring them into contact with the factory workers.

In this way the factory nucleus will not be isolated from the workers, it will be easy to draw the best elements among them into the party and finally it will be possible to agitate systematically in the works and factories against the social democrats and other opportunist "labor" parties.

In carrying out party duties the party members will be drawn into party life and will become active members. This, of course, will be achieved only if the nucleus bureau itself is active, if it will give instructions and indicate how the work is to be carried out and if it will supervise the execution of the tasks given to the respective members of the nucleus. The nucleus bureau should receive reports from the various comrades on their party work already carried out, or in the course of achievement.

The most important of these reports should be also placed before the general meetings of the party nucleus. The nucleus bureau has to prepare the agenda for the nucleus meetings very carefully. It must secure reporters on the questions on the agenda and must prepare its own proposals in regard to these questions. The nucleus bureau has to carry out promptly all decisions of the nucleus,

for if these decisions remain on paper the interest of the members in the nucleus meetings will lag.

ON the other hand, nuclei and those in charge of them (the bureau) will work well and systematically if the district or town leading organ of the party keeps proper control over its work and provides the nuclei bureaus with the necessary information and directions.

Not to give skeptics occasion to say that my statement concerning the possibilities connected with the distribution of work among nucleus members and with making them participators in party work is exaggerated, I will give a few quotations from the central organ of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, Rude Pravo, of February 5, 1925. The letter from the nucleus of a sugar factory in Central Bohemia contains the following statement:

WHEN the party decided to organize nuclei in the factories, I selected three comrades to whom I gave a general outline of the tasks of the nucleus during dinner. We decided that everyone of us four would have to bring one comrade in the next three days. And thus we were eight. Our factory employs 150 workers, 32 of whom are already members of the nucleus. But this did not satisfy us, and we therefore decided that by the end of January every nucleus member was to secure one new member for whom he would make himself responsible. We have elected a bureau and have elaborated a series of proposals for the general meeting of the factory. We instructed six comrades to pass on our party and trade union papers to workers who belong to other parties and trade unions in order to

show them how untruthful their own party papers are.

"Four comrades are instructed to make up a list by the end of January of all those wishing to subscribe to our press. At present we are engaged in collecting material for the publication of the first number of our factory paper.

WORK in the factory nucleus presents some practical difficulties because comrades are accustomed to the old forms of organization. But the importance of factory nuclei consists in the fact that they give an opportunity to bring all comrades into the work. Moreover, the nucleus itself works systematically and everyone of its members does a definite branch of party work under the control of the nucleus."

IN the same number of Rude Pravo we find the following statement in a letter from a tobacco factory: "Nucleus work has the advantage that the entire party work does not devolve as before on one or two comrades, but is distributed among every member of the nucleus, each one of them doing a definite task, which is very valuable from the point of view of party education."

IT cannot be otherwise. As soon as nuclei come into being in the works and factories, their members immediately realize the superiority of this kind of organization over the old form of organization. Once adopted, they will not relinquish it. On the contrary, they do their utmost to make nuclei live organs, capable of attracting and absorbing the best elements of the factory. In order to achieve this, they distribute the party work among all their numbers. Our slogan should be: "No party members without duties or outside party nuclei."

Iowa Culture---Churches and Lodges

By TOM MATTHEWS.

CAPITALISM out here in the sticks has found a pair of invaluable allies, the church and the fraternal order. No better servants are to be found, unless we include the labor bureaucrats, for the work of dividing the workers against each other and turning their attention away from the issues of the class struggle.

Consider, for instance, the recent school board election here in Dubuque. What was the issue?

PROTESTANT versus Catholic! Not republican or democrat, not capital or labor, but a straight-out fight over religious humbug, with the workers of Dubuque fighting each other even inside their organizations.

Then there are lodges. It seems that practically every unionist in these parts is a member of from one to five fraternal orders, such as Elks, Masons, Moose, etc.

WHAT does the worker derive from his lodge affiliations? Uniforms, insignia, degrees, titles, and the right to pay admission to the "blow-outs" of his respective orders.

So it may be said that the Main Street unionist is, first, a member of his church; second, a member of his lodge; third and last, a worker and member of his union.

BEFORE arriving at snap judgments regarding this deep-rooted condition, we must take into consideration that the only cultural expression open to these workers is through the church and fraternal order.

These organizations fill, in some degree, the instinctive yearning of the working class for social and cultural expression.

WE Communists must sooner or later awaken to the fact that mere broadsides of denunciation and truth-telling will not alone suffice to break the hold which the church and fraternal order has succeeded in so artfully fastening upon the brain and imagination of the average American worker.

We must, instead, point out the sham of the "culture" offered by the priests and mystic nobles. We must lead ever larger numbers of these workers toward the vision of the

genuine thing—to an appreciation of a proletarian culture based upon working class vision and working class solidarity.

THE fraternal order offers the merest sham, the cheapest imitation of culture. Fancy-colored uniforms, silly headgear, stupid ceremony, barbarian titles. A fancy wrapper, but no loaf.

Communism will replace this stupid, capitalist "culture" with proletarian culture which will give the worker the opportunity for self-expression which he craves but tries to satisfy with blah-blah and tinsel.

The church pretends to offer the worker a "spiritual escape" from the monotony of life, together with social contact with his fellow-man.

USUALLY, the fraternal order wins the loyalty of the slave; the church wins the loyalty of the slave's wife and children. Not even the families of Communists are exempted. Taking advantage of the desire of the human being for some form of social life and culture, the spell of the capitalist system gradually gains its hold.

First the children of the worker succumb to the magic lure, then the wife, finally the worker himself falls into the trap.

IT is interesting, if not nauseating, to listen to the excuses offered by the working class victim, man or woman, for his or her folly. Invariably it is the desire for a "good time; "for

relaxation;" "they really do good work," etc.

Communism and the Communist movement will break this hold of capitalism by firing the enthusiasm of the working class with its own sincere, proletarian culture.

For, after all, the culture of capitalism is but a tinsel gaudiness which might as well encase a swill-barrel as a palace of art.

Only Communism offers the workers the hope of a real social life, a genuine culture.

REMEMBER MAY 23!

The John Reed Junior group is arranging a surprise party and dance Saturday, May 23, at 1902 W. Division St. All friendly organizations are requested not to arrange other affairs on that date.

'RUSSIAN CHEKA' TO BE PRESENTED AT WORKERS' HOME, SAT.

A Russian performance and dance will be given by the Workers' Home, (formerly Soviet School) this Saturday, April 25, at 1902 W. Division St. Two revolutionary plays will be presented, The Struggle for Existence, and The Cheka. Beginning at 8 p. m. Dancing after the performance. Come!

NEW YORK BUILDERS' CORNER

Conducted by KATTERFELD.

COMRADE Leo Kling dropped into the DAILY WORKER New York office yesterday and paid six dollars for his subscription for a year, and then he left the rest of the ten dollar bill to pay for two gift subscriptions for two political prisoners. A mighty good example to follow.

THE New York agency has just received the revised mailing list from Chicago, with the names of more than four thousand subscribers secured thru the press pageant at Madison Square Garden, which are now expiring. These must be solicited for renewals. Go to the DAILY WORKER office at 108 East 14th St. and find out how YOU can help.

HOW could you celebrate MAY DAY any better than by securing some new subscribers for the DAILY WORKER? Make it at least one.

The Trade Unions and "Labor" Banking

DURING the period since 1920, when wages were being forced down and hours were being lengthened and standards of living were being reduced, the labor movement of the United States had two choices,—to fight or to yield. The American labor movement chose to yield rather than to fight.

Consequently, since 1922 there has been no considerable labor struggle in the United States. Labor has chosen to yield, and this yielding has taken the form of investment and banking activities.

WILLIAM GREEN, president of the A. F. of L., in a speech delivered at Harvard University on March 20, is reported to have said that labor has passed through the fighting period and is now in a period where it must confer.

He said that workers must concede "the right of employers to control, direct and manage industry and to receive a fair return upon invested capital," and that "modern trade unionism is opposed" to the two extremes of "hostile employers" on the one hand and "the workers' revolutionary group" on the other. According to this statement, Green has become an arbiter between capital and labor.

THAT fact suggests the conclusion that craft unionism is in itself a method of collaboration, and that those of us who have looked to craft unionism for revolutionary ideas have been trying to gather figs from thistles.

Wherever one goes in the United States one encounters a lively interest in labor banking. The first of these banks, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers National Bank, started in Cleveland in 1920 with a capital of one million dollars; its deposits, to date, amount to 23.6 million dollars. It has property valued at about 15 million dollars, besides other important assets. There are now thirty labor banks in the United States, all but two of which have sprung up in 1923-1924.

DURING the years of the steel strike of the injunction against the miners, and of the initial stages of the open-shop drive (1919-1920), American labor faced a difficult crisis, and labor leaders had to make a definite decision. One road led toward industrial conflict and the other toward the entrance of labor into business. The labor executives decided that it was better to lead their organizations into the banking business than to fight. "We cannot fight against the government," said Lewis, and so he became the president of the Indianapolis labor bank.

The arguments for labor banking are very obvious and very old. If a labor organization deposits a million dollars in a capitalist bank it deliberately strengthens the hands of its economic enemies.

BUT if it organizes its own bank it not only keeps control of its own million dollars, but it has a loaning power of four or five times that amount, and when labor wants to borrow money in times of need and crisis it can go to its own bank.

But going into the banking business ties up the labor banker with other elements in the community. First, the boards of directors of most of the banking organizations are composed principally of business and professional men; second, the banking officials are not labor men,—they are in the banking business and must understand the banking game; third, the labor banker must conform to the various laws and codes of the banking world. There are 30,000 banks in the United States, thirty of which are labor banks; if these latter do not conform they cannot bank.

"THE LABOR BANKER" contains articles by Warren Stone, president of the largest labor bank in the country; by Daniel Willard, and by Charles E. Mitchell, president of the National City Bank of New York, in which all agree that labor banking will teach thrift and investment and will therefore bring working people

into a more sympathetic relationship with the capitalist class. If this is correct, the labor bank furnishes the economic foundation on which class collaboration can develop.

In a recent controversy between John Lewis and Warren Stone in regard to the Coal River Collieries, Stone uses all of the old stock phrases,

such as "professional agitators," workers "living in our houses," "to protect the interests of our stockholders," etc. The moment a magnate gets into the investment business he becomes interested in stockholders, agitators, and the like, and that is what labor banking means—getting into the investment business and running

mines, factories, stores and other enterprises, most of which in the United States are necessarily nonunion. Labor banking involves labor investment and investment is a method by which one man takes a part of the product of another man's labor.

WHAT does this mean for the future?

The membership in the American Federation of Labor is steadily declining, while the organized business interests are gaining, particularly in their economic position. Also, the organized employers of the United States have adopted the policy of going out to meet organized labor with welfare work, profit sharing and stock ownership schemes.

Organized labor officialdom is moving definitely into the camp of the organized employers. In the first place, the high salaries paid to the leaders lift them automatically out of "the proletarian group"; second, through labor banking the leaders are accepting the formulas of business and are making good investments; third, they have gone into co-operative housing.

Labor officials are adopting the employers' psychology and automatically, therefore, are becoming protectors of the established order.

THERE must be a co-operative move—housing, banking, retail, wholesale—but it will be essentially committed to the established order. Perhaps it is not the business of the A. F. of L. to fight; perhaps it is their business to go into labor banking. If that is the case, American workers must build a fighting organization on the economic field. There are two functions here. One is the function of the co-operative—to build around the present order, to get investments and keep them; the other is a definite struggle to take over the machinery of society in the interest of the working class—to destroy the system on which investment is based.

One of Capitalism's Clubs



THE BATTLE OF GLACE BAY

This poem was written in connection with the Besco strike in Nova Scotia by the son of Charles G. D. Roberts, the poet and animal story writer.

"An oppressed people is crying for a deliverer today. Never in the whole course of our history has there been a more wonderful example of patient heroism than is being manifested by the thousands of men, women and children in Cape Breton at the present time."
Ven. Archdeacon Scott.

The battle thickens, the foes ring round,
Closer and closer, death's in our face.
Steady there, steady, hold your ground,
Each in his place, lads, each in his place.

Who will say that we have not fought well,
Armed with pick and shovel and bar,
Blackened and burned in the fires of hell—
The rank and file of a Holy War?

Courage, then, comrades, lest we forget
The World's my country, my brother Man;
Though the fees increase we will see it yet—
The fields grow green where the red blood ran.

The little ones cry, the mothers are still,
But their crying, their stillness, rings over the Bay;
I can see the red banners like dawn on the hill—
The hosts of Humanity march our way.

Close up your ranks there, steady your eyes.
It is better to struggle though the ground runs red
Than falter one step from the ultimate prize
In the Battle of Bread, lads, the Battle of Bread.

The women are weary but steady, but steady,
The babies are dying the hot tears blind;
We perish, we perish, but steady, but steady,
The battle is Man's and the peace Mankind's.

Tomorrow perhaps we will hear the sound
Of a great Voice ringing across the land;
Today, the fierce foes ring us round—
Stand to your faith, lads, stand!

—Lloyd Roberts.

Student Solidarity Defeats Reaction Control of College

TOLEDO, Ohio, April 24.—A united front of students and faculty defeated reactionary directors at Toledo university and Stowe was forced to resign as president because of this solidarity.

The three professors whom the board of directors threatened to remove in retaliation, because of the demand by the students for the resignation of Stowe will stay.

The board accused Bradley, Nurse and Jones of being the agitators who caused the removal of Stowe. The board also accused the three named professors of being rebels and anarchists and insisted that they go with Stowe.

The students were much incensed when they learned of the action proposed by the board and called a mass meeting protesting against the intended dismissal of the three faculty members.

A petition was circulated by the students on which they secured 540 signatures. When the board of directors saw the solidarity that manifested itself among the students and faculty members they decided to let the three professors stay.

It is well known that an insidious movement has been going on for some time to destroy Toledo University, which is much too democratic to suit the Toledo Commerce Club, and which is attended by some young men and women who are of the working class.

It might be mentioned that this university boasts of two debating teams, one of which has been meeting colleges of neighboring towns and taking the affirmative to limit the power of the supreme court.

Bolivian Astray in Washington.

WASHINGTON, April 24.—Diplomatic circles were stirred today by the arrest of Senator Don Jorge Blacud Jofre, attache of the Bolivian embassy following a free for all fight with a policeman.

Nation-Wide May Day Demonstrations

INQUIRIES and information coming into the national office of the Workers Party regarding this year's May Day celebration indicate a nationwide demonstration that will surpass any previous May Day in the party's history. Every town in which there is a party branch should arrange such a meeting and notify the national office.

The smaller towns should obtain May Day speakers thru their district offices. As soon as a meeting is arranged, each party organization is requested to send in full information regarding name of speaker, address of hall and time of meeting. We will give these meetings publicity thru the DAILY WORKER.

Don't fail to notify the national office.

Meetings arranged up to the present time with time, place and speakers are:

Thursday, April 30

ILLINOIS

Springfield—Manuel Gomez.

Friday, May First.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles—Co-operative Center, Brooklyn and Mott, Tom Lewis.

San Francisco—California Hall, Turk and Polk Sts., 8 o'clock. F. G. Biedenkap.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington—Workers' Circle Hall, 1337 Seventh St. N. W. 8 p. m. M. Sclaroff.

ILLINOIS

Chicago—Temple Hall, Van Buren & Marshfield, at 8 p. m. James P. Cannon, C. E. Ruthenberg, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman.

Decatur—M. Chiloisky.

Pullman—Stancik's Hall, 205 East 115th St., 8 p. m. Barney Mass.

Madison—Croatian and Bulgarian speakers.

Christopher—Corbishley and others. Zeigler—Liberty Hall, at 7 p. m. H. Corbishley. Dancing to follow.

INDIANA

E. Chicago—Columbia Hall, McCook and Verner Aves., at 8 p. m. H. V. Phillips, John Edwards.

Gary—Croatian Hall, 23rd and Washington Sts., at 7:30 p. m. Harrison George also speakers in the So. Slavic, Russian and Greek languages.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

West Concord—Hall to be announced later. Lewis Marks.

MARYLAND

Baltimore—Brith Sholom Hall, 1012 E. Baltimore St. H. M. Wicks.

MICHIGAN

Detroit—House of the Workers, 2648 St. Aubin, at 8 p. m. J. W. Johnstone.

MINNESOTA

Hibbing—Robert Minor.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston—Convention Hall, Garrison St. (Near Mechanic's Bldg.) 7:30 p. m. Wm. F. Dunne and Oliver Carlson.

Chelsea—Labor Lyceum, 453 Broadway. J. P. Reid.

Lawrence—Central Hall, 23 Monmouth St. John J. Ballam.

Haverhill—Liberty Hall, Winter St. Harry J. Canter.

Norwood—Finnish Hall, 37 Chapel Court. A. F. Konikov.

Worcester—Hall to be announced later. Albert Weisbord.

Peabody—Hall to be announced later. William Murdock.

Maynard—35 Waltham St. Arthur Staveley.

Gardner—Finnish Hall. J. Segermeister.

Brockton—Hall to be announced later. Al Binch.

Lowell—Hall to be announced later. Max Lerner.

MISSOURI

Kansas City—M. Gomez.

St. Louis—Druids Hall, 9th and Market Sts., Saturday, May 2, at 8 p. m. M. Gomez.

NEW JERSEY

West Hoboken—New Hall, 227 Bergeline Ave., at 8 p. m. Carl Brodsky and others.

Passaic—Kanters Auditorium, 259 Monroe street, at 8 p. m. A. Markoff.

Paterson—3 Governor St., at 8 p. m. B. Lifshitz and others.

Newark—Labor Lyceum, 704 S. 14th St., at 8 p. m. J. Codkind and others.

Elizabeth—At 8 p. m., hall to be announced later.

nounced later. J. Marshall and others.

Perth Amboy—Washington Hall, at 8 p. m. S. Darcy and others. Jersey City—Ukrainian Hall, 387 Grand St., at 8 p. m. S. Felshin and others.

NEW YORK

New York—Central Opera House, 67th St. and 3rd avenue, 8 p. m. William Z. Foster, Moissaye Olgin, W. Weinstone, L. Lore, J. Stachel, C. Krumbain, chairman.

Buffalo—Earl R. Browder.

Brooklyn—Grand Millers Hall, Grand and Havenmeyer Sts., at 8 p. m. Wm. Z. Foster, S. Epstein, I. Amter, J. S. Poyntz, H. Zam (Y. W. L.), L. Pruseika (Lithuanian), S. Nessin, chairman.

New York—Ukrainian celebration. Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St., at 8 p. m. G. Siskind, and others.

New York—Czecho-Slovakian celebration, 527 E. 72nd St., at 6 p. m. J. Manley, and others.

New York—Finnish celebration, Finnish Workers' Hall, 5 W. 126th St. R. Grecht, and others.

So. Brooklyn—Finnish celebration, Finnish Workers' Hall, 764 40th St., Brooklyn. Speakers, P. P. Cosgrove and others.

New York—German celebration, Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., at 11 a. m. L. Lore and others.

OHIO

Cleveland—Slovenian National Home, 6409 St. Clair Ave., 7 p. m. J. Louis Engdahl.

Neffs—2 p. m. Max Salzman.

Dillonville—Joe Knight.

Yorkville—Joe Knight.

Youngstown—Ukrainian Hall, 525 1/2 West Rayen Ave., at 8 p. m. William J. White.

Bentleyville—Afternoon. Fred H. Merrick.

OREGON

Portland—3 day celebration. Workers Party Hall, 227 Yamhill St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia—Lulu Temple, Broad and Spring Garden streets, 8 p. m. Ben Gitlow, Arne Swaback and Pat Toohey.

Reading, Pa.—R. V. V. F. Hall, 612 Franklin St., at 8 p. m. H. M. Wicks.

RHODE ISLAND

Providence—ACA Hall, 1735 Westminster St. Sidney Bloomfield.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee—Freie Gemeinde Hall, 8th and Walnut Sts., at 7:30 p. m. Max Bedach, Tom Bell and others.

Saturday, May Second.

NEW JERSEY

Linden—At 8 p. m., Sadi Amter and others. Hall to be announced later. Saturday.

NEW YORK

Rochester—Earl R. Browder.

OHIO

Warren—J. Louis Engdahl.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bethlehem—Ukrainian Hall, 1641 E. Third St., at 8 p. m. H. M. Wicks and speakers in Hungarian and Ukrainian.

Easton—Lithuanian Bakery Hall, N. Seventh St. Lithuanian speakers.

Sunday, May Third.

CALIFORNIA

Richmond—Picnic, East Shore Park, Finnish celebration. E. R. Bloor.

ILLINOIS

Waukegan—Workers Hall, 517 Helmholz avenue, 2 p. m. Thurber Lewis.

MICHIGAN

Grand Rapids—2:30 p. m. Sons and Daughters Hall, 1057 Hamilton Ave., N. W. T. J. O'Flaherty.

Muskegon—8 p. m. Speaker, T. J. O'Flaherty.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis—Robert Minor.

NEW JERSEY

Trenton—8 p. m. Sadi Amter and Pat Toohey.

OHIO

Akron—2 p. m. J. Louis Engdahl.

Canton—7:30 p. m. Typographical Union Hall, 211 North Market street, Third floor. J. Louis Engdahl.

Toledo—Labor Temple, Jefferson and Michigan Sts., at 3 p. m. Max Salzman and others.

Warren—Hippodrome Hall, High St. at 7 p. m. Waino Finberg, Finnish, E. Piljuga, So. Slavic, A. V. Severino.

E. Liverpool—J. A. Hamilton.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh—2:30 p. m., Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St. A. Wagenknecht. Erie—Earl R. Browder.

Glassport—Finnish Hall, 2 p. m. J. S. Otis.

Daisytown—Afternoon. Fred H. Merrick.

NEW YORK

Yonkers—Labor Lyceum, 23 Fallsade Ave., at 8 p. m. R. Grecht and others.

WEST VIRGINIA

Wheeling—Arne Swaback.

Monday, May Fourth.

PENNSYLVANIA

Shenandoah—New High School, 8 p. m. Lithuanian and English speakers.

WANTED IN DETROIT

ONE HUNDRED Detroit Communists to participate in the biggest propaganda event of the year. Twenty thousand May 1st DAILY WORKERS are to be distributed before the factory gates.

Twenty automobiles must be at the disposal of the committee to take the papers and distributors to the various factories.

Men, women and automobiles shall present themselves at the House of the Masses, 2646 St. Aubin, corner of Gratiot, not later than 12 o'clock noon, Friday, May 1. Volunteers will please notify comrades Goetz or Owens at the district office beforehand so that all arrangements can be completed in time for this biggest event of the year. **Communists! On to the factory gates on May Day!**

A STRIKING

MAY DAY BUTTON

White background, red border, black figures, hammer and sickle in red, white lettering and red ribbon, a combined expression of unity of purpose—struggle against capitalism.



Wear one on May Day and have your fellow worker and brother unionists—men and women—do the same.

Order a supply at once. See that your branch of the Workers Party, local union and benefit society orders a supply for sale and wear on May First—Labor's International Holiday. Price 25 cents. In lots of ten or more, 15 cents. Special discount to City Central Committees, District Organizers and Labor Unions.

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NATIONAL OFFICE**

1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Friday, May 1, 8 P. M.
TEMPLE HALL

Marshfield and Van Buren
Speakers:

C. E. Ruthenburg Martin Abern
James P. Cannon Max Shachtman
Y. W. L. ORCHESTRA
Freiheit Singing Society
Admission 25c.

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Give your shopmate this copy
of the DAILY WORKER—but be
sure to see him the next day to
get his subscription.

Red Aid Fights Terror in Baltic States

The appeal of the International Red Aid against the bestialities of the bourgeoisie in the Baltic countries follows:

TO the workers of all countries and to all members of the International Red Aid.

"Comrades: Savage and unbridled white terror is raging in the little Baltic countries of Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland. The ruling cliques of these countries are filled with fear for their fate: they are faced the whole time with the danger of a revolt of the working masses. And after the events of Reval this fear of the indignation of the workers has exceeded all limits.

"In the last two or three months wholesale domiciliary searches and arrests have been carried out in all the Baltic countries. More than 3,500 workers and peasants have been arrested. In all countries those arrested are subjected to torment and torture.

Five Hundred Shot.

In Esthonia, after the December revolt, 500 workers were shot, over 600 house-searchers carried out and over 2,500 workers and peasants thrown into prison.

In Lithuania, in the course of two months, about 1,000 house-searches have been carried out and over 200 workers, employes and peasants arrested. Over 100 persons have been subjected to torture.

The Latvian and Finnish bourgeoisie is conducting a furious press campaign against the class organizations of the workers and is preparing "public opinion" for a brutal suppression of the labor movement.

Drunken Latvian fascists have thrown bombs into the editorial office of the trade union journal *Lajkmets* and set fire to the premises of the workers' sick club in Volmar.

Medieval Tortures.

But the heroes of the white terror regard these persecutions as inadequate. Medieval torturings and torments are the means now constantly employed by the bourgeoisie of the Baltic countries against its working class prisoners.

The secret police of the Baltic "democratic" governments require at all costs proofs which will confirm the "Bolshevik danger" needed by them in their fight against the working class. These experienced inquisitors extort the confessions required by them by means of the most frightful torture, and also by means of torture compel the prisoners to sign written declarations that these confessions have been made voluntarily.

In their use of torture the police have had recourse to the most diabolical methods. The "electric bath" is the means of torture most frequently used in Esthonia. Prisoners, when undergoing examination, are compelled to grasp two metal rods thru which an electric current is passed. In Lithuania, torture is likewise employed by means of electricity, but in another form. The electric current is directed into the body, causing violent action of the heart, crippling the brain and tearing the muscles. The current distends all the veins, convulses the whole body and causes muscular cramps which last some days after the torture. In Esthonia and Lithuania the prisoners undergoing examination, before being subjected to the electric bath, are beaten with sticks, rifle butts and barbed-wire knouts.

Flesh Torn With Pincers

In Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia, new methods of torture have begun to be employed recently. By means of sudden and strong pressure upon the stomach, frightful pains are caused to the interior organs. The victims are kicked in the genital organs while portions of their flesh are torn off with pincers.

In Latvia the old tradition of the chief of the czarist police, in Riga, the infamous Gregus, is being restored. The chief of the Latvian secret police, Martinson, at the beginning of the examination acts very gently and behaves in a friendly manner towards his victim. But then, with a wild cry he seizes the prisoner by the hair, lifts him up and flings him with all his force to the ground. In the local prison of Goldingen (Latvia), as a result of the torture, two political prisoners have committed suicide.

The chief police in Finland, Sarep, makes a practice of giving his victims not less than fifty blows on each ear. The chief of the secret police in Volkovich in Lithuania, Beshis, beats the

prisoners brutally and even bites them.

Police Are Degenerates

The bourgeoisie of the Baltic countries have made use of the services of the most degenerate secret police whose cruelty reaches the point of sadism.

The names of the arrested and of the tortured are kept secret. The mutilated victims are hidden away. In order to stifle the cries of the tortured, a rubber sack is placed over the head, and so that no trace of the torture shall remain, the body is wrapped in wet sacks.

The white terror raging in Esthonia has reached a terrible pitch of fury. In Reval there is not a worker's home in which at least one member of the family has not been arrested or shot. Among those arrested or shot are very few who took part in the revolt. The arrests were and still are carried out according to the lists of the subscribers to the legal labor newspaper, which appeared up to the time of the revolt and according to the membership lists of the trade unions, which up till then were legal but have since been prohibited.

The bourgeois governments of the Baltic countries seek to justify the white terror by alleging the preparation of a revolt. But in Lithuania,

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Finland and Latvia there was no revolt whatever, nor are there any signs of an organized preparation for such. In Esthonia itself, according to the statements of even the bourgeois newspapers, the revolt in Reval was only participated in by 300 people, while in Reval alone more than 500 people have been shot.

The working masses of the unfortunate Baltic countries who are plunged into hopeless misery are seeking—and can do nothing else than seek—a way out of this situation. Have they perchance no right to life and work? Their savage tortures and murders, who are maintained by the subsidies and the constant support of the fascist European capitalists, know no limit in their bloody orgies, in the horrible bestialities with which they torment the advance-guard of the working class in Esthonia, Lithuania and Finland.

The international proletariat must no longer tolerate these horrors. It must say to these vilest of the vile fascists:

Hands off the workers of the Baltic countries!

Workers and peasants of all countries, protest against the monstrous bestialities and the white terror of the bourgeois rulers against the workers and peasants in the Baltic countries!

Demand the cessation of the tortures, beating and brutalities!

Do not permit the mutilation and

killing of the best sons of the workers in the dungeons of the Baltic inquisitors!

Down with the hangmen! Long live the solidarity of the workers of the whole world! Long live the Red Aid for the fighters for the revolution!

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.

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Views of Our Readers on Many Subjects

Editor the DAILY WORKER:—A beautiful spirit of brotherly affection often crops out where least expected. "Having shown their strength" in the late election, says Oneal, the German socialists now unite with the catholic party—a party that has always been extremely antagonistic to every feature of socialism. "When thine enemy kicks thy behind turn it to him again." Oneal sees in the Communists loss of strength in the late election in Germany a disintegration of Communism. On the same page, in an other connection, he says, labor unions and socialist parties in Europe organized and failed many times before they became permanent institutions. And also on the same page, "That the workers do not vote for their party shows that there is much education needed." Oneal logic, eh?

In criticizing the Soviet regime Roger N. Baldwin says socialists are imprisoned "merely for their opinions" and names Ward as one of his witnesses. Then later in his article he quotes Ward as saying, "Political are imprisoned for counter-revolutionary activity." Now which is it, Mr. Baldwin?

Commenting on the smallness of the Communist vote in our last election Oneal dubbed it a miserable fiasco. Hilquitt told the C. P. P. A. at Chicago that the British Labor Party polled only 26,000 votes in its first round.

In the preface of the Unity Bulletin issued by a department of the British labor congress, A. A. Purcell, president of the international labor congress, says the so-called socialist press of Europe cannot be depended upon to give an unbiased view of conditions and developments.

An English writer in the Labor World said the report of the delegates to the Moscow convention was very popular with the workers of England. However, Oneal says, (New Leader March 23, page 12) "Many British trade union leaders" are sapheads ready to substitute emotion for fact as the basis of judgement. Yet, the party led largely by that bunch of sapheads was the Oneal-ideal of what our American labor party ought to be.

The issue between the socialists and Communists seems to be democratic pacifism versus revolutionism. Each claims to have the same end in view. Naturally at the present stage of the class struggle the milder method is the more popular with the proletariat. But the wise forecaster will take into account capitalist developments toward despotism, and the inability and failure of democratic pacifism to check the development. This narrows the question to one point, to-wit: Is revolution the logical product of despotism? If so (which history affirms), then logically the Communists hold the strategic position, and will be the dominant force at the final struggle.

The only possible escape from this conclusion is, will pacifist democratic methods fail? But here the wise forecaster will take into account the magnitude and strength of capitalism in its world-range; its absolute control of the means of subsistence, the tool of production; the utter failure of fifty years of struggle against monopoly domination of every feature of industrial and economic activity; and its oft demonstrated ability, thru industrial or economic pressure, to sandbag any political movement that threatens its supremacy in the government. With very best wishes,

L. D. Ratliff.

Dark Jugo-Slavia.

To the DAILY WORKER: My seclusion from comrades of the United States for almost six months and the inconvenience to connect up with our newspapers has set me far in arrears in understanding world events, especially in the Communist ranks.

I have been in the Balkan's newly formed country, Jugo-Slavia. It is not merely impossible for one to exist there on account of the bread famine. The greatest hardship is to live without newspapers. I mean the

working class press.

Skate Straight to Hell.

Jugo-Slavia is in a desperate condition. Its workmen are oppressed worse than in any other country in the world. Its minister of education does the work of education with guns and by police. Its army appears on the streets like a row of forgotten and ignored beggars. The soldiers wear the cast off shoes, pants and coats of the French colonial soldiers. The African French heroes are large and heavy set and their feet are tremendous in size compared with the small build of the Serbian soldiers. Can you picture to yourself an army of Jugo-Slavian soldiers skating along in their ski-like footwear looking every bit like a row of punished convicts? With their ski they are surely skating to hell!

The soldiers are kept under close surveillance. Not one of them is permitted to go out alone even for a few minutes. It is too dangerous they may find a leaflet on the street that a Bolshevik may have dropped.

Daily Worker an Inspiration.

Upon my return to Vienna I found a good many copies of the DAILY WORKER and RADNIK which were a real treat. I notice that you have some Abramovich chap with whom you have to fight and I notice you're certainly knocking him off the stage from which he wants to spread anti-Soviet sentiment. He surely must be a very "honest" socialist.

These "Honest" Socialists.

The American working class have not yet had the opportunity to learn what a real "honest" socialist means but the European worker certainly certainly knows them well. The "honest" socialist butchered the proletariat of Europe some years back and keeps the working class of Europe on the brink of starvation and degradation. Nevertheless, the mighty Communists the world over will surely find them wherever they may be and they will recognize them no matter what mask they may hide behind.

J. M. ROHW,
Vienna, Austria.

Frisco Remembers Sun Yat Sen.

To the DAILY WORKER:—A local paper carried an announcement of a Sun Yat Sen memorial meeting so a friend of mine and I decided to pay our respects to the organizer of the Kuomintang.

Arriving on the scene before the stipulated time, we encountered a tremendous crowd of enthusiasts, whites as well as Orientals. Right there our hopes of getting into the hall went glimmering, but to view the masses of young China—boys and girls—marching to the solemn requiem of their beloved dead, augers well for China's future. One did not have to understand Chinese to comprehend the eloquence of their tribute.

The "Arm of the Lawless" was there in full blast, enough to keep order at a Dempsey-Gibbons go at nothing a seat. They displayed their usual brutal stupidity; why a Caucasian should pay his respects to an Oriental was so far beyond their ideology as to be incomprehensible.

We lament the passing of Sun Yat Sen, but his influence, we trust, will grow more powerful in death than in life, for, after all, it isn't the physical stature that measures the greatness of a man, but his devotion to truth and justice. Dr. Sen stood forth as the illuminator of his people's minds, China's greatest liberator. And so this Easter day, in honoring Sun Yat Sen, we add an increased devotion to those in whom the fire of liberty and truth burns with an undying flame.

Sun Yat Sen, we salute your memory. Comrades, hands across the sea.—Arthur E. Patterson, San Francisco, Cal.

Police Control and Bribes

To the DAILY WORKER:—By an act of the board of alderman the taxi license bureau was taken over by the police department. The bill was sponsored by Mayor Hylan and the reason his honor gave to the board of aldermen for the change was, that there

were too many men in this city with criminal records operating taxis and that the taxi license bureau had not the means to cope with the situation. The mayor also stated that the claim of favoritism to the Yellow Taxi corporation was false and admitted that his son-in-law's brother, Carroll Sinnott was employed by the Yellow Taxi corporation, he also admitted that a brother of Carroll Sinnott connected with the firm of Sinnott & Canty carried the insurance for the taxis of the Yellow Taxi corporation. The full text of the mayor's statement issued, is as follows:—

"Of course I have no control over where my son-in-law's brother or any one else may work. I presume Mr. Sinnott has a family to support and that he must work some place if he is to make a living. This attack upon the Sinnotts is merely a barrage behind which a great deal of sentiment against the police supervision of taxi operation." After a bitter fight put up by the independent taxi owners, who charged that the mayor was pushing thru the law to favor the yellows and who stated that if the law was passed the yellow would be showered with all kinds of favors, the law was passed. The inspectors in the old license bureau were accused of being inefficient and incompetent and that the police department would be able to handle the matter, and they certainly do know how to handle the matter (money).

Yesterday four inspectors of the new license bureau were arrested and charged with selling license plates and accepting bribes. This charge was made by two taxi owners. The new department is still in its infancy and we already have an example of capitalist police efficiency.—A Comrade Taxi Driver.

Demand for Organization.

To the DAILY WORKER: How much does Gimbel Brothers pay their employes?

It is needless for me to inform the comrades that the tailors of New York are having a mighty bad year and I am one of them to be affected. However I know that before the holidays when the boss is making big profits we, the workers, will get a crumb.

On Wednesday, March 8, I bought a Jewish Morning Journal where Gimbel Brothers had a spacious advertisement for alteration men. When I came up to their magnificent department store I had seen everything that the workers of New York are in need of but do not have it. Nevertheless I went up to the fifth floor where the employment office is and after waiting for half an hour the employment officer appeared and asked me if I am able to fill out an application in English, to which I answered in the affirmative. But when I asked him how much does Gimbel Brothers pay an hour, he announced that they pay \$30 a week.

Comrades it is not that \$30 a week

is a starvation wage. But they needed me only for a day or two to help them make a few thousand dollars. And the tragedy is that they did get a few men for this starving wage.

It is about time that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union should get busy and organize the tailors in this department store in New York and Chicago. The hundreds of boys and girls working in these stores and also the elevator girls should be organized. Long enuf were we working and starving. Which union official would not boast of the accomplishments of the needle trade unions in New York, the stronghold of the unions, so many department stores as well as most of the clothing stores in Division St. and so many shops are unorganized?

Yours for better trade union organization. H. P., Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Red Laugh.

To the DAILY WORKER: In the March 21 issue of the Weekly People I read with disgust the socialist labor party appeal to Secretary of Labor Davis for the release of Comrade Voznovik a member of the S. L. P. who is to be deported from this country under charges of being a Communist.

The S. L. P. does not demand its constitutional rights as a class conscious revolutionary organization to have Comrade Voznovik freed, but gives a provocative explanation that it doesn't believe in Communism and the Workers Party which believes in violence.

The appeal states that Voznovik doesn't believe in Communism. How does the S. L. P. explain that it wanted to join the Communist International? Its delegates went to Russia for observation and practically disagreed only on one point that is advocating direct action in this country.

I, as an S. L. P. member, do not approve the expression in the appeal. After all we are the nearest in that and action with the W. P. and the future will bring unity among the S. L. P. and the W. P. over the head of the S. L. P. leaders. Our membership will exceed them in practice and logic and realize that the time is rotten ripe for a united front against our mutual enemy and stop fighting each other.

The S. L. P. always compares Lenin to De Leon, but why don't the S. L. P. adhere to Lenin's tactics? When he was convinced he made a mistake he admitted it but the S. L. P. never.

Fraternally yours,

L. PLUTT.

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