

"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.

MAY 9, 1925.

## The "Shot-Gun Wedding" at London

By ROBERT MINOR.

"AFTER all the sacrifices the war entailed in our fight for freedom," asks J. F. Darling, director of the London Midland Bank, "is the result to be that Great Britain is now to come under financial, economic and it may be political domination of America?"

With these words begins a struggle between the British empire and the American empire.

And the struggle begins on the very day of the "happy" celebration of the joining in holy financial wedlock of the same two powers. A nice, typical, bourgeois wedding.

The solemnization occurred last week. The wedding bells rang out from the British parliament: England has adopted the gold standard! Simultaneously the wedding bells (somewhat muffled in crepe) tolled from the bank of England, and loud and joyfully they rang at New York.

Practically from now on, and officially beginning with the 1st of January, 1926, the British government pledges itself again to make good with gold on every piece of paper money in circulation—or in the vaults of American bankers. The export of gold from England will no longer be prohibited. For the first time in ten years—since 1915, when the war caused England to drop the gold standard and to put an embargo upon the export of gold from that country—England is under the gold standard of exchange.

In the war, the sorely harrassed capitalist England made love to the beautiful young heiress, capitalist America. The coy capitalist lady responded—not too well, perhaps—but wisely. The gas burned late in the parlor of Papa Morgan (for is not J. P. Morgan truly the "Father of his country"?), and many promises were given—and who knows how many kisses? The British young man meant to keep his independence, as most young men do. But the American young lady remembered—and Father Morgan remembered.

Years passed. But the promises and kisses were not forgotten.

And then came a scene which is not unusual in this bourgeois world.

"Father" Morgan got out his shot gun. The young fellow, England, must make good. The shot gun was held to the head of the young man, England. And the wedding came last week—last Tuesday, when England announced the re-adoption of the gold standard.

Yes, the young man did "the right thing." England stood up to the altar and sorrowfully produced the golden wedding ring, while Father Morgan lowered in the background and fingered the trigger.

Happy Wedding?

THE old men of the international neighborhood smile with toothless lips, and stroke their beards and say, "Now they will live happily ever afterwards." Especially Old Man Kautsky, the benevolent oracle of the neighboring village of Germany, will wrinkle his cheeks and say, "Yes, yes, I told you so. Now the thing is done. They will live in domestic bliss forever afterward."

But the young husband of the shot gun bride was full of conflicting emotions when he slipped the golden ring on the finger of the willing virago: "Gone is my independence . . . gone . . . But these are the days of easy divorces." Into the shot gun nuptials are brought all of the rancors, resentments, "complexes" and hatreds—and divergent interests of the past and present, and still more

of the future. We know these affairs. With cynical eyes of experience we pierce the curtains of the new household. There will be trouble there.

The adoption of the gold standard by England at this time is openly called in London—"a guarantee to America." Since when is the adoption by the biggest of imperialist powers of the money standard which is considered "natural" to all predatory world powers—since when is this a "guarantee" to a rival imperialist power? In a theoretical "normal" time this would not be so, and the return of England to the gold standard at some time was always considered necessary. But, coming now under the existing circumstances, Sir Alfred Mond, high politician of Great Britain, says that it will tie the British monetary system to that of America and will make the London bank rate subject more than ever before to the mercy of Wall Street, being a rash act "to obtain a purely sentimental result."

MEANWHILE the "dowry" of the American bride is open inspection of the guests. It consists of \$200,000,000 in gold put at the British disposal by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (by the U. S. government, in effect), and a credit of \$100,000,000 from J. P. Morgan & Co. This total of \$300,000,000 is three times the size of the recent huge loan to France for stabilization of the franc, and is the biggest loan ever made to a foreign government in time of peace. And it is an addition to about a thousand millions of other British

debts to America—already a source of gall and wormwood.

Director Darling of the Midland Bank says:

"The pre-war gold standard was fortunately free from political interference. This cannot be said of the Federal Reserve banks, or rather the Federal Reserve Board, which controls their policy. The Federal Reserve Board is practically a political body sitting in Washington. Are we then prepared to tie the pound to what Sir Basil Blackett has called the chariot wheel of the Federal Reserve?"

The dominant finance capital of England decided that it had to be done, and it was done. The doubt, reluctance and hesitancy of British capitalism, reflecting the differences of interest of the different layers of the bourgeoisie, are ridden over by the big bourgeoisie which finds the step necessary, tho not an unmixed pleasure.

Communist International Foresees.

EVEN before this spectacular step of opening up the gold market of England to the American bankers, the Communist International had been able to give a keen analysis of the rapprochement between the two Anglo-Saxon empires—a rapprochement which is both an embrace and a death grapple. Zinoviev is quoted as saying in a speech to the session of the enlarged executive committee of the Communist International on March 25:

"The most important factor in the world political situation is the rela-

tionship between England and America. The 'optimists,' who see every thing rosy in the camp of our enemies and everything black in our own camp, believe that America can put all Europe on rations and dominate it. When doing this they forget the differences between America and England, they forget that America is playing the European countries off against each other. . . . The rapprochement between England and America is a historical fact. Both states have conservative governments, but nevertheless profound differences exist. There are differences in the question of world hegemony, for America has become a creditor of the world. There are differences in respect to Canada, Australia and Mexico. There are differences in the oil question, in the question of armaments, with respect to the debts. A fight is being waged for control of raw materials; there are even differences with respect to the Dawes plan. We see an intensification of the differences proceeding parallel with the rapprochement. It suffices to point to Canada, which is being Americanized and is slipping out of England's hands."

The internal differences within England between the sections of the bourgeoisie and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, are a striking factor in this case. The London Daily News now gives warning that:

"The decision to return at once to the gold standard will be sharply criticized by industrialists, who fear the

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## THE DECISION NEARS



# The Role of the City and Land Workers

By NIKOLAI BUKHARIN,  
Editor, Pravda, (The Truth)-at Mos-  
cow, Official Organ of the Rus-  
sian Communist Party.

MANY comrades in the foreign parties, and even in the best parties, believe that the peasant question is something of secondary importance. Altho it is now the fashion amongst us to declare oneself a Leninist and of course to combat Trotskyism most energetically, nevertheless there are in reality many parties which pay insufficient attention to the peasant question.

Amongst many comrades and many parties the opinion even prevails that the peasant question is important only for a backward country like Russia, and that this question could be assigned a minor place in the more advanced countries. Such a train of thought is entirely false and (by the way) rather Trotskyist.

It is just Trotsky who developed the following ideas in his theory of the permanent revolution: In Russia the proletariat can only retain power after its victory with the aid of the state organs of the western proletariat, because the population of our country is overwhelmingly agricultural.

THIS statement is false; it is not only false, but the matter has not been thought to its conclusion. The victory of the international proletariat would then signify its world victory, the seizure of power all over the world—and then we should have to ask ourselves: "What is the composition of the entire population of the earth?"

When we put the question in this manner we immediately see that the proletariat is relatively and absolutely the minority of the total population of the earth as against the overwhelming peasant majority.

Can this question then be eliminated? Can it be said that the world revolution and the world victory of the proletariat will solve the problem? By no means.

On the contrary, with the victory of the world proletariat this problem will be reproduced on the widest possible scale. Only a few figures to illustrate my idea: We know that the entire population of the earth is 1,700,000,000. More than half of this number live in Asia (approximately 900 millions). China alone has 436 millions.

THAT means that a quarter of the earth's population live in China; and of these 436 millions—the statistics are, it is true, extremely poor—approximately 400 millions are peasants. In India this ratio of the peasantry to the entire population is 220 out of 320 millions; in the Union of Soviet Republics it is 111 out of 130 millions. The overwhelming majority of the colonial population consists of peasants.

WE all know that the colonial question will play a great role in the process of the world revolution. We know that from a certain standpoint the antagonism between capital in the highly developed metropolis and the backward colonies is one of the chief contradictions of capitalism, that these contradictions are nothing else but—figuratively speaking—the contradiction between the world city, the centers of present industry and world economy, and the world village, that is the colonial periphery of the centers.

Almost all of the principal questions of our policy are connected in one way or another with the colonial problem. Even the question of the unity of the trade unions in connection with the left course of the British proletariat is closely related to the problem of the colonies. And the problem of the colonies is a specific form of the agrarian and peasant question.

THERE is, therefore, no doubt that this problem is not a minor, secondary, subordinate problem, but that it may be called one of the most important problems of our epoch. However, this problem cannot be looked at exclusively from this standpoint, but must be considered from the standpoint of production and of the seizure of political power by the proletariat. If the peasantry is so large

a percentage of the entire population, it is evident that they are of rather great weight economically speaking. The industrial proletariat of the highly developed countries often have a certain false opinion, an illusion that this problem is not of importance.

But how are matters in reality? As for the economic situation, Great Britain is in Asia, and France looked at economically is in Africa. It is evident that the close attention now paid by the British working class to the colonial problem contains a presentiment of future problems. The simple British worker, seeing the disturbances in India, must ask himself, "H'm, if I do not support India now and then it separates from Great Britain, what will I have to eat after the conquest of political power?"

The putting of the question in this light is, we see, already taking place in many circles of the highly developed economically skilled proletariat. It is closely related to the circumstance that the problem of the conquest of political power by the proletariat has become one of the chief problems of our day.

HOW do matters look when we consider the peasant question from

In France also, where the peasantry is not as reactionary as it is in Germany, the picture is, for all that, to say the least—frightful. Here, we have six or seven large peasant and agrarian organizations, and all of them without exception, are led by large landlords and large capitalists.

The organizational structure of these organizations is similar in all countries. Their mainstay is a political party, or several political parties. In form, they represent a sort of agricultural trade union which organizes all classes from the large landowners to the dwarf peasants, and even the agricultural laborer. Within these organizations, however, there is a sort of hierarchy at the top of which are the big capitalists. The cadres of these organizations are distinctly hostile to the proletariat.

In connection with these organizations there are various co-operative societies, which economically, are bound up with the banks.

I have quoted here only two examples; that of the French and German, but such a situation prevails everywhere.

Recently, a process of differentiation has been observed in these or-

revolutionary camp, and base their hopes upon the conservative character of the peasantry.

Naturally, comrades, we can say that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and of the landlords are very limited. The bourgeoisie and the agrarians fail to understand that conservatism under no circumstances is an eternal feature of the peasantry, that there have been epochs as the peasant revolts, in which the peasants have shown that they have nothing in common with conservatism. And even today, the capitalist system is shaken so profoundly that various features of peasant conservatism have partly disappeared. We know that in the early period of the rapid development of capitalism, particularly in those countries which developed more rapidly certain strata of the proletariat became bourgeois. The more explicable is it therefore, that various strata of the peasantry—for example those that own private property, individual farms, etc.—should to an even greater degree have inclinations towards the bourgeois camp. But this organic epoch of capitalism was a specific epoch, and we cannot mechanically transfer the specific character of this epoch to another epoch, particularly to the present epoch. In fact, we can establish a thesis that simultaneously with the disappearance of the bourgeois elements in the proletariat, the "de-bourgeois" of the proletariat, if we may so describe it, a similar process is going on among the peasantry. This process commences first among the semi-proletarian stratum of the peasantry, the dwarf peasants, etc. Of course, this process will be much slower than that among the proletariat, and for that reason our task of bringing these strata of people under our influence, is much more difficult than winning that section of the proletariat, which has become bourgeois, and is influenced by social democracy. But the more energetically must we work in this field. We must bring numerous strata of the peasantry, the poor peasantry, the small peasants, under our influence, otherwise, we shall never achieve victory.

ROUGHLY speaking, the present period in the development of capitalism, regarded from the social standpoint, is nothing else than a fight for the peasantry between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and I must say that the bourgeoisie understands this characteristic tendency much better than do the Communist Parties. Herein lies a great danger. We talk about united front tactics, we have spoken about the workers' and peasants' government, we have passed resolutions about the necessity for winning over the peasantry, etc. But we have done very little in this sphere. Whereas the bourgeoisie is conducting real united front tactics towards the peasantry, and have done a great deal in this respect.

In many countries: Germany, France, England and partly also in America, a discussion is now going on in the bourgeois press over such questions, for example as self-sufficing economy. Certain German economists desire to see an economic system in which the industry and the agriculture of the country can satisfy all the requirements of that country. This economic motive is accompanied by a military motive: "In war, we are at the mercy of the enemy because economically, we are dependent upon other countries." And third, there is a class motive: "Strongly developed industry brings with it an increase in the urban proletariat, which is corrupted by Communism, etc. We must have a process of developing backwards; we must become agrarianized."

It is no accident that this discussion is taking place at the present time. It is the expression of a still more active anti-proletarian orientation of the ruling class.

IN France, there is at the present time, a strong movement in the French agrarian and bourgeois circles. The slogans of this movement are approximately as follows: "Back (Continued on page 7)

## Local Russian Sheet Fighting Communism



As seen by the Russian Communist Daily Novy Mir

the standpoint of the distribution of social forces at the present moment?

When we ask under whose influence the peasantry stands, how its forces are divided among the different classes, we must reply that in the colonial and semi-colonial countries we have great influence upon the peasantry, but that in the important industrial countries our influence is practically nil.

In Germany, a country where the economic depressions after the war with their various consequences raged most violently, we see that the "Reichslandbund," which is under the leadership of large landowners, has more than two million organized members. Half of the agricultural proletariat is in this organization.

IF we consider the fact alone and then compare the number of middle, large, small and "dwarf" peasants, who also belong to this organization, we will see that the overwhelming majority of the peasantry and one-half of the agricultural proletariat are directly organized in hostile organizations.

The social composition of the leadership of the Reichslandbund is as follows: at the top are large landowners and large capitalists. The ideology is monarchist, the backbone of the apparatus consists of ex-officers and high officials.

ganizations. This is an extremely important and big process. But, when we examine the situation as a whole, when we draw the balance, excluding the colonies, we will see that our work is only in the preliminary stage.

In a period when the revolutionary wave is rushing forward we are able to carry large sections of the proletariat with us and "infuse" the other sections of the people with our ideas. In the present period of stabilization (temporary it is true) we are faced with the danger of all these strata being employed against the proletariat.

FASCISM, black reaction, has its great reserves in the rural districts. It is really a scandalous situation when in Germany half of the agricultural proletariat belongs to the enemy camp. It is very difficult to capture political power when the relation of forces are so arranged.

I can say here, quite bluntly, that from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat, as well as from the standpoint of Leninism, that it is a piece of utter stupidity to regard this question as a secondary question.

The bourgeoisie, the agrarian classes, the heavy industrialists, understand the position perfectly well. The professors serving the big landlords and the big capitalists, regard the peasantry as the reserves of the anti-

# Paving the Way for Class Collaboration

By ARNE SWABECK.

In their reckless destruction of the effectiveness and fighting ability of the union the officials of District 5, United Mine Workers, are now attempting to expel all militant members from the organization and thus prevent any further exposure of their mismanagement and spurious pretense of opposition to the efforts of the coal operators to enforce the 1917 scale.

Viewed together with the attacks made upon members duly elected to certain offices within District 12, Illinois, who have declared themselves as Communists, it becomes clear that a well-planned and centralized drive has been launched to eliminate the real fighters from the organization and pave the way for the policy of collaboration with the operators.

On April 21, James Oates, president of Local 4546, was ordered expelled from the union by District 5 executive board after having been notified to appear to answer to charges placed against him. On May 4 Tom Ray, member of Local 2012, appeared, upon summons, before the board. He refused to answer to any charges or concede the officials the right to place him on trial. That the board will assume the same arrogant position as taken towards Oates and also order the expulsion of Tom Ray is not the least in doubt as both are well known militants leading the progressive movement of the district.

The excuse furnished to cover this high handed action is based on a motion carried at a packed district convention held in March, 1924. This motion threatened expulsion of any member participating in any kind of a conference not sanctioned by the official family. One such conference was held March 15 to consider means of relief for the Moundsville prison-

ers. However, this relief work is a story which has become an integral part of the miners' progressive movement of district 5, the details of which are briefly as follows.

Growing out of the Cliftonville march during the strike 1922, when several hundred Pennsylvania miners crossed the border to West Virginia to urge complete solidarity of their fellow workers, 43 men were sent to prison. When brought to trial, five pleaded not guilty and were given heavy sentences. Upon advise of the district officials with intimations of early release, the rest of the men, when later brought to trial, pleaded guilty and were given sentences from three to five years. They soon found they were left in the lurch, no real efforts were made by the officials to secure the early release. But a vigorous rank and file movement sweeping the locals finally opened the jail doors for 26 of these men.

The militant miners have repeatedly exposed the base hypocrisy and the miserable role played by the whole official family in its betrayals of the heroic efforts of the rank and file workers to establish complete solidarity during the 1922 strike. They have exposed the deals made and the swelling of the bank accounts of those board members placed in trusteeship of relief funds for the coke region miners. They have exposed the corruptness of the district office in handling relief funds to the miners who were out in the crucible strike. Accounts of funds distributed were padded from \$20.00 to \$40.00 a week per family. Local Union 4546, of Charleroi, Pa., on Feb. 22, 1925, at a special meeting to which delegates of other locals as well as the district officials were invited to attend, made these charges public. This meeting decided to call the conference held in Pittsburgh, Pa., March 15 and the district officials were again invited to

be present, but failed to appear at either meeting.

While about 50 delegates representing almost as many local unions attended that conference the officials had meanwhile got busy circularizing the district with dire threats of expulsion of all who should decide to participate. The old motion passed at the eleventh hour at the packed convention a year ago, branding this and all such meetings as "dual" and slating for expulsion not only those who participate, but also those who give aid in any way, was dug up for the purpose.

The conference went ahead with its work planned to circularize petitions for the pardon of the Moundsville prisoners, to gather funds for relief of their families and elected a publicity committee to further this work. It also went on record urging that the local unions themselves take action on the charges, publicly made, of misappropriation of funds by the district convention to bring impeachment proceedings. This demand is now growing in volume as the resolution passes from local to local.

Charges were preferred in local 4546 against James Oates for having attended the conference. After the man who presented the charges had been compelled to admit that they were framed by the district officials the local refused to even consider the matter. Likewise in the case of Tom Ray whose local vindicated him of the charges made. Both locals had thus decided and in both instances their decisions were appealed to the district board. Very soon the board showed its hands in flagrant defiance of the constitution of the organization. It did not take the matter up for adjustment with the locals, the decision of which had been appealed, but ordered these two members to appear before its meetings to take action against them individually. They hoped

to get rid of two militant opponents who had always made it a point to rally the rank and file membership for the building and strengthening of the organization and for a fight against any encroachments of the operators. Naturally the both locals refused to become the tools of any such dirty dealings and refuse to carry out the dictates made in violation of their constitution.

While P. T. Fagan and the other lackeys of John L. Lewis are uniting their cunning abilities to fight those who give life to the union and make it an easy prey for the operators, union mines are being closed down and the miners constantly swell the ranks of the unemployed army. The Pittsburgh Coal company alone, in one month, closed 22 of its mines. What do the union officials propose to do for these unemployed miners? There is no sign of any move. As long as the bureaucrats have enough in the treasuries to keep up their fat salaries they have no personal worries and don't give a hang for the rank and file miners. If times get real bad they will turn to the operators for their reward or perhaps begin looking around for a soft birth in a so-called labor bank or labor union insurance company.

So while John L. Lewis is carrying on a counterfeit campaign of organization in northern West Virginia where mines are being closed down while the southern part of that state and eastern Kentucky are rapidly being developed as the coal mining center of the nation on the one hundred per cent American plan, with low wages, long hours and armed company guards his lieutenants are busy pulling the props from under. The terrific destruction wrought can be mended only by sweeping them all out of office and establishing a militant leadership with a policy of fight against the exploiters.

## Fighting the Famine in Ireland

By Robert Stewart

IN 1897 there was a partial famine in Ireland just as there is this year. The English government then acted exactly as the Free State government is acting today. Thru its official press it denied famine and minimized distress. In the house of commons when confronted by the Irish M. Ps. with the names of the people who had died of starvation, Mr. Balfour jocosely asked if the Irish expected him to supply the peasants with champagne. Today Minister McGilligan in the Free State Dail, replying to the labor T. D., admitted that there would be deaths from starvation in Ireland, but added, it was not the business of the Dail to provide work for the people and the sooner they realized this the better.

I WAS in Mayo during the last big election, and in some of the homes I visited while canvassing, there was no food. Women told me they had not broken their fast that day. The woman showed me a bit of dry bread she was giving to a sick child, and said it had been given her by a neighbor, and I saw that the sugar bowl was quite empty. Hunger is written on the thin faces of the crowds of unemployed men standing listlessly about the streets. They will tell you "we want work" and turn away ashamed lest you should take them for beggars. Except the professional beggars who follow you around promising prayers, no one asks for alms. The people are very proud and very sensitive, and try to hide their poverty as if it were a disgrace. Only when someone is ill, or when the crying of the children for food becomes too intolerable some woman will burst forth and tell the truth. How they are maintaining existence on the relief that is being given them is a question that I have not been able to solve. Four shilling per week for a widow with seven children! No wonder the children are naked under the outer ragged garment, no wonder consumption is rife.

WHAT makes the danger of the present situation is that the shops also by giving credit have tided

the people over many bad years, are themselves in bad straits and are able to give credit no longer.

This is the second bad harvest following on the disorganization caused by the war. In Charlestown and Swinford this is plainly evident, if one looks at the empty shelves, and the shop windows filled with dummy boxes and empty bottles, and notes the general air of depression. Many of the shop-keepers are on the verge of bankruptcy, they are going "wallop" in the local expression.

IN Ballina which is one of the most prosperous trading towns of the West and where the depletion of stocks is not so evident, I saw women from the country in shawls, buying tea by the ounce and sugar by the quarter pound, and meal by the pound, and so ashamed and so timid, fearing anyone should notice the tiny marketing, and still more fearful that their credit was outrun and that they would meet with a refusal.

Tho the roads are such as to make motor traveling exciting, little is being done to repair them. In some places, however, the Free State government has opened relief works just before the election. Three shilling four pence per day seemed to be the average pay, and compared to the one shilling per day given by the English it looked good; but the rate of living has trebled in Ireland since 1897, and the English gave work six days a week and did not make relief work conditional on belonging to any political organization while the Free State authorities generally only provide two or three days' work a week and make employment conditional on the man first paying one shilling and joining the Cumann-na-Gael organization. In cases where the man was too poor to pay the one shilling, eggs were taken in lieu of payment to the Free State party fund.

THE famine is partial and curiously patchy. It was the same in 1897. In Killala for instance, and in Ballycastle last year's potato crop was splendid and farmers have seed to

sell. In Portacloy, and other places not forty miles distant it has failed completely and the people have been able to sow no seed. The oat crop on which their poultry industry so largely depends was also a failure, and the hens are dying for want of food. Seed oats and seed potatoes are the urgent need if an even worse famine is to be avoided.

After the famine in 1897 fish curing stations were put up at Belderrig and others of the worst districts so that the people might salt the fish so plentiful along the coast. Fishing used to be the main industry of the people. Today the fish curing stations are closed. There are no fish. During the Anglo-Irish war and since the Free State came into existence, the English steam trawlers have been allowed to come right into the coast within the prohibited 3-mile area. With their large nets and powerful engines they have, as the poor fishermen say, "dragged the bottom out of the sea," in other words, they have destroyed the spawning beds, and now there are no fish, the little fishing boats are idle and the nets have rotted. An inspector of fisheries told me that it would take five years probably for the fishing to recover, even if the English trawlers were now to be kept outside the coastal area. The Free State evidently fears antagonizing their English masters, and makes no effort to protect the fisheries. The Helga, the gunboat used by the English to shell Dublin in 1916, has been taken over by the Free State for the protection of the coast, but the English captain is still retained and it is not likely he will be disagreeable to his own countrymen. An occasional little French fishing boat is caught and fined, but the big English trawlers who are doing all the damage are left in peace to ruin the fishing grounds on which the life of the western seaboard depends. This means that whenever, like this year, there is a partial failure of the potato crop, it means actual famine and people dying of starvation, and amongst the chil-

dren only the fittest survive. Emigration goes up. The English colonies where conditions are hard, and cheap labor is wanted, profit thereby.

AS I returned in the train from Mayo, at each station I heard the emigrant "keane." All who travel by the western line know it, and it is hard to forget. It tears one's very heart out. The crying of the mothers as the train bears off their dearest to foreign slavery, the shrill cry of the old people who know they will never see the bright boys and girls who are going again, the "keane" echoes right along the line as the train steams away, to be taken up at the next station where more emigrants are waiting.

The emigrant "keane" which had almost ceased during the war when the republic brot hope to the people, is echoing wildly again thru the Free State.

At the Workers' International Relief committee I have seen letters telling of the conditions in Donegal, letters from people like P. Gallagher of Dungloe (Paddy McCope), from which it is evident that things are quite as bad there as in Mayo. Col. O'Callaghan Westropp's statement at the farmers' congress described alarming conditions in Clare. The Irish Times had an article published from a correspondent contradicting this, but a few days later had to admit everything as far as the wiping out of the cattle and the desperate need of the small farmers.

## The Walden Book Shop

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(Between State and Dearborn Just South of Jackson)

CHICAGO

# MASTERS AND SLAVES (A Story)

(Translated by Simon Felshin)

I.

"HELLO, kid!"

This friendly call rose above even the heartless rumble of the railway train. Nickles' heart went pitter-patter. He thought of all those stories that he had heard about hoboes. "Hello, kid" was what the sheriffs always said when they wanted to lay hands on a fellow. And yet even this was preferable to being beaten to death by a boss at some lumber camp. Nickles was not anxious to end up as a newspaper sensation.

Then he remembered suddenly that according to reports by comrades this friendly greeting of the sheriff was usually followed by a less friendly blow on the shoulder. And so he decided to peer first in the direction of the voice, and then he would consider whether to risk the rash jump from the moving freight train.

"Hello, kid!"—rang out again, this time more reassuring. He looked in the direction from which the voice came. Nothing . . . He wanted to pierce the darkness. Loud, hearty laughter. And still he didn't see anyone.

"Don't you see me? Here I am!"

Nickles was right. When sheriffs do any trawled out of their sockets.

Suddenly he caught sight of a waving hand which reached out from somewhere among the spokes of the wheels.

"Well, that couldn't be any sheriff"—Nickles thought—"these gentlemen don't care much for riding that way."

Nickles was right. When sheriffs do any traveling they prefer the passenger coaches. And besides, it did seem as if the owner of that hand among the wheels didn't find himself so uncomfortable in his surroundings.

"Now at last can you see me?"—the owner of the hand asked.

Nickles tried again craning his neck, this time with better luck.

Catching sight of the owner of the voice and the hand he felt very much ashamed that he had thought even for a moment of running away. The sight of this chap was decidedly reassuring. He was looking out at the world from his "comfortable" seat with a grin. By the light of a lantern which they passed, Nickles got a distinct view of him. He was reclining at ease against a cross beam, his hands clasped about his knee. His pants were ripped in one place, revealing a bit of his naked leg.

This sight in a trice restored to Nickles his old blitheness and now he in turn called out: "Hello, kid!"

This, in one expression, constituted perfect solidarity, the definite sealing of the new friendship and served also as an introduction.

"Where you headed for?"—Nickles called. "I'd like to know that myself."

"That's where I'm going too."

And so they had immediately found a point in common: neither of them knew where he would land.

"Have you got any buttons?"—the stranger asked.

This question sounded rather queer, as the owner of the voice didn't seem to attach so much importance to whether there was any button missing from his clothing.

"What for do we want buttons?"—asked Nickles.

"So we can decide where to get off. Each button stands for a town. The last button tells us the town we get off at."

As they talked it over they both realized that the button method of choosing wouldn't do in this case, because it presupposed a detailed knowledge of the various places along the road. They therefore had to decide on something else. As experienced travelers they could always tell a good bit ahead when they were nearing a big station; and they decided to take leave of their conveyance at the first large station.

The train rumbled.

From the locomotive came the impatient ringing of the bell. It rang as if the freight train were in some way disturbed.

The two decided: that's one of the bigger sta-

tions! They crept with skilful and practiced movements to the edge of the car. They waited for the right moment—for a bend, as the train slowed down.

Nickles gave the signal: "Careful, now!"

A swing.

The train immediately whirred on past them.

\* \* \*

AND they remained behind in the night.

The lights of the railroad station in the distance. And along the tracks an electric light glared from far off. It was best to keep away from the light. Nor was it advisable to come too near to the station. All kinds of unreliable persons lurged around there: detectives, sheriffs, watchmen and such like parasites.

They felt an aching all over. And so they decided to rest under a tree.

"Oh yes, what's your name anyway?"—Nickles asked.

"Joe, Joe Vavas"—and he added: "I'm a Hungarian."

"Ah, Hungarian! That's nice. I'm Greek, and my name is Gulis Nickles."

Nickles had been living in America for ten years. But to judge by his accent and his vocabulary, one might well say that he was not longer than two years in the country.

His life? Laundry, shoe-shining, doll factory, soap making, steel mills, milk carrying, street construction, packing sugar . . . New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver . . . and always under a train, never knowing where he was going . . . he could hardly give a proper account in one time of the fantastic contents of his eventful life.

Joe Vavas had come to America one year later. The last station of his life's road was called Denver. He had landed in that city without a cent, and unshaven. It was in spring. At the street corners there were Mexicans in blue overalls. He also stopped at the street corner and waited for good luck.

As good luck didn't come to fetch him he decided there and then to go look for it himself. He sauntered thru Seventeenth street. And he really did catch sight of a sign:

"For Purpose of Instruction  
FREE SHAVE HERE  
For Everybody."

This was luck too, for he could thus save fifteen cents. He went up one floor, where he politely offered his face and his head for practice.

And now while he was telling his friend about all this his face became clouded as he depicted that harrowing half hour which gave him a cut-up face and a half-shorn head. The master who was giving instruction asked him if he had work.

"I answered:

"I only came to this town a short time ago."

Thereupon he offered to teach him the trade. That would give him a chance to learn and get wages while he was learning.

"This offer looked very good to me"—Joe continued. "I didn't have any trade. And you can't get along without a trade. After that I found out what that school was for. And I found out it wasn't such a bad business to open a barber school. We was workin' thirteen hours and even more. We had to clean up the place. Two weeks after that we was workin' even in the rush hour. There was more and more learners, they come up like mushrooms. And what do you think happened? In Denver the barber's apprentice got paid just about as much as the boss pleased. I wanted to get away from the gang, but a friend of mine talked me out of it. A trade . . . That's the thing, a trade. So I stuck to it . . . That's how I learned a trade."

Joe was evidently proud of that.

And he added: "And now I can join a union."

Joe was even prouder of that.

\* \* \*

SOMEWHERE below, behind the hills, the sky lit up. A purple streak glimmered.

Joe discovered, full of joy, that at the break of day, just exactly as it is written in the bible, the rooster crows and the cow lows.

And these creatures evoked in him a schoolboy mood. But Nickles pulled him out of his dreams.

"The grass is wet in the morning"—he said—"it's better I think to take a little walk."

And all of a sudden it occurred to them that they were hungry in the first place; secondly, they did not know where they really were.

"I think we ought to find out first of all where we are."

On this point there was perfect agreement, and it was only necessary to bring about agreement as to method. One advanced the opinion that they ought to invest their capital in a morning paper. The other held that it would be wise to find the automobile road.

And this latter viewpoint carried.

The morning poured its radiant warmth with full splendor over the landscape.

The two wanderers were fresh, of good courage, and they tramped forward on the road with light heart.

"Welcome to the Pikes Peak Region," they read, and beneath, "Colorado Springs."

"The welcome ain't for us I think, but it makes you feel good anyway"—Joe laughed, and Nickles added:

"Mostly on account of that the puzzle is now solved, and we know where we are at."

They stopped.

With due respect they took off their caps and spelled together:

"Co—lo—ra—do Spri—ngs . . ."

And now they went for breakfast.

\* \* \*

II.

IT was a festive morning of welcome. The splendid June sun was an incentive to their appetite. But everything good has an end—and so it was impossible to eat on forever. In the street they looked at each other, critically. They inspired the greatest confidence in each other. But as their glances glided over each other's shabby clothing they began to doubt whether, while on the quest for work, this mutual confidence would be communicated to the sharp-eyed boss.

This doubt bothered especially Joe who wanted to remain at his "trade." They counted their money. It didn't take Nickles long to do that; his wealth amounted to three cents. Of course anyone would know that this wasn't enough for a suit of clothes.

However, Joe's work at the barber school had netted him \$4.27. For four dollars one could get even two suits if one only looked around a little.

It is hard to tell exactly whether the scent of the two was so sharp or whether the second-hand clothes dealer knew where to put up his stand, but the fact is that they found the second-hand dealer without any trouble.

This store had strictly one price.

The second-hand dealer succeeded in fishing out of his stock two suits for \$3.98. (Joe certainly couldn't let his friend go without a suit!) And after the two had changed it did seem to them that in the spick-and-span cast-off clothes of the rich they made a much better impression. Joe promised Nickles that as soon as he got a place he would give him a haircut. They left their old rags at the dealers as a souvenir. Joe now still had twenty-nine cents. For three cents he bought a paper, the "Spring Paper." They discovered two small ads, asking for barbers. "First class" barbers. This was a good omen.

Nickles went to Pikes Peak avenue, where there was an employment agency. Before they separated they promised each other to meet at the Busy Corner. This is the heart of Colorado Springs. At all four corners immense posters announce: "Busy Corner!"

\* \* \*

WORKERS in overalls sat around. There was plenty of work. It was boom time. Farm workers, road builders, canal builders, dishwashers, berry pickers were wanted—one could even pick his work. But Nickles didn't care for any of these jobs. His eyes were attracted to a ticket marked: "Experienced footman wanted for refined, aristocratic family. References required."—That was something altogether new to him. What in the world was a "Footman" anyway? He thought it was something like a "Food Man" or "Food Worker." That seemed rather attractive. This

the first time in his ten years of experience an opportunity had come his way. The men looking for work noticed his in- He said to Nickles:

"Job is no good. I been there already. Want you to do everything."

Nickles grasped at the opportunity to find out or all just what was a "Footman."

"What is the work?" "You mean a real footman? If you do, that's the real story. A real footman waits at the door, wears white gloves, goes riding with the mistress, receives guests and gets— tips."

"However, the other added quickly: "It's not for them aristocrats. . . . Bah! . . . . Washing windows, washing floors, cleaning up. Bah! . . . ."

"It can't be hard—Nickles thought. And it dawned on him what a footman really was. "Have you a footman before?" the stranger asked in the old country."

"That was a lie as a matter of fact, but he didn't want to get that job, so under the circumstances the lie was justified."

"He went straight to the agency. "Are you're looking for an experienced footman?" the man asked. "Is that your trade?"

"No; but I ain't done that kind of work here, in the old country." "What country?"

"Greece.—I was footman in a very high-class family"—Nickles added.

"What so? That's fine. Can you give any references?" "Reference, reference, hm. That was a long time ago, it occurred to him. Nevertheless he answered calmly:

"Sorry, I ain't got no references with me. (The man of the employment agent darkened.) The man for whom I worked (a brilliant idea), Minister Propapapadakis, was shot by the new revolutionary government." (In a jiffy the agent's face was again bright.)

"So, that is excellent, splendid, what was the minister's name? . . . Wait, I'll write a few words of recommendation."

"He did even more, he called up the aristocratic family on the telephone."

"When he asked for two dollars. Nickles had altogether forgotten this detail. "Got no money with me now. But it's sure money when I land the job."

"The employment agent seemed used to these things because he didn't put up any objections. He seemed to have a trusting soul, or perhaps there were few workers. . . .

**BROADMOOR.** A white house among sycamores. At the entrance, two small groups of cherubs with lovely flower garlands. Evidently as a symbol for the innocence of the owner.

As Nickles reached the palace, five dogs suddenly surrounded him. Five howling beasts.

A sharp whistle shrilled thru the air. The five beasts whimpered and bared their teeth from afar.

Nickles felt himself to be like a mythological figure of ancient Greece his country—among wild beasts.

He didn't have to ring. "Does Mr. Broidin live here?"

"Yes"—answered the servant who opened the door, and who wore a high collar. Nickles, who was quick-minded decided that the collar was tied around with a narrow black band only to keep the servant's neck from falling out. Later however he realized that he was mistaken.

"I come from the employment agent"—he said and drew the crumpled note of recommendation from his pocket.

"All right." Then he announced the fact that he had been a footman for Minister Propapapadakis, etc. . . .

The servant tried to pronounce the long name. Pro— Prokala— Prosta— But he couldn't get any farther, as his tongue got twisted. He had to content himself to give the report to the Mrs.

without giving the name.

Two minutes later the servant came back.

"The Mrs. wants to know if you have references?"

"My reference, I'm sorry to say, had his head cut off. . . . But maybe I myself can. . . .?"

He looked at himself in the mirror and wondered if his outward appearance was sufficiently inspiring of confidence. He himself was very much impressed with himself in his second-hand clothes.

The servant went a few more times and came back again, bringing new questions and taking back answers. How long had he been in America; did he possess any papers of any kind, and more of the same sort of thing. To every question he gave unhesitatingly an outspoken lie, and the servant disappeared fully satisfied.

Now there followed a longer interval, during which Nickles felt uneasy. In such intervals the people must be thinking things over, and no good will come of it.

This time his forebodings proved wrong. The servant came back with a long sheet of paper, containing the list of all the kinds of work assigned to the footman.

"Well, now I want to inform you what your work will be like. Come with me to the kitchen."

Nickles obeyed. "Sit down"—the servant said in a friendly manner—"My name is John. . . ."

Nickles listened with great astonishment to the account of how many-sided a footman had to be. He was decidedly impressed with the resourcefulness with which Mrs. Broidin distributed the work to cover the whole day. One thing was certain, this many-sidedness was not so richly rewarded by the aristocratic family, for the monthly wage was only forty-five dollars. But on the other hand, there was board, lodging, clothing and other favorable points that ought to be considered.

After the long list had been enumerated John asked whether Nickles was satisfied with the work. The Greek declared that the work which he had to do for Propapapadakis was of an entirely different nature, but he hoped nevertheless, that he would be satisfactory here too.

"When I was workin' for His Excellency, Minister Propapapadakis, I only had to serve the master and mistress and to go along when they went out riding. . . ."

"Tya"—John sighed—"don't forget we're in America. . . ."

And the cook, a rather elderly woman wearing glasses and with a kindly look nodded:

"Yes, America. . . ."

The chambermaid came. In a black dress. She seemed tired and exhausted. She filled a pail with a bored expression.

"That is Marguerite, the chambermaid"—John said.

The two pairs of eyes met each other. To indifferent pairs of eyes.

"I hope you'll stay?" said John.

"I'm going out only for ten minutes"—Marguerite answered with a laugh, and the bored face became lit up with a radiant, with a fresh look of youth.

"No, you can't"—and John explained to Nickles what these "ten minutes" meant.—Recently George had gone out in the evening for "ten minutes" and hadn't come back, and now Marguerite wanted to go out for ten minutes, when she had been there only a week!

Everybody laughed over that. "When do you want to start work?"—John asked—"Can you bring your things yourself?"

Nickles almost blurted out that he would have no difficulty in bringing the nothing that he possessed. But he thought better of it just in time, for he had arrived at the conviction that on principle one should never tell the truth. He therefore made the following answer:

"Oh, I ain't got many things. . . . I'll fetch them in the afternoon. . . . I can start in today. . . ."

From Broadmoor to the Busy Corner he had to walk it. Fourteen cents is a considerable sum of money, especially for one who hasn't got that much.

Still, by twelve o'clock he would be on the spot. (To be continued next Saturday.)

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# Pity the Poor Workers

By Karl Reeve

THE manufacturers and bankers have grown exceedingly kind to the men and women workers of America, and especially to their children, many of whom are child workers in the country's industries. The government and the employers and financiers have established countless seemingly philanthropic associations, departments, bureaus, clubs, councils and other organizations whose announced purpose is to care for the health, morals, education and training of the workers and their children. Liberal clubs and societies have done their bit by supporting many of these employers' associations.

## A Good Investment.

The bosses have learned that the millions of tons of propaganda their organizations spread is a good investment to increase the production of their employes, and consequently their profits. So we have the United States Steel corporation "investing" in safety devices; the boys' republic "investing" in the child. We have investments in health week, safety week, clean up week, education week, child health week, school week and parents' week.

We have the manufacturers investing in gardens, shower baths, recreation rooms, safety guards, physical examinations, insurance, profit sharing plans, parks and athletic fields.

## Safeguarding Profits.

And the canny manufacturers know that their investments are coming back to them manifold. The United States Steel corporation has declared an extra large dividend this year (in which President Coolidge, as a stockholder, shared), in spite of the investment in a few safety guards, and the distribution of tons of safety propaganda.

The National Cash Register company of Dayton, Ohio, is still coining millions of dollars a year net profit, in spite of the investment in a few acres of garden land and parks for their employes. The Curtis Publishing company of Philadelphia still pays big profits, despite investment in recreation rooms for the employes. The owners of the Pullman Palace Car company of Chicago are still able to roll in wealth produced by the Pullman workers, even tho the Pullman workers are allowed to play baseball in the "Pullman Park." The Western Electric company made ten million dollars net profit last year despite the hospital maintained for the employes.

## To Increase Production.

The hard boiled employers refuse to invest a single dollar in workers' health or anything else, unless they get their dollar back with a high interest. The manufacturers invest in workers' lives in order to increase production, so that the same worker will produce more wealth for them at the same wage.

If some naive worker does not believe this let him look at page 13 of the April 25 issue of the Manufacturers' News, published by the Manufacturers Association "for the manufacturers' officials." The title of the article on page 13 is, "Protecting the Workers' Health—A POLICY WHICH INCREASES PRODUCTIVE POWER."

## "Get 'Em Back to Job."

In this article we learn that a certain National Industrial Conference Board, promoted by the factory owners, has made a survey of "health service in industry." We learn that "Industry values the health of its workers." And we learn why! "Employers are concerned over the well being of their employes," says the article. "Much possible damage to health and THE PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF BOTH THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER HIMSELF AND THE PRODUCTIVE POWER OF THE NATION AT LARGE IS OBIATED BY PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS."

The large corporations even supply visiting nurses to sick workers, we learn, and care is taken of the injured employes, not to benefit the working class, but, to quote the article again, "With a view to cutting short the period of illness and returning the worker to his job as soon as possible."

After reading this article, if the worker still thinks that the employers are interested in the welfare of the working class, or that the numerous bosses' organizations raise the standard of living of the working class, let him recall the following facts.

Let the worker recall that the steel corporation, with its investment in workers' safety, pays wages of only 44 cents an hour; that the steel trust will not tolerate a union, operating a thoro and complete spy system to discover and fire employes who are advocating a union whereby the workers may raise the standard of living conditions.

Let his recall that the Pullman company, notwithstanding its athletic park, has recently increased the hours of labor and lowered the wages; that the Western Electric company, paying a wage of 30 cents an hour and in some cases lower, has, within the last six months thrown 20,000 workers on the street, jobless, and in many cases, hired back the same workers at shorter pay.

## Backbone of Open Shop.

Another point must not be forgotten, these corporations which are in the forefront of the "employes' welfare" movement, are the backbone of the open shop in this country. The Curtis Publishing company of Philadelphia, which boasts of its modern buildings and recreation rooms, is the record union smasher—together with the Baldwin locomotive works—in Philadelphia. The publishers of the Saturday Evening Post, preaching the blessings of the profit system, hire young girls at \$15 a week to do the bulk of their work, and ruthlessly break efforts of the workers to organize for a living wage. And so it is with all the large corporations which prate about workers' welfare.

## Communists for Workers.

There IS an organization in America which is interested in the welfare of the working class, and there is an organization which is promoting the welfare of the working class youth of this country. These are the Workers (Communist) Party and the Young Workers (Communist) League. And strangely enough the employers who rant about workers' welfare seem to be extremely jealous of these two organizations.

The reaction of the employers to the Communist campaigns in the interests of the workers reveals the hypocrisy, and the true purpose of the bosses' workers' welfare bunk.

## Plutes for Child Labor.

While the Workers Party and the Young Workers League were waging a strenuous campaign not only for the passage of the amendment to empower congress to prohibit child labor, but for the governmental maintenance of the working class children of school age as well, John Glenn, secretary of the manufacturers' association, and editor of the Manufacturers' News which emits workers' welfare bunk, was stumping the country and spending millions of dollars to defeat the child labor amendment and keep the child slaves toiling in America's factories. And this same association was at the same time spreading propaganda against the Communists because they were fighting to overthrow the profit system and for the seizure of power by the working class, after which there will be no child labor.

The bosses like associations for children when these associations can pass laws, as in Delaware, forcing the teacher to read five verses of the bible daily in the public schools, and dope the minds of the children about a heavenly life after death while their parents are starving at home.

## What Bosses Like.

They like educational associations when they can pass laws, as in Tennessee, prohibiting the teaching of the truths of science in the public schools, sending teachers to jail when they tell the children of Darwin and evolution.

They like associations like the International Council of Women, now meeting in Washington, which can go into ecstasies against the spanking of children by parents, but cannot raise a finger to force the government to abolish child labor. They like other

"liberal" organizations, dare not protest against the silence of Coolidge, and his bosses' government, at the needs of the workers.

The "liberal" welfare organizations, taking their cue from the Wall Street government and the manufacturers' welfare organizations, meet as did the Women Voters' League in Richmond a few days ago, to discuss a Utopian marriage law, and end up by indorsing Coolidge's "arms conference" plan to further gouge plunder from the workers of Europe.

## Fight Against "Open Shop."

The Workers Party leads the workers in their fight against the open shop, against wage cuts, against long hours, against the speed-up system, against the militarization of the public school system. The workers rally around the Communists in their demand for the recognition of Soviet Russia, the workers' government, for the amalgamation of the craft unions, for the abolition of the system of exploitation and the establishment of

the rule of the working class.

## A Bosses' Government.

The "liberal" welfare organizations and the workers' welfare associations of the employers are put out to dupe the worker into forgetting his miserable working and living conditions, to dope him with false morals and loyalty to his bosses and his bosses' government.

The strikes of the Negro students at Fisk University and now at Howard University, the protest against the imprisonment of the Communist soldiers at Hawaii, the strikes against wage cuts and the open shop, the demand for independent political action of the working class, all these prove that the worker is not as easy to fool by these fake "welfare" organizations thrown out by the bosses.

The workers are rapidly discovering that the Communists are right when they say that there is only one class that can aid the workers to a better life thru more power—and that is the working class itself.

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# The Role of the City and Land Workers

(Continued from page 2)

to the land," or "by the land and for the land," or "land for peasant families," etc. A whole literature has developed on this theme.

The discussion contains something that is of interest. There is a tendency, for example, which says more output. We must have large industrial farms. This is one of the orientations of the bourgeoisie. But, the overwhelming majority of the agrarians, say: "No! That's all very well from the standpoint of the immediate increase of output; but from our class standpoint, we must not advocate this. We must not permit such proletarians to be produced in large masses. From the social standpoint, we are on the contrary, for settling larger numbers of peasants." In France, numerous attempts were made to substitute the large number of agricultural workers who have been attracted from the land to the towns by foreigners: Poles, Czechs, Italians, etc., who very frequently obtain small grants of land, in order at the same time to extend agriculture and to secure a firmer social foundation.

IN Germany also, an analogous controversy is going on between one wing, which has a strong agrarian color, and another which is less agrarian in character.

I quote these facts in order to show that the bourgeoisie is conducting the united front tactics consciously and deliberately, not merely by means of fine phrases, as we often do.

A very precise formulation of the united front tactics as conducted by the bourgeoisie, is given in an American financial newspaper. This paper says to the farmers: "The demagogues (i.e., the Communists), propose that you adopt united front tactics with the working class. The idea of united front tactics is a good one, the farmers stand in need of such tactics, of political assistance, but they should seek this with the big banks, with Big Business." This is a very precise formulation of the idea of the united front tactics with the peasantry, against the proletariat. How did they carry these tactics out? The tactics are expressed in various concession made by the bourgeoisie to the peasantry and take various forms. First of all there are the agrarian reforms in backward countries. These reforms are not very extensive, we must fight against them and advocate greater and more extensive revolutionary demands, but these reforms exist and sometimes are very cleverly introduced. For example, the peasants in the border districts are first given small grants of land intended for distribution; then another small section of the peasantry and then a third, and by this means the expectations and the hopes of the entire peasantry that their position will improve, are kept alive. That is how they keep the peasantry in hand. The situation is different in Roumania, where these reforms are not carried out so cleverly. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie has managed to win over a section of the peasantry to its side. The second question arising out of these tactics, is that of agricultural credits for co-operative societies. In the formal aspect we have the same problem in Russia, but, from the standpoint of the class character and historical aims, the position is somewhat different. The whole weight is placed on the agricultural credits. The organizational form is the agricultural society.

I WILL give you a small example: the agrarian and peasant organizations in Germany have their own banks which are closely connected with the biggest banks in the country. In Finland the co-operative societies are concentrated in two private banks. In the United States of America, the farmers on the one hand, are ruined by the trusts and by the financiers. On the other hand the latter give considerable financial aid to the farmers and in this way, hold them in power. Another form of united front tactics on the economic field is the demand for protective tariffs, by

which during the agrarian crisis, the landlords were able to draw the peasantry into their sphere of influence.

I spoke here of the methods of the united front tactics of the bourgeoisie towards the peasantry. If we do not shut our eyes to this danger, we must realize that a new orientation is needed in the Communist Parties. The main error of Trotskyism consists in the under-estimation of the peasant question. When many comrades who raise a hue and cry against Trotskyism still hold to their wrong standpoint in this question, I say that this is an impossible attitude.

WE of the Russian Communist Party have tried to find the right standpoint and we have found it. That is one of our main reasons for fighting against Trotskyism, and that is why the other parties must do the same if they say that they want to oppose Trotskyism. Their foremost task is then to adopt the right attitude towards the peasant question, and what is more, not to swerve from the right political line of policy.

What then are the prejudices which exist in the Communist Parties against the right attitude? I think that these prejudices are mainly based on narrow guild ideology of the workers in

almost everything to us. But in the epoch when we are confronted by the task of conquering political power, the question of allies is one of the main questions of the entire policy.

In the epoch of conquest of political power, there is nothing more damnable than this narrow psychology. No matter how we embellish it, objectively it is opportunism.

COMRADES, in what does Trotskyism consist? Among other things it consists of: "More proletarian," "more industrial," "not too much turning one's face to the villages." And this implies the risk of breaking up the workers' and peasants' bloc, consequently, the risk of destroying proletarian dictatorship.

It is just the viewpoint: "Why should I bother about these villagers?" which is the essence of Trotskyist opportunism, even if it flies proletarian colors.

In my draft theses all the great questions of the agrarian and peasant policy are considered from three main viewpoints.

1. Long before the conquest of political power.
2. Immediately before the conquest of political power.
3. After the conquest of political

## Imperialist Democracy in the Balkans



Bayonets and Bullets for the Workers.

the industrial countries. Thus, for instance some time ago, I had a conversation with a very fine German comrade, and in the course of the conversation he said to me: "What do you expect to achieve with this workers' and peasants' government. No one will have anything to do with this slogan." Now what does such a saying mean from the viewpoint of our prognosis? It means that we must concentrate all our energies on overcoming this ideology.

LENIN said once that most of the mistakes made during struggles and in the revolution arose because slogans and devices, as well as the whole orientation which suited one epoch, are mechanically transferred to another epoch. In the earlier epoch of capitalism, the main question of our prognosis was: how will capitalism develop? Who will get the upper hand, big or small industries? What will be the process of differentiation among the former peasantry? How long will capitalism continue to develop in this way? The role of the fight was: whatever hinders the development of capitalism must cease to exist. We must do away with all the obstacles in the way of the proletariat. This was the general orientation. But today when we are confronted with utterly different tasks: conquest of political power, overthrow of capitalism, when we no longer pay attention to the prognosis, such an orientation is utterly wrong.

Formerly, the principle of organization was: the establishment of one's own class is the main task. This was

power.

THE failure to understand these changes was the main error of the preceding period. We have always asserted against the views of the reformists—and our assertion was right then and is now right—that industry and agriculture on a large scale is economically more rational. We would be reactionaries if we hindered its development. But if for instance, before the conquest and immediately after the conquest of power we point blank refuse to break up big agricultural concerns to divide part of them among the peasantry for the only reason that they are economically more profitable, we lose the entire revolution.

In this connection, I will mention the most striking of this, namely the examples of the Hungarian revolution. I maintain that we have not made the fullest possible use of this example given us by the Hungarian comrades. It would be very useful for all Communist Parties to read the books, documents and declarations referring to it and to try to understand what happened there. One is justified in saying that the main cause of the defeat of the Hungarian revolution was the agrarian question, the utterly inadmissible policy of our Hungarian comrades in this question.

THE position in Hungary was such that 72 per cent of all owners—peasants and big agrarians possessed only 15 per cent of the total amount of land. To set free large territories was absolutely necessary under such circumstances. Instead of winning

over the peasantry socially, bringing it over to the side of the proletariat, creating thus a strong base in the midst of the peasantry and arousing enthusiasm within the Red Army for the purpose of overcoming the resistance of the peasants, a different policy was indulged in. No land was parcelled out on the plea that big agricultural concerns are technically more rational. A very interesting declaration was issued which was laid down before the meeting of the workers' councils by the Communist Party. The peasantry had revolted, the proletariat stood in need of an ally and now comes the Communist Party and says in this declaration that it would be utterly wrong to divide the big estates, as this would only strengthen private ownership. With such a policy, proletarian dictatorship was supported in a way to allow the former big landowners to be again in full possession of their former property. Even if we admit that the forces were inadequate and that were other reasons for the loss of power we would now have a strong reserve in the peasantry, if our action had been different at that time. The peasants would say: after all the Communists gave us the land, it is true that the landowners took it away from us, but the Communists are fine fellows nevertheless. This would be of course a great argument for us. But the recollection of such a declaration is a great disadvantage. Under such difficult circumstances, a proletariat without alliance was deemed to be the loser. But it is an interesting fact that some Hungarian comrades fail to understand this even today. In 1919, namely, about five years ago even Comrade Varga failed to understand what he of course understands today. But Comrade Hevesi does not understand it even now. We have statements from him in the organ of our Peasant International which are supposed to be a justification of that policy. He says that the situation in Russia is utterly different from the situation in Hungary. In Hungary it was a case of a small country with a higher industrial development than in Russia, and the small industrial workers had to live. A big revenue from agriculture was required, and this could only be achieved thru big agricultural concerns. He writes as follows: "Our mistake consisted only in not doing our utmost to impress social consciousness and especially the consciousness of the peasants with the correctness of this viewpoint."

"CONSCIOUSNESS" so to speak in the Hegelian sense, is rather good for Hungarian peasants. But the main thing is that they give nothing to the peasants, and we know that to give nothing or very little weighs heavier in the scales of history than some kind of consciousness. This applies of course in a much fuller measure to the peasantry. The Hungarian Soviet government is really a great lesson to us. We have spoken at our congress about Italy and Poland, and I think it would be as well to publish all documents from the history of Hungary as well as from the history of the revolutionary developments in Italy and Poland and also in Russia.

Comrades, we must not forget the situation here previous to the October revolution: enormous revolutionary ferment among the peasantry. Two hundred and forty-two peasant demands formulated at various meetings were sent to Moscow and Petersburg from different parts of Russia. They included many stupid utopian demands, which of course we saw at once. But nevertheless we declared to the peasantry that immediately after the conquest of political power we would put their demands into law. We supported these demands and as soon as political power was in our hands we passed them into law.

AS far as production and technique go, we probably lost by it, but this was the price we paid for victory and thru which we consolidated the dictatorship and achieved the bloc between the peasantry and the working class. Thus, we must study the negative experiences of the Hungarian revolution, the negative Italian experi-

(Continued on page 8)

\* Re-translated from the German.

# The Role of the City and Land Workers

(Continued from page 7)

ences and the positive experiences of the October revolution. I am of the opinion that in order to make an end of all skepticism and in connection with this question the Communist Parties must make a careful study of these lessons in order to realize that the peasant question is not a secondary question, but a most important strategic task without solution of which victory is impossible.

In studying the present conditions in the village (in the widest sense of this word) we must first of all admit that a change has taken place after the war in the mutual relations between town and country.

Marx once said: the changes in the relations between town and country are a sign of changes in the whole epoch. This is perfectly correct. The development of capitalism meant inequality between town and country, and the present period has also specific features as far as relations between town and countryside are concerned. We notice that the relative importance of the village with relation to the town has increased. From the standpoint of economy, agriculture with the relation to industry plays today a greater role than before the war. From the standpoint of class: the agrarians, the peasantry play today relatively (not absolutely) a more important role than the urban class. And therefore, also from the standpoint of politics: the influence and the political power of the village is greater than before.

**T**HE second important phenomenon on this field is the agrarian crisis which has already been dealt with in Zinoviev's report and in Varga's speech.

The third phenomenon connected with it is the growth of peasant activity in all countries without exception.

And the fourth fact of a social nature is the fact of the differentiation of the peasantry and its organizations. These are the specific features and the most important phenomenon of this situation.

Because of this situation there are the differences in the peasant movement which we have to record. The differences between the big agrarians and the peasants.

Another set of differences are those within the peasantry itself. All these differences give us an opportunity to make use of the situation and to draw proper political conclusions. These differences develop in various forms. The difference between the peasants and big agrarians follows in backward countries the line of agrarian reform. This is the struggle for land. The gulf between the peasantry and the bourgeoisie in the so-called civilized countries follows two main lines, on the one hand it follows the line of taxation policy and on the other hand, the line of economic policy—of syndicates and trusts. The third feature of the situation is the war peril.

**A**LL this represents an objective basis for our policy. We have only to take advantage of the differences between the big landowners and the peasants in the backward countries to get a revolutionary solution of the agrarian question in the chief sense of the word. In connection with questions of taxation, corn prices and prices for manufactured articles, we must use the slogan of joint struggle against trust capital.

Comrades, I must declare here most emphatically that in some Communist Parties it has not yet been understood that we must go to the peasants with wholly empiric, wholly concrete demands. The social democrats and the bourgeoisie on the other hand proceed with concrete demands, and this makes a great impression on the peasants. The Communist Parties must not ignore these partial demands. On the contrary, in this respect we can give much more, but we must associate all partial demands with our revolutionary prospects. This is the main thing as far as we are concerned.

What is the best method to rouse the peasants against the bourgeois state? Evidently the taxation problems. Taxation policy is the policy of

the state. When the peasants protest against the burden of taxation they protest against the state. It is the most important thing for us to bring the peasants into conflict with the bourgeois state. Taxation policy and the Communist demands in connection with it, that is the most important bridge to bring over the peasants from the standpoint of love for the bourgeois state to the standpoint of hatred of the bourgeois state.

**T**HERE are comrades who hold the view that by decreasing the burden of taxation for the peasantry we are increasing it for the workers. This is a very bad argument. The contrary is the case; it is because the poor and middle class peasantry is as interested in the lowering of the taxes as the working class that we must march together. The same applies to prices for manufactured articles. One of the most important causes of the problem of the scissors is the policy of the monopolist organs of capitalism. The slogan of struggle against monopolist capitalism, against cartel profits in the form of struggle for lower prices for manufactured articles is well adapted to bring together the forces of the peasants and the workers.

It is the same with the struggle against the war peril.

On the strength of this situation, we witness now various movements within the peasantry, movements of various types, revolutionary agrarian movements, movements based on the agrarian crisis, etc. A specific form was the farmer movement in the U. S. A., where close on a third of the farmers were ruined. Then there are movements based on bad harvests, as for instance in some parts of Germany. An important chapter in the history of movements are colonial movements. There are also various mixed kinds of movements. But there is no doubt whatever that the magnitude, the intensity, the social weight of these movements has been on the ascendant of late. Moreover, the differentiation process within the peasant association has been a general feature. This process takes place in all countries where peasant organizations exist.

I have already described the situation on this field. In all countries, except in the colonies, the leadership of the peasant organizations was in the hands of the big agrarians and big peasants. Lately we witness a process of differentiation and splitting off of the organizations of the small peasants, dwarf farmers, etc. In Bulgaria there is a fairly big left wing within the former Stambolisky union, in Czecho-Slovakia there are the so-called independent small owners (domoviny), and we see similar phenomena in Germany, Poland, France, etc.

This kind of differentiation in the peasant organizations is an incontrovertible fact. Here we are confronted with various questions of propaganda, agitation and organization.

In connection with peasant organizations we must take into consideration various types and various possibilities. Where organizations already exist they probably exist in two different forms, in the form of a political party and in the form of the so-called peasant federation. I think that our tactics with respect to the already existing organizations, must generally speaking, consist in supporting the left wings of these organizations or in forming a bloc with them. The form and methods depend on various circumstances. In how far and when we should split off these left wings also depends on specific circumstances. The characteristic feature of all these organizations is that they embrace a variety of social elements from the big agrarians down to the agricultural laborer. This is even noticeable in organizations which have split off, for even they embrace various sections of peasants. We must support the left organizations within the party and the federations. But when necessary must not be afraid of causing splits.

**B**UT the most important question is, which form of organization we should give preference to when the initiative is ours. Not the form of a

political party, I think, but the form of a peasant federation. Political parties are not suitable for various reasons. For instance, this would mean the adherence of our party must be on the one hand members of the Communist Party and on the other hand members of another party. We would also have only Communist groups, among the peasants, only a federation and not an extensive peasant organization. We have no need for Communist peasant sects, little groups. We must capture and organize the large numbers of dwarf farmers and small peasants. For this the form of the peasant union is much more suitable. We need not offer these peasants the full Communist program. We do not want to bring about a state of Communist constipation. We must bring forward elementary demands, we must be much more radical than any other organization, we must give this organization great scope and must establish our influence thru the activity of our party comrades. If necessary we can form fractions in this organization. But under certain circumstances, the organization can be under our influence even without fractions. Thus the form of a peasant union and not of political

parties is the most suitable form. Some of our parties have already been successful in this direction. But in comparison with the great task which is before us, these are only the first timid steps on the way to the capture of the masses.

**C**OMRADES, I should like also to say something about the specific problem of the relations between the working class and the peasantry in Russia. But I think it will be more expedient to deal with it in my report on the Russian party discussion.

I reiterate, it is a fact that very little study goes on in our parties. And yet this is the most elementary necessity.

The bourgeoisie understands the problem much better, it studies more and is much more efficient on this field than the Communist Parties.

I close my report by expressing the wish and the hope that after this session of the Enlarged Executive and after the theses on the Bolshevization of the party, all Communist parties and the Communist International will become truly Bolshevized and will above all turn their attention to the agrarian and peasant question, applying the Leninist policy on this field. (Loud applause.)

## The "Shot-Gun Wedding" at London

(Continued from page 1.)

effect of the sudden deflation of present prices by even ten per cent, but we are bound to say, assuming an immediate change to be inevitable, that authorities advising Churchill appear to have adopted the best possible method." The London Daily Mail says: "The public has not forgotten how completely financiers' predictions of benefits from the Dawes plan have been belied by events. Are the financiers going to show themselves better prophets now?"

There are ominous fears of the British industrial capitalists that the change will bring them a sharpening of friction with the British working class. The newest effort at stabilization throws again into sharp relief the fact that "stabilization" is at the expense of deeper enslavement of the working class and carries the germs of its own destruction. In considering the possibility of France following the lead in establishing the gold standard, the question seems to the French bourgeois to hinge upon a sharp reduction of wages, while in England it is already said that prices will have to be sharply lowered as a consequence of the re-adoption of the gold standard, and that therefore the British labor bill will have to be fought for a reduction of wages.

British Labor.

And here we come to the question of the different layers of the British working class—for the working class also has different layers. The dominant MacDonaldism of the labor party is a reflection of the privileged position of the higher-paid "labor aristocracy" which holds the political views of the petty-bourgeoisie and supports British imperialism, not thru some unaccountable accident, but because it has enjoyed a little share of the spoils of imperialist exploitation of the colonies. The cracking of the British colonial empire undermines

the privileged position of the upper layers of the working class and precipitates them toward the really proletarian ranks and the proletarian outlook.

**T**HE growth of the left wing of the British labor party—and the willingness of the trade unions to enter into relations with the trade unions of Russia for world trade union unity—all this is also intimately connected with the impossibility of the dream of permanent stabilization.

All will not be happy in this shot-gun marriage of British capitalism with American capitalism. The bitterest fight is provided for in the very fact of the marriage ceremony—and this is the age of international divorces.

The new housekeeping arrangements will begin, and will last for a time—and then the break-up. The 2,000,000 unemployed in England, the frightful stagnation of industry, with the only way out a struggle between capitalist England and America for re-division of the subject territories for exploitation—all this promises that the shot-gun marriage will not last to a silver wedding.

Meantime it is a time for the fast work of our British comrades and ourselves to build up our Communist Parties. In England, to develop the minority movement, in America to do the parallel thing as well as the more primitive task of drawing the working class out of political alliance with the capitalists class and into independent political action and class consciousness.

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