# MAY DAY IN MOSCOW

(Continued from page 1.)

"With the weapon of Leninism in our hands we shall overthrow the power of world reaction!"

"Build life in unity with knowledge!"

"Hands off Bessarabia!"

"Greetings to the workers of Asia!"

"Greetings to the workers of Africa!"

"Greetings to the workers of Australia!"

"Greetings to the workers of America!"

Banners—banners—banners; red—red—gold and red—red and red. Faces happy—happy—happy. The holiday is abroad! The hour of supreme expression of proletarian self!

Radek has appeared on our platform. He is youthful, vivacious, full of fun. His five years old daughter is with him. He lifts her on the parapet to show her the marchers. Kurski appeared, the Commissar of Justice. Schmidt is also here. He is the Commissar of Labor. And here is Pavlovitch, the great authority on imperialism. Each of them—a leader, a master in his realm, a character figure that calls for an artist.

The men on the platform greet each passing unit:

"Greeting to the Red railway workers!"

"Hurra!" is the loud and willing response of lusty voices.

Greetings to the Red Army, the valiant protector of proletarian power!"

"Hurra!"

"Greetings to the red working women!"

"Hurra!"

"Greetings to the fighting iron workers!"

"Hurra!"

"Greetings to the proletarian students!"

"Hurra! Hurra!"

"Greetings to the Communist youth!"

"Long—live—the—world—rev—o—lut—ion!"

The words are timed to the beat of the marchers feet. They are earnest about their words, those Russian workers. They have proven it.

And the youth! The young generation! Sprinkled between units of adults are often units of youngsters. Children's battallions. Schools. Homes. "Pioneers"— red scouts. Sons and daughters of a working class that holds the government power. They feel they are free. They know their lands is different from other countries. They are being raised in a new air.

The rain is falling. The sun had appeared for a few minutes, then the rain resumed anew. But never fear. Nobody pays any heed. Whoever walked with unbuttoned blouse does not bother to button it up. Bare heads remain uncovered. Those Russian workers have seen greater discomforts. They have gone thru hell. Now their shoes and boots are whole. What is to them a drop of rain.

Young voices fill the air like the flutter of birds on a spring morning. An adults throws the question from above:

"Pioneers, do you remember Lenin's word?"

"We remember!"

"Pioneers, are you ready?"

"Vsegda gotovy!" (Always ready!)

Music plays. Many units came with their bands. The pioneers have drums. A little fellow marches at the head of the column, leading the rest. The children wear uniform clothes,—white or red or blue blouses over high leather boots. The children's paces keep time.

"Pioneers, are you ready?"

"Always ready!"

Litle arms are raised high, as if taking an oath.

The Young Communists and the pioneers carry banners:

"The fathers are in the R. C. P., the children, pioneers!"

"We come to be the next shift."

"The work of our fathers we shall bring to a conclusion."

"When we grow up, we shall create a new world!"

"Calls from the platform:

"To the young guard a red greetine!"

Hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands of fluttering musical voices.

"Long—live—pro—let—ar—ian power—the—world—o—ver!"

Banners—banners—banners—children's eyes—happy childrens smiles—children alternating with adults, children mingled with adults—children and grown ups in one shining holiday—children, the hope of coming days, children of a liberated class.

Red, red, red . . . the ranks are denser, the streams of banners higher. Faces crowded together, ribbons of faces, carpets woven of faces, multicolored moving mosaic of happy smiling faces. Sing the song of liberation.

A man is limping with a unit. He has a big head covered with bushy white hair. His coat is worn. His chest is decorated with a huge red bow. He has only one leg. His body leans heavily on crutches. Yet he marches bravely on. How can he stay home?

An old Cossack appears on our platform. He is old as the hills. I learn his story. Thirty-five years ago he, a private, killed his Cossack officer. He was tried and sent to Siberia where he spent his life. Six years ago,

Comrade Kalinin on Red Square greeting demonstration.

But in his military uniform, tall, erect, slender, he still looks a powerful man. His step is firm. His voice, clear.

Should necessity arise, I would join to-morrow the Red Army to defend power.

A spark of youth appears in his old eyes, his yellow face assumes a reddish hue. He turns to the marching columns and calls in the voice of a military command:

"To our brave Red Army a red Cossack greeting! Hurra!"

In wild joy the youth responds to the veteran's call:

"Hurra!" "Long live our Red Revolutionary Power!"

"From victory on the military front to victories on the front of labor!"

The mass of humanity is still moving. The procession started at ten. It is after five now. New units continue to pour into the Square. There are still thousands outside. How large is the total number of marchers? People who know tell me such demonstration counts some six to seven hundred thousand.

Has anybody compelled them to go on the street?

One would laugh at me if I asked such a question. Why compel? What for? Isn't it our holiday? Haven't we been preparing for it 9 months in advance? Would't we feel miserable months afterwards if we could not go with the rest? It is our own proletarian day, a part of our new mode of living.

Hail revolutionary proletarians! Long live our holiday! Let your banner, our banner, flame on and on!

It is nearly six o'clock. The procession is not yet finished. But let us not wait any longer. Let us walk thru the streets. The streets are overcrowded. Nobody goes home. It rains. A heavy sky hangs above our heads. Yet the streets are teeming with life, seething with life. The mass has become one great collective body. It is a family of men and women turned alike, striving towards the same goal. You may talk to everyone. Nobody is a stranger. Nobody will look at you in the times of Kolchak, he joined a Bolshevist partisan unit to fight for the power of the Soviets. He was then seventy-six. He is eighty-two now, with a cool distant air. Nobody's voice will discourage.

This is May Day.

So it will be till midnight and even later. To-morrow the holiday continues. In Russia, May Day is celebrated two days in succession. To-morrow is children's day. On the second of May all Moscow will belong to the new generation. They will be the chief concern of all.

This evening is best spent in an industrial suburb, in the workers club. There you will see the real face of revolutionary Russian proletariat.

Let's go then. The place is way out of town, in a locality called "Lenin's Settlement." The hall is packed to overflowing. Metal workers all, men and women. For the day of international solidarity, all foreign Communists now in Moscow have been mobilized to speak to the Russian workers. The crowd is disciplined. The crowd is attentive. It does not stir when a foreign language is spoken. It is eager to hear the translation. It asks pertinent questions showing intelligence and a keen interest for the workers' struggle the world over.

When the official speeches are over, men from the ranks rise to tell of their May Day experiences of pre-revolutionary times. Hard times they were. May celebrations were under ban. Secret circles of workmen conspired to defy automatic law. There were gendarmes, Cossacks, brief ten minute demonstrations, pursuit, whipping, arrests, trials, prison, Siberian exile.

Now our militia protects our demonstrations and keeps order for our sake. Eleven years ago I was lashed with a knout at a May demonstration, my coat was cut clear thru and I subsequently spent three months under arrest. I was glad the punishment was so light.

The young workers smile.

One worker rises:

"Let's stand firm in defense of our power. Even if our life is not easy today, let's not allow the grabbers to enslave our future!"

And there is steel and blood in those simple words.

May 2, 1924. Moscow.


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THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION

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# May Day in Moscow -

(Impressions)

By MORRSAYE J. OLGIN

ON they go. Row after row. Squad after squad. On they stream, rushing, unending, a torrent of men, ten-fifteen-twenty abreast. On they march, hour after hour, in the chilly air of a Northern spring.

I am on the platform, in the midst of the Red Square. What luck! There are hardly a hundred in Moscow who have an opportunity to watch the holiday procession from this elevated point. I can see the square from end to end.

The early morning hours. I spent wandering in the streets. From all sections, from the remotest suburbs, organized masses moved to the Kremlin. The main thoroughfares were closed for everyone but the procession. Red Army and militiamen kept order. Thick serpents of marchers crept from everywhere to the heart of the sprawling city. The nearer to the Red Square, the thicker the streams, astir with bodies, alive with animated faces. A wave of red raised its crest above every stream, foam-like, flame-like. Red . . . red . . . red. I am on the platform. Hours pass, yet time has stopped. Masses are moving. Happy masses marching swiftly, sturdily, sprightly. A steel workers' group, tall wiry men, clad in leather from cap to boots; strong agile men, marching in close formation, hammered together. A women workers' group. red kerchiefs, red bows, red laughing faces, white teeth in laughing mouths. A student's group, girls and boys, young flexible bodies, sparkling eyes, live moments, —joy of life, drunken madness of life. A Red Army troupe; men like steel, in heavy steel-colored greatcoats, red, blue and yellow straps on their sleeves, red stars on peaked helmets; on they march, one and all, irresistible like fate. . . Masses are moving, revolutionary masses, a victorious nation of workers. Forward they march, the young and the gray, the mature and the children . . . Flags in their hands; the crest of a red foamy wave rises over their heads. Holiday in their faces. Holiday in their blood. Here is a black streak, however, in this holiday joy. The leader is dead. Here in the Square is the grave of Lenin.

The Square is like a huge cosy enclosure. To your right, the reddish wall of the Kremlin. to your left, the grey mass of the Passage behind you. The Spasski Gate with its rotund squatting towers, in front of you, the wild magnificence of Vasili the Madmen's church. A wide expanse, a sweep, an extravagance of space is the Red Square, now palpitating with marching masses. On one side, the human river pours into the Square, passes by the red wall, passes by the platforms, moves down to the other end by the bridge, moves along the side streets further on.

Against the Kremlin wall rises Lenin's temporary mausoleum. It is made of wood, tan colored, with borders and pillars of black. It is as simple as Lenin's manner and as Russian as the village log huts. Holy, holy is this austere structure, holy wet, and red and flamingly alive in the hearts of all who pass by.

When they pass by, they lower their flags, they halt for a brief moment. The mass becomes dence. New ranks press from behind. The march is resumed. Eyes linger lovingly—longingly on the glowing revolutionary grave.

On the steps of the Mausoleum we see the leaders of revolutionary Russia: Rykov, Kalinin, Kamenev. Close to them are veterans of revolutionary movements in other lands. I recognize Clara Zetkin and Felix Cohn. "Hail the fighters!" call the leaders from above. "Hurra!" respond the marchers. "Long live the Russian Communist Party!" "Long live the world revolution!" "Long live the Communist International!"

Ablaze is the Square with the red revolutionary flaming of banners, glowing of banners. From the tops of Kremlin spires, the old two-head red eagles, black and golden, look down on the living carpets of heads. From an old church clock floats the mellow chiming of bells. Ancient cathedrals wonder at the sight. A dead heart is again pulsating somewhere in the depths of this centuries old cluster of structures. Hei, awake! A new time has come! A victorious working class is reigning here! This is its holiday! This is its glory!

I see the moving mass from my vantage point. It has been cloudy since daybreak. Now it is drizzling. The pavement stones have become wet. The sky is grey overhead. But nobody cares. The day is bright for the marchers. There is sun in their eyes.

Look at the men. Look at the women. Read their faces. Healthy people. Unbent backs. Energy given free sway. On our platform is a white haired man in Caucasian attire. The procession marches by. Voices from below. "Long live the old Bolshevist guard!" "Long live!" . . . Voices join in a chorus. Joyful voices. Happy comradely faces. United all!

Read the legends on the banners. The workers' soul lives in the words. The thought of Russia's revolutionary masses speaks thru the golden letters.

"Greetings to all slaves of international capital!"

"Greetings to all oppressed people."

"Our call to the Soviet delegation in London: never yield revolutionary conquests to capitalist robbers!"

"You have died, Ilyitch, but your advices remain, and with them we shall move ahead!"

"Greeting to the fighters who pine behind prison bars!"

"Clear the way for the youth of the workers and peasants, for they bring us our land a sunlit future!"

"The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the stronghold of the world revolution!"

"Long live the united front of workers against international robbers!"

"Down with Fascism!"

"Long live unity of city and village!"

(Continued on page 8.)

## LENIN MAUSOLEUM UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Red Square—Moscow.

# What's the Matter With Our Schools?

By ANNA MAE BRADY

THE workers of America are, sooner or later, going to find themselves in a unique position. Capitalism has rung its own death knell and when it passes and the workers come into their own they will automatically come into possession of the thing of their own creation—the schools.

America was founded upon the great principle of "equal opportunity" for all. A principle worthy of the noble men and women who endured all the hardships of the new land, sacrificed and even gave their life's blood that it might become a living, breathing reality. Yet in spite of their efforts there was soon in evidence a class whose chief function was to see to it that this principle should not be maintained.

They saw to it that there should be no equality in education as in other things for they were wise enough to know that if they were to continue in power they must control the coming generation. So the schools were for the rich. They were taught by men and attended by boys. This sex discrimination is not to be wondered at when we remember that it was representatives of this same class who met in solemn conclave in the state of New York to decide the momentous question of whether or not a woman had a soul. Luckily for the women of that day it was decided after due deliberation that she did possess a soul.

**The Workers Take A Hand**

To the everlasting credit of the workers of America it must be remembered that they banded together—this was prior to the days of labor organizations but it was organized labor nevertheless — and demanded that their children be given an opportunity to secure an education. History tells us that in response to this demand there were opened what was known as pauper schools to which the poor could send their children. Naturally they objected to this also. They insisted again that the "equal opportunity" of which the poets sang and the orators gave lengthy dissertations be made a reality.

They asked, too, that girls be allowed to enter as well as boys. It was thru their efforts, the efforts of working people that the public school came into being. However, the dictators opposed most bitterly the entrance of women and wrote their opposition into the records of some of the New England states. They held lengthy debates over this momentous question. Their main point being that as woman was physically the weaker she was of course mentally the weaker and that to give her the same sort of an education as was given the boys would overbalance her mentally and unfit her to be what nature intended—thy mother of the race. At the instance of the workers, aided by the timid demands of the women, girls were finally admitted on the same terms as boys.

The workers of America must bear this in mind—it was their efforts that made possible the public schools. But they must also remember that once their end was accomplished and the poor man's child had the same opportunity of attending school as the rich man's child, that these workers, Rip Van Winkle-like went to sleep and left the management to the other fellow, and to this day they have not aroused themselves from their slumber, to become informed as to what sort of an education is being meted out to the youth of the nation.

The workers of America must awaken. They must arouse themselves to the seriousness of the problem. They represent over 80 per cent of the people and it is to them that the spirit of their fathers is calling to take in to their hands the greatest controlling factor in the destiny of civilization—the schools.

Every workers owes it to these brave pioneers, who made it possible for his class to have an opportunity for an education, and to all children for whom he desires an education which will lead to a fuller and a richer life, to ask himself three questions in order that this fuller and richer life shall come not only to his children but to all the children of men. These questions are (1) Are the schools important? (2) Are they functioning for all the people, and (3) What is the remedy?

**Are The Schools Important?**

We are aware that the destiny of a nation or civilization itself depends upon the degree to which the people are educated. Therefore education is of vast importance both in the life of a nation and in the life of an individual. There are three avenues of information open to-day. One is the press, one the pulpit, and one the schools. Chief of these is the schools because they take the children in their most plastic state and keep them for the greater part of their waking hours. Consequently the influence of the school is more far-reaching than either that of the press or the pulpit, powerful as they are.

There is an incalculable distance between the educated and the uneducated. The educated person leads a fuller and a richer life because he is able to understand and appreciate the words of a Browning, the colors of a Raphael, the tones of a Mozart. There is an indescribable something which puts him in tune with the highest, the best, in art, literature, music and nature. More than this it makes life bigger and broader because he is able to put himself in the other fellows place.

That all people recognize the supreme importance of an education is evidenced by the fact that they want more than all things else that their children should have an education. They will work and sacrifice that this may come to pass and in most cases it is a source of regret when the children are forced to leave school before completion. So we can say Americans and especially the workers who feel themselves handicapped because of lack of it, are fully aware of the importance of an education from an aesthetic standpoint.

That is the important phase too but there is another that cannot be disregarded under our present system, and that is its commercial value. We are on the whole very poorly educated. It is said that the average education in this country corresponds to about fourth grade in our schools. Only the more fortunate are able to go to college. Less than two percent of our people are college graduates and only a small per cent of the best positions. That surely proves that education pays from a dollar viewpoint.

Statistics have been compiled making a comparison of the wages paid to workers who left school when they finished the eighth grade and those who completed a high school course. These figures show that high school graduates get so much higher wages as to make every day they spent in high school worth $9.12.

So an education has both aesthetic and commercial value and this conclusion is held by the great majority of people in this country.

**What Is The Matter With Our Schools?**

That this great, grand and glorious country of ours has more gold than any other nation, our natural resources are unequalled, our possibilities are unlimited. We should, because of these things stand head and should be absolutely any other country in the matter of education. And yet we stand ninth in education of all the countries of the world. Think of it. This great republic has rapidly dropped from first to ninth place.

The census of 1910 revealed the startling fact that our illiterate number 7.7 per cent which is much higher than that of any civilized nation. But that was not nearly as high as the army test revealed. We have in America about five million adults who can neither read or write.

What is the cause of the decline in educational matters? The answer is clear, plain, and simple, altho it has many causes. In the first place too few pupils are taking advantage of our schools—554 children of every one thousand leaving school before the sixth grade. This is due to our economic system which keeps our workers at such a point of starvation that they are forced to take their children from the schools and place them in the industries. Such a condition is the greatest of rebukes. There is something wrong with any system which puts him in tune with the highest, the best, in art, literature, music and nature. More than this it makes life bigger and broader because he is able to put himself in the other fellows place.

That all people recognize the supreme importance of an education is evidenced by the fact that they want more than all things else that their children should have an education. In other words—in plain and simple language that all can understand—our schools are under the dictation and control of capital.

Every person who has studied the subject knows that it is true but it remained for a representative of capital, Roger Babson who is statistician for the Wall Street crowd. He said "The money trust in America is now one hundred per cent efficient. We own the press. We own the pulpit, and we own the schools."

The great rank and file of workers are apt to hold lightly the statement that our schools are capitalistically controlled. They are utterly unmindful of what is being taught; have never visited the schools; nor have they ever met the person to whom they entrust their dearest treasures. They are indifferent to all problems except their own bread and butter one. That was forced to their attention by a lowering of wages. But they must be brought to a realization of the fact that our schools embody our greatest economic problem for not content with enslaving the parents the exploiters want to make sure that the same condition will continue and there is no better guarantee that they will do this than to dictate the material which is to influence the mind of the young.

**School Boards**

It is interesting to consider the personnel of the average school board. It usually consists of the leading banker in the town, a doctor, a lawyer, and a merchant. Never by any chance is there an educator in the group. These bodies are entirely subservant to their masters and receive what is to them ample reward by being pointed out as "leading citizens." It is true that in the smaller towns these men are elected by the people. But it is also true that when school elections come, no one gets out to vote except the employing class. The working people should be represented on these boards but it is their own fault that they are not. They do not take interest enough to get out to vote. Not only should they be represented but they should have the balance of power for we are over eighty per cent working people.

The boards appointed by the governor to look after schools represent more fully their masters than do the local boards because they are closer to them and more completely under the domination of the political machines. In neither case do the teachers have representation.

**Wages Paid To Teachers**

Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis says that a horse trainer is apt to be paid more than a trainer of children. As a result America has dropped from first to ninth place in the international league of education.

The average rural school teacher in the year 1921 received the princely sum of $524 per year, while if we include the town schools the average salary was $900 per year.

It must be remembered that when we speak of a salary of $524 or of $900 as the case may be, we are speaking of a salary for nine months and yet the teacher must feed, clothe and house herself for twelve months. Usually in addition to this she is forced by law or fear of losing her position to attend summer school.

Is it any wonder that we rank ninth in education?

**The Book Trusts**

The wealth of the nation is rapidly passing into the hands of the few. Less than two per cent of the people now own over eighty per cent of the wealth and it is said that the controlling money power now lies in the hands of four persons. The condition of the farmers and workers is deplorable. The farmers are bankrupt and the workers are forced to subsist on much less than a living wage. These conditions are the natural result of a system as ours. The exploiters know long ago what would happen but they did not want the workers to know. They knew that they could not stop their thinking but they could rule what they thought if they secured control of the agencies of information—the pulpit and the press. This they proceeded to do. Then they were so well satisfied with their success as they were that they wanted a guarantee that their children might also rule by the divine right of property. So they took over the schools and nothing detrimental to this system of oligarchy is ever permitted to find its way into the text books.

As a result of this we have powerful book trusts whose business it is to see that nothing but the most reactionary material ever finds its way into the school books. They dominate this field entirely. In some states their representatives attend meetings of committees whose function is to dictate educational policies for the state. Just why the book trusts should have a hand in the formation of school policies is often a mystery to the committeemen but they accept unquestioningly as their training has taught them to do for they sense the authority back of them.

In this connection it is interesting to follow the investigations which were recently made in France, Germany, England and America to see what, if anything, is being taught about the world war. It was found that very little is being taught concerning it. In fact, in France and Germany the teachers are not allowed by the state to talk about the war in their class rooms. The concensus of opinion as a result of this investigation seemed to be that it would be at least 100 years, or until all adults now living shall have died, before the world war will be given a conspicuous place in

(Continued on Page 7.)

## WORKERS' SPRING.

Plough, brothers, plough,
Awake the sleeping earth;
Bury the ploughshares deep—
Too long have the fields lain fallow!

Sow, brothers, sow—
Heart and hand in the sowing:
Golden harvests promise,
Golden grain awaits.

Sing, brothers, sing!
There is dew on the skylark's wing.
The clouds have passed with the night,
The east is aglow with the dawning.

Plough and sow and sing, brothers,
Toil and fight and dream, brothers;
Seeds are ripened grain, brothers—
The harvest will gladden the earth!

—Joseph Koven.

# Communism on Trial in India -

By M. N. Ray

THERE is a deliberate attempt on foot to murder the growing political party of the workers and peasants in India, by damning it before hand in the eyes of the law as "seditious conspiracy," and by prosecuting those champions of the exploited and downtrodden masses who seek to point the way to their emancipation.

Without any warning, and upon no adequate legal grounds, the Director of the Intelligence Department of India, Col. Kaye, has preferred a charge in the Magistrate's court of the poor, U. P., against Manabendra Nath Roy and seven other Indians, of "conspiracy against the sovereignty of the King Emperor," for the crime of having advocated the organization of a mass party of workers and peasants in India!

The whole charge is a frame-up to declare the young Communist and working class movement illegal, and to crush it to the ground before it has had time to root itself deeply in the minds of the exploited proletariat and peasantry. The steadily growing spirit of revolt that is present among the Indian masses, the deep interest that is being taken among wider sections of the population in the ideas and theories of scientific Socialism, above all, the danger that the organization of a class-conscious party in the Indian working class would constitute for British Imperialism, have driven fear in the souls of the Anglo-Indian ruling class. They dread another Russian Revolution repeated in India on a larger scale. Hence the steady anti-Russian propaganda that has been carried on in the Indian press for the last year. Hence also, the present trial.

The evidence, like the charge itself, is trumped up to suit the occasion. Out of eight accused, three are present to defend themselves—Dange and Singaravelu Chettiar. One is the editor of a theoretical weekly paper called "The Socialist"; the other is editor of a small weekly called the "Labour and Kisan Gazette. The other six are already under government ban, four being interned under an obsolete law known as "Regulation 111 of 1818" without trial or due process of law on the unproven charge of being "Bolshevik Agents", the other two, Messrs. Nath Roy, an exile in Europe, and Sharma, an exile in French India, have not the least chance to appear in their own defense.

It is alleged on behalf of the prosecution that intercepted letters, alleged to have been written by the accused, will for the "complete separation of India from Imperialist Britain by means of a violent revolution." this end to be achieved by the organization of a party of workers and peasants. According to Col. Kaye, who seems to be the chief witness as well as prosecutor, "an agreement constituting a conspiracy was arrived at by means of letters written by the accused to each other." This conspiracy existed, the Colonel was to be fortified by the Third International without preference any letters to substantiate his claim.

It appears that the six absent are to be proclaimed guilty by default of any opportunity to defend themselves. Four being interned, and 2 prohibited entry into British India, there is little chance to put up a legal fight against these Star Chamber methods. Months and time and more permit them to travel to the scene of their trial. It appears that the two accused who will appear in their own defense have been permitted the services of a lawyer, a concession to "British justice and fair play." This gentleman requested Col. Kaye to produce proofs of his allegations. The latter graciously complied and proceeded to exhibit a series of documents which he gratuitously described as "correspondence written by Roy from Moscow." But it was not inquired if these letters were bona fide, nor in what manner they came to the hands of the Intelligence Department instead of to the addressees. Can it be that letters are intercepted in the post-office of His Most Gracious Majesty, the King Emperor? And in the days when a Labour Government, describing itself as Socialist, rules India from White-hall?

The crime of these letters, accord ing to Col. Kaye, seems to consist in nod to the Indian working class. Will the fact that they criticize the Indian bourgeoisie as well as the British rule? Since a Labour Government sit quietly by while this travesty of justice takes place? Will the British working class allow this act of treason to be committed against the Indian workers and starving peasants in their name?

One hundred and fifty thousand workers in the cotton mills of Bombay have been locked-out for two months and refused their back pay already earned, and bonus by the Indian Mill Owners' Association, which has been drawing profits of from 12 to 20 per cent, while the workers are dying in the streets from starvation? The Indian Government refused to intervene with the freedom of negotiation between capital and labour," which means the freedom of the mill-owners to exploit the workers at their pleasure, protected by the machine-guns and armed forces of the State. On March 7th, mounted soldiers and police were called out and actually were brought to bear against an unarmed mob of peacefully demonstrating workers, four of whom were killed and countless wounded for daring to protest against the monstrous injustice of the double oppression of State and Capitalism which crushes them to the grave.

Yet nothing has been heard from the Labour Government on this subject beyond an answer to a question in the House of Commons that "It has been left to the Indian Government to conduct an inquiry."

These are some of the reasons why a Communist Party is needed in India. And these are also the reasons why Communism, in the eyes of the government and capitalists, should be stamped out. Hence this bare-faced attempt to crush out all attempts to organize a political party of the Indian working-class by branding it as "conspiracy."

WILL COMMUNISM BE STAMPED OUT IN INDIA BY THE METHODS OF THE MACHINE GUN AND THE STAR-CHAMBER? NO. A THOUSAND TIMES NO! Communism survived the bloody aristocracy of the Czars, and sits today triumphant as the ruling power of Soviet Russia and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It will some day see the end of imperial rule in India, and will lead the hungering masses on a better road to freedom.

The Communist Party of India demands a manifestation of solidarity from the Communist Parties of all countries and from the militant proletariat throout the world. It calls upon the British Labour Government and the British proletariat to denounce this attempt to crush the right of the Indian working class to agitate and organize for its own emancipation. Failure to do so will be a lasting blot on their name in the history of the working class struggle.

## "The Simple Proletarian"

"I start to write a play in my hotel. Too noisy, so I pack up and dash off to Washington. Then to Atlantic City. After I have visited half-a-dozen or more cities I come back and begin to write"—"Why my plays succeed," by George M. Cohan.

The simple proletarian
With dramatic aspiration
Will never make a healthy stake
If he stays in one location.

He may be earning twenty
Or twenty-five a week,
But wealth galore, will with him pour
If travel he will seek.

His family, friends and furniture
Must all be left behind
A railroad fare, new cities' air,
Will stimulate his mind.

He may be down, he may be out
And unemployed for years,
But Carlton suites, and Statler eats,
Will ripen his ideas.

The stockyard and the foundry
May give him hire and cash;
But folks will prate his wanderlust plane,
If 'round the earth he'll dash.

Altho he's read the classics
And studied at every school,
His plays will fail, for lack of kale.
Unless he's a travelling fool.

Producer of the country's wealth,
He can't produce a play,
The parasite, just holds him tight
Like spider holds his prey.

O workers here and workers there,
Let's hasten evolution,
The grafters rage, the world's our stage,
Our play—The Revolution.

ERNEST BRADY.

## OUR SCHOOLS

(Continued from Page 2.)

our school histories.

If perchance an educator ventures from the path prescribed by the money powers and voices his opinion orally or in the form of a text book he is promptly dismissed and his book discredited. In no event must the children of America be contaminated with any new idea. We encourage the medical students to dissect a cadaver in order that they may arrive at the truth. Should not a new idea be placed on the dissecting table as well?

**The Teachers Are Not Free.**

In order to carry out their plans for class domination it was necessary, of course, that those who impart the information should be subservient to the moneyed class. This practically takes care of itself for the teachers are the products of the schools, have never been trained to think independently, hence they accept unquestioningly. If there should be any who see the light and voice their opinions openly they are at once dismissed as "dangerous radicals." So the teachers group themselves into two classes, the one composing the greater number do not know that they are enslaved—they are perfectly satisfied with things as they are. The other which represents a very small per cent know the truth but are afraid to speak for fear of losing their position. Both are in a pitiable condition and need help. The first group must be educated for the slave who is unconscious of his fetters makes no effort to better his condition. The latter must be liberated academically and economically. Neither the teacher, who has no understand of freedom, nor the one who understanding, is not permitted to live it, can lead the children to that land of truth and beauty which is the ultimate dream of the workers. Servility breeds servility, and boys and girls cannot be free so long as they sit, educationally, at the feet of men and women who are not free.


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# The World's Red Youth

*By Harry Gannes*

SINCE the early eighties when the executive committee of the German Social Democratic party discovered that the revolutionary youth movement could not be suppressed, the young workers all over the world have formed seperate organisations.

The revolutionary youth always abhorred opportunism and reformism. When in 1904 Karl Liebknecht began his anti-military agitation he relied almost entirely on the working youth for support.

The revolutionary youth movement boasts a glorious and unsullied history of valiant struggle in the front ranks of the working class.

In 1907, the first International (socialist) Youth Congress took place at Stuttgart; another world gathering of the youth followed in 1910 at Copenhagen. A loose international federation resulted from these world conventions and a secretariat was established which had no directive force.

Even before the world war, the youth of the various countries affiliated to the socialist parties were foremost in the fight against increasing reformism and the reactionary trade union bureaucracies. Came the war with its shattering of the Second International. But the socialist youth of that time did not completely fail. In October, 1914, the youth organizations of the Scandinavian countries, Italy and Switzerland took the initiative in calling a world congress, which, however, could not meet until the spring of 1915 at Berne, Switzerland.

The world congress of socialist youth that met at Berne, representing 10 countries was the forerunner of the Young Communist International.

Arvid Vretling says in his pamphlet "Youth in the Class Struggle," "This conference of Socialist Youth at Berne shone out in the darkness like a flaming beacon." By autumn of 1915, nineteen youth organizations had declared their willingness to abide by the determination to wage a war against the imperialist slaughterfest and "to force the ruling classes, by revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat, to declare peace."

"The International of Youth" was founded in 1915 as the organ of the revolutionary youth and is published to this day by the Y. C. I. Such writers as Lenin, Trotsky, Radek, Zinoriev, Bronsky, Kollantai, Liebknecht and E. Bernstein contributed to it.

After several international conferences, the first congress of the Young Communist International was held in Berlin, November, 1919 and a program and rules of organization adopted The Y. C. I. affirmed its adherence to the principles of the Communist International. In the Berlin program, the representatives of the revolutionary youth of the world set down very clearly the reasons for organizing separate youth bodies. These, as stated in the first program are as follows:

"The formation of separate organizations of the proletarian youth is dictated by:

a) The position of the young in the process of production and in society. This position forces them to fight in the defense of their own interests; in the reorganization of labor; changing the school system, etc.

b) The psychological characteristics of youth (the prevalency of sentiment over reason, aptitude for cooperation, great receptivity as regards all new and revolutionary ideas, readiness for sacrifice and action).

c) The necessity of special methods for its socialist and revolutionary education (independent organizational work, active participation in political struggles); the application of all methods which give the young workers an opportunity of acquiring those qualities which will be extremely necessary to them in the future as champions of the proletariat and bearers of the revolution."

The six-year history of the Young Communist League of Russia especially has more than vindicated these reasons for separate structure of the revolutionary working class youth.

At the first congress of the Y. C. I there was represented a world membership of about 250,000. International connections at that time were very poor; Germany, Hungary and Russia were engaged in civil war. But the Congress met and laid the basis for work. Willi Muenzenberg was elected secretary, in which position he acted until July, 1921.

"Willy, as he is known to every one," says Oliver Carlson, is a veteran in the revolutionary movement. He worked with Liebknecht in building up the Young Socialist International;" the Stuttgart Congress in 1907 found the International Committee for Workers Aid; and I had the good pleasure while in Berlin of meeting this incarnation of revolutionary youthful enthusiasm."

Between November of 1919 and July of 1921, when the Second Congress of the Y. C. I. opened in Moscow, oceans of water had passed under the bridge. The communist youth movement of the world took tremendous strides forward. The secretary, Comrade Muenzenberg estimated the strength of the Y. C. I. as 49 sections with well over 800,000 members. The membership declined somewhat after the second congress, but is now close to the million mark, with 54 affiliated bodies and six sympathetic organizations among which is reckoned the Young Workers League of America. In practice and action, the Young Workers League of America is an affiliated, disciplined section of the Y. C. I., subscribing and acting in accordance with all its decisions.

Oliver Carlson and Gus Schulenberg spoke on behalf of the revolutionary youth of the United States at the second congress and established the affiliation which today exists. At this congress the theoretical foundation of all the work that has since been done was built. Probably the most important resolutions passed were:

1) Resolution on relationship with the Communist International and the Communist parties; providing for political subordination and organizational independence. (The relationship that rules today between the Workers Party and the Young Workers League.)

2) Organizational structure of the Leagues; adopting the shop nuclei form of organization, that is to say, organization at place of work rather than at place of residence.

3) Economic struggle of the Young Workers; taking part in the daily and immediate struggles of the toiling youth.

4) Anti-military resolution stating the communist attitude toward war.

5) Educational Work of the Young Communist Leagues. "Education through participation in the class struggle," as well as the proper theoretical training.

"The second congress marked the turning point of our activities from a vanguard to a mass organization" says the Y. C. I. "The third Congress was a milestone on this road leading thru a period in which capital engages all its forces in its attack upon the working class."

Two delegates from the Young Workers League of America participated in the third Congress. They were, Martin Abern and John Edwards.

Starting December 4th and lasting until the 16th, the third Congress strove to achieve the groundwork for a mass organization of the working youth. Capitalism thruout the entire world was beginning its offensive against the working class. In Germany, an attempt was being made to abolish the eight-hour day; the unemployment in England increased by leaps and bounds; in Sweden, Norway, France, Spain (in nearly every European country) the workers were being beaten to the wall, and in the United States the trade union membership dropped and the number of child workers rose. For a short period there was a sort of butter-fly prosperity. But the end of that was in sight.

The problem of the Y. C. I. at the third congress was to arouse the masses of youth to fight in their own interests for immediate demands which would develope into revolutionary slogans and aims.

To broaden the battles of the working youth in every country, the Y. C. I. at the Third Congress laid especial stress on the economic and trade union struggle of the youth and formulated a series of concrete demands for the campaigns to be carried on in the individual countries. At the third congress the two American delegates took the position that the same demands that were applicable to Germany and to central Europe would not achieve the same results in the United States because the revolutionary tempo was not identical in all these countries. However, the resolution on the economic demands was unanimously adopted and has served primarily as a guide for arousing the working youth to battle on the economic field in their own behalf.

A new world program was presented and reported upon by Lazar Shatskin. The kernel of the program stated:

"The basis and the goal of our program is the socialist reorganization of juvenile labor. This means the abolition of wage slavery for all young workers up to eighteen years of age. They must be cared for by the state and treated from the point of view of education, until they have attained this age."

Thereby was set down a definite outlook for revolutionary youth organizations. The earlier socialist leagues had a vague indefinite view of their aims, but the Young Communist International is precise in its object. The socialist reorganization of youth labor and the education of the youth as members of a working-class society is a demand that has yet to be clarified in the minds of the American young workers. But that is the task of the Young Workers League and is an aim that becomes more vivid as the objective class struggle intensifies and more and more young workers take a conscious part in it.

Since the third Congress the Y. W. L. has become a closely linked-up part of the Y. C. I. Communications and interchange of ideas between the two has been facilitated. At the third congress the American league was commended for the promptness with which it made reports and acted as a disciplined section of the Y. C. I., and the reputation of the American communist youth organization for its disciplinary actions has been more than maintained since the third congress.

Another world gathering of the revolutionary youth is about to take place at Moscow. The fourth congress had been set for about the 1st of July. Theoretical problems are now fewer; but detailed matters, the task of putting into effect the resolutions and theses of the second and third congress will undoubtedly form the bulk of work to be undertaken by the fourth congress.

For a time in October of 1923 it seemed as if the German working-class, under the leadership of the Communist party of that country, would settle with its bourgeoisie for all time. Here did there spontaneous outbreaks occured. The left wing of the party insisted that the time for revolution was rotten ripe; the center and right urged caution and an intensification of the every day struggles. During the fateful time of working-class action, the Young Communist League of Germany grew by leaps and bounds. Where before one shop nucleus existed now there had been the battles of the working youth in the factories. In France the league has grown; in Denmark and Sweden the leagues, besides building up their own organizations they putting into effect the Y. C. I. decisions, have taken a foremost role in party struggles on behalf of the Communist International.

Everywhere the young communists have asserted themselves as a motive force in the class struggle and as an important section of the Communist International.

In the United States the youth movement is now a reality. In 1922 is was but a scattered sentiment for a youth organization. It had no cohesiveness. There were elements in the Y. W. L. who were still for an "independent," and against affiliation to the open Communist movement. Nowhere had the youth actually carried on external work in the interests of the American working youth.

During its short existence, the Y. W. L. has grown from a membership of about 1500 in 1922 to between 2500 and 4000 today. Where at the third congress comrade Abern reported that the league "has no members at all in the rural districts," we now count about 19 branches in the agricultural sections of the country. Where before the Young Worker was a magazine of limited appeal, the Young Worker, today a newspaper, admittedly has a popular tone and has doubled its circulation.

One thing is certain. The Y. C. I is not a loosely bound federation. It is a unified organization. It acts as a single body internationally fighting the battles of the working youth and together with the Communist International is paving the way for world communism.

E. HERRIOT
Possible Premier of France

As seen by French Communists.

## Japanese Workers Won't Join Shout of Militarists for War

(Special to the DAILY WORKER)

TOKIO, Japan, June 6.—The Rodo Sodomei, General Confederation of Labor of Japan, has decided not to take an active part in the present anti-American agitation. Sui Hei Sha, the Yetta people, sent word all over India, China, and Korea that downtrodden slaves must take united action.

Uyesugi Shirikichi, active Nationalist, who wants war with America, is already making enough noise, the workers believe. The militarists who hold "responsible" positions such as that of War Minister, are rejoicing that this occasion is their best chance to crush the growing pacifist and Communist spirit in the people and regain their lost honor. If they have a chance they would bring war between America and Japan in a few years.

Send in that Subscription Today.

# HOUSEHOLD PHILOSOPHY

*By Mina Eskenazi*

I CALL it household philosophy because when my body does my work the other part which is me does the yearning and thinking.

No sooner do I go into the kitchen than systems of life and happiness begin to shape themselves within me. I, too, lay down rules for womankind. I write theories and draw conclusions.

A kitchen is a necessity where one must spend the minimum of time provided one can have some compensation. In my kitchen I quarrel with philosophers. I admire some of them, am puzzled before others.

To free herself from housework a woman must learn to cheat Duty. Many are the ways of stealing time out of a household. A working woman must learn to unlearn all alone. She must learn the art to remain indifferent over futilities. She must learn to look ahead and overlook.

Never iron anything except the outer garments for children. Do not worry over the looks of the linen in the closets, but worry over the state of your intellect.

Be hungry to learn and to teach. Not that any one will appreciate it on the contrary. But hunger of wisdom and knowledge grows into a passion and gives your life an enchantment. The passion of knowledge is itself an aim of life.

As soon as you try to learn your misery starts. There is too much to know and you alone are to disentangle from the avalanche of books those you need for moral growth and social usefulness. It is a bitter climb upwards, but if you succeed a little you have something which counts.

If you have children prepare yourself to meet their questions. They will be your severest critics and best judges.

Shun the futile pleasure, vain distractions and empty minds. Save your minutes like the miser his cents, and you'll grow rich and happy.

Do not follow the advice of kind-hearted moralists who want you to be good and spend yourself in a thousand ways, all unsatisfactory and wasteful.

Be good only when you do not know how to be just. Never forget that charity is the grandmother who patches up and you are the youth who builds all anew.

Beware of the charitable souls who want to enlist you in a benevolent piece of work. If you patch up you cannot destroy. Let kind souls do the reparation and scorch of vision do the destructing.

Be strong. Be fearless. Go to the root of all human misery and take your place in the ranks of the soldiers who battle against the oldest ends. The job is thankless but most gratifying after a while.

It is easy to give money and claim a right to gratitude; try to explain to the slave the cause of his bondage and help him against himself.

Whatever you'll do know that many will doubt your motives but do not fret. The joy of destroying the walls of prejudice is the God within you This God approves.

Eat simple food. Little souls have time for complicated dishes. Everyone could make a pie. The choosen few can work for the future.

Be clean, but do not convert your self into a scrubbing tool. After two or hours labor in the home let the time ring higher and higher.

Fineries and beauty and art belong to the few under the wage system.

Be happy with the few joys the capitalist cannot rob you of. Service, cooperation, self-expression and hard acquired leisure.

They want you to be happy with a phonograph instead of the opera. They enjoy the country and send you the prints of their gowns in the Sunday Times—imitating them, you look like clowns, why not disdain the dictates of fashion and turn your attention to the subtle ways of enslaving which are theirs.

Think of silk stockings for them and for you. For you it means more labor, more mendings, more indoor. A new gown for them. Remodeling and fixing and sighing for you. Why dance to their music? They can go far while you turn around yourself and fall dizzy to the ground.

Give up the wild chase and give to youth its enthusiasm back. Fight the vanity within and disdain their leadership in fashion not by necessity but by choice.

Feathers and gold and jewels and gowns are the ornaments of fairyland. Let's all fight for the fair land and find happiness by covering ourselves with an armor of indifference to the ideals of the fashionable world.

Do not waste your time, do not waste your admiration. You need the time for thankless tasks, love for the dispised millions of oppressed, and the admiration for the martyrs who roll the hills for saying and doing what they mean.

# The Defeat of United States Agriculture

By O. PREEDIN.

(Continued from last issue.)

The rapid growth of "land values" during last decades shows in what degree and how far established land ownership succeeded already to introduce the new division of surplus values produced in agriculture of the United States. Certainly, the "brethren capitalists" continue to demand from farmers the old contribution of surplus-value, from which they profited so much in past. What they are able to press out of farmer-tenants after land rent is already collected from them, is no more surplus value but part of "legitimate profits," or even part of tenants' capital. Their practice of old customs in business with their brethren farmers is now therefore a capitalistic murder of domestic agriculture.

IN this same extent as the absolute land rent grows farm prices can grow without any benefit to the actual farmer-tenants. On the other side financial capital can continue to appropriate these surplus-values, which it got before in full thru exchange channels, now in the new division only in the extent of its control of ownership of land. How far ownership of land is maintained not only in form but in fact by independent farmers, so far growth of land rent enables these aindependents to appropriate this value and thus to limit the field of exploitation of financial capital.

THIS is the most abnormal and unadmissible thing under the rule of financial capital.

The results of the struggle for land rent, the belief of masses of farmers immediately after the war-time boom show that financial capital succeeded too well in these engagements with farmers. Complete control of agriculture, power to appropriate all surplus value produced in agriculture financial capital can have and intends to reach thru complete actual ownership of all land.

The growth of "land values" during the last decade expressed the change of relations in agriculture in forms adoptable to the rule of financial capital. The farmer's system, the old **capitalism** in agriculture of the United States was modified in an integral part of imperialism as in form so in substance. How, the imperialistic order is built up, how it works in exploitation of the largest masses of the people, how it combines appropriation of surplus value in process of production and exchange of commodities in the manner of old competing capitalism with annexations of already existing capital, etc., that we can see at home in agriculture relations of the United States at present just as good as in Cuba, India, Egypt or in any other place on earth under imperialistic exploitation. Lands in the farms of the United States is one of those "countries" which was lately annexed by financial capital.

LAND rent expresses exploitation of masses of producers by land holders. It can be increased on account of wages of workers and on account of profits of capitalistic tenants. Under certain circumstances land rent is a weapon for those actions what K. Marx called an "expropriation of capital" or "annexation" of capital. Its general growth in a country calls for increase of prices of agricultural products and on a certain height of these prices foreign competition is inviting even on the domestic market of the overrented country, even in the case of development of agricultural production of the overrented country is inconsiderately higher than in competing foreign countries where rents are low.

This was the main cause for the decline of agriculture of the United States in world markets during the considered period.

SINCE 1920 "land-values" were there in decrease; according to estimates of the United States department of agriculture average "value" of farm lands decreased from 69.90 in 1920 to $48.58 per acre in 1921; $69.89 in 1922, $66.58 in 1923 and to $64.38 in March, 1924. This decrease is a direct result of a decrease of prices of agricultural products as called for by re-established competition of world's market, of which the domestic market of the United States is a part and will be a part disregarding of the tariff walls.

FROM a similar decrease of rents in the agricultural crisis of European countries big landholders lost very much of their power and even their holdings. Contrary to that, thanks to the fact that centralized land holding is here mainly operation of financial institutions, the losses thru decrease of land rent from its possessions is offsetted for financial capital by increase of land possessions on account of bankrupted farmers.

THRU limiting mortgage loans to low per cents of value of farms the interests of financial capital were insured against such a crisis. Average ratio of mortgage debt to the value of mortgaged farms was here in 1920 about 29 per cent and there was no state where this ratio reached 40 per cent. Decline of "land values" instead of losses may bring in many places considerable profits to financial capital in its struggle with the independence of farmers.

IN the business with many thousands of "owners," who purchased their farms from land companies or with the help of such companies on contracts with the "clause of forfeiture," financial capital made extremely high profits. In "Agricultural Year Book, 1921," (page 10) U. S. secretary of department of agriculture reported:—

"Many young farmers who had saved several thousand dollars during the prosperous years were induced to buy farms on contract at the price peak, making small payments down with provision for yearly payments of interest and the principal on pain of forfeiture of all sums previously paid. The sadly unprofitable year of 1920 wiped out thousands of these fine young men, and the even worse year of 1921 will finish more of them."

FRENCH ELECTIONS

## Farmer-Labor Solon Wants International Peace Conference

(By Federated Press).

WASHINGTON, June 6.—Senator Shipstead, Farmer-Labor, has introduced in the Senate a resolution calling for the summoning of an international conference of the powers to discuss the abolition of military conscription. He believes that the liberal governments of Europe, including Britian and France, will join in such a conference, with the understanding that direct treaties between each two powers would bind them to take this step to avert the danger of war.

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THIS quotation gives us some conception about "annexation of small capitals" by financial rules. Trying to explain that the time, "the years" but not the bloody operations and murderers' order which rests on such operations, "finished" thousands of "fine young men," the secretary of agriculture states their losses, which were the legal profits of financial capital on investments in landholdings. Here we can see that in the form of owner-farmers can appear for some time masses of people with moderate means" whose real position and dependence is worse than that of tenants. The system of owner-farming is created before, maintained in form in conditions with established land ownership with the help of mortgages, represents in reality a system of appropriation of savings of small owners.

THE present agriculture of the United States in its real class relations, as an integral part of imperialistic order, acting under heavy exploitation of financial capital, cannot escape defeats on world's market, because development of its productive forces cannot always keep pace with the increase of the degree of exploitation. In these relations frustration of production on large scale is the only "natural" regulator of the degree of exploitation, if exploited classes do not know how to use their power.

RECOGNITION and understanding of this system of exploitation is the most necessary thing for its successful abolition.

# The Vanishing LaFollette Illusion

By A. Bittelman

THE LaFollette illusion is still here. It still has enough vitality to hold the minds of considerable masses of workers and poor farmers and to inspire them with rosy hopes in the beautiful future of a petty-bourgeois paradise. But it is already beginning to crack. It has been pricked in a number of vital places and is beginning to shrink and shrivel. The process of vanishing has begun.

It was quite natural, and in line with political developments all over the world, for this LaFollette illusion to take hold of the awakening laboring masses of the country. Economic as well as psychological factors have been at work for quite a number of years to produce a widespread belief among certain sections of workers and poor farmers in the sufficiency of petty bourgeois liberalism, pacifism and democracy. These factors are still in operation. The resulting illusions are still active in the minds of considerable numbers of the oppressed masses. But the belief in the political effectiveness of LaFollette and his group is weakening. It is giving way to doubts and critical reflections. To be sure, it is not yet complete disillusionment. It is, however, the beginning of it.

### The Progressives in Congress

The workers and poor farmers who are able to think politically are beginning to ask the question: Who has the Progressive group, under the leadership of LaFollette, done for us in this present session of Congress? Has it given expression to our real needs and desires? Has it raised its voice of protest and condemnation against the iniquities of capitalist exploitation on the farms, in the shops, factories, mines and railroads?

In vain will the workers scan the records of congress to find anything substantial to gladden their hearts. The only outstanding feature in the accomplishments of the present session of congress is the various investigations. But what is their real value? Denby, Daugherty and Burns are gone, it is true. The prestige of the old guard in the two capitalist parties has been undermined. This, too, is true. And altho the investigations have not been conducted as thoroughly and on as wide a basis as they should have been conducted, still the masses have had a chance to learn a good deal about the inner workings of the machinery of the capitalist state.

But wherein did all this benefit the workers and poor farmers? In what way did it strengthen their hands and enable them to fight their battles against their exploiters more effectively? In no way and in no place have the workers and poor farmers become stronger as against their enemies because of these investigations. For that matter, the entire record of the LaFollette group in Congress did not add a single particle of strength to the struggle of the masses against the rule of capital in the United States.

Why? The answer to this question contains the entire solution to the present situation as far as the working masses are concerned. Here is the answer: **Because the workers and poor farmers had no political party of their own.**

* * *

### Middle Class Liberalism Versus Class Independence.

LaFollette and his group in congress have been playing middle class liberal politics. Not very effectively, not very efficiently, but that was their game. A consistent defense of the interests of the manufacturer, merchant, small banker and well-to-do farmer as against the domination of Big Business.

No one who is opposed to capitalist domination, "even from a working class point of view, will attempt to disparage or discourage this middle-class fight against Big Business. Let them fight, and the harder the better. But where does the worker and poor farmer come in on this show? That's what we demand to know.

And here we must repeat as emphatically as we can what we have been saying right along. No middle class liberal, no matter how honest, and no middle class "third" party will ever or be able to fight the battles of the workers and exploited farmers. For this we need no better proof than the performances of the LaFollette group in the present session of congress.

The political struggle is a class struggle, a fight between various classes and social groups over material, economic interests. The propertied middle-class group, whom LaFollette represents politically, have perfectly definite, concrete economic interests which are distinct from and opposed to the interests of the working class and exploited farmers.

Such being the case, how can anyone expect the middle-class liberal group to defend the interests of the laboring masses? Politics is no charity, nor is it child's play. "It is serious and grim business. Consequently, only those classes can expect to benefit by politics and political action which are organized in their own parties and fight their battles under their own leadership. The workers and poor farmers must, therefore, have a political party of their own.

LaFollette does not like that idea. Of course. Why should he? He knows that a class-party of workers and poor farmers—a Farmer-Labor party—means independent political action by the laboring masses. It means that the workers and poor farmers will not permit themselves to be utilized and exploited politically by and for the middle classes. And that's precisely what hurts and worries the LaFollette group when they see the June 17th Convention and the movement towards a class-party picking up ever new strength and volume. This was also one of the main reasons why LaFollette had finally decided openly to attack the June 17th Convention and to attempt to destroy it.

### The LaFollette Attack

We do not believe this attack on the farmer-labor movement to be the result of "bad counsel" as some of our associates in the June 17th convention seem to believe. We don't think so. The senator is no longer a baby in politics. He knows the game as well as, if not better than we. His attack, as we see it, is the result of economic class-opposition of the petty-bourgeoisie against the political independence of the working class.

The liberal middle-class, just as well as the reactionary labor leaders, will suffer losses economically by the formation of a class-party of workers and poor farmers. The June 17th convention promises to result in the formation of such a party. Consequently, "Down with June 17!"

In other words, LaFollette is fighting here in the interests of the propertied and well-to-do middle class and against the exploited workers and farmers. So that from this point of view we would take no particular objection to the wording of the senator's statement. We would merely explain to the workers the class nature of the attack and call upon them to resist and strengthen their positions.

There is, however, one feature in this LaFollette statement which we feel compelled to protest against most strenuously. It is the charge of bad faith that he makes against the Communists. He says:

"Their pretense that the Communists can work with the Progressives who believe in democracy, is deliberately to deceive the public. The Communists are antagonistic to the Progressive cause and their only purpose in joining such a movement is to disrupt it."

Now, Senator, let's not get confused because of a wrong terminology. This situation demands above all clear thinking, particularly on the part of the workers. What do you understand by "progressives" and "progressive cause?" We'll tell you what we understand by it. Generally speaking, a progressive is one who favors and works for a militant, aggressive and fighting policy (methods of struggle and form of organization) on the part of the workers and poor farmers against capitalist exploitation. More specifically, and with regard to political action, a progressive is one who earnestly, sincerely and militantly fights for the formation of a class party of workers and poor farmers.

And, consequently, he who is in different or opposed to independent political action by labor; he who is willing to permit the middle-class liberals to exploit in their interests the political power of the workers and poor farmers; he who fails to support the June 17th Convention and enable it to create a powerful Farmer-Labor party is not only not a progressive but a rank reactionary.

This is our conception. If the senator accepts it and considers himself a progressive in this sense, then he will have to "revise" his statement against June 17th considerably. He will then have to change somewhat his tactics in Congress. And, lastly, he will have to come to the June 17th Convention and help build a class party of workers and poor farmers.

We realize, of course, that there are yet other kinds of progressives, for instance, the progressive block in congress of which senator LaFollette is the leader. We also know that as between Coolidge, Pepper, Lodge, etc., who represent big capital, and LaFollette, Magnus Johnson, Wheeler, etc., who represent small capital, the former are reactionary and the latter are progressive.

But this is not the sort of progress that the workers exclusively interested in. The workers and poor farmers want primarily their own progress, which they can bring about only by an organized struggle in their own interests. And for this they need a political party of their own. That's why the test for progress at this day in the labor movement is a farmer-labor party.

### Gompers and C. P. P. A. Not Progressive

To illustrate this point a little more fully, we might take Gompers, for example. Gompers is one of the bitterest enemies of independent political action. He is 100 per cent with LaFollette as far as the June 17th convention is concerned. In fact, they are both working hand in hand to hamper the movement for a class party.

Now, if LaFollette is a progressive, Gompers top would have to be considered a progressive, wouldn't he? Well, we would propose that Senator LaFollette go down to a meeting of **trade-union progressives** and try to prove this point there. We can just imagine the reaction. Or, take the C. P. P. A. They, too, call themselves progressive. "Conference for Progressive Political Action." But what does it really mean from the point of view of labor and exploited farmers? It means that at best the C. P. P. A. is "progressive" only in the sense in which LaFollette is. That is, the C. P. P. A. is working for the promotion of middle-class liberalism which is opposed and antagonistic to the progressive movement among the workers and exploited farmers.

It was, therefore, perfectly natural for LaFollette, Gompers and the C. P. P. A. almost simultaneously to begin an attack against June 17th and against the idea of a class-party. That's why, from the point of view of labor, this whole combination is totally and thoroughly reactionary. An interesting, tho not very important, sidelight in this whole affair is the pitiful role of the Socialist Party. This remnant of "bygone greatness" is tolerated in the C. P. P. A. presumably in order to make the whole thing look a little more "progressive." It would seem logical, therefore, to expect from the Socialist Party at least a little "kick" against the dominating influence in the C. P. P. A. and in favor of independent political action. Because it is only thus that the Socialist Party could yet maintain its prestige, and thereby fulfill its pretended function of an "Left Wing" in the C. P. P. A.

But the leaders of the Socialist Party have so little vitality left in them that they have ceased even to pretend. They have completely surrendered to the reactionary leadership of the C. P. P. A. and are merely doing the bidding of their masters. Under these conditions, we wonder how long yet will the masters of the C. P. P. A. be interested in keeping with them the Socialist Party ballast?

### The Lines Have Been Drawn Clearer

Because of the eleventh hour desperate attack on June 17th by LaFollette, Gompers and the C. P. P. A., the lines between middle class liberalism and working class political independence have been drawn clearer and tighter. The reaction to this attack by the farmer-labor movement all over the country was splendid. It convinces us again that the time is ripe for a powerful class-party of workers and poor farmers, and that the June 17th convention will be able to fulfill its historic mission.

The old slogans take new flesh and blood. They assume, in the face of the new attacks, new significance and importance. Let's remember them—

A class party with class candidates for the national elections of 1924.

## WHO CARES FOR IT?

By OSKAR KANEHL.

Workers slain. Who cares for it?
Worker-widows. Who cares for it?
Worker-children orphaned. Who cares for it?
Who hunger and freeze and die on the street.
Workers slain. Who cares for it?

Workers slain. Who cares for it?
Murderers are rubbing their hands.
Murderers have passports.
Murderers have mild judges.
Workers slain. Who cares for it?

Workers slain. Who cares for it?
Ministers are sinking their backside in easy-chairs.
Ministers are fattening murderer-guards.
Ministers are cringing behind laws of the land.
Workers slain. Who cares for it?

Workers slain. Who cares for it?
Workers, living! We are for it!
By the blood of our dead brothers:
We, livings will give you answer.
Workers slain. WE care for it.

—Translated by Paul. Acel.

## Tough Time for Jobless in Blue Grass Kentucky

LOUISVILLE Ky. June 6.—All the harness shops here are "shot" and a man out of work canot get a job anywhere.

Louisville and Nashville Railway has just laid off 400 men and are planning to lay off more. The Kentucky and Indiana Railroad men work 7 hours a day.

Clothing workers find it difficult to get enough work to make a living wage; and, altho buildings are going up, the labor surplus is so great that there are no jobs.

# White Terror in Bulgaria

By E. Wagaey

NEWS is beginning to come in from that country of horrors, BULGARIA. Horrors upon horrors are being committed there by the white hands. It requires the perverse imagination of reactionaries to invent the sadist crimes perpetrated in thousands of cases by the Wrangel soldateska against the Bulgarian workers and peasants. Some of their deeds are so incredibly bestial that it is almost impossible to write them down. To give the workers of the world an idea how abominably the reactionaries treat their fallen victims, we shall quote a few instances from the plentiful material contained in a long report placed before the Central Committee of the INTERNATIONAL RED AID by Comrade Korlarov.

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THE vengeance of the reactionary soldateska, whose acts border on madness, is not satisfied in Bulgaria with individual terrorist acts. Like a swarm of locusts they infect cities and villages. The white soldiers behave as in an enemy country. Heavy artillery is used against towns and villages the inhabitants of which were among the rebels. Thus cities and villages have been wiped off the face of the earth. In Berkovitza a band of 100 Wrangel soldiers destroyed all the dwellings of the workers and looted or destroyed the shops of the petty-bourgeoisie. Rebels who were taken alive by the troops were tied to three infamous torturers to motor lorries and died a miserable death being dragged along the ground in the mad career of the lorries before putting to death the prisoners they flogged them until blood flowed. In the village of BJELNEL all WOMEN AND YOUNG GIRLS WERE VIOLATED by the soldiers. All the young men of this village were TORTURED in a most cruel manner and then murdered. All goods and chattels were CARRIED OFF and the houses WERE BURNED. All the villages in the FERDINAND region met with the same fate. The captured revolutionaries there were huddled together and the soldateska practised with their swords on their live bodies. WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE BRUTALLY ILL-TREATED AND VIOLATED. By such terrible methods entire families were exterminated in many localities.

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IN the town of BURGAS 300 workers and peasants were huddled together and KILLED BY MACHINE GUN FIRE. In the valley of UNROVEN several revolutionary corps which had surrendered WERE CUT DOWN TO THE LAST MAN. Their DEAD BODIES WERE FOUND MUTILATED. In another village 200 peasants were arrested, were driven to the town of WIDDIEN and were SO TORTURED ILLTREATED ON THE WAY that they succumbed there and then. In the village of MAKREACH 30 possants and were arrested and were only liberated after they had been tortured into cripples through the treatment meted out to them. Such COLLECTIVE ACTS OF VENGEANCE have been reported by the dozen from other cities and villages. Nearly all the PARTY PREMISES of the Communist Party were set on fire and razed to the ground. In the village of BREGOVO the Communist member of Parliament, Stanko Zasstoff, was arrested in his rooms and HIS WIFE WAS VIOLATED BEFORE HIS EYES BY THE WHITE BANDITS BEFORE HE WAS TAKEN AWAY. Several peasant deputies were arrested, and their families (including in one case a 4 year old child) were either murdered or brutally illtreated. THE 66 YEAR OLD PEASANT DEPUTY IVAN PARVANOV FROM THE VILLAGE OF GORNO-ZEVROVEN WAS BRUTALLY MURDERED. After the whole village population had been driven to the village common they had to witness the old man being tortured to death by having his nose, ears, hands and feet cut off. HIS MUTILATED BODY WAS THROWN TO THE DOGS OF THE VILLAGE. They wanted to compel by flogging the old man who was in his agony to call out: "Long live democracy," but he died without welcoming the victory of "democracy." In the village of CROMSCHIL 40 peasants were placed in single file, and they practised to see through how many of them a bullet would go. The survivors of this experiment WERE CUT DOWN. Just as these executioners do not flinch before the assassination of little children and old people, so THEY ALSO PRACTICE THEIR BLOODY DEEDS ON DOCTORS AND NURSES. Thus the doctors Ilyoff and Bechoff as well as the red cross nurses Verka Demianova and Katia Spassova were brutally murdered. This is what the reactionaries call practical christianity.

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SEVERAL PRIESTS who were on the side of the rebels WERE ALSO BUTCHERED, for instance the priest ANREI IGNATOV of the village of MEDKOVETSK. THIS BRAVE PRIEST HAD BEEN THE LEADER OF THE RISING IN HIS DISTRICT. Unarmed and with flared breast he marched at the head of the rebels and by his heroic example led the masses to a victorious attack on the barbed wire entanglements protecting the barracks in LOM. He was arrested in his village and was to be hanged on the village common before all assembled parishioners. But when the priest launched an impassioned indictment against the reactionaries the hands of the officers hangman could not place the noose around his neck. The priest apostrophised him thus: Executioner of my people, you dare not touch me before you have left a spark of conscience left in your body." Then he said in turning towards the small crowd of peasants: "You traitors of the people, do not rejoice too soon, your hour will soon come when your power will come to a shameful end." But even in this hour of his death with a cruel death at the hands of the executioners.

When prisoners are made, they are thrown by the hundreds into dark cellars where they are left without food and water and without beds and accommodations.

* * *

WE could give many more such examples especially as the government politics expeditions among the Bulgarian revolutionaries are only for the moment. The misery of the prisoners, refugees and relatives of the fallen beggars description. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED AID HAD IMMEDIATELY SENT TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS AS A FIRST INSTALLMENT OF RELIEF. But much larger amounts are required. WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, HELP THE INTERNATIONAL RED AID TO COME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF OUR BULGARIAN COMRADES!

*Down with Fascism!*

Workers' Demonstration in Sofia against repressions of Bulgarian government.

# National Problems in South-Eastern Europe

By KARL RADEK

THE rupture of the negotiations of the Soviet Union delegation with the delegation of the Roumanian Boyars regarding the Roumanian occupation of Bessarabia has more serious importance than this would seem at the first glance. It appears to be a diplomatic vanguard fight bringing forward on the order of the day a problem from which not only the Roumanian Boyars, but also capitalist world in general will not be able to turn away. It puts on the order of the day the problem of the destinies of the nations residing in the South East of Europe.

The victorious Entente has not solved the South Eastern problem, just as the war schemes of Germany were not solved, when she was at the zenith of her success. Germany and Austria-Hungary regarded the South East as the bridge connecting them with the Near East. The single nations of the South-East they estimated as columns, on which this bridge is supporting itself, and these columns they strengthened with all means. For this purpose, Austria, tried to seduce Roumania by promising her Bessarabia, and another part of Serbia they delivered to the Austria-Hungarian imperialism. The Social-Democratic herald of Austrian imperialism, Herr Renner, on the day of the defeat of the Serbians on the Cossovo Polye poured out his heart in a lyrical-historical article. In it which he tried to prove to the Serbians that in the period of imperialism the loss of national independence was not important, provided that the Serbian nation was maintained, though even in the form of cannon fodder and beasts of burden for the Austrian imperialism.

The victorious Entente, in its turn, proceeded along the steps of the Austrian and German imperialism; it remarked the columns as its columns, as its military and economic equipment, delivering considerable territories of Bulgaria as sops partly to the Serbs, partly to the Roumanians, and in its turn congratulating the Roumanian Boyars for utilizing the moment and seizing Bessarabia. As a result, Serbia has now a national problem, Roumania has now a series of national problems. Neither the one, nor the others appears to be a homogeneous national state, both appear to be a state of various national entities. In Serbia, a small clique of Belgrad lawyers is oppressing Croats, Macedonians etc. In Roumania the Boyars are oppressing Bulgarians, Germans, Magdovians, Ukrainians, Jews, etc. The masses of the people in these countries, awakened by the war, are raising their head and striving to tear the chains to which they are fettered. Especially in Roumania the national problem constitutes at the same time the problem of the emancipation of the peasants from the great land-owners.

Does this problem concern the Union of Soviet Republics? It does, not only for the reason that we are a revolutionary state, but also for the fact that this Union is not a new name for old Russia, but a Union of nations which, after having overthrown the yoke of the land-owners and the capitalists, have thereby liquidated the privileges of Great Russia and created a fraternal union based on the voluntary union of various nations which are living on the territory of the former empire of the Czars. The Union of Soviet Republics is not the continuation of the politics of Tsarism. It recognized and recognizes Lettland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, in so far as they constitute states of nationalities formerly suppressed by Czarism. But what statute says that the Union of Soviet Republics must recognize the violation carried out against the Moldavians, Ukrainians etc., who were seized by the Roumanians Boyars thanks to robbery and swindle? Even when the relative strength compels us to recognize the fact of such a violation, as we did regarding Poland, which is oppressing White Russians and Ukrainians, we do not cease to judge the struggle of the oppressed nationalities as a just one and morally and critically we are standing without restriction for them in their struggle for emancipation.

The peace negotiations with Roumania began in the moment when the military strength of Soviet Russia permitted her to pass from moral sympathy to political support. The Union of Soviet Republics is strong enough to refuse to recognize the fact of the demand of a plebiscite regarding the national problem in South East. The national masses of the Soviet Union, whose brethren are languishing under the national yoke of the Roumanian Boyars, have the right to demand from the Soviet government that it shall take over the protection of the Moldovians and the Ukrainians. The Soviet government did this and raised the slogan in the South East of Europe. It showed the working masses of these countries that there is still another form of living together of the nations, besides their oppression on the part of the privileged clique of Great Powers, that such a form is the voluntary union of the nations which have freed themselves of chains and fetters of imperialism and of the rule of the land-owners. Soviet Russia has pushed the problem forward which is becoming mature and which will play a formidable revolutionary role in the reconstruction of Europe on a new basis. Whether the masses of the people will attack the reconstruction in the immediate future or whether they are to be faced with a long struggle, we do not know.