

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

Special Magazine Supplement THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
March 15th, 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

Unemployment and Labor Aristocracy

By JOHN PEPPER.

THE well-paid optimists of the capitalists are trying constantly to make the country believe that we are having a great economic prosperity at the present time. The facts gainsay these official and semi-official fairy tales.

The general economic situation as a whole is continuing to deteriorate. Partial improvements cannot change the situation permanently. In production, pig iron and steel is the only branch of production which increased on a national scale in January and February. The number of employed workers increased in February in New York state and in Illinois. The report of the New York State Department of Labor says:

"Factory employment made a good recovery in February from the dullness of January. The advance amounts to about 1 per cent and brings the level back to that of December. There has been no evidence thus far, however, of a repetition of the upward swing of a year ago." In Illinois the number of employed workers increased 2.2 per cent during February. Nevertheless there were in February 155 registered with the Illinois Free Employment Offices for every 100 jobs reported to the offices. In January the proportion of workers to jobs was 166 to 100, a year ago it was 104 to 100, and during the worst period, during 1920 it was 209 to 100. In Ohio unemployment increased in February. Applicants for work at the thirteen employment bureaus maintained by the state numbered 9,919 for the week ending February 23, and only 2,883 got jobs. In Iowa the Public Welfare Bureau was forced to issue a warning at the beginning of March against the ever-growing unemployment in January and February.

The surprising and sudden increase of pig iron and steel production is most likely only of a short duration. The causes of the increase are probably the concentrated railroad orders, and work for Japanese reconstruction. The New York Times of March 2 reports on March 1 from Pittsburgh concerning the pig iron market that: "There is, however, practically no disposition to buy at this time." And about the steel market: "General buying of finished steel products by jobbers and ordinary manufacturing consumers has been running distinctly lighter in the last fortnight than in January. A fair volume of business is being placed, but the market is distinctly less active. By precedent, if there is any change in the volume of activity at this time of year it should be in the other direction. The steel mills are much less sold up than they usually are when as active as at present."

On the front page and in editorials the capitalist papers continue to spread professional optimism about the economic situation, but in their financial columns they are forced to tell at least a part of the truth. The New York Times of February 25 writes: "Leading mining interests in Illinois and Indiana are preparing to operate more economically and work the most valuable mines, closing the others, thus keeping the supply of coal more adjusted to requirements." Says the report of the New York Times of March 3: "Business conditions thruout the West are spotted. In Minnesota and the Dakotas it is poor because of the small returns to the farmers." Dunn's Review says about the first week of March: "With conservatism still the predominant sentiment, a rapid growth of business is not to be expected." Bradstreet's establishes: "Trade and industry present a spotted appearance, and caution for buying for anything beyond immediate need is still the central feature . . . Nowhere except possibly in the automobile trade does there appear the great onward sweep visible at this time a year ago." The World of March 9 admits in its Business Outlook the same tendency: "Nevertheless, instead of growing more liberal, buying policies have become more

restricted in many lines. Inflated costs supply one explanation for the restraint, but loss of confidence must take the foremost position, as a reason for the present hesitation which governs all forward operations. This lack of confidence is not only the average business man's feelings in regard to his markets, but it also grows out of his reaction to the present political discussion." The Chicago Tribune of March 12 gives the attitude of business men highly alarmed over the economic situation: "The more pessimistic look for a Summertime slump. . . Expansions of mills, factories and shops already are being held back. . . Already there are indications that expansion is being curtailed in some lines."

The situation summed up shows that the increase of pig iron and steel production and the increase of

Wilford Isbell King, "Employment Hours and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression, United States, 1920-22," says: "5,033,000 fewer workers were on the pay rolls in the early part of 1922 than were employed in the third quarter of 1920. However, part of this decline was seasonal. If we compare the third quarters, we discover that there were 4,102,000 fewer people at work in 1921 than in 1920, or about one-seventh of all who had been employed at the earlier date." The maximum decline of employment during the great crisis when 4,100,000 workers were out of jobs was 14 per cent. Today on the present depression we have no figures which we could compare with this general figure. But we have two partial figures: the volume of factory employment and the volume of railroad employment. The March

peak month, August, 1923, was 1,973,505. From then till the end of the year 1923, 179,726 railroad workers were laid off, which means 9.1 per cent. We can judge how heavy an unemployment this 9.1 per cent decline means if we bear in mind that during the greatest crisis of our economic history, the maximum decline of employment of the railroad workers was not more than 22.2 per cent.

But the decrease of the number of employed railroad workers does not give the complete picture of the catastrophic economic situation of the railroad workers. An ever growing number of railway workers are employed only part time. In August the number of full time employed railroad workers was 1,713,000. In December only 1,524,000. That means that the number of full time jobs declined by 11 per cent and the number of those working part time increased no less than 189,000.

We have still a third figure which is not as fully significant as the others because it is not a national figure; but it illustrates the mass character of present unemployment. In Massachusetts, according to the January report of the State Department of Labor, the reductions of employment between October and January show that almost one-tenth of the workers in the State of Massachusetts were laid off during that period.

Unemployment and Labor Aristocracy.

The facts analyzed above show clearly that the working class of the United States is facing a heavy unemployment. Almost one million fewer factory workers are employed today than in the middle of 1923. And in addition to that about 180,000 less railroad workers are employed today than half a year ago. And again, in addition to that, we must add the increasing number of unemployed coal miners. But all these figures, as I showed in my previous article, still do not give the complete number of unemployed worker. They give only the figures showing by how much the number of employed workers decreased. But these workers whom the capitalists drive out of the factories, railroads and mines are only a part of the growing industrial reserve army which is being constantly increased thru hundreds of thousands of dispossessed farmers, and new immigrants.

The unemployment is very heavy and has a mass character; but it is not as heavy as during the great economic crisis of 1921-22. The greatest difference between the two periods is the condition of the metal industry. In the previous period the metal industry was most heavily affected. Today the metal industry does not yet show the full effects of depression.

The present unemployment has a mass character, and the working class suffers greatly from it. Part-time work and wage cuts are a general phenomenon today. It is in sharp contradiction to these facts that the official labor movement and the press of the American Federation of Labor simply take no cognizance of this unemployment. How is that possible, and what is the solution of this contradiction?

We can give a clear answer to this question if we study carefully the "Industrial Employment Information Bulletin" of January, 1924, of the United States Department of Labor.

The facts show that unemployment does not affect equally all strata of the laboring masses. The masses of unemployed consist of unskilled workers. And at the same time the labor aristocracy is fully employed, and in many cases there is even a scarcity of skilled labor.

We could cite scores of examples proving that fundamental fact, but we will present here only a few citations from the above-mentioned Bulletin:

"New York. There is a surplus of labor in many sections, principally in the larger cities, consisting of (Continued on Page 8).

The Unequal Struggle



employment in the state of New York and Illinois during February does not mean at all that the economic depression which began in the middle of 1923 is passing over. On the contrary the general outlook is of aggravation.

The Volume of Unemployment.

It is an unquestionable fact that there exists a heavy unemployment today. If no other proof existed the "Industrial Information Employment Bulletin" of January, 1924, of the United States Department of Labor is an absolute and complete proof. This Bulletin gives a description of the employment situation not only for every state of the country, but for the most important industrial centers within the states. This very important report is so detailed that we cannot repeat it here. But it gives the best basis for judging the situation to everyone who takes the trouble to study the report carefully. With very few exceptions the picture presented by this report of the whole country is of an increasing and spreading unemployment.

But if we wanted to size up the true volume of the present unemployment we would have to compare it with the unemployment of other periods. If we should want to form judgment as to whether the present unemployment is of a mass character or not, we could do so by comparing it with the last great mass unemployment in the last great economic crisis of 1922-23. Never in its history did the United States experience a greater and deeper unemployment than in the crisis of 1921-22. The best study, the work of

report of the Federal Reserve Board gives the following new index numbers for factory employment:

Year	Factory Employment
1919	100
1920	104
1922	90
1923 (June)	103
1924 (January)	98

The year 1920 has the index number of factory employment, 104. The year 1922 shows 90. That means a decline of 14 per cent. The figures of King's book show that the maximum number of factory workers in 1920 was 11,370,000 and in 1922, 8,621,000. That's a decline of 2,749,000. That shows that a decline of 14 per cent was a decline of 2,749,000 employed workers.

The volume of factory employment declined from June, 1923, to January, 1924, from 103 to 98, a decline of 5 per cent. As the number of employed factory workers in the middle of 1923 was almost the same as in 1920, therefore, a decline of 5 per cent means a decline of about 975,000 workers.

The heaviest unemployment ever experienced in the economic history of the United States showed during the crisis of 1921-22 the maximum decline of 2,749,000 factory workers. The present depression shows a decline of almost one million factory workers. This figure alone justifies the assertion that unemployment is a mass phenomenon today.

The other figures that we can compare are the figures on the railroad employment situation. The number of employed railroad workers in the

Zinoviev's Speech to Leningrad Communists

(NOTE—The DAILY WORKER today publishes the sixth installment of the great speech delivered by Gregory Zinoviev to the party conference of the Leningrad District. Those of our readers who have read lurid reports of war between Communist leaders should follow this discussion closely. It is true that Trotsky had a difference of opinion over questions of party organization with Zinoviev and others. But the enemies of the Soviet Republic may rest assured that a discussion on tactics will not give them the opening to rush in their war dogs and lap up the blood of the emancipated Russian workers. A further installment will be published Monday).

ZINOVIEV CONTINUES:

There are two further questions to which I must still refer: that of the economists, and that of the difference of age among the members of the Party.

With reference to the economists, I must state that we of the Lenin trend of thought make every endeavor to agree with the economists of our Party. The matter is frequently represented in such a manner that one might think we regarded the economists as Party members of a second class.

What is our actual attitude towards the economists? I know, as all of us know, that we in the Party do not choose the work accorded to us, but are given it by the Party. It is, therefore, ridiculous to find fault with the economists.

The Party has placed them in the position they occupy; they did not go there of themselves. Would any self-respecting Communist take up economic work if he were not convinced that he had the Party behind him, that the Party does not consider him a Communist of inferior quality?

There are a large number of old revolutionists, excellent functionaries, who have on many occasions proved their devotion to the Party, now engaged in economic work. We have not yet gathered together the whole stratum of the economists, but we are doing so, we are feeling our way and doing our best. This is a most important and responsible matter. This alliance of economists can only fulfill its tasks properly if it feels that it is backed up by the support of the whole Party.

It is unallowable to regard the economists as second-class Party members. They form a group of decisive importance, everything depends on their success, and their attitude is the criterion upon which our non-partisan comrades form their judgments.

But it is possible, comrades, to go to the other extreme. Among one small section of the economists we sometimes come across the following feeling: Why does the Party control me to such an extent? There is the government Party headquarters, and their organizations, and the district headquarters and its organization department, and the collective—it is more than the strongest man can bear.

We need not seek to cover up the

sin: We worry the economists frequently with regard to trifles. This cannot be allowed.

What we have to say to the economists, and what every honest economist knows by himself, is that the conditions induced by the NEP expose the economists to the danger of division. Comrade Preobrazhensky is right here.

In the course of the speech which he recently made in Moscow, he pointed out that the economists are forced, under the conditions brought about by the NEP, to leave the trenches and fraternize with the enemy. This is very true. Anyone who is obliged to co-operate with the bourgeoisie is actually forced to hold intercourse with the bourgeoisie, even if it is not an actual fraternization. This involves danger.

Every profession has its attendant danger. The Party has to admit this openly and definitely, and no self-respecting economist will deny it—it is an incontestable fact. And there is only one remedy against it; Party control, comrade-like alliance, and discipline. And there is no need to fear this.

Comrades, quite at the beginning I told you that we must differentiate between the New Economic Policy and the "NEP."

When Comrade Lenin said: "Learn to trade," some comrades interested in the practical execution of the idea took it to mean that the NEP implies dirty work, that it smells somewhat of the devil. It is an unavoidable zone thru which we have to pass.

Under the "Nep"—so they think—

it is impossible to be an out and out Communist, the tasks of the revolution have to be more superficially viewed, and so forth. But when this has been overcome, and we arrive at a fresh one, then we can put on clean clothes again, so to speak, and become real Communists. This interpretation is not correct, and does not accord with the idea expressed by Comrade Lenin.

The meaning which Comrade Lenin intended to put into his slogan was:

Do not let yourselves be deceived, you must co-operate with the bourgeoisie in such manner that the advantage is to the workers' state. The NEP—the NEP is a whole chapter in the history of the workers' revolution, it is not merely a zone thru which we can hasten with closed eyes, with the intention of becoming Communists after we have got thru. No; make it your endeavor to be Communists during the Nep itself.

We must make it clear to ourselves that in the Party there can be no division into economists, trade unionists, purely Party workers, etc. Such a division would destroy us if not unified.

We must be a Party in which the various departments perform their duties on the basis of a definite division of work. No shadow of difference in our relations to the economists as if they were second-grade Party members, is to be allowed. At the same time, we must not ignore the special dangers to which those engaged in work connected with the NEP are exposed.

(To Be Concluded Monday).

We Come to the End of "A WEEK"

By IURY LIBEDINSKY

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YESTERDAY morning they had occupied the town. Only yesterday shots had been thundering in the streets, but now all those little houses seen from the hill looked so quiet and peaceable. But Gornuikh knew that yesterday's flame had been thrown up by them. He knew, and feared a new eruption, and was taking precautions against it. This fear had made him instantly suppress the sobbing that had shaken him over Klimin's corpse, the sobbing caused by almost a week's lack of sleep and the most terrible nervous strain, take on the management of the enquiry, and, tho he was not actually the senior of the surviving Chekists, the direction of all the work of the Cheka had somehow fallen of its own accord into his hands.

Few of the bandits left the town. The red-headed fellow, wounded during the seizure of the Communist Company's Headquarters, had been made prisoner, and Gornuikh confronted him with the other bandits, with the peasants from the neighboring villages who had been caught in the town and were now mild, timorous and dejected as if after a drunken headache, and had no difficulty in discovering in him one of the leaders of the revolt. And Gornuikh, who had already appointed the day and hour when he was to be shot, now promised him pardon, now threatened, now wheedled, and was tireless in the use of a thousand cunning tricks of cross-examination. And sometimes it seemed to the red-headed one that he had fallen into the hands of an attentively quiet devil, or rather into the teeth of a merciless machine, one of those ingenious, precise, American machines which in ten minutes turn a living, squealing pig into a silent mound of sausages.

If Gornuikh was not himself cross-questioning, he was walking thru the rooms of the investigators, not interfering, but following the questions, reading the protocols of the evidence, and now and again going off by himself to his office, where he shut himself up, sat there alone for a long time, propping his shaggy head on his

hands, and apparently without a single thought, staring at the sheet of paper lying before him on the table, and now and again carefully, sparingly, writing down a word, another, as the course of the revolt became ever clearer and clear to him. Now, in half a dozen sentences he told Karaulov the whole result of the many hours of the minute labor of the enquiry. Suddenly Karaulov interrupted him:

"You see that girl standing there? She's a schoolmistress . . . went thru a lot during the revolt and can tell you something of the murder of Robeiko. I told her to come to the meeting to meet you. There, standing by the entry. . . Comrade Gratcheva, come here."

And Gornuikh saw the pale face of a girl, long straight locks of pale flaxen hair falling on forehead and cheeks, frightened blue eyes, and heard a trembling voice:

"I want to give evidence . . . about the murder of Comrade Robeiko. . . . I was present at it. I lived in the same flat as he, and . . ." She began to tell of the appearance of Repin, so handsome, kindly and cunning, of Mr. and Mrs. Senator, and of her relations with them, of her wandering thru the town during the night of the revolt. Now and again she went off into unnecessary details, and then Gornuikh gently and confidently asked questions, and steered her story in the direction he needed. At first her shyness interfered with her talking, and she spoke disconnectedly, but afterwards she was more and more carried away, her voice grew more and more confident, and she even began timorously to gesticulate. When she told of the murder of Robeiko her eyes overflowed with tears. . . .

"Listen, Gornuikh," said Karaulov, when Gornuikh left Lisa, "I've been watching you just now and been amazed to see what a capable fellow you are. For example, how well and quietly you questioned that young lady. And then. . . Do you know if it had not been for your fifty railwaymen they'd have taken the station and then . . . things would have been bad. Then I could have done nothing to help with my battalion. The liquidation of the revolt would have dragged out for a month. That's a fact. And how many more comrades would have died. . . ."

Then Karaulov said with shaking voice:

"You, now, are working like a horse, hurrying everywhere, you are in the Cheka, you are looking after the wood-getting, and have written an article for the paper besides. . . . But I . . . I can't do anything. As soon as I learned from that young lady that they had killed Robeiko, I saw red, turned into a wild beast and went for the bandits with my own sword. And then I learned that Ziman too, and Stalmakhov, and Klimin. . . . And Klimin and I went thru the whole civil war together. . . . And now there's nothing for me to do. The town has become absolutely empty to me. Swear at the old man if you like, but remember, I am thirty years older than you. . . . And yesterday I got drunk from wretchedness. The thing is, I can't weep when sober. But get drunk a bit and it's as if some one opened your soul and you howl. Then you are ashamed, and after that you feel better. Wait and you'll find it out for yourself, and will remember old Karaulov. . . . Well, well. . . ."

Already the bell had tinkled, the room had grown silent, and from the middle of the arena, stuttering and blushing, the secretary of the Town District Committee was proposing the election of a President. . . . A heavy puzzled murmur rolled along the benches. Whom were they to elect, when the very best, the most staunch and capable were lying in coffins covered with red flags. Some one shouted the name of Klimin, some one doubtfully named Simkova. . . . But these names the secretary did not write down.

"Comrade Karaulov," came the thin, sugary voice of Matusenko. But Karaulov refused. . . . He did not know how to preside. Of that the comrades were well aware. Besides, today he was not well. . . .

And suddenly, from above, from the gallery, a strong voice threw the name:

"Gornuikh! . . . Comrade Gornuikh!"

And at once he was seconded from various sides:

"Right . . . Gornuikh . . . Comrade Gornuikh. . . ."

"Who is this Gornuikh!" several asked loudly

And again from the gallery the same powerful voice proclaimed to the whole Circus:

"Gornuikh . . . the Chekist. . . . Who came to us in the Depot, got us all on our feet and took com-

mand. . . . A fighting fellow."

It was the first time in his life that Gornuikh had had to preside over so large a meeting. . . . Gornuikh lost his head a little, did not know what to do, while the meeting, like a tamed beast of prey, lay submissively at his feet, grew quiet, and fixed its many-eyed gaze on him, its master. And instead of the common sentence, "I declare the meeting open" and the reading of the agenda for the day, from his tongue came other words, heavy and sharp, which entered into the consciousness of his audience, like nails into wood under the heavy blows of a hammer, words melted and wrought by Gornuikh's strong judgment and determination during that critical week.

He told how grave had been the danger of the revolt already past, and how the Communists were walking on thin ice, under which was surging the savage elemental force of the peasants, ready to drown and destroy the work of the Communists, how this elemental force must be tamed not only with bayonets and bullets but by the organization of socialistic exchange of goods between town and village.

"Comrades, it will be more difficult for us now. . . . In the Executive Committee nine are left, in the Party Committee four workers. In the Politdep both the Chiefs are gone, and in the Cheka, the President, Vice-President and three workers. The center cannot send us reinforcements. There is little to be hoped from it. And the work has now become more complex. It's not enough to get seed-corn. We must get ready for the sowing campaign and carry it thru over the whole of our trackless country. And the bandits are still not finally liquidated. It amounts to this, that we must carry heavier loads. Take me for example. I am now acting as President. That is because we have no Klimin, no Robeiko, no Simkova, who would carry these duties out better. . . . So it will be everywhere, we must take on our shoulders the work of those who have been killed. It will be hard, but, if we remember their example, we shall manage it. . . ."

And then the "Internationale" was sung, and the meeting turned to questions of business, he guided it quietly, confidently and clear-sightedly, like the steersman of a heavily loaded barge in a winding, shallow stream. . . .

THE END.

SEVENTY-ONE cents a bushel for wheat has driven the Canadian farmer into the camp of rebellion against the existing capitalist system.

Facing foreclosure by banks and loan companies, sinking lower and lower into debt, the toilers on the vast prairies of Western Canada are engaged in a hopeless struggle against bankruptcy and ruin.

The well-to-do farmers, organized into the United Farmers of Manitoba and Ontario tho themselves greatly reduced in means, can still well afford to play petty politics, engage in sham battles against the Winnipeg grain exchange and wear out the floors of the lobby of the Dominion parliament in Ottawa.

But not so with the dirt farmers, who as a rule are last to gain advantages and the first to lose them.

In Saskatchewan (a province fairly representative of the plight of the poorer farmers), in the northeastern part of that province, practically 50 per cent of the farmers are facing ruin. In that section of the country every little town is fairly thick with notices of auction sales due to foreclosure.

Crisis in Canadian Agriculture.

The crisis in Canadian agriculture has lowered the material welfare of the farmer. Reduced to the shadow-line of poverty the farmer began to kick and as a result his social outlook has broadened.

"The Canadian farmer is no longer a baby capitalist," said Mr. Swartz, the secretary of the Farmers' Union of Canada in addressing a meeting of farmers.

The Farmers' Union of Canada was organized in December, 1921. Today the Farmers' Union of Canada has 178 locals numbering ten to fifteen thousand members in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The formation of the Farmers' Union of Canada was a result of secession from the well-to-do United Farmers—and also due to the amalgamation of six separate farmer unions in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The Farmers' Union of Canada explicitly recognizes the class struggle as seen from the following excerpt from their preamble:

"Modern industrial society is divided into two classes—those who possess and do not produce and those who produce. Along side this main division all other classifications fade into insignificance. Between these two classes a continuous struggle takes place."

The activities of the Farmers' Union of Canada tho far from those of a political party—which it is not—have manifested the spirit of class consciousness and class solidarity.

Farmers Support Strikers.

When in Sydney, Nova Scotia, the British Empire Steel Company used government troops to crush the striking steel workers—the Farmers' Union of Canada along with the advanced workers of Canada raised its voice in protest. But the keynote of the Farmers' Union of Canada trend of mind was struck by one of its locals in Sturgis, Saskatchewan, on the question of unemployment. The resolution passed by that local says in part: "That the unemployment in the cities is also due to the policy of the Canadian capitalists who, in order to lower the standard

of living, have imported a large number (about 16,000) of workers from England. As an act of humanity as well as in the interest of organized labor—these workers are to be helped in order that the plans of the capitalists may not be realized." The Sturgis local of the Farmers' Union of Canada made a point that the food donated by the farmers be distributed by the trade unions.

Thus far the Farmers' Union of Canada movement is attempting to

immediately relieve the misery of the farmers. There are plans for the formation of a wheat pool for the cancellation of interest on all debts, and the funding of the farmers' debts along the lines of the funding of the debt of the Canadian Pacific Railroad by the Canadian government.

Solidarity With City Toilers.

The Farmers' Union of Canada is so far shunning the field of political action. But from its action so far—the Farmers' Union of Canada will

not be slow to recognize the fact that solidarity with the city workers means more than the extension of material help—it means the alliance of the factory workers with the farmers. The Farmers' Union of Canada's motto: "Farmers of the World Unite" will soon be changed into: "Farmers and workers of the world unite for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a farmers' and workers' government that will do unto the capitalists as the capitalists do unto us."

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FORWARD to a revolutionary mass organization, has been the watchword of our party, the Workers Party of America.

Within the past year, we have made mighty strides towards our goal. Our work within the existing craft unions for amalgamation into industrial unions, our campaign for a labor party, the launching of a daily paper, has connected us definitely with the organized mass of workers in this country. This has been done principally by setting up systematically of factions within the union. Since then, every forward step we have made on the political and economic field—all our campaigns towards the ends enumerated, have been advanced and furthered among that section of the workers which we have reached, by our union factions (especially by the aid for the party committees, city, district and central executive).

The greater proportion of our membership, which has no union affiliations, has been able to do little in the way of mass activities, outside of distributing and selling literature.

Our successes in the past have been, for the most part, among the organized workers. Now it so happens that the great mass, the vast majority of the workers in America, are not organized, either industrially or politically. For example, the real proletariat, the factory hands and the unskilled workers, steel workers, metal miners—have practically no organization. They are at the complete mercy of the master class. Yet these machine slaves, according to Marx, are the most revolutionary strata of the modern capitalist society.

For a Mass Party.

In order to become a mass Communist party, in the true sense of the word, we must press the slogan: **Organize the unorganized into action!** The Workers Party must definitely connect itself with the most extremely exploited section of the working class. Our party must lead them in the every day struggle for better living conditions, and thereby gain their confidence. We have to prove by deed and action that our slogans and revolutionary words are not empty phrases. A positive influence must be left upon the working class, which must transform itself into an organizational form in order to establish the progress of our activity.

How are we to go about a systematic work among the unorganized masses? Factions is an impossibility where there is no working class organization. Is our present form of territorial party structure suitable for such a task? Let us examine our present form of party structure.

The branch, the lower unit of the party, made up, as it exists, of men and women who live in a given territory, without regard to their occupations, may have in it building trades men, machinists, clerical workers, clothing workers and "intellectuals," and other kinds of workers, too numerous to mention. It is not far fetched to say that a branch of 40 members will represent over a dozen occupations. It is next to impossible to discuss intelligently all the problems met with "on the job," in the shop, let alone to map out any kind of work for the comrades within the work place.

Another thing must be taken into consideration, and that is that the branches usually meet but twice a month. At these semi-monthly meetings of the branch, is taken up routine business, such as reports of branch official, reading of minutes and communications, orders from higher bodies, education in the form of lectures and discussion. There is no time for the discussion of work in the shop.

Mobilizing The Workers.

Now let us consider another thing, which is essential for a Communist party. That is, to be able to mobilize our membership in the shortest possible time for work. In the case of any crisis within a shop or industry, our party could not bring together its members (if it had any within the particular shop), within less than several weeks' time for the following reasons: The branches do not meet at the same time each month; and when they do meet, not half of the members attend, due, in part, to other activities within the party, and many times out of sheer

neglect. While so far as the bosses are concerned, they can mobilize their forces, whether thru the state, or within the shop, almost momentarily, and thereby frustrate any attempt on the part of the workers themselves to organize for action during and after the crisis.

The Russian Communist Party, organized along the lines of shop nuclei, can place the entire working population of Moscow in the street, ready for any kind of action, in five hours time.

A good-sized volume could be written on the weaknesses and the antiquated state of our present branch structure. Our present form of organization is a heritage from the old, decrepit and outworn, socialist movement, following the lines of the social democratic party of Germany. The Communist movement with its different methods, tactics and aim, must have a different and distinct structure of organization.

Altho our present territorial branch does not fit precisely the needs of a Communist Party, we cannot simply say that it is of no value whatever, and drop that form of organization and immediately proceed on a new basis. To do so without preparation would be political suicide. Our entire organization would be destroyed. Communists are not utopians. We realize if we wish a new party structure there must be a transitional period, a bridging over from the present form to the new form.

Any great change in the structure of any organization, whether political, industrial, or social, can be brought about only by a gradual process.

Our present party structure is inadequate for the task of reaching the great mass of workers. We must have a new form to meet the new needs. What shall it be?

The answer is: The party structure must be built on the place of work of the membership, rather than where the comrades live. As one of our comrades puts it: "The party is at present organized where our members sleep rather than where they slave."

This is not a new idea. The Communist Party of Russia is organized on the basis of the work shop; not only since it has taken state power, but many years before. It was this form of organization which made it possible for the Bolsheviks to mobilize the entire working class against the ruling class of Russia. The form of party structure based on the work place is called the shop nuclei. It consists of members who work in any given shop.

Method to Reach Workers.

The advantage of the nucleus over the territorial branch is this: Modern capitalism has brought together thousands of workers under the same roof. The class struggle finds its sharpest contact right in the shop where the worker is reduced to the position of a machine and where he feels mostly his exploitation and can be reached on the basis of the misery of his conditions, while to reach him after work, when he is trying to rest from his bitter exploitation, puts our members at a disadvantage. The minute the whistle blows the worker hurries home, either to do the little job around the house, or else to spend the time he has looking for pleasure in the picture show, the saloon, etc. In the factory a job agitator meets his fellow worker every day; the workers know one another; the workers feel they have something in common; they are more inclined to listen to a shop mate. Whereas, if he meets a Communist he does not know, he is suspicious of him and thinks him at best some poor misguided fool. The worker outside of the shop is hard to propagandize.

To make job agitation effective it must be organized and systematic; it must deal with the every day struggles of the workers in the shop, using the bad shop conditions to point out to them the nature of capitalist exploitation. The agitator must point out the necessity of the workers being organized industrially to carry on the every day struggle for the betterment of their conditions under capitalism; also, the necessity of political organization for the conquest of power, the prelude to taking over the industries to be owned and operated by the workers themselves.

Where two or more of our comrades work in the same shop, they

should consider the matter of actually forming a shop nucleus. They should get together and work out a systematic course of shop agitation based on the above outline. When they have succeeded in gaining new adherents to their ideas, they should call a meeting of the interested members within the shop, and form the shop nucleus, which becomes a regular part of the party.

No Time Wasted.

Not only does this new nucleus take up the problems of the shop, but it also acts as the lower party unit receiving orders and instructions from higher bodies in carrying out the campaigns and work of the party. It affiliates itself to the nearest territorial branch, reports regularly to that branch, receives orders and instructions from the branch. This has another effect, it stimulates the interest of the territorial branch to which the shop nucleus is affiliated in the problem of building more shop units. It makes the branch a live and driving force in the labor movement. Especially has the nucleus this advantage over the branch: It can meet at almost a moment's notice. Instead of putting nights into barren branch meetings, the members have more time for party work, as they confine most of their activities directly on the job where they come in contact not only with a few workers, but thousands whose conditions and psychology they understand.

In the territory of the shop where the first nucleus is formed, when one or more nuclei are created, the nuclei come together as a nuclei branch; that is, about three or more nuclei consolidate themselves into a larger form of organization, the nuclei branch which is a higher unit of the party than the nucleus itself. Comrades who are not in large industry, as, for instance, building trades workers, small office workers, who live in the territory of the nuclei branch, shall belong to the nuclei branch. The branch composed of nuclei does not usually comprise members working in the same industry.

The new form of nucleus organization means that we have our roots buried among the masses of the workers and have a continuous, strongly-linked chain to the highest unit of the party.

It does not require a very vivid imagination to see what this would mean to us as a Communist organization. We could rapidly mobilize our entire party for work and action and could better meet the immediate problems of the day. When our party, for the most part, becomes a nuclei organization, it becomes a mass organization, and cannot be exterminated by any amount of oppression and persecution by the combined forces of the capitalists, thru their state or otherwise.

No Harm to Federations.

To those comrades who have raised the bugaboo in their minds that to start the formation of nuclei will hamper the federations and weaken the branches, the writer would like to point out that just the opposite would be fact. In no case will we find in any branch more than one or two workers who work in the same shop. In most cases, not even

that. Our problem is not so much the reorganization of the branch as the organization of new nuclei. We start at the factory, where there may be four or five Communists who belong to different branches of the party. For them to establish a nucleus, with more members now not in the party, strengthens our party structure; and the nucleus, at the same time, becomes affiliated to a territorial branch at first, which tremendously strengthens this branch. In no case will it hurt the branch to transfer several comrades to the factory unit, for that is already being done in some instances to form new territorial branches. If there are foreign speaking members within the nucleus, they can maintain their connections with the present federation branches. They will need language propaganda for the shop.

The comrades who express fears against the nuclei have conceived of the idea of setting up separate shop apparatus with no regard to changing the present structure of the party. In the first place, if this was to be done, we would have to set up separate apparatus all thru the party—district, city units, branches, which would be a dual organization and unworkable. This sort of an apparatus would, in the second place, have to confine itself only to the problems on the job or, if it attempted to take up the regular work of the party, the members would have to repeat such work again in their branches, which could not be effectively done. Again, workers joining the nucleus, if they happened to be Italians, Greeks, or of other nationalities, would have to be sent into the branches of that particular federation, or might have to be sent miles away from the factory to some territorial branch. The new members would think this a very strange procedure, and probably could not be induced to join our party under such circumstances.

The nucleus must be an integral part of the party, or else it is not a nucleus. Shop factions, industrial branches, etc., are impossible, and attempts to establish such forms of organization would be syndicalistic and hamper the political activities of our party.

We must never lose sight of the fact that our party is a political organization; and that all our campaigns and work should be directed toward the strengthening of our party organizationally.

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The Ku Klux Klan and the Miners

By J. W. JOHNSTONE

IN the mining industry the Ku Klux Klan is becoming a menacing factor that will have to be reckoned with in the very near future. They are making a bold bid for control of the miners' union, notwithstanding that membership in the Klan is sufficient grounds for expulsion. It is generally taken for granted amongst the miners that the klan has already gained complete control of the Indiana district.

The recommendation of Van Bitter, speaking for the resolutions committee at the national convention, that the clause against the klan be stricken from the constitution, the open support given to the klan by Hessler, of Indiana, the fact that Lewis seemed willing to let it go over, forced many of the delegates to leave the convention firmly in the belief, that the Lewis machine, was either deadly afraid of the influence of the klan, or were actually members of it. This recommendation coming from the resolutions committee with Lewis' approval. It was his own hand picked committee, and every delegate knew that none of the committees reported on any question to the convention, without first consulting with Lewis.

Klan Is Not Molested.

This is what helps to make the klan a dangerous factor in the mining industry, and explains why no real organized expose of the klan has been made by the miners' officials, altho the homes of their members have been invaded by the klan, and a veritable reign of terror is being carried on against the foreigner in many states, reaching a high water mark in the mining towns in southern Illinois. The Communists and even the mildest of progressives are hounded by the Lewis-Farrington machine, are boycotted in the mine, expelled from the union, because they want to make the United Mine Workers of America a real militant fighting force, but the klan is left free to carry out its work of terrorism and disruption.

The domination of the klan in Herrin, Johnson City, West Frankfort

and other mining towns, is a standing challenge to organized labor of Illinois, which has not as yet been accepted. It is an open insult to the miners of Illinois whose members are mostly of foreign birth. As long as the klan is allowed unrestricted license to do as they please, it will be difficult to tell just who compose its members, but the morons and cowards who make up the klan, could very easily be exposed to the light of day, if an energetic public campaign was carried on against them, led by the miners' officials and the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

The resistance against the klan in these towns is led by miners, in spite of the passive attitude of their official. Senator Sneed, who is also an official of the miners' union in the Herrin sub-district, should be leading the fight in that town, but he is afraid of his political job. Frank Farrington and John H. Walker should be leading a state fight against this gang of hoodlums, but it is not considered good politics to take this fight up. The fact that the three of them are miners, and it is the members of their organization that are the victims, seems to have no weight with them.

Declares Klan Members Cowards

The utter cowardliness of the klan members is shown, not only by the fact that they do their dirty work generally in the dead of night, hooded and in gangs large enough to insure safety, but that they are afraid to admit openly their membership, altho the organization is legal. Only a few of them come out in the open, such as Glen Young, and he has to get a big, fat fee for doing so, the rest of the cowardly crew sneak into the darkness of secrecy.

The smoke screen behind which these mental dwarfs work is prohibition. In reality they are being used as a white guard organization, and if the present congress passes any of the numerous anti-foreign born bills that are now pending before that body, the klan will be the secret service organization which will spy upon the foreign born workers and take upon themselves the

regulation of their political and economic advancement.

That this is no idle forecast was shown in the election of delegates to the miners' state convention in Illinois. The issues were clear, you were either for the Lewis-Farrington policies, or you were against them, and the progressive miners do not see any particular difference between Farrington, Lewis, and the klan. In one local union where two suspected klansmen were badly defeated, and where the majority of the delegates elected were foreign born workers, a notice was posted in the mine, stating "That interpreters were wanted to go to the state convention," etc. A notice like this, appearing for the first time would have meant but little, but in the tense atmosphere of these southern Illinois towns, where everybody goes armed after dark, it took on a more significant aspect.

Trade Unions Oppose Knights.

In these towns everything is union, it is hard to find a non-union man anywhere. The entire official trade union movement is opposed to the Ku Klux Klan. Where then does the klan get its strength. It is led by the small business element, financed by all business groups, its purpose is to destroy the trade union movement, or reduce it to klan control. They are ably assisted by the weak-kneed passive attitude of the officials of organized labor, and have the active support of these damn-fool American born workers whose understanding of life goes no further than the A. P. A.'s of the early '90's. They do not see that the attack against the foreign born workers, under the slogan of a 100 per cent Americanism, is an attack on all workers in general, irrespective of the place of their birth, and upon the labor movement in particular.

How could the Ku Klux Klan in cities like Herrin, Johnson City and West Frankfort, etc., create a reign of terrorism, raid the homes of miners, place themselves above the law, arrest hundreds of men and women, herd them into special cars at the point of a machine gun, if they did not have at least the passive consent of union officialdom.

The effect of this attack upon the foreign born, instead of making citizens of them, really keeps them from becoming citizens. In actual practice the foreigner finds that he can get better protection from the foreign consul than he gets from either his union or the local law enforcing bodies, and the foreign consuls are advising their countrymen not to take out their citizenship papers, because in doing so they can get no protection from him or from the government that he represents. Strange as this may seem, yet it is true, as witness the vigorous protest of the French consul against the raids of the klan on the French colony in Johnson City.

Terrifying Effect of Secrecy.

Where are all those fighting miners that made such a glorious record for organized labor in the State of Illinois? How can they stand idly by and not accept this challenge. In the city of West Frankfort, which is 100 per cent organized, the fiery cross of the klan burns day and night in the center of the town, yet not a half dozen men are known publicly to be members of the klan. The terrifying effect of the klan upon the population is its secrecy and its ruthlessness. The average man does not care to take the risk in leading the fight against these monsters for fear of their vengeance, which is swift, brutal and extends to all members of the family alike.

The cause of this abnormal situation is the inaction of the leaders of organized labor. If instead of fighting the radicals or assisting to keep in office such tin horn politicians as Governor Small, they would start an organized public campaign against the klan, they could clean it out of Illinois within 48 hours. I doubt if there are a hundred workers in the entire state who would have the courage in the face of such a campaign to come out openly in support of the klan, and the miners have the power in their hands to force the business men to change their opinion about the Americanism of the klan. The miners must demand that their officials wage a fight against the Ku Klux Klan until it is driven from the coal fields of this state.

Lenin's Successor--A. I. Rikoff, Soviet Russia's New Premier

ALEXIS IVANOVITCH RIKOV was born March 19, 1881, in Saratov (the capital of the province of that name in Central Russia) to which city his peasant father moved from the Viatka Province to engage in trading. When Alexis, who was the youngest member of the family, was eight years old, his father became very poor and soon died, a victim of cholera.

The young Alexis was placed in the Gymnasium (a school with a course of study equivalent to high school and two years of college) by his oldest sister, a teacher, who maintained him up to his sixteenth year. After that he was forced to earn his own livelihood and take care of his tuition fees.

Rikoff's first contact with the revolutionary movement came during the attendance of the gymnasium where he joined the secret study circles and participated in the issuance of an illegal journal. It was during this period that Rikoff got acquainted with the works of Karl Marx and other studies of the Socialist and labor movement of Western Europe. Suspected of participating in revolutionary circles, he was prohibited from entering the universities of the capitals (Leningrad and Moscow).

In Solitary Confinement.

Upon graduation from the gymnasium in 1900, Rikoff entered the university of Kazan (now the capital of the Tartar Soviet Republic) where he immediately became active in the workers' organizations and was chosen to membership on the leading revolutionary committees. The underground Social-democratic organization of Kazan, in which Rikoff played an important role during his short student life, was liquidated by the secret police in 1901 thru wholesale arrests of the leaders.

After nine months of solitary confinement, Rikoff was sent to Saratov, to live under police surveillance. Returning to his own home town, Rikoff engaged again in active revolutionary work among the railroad and metal workers. He organized the May Day Demonstration of 1902 and

Lenin's Successor



ALEXIS I. RYKOFF

ALEXIS IVANOVITCH RIKOV.

served as a member of the joint committee of the Social-Democratic and Socialist-Revolutionary parties. After this demonstration Rikoff was obliged to assume an illegal existence, and from that time on we find Rikoff in the ranks of the so-called "professional revolutionists," whose whole life is devoted to the cause of the revolutionary movement.

During the period of 1902 to 1905, Rikoff occupies a prominent position in the Jaroslaw, Nijni-Novgorod, Moscow and other social-democratic organizations. The third congress of the Social-Democratic party in 1905 in London elects Rikoff a member of the Central Committee of the party to which position he was re-elected

by several successive party congresses. Rikoff served as organizer of the Moscow district and was a member of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee, i.e., that part of the C. C. whose members resided and worked in Russia. Rikoff visited the emigrant revolutionary centers—Paris, London, Geneva—only when important matters concerning the revolutionary movement were being dealt with by the leading party elements, compelled to live outside of Russia.

Betrayed by Agent-Provocateur.

Rikoff was arrested soon after the third London Congress at a secret meeting of the Leningrad Committee. Freed by the revolution of that year, Rikoff was elected a delegate to the first Soviet of Workers' Deputies, where he served until that body was disbanded by the authorities.

On May 1, 1907, Rikoff is again arrested and after June 28, 1908 lives under police surveillance by order of the Minister of the Interior. Having been later sent out of Russia, Rikoff returns with an illegal passport, but on Feb. 1, 1910 is again arrested and sent to the province of Archangel for three years. He soon escapes from there and joins the Central Committee of the party at Paris. In the summer of 1910 Rikoff returns to Russia again to organize the work for the coming national congress of the party. He is turned over to the police by the agent-provocateur Briandinski soon after his arrival. In August, 1911 Rikoff falls into the hands of the authorities in Moscow and after serving nine months in prison, is sent back to the Archangel region where he remains till February, 1913.

In October, 1913, Rikoff is exiled by order of the Minister of the Interior to live four years in the far-away region of Narim in Siberia, but he escapes from there Sept. 20, 1914 to Samara where he is arrested in a month and sent back to his place of exile. Altogether Rikoff spent seven and one-half years in solitary confinement in prison and several years of exile in Archangel and Si-

beria from which he managed to escape on three occasions.

From the very beginning of the March revolution in 1917, Rikoff works in the Moscow Bolshevik organizations, and in August of that year is again elected member of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic party (Bolshevik) as the Communist party was then still called.

Held Important Posts.

As a member of the presidium of the Moscow Soviet, Rikoff prepared and secured the passage by the Soviet of resolutions, censuring the Kerensky government and the Mensheviks who were supporting him. When the All-Russian Congress of Soviets voted to take over the powers of the State in November, Rikoff was a member of the Executive Committee, and when the first Bolshevik Cabinet was formed upon the successful conclusion of the proletarian revolution, Rikoff entered it as a Commissar of Internal Affairs. He was later transferred to be head of the Supreme Council of National Economy when that body was formed, with the cooperation of the Council of Factory Committees of Leningrad.

When Russia was living thru her most critical years—counter-revolution and blockade—Rikoff was charged with the provisioning of the Red Army and the re-establishing of Russian industry. With the illness of Lenin in 1921 came the need of a substitute. Rikoff was made associate chairman of the Council of Commissars and that of the Council of Labor and Defense at the suggestion of Lenin. Since 1920 Rikoff serves as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and when he was chosen Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars in place of his teacher and brother-in-arms Lenin, he was a member of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Chairman of the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Rikoff is now 43 years of age.

The Farmer-Laborites at Crossroads

By JAY LOVESTONE

NOT since the country was torn by the class conflicts over the question of chattel slavery and its attendant problem of state rights versus national centralized governmental supremacy have we been confronted with a political situation so fraught with the likelihood of so many fundamental changes.

The two-party system, supposedly based on the granite facts underlying Americanism, is in a far more serious danger of being thrown overboard than ever before. The divisions among the various layers of the employing class have not been as rife and as acute in the last three score years.

Class Farmer-Labor Party.

The chances for the organization of a national farmer-labor party along class lines; the probability of the launching of a third progressive party supported by the small business elements, the large numbers of the poor farmers, the aristocratic, skilled, upper crust of the working class and even a great mass of the lower strata of the working and farming masses whose discontent is still vague, unclear, tho steadily increasing; the serious deep-rooted dissatisfaction with and lack of confidence in the government and all its subdivisions and ramifications arising from the experiences of the working class in its recent national railway, mine and textile strikes and the shocking revelations of the Teapot Dome explosion—these are only some of the outstanding manifestations of the storm that is now hovering over the political horizon in this country.

Add to this veritable magazine the unstable economic and political conditions prevailing in Europe and the multiplying signs of a revival of dangerous colonial unrest and revolt against the world capitalist imperialists in Korea, in Japan, in Mexico, in the Philippines, in India and you will find that the American working masses are on the threshold of a period of critical and decisive struggles.

Some may ask: Why draw Europe, the Far East, and Latin-America into a consideration of our national political problems? The matter of fact reply to this question is that: tho the class conflicts in the various countries may be fought very often along the limits of the respective national fronts and are colored by the immediate local conditions at hand, yet the class struggle everywhere is fundamentally and in essence international. Our national economic and political situations are inextricably interlaced with the prevailing economic and political situations in the other countries of the world.

The Economic Situation.

In order to comprehend the serious disintegration that has set in the Republican and Democratic parties, the rise of the insurgent bloc in congress, the spread of the Farmer-Labor movement, the problems confronting these groups and the tactics employed by them, it is necessary to consider first the economic conditions out of which the impending political battles arise and under which they are to be fought out.

For some time there has been waged a ceaseless campaign to convince the country that we are now enjoying the blessings of prosperity. But beneath the surface of these hollow boasts one can detect a strong undercurrent of lack of confidence on the part of our financiers and industrialists in the economic situation today. Financial observers call it, in the language of their technique, "the uneven tone of business," "the strong spirit of caution." Buying today is on a hand to mouth basis, a "small order basis." Short time orders are in vogue. Bradstreet's in one of its latest weekly trade reviews said anent the keel of business navigation that "something like a slackwater appearance is presented. . . . Neither trade nor industry appears equal to a year ago at this time."

Just now the car loading figures are impressively high. But so competent an authority as the New York Times Annalist finds the situation here "uncomfortably impressive." There is mighty good reason for this feeling. The figures for car-loadings are so much higher than the index of production that it is clear to the careful observer that the freight-loadings reflect a shelf-clear-

ing process rather than the approach of a revival of industry. We have today a much bigger freight traffic on a smaller base of production than last year. Such a condition cannot properly be counted as a sign of impending prosperity.

Steel Production Wavering.

Even the production of steel which is put forward as the bright spot of the present situation, is beginning to worry many students of business. The last few months have seen a relapse from the steady fall in steel production thruout the summer and early winter months, largely because of the railway, construction and Japanese orders. Now steel is wavering again. It is showing a positive trend of decline. The Iron Age finds that the orders for May and June delivery are far below the normal volume at this time of the year. Some manufacturers of steel are thinking of lowering the price of steel in order to stimulate buying, because the advance orders are petering out.

The January figures of the Federal Reserve Board, it is true, do show an increase over the December production. But this must not be taken as the herald of prosperity. The trend of economic development can be judged with scientific accuracy only by basing conclusions on conditions prevailing over a long representative period and not over a brief period of a month. This is essential in order to allow for fluctuations in the economic development. Thus, the Annalist sums up the situation by saying that "taken as a whole, production is not extremely active, and the general tone of business is far from resembling that of a progressive boom."

Fear Repetition of 1920.

Some financial experts, like Arthur D. Welton in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, even display fear of a repetition of the 1920 disaster despite the highly advertised boasts that the mistakes of the last great depression have been learned by the capitalist class of this country and will never be permitted to recur. How childish these claims are when they are made in good faith and how helpless the employing class is before

superior economic forces inherent in the capitalist system of production and exchange can be seen from the following confession of Mr. Welton writing from Chicago two weeks ago: "The shadows of coming events as they fall across the path of Melvin A. Traylor, president of the First Trust and Savings Bank, are warnings and bad omens. Overexpansion of business is one of his fears. The building industry and railroad development are evidences of it. . . . The railroads have been buying equipment and the tonnage of a million cars a week have been incentive to the purchases, but borrowing money on the assumption that the tonnage will be further increased may lead to trouble and perhaps disaster."

An analysis of the records kept by the free employment offices in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin shows that the number of jobs available for each hundred applicants "has fallen nearly three-fifths of the way back to the lowest point of the depression of 1921."

Unemployment Increase in Wisconsin

In Wisconsin for instance, the analysis of the payroll records made by the Industrial Commission shows a steady decline in average weekly earnings and the total payroll since October, 1923. The total of employes has been falling continuously since August, 1923.

For the first half of February the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry has found "that the common labor market in the majority of the cities remains glutted. In the Philadelphia building trades, according to this report, the "field continues to be heavily flooded with mechanics in nearly every trade."

And the latest findings of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor on the employment in selected industries in the United States show a decrease "in employment of 1.5 per cent in December over the previous month and a decrease of 1.7 per cent in the total payrolls and of 0.2 per cent in average weekly earnings."

One phase of our present economic conditions cannot be overestimated.

The Farmer's Real Problem

(Agricultural Depression: Quarterly Journal of Economics, Feb. 1924, by C. F. Warren of Cornell University.)

IT IS not generally known, declares C. F. Warren—that is the capitalist press does not let it be known—that we are in the midst of the "most serious agricultural crisis ever experienced in the U. S." One million farmers have lost their entire life-time savings and a still greater number have debts larger than their resources. There are 6 million farm owners; 2½ million are tenants and 1½ million are mortgaged owners. The latter groups are those chiefly affected by the present agricultural depression.

Those farmers who are in comparatively comfortable circumstances are looking towards price fixation as a means of getting a greater income from their farms. But the farmers that are now in financial difficulty are not so much interested in the price they can get for their products as in the amount of taxes, interest and debts they must pay. For it is these items which are the chief cause of their present troubles. Taxes have increased an average of 122% from 1914 to 1922. The total average value of crops per farm in the U. S. is \$1075 of which an average of \$400 is expended in taxes, interest and the repayment of debts. The poorer farmers desire relief in the form of a reduction in these main items of their yearly expenses.

Danger of Inflated Prices.

Mr. Warren explodes several panaceas peddled out by farm politicians to help the farmers. The farmers have been blamed for not having saved money during the war period, with which they might now stave off disaster. The author explains this matter thoroughly and concludes that many men would now be better off financially if they had not saved money and thus would not have bought or added to their farm holdings at inflated prices. In a digression he warns young families against a similar loss in their savings if they insist on buying homes at the inflated prices now prevailing. As to the advice that the farmer reduce production, he states that upon a drop in prices the farmer must "work up more units of his product to meet expenses": "It is true", he continues, "that the status of all farmers might be better if production were reduced, but the farmer is primarily concerned with his own individual status". Besides, high prices with a small individual crop might

avail the farmer nothing. Mr. Capitalist Anarchy of Production is obviously breaking the back of the farmer. Mr. Warren agrees that the movement of the farmers towards the cities will create a greater demand for farm products, leading towards an improvement in the range of agricultural prices. But he emphasizes that this adjustment will take a decade. The author does not even mention diversified farming as a possible relief, nor does he urge further deflation of labor by capital as an aid to the deflated farmer.

Depression to Continue.

The writer is not optimistic about a quick return to agricultural prosperity—"the depression is likely to continue for many years", the inference is 10 or 15 years. If this analysis is true it means that formation of a strong third or farmer-labor party is practically inevitable. He enumerates the economic conditions that must prevail before a renewal of good times can be hoped for, but he offers no way out for the millions of farmers now in distress. His entire analysis, however, is solid proof that the farm planks of the Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, namely the land to the users and a 5-year moratorium on mortgages, are exactly suited to the needs and desires of the 4 million tenant and mortgaged farmers in the country. It would seem, however, that the added demand for a decrease or suspension of tax payments for this group of farmers would strengthen our program.

The article includes a valuable array of statistics. W. K.

The writer refers to the economic crisis amongst the agricultural masses. Just as in 1860 the country could not avoid a crash while its economic structure was divided against itself—half chattel-slave production against half capitalist commodity production—so today the country cannot avoid being overwhelmed by a depression far more serious than the 1921 economic collapse, because the agricultural industry—our largest single industry, an industry having about 49 per cent of the country's total population dependent on it—is hopelessly immersed in the slough of a fundamental economic crisis.

Basil Manly's Views.

This situation was well expressed to the writer the other day by Basil Manly, the noted economist, when he said: "The country cannot avoid an economic depression or the most serious proportions, as long as agriculture continues in its present state of bankruptcy. A wave of acute economic depression is sweeping East to the manufacturing centers. It will hit the industrial areas sooner than most people think it will."

A strikingly similar view is taken by the conservative observer of the Annalist in his last weekly review of the business outlook. Said the Annalist: "Unless all economic theory is wrong, however, there is in sight a new readjustment of American business to world conditions, and one which may be accompanied with some internal business friction. The day is apparently not tomorrow, but it may well enough be the day after tomorrow."

It is under these extremely unsettled and basically disturbed economic conditions beclouded by the menace of an oncoming dangerous crash that the next political struggles are to be fought out in this country. It is out of these very conditions which are part of the general fundamentally unsound economic milieu inherited by all the countries of the world, in some form or other, from the imperialist war that our present class divisions and class conflicts have arisen. As we analyze the rift in the various sections of our employing class and as we examine the growing political consciousness of the working and farming masses, each particular case will appear in its true light as having taken root in these world economic conditions.

Unemployment In Montreal.

MONTREAL, March 14.—Unemployment has become so serious in this city that a special organization has been formed to deal with it, in addition to the provincial employment bureau and a number of commercial employment agents. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the skilled workers of the city are out of work.

The Rebel Miner

None can be found who envy him
Of his work underground.
He is even little thought of,
Except when winter comes around.

Few of life's joys are his to share
But of burden's he has plenty.
Each year seems like a double decade
E'en tho that means twenty.

There's scarcely a thing he can call
his own
Except his labor power.
But with each day he sells to the
sons of greed
His life's blood ebbs lower.

Yet when he asks for the things
That are his by right,
He finds he is always forced to face
The power of might.

'Tis then he resolves to better his lot
And escape the bitter oppression,
Only to find that the one's he must
fight
Are those who gave him the lesson.

Each battle he enters with increased
vigor
Emerging always with gains,
Until convinced that there's nothing
to lose
But misery plus the chains.

(Submitted by one of the Progressive Group.)

Youth Views

By HARRY GANNES

Military Training Camps Start Campaign.

No effort is being wasted by the United States War Department in seeking enlistments for the Citizen's Military Training Camps. Even the date for the actual opening of the camps is several months off, posters and advertisements are being plastered up all over the country at a very great expense.

During the last two years, the quotas had not been filled due mainly to the fact that rotten food had been served in the camps. The news spread far and wide and even the capitalist papers could not overlook the disclosure that boys joining the training camps might be poisoned because of rotten food.

In the advertisements by the government this year they assure the youth of the United States that good, wholesome food will be offered. Whether that is so or not is not so very important (tho the government has failed to take care of the sick and wounded soldiers in proper manner). There is no doubt that brutal treatment awaits the young fellows in some form or other, whether it is intensive training or abuse from the arrogant officers.

The purpose of the Citizen's Military Training Camps is to build up an available fighting force in the event of a capitalist war. Tho the armed force has grown to tremendous proportions in recent years, the War Department has a plan for the building up of a mass armed force which it can put into action at a moment's notice. The Citizen's Military Training Camps are a necessary cog in this new military machine.

The militarists in the United States have one hope for the success of the Citizen's Military Training Camp this summer, and that is wide-spread unemployment. It is a known fact that hungry men are not very particular whether they eat the rotten food of the Citizen's Military Training Camp or the refuse of garbage cans.

Samuel Gompers has expressed himself as in favor of this form of military training. While overlooking the fact that the vast mass of working youth are unorganized, Gompers finds time to express himself agreeable to organizing this youth against labor in the military forces of the United States.

The Citizen's Military Training Camp holds nothing that is in the interest of labor; it is strictly against the good of the organized and unorganized workers to see its success. More than once have the armed forces of this government been used against striking workers. The Citizen's Military Training Camp is no exception.

For information concerning the Young Workers League of America, address Y. W. L., 1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

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The Commune

By SIMON FELSHIN

Blood of the Communards crying to me!
Thirty thousand massacred
In the streets of Paris,
And the blood flowed in the gutters,
And the blood flowed in the Seine.
Nor was there pity
For the children, the women, and the old men
Because these also fought on the barricades
To defend the Red Commune.
Oh there are wounds that would not heal!

You the bourgeoisie—
Your motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"
Was seen to be a pretension and a mockery.
You the enraged ruling class—
You hunted the Communards
And you shot them where you found them.
I have seen the Wall of the Federates
Where you slaughtered the prisoners with mitrailleuse,
And you buried them where they fell.
Betrayal and fratricide—
This was your vengeance
Upon the defenders of the Red Commune.
Blood of the Communards crying to me!
Oh there are wounds that would not heal!

Awakening of the masses,
Stirring of the downtrodden,
Battlecry from the lower depths,
A sounding of the tocsin,
A building of barricades,
A lifting of the red standard,
Vanguard of the proletariat in revolt—
This was the Red Commune.

Federates,
Men of the Sections,
People of the faubourgs,
Embattled proletariat of Paris,
Your stand on the barricades
Was a challenge
Forever to be remembered,
The lifting of the red standard—
A heritage,
A shining memory!

October

By ANOTOLY MARIENHOF

(This poem is inspired by the October (November) 1917 Revolution. It is by one of the greatest of the younger poets of Soviet Russia, Marienhof belongs to the imagist school of poets. In later issues of the DAILY WORKER we will print other poems by the younger writers, all of them revolutionary, inspired by the great proletarian revolution. Louis Lozowick who is an authority on the latest literature and art of Soviet Russia has sent us a batch of poems and stories which he has translated from the Russian, and they will appear from time to time in the Magazine Section.)

We trample filial reverence under foot.
Hat on head,
We sit down impudently,
Legs crossed and heels kicked up.

You do not like our bloody laughter,
Our refusal to wash again the rags
already washed a million times,
Our sudden daring
To bark a deafening bow-wow!

Ya-a, backbone
Upright like a telegraph pole,
Not mine alone,
All Russians, hunchbacked for centuries.

Who on earth is now more clamorous than we?
Bedlam, you say,
No mile-stones nor signposts—
To hell! Our red cancan is a splendid sight.

You would not believe it: multitudes,
Droves of clouds under human orders,
And the sky spread out like a woman's wrap,
And not a single sunray.

Christ is on the Cross again, and Barabbas
Promenading over Tyersky
Who can stop—who—galloping Scythian steeds?
Bowstrings singing the Marseillaise?

Did any hear of blacksmith
Forging railtrack bracelets for the globe,
Puffing his cheap plug with the air
Of an officer clicking spurs?

You ask: What next?
Next—dancing centuries,
We break into every door,
And no one dares threaten: Here take that!

We! We! We're everywhere,
At the very footlights of the stage;
Not quiet lyricists,
But flaming clowns.

Rubbish, all rubbish into a heap;
And, singing like Savonarola, chuck it
Into the fire. . . No matter! Who is there to fear
When tiny worlds of petty souls are vast spheres now?
Every day—a new chapter in the Bible,
Every page—an inspiration to a thousand generations.
It will be said about us:
Happy they who lived in 1917.

And still you whine: We are lost!
And still you whimper!
Blockheads.
Is not Yesterday squashed like a pigeon
Under an automobile
Rushing madly from a garage?
From the Russian of Anatoly Marienhof by Louis Lozowick.

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

There is less talk nowadays in the capitalist press about alleged graft in Soviet Russia than was common before the Teapot Dome spilled its oily freight over the pages of current history. On the contrary the little that seeps thru the capitalist censors about the Workers' Republic indicates that officials who take liberties with the institutions and property of the Russian workers receive scant consideration even tho in the past they have made sacrifices for the cause.

Ex-Senator France of Maryland on his way back from Moscow declared that Russia has the most efficient and businesslike government in the world. I listened to a debate several years ago between John Spargo and Tom Mann, in which the former held that the workers could not manage industry. Our Russian comrades are giving the lie to the renegade Spargo, despite the obstacles placed in their way by international capitalism and the reactionary labor leaders.

"Russia has the richest mineral resources in the world, with three times as much gold, silver, oil, coal and other minerals as America," says Mr. France. Predicting that the governments of the world would soon be compelled to recognize Soviet Russia, the ex-senator said that secretary of state Hughes may be a good provincial lawyer but knows nothing about international law. He depends on Sam Gompers for enlightenment on that phase of his duty.

The Vatican denies the truth of a paragraph published recently in the DAILY WORKER to the effect that His Holiness was taking steps to recognize Soviet Russia. We give this denial to our readers for what it is worth, our acquaintance with the ways of the pious gentleman on the Tiber not being conducive to unquestioning faith in the veracity of that servant of Christ.

Edward Young Clarke, former imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan pleaded guilty to a violation of the Mann Act and was fined \$5,000. He was convicted of having taken a girl from Houston to New Orleans. One of the principal excuses the Ku Klux Klan had for inflicting itself on the people of America was its determination to protect American womanhood.

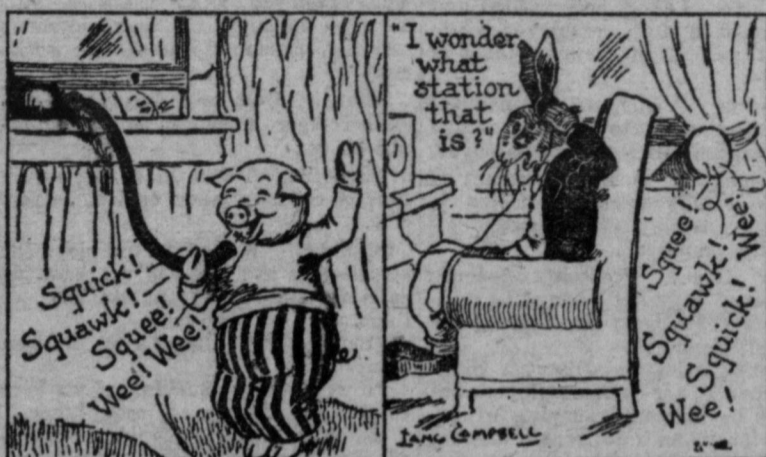
The Swedish parliament defeated a motion to send a commission to the United States to study the workings of the prohibition law here. Suspicion was aroused that those who sought the passage of the motion were more interested in sampling prohibition liquor than in drawing lessons from the workings of the act. The Swedes are not easily bluffed on the liquor question.

The fighting strength of the British navy is now massed in the Mediterranean sea for maneuvers. This means of course that England having disposed of the German fleet and the threat from the Baltic is now guarding the route to the East. The enemy is now France and Italy. The Italian and French press which makes no pretense of not being inspired by their governments, comments unfavorably on the presence of the British armada so close to their shores. But the markets of the capitalists and their colonies must be protected. Ramsay MacDonald does not want to lose India.

UNCLE WIGGILY'S TRICKS—



A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN



Soviet Russia Observes Women's Day

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, March 8th—a heritage of the pre-war International Socialist movement—has been utilized every year in revolutionary Russia for intensive propaganda and organization work among working and peasant women. Extensive preparations are made each year by the Communist Party and the trade unions to reach proletarian women in work shops, offices, on the land and in the homes, with a call for solidarity with the men workers in the struggle for a better world.

As soon as the Communist International issued its manifesto on the significance of International Women's Day and called upon all its 52 sections to set aside March 8, for concentrated and systematic work for organizing and propagandizing among women workers, the Russian Communist Party and the trade unions began immediately to make preparations to fittingly observe the day in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Propaganda of the Party.

On February 6th the secretary of the Communist Party, *Mozobov*, and the head of the Women's Department, *Snidoritch*, issued official instructions to all party units to organize the campaign for International Women's Day under the slogan "Remember and observe the heritage of *Illyitch* (Lenin) about the working and peasant women" and his admonition that "The work of the Soviet government will be crowned with success only then when millions and millions of working and peasant women will join the ranks of its supporters."

The party organizations were adjured to bring out in clear and simple manner, before the women assembled at mass meetings, the accomplishments in the field of women's emancipation and in drawing them into the party, delegate meetings, soviets, trade unions, co-operatives, mutual aid societies, committees to aid poor peasants and their active participation in these movements. The party leaders were instructed to make it known to the women that during the campaign of admission of new members into the party "all honest proletarians and true revolutionary women working in shops and factories will be welcomed into the party of Lenin."

The party organizations were also called upon to secure before March 8th, action in the soviets, trade unions, and co-operatives, establishing additional and improving existing children's homes, nurseries, kindergartens, common dining rooms, laundries, etc. The slogan, "Remember Comrade Lenin and teach your children to follow in his footsteps," was to be popularized among the workers in the villages. The party units were also urged by instructions from the Central Committee to arrange on March 8th, special sessions of village soviets with delegates from peasant women's organizations invited to attend as well as exchange dele-

gations between working women's and peasant women's organizations on that day. The significance of International Women's Day was to be discussed at all gatherings, in the light of the present international status of the Soviet Republics, the conditions of the working class in capitalist countries with particular reference to the need of aiding the German workers in their revolutionary struggles.

Program of the Trade Unions.

The All Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions issued on February 15 under the names of Secretary *Dogadov*, head of the Cultural Department; *Seniushkin*, and head of the Organizations Department *Iaglom* instructions to all subdivisions of the trade union movement to observe International Women's Day under the general slogans prepared by the Com-

munist Party. In addition the following program of action to be carried out before March 8th was outlined for the unions:

1. An inquiry into the results of attracting young women workers and teachers into the various branches of the trade technical education and prepare plans for future activity in this regard.
2. A survey of conditions prevailing in the community houses for women workers, securing their necessary improvements thru the proper administrative organs.
3. A survey of the condition of unemployment of women in private establishments, securing there the strict observance of all labor laws and the proper payment of wages.
4. Appropriation of sums from union funds for the establishment of children's homes and the organization of restaurants and laundries thru the co-operatives.
5. Give additional aid to unemployed women workers and especially pregnant women with small children, from the mutual aid funds of the unions.

New York

By EZRA POUND

My City, my beloved, my white! Ah, slender,
Listen! Listen to me, and I will breathe into thee a soul.
Delicately upon the reed, attend me!

Now do I know that I am mad,
For here are a million people surly with traffic;
This is no maid.
Neither could I play upon any reed if I had one.

My City, my beloved,
Thou art a maid with no breasts,
Thou art slender as a silver reed.
Listen to me, attend me!
And I will breathe into thee a soul,
And thou shalt live forever.

instructions sent out by V. Schmidt, Labor Commissar of U. S. S. R., on February 13th.

According to this order all women workers must be released on March 8th two hours earlier than usual, provided that such release would not force the stoppage of work altogether. In establishments where women are in the majority and where their release would cause the complete cessation of work, the establishments were to be closed two hours earlier than usual. In establishments where the release of women workers may cause injury or inconvenience to the public, such as telegraph and telephone stations, hospitals, public restaurants and food supply stations, etc., the working women were in lieu of their release, to receive for the two hours of work one and a half times their regular pay.

This is how the government, the Communist Party and Trade Unions co-operate in celebrating a labor holiday—International Women's Day. The day is utilized not only for propaganda purposes but also to improve the conditions of women workers. Only in a country where the aims of the labor movement are the aims of the state can a labor holi-

day be celebrated in a manner as it is now celebrated in Soviet Russia—Workers' Russia.

Historical Parallels.

The international labor holiday of May first had its origin in America. The International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889 commemorated the struggle for the eight-hour day in America in the eighties by setting aside May 1st as a day which the labor movement, triumphant over the world, should celebrate as a labor holiday. Soviet Russia has declared May 1st a legal holiday and the celebration of every May 1st is equal in grandeur to the celebration of the Soviet Republic on November 7th. Another Soviet legal holiday taken from the calendar of the International Socialist movement is the Paris Commune Day, March 18th.

International Women's Day also had its origin in America. Thru the socialist party, some fifteen years ago, it was accepted by the International Socialist movement. The Communist Party of Russia and the Communist International have perpetuated Women's Day.

I spent last International Women's Day in Moscow. *Maria Illiushka*, Lenin's sister who devoted much of her time to the "Pravda" and was in charge of the special edition of the paper on that occasion, asked me to write an article on the nature and extent of working women's movement in America. I spoke that day at a large meeting of women workers. They were glad to have a speaker from the country where Women's Day originated.

America gave birth to May 1st and International Women's Day. What is the next day, the day not only of hope but of achievement which our movement will give to the International Labor movement?

The Farmers for Lenin.

A resolution in honor of Lenin expressing sorrow for his death was adopted by the Skagit County unit of the Western Progressive Farmers of the State of Washington at its session on January 26. The resolution reads as follows:

Whereas, Nicolai Lenin, the greatest of all leaders of the producing class, has passed away, and

Whereas, the best way to honor those who have given their lives for the emancipation of labor is to continue the struggle for freedom with increased vigor, therefore, be it

Resolved, that we hereby express our sorrow at the untimely death of labor's greatest champion, and we pledge ourselves anew to the great task before the producers of America: the abolition of all forms of exploitation, and the establishment of a workers' and farmers' republic.

The central problem is to capture and retain political power, the state power in the hands of the working class.—Clara Zetkin.

Don't be a "Yes, But," supporter of The Daily Worker. Send in your subscription at once.

Unemployment and Labor Aristocracy

(Continued from page 1)

common and semi-skilled workmen.

"Syracuse. A shortage of tool-makers, machinists and other skilled trades in these lines, while a surplus of laborers, casual workers and unskilled machine hands exists.

"Albany. The large influx of transient labor has created a surplus, chiefly unskilled workmen.

"Yonkers. Labor, both skilled and semi-skilled is fully employed while a slight surplus of common labor is indicated.

"Elmira. A surplus of unskilled labor continues to exist. Altho skilled trades are steadily employed.

"Binghamton. A small amount of idleness, chiefly unskilled labor is apparent. Highly skilled mechanics are fully employed.

"New Jersey. Release of large numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled labor. Building mechanics are very well employed.

"Newark Industrial District. Skilled mechanics are well employed, but there is an increased surplus of ordinary labor and a noticeable amount of unemployment exists.

"Patterson. A shortage of skilled

mechanics is becoming apparent. The supply of general labor is plentiful.

"Pennsylvania, Johnstown. A labor surplus exists, principally of unskilled workers.

"Harrisburg Industrial District. With the exception of unskilled workmen labor is fully employed.

"Bethlehem. Skilled trades are fully employed.

"York. Skilled labor generally is well employed altho there is still a small amount of unemployment existing, principally unskilled workers.

"Illinois, Decatur. Surplus of unskilled labor is noted in the building trades.

"Danville. There is a large surplus of common labor evident in this city.

"Indiana. While the employment situation in this state is not bad, the calls for labor (except skilled) are light.

"Indianapolis. Surplus of common labor.

"Fort Wayne. Surplus of workers exists, particularly common labor.

"Michigan, Grand Rapids. Surplus of common laborers.

"Flint. The local workers in this

city are all employed, but there is a large number of transients looking for employment. Shortage of skilled automobile mechanics reported.

"Battle Creek. Surplus of unskilled labor and shortage of skilled machinists reported.

"Wisconsin, Milwaukee Industrial District. A slight shortage of machine molders for malleable foundries, pattern makers and skilled machinists is reported. There is a surplus of applicant in other industries and especially of common laborers.

"Superior. A large surplus exists in unskilled labor with a smaller surplus in skilled evident.

"Ohio, Canton Industrial District. Skilled workers are all employed. Workers out of employment are of the unskilled class.

"Lima. Light shortage of skilled labor in this city with a surplus of unskilled labor reported.

"Kansas, Leavenworth. Surplus of common labor. Skilled labor is fairly well employed.

"Nebraska, North Platte. Many idle agricultural workers here. Mechanics are fairly well employed.

"Kentucky. Shortage of skilled

mechanics and a surplus of unskilled workers is reported.

"Mississippi, Meridian. Skilled labor fully employed with a slight surplus of common labor existing.

"Louisiana. Skilled labor is well employed, but there is some excess of common labor.

"California, Los Angeles. Common labor is particularly affected in the existing large surplus of labor."

These facts show that unemployment is a mass phenomenon; but today it is still a "privilege" of the unskilled workers, and the labor aristocracy is still unaffected by the economic depression. The skilled workers are fully employed everywhere and we could not cite from the Bulletin more than two or three places where a surplus of skilled labor exists. In spite of all new leveling tendencies in the American working class there still exists a deep abyss between the privileged labor aristocracy and the real proletarian workers. The American Federation of Labor is under the leadership and in the hands of the labor aristocracy, and it, therefore, neglects the organizing of unskilled workers and does not care about unemployment of "common" labor.