

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

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IN THE LAND OF GLOOM - - By M. J. OLGIN

WHEN a man has spent in a foreign country a little over four days, one cannot expect him to have a clear view on every phase of its life. The press correspondent who says "he knows it all," is fooling himself or his readers. I would not claim to give here an adequate account of the German economic and political situation. I will only confine myself to a few indisputable facts which force themselves upon every observer as soon as he begins to orientate himself on German soil.

Low Wages, Unemployment, Starvation.

FACT number one is the miserable situation of the German working class. With the stabilization of the mark, prices in Germany, excepting rents, are on the same general level as are the prices in the United States. The average wage of a German working man is somewhere in the vicinity of twenty marks a week. Peak wages for the highest skilled workers (such as the members of the printers' union) do not exceed thirty-six marks; after deducting taxes, sick benefit dues and other obligatory payments, the highest

labor. His wife told me that, as a rule, the German worker eats meat only once a week. The life of the unskilled laborers is still worse. The life of the unemployed is hell. There is a movement afoot to change the eight-hour day for ten. In some cases it has been accomplished. That there must be dissatisfaction among the workers under conditions like these, is easy to imagine.

The Revolt of the Workers.

FACT number two is this bitter revolutionary dissatisfaction of the laboring masses. The wave of resentment is growing. The readiness to fight becomes more manifest every day. The masses have come to after the defeat of last October. In reality, the masses had never been subdued. It is true that long years of hopelessness under the treaty of Versailles, long years of underfeeding and actual starvation have sapped the vitality of the German working class as a whole and have thrown a portion of the workers into a state of nerveless stupor. But even among the most devitalized elements smoulders the fire of revolt. Under the ashes of despair there is so much hatred for the ruling

at the election. This country, famous by its fascism, by the Hitler counter-revolution, by the shame of the Hitler-Ludendorff trial, by assaults on the Communist workers, by imprisonment of Communist leaders and shutting down of Communist papers, had, at the April landtag election, cast over 200,000 votes for the Communist ticket, four times as much as on the previous election. It should be noted that an open election campaign could not be carried on by our Bavarian comrades, and that literature could not be distributed freely. It should also be remembered that Bavaria is a predominantly agricultural state and that the bulwarks of Communism are the central, northern and northwestern industrial regions.

THE Bavarian vote shows the trend of the revolutionary sentiment among the German workers. Other signs of the same revolutionary character are not lacking. The labor movement in Germany has reached a state where, either it is Communism, that is to say class-struggle and revolution, or it is nothing at all.

Social Democracy Is No More.

German Social-Democracy is not even using a socialist phraseology any longer. (It has substituted "social conscience" for class consciousness and class-struggle.) The German "Vorwaerts" is no more liberal than used to be the "Berliner Tageblatt" in 1912. I have personally read the following classic remark in the "Vorwaerts" of April 8: "The Russian Communists denounce bourgeois class justice in the capitalist countries, while they themselves practice proletarian class justice in the Russian Soviet states." Proletarian class justice is equally unacceptable to the German "Vorwaerts" as is capitalist justice. This illustration alone may suffice.

IN practice the German Social-Democracy offers nothing to the working class which could not be and is not being offered by the liberal portion of the bourgeoisie. Fighting against capitalism is criminal because it undermines the economic foundation of the fatherland. Demands presented to the bosses must be mild or else capitalism will not be able to get its due dividends. Reparation bills must be acknowledged and paid because the German army is not strong enough to

TO THE GOOD, OLD TIMES!



THE CAPITALIST-MONARCHIST UNITED FRONT IN GERMANY.

paid worker brings home no more than thirty marks. The dollar buys now a little over four marks. Those of the German workers who are happy enough to have full-time continuous employment, earn as much as \$5 to \$7.50 a week. The number of such fortunates, however, is not very large. There are four million of unemployed in Germany today. There are twelve million who work part of the time.

"How can you make both ends meet?" I asked a cabinet maker in a suburb of Berlin.

The man looked at me with a smile of despondency.

"One must," was all he said.

IHAD soon a vivid illustration of how "one must." The man had come home after eight hours of work. He was a sturdy fellow of about thirty, tho of middle height. The meal his wife put before him on the table consisted of a soup-plate of mashed potatoes with gravy and a piece of bread. That was all. Later in the evening he would drink a pint of beer in his union hall, or maybe he would even abstain from this.

THE man lived in one small room with his wife and a three-year-old child. He could not allow himself the luxury of decent clothes. He could not allow himself the luxury of a theatre, or a concert. He could not allow himself the luxury of an "ausflug" (holiday trip) out of town on a Sunday. He could not allow himself anything. And he still belonged to the aristocracy of

classes and so much contempt for capitalist law and order that any shock is capable of provoke an explosion. "We have reached the end of the rope." "We have nothing to lose." Where this sentiment is widespread, a revolution is abroad.

THE first manifestation of the strengthening will to struggle among the working masses is the wave of strikes. When I arrived in Hamburg, baggage had to be carried by the passengers themselves (to the great and bitter resentment of the paunch-carrying German "buegers") because the porters had gone on strike. This was the first skirmish of an impending all-German railroad strike. The strike has been averted by the compromise of the union bureaucrats, but the workers are not content with the results. There has been a partial strike of the printers. There is a miners' strike impending. There is a strike fermentation among millions. This in spite of the A. D. G. B. (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschafts-Bund—the German A. F. of L.) which tries to smother the movement.

A second manifestation of the German workers' revolt is their switching over to the Left. The Communist movement is growing by leaps and bounds. A situation has been created where, when a worker says "fight," he must say "Communism." Just when I was in Berlin, the most amazing and most encouraging victory

was won by our comrades in Bavaria

FACT number three is the collapse of the center. By the same token by which the workers rally to the extreme Left, the bourgeois elements rally to the extreme Right, i. e. to fascism. The pacifiers, the compromisers, the preachers of social collaboration the prophets of all-healing bourgeois democracy are simply melting away. The decay of the Social-Democracy is, perhaps, even a quicker process than the disintegration of purely bourgeois liberalism. The Social-Democracy, by becoming an appendix to the capitalist state and by defending private property against the revolutionary workers, has become historically useless. Comrade Trotzky, recently provoked great merriment all over Russia by the following remark: "The English worker," he said, "will ask himself: 'why should I scratch behind my right ear with my left hand? Why should I support McDonald who takes orders from the liberal bourgeoisie, when I can meet the same bourgeoisie myself face to face?'" This is still more true about the German Social-Democracy. Those of the American comrades who still remember the Bebel-Kautsky-Ledebur Social-Democracy of pre-war times and who have not seen it in action (for reaction) afterwards, should keep in mind that there is practically no difference between the German Social-Democracy of the present and a liberal bourgeois party of the pre-war epoch, such as, for instance, the Russian Kadets. The

fight the French. Communists must be downed and smashed because they voice the hatreds of the masses and lead in revolutionary fights, against the only order which is possible at present, namely the capitalist order. This is, roughly, the ideology of the once famous Social-Democratic party. This is the tone and the trend of everyday actions. When I was in Germany, the Dawes committee published its report. The Social-Democratic press was more docile and more crestfallen as regards the crazy bill than was the liberal press. In the strike wave, the Social-Democratic union bureaucrats try to compromise as quietly as is desirable for the bosses and on terms as mild as would only keep the workers from striking. When it comes, however, to persecuting the Communists in the "Gewerkschaften" (unions) or even outlawing entire red sections of the unions, the same Social-Democrats manifest unusual initiative and vigor.

The natural result is a catastrophic loss of Social-Democratic prestige among the mass of the workers, the collapse of Social-Democracy as a political factor, a rush of the workers of any degree of class-consciousness to the sphere of the revolutionary Communist influence and revolutionary action. "German Social-Democracy is no more," this is a remark repeated in Germany with the same certainty as we, in America, speak of the disappearance of the S. P.

(Continued on page 3)

Rural Child Labor in the United States

By LOUIS ZOOBOCK

THE agricultural revolution which is spreading thru the rural regions of the United States has led to many unfortunate results. Large capitalistic corporations have invaded the country and are at present controlling huge estates operated by managers with hired labor on what may properly be called a "factory system." The farmers, under the pressure of the monopolists and other exploiters, are sinking to greater and greater poverty and are forced into the class of landless agricultural wage slaves; rural slums are developing, some of them under a tenancy system which does not allow graduation into ownership and holds thousands of families in a state of virtual serfdom; but the most tragic result of the agricultural revolution is the exploitation of the country child, who is chained hopelessly to the drudgery of the farm. Instead of children working side by side with the father and mother on the farm, we find them in many places in gangs of 25, 50 and 100, working under supervision of what is virtually a slave driver, whose chief interest is in the amount of money the children can earn for a financial corporation. It is the condition of these juvenile rural laborers that this article will attempt to ascertain.

Extent of Rural Child Labor.

The number of children engaged in agricultural pursuits has been steadily on the increase. Between the years 1880 and 1900 the number very nearly doubled, and between 1900 and 1910 it increased by approximately one-half. Of the total number of children 10 to 15 years of age reported by the 1910 census as bread winners, 1,431,254, or 71.9 per cent, were engaged in agriculture; of this number 260,195 were reported as "farm laborers working out," that is, on farms away from home. The 1920 census shows a great decrease in the number of rural child workers, but it should be noticed that the census was taken in January, when agricultural operations are practically at a standstill. Besides, it must be remembered that children under 10 years of age, who by the hundreds work in various agricultural operations, are not included in the census occupational returns. However, the findings of the children's bureau disclose the true facts of the extent of child labor on farms; not only was there a decrease in the number of children employed in agriculture, but, on the opposite, there was a considerable increase: at present 2,000,000 children are working on the farms to their injury.

According to Edward N. Clopper, the enjoyment of the following rights is essential to a normal childhood:

1. The right to be born in honor and sound in body and mind; to protection from disease, and to the promotion of health.
2. The right to care, food, shelter, and clothing.
3. The right to education and training sufficient to develop fully his capacity for knowledge and achievement.
4. The right to play and recreation, and to the companionship of his fellows.
5. The right to be safeguarded from neglect, abuse, exploitation and other injustice.

All these fundamental rights are being denied to the child of the landless farmer. The exploitation of the farmers by the capitalists and absentee owners has led to a condition where the farmers must depend upon the work of their families in order to make ends meet on most farms. Even on the home farms operated by the family, a premium is put upon the labor of children. It often happens that the larger the farm the more work for the children. Likewise the larger the family, the larger the farm that is operated. This is particularly true of tenant farms, especially in one-crop sections, where the size of the farm granted to the tenant is based on the size of the family. Where families are hired for farm labor under contract—as in the beet

fields of Colorado, Michigan, Nebraska, Kansas and Iowa, in the truck gardens all along the Atlantic coast, or in the great onion fields of Ohio—the acreage to be cultivated is allotted on the same basis. The landlords, employers and other exploiters of the agricultural wage earners devise such contractual conditions which mean a greater demand for tenants and laborers with larger families, and consequently greater exploitation of rural child laborers.

Many reformists and philanthropists, who interest themselves in child labor problems, have tried to show that the work of children in the open air is not injurious; that "the fact that farm children work does not make them child laborers; that the child with a home in the country, where he lives under the care of his parents, is ideally situated," etc. All these assumptions are false, baseless and do not stand any criticism. Poor housing conditions, lack of the simplest sanitary devices, failure to observe even elementary health precautions, lack of recreational life, wretched schooling facilities and poor quality of teachers, burdens prematurely placed upon children in farm and housework, these are the drawbacks

the fertilizer, etc. The tenant supplies nothing except his labor and that of his wife and children. When the crop is gathered he gets half, and with deductions made for the advances, the landlord gets the rest. The number of acres granted for cultivation depends upon the number of children of the tenant, and as the machinery provided by the landlord is usually old and outworn, the tenant needs a great amount of labor in order to be able to eke out a "living." As a result, thruout the south children of both sexes and all ages from 5 to 15 years are being employed as cotton pickers. The work is very fatiguing; there is exposure to the sun and heat in every part of the season; and because of the monotony of keeping the same position, the shoulders and arms ache from the muscular exertion, and the hands become cramped from holding the hoe. Besides, where the children are working out for some one else the pay is at piece rates, 50 cents for 100 pounds; this encourages speeding, and the pickers are under a nervous strain. It also encourages longer hours of work; in cotton picking the working day is from 7 or earlier until sundown, with almost no time off for

ery or dangerous implements, or the driving of four-horse or five-horse teams are commonly performed by children from the ages of 10 and up. "Boys as young as 7 years of age and girls as young as 10 are commonly found driving stackers and hay forks, harrowing and raking hay, etc."

Of 845 children included in one study, 104 while engaged in farm work had had an accident resulting in some injury. Twelve of them had broken their arms or legs, or had broken bones in other parts of the body; others had dislocations, sprains or had been crushed or badly bruised, or had bad cuts or lacerations. Permanent injuries, such as loss of an arm or leg, and even deaths, are a common occurrence.

In the sugar beet fields of Colorado, Michigan, Kansas, etc., tens of thousands of children between the ages of 3 and 16 are being utilized in the work of taking care of the sugar beets. Some work in gangs under slave drivers, others merely as members of the laboring family, which often is a migratory family following the crops from locality to locality.

At least 50 per cent of the hired workers on the beet fields are children who work 14 hours a day under a speeding system. The work is very hard and exhaustive; the continued stooping in kneeling and crouching positions when "thinning," and the lifting and handling of heavy weights in "pulling" and "topping," affect the posture and outline of the growing child's body. Seventy per cent or more of the children employed in the sugar beet industry have postural deformities and malpositions apparently due to strain. "A total of 676 cases of winged scapulae were found among the 1,022 children, 661 of the entire group having this defect; hence two children in three were taxing the muscles of an undeveloped shoulder girdle in this period of growth."

Similar conditions exist in other places. In Ohio, several departments of the state government have been aroused over child labor conditions in the onion fields, one official declaring them to be "outrageous and unbelievable." He estimated that more than 4,000 children between the ages of 6 and 16 are working in the marshes weeding and topping onions. A Cleveland newspaper man reported them as working 10 hours a day, "crawling on hands and knees thru mucky soil," and that the children became completely exhausted by the work.

In the Imperial Valley of California children as young as 3 years of age pick cotton from sunrise to sunset in the extreme shadeless heat of the valley. The work is very hard and taxes the strength of the undeveloped children. The cotton pickers usually have a long, loose strap of material at the opening of the bag which is slipped over the child's head. The child picks the cotton, puts it in the bag, which he drags behind him. One boy stated to an investigator: "I sometimes pick till I have over 100 pounds. I pick as long as I can pull the bag, and until it gets so heavy that I can't walk straight." Another boy said: "Us kids most always drag from 40 to 50 pounds of cotton before we take it to be weighed. Three of us pick. I am 12 years old and my bag is 12 feet long. I can drag nearly 100 pounds."

This in brief describes the condition of the rural child laborers. They are forced to perform the hardest tasks on the farms; they are compelled to work long hours for the poorest pay; they are virtually denied an education, as they must work in order to supplement the meager earnings of the parents; they are deprived of proper amusements and social and intellectual opportunities to a most undesirable degree; they are forced to live in the cheapest and most unsanitary quarters; they are badly fed and undernourished, and as a result cases of malnutrition, pellagra, and tuberculosis are very common, etc. To put it in a single sentence, under the system of wage slavery, the children of the tenant farmers and agricultural laborers have no opportunities for education, health, recreation and the enjoyment of a normal childhood.

CAPITALISM TRIUMPHANT!



PEACE.

of country life under the system of wage slavery. A description of specific facts will help to make this clearer.

Findings in Southern States.

In West Virginia, children are carrying burdens that properly belong to grown-ups. Walter W. Armistead, who investigated conditions there, found the following examples: A 12-year-old boy and his mother cultivated six acres of corn and raised and marketed 200 bushels of tomatoes.

Two boys, 12 and 14 years old, operated a 140-acre farm, while the father worked in a sand mine.

A boy, 15 years old, does all the work on a 150-acre farm, his father being away at the mines.

One boy, 12 years old, was found operating a tractor, diskings a 20-acre field, unaided.

A girl, 15 years old, and her two brothers, 13 and 14 years old, hoed 15 acres of corn three times, cut corn one week, bound oats by hand 3 days, raked hay with a hand rake 18 days, picked up potatoes for three days, 25 bushels each, per day, etc.

The worst phases of rural child labor are found in the one-crop sections of the South, where cropper tenancy prevails. Here the greedy landlords have developed a system of peonage which guarantees the rent to the landlord and insures poverty to the tenant. The landlord furnishes the land, work, stock, implements, seed, half

dinner; many families take their dinners to the field and eat as they go up and down the rows.

On the truck farms of Maryland and Virginia, children as young as 5 years of age are being mercilessly exploited by the landlords. Here they work from 9 to 13 hours a day; Negro children working much longer hours. In addition to the time spent working on the field most of the children are compelled to do housework and tend to the chores, which makes their total "day's" work unusually long.

The earnings of the children are very small. On the Norfolk truck farms, the hourly rates range from less than 5 cents up to 40 cents and over. In Maryland, children usually get the prevailing rate for piecework by the basket or by the row, as, for example, 4 cents for a five-eighths bushel of tomatoes. In other cases they are paid by the hour, from 10 to 30 cents. One child of 5 was given 10 cents a day for dropping sweet potatoes.

Conditions in Other States.

In states other than the south the conditions are not any better. In North Dakota, investigations of the children's bureau revealed shocking conditions. Children between 6 and 17 years of age are performing every variety of work on the farms. Many heavy and more or less hazardous farm processes involving special physical strain, the handling of machin-

A Little May Day Experience

By ARNE SWABECK.

DOWN in Franklin County the Ku Klux Klan is flourishing like toad stools. The Invisible Empire has full sway. It is a league of petty bourgeois storekeepers, reinforced by the appointed henchmen of the coal operators and the well-known steam roller of the United Mine Workers Union. They are the servile tools of the masters. Of course, any expression of solidarity by the workers is both detested and feared by this gang.

THIS county is bordering on the south to Williamson County, made famous two years ago when the striking coal miners taught a bloody lesson to professional scabbing, and made notorious recently thru the hard boiled exploits of "Grand Kleagle" (or something like that) Glenn Young. It is located right in the heart of the Illinois coal fields. Thousands of miners have been compelled to accept a status of more or less permanent idleness. At present over half of the mines are shut down tight. However, most of these coal miners own a little shack, and the storekeepers, in the hope of some day taking over the deed to such property, are quite willing to grant credit for the most essential necessities, while meanwhile nothing will be left over for clothing. It seems like the coal barons cherish the hope that some day these valiant miners will be starved into submission.

LAST year the little city of Christopher, in Franklin County, put on a grand May Day Celebration. Under the auspices of the two mine workers' local unions a great parade thru the town was staged, winding up in a mass meeting over which the Mayor presided while Comrades Earl Browder and Mother Bloor spoke. Now matters have changed somewhat. The Ku Kluxers, the local operators, and I suppose, also the lieutenants of Frank Farrington, have had an opportunity to inform the Mayor that he made a mistake. This year nothing like that was going to happen.

ON Thursday morning, May First, after having been pulled thru the muddy road from Benton by a horse team, I arrived in Christopher for the scheduled May Day celebration. A mass meeting had been advertised at the tiny city park. Some of us boarded a Ford and came to the park at the appointed hour. Several hundred coal miners lined the streets. None had been permitted to enter the park. Immediately the Mayor stepped up and told us curtly that "no bolshevik speeches or May Day celebrations would be allowed anywhere in Christopher," and "no arguments about it," echoed the sheriffs and deputy sheriffs while a gang of the Ku Klu Klan sent us some rather hostile looks.

"What were you going to speak about," one little storekeeper asked me. "Well, give me a chance to get it off my chest," I replied, "and you may listen." But, nothing doing. We were pushed back into the Ford and compelled to leave.

WE next made for the miners' hall, followed by part of the audience, determined to use our "constitutional right" to free assemblage. Comrade Barney Mass, organizer of the Young Workers League, opened the meeting with a few appropriate remarks on the "rights and guarantees" set forth in the United States Constitution. However, the sheriffs, deputies and Ku Kluxers thought otherwise. No sooner had Comrade Mass started than in rushed a big organized gang of this tribe, again laying down the law: "No May Day celebration anywhere in Christopher." Arguments availed nothing. Comrade Mass was placed under arrest and the meeting broke up.

THE excitement became transferred to the streets; the crowd increased expecting something to happen. While we paced the walk on the one side, awaiting an opportunity to place bonds for Comrade Mass, the Ku Kluxers, growing in numbers, watched our moves from the other side.

I HAD a meeting scheduled at Ziegler, for that same afternoon, and the comrades reminded me that we had better start to reach it in time, leav-

ing others to take care of Barney Mass. Of course, it could hardly be expected that I should be permitted to get away that easy, at least such were not the intentions of those watching us from the other side. When about ready to go, I was also placed under arrest and taken to a place they called the City Hall. "You dirty little rat, did you write that article?" I heard the captain of the Ku Klux Klan shout to Barney Mass, when I arrived there, as he tried to fit his fist to Barney's jaw. He referred to an article on the American Legion which he discovered in an old copy of the Young Worker, confiscated from our belongings. But no reply was needed, the sheriff intervened, saying

that he could not stand for anyone taking the law into their own hands, as we were going to have a fair and "partial" trial (he meant impartial).

THIS particular part of the country has witnessed many bitter fights between the "upholders of the law" and those who want to administer speedy "justice" with the help of a gun or a piece of rope, in line with the traditions of the "good old days." So, while the city authorities, evidently moved by the fact that a couple of dangerous reds had been caught, decided that we were to be transferred to the county seat, Benton, Ill., the Ku Kluxers made ready for a "Necktie Party." They filled two big Buick cars with gun totters and set out at

a speed of about 60 miles an hour determined to catch up with us while we were yet on the hard road to Benton and where they would have a better chance to overpower our sheriff guardians.

HEAVILY guarded by a total of eight sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, Comrade Mass and myself traveled along, our party divided into two Forés, with Benton as our goal. Just before the entrance to that city travelers were compelled to switch off from the hard road, which is not quite completed there, and take another road, muddy, about two feet deep. We got stuck and sheriffs had to pull the cars out. Just then the two cars loaded with Ku Kluxers arrived on the scene and got stuck too; they failed to reach us on the hard road. Up came the Klan captain, owner of a little hardware store in Christopher, armed with a gun in one hand and a nice slender rope in the other, ready to administer "justice." Furious that we had slipped away, he commanded, "stick 'em up," and continued, "these are my prisoners, I claim these men and we'll fix 'em." One deputy sheriff, daunted at the gall, stuck 'em up. A minute's hesitation, at which many thoughts ran rapidly thru our minds. Was this a frame-up? Were the sheriffs going to turn us over to that mob? But no—the fellow had overreached himself. The sheriff in command, noting that only one man had come forward while pointing his gun at him, retorted, "these are my prisoners, they are going to have a fair and "partial" trial (again meaning impartial) and if you make another move this gun is going to come off." One sheriff quickly snatched the gun out of the hand of the Klan leader. He turned around and found himself staring into the gaps of seven other guns. Like a whipped cur, the would-be hero waded back thru the mud to his followers, and we felt perfectly at ease in the care of our brave sheriffs, who stepped on the gas and we soon arrived at Benton.

WHEN brought to the States Attorney's office, the frozen attitude of the sheriffs melted away and they discussed the incident with us in a jolly, good humored manner. "One more move by that fellow and I would have let loose," said the head sheriff. "They have tried that stunt on me before but never succeeded. Once in a while, however, they have their necktie parties, that seems to be a sort of costume here."

THE States Attorney delved into our literature supply without finding anything of an incriminating nature. He informed us that we would be held until further notice, rather as a matter of protection against any possible snipers. When we asked what specific charges had been submitted, he replied: "Well, if all those guns you saw had been discharged you wouldn't have asked for any charges. He was quite a jovial fellow, did not know that this state had a criminal syndicalist law, he had heard some rumblings about a Third Party and a Labor Party, and wished them all kinds of success, but was rather keenly interested in local politics and the candidacy of Governor Small. He agreed that the attempts of the Klan to hold up the sheriffs was a "grave offense." A little later, in a phone conversation with the Mayor of Christopher, he informed him that it would be of no use trying to make a case against us unless he, the Mayor, had some specific evidence to the effect that we had been advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence, and he added, "these fellows seem to be advocating a Labor Party."

At 6:30 the same evening we were released, and made our way to Ziegler, Ill. There we were informed that the Klan were organizing to get some speakers who had arrived in town. Twice they came to the hall where the miners had a dance. But it was late for any May Day celebration.

This incident with the Klan is helping to clear the class lines. It is gradually hammering the mine workers into one solid front against their enemies.

A Voice From Prison.

(Clip this out. When you feel like becoming a "Tired Radical" read it over and remember that Vanzetti was in prison four years when he wrote it. Then put it away till you need it again.)

"Go, thought, upon the Golden wing."

Fly, my thought thru the living, flaming atmosphere of this spring morning. Fly to the hearts of my comrades, and voice to them my message which can be felt tho it cannot be said.

What if I have loved Freedom too much? What if the world has revolved four times around the Fatherly Sun since I was put behind prison bars, and deprived of all that makes the travail of life worth living? No reflection of blue sky nor heavenly flame reach the prison built for men, by men. The People are prostrate under the ferocious folly of the Tyrants, Lords of the Land, and the violence of their ruffian soldiers, children of the poor. Is then all in vain? Is all vanity?

No, not all is in vain, not all is vanity. The sacrifice of women is not in vain if they give birth to real men. And the real, the immense generosity of the universe is in us if the love of freedom still warms the human heart.

Spring approaches, Resurrection is at hand! All the living creatures freed from the yoke of the criminal authority, renew themselves, rejoice and sing. This is the force that will free the souls from darkness and cowardly captivity and lead the human family to the shores and summits of infinite freedom.

Resurrection! Vain were the chains and the gallows, vain the pyres, the crosses and the arenas where martyrs have been flung to wild beasts. Vain are the ukases of those who rule the earth. There is a cosmic virtue that transcends the power of all tyrants. For this I bear manly my cross, I know not to have suffered in vain, Oh, my friends.

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI.

IN THE LAND OF GLOOM

(Continued from page one)

Fascisti.

FACT number four is the growing militancy and the growing number of the extreme Right which in Germany is called the "Voelkischer" and which we may name with the old familiar Fascisti. The program of the Right is very simple: abolition of the constitution, establishment of a monarchy, dissolution of all Socialist parties, annihilation of the Communists, a ten or twelve hour labor day, organization of a strong national army under a great national dictator, fight to the finish against the French. The Fascisti are militant not only in words but also in action. They make riots. They appear in workers' quarters and attack workers' gatherings. They do scab work in strikes. They organize anti-Jewish pogroms. For a radical or a person with an intellectual or a semitic appearance to come to a meeting of the Voelkische is to risk a couple of ribs. I was told by an eyewitness that at one of their meetings the younger members formed a line near the door asking the comers for donations and thereby singing a song which had the refrain:

"Give, give, give,
That we may kill off
The Mesopotamian flatfoots."

It is quite obvious that a movement of this kind, appealing to the patriotism of the German phillistine, appealing to the class interests of the German industrialist, appealing to the group interests of the military caste, appealing to the consciousness of power and supremacy which is inherent in the German bourgeoisie, appearing to offer a quick and glorious solution of

the present crisis, must attract a great number of disgruntled elements in the unhappy German empire. The weakness of the movement is in its inability to offer any real solution. It is childish to imagine that the Germans could wage a successful war against the French in the near future.

Among these forces the Communist party of Germany must steer its way and lead the masses towards a revolution. When I was in Berlin the Communist national congress was still in progress. It ended on the eve of my departure from Germany. The story of my meetings and conversations with the German comrades must be postponed to a later correspondence. Moscow, April 29.

Walsh Wants Senate Consideration Of Child Labor Bill

(By The Federated Press)

WASHINGTON, May 23.—Senator Walsh of Montana, has served notice that he will move within a few days that the Senate take up the child-labor resolution already passed by the House. Unanimous consent that the resolution be considered on May 22 was blocked by Sen. King of Utah.

Sen. Norris served notice, at the same time, that he would take similar action to secure consideration of the McNary-Haugen and Norris-Sinclair farmer relief bills. He said he had waited long enough, and would not hesitate to seek to set aside current business in order that farmer relief might get a hearing before adjournment.

The Needle Trades Conventions

By Alexander Bittelman

BETWEEN the dates of May 5th and 17th, national conventions have been held by three unions in the needle trades. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (I. L. G. W. U.) held its convention in Boston, May 5th to 17th. It was the seventeenth convention of the union coinciding with the 25th anniversary of that organization. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (A. C. W. of A.) held its sixth biennial convention in Philadelphia, May 12th to 17th. And the International Fur Workers Union (I. F. W. U.) held its sixth convention in Chicago, May 12th to 17th.

Three national conventions of the three most important unions in the garment industry of the United States. An important event in the lives not only of the workers of that industry but of the American labor movement as a whole. For the result of these conventions mark an epoch in the development of the Left Wing in the needle trades section of our labor movement and opens up a new chapter in the struggle for revolutionary unionism in the United States.

From Abstract Propaganda to Leadership in the Struggle.

THE above describes the path of development of the Left Wing in the needle trades unions from its inception up to today. It started out some six or seven years ago in a small, unassuming and modest way. Here and there an individual or two were preaching industrial unionism to little groups of garment workers, creating converts to the idea and instilling a spirit of general restlessness among the more advanced workers of that industry. It was a slow process. It altogether escaped the masses.

Soon afterwards came the Russian Revolution, and immediately the whole thing became pervaded with a new spirit and a stronger vitality. The idea of Industrial Unionism preached to the garment workers so consistently and patiently by the few isolated left wingers—this idea took on new flesh and appeared in a more concrete and practical form. Larger groups of garment workers have begun to lend sympathetic ears to the left wing propaganda, this fact marking the beginning of a real broad movement against the old antiquated form of trade union organization.

But it was only after the formation of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and the Trade Union Educational League that the Left Wing in the needle trades unions began to function—at first, slowly and clumsily—as a living, creating force in the everyday lives of the garment workers. It was no longer abstract propaganda of the abstract ideal of industrial unionism, nor was it mere agitation in favor of the Shop Delegates System. These larger organizational aims of the Left Wing became linked up with the concrete, day-by-day affairs of the union. The very term Left-Winger has assumed a new meaning. A Left Winger is not merely an idealist or a dreamer of rosy dreams, but a practical active trade unionist who knows better than the Right Winger how to run a union in the interests of the rank and file.

During the last two years the Left Wing in the needle trades has definitely established itself as a positive, creative force in the class-struggle and in the unions of the industry. It not only raised the banner of revolutionary unionism and of the Red Labor Union International, but it has also challenged in a practical and immediate fashion the Right Wing leadership of the union. The three needle trades conventions just held offer sufficient proof that the Left Wing is well on its road toward final victory.

The Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.
PRACTICALLY and morally the Left Wing had scored at this convention a hundred per cent victory. It has established itself beyond the shadow of a doubt as the only force capable of saving the union from decay and demoralization. In comparison with this the organizational victories of the Right Wing fade away into total insignificance.

The Right Wing had control of the convention. The "Forward"-Sigman machine was in the majority. But what does this really mean as far as the state of mind of the rank and file is concerned? Nothing, absolutely nothing. It was a machine-made majority, arrived at by previous expulsion of Left Wingers, their disfranchisement, by removing left wing candidates from the ballots, by unseating left wing delegates from the convention, by packing it with delegates of practically non-existing locals, and by every other dirty trick known in the game of capitalist politics. The majority that ruled the last convention of the I. L. G. W. U. is as much representative of the rank and file of the union as is the American Congress of the oppressed masses of the country.

What had this majority to offer to the union? What plans and proposals did this majority submit to the convention to strengthen the union, to make more effective its control of the industry, to combat unemployment, and in general to make the union a better instrument for the struggle against capitalist exploitation?

The answer is: Nothing. On all these matters the Right Wing, the

everyday life of the organization. By your daily deeds let every member of the organization know that it is you, the Left Wing, and not the Forward-Sigman machine that is willing and capable of building a strong, powerful union to fight the battles of the masses.

And, thirdly, strengthen the Workers Party among the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. It should be clear by this time to every progressive trade unionist that the real backbone and only source of inspiration for every progressive move in the unions is the organized Communist movement of America. Hence, the best immediate answer to the attacks of Gompers and his crew in the I. L. G. W. U. is to double and triple the membership of the Workers Party from among the workers of the needle trades workers.

The Convention of the Furriers.

THE convention of the International Fur Workers' Union was held up Chicago, a city which has only one small local of the union. The center of the industry is in the East. But the Forward-Kaufman machine, whose bloody hand rules the Furriers' union, did not dare to hold the convention

hands of a revolutionary leadership. The Fascist-rule in the Furriers' union merely indicates the fact that the Left Wing is already on the verge of securing control of the union.

Difficulties and Temptations of the Left Wing.

ONE cannot minimize the difficulties under which the Left Wing in the Furriers' union is working. It is common knowledge that merely to criticize actions of the machine is to take one's life into one's hands. Couple with this the fact that the Left Wing enjoys the confidence of the majority of the union, and you have a first class case for sending the reactionaries to H. . . . and forming a new union.

We are certain, however, that this will not be done. The leadership of the Left Wing in the Furriers' union is brave, courageous and capable. It realizes that it is holding a key-position in the general strategy of the Left Wing. It is merely a case of holding on until the rescuers will reach the field of battle. And, meanwhile, increase your ranks and strengthen the Workers Party.

The Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

FOR the first time the Left Wing in the A. C. W. has come to a convention of the union, 89 strong, with a clear-cut, definite program of action. This program was of such a nature as to establish the Left Wing as a definite leading force in the organization which cannot be confused neither with the Right Wing nor with the Center. For there are in the A. C. W. three groupings: Right Wing (Forward machine), Center, (the administration) and the Left Wing. The last convention was dominated by the forces of the Center.

Because of the domination of the Center, generally in the union and also at the convention, the Left Wing in the A. C. W. had a complicated problem to solve. On the one hand, it had to support the Center as against the Right. It goes without saying that whenever it is a case of either Right or Center, the Left Wing will support the Center, at the same time criticizing all its defects and shortcomings.

On the other hand, because of the very nature of the Center (its wavering between Right and Left, its shiftness and general unreliability, the Left and general unreliability, the Left Wing had the duty of establishing its own identity and independence of action. For, it must never be forgotten, that it is only by following consistently Left Wing policies, on the economic and political field, that the A. C. W. (the same as the other unions) will become a real effective instrument in the revolutionary class struggle.

In the past the Left Wing in the A. C. W. did not always manage, because of the difficult situation, to combine the support of the Center with the always necessary political independence, which at times militated very strongly against the successful establishment of the separate identity of the Left Wing.

We are glad to say, however, that in the months prior to and at the convention itself the Left Wing succeeded in solving its tactical problems beyond all expectations. And if these policies and tactics are consistently carried on in the future, the A. C. W. will very soon become a better, stronger and more revolutionary union than it has ever been before.

THE BATTLE CRY OF K STREET, N. W., VOTELESS WASHINGTON.

"Hip, hip, hooray!
For 'the little green house on K.'
For there the government comes
In a retinue of bums.

"And—bootleg booze flows free
As Hughes' morality,
Thank God, we're not like the Russian Red,
We're respectable and well fed.

And the best people of the land
Sit at the feet, and right hand
Of Doheny and Daugherty
To uphold the family's sanctity—
Shall reds disrupt the home?
Never! We swear by Teapot Dome!"

controlling power of the convention had nothing to say. Why? Because this Right Wing in the needle trades, the same as the whole Gompers outfit, is politically and morally bankrupt. They have sold their souls (some of them their bodies too) to the devil of capitalism and can do nothing else but pretend and deceive. They are compelled to shift and blunder along from one crisis in the industry to another, pretending to lead the struggle of the workers while in reality selling them out to the bosses at every opportune moment.

On the other hand, the Left Wing. Continuing in the line of policy that was pursued by it during the last two years, the Left Wing came to the convention fully prepared to tackle every problem confronting the union and the industry. The Left Wing program to the convention is a deadly challenge for leadership thrown in the teeth of the Forward-Sigman machine. It is also a brilliant indication of the claim of the Left Wing that it and not the reactionaries are capable of building the union and leading the struggle of the workers.

Lessons for the Left Wing.

THE Right Wing in the I. L. G. W. U. is preparing for war. There can be no doubt about that. The only use the Right Wing made of the convention, which cost the rank and file tens of thousands of dollars, was to strengthen its machine and facilitate its fight against the Left Wing. The reactionaries seem to be determined to get rid of the Left Wing even at the price of breaking the union.

From this it follows: First, that the Left Wing in the I. L. G. W. U. must under no circumstances permit itself to be provoked into action which will isolate it from the rank and file by the union. The old tactical maxim still holds good: Stay within the union and fight for leadership in the name and in the interests of the revolutionary class struggle.

And secondly, continue the policy of active, constructive participation in

among the workers of the industry. It feared "excesses" and perhaps bodily harm. It removed itself, therefore, to Chicago.

In the Furriers' Union, fascism holds full sway. This union is ruled by a gang of renegades and betrayers whose bloody methods of suppression of the Left Wing were not surpassed even by Mussolini. It was by these methods that the machine managed completely to exclude the Left Wing from representation at the convention.

And as to the rank and file, why, Kaufman himself could tell us an interesting story. He could remind us of the famous Olgin-Kaufman incident when the membership of the Furriers' Union in New York City almost to a man stood up in support of Olgin (former editor of the "Freiheit") and the Left Wing and against Kaufman and the "Forward." Kaufman could tell us many more similar truth-revealing stories. But he wouldn't. For, if he did, his whole seemingly, powerful machine would instantly crumble to pieces. The Left Wing in the Furriers' union has the majority of the membership behind it. It has also developed a strong and capable leadership. And were the Left Wing in the other needle trades unions somewhat more advanced, the Furriers' union would have been by this day already in the

Chicago Party Members, Attention!

All Union members of party come to

SPECIAL MEETING MAY 26TH, 8 P. M.

WORKERS LYCEUM, 2733 Hirsch Blvd.

for the purpose of organizing to strengthen June 17th Farmer-Labor Convention.

Auspices—Local Chicago, Workers Party.

ABROAD WITH LENIN

REMINISCENCES BY L. TROTZKY

(Continued from last issue.)

I DECIDED to put the shoes on the first time that night for the opera. On the way there everything was all right. But in the theater I already began to feel that something was wrong. Perhaps this is the reason why I do not remember the impression which the opera made on Lenin and on myself. I remember only that he was in a very good mood, he jested and laughed. On the way back I suffered terribly and Lenin mercilessly mocked me all the way home. However, under his jests there was hidden a sympathy born of experience; he himself, he said, had suffered several hours from those same shoes.

THE first delegates to the coming second convention were arriving in Geneva and ceaseless conferences with them were going on. In this preparatory work Lenin unquestionably was the leader, although it was not always noticeable. Altogether, three workingmen arrived for the convention. Lenin spoke at great length with each of them and won all the three over.

THE most acute question for Lenin was the organization later of a central organ, which was practically to play simultaneously the role of a central committee. Lenin considered it impossible to maintain further the old board of six. Zaslulich and Axelrod unflinchingly took the side of Plekhanov in every dispute. And then it was at best three against three. Neither the one nor the other side agreed to have one member leave the board.

THERE remained the opposite direction—enlargement. Lenin wanted to introduce me as the seventh member, so as to later form a narrower editorial group consisting of Lenin, Plekhanov and Martov. I was gradually drawn into this scheme by Lenin who, however, did not intimate even by a single word that he proposed to have me as the seventh member of the board, that this proposal was accepted by everybody but Plekhanov, who resolutely opposed the plan.

AT one of the conferences, which shortly afterwards took place with the newly-arrived delegates, Lenin, taking me aside, said: "Let Martov argue against Plekhanov on the subject of the popular organ. Martov oils and you hack away. It is better to let him oil." I clearly remember this expression "to hack and to oil."

AND now I want to set down the reasons why, in my opinion, the decisive change in the political consciousness and self-estimation of Lenin must have taken place in the days of the old "Spark," and why this change became necessary and inevitable.

LENIN arrived abroad from Russia already a mature person of thirty. In Russia, in the student circles, in the first Social-Democratic groups and in exile, he had occupied the first place. He could not help feeling his power, for the reason that everybody whom he had met and worked with recognized it. He left for abroad with a load of theoretical knowledge, with a considerable supply of political experience and permeated thru and thru with that tension toward a goal which formed his spiritual nature.

COLLABORATION with the "group of labor emancipation," and first of all with Plekhanov, the profound

and brilliant exponent of Marx, a teacher of several generations—a theorist, statesman, publicist and orator of European connections—awaited Lenin abroad. With Plekhanov were two of the most authoritative names: Zaslulich and Axelrod.

DURING the second convention and immediately after it the indignation of Axelrod and the other members of the staff against Lenin's conduct was mixed with perplexity: "How did he dare to do it?" The perplexity increased soon after the convention, following the break between Lenin and Plekhanov, when Lenin nevertheless pursued the fight.

BACK TO WORK



TROTZKY ON A STEAMER

THE attitude of Axelrod and the others might have been expressed in these words: "What bit him? He but recently came abroad as a scholar and behaved like a scholar. Whence this sudden self-confidence? How could he have dared?" These were the judgments of the old leaders.

Then there was another puzzle. He had prepared his soil in Russia. It was not in vain that all communications were in the hands of Madame Lenin. Quietly there was being carried on a process of conversions of the comrades in Russia against the "Group of Labor Emancipation." Zaslulich was not less indignant than the others, but she perhaps understood him better. It was not for nothing that she told Lenin, long before the split, that he, as distinguished from Plekhanov, had "a deadly grip."

"Lenin always prepared for tomorrow, strengthening the current day. His creative tho never stopped, his watchfulness never rested. And when he convinced himself that the "Group of Labor Emancipation" was not fit to take in its hands the immediate leadership of a fighting organization of the proletarian vanguard, in preparation for an approaching revolution, he deduced for himself all the practical conclusions.

THE old leaders were in error, and not only the old ones. He was no longer merely a young, promising revolutionary worker, he was a leader, thoroly pervaded with a tension toward a goal, and, I think, completely conscious of himself as the leader, after his collaboration with the older men, with the masters, and his perception that he was stronger and more needed than they.

LENIN arrived abroad not as a Marxian "generally," not for literary revolutionary activity "generally," not merely to continue the activity of the "Group of Labor Emancipation," which had been carried on for twenty years. No, he came as a potential leader—the leader of the revolution which was ripening, which he sensed and felt. He came to create in the briefest possible time the ideological rigging and the organized machine which the revolution demanded.

AND when I spoke of his furious and yet disciplined tension towards a goal, I did not mean that he, Lenin, strove to aid in the triumph of "the final goal." No, this is too generalized and empty. I meant it in a concrete, direct, immediate sense; that he put before himself a practical goal; to hasten the arrival of the revolution and to secure its victory.

Union Centralization In Czecho-Slovakia

By I. GRASHE

FOR nearly two years the problem of organizational centralism, which in Czecho-Slovakia is represented by a departmentalized One Big Union, has held the attention of the entire revolutionary labor movement of that country, causing various misunderstandings and preventing a more rapid development of the movement.

The point is that part of the revolutionary trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia—the greater part—are organized in the One Big Union known as the International General Workers' Union, while the minority, the revolutionary unions of building workers, woodworkers, railwaymen, transport workers, and commercial employes; and the German Section of the revolutionary textile workers is still definitely opposed to this form of organization and strives to retain its autonomy, advocating at the same time the principle of the federative form of organization of the revolutionary unions.

Objective Reasons.

While in other countries the creation of the One Big Union was a result of Anarcho-Syndicalist tendencies, in Czecho-Slovakia this form of organization arose in consequence of a number of special circumstances of an objective character.

Just as in other countries, when the post-war revolutionary wave subsided we saw in Czecho-Slovakia, spontaneous tendencies towards organization among the masses, anxious to resist the concentrated attack of capital. And it must be stated that Czecho-Slovakian capitalism, in spite of its national varieties, prosecuted this campaign against labor in an unusually organized, systematic manner, attacking with all its strength some of the most important sections of the labor front.

Thanks to this tactic, and even more to the scattered state of the Czecho-Slovakian labor movement, capitalism in Czecho-Slovakia has been marching for nearly three years from

victory to victory. The disruption of Czecho-Slovakian labor is evident on every side, political, national and religious, and as a result, the 1,600,000 organized workers of Czecho-Slovakia, out of more than three million industrial workers are divided into 465 national unions of which about 340 are affiliated to 11 national federations, while the remaining 125 unions are altogether unaffiliated.

Weakness and Disruption.

This weakness of the Czecho-Slovakian labor movement was aggravated three years ago, during the rise and organization of the revolutionary labor movement, by the disruptive tactics of the Czecho-Slovakian reformists and by the general industrial stagnation which drove more than half a million workers into the camp of the unemployed. On the whole, the situation under which the Czecho-Slovakian revolutionary movement was born in the middle of 1922, was entirely unfavorable to it. The very fact of its birth was a result of

the enforcement of the disruptive policy by the reformists, who had good grounds to fear the complete entrenchment of the Communists in their unions and therefore hastened, through splits, to save as far as possible their positions in the labor movement.

They were enabled to do so thanks to both the crisis and unemployment, and to their support by the capitalists, government machine which helped them capture all the material resources of the trade unions. They acted mainly through expulsions of the most militant revolutionary elements, including both individuals and organizations and they did not even hesitate to expel entire national unions when the latter were completely in the hands of the militants.

Mass Expulsion.

They thus expelled more than ten (out of 54) national unions. The largest and best organized of these was (Continued on page 8.)

A NEGLECTED FIELD

By MARTIN ABERN

THE Workers Party is today engaged in a campaign to form a class Farmer-Labor Party in the United States, an effort worthy of the full energies of every Party member. In noting the excellent development of our Party, it is well to state that the Workers Party really began to grow and assume influence when it started seriously and earnestly to work within the unions, and when it, at the same time, freed itself from the separatist or dual notions held by some members. It is imperative that we always call upon our membership to get more and more into the general work of the trade unions in order to carry on the work of transforming the existing trade unions into organizations of the class struggle and into revolutionary unions. Because of old dual union conceptions, not by any means yet entirely removed; because of strong opposition against those carrying out the T. U. E. L. program by the reactionary union leaders, lending false strength to dual union thought; and because of Party activity in other fields, we are always in danger of losing sight of or neglecting trade union work.

OUR Labor Party campaign is the Party's biggest campaign today. We are "in politics" with a vengeance. Anti-parliamentary notions are obviously removed as a whole from Party thought. One form of Leftism is evidently corrected. It cannot by any means be said that there is too much emphasis on parliamentary activity or general political activity, such as the Labor Party campaign. Yet it may be said that there is neglect on the part of many of our members in trade union fields. If our members are not opposed to trade union activity in theory, and we do not believe they are, they are opposed, some of them, in practice. They either do not attend their union meetings, or, when they do attend, they do nothing there. A Labor Party, unless made and supported by the trade unions, would have no permanent basis. It would be no real Labor Party. It would not be able to withstand the organizational or propagandistic opposition of the capitalist parties.

IN reference to the Labor Party question, Comrade Foster in his Party convention industrial report declared, "Inasmuch as the Labor Party, in so far as it represents the industrial workers, rests directly upon the trade unions and draws its conventions and other legislative bodies out of their ranks, the extent to which we will have power and influence in the growing Labor Party movement will depend entirely upon the strength and grip we have in the trade unions." As in the case of the Labor Party, so in the rest of the trade union work. Hence, in our campaign for a class Farmer-Labor Party, to insure its success, our members must take a far greater part in union work than even before.

THE economic problems, trade union agreements, strengthening of the unions, amalgamation, all these and more, must be taken up actively by the militant unionist and Party members, and explained in the unions. If we would win the leadership of the masses in the trade unions from the fake labor leaders, and those labelling themselves progressives, our members must be in the trade unions fighting on every issue affecting trade union work and development and thus proving our right to leadership of the trade union movement. In Minneapolis, for instance, the trade union movement is progressive or perhaps even radical. The normal leadership of the trade unions is regarded as progressive and radical. It is doubly necessary that there our Party members shall be active in the trade unions to make clear our stand and differences between the Communist and the progressive unionists. Yet the T. U. E. L. has no organization, unless perhaps it be a very small one and in this very city the T. U. E. L. logically should be strong.

OUR members must not only be for T. U. E. L. and Party union policy

in words; they must not sit within the trade unions in theory, and outside of them in practice. If trade union activity means anything at all, it means, first, being present at all meetings. It means being alive to all wage and strike issues. It means combatting class collaboration policies being put over very cleverly by shyster labor leaders.

Leadership in the trade unions is not only won by political agitation; it is won by contesting every issue before the unions with the reactionary leadership. Trade union agreements are presented which are wrong and bad for the unionists. We must be in a position to expose the fakers proposing them. In his article on the 5th Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Zinoviev says:

THE question of the Trade Unions once again occupies an important place in the work of the 5th Congress. The more the influence of the Communists in the Trade Union movement grows, the more furious do the leaders of the Social Democracy become in their effort to hasten the split in the Trade Unions. The provocative tactics of the Social Democratic leaders in certain places are very successful. Among the German Left Wing, there is developing a wrong and extremely dangerous attitude towards the ques-

tion in the trade unions."

It is as if this were being written especially for the American militants and Communists, so aptly does it fit the needs for our Party members and militants continuing and increasing trade union work and carrying on the battle against Gompers, Sigman, Lewis and the rest of the degenerate crew.

RESULTS more than justify the Party and T. U. E. L. industrial policy in the unions. In the recent Pullman strike, great strides were made by the Party because of the intense activity of the Party and the DAILY WORKER in the immediate issues of the strike. The Party established itself among the Pullman workers and strikers. At that, the Pullman Party members were far from taking full advantage of the situation.

THROUGH the activity of the militants in the trade unions, limited even as it was, there are now in many unions being waged struggles for a better leadership, especially so in the needle trades.

STRUGGLE against the reactionary opposition brings its fruits, however slow. Expulsions, etc., are the proof of the effectiveness of militant and revolutionary work within the unions. The future holds no doubt

Membership of the Leningrad Unions.

THE increase in the number of employed union members in the city of Leningrad, during 1922-23, is one of the best indicators of the economic regeneration of that city. Owing to the concentration of industry and drastic reduction of the staffs by the Soviet institutions, the trade unions had lived thru some perturbations in 1922. By October 1922 the total number of employed union members decreased by 14.6 per cent as compared with January. 299,531 union members in January and 255,832 in October 1922, due chiefly to the great cut (29.8 per cent) in the membership of the unions catering for the government and public institutions (the unions of Soviet Employees, of Educational Workers, of Art, and of Medical and Public Health Workers). The drop in membership of the industrial unions amounted only to 2.4 per cent.

On October 1st, 1923, the working membership of the Leningrad unions amounted to 315,571. This figure represents an increase of 5.5 per cent against January 1922, the industrial unions having raised their membership by fully 32 per cent.

The growth of the membership of the unions of industrial workers is the more significant since the unions of government and public employes lost 11.2 per cent of their membership during the same period.

tion of the future work in the reactionary Trade Unions. The 5th Congress will have to speak with all its authority and determination against the policy of leaving the Social Democratic unions, and at the time it will have to find a practical solution of how to organize those workers whom the Social Democratic leaders have succeeded in expelling from the Trade Unions."

If the Communist International speaks so strongly in the case of the German Trade Unions, it can speak a thousand times more strongly in the case of America and demonstrate the need of greater trade union activity and against dual union ideas.

"Great masses have turned their backs on the trade unions. In the opinion of the Communist Party of Germany, neither abandoning the trade unions nor hastily founding new unions is the right way to overcome the yellow trade union bureaucracy," says the thesis of the Center Group in the German Party, "or to create a broad revolutionary trade union movement. Such modes of procedure only have the effect of aiding the yellow trade union bureaucracy in their purpose of converting the trade unions into blackleg (scab) organizations in the service of capital. In spite of the treachery of their leaders, the trade unions still contain great masses who would be delivered over defenseless into the hands of the yellow bureaucrats if the Communists left the unions. . . . The Communists must organize from below the resistance against the mass expulsion of the whole opposition on the broadest basis

even worse than individual expulsions—perhaps whole union locals and International expulsions and yet the Party policy is proved thereby still proper. We are winning the masses in the unions.

IN his pamphlet, "Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement," Comrade Foster declares, "A disastrous effect of the systematic demoralization and drawing away of the militants is that it has thrown the trade unions almost entirely into the control of the organized reactionaries. In all labor movements the unions can prosper and grow only if the progressive elements within them organize closely and wage a vigorous battle all along the line against the conservative bureaucracy. Militants must build machines to fight those of the reactionaries."

OUR Party must enforce the rule of every member joining a union. Union comrades shall be active in the Trade Union Educational League or they cannot be said to be fulfilling the Party requirements. Thru actual and continued systematic work in the trade unions, we can win over the majority of the trade unionists to Communism. Without doing that we cannot succeed to the revolution. The thesis of the 3rd C. I. Congress states: "The real test of the strength of every Communist Party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labor unions. The Party must learn how to influence the unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. If the Communist fractions persevere, if the activity is de-

voted and intelligent, the Party will reach a position where its advice will be accepted gladly and readily by the unions."

REACTION in the labor union movement is not something which can be overcome over night and without the most difficult of work and opposition and hard knocks. The whole thing must be considered practically and historically. In his book "Leftism, an Infantile Disease," Comrade Lenin states:

"But the development of the proletariat did not and could not anywhere in the world proceed by any other road than that of trade unions with their mutual activity with the working class Party." Further on, referring to the Left German Communists he says:

"They refuse to work in them! They invent new workingmen's unions! This is an unpardonable blunder, one by which the Communists render the greatest services to the bourgeoisie. . . . Not to work within the reactionary Trade Unions means to leave the insufficiently developed or backward working masses to the influence of reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, labor aristocrats—bourgeoisified workers."

BUILD the Party by working as Communists should in the trade union movement. In the metal trades, needle trades, building trades, everywhere, get into the work of the T. U. E. L. which is the work of the Party. Our Party has got on the right basis by declaring for trade union work and we must not and can not tolerate for a moment any inactivity in industrial and trade union work. Not out of the unions, but into the unions; don't just accept the program of the T. U. E. L., but get into the unions, get into the work.

IT is to be seen that the problems of the Communist in the trade unions are fundamentally the same all over the world. To become the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communists must attain the leadership of the trade union movement. Despite expulsions and splits, whether engineered by Amsterdam, Gompers, Sigman, or anybody else, our task is to fight for unity in the trade union movement. If our comrades have not been as active as they ought to be in the unions in Chicago, New York, Minneapolis and the hundreds of other cities, let them get more firmly into the work. By fighting all along the line on every issue before the union from wage cuts, strikes, amalgamation, Fascism, Ku Klux Klan, shop delegate system, the Labor Party, to Communism, we can win the fight against the yellow union leadership. In Southern Illinois, for instance, we know that we have the problem of the Ku Klux Klan in the unions and the only way to meet it is for our comrades to be inside of the unions fighting the Klan on all issues.

IF the Revolution is to be conquered, we must conquer the organized Labor movement for this will be the basis of the future economic and social order. Comrade Losovsky says in his book, "The International Labor Movement":

"But one thing is clear: the stronger, the more united, the more elastic and aggressive the revolutionary wing of the Labor movement will be, the more objectively we, the Communists, estimate the relation of forces outside and inside the working class—the more correct will be our conduct, the sooner will humanity arrive at the developed form of a Communist Society."

Unemployed in Detroit.

DETROIT.—Reduction in employment in Detroit was general during the week ended May 10. The number employed by members of the employers' association dropped for the first time this year below last year's peak of 229,971 which was reached May 26. The reduction during the week amounted to 4,054, bringing the total number laid off since Feb. 2, 1924, to 17,005. It is reported that the Ford Motor Co. may drop one night shift or rearrange working hours to reduce output.

The Chase in the Night

By FRED. ANDERSON

(A Memory of John Reed "Underground")

JIM and I were sitting in an ordinary little room of a worker's dwelling on the outskirts of a small coast town. We were waiting for Bob, the third comrade of our trio, who had gone out in the winternight to meet an oversea steamer. There was always a job for us with the steamer. Always the mail—the red or "fist" mail, as we called it—and often a fellow stowaway.

Our little room, which we wished to look as ordinary and unnoticeable as possible, was a station on the only line of communication between two worlds. And what a line! Through the blockade of the Allies and the Border States, through White Armies and fronts, through barriers of police, customs and detectives massed up against Red Russia in 1918-20, thru all this our line was cut, known to few, used by many. White Terror reigned in the Border States and many a brave comrade was killed or tortured, or still sits in jail for the running of that line. Nevertheless, it never closed; men and mail kept going from Russia to the Western World and from the Western World to Russia.

BOB returned. He had the mail, mostly letters and reports from all over the world, forwarded from hand to hand and addressed to the leaders of the World Revolution. There were other things, too, and amongst them, in the back of a certain book, a thin slip, intelligible to Jim alone. Off he went to decipher it, and this was the result: "in same steamer American eastward pass Wilson. American Wilson—a passenger, h'm, that was my part of the work so I put on my coat and went out.

It was about half-past ten when I came down to the deserted harbour. The quays, covered with streaks of thin snow, looked unpleasantly white and lit under the swinging arc lights. Down below the icy black water swished faintly against the concrete work. It was not a good night: too clear, too still—one could see and hear too far. At the end of the pier lay the steamer, sending down a smell of oil and fried potatoes with the wind. Slowly I approached, trying to look as much like a whisky smuggler as possible, for that was the most innocent and natural mask for a "political" in these days. The railing on the pier between the steamer and the customs' shanty was already removed and all officials had apparently gone, but some dog of a 'tec might still be nosing round. . . . Voices and the clatter of messins could be heard from the forecabin but the rest of the ship seemed lifeless, except for the fizzing steam somewhere up round the funnel, and the regular tapping of a piece of loose rope against the mast. Presently a fellow in a stoker's shirt and trousers came scampering up. I hailed him from my observation point on the pier: "Gothenburgh-Bill aboard?" He stopped, stared at me for a second, then with "All right, wait a mo'" turned down again. Bill came up and ashore and we talked in the shadow of a magazine. Yes, there had been a fellow this trip; but Bill was astonished. Hadn't I been down once before, earlier—no—anyway, he had put his passenger on shore and told him to follow two fellows one of whom he had supposed to be me. I cursed him for his carelessness. "Well, anyway, what was he like?" "Tall, strong fellow, darkish in a big green ulster" "Well, I'm off to find him. Good night." Bill returned to the steamer.

UP town the streets were empty. I walked round and round on the lookout, but in vain. After one o'clock, I went home full of apprehension. Damn Bill! He had been nervous and wanted to get rid of his dangerous passenger too quickly. The American might have been caught already. But in that case there would be word waiting at home for me from the charwoman of a certain institution. However, Jim and Bob had no news for me, so we looked forward to the morning.

orning came. We had mobilised four comrades and sent each to his part of the town to watch for a green ulster on a swarthy, probably dirty fellow, who would harken to a casually uttered "Wilson," the password. Right enough, before long one of the boys returned with the green ulster trailing behind. He looked the things we were after, so I who was supposed to know a little English said: "How do!" He certainly looked tired, unshaven and black with coal dust in the wrinkles of his face and neck, but he smiled and said, "Hope I'm right this time!" . . . "Sure, as the fourteen points of . . . "Wilson" he echoed with a laugh.

WE seated him in a corner of our wooden sofa and gave him cigarettes. How he smoked! Must have been one hundred a day. We didn't ask him questions, for we were trained not to, but he told us his name was John Reed. "Oh, is that him," Jim said, and stopped the rocking chair in which he sat to show his deference. Jim was a lover of

journey progressed. Then the steamer came to port. Customs officials and police began their search, so Jack crawled into the remotest corner of the coal bunker, jamming himself between the coal and the ceiling, until Bill came to his release. Taking him above, Bill pointed to two figures lolling under a lamp-post on the pier, and shoved him ashore. Jack understood he was to follow these two at some distance until he was spoken to. He stepped forward, rejoicing to breathe air again, and with a handful of cotton-waste rubbed the coal dust out of his eyes. Presently, the two fellows started moving. Jack followed 30 paces behind. The three sauntered up town and loafed round an open square. Now and then the two would glance back uneasily at Jack, but nothing was said, so he kept faithfully trotting after them. They turned right, turned left, walked on and on and finally entered a veritable labyrinth of lanes and alleyways between small, stragling houses and dingy back yards in the suburb of

the funny chase, which, however, had cost him a whole winter night's terribly wearisome and risky watch in the streets. Goodness only knows how he kept on his feet, frozen, hungry and tired as he was, and afraid of attracting the attention of the patrolling police constables. But the longest night comes to an end. With the morning, people began moving in the streets. He had already decided to return to ship when he found himself being shyly observed by an idle fellow. Passing near he heard him mutter: "Wilson, Wilson" so he replied and was taken to our quarters.

IN the afternoon, when Jack had rested, we went to have a bath in one of the small steam baths which was kept by the widow of a worker, lying now with many other proletarians in the "dograves" dug by themselves before execution, outside the town. She had a son, though, who was alive; he had escaped to Russia and was fighting with the reds. When we entered the bathhouse, I thought I had better give an explanation as to why my comrade didn't speak the local tongue. So I told her he was a Swedish sailor. She looked at him rather curiously, but said nothing. They have a wonderful scent on some matters, these widows and mothers, know. How she guessed I do not know, but she somehow felt I was not quite "straight"—had something to do with that "underground traffic." When, however, according to the custom of the place, she came in to wash us, and saw the scar on Jack's back (he had had an operation down in Salonika, he told me) she turned to me and said in my ear; "You don't need to fool me; he ain't no Swede, a Russian he is, swarthy fellow, and wounded too—a red guard he is . . . But don't be 'traid—I never tell. Our Charlie too, you know . . ."

SO I let it pass, and when I saw the stenderness with which the old soul washed and massaged Jack—without her usual chatter, though—I realised that it was better to let it pass. A great honour had befallen Jack. "Russian" and "Red" in those days and in that land meant to the bourgeoisie, to the capitalists and to all respectable people the things most feared, detested, hated on earth and hell. It spelled death to the man charged with it. But to the workingclass—then bleeding and silent under the iron heel of White Terror—it meant hope in a hopeless night, it meant daring and revolt—something to love and cheer in the secret of your heart when everything else seemed lost. And so this old proletarian woman bathed and washed John Reed as though he had been her own son, "The Russian Redguard."

NEXT morning then we saw Jack off eastward along the "line" and we heard soon after that he had arrived safely in Russia.

ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION



EUROPE.

literature and knew "Ten Days" in translation. Granny who kept house for us, and who never "knew" or asked anything—at any rate never told anything, even ultimately in court—good old red granny gave us breakfast of fresh herring and coffee. While Jack ate, he told us his story, then he went to sleep, while one of us went to buy him clean clothes, for Jack, like everybody "underground" traveled light; a toothbrush in the ulster pocket.

THIS was his story. On the other side, Jack had been put in charge of Gothenburgh-Bill and stowed away in the coal bunker where he remained for two days. Of course it was pitch dark, almost airless, with bare sharp coal lumps to lie upon. And it wasn't too safe either; a new trimmer had been taken on board who knew nothing about the stowaway and his work sometimes brought him quite near to where Jack lay. Jack could hear the clinking sound of glass bottles—smuggled whisky, hastily being buried by the trimmer. Twice Bill managed to sneak in and bring him some water and sandwiches, and report how the

town. In order not to lose his guides, Jack had come up much closer, and then the men after a moment's hesitation in front of a certain house, turned quickly on to the open highroad and set straight out to the country, with their pursuer in grim determination after them. Here street lamps ceased; only snow and woods were visible. It was growing very late. The two ahead walked faster and faster. Jack was puzzled. He thought of hailing them but he knew the country was dangerous and unconditional discipline necessary. Clearly they were nervous and afraid of something. Thus on and on, until, suddenly, both fellows bolted at full speed off the road, up a wooded hill and disappeared . . . Jack stopped . . . wiped his brow. Two hours and a half—more—this chase had lasted and here he was in the middle of the night absolutely at a loss. Slowly he turned and tramped back to town.

THE only explanation I could offer was that the fellows had been smugglers, unarmed and frightened, thinking themselves shadowed by a detective. Jack laughed heartily at

HERRIOT EXPECTING SOCIALISTS TO HELP HIM FORM CABINET

PARIS, May 22.—It is now definitely established that Edouard Herriot is to be the next Premier of France, provided he can form a cabinet.

The leader of the radical socialists today said he would offer ministerial portfolios to certain socialists, but that their acceptance depended largely upon whether the socialist congress voted in favor of participation in a coalition government.

Herriot expected to confer with Aristide Briand, former premier, today and to arrange to carry on with the formation of a cabinet single handed, if the socialists refused participation.

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Unions In Czecho-Slovakia

(Continued from page 5.)
 the Union of Chemical Workers, which subsequently became the organizational center of the revolutionary labor movement. Even before its expulsion from the General Federation of Labor, this union had grouped around itself the various minorities expelled by the reformists, and organized them into sections. Thus was laid the beginning of the future One Big Union. It is hardly necessary to mention that most of the trade unionists remained with the reformists, so that the young revolutionary labor movement was very short of both agitational and material resources.

This situation, which demanded the greatest economy and efficiency, was also largely instrumental in the adoption of the organizational form of the One Big Union, whose financial and other advantages are beyond any doubt. The October (1922) congress of the revolutionary minorities expelled by the reformists, therefore, approved by a considerable majority (only the above mentioned revolutionary unions being in opposition) the adoption of the One Big Union with 17 industrial sections, as the new form of organization.

The independent unions were given a year's time to call congresses for the purpose of deciding the question of their affiliation in the form of sections to the One Big Union. During 1923 the unions of land-workers, leather and shoe workers, clerical workers and miners affiliated, so that the O. B. U. has, at present, 300,000 members distributed among eleven industrial sections while the four independent unions have a membership not exceeding 60,000.

Structure.

Organizationally, the O. B. U. is built on the principle of "One enterprise, one union;" this principle,

however, is not always applied, owing to the scatteredness of the movement so that it will be more correct to consider the local organization as the basic organizational nucleus of the O. B. U. The local organizations are united by joint district councils with a presidium of 12, elected at district conferences to which every 100 members of the union send one delegate.

The secretary of the district council is appointed by the presidium of the O. B. U. by agreement with the district council and is usually selected from among the workers of the largest industry of the district. In the vertical direction, the section conferences elect a presidium of the section consisting of nine members. The work of the section presidium consists largely of directing the economic struggle, negotiating collective agreements and carrying on propaganda and agitation in coordination with the presidium of the O. B. U.

General congresses as well as section conferences, are held once in three years. At these meetings one delegate represents two thousand good standing members. The congress elects the presidium of the O. B. U., each section being entitled to proportional representation in the presidium.

Financial Arrangement.

The central place of the organizational schemes of the O. B. U., belongs to the financial question. But membership dues collected by the local organizations go directly to the central treasury of the O. B. U., where the entire accountancy and allocation of the funds is centered. The presidium of the section, which has in this central treasury its current account, recording all the deposits and expenditures of the section, receives from the central treasury all the funds

necessary for its activities.

This financial structure has the advantages of freeing the separate sections from all cares of a financial character, and in case of great stringency, as for instance, in case of long strikes which exhaust the funds of the section, the latter is enabled to borrow from the general treasury.

Equally centralized is the work of agitation and propaganda. All agitators and lecturers are paid by the central treasury of the O. B. U. and their engagement by the various sections is regulated by the O. B. U. presidium. The union press has also been decentralized, and the O. B. U. is publishing a general organ with sectional supplements.

The most serious criticism levelled against the O. B. U. and its leaders by their opponents, consists of the claim that the organizational centralism of the O. B. U. prevents the separate sections from showing sufficient initiative, and deprives them of the measure of independence necessary in Czecho-Slovakia, considering the general development of the labor movement.

Craft Spirit Still Strong.

Inasmuch as the craft spirit is still deeply rooted in the Czecho-Slovakian

labor movement, and the principle of industrial unionism is still far from realization, the application of the strictly centralized form of the O. B. U. must be considered premature. This was approximately the stand taken by the second congress of the R. I. L. U. in its attitude towards the One Big Union of Czecho-Slovakia, the congress, however, decided to let the Czecho-Slovakian comrades become convinced in practice of the justice of its doubts.

We are convinced that with the further growth and consolidation of the One Big Union of Czecho-Slovakia, it will modify its organizational forms so as to satisfy both sides. At present the Presidium of the One Big Union of Czecho-Slovakia, together with representatives of the independent revolutionary unions mentioned above, are the provisional representatives of the Red International of labor unions in Czecho-Slovakia. This state of affairs cannot, however, be considered permanent. The next congress of the Czecho-Slovakian revolutionary unions will have to tackle this question and find the final forms for the settlement of the organizational question in Czecho-Slovakia.



It ain't as easy as can be, a-making citizens to see that we should have a reign of peace and make all war and strife to cease.

Now in Chicago they is seating a lotta women in a meeting; to teach the ways of peace on earth and act as midwife at the birth of that forthcoming glorious day when pacifists will have their way. The child without a bit of pain, shall spring in peace from out the brain, of folks who have a kindly heart, without disturbing the world's mart.

But men who live to buy and sell have very different tales to tell. At the same time these women met, a navy man told us to get a fleet of aircraft for the sky, as we could fight lots by and by. And business men who filled the hall let out a most unanimous call, to get behind the airplane guy till on the tip-top cloud we fly.

And Legion men, who otta know, some lies were told to make 'em go (to France to save democracy), now

get a lotta rough-neck glee in slamming all the folks who'd make our Woodrow's promise less a fake—the promise that it was the last of wars in which our youth we'll cast.

Peace advocates may know some things, but financiers they pull the strings. They own the papers, radio, schools, the colleges are made their tools. Boy Scouts are trained to think their way, the editors are in their pay. In fact, they own all in the town, that radicals have not nailed down.

The clock will strike the peacetime hour when we have licked the money power. When we make things to use, not sell, then we can route Mars thru to hell. Until that time, this peacetalk stuff is mostly kind but harmless guff.

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