

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

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SECOND SECTION
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Trade Union Developments in the Asiatic and Pacific Countries

By A. LOZOVSKY.

THE fight for the unity of the international trade union movement and the creation of a united international embracing the workers of all continents, has up to recently encountered a great obstacle in the arrogance of the European labor aristocracy. Until the war Europe possessed the financial, industrial and political hegemony of the world—a fact which found expression in the leading bodies of the socialist and trade union movement, upon which the internationals were based and which were entirely limited to Europe.

These remnants of pre-war psychology dominant up to the present in the minds of the leaders of the reformist labor movement who do not like going beyond the confines of Europe. They intentionally refuse to understand that enormous upheaval which has come about as a result of the war, of the October revolution and the rise of the first world internationals, the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions. It is only recently that international reformism has designed to cast a glance at the East, because the labor movement of the East is assuming a revolutionary character and disturbing the plan of international reformism.

In the meantime the labor movement is growing in every corner of the earth, and a number of international tasks are arising, which can only be solved by common international action. In connection with this a whole number of projects have recently arisen which are highly characteristic of the attitude of the labor movement of the new countries on the stage of international politics. Of such projects there are at present three:

1. The prominent Japanese reformist Bundshi Suzuki (Japanese bourgeois paper describes him as "Our Japanese Gompers") spoke at the Conference of the International Labor Office of the unions of India regarding the office, which is affiliated to the League of Nations, with representatives of the Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference. According to the proposals of Suzuki, this Labor Conference is to be participated in by representatives of the trade unions of Japan, China, Persia, Siam, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, the Philippines, India, Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey.

2. The Trade Union Council of New South Wales has taken up the initiative in calling a conference of the trade unions of the Pacific countries for the 1st of May 1926. As the Australian "Daily Standard" reports, the secretary of the trade union council, Garden, (the took part in the II. Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions) has sent an invitation to the labor organizations of China, Japan, Canada, the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, Singapore, India, South Africa and the United States. In which invitation it is pointed out that this conference is called to "discuss the questions of the Pacific."

3. The same Australian newspaper, the "Daily Standard", reports that the Executive Committee of the Australian Labor Party has decided to arrange a conference to be held in Honolulu in November 1926, of the representatives of the coalitions of the Pacific. To this conference there are to be invited representatives of those trade union workers and kindred (?) organizations of all countries of the Pacific who stand for the maintenance of peace.



ANTHRACITE MINER: "SO THIS IS PEACE!"

All these three projects deserve serious attention, while it must be remarked that the character of the three undertakings, in spite of the scantiness of the news, is quite clear.

With regard to Suzuki's proposal, this means nothing else than the creation of an Asiatic International, and in this respect the Japanese reformist is also honored by the Pan-Asiatic project for his own purposes organized the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and of the leader of the English railway workers, Cramp, who a few months ago put forward the idea of the creation of a Continental International.

Bundshi Suzuki at his interview with the representative of the "Japan Advertiser" said nothing regarding a colored international. He only intimated that he had decided to convene an Asiatic Labor Conference when the "labor unrest in China has subsided" and its aim is "to raise the level of the Asiatic workers, so that they will be better prepared to take part in the work of the International Labor Office." But as a matter of fact, Suzuki is not arranging his projected Asiatic Conference for this purpose. The "Daily Standard" adds the following words of Suzuki regarding this Conference:

"We representatives of the colored workers have decided to create a colored international as a counterpoise to the white international."

Suzuki's projects therefore, go much further than the revival of the International of the International Labor Office: He wants to have his own Asiatic International. What will be the political tendency of his International? Judging from the fact that it was Bundshi Suzuki who instigated the spitting of the trade unions of Japan and the expulsion of the revolutionary elements from the Japanese Labor Federation, we see that for him it is a question of setting up the new reformist international as a step as possible in order to fight against the revolutionary labor movement of Asia. It is not for nothing that Suzuki is

making preparations to convene this conference immediately the "labor unrest in China has subsided." When it is further remembered that Suzuki entirely forgets the existence of the trade unions of the Soviet Union which is also honored by the Pacific Ocean, then the color of the Pan-Asiatic project will not differ from the child of Gompers: the Pan-American Labor Federation.

The project of the Australian Labor Party for the convening of a congress at Honolulu of "all trade union workers and kindred organizations of the countries of the Pacific" has a somewhat different but likewise vague character. Here it is to be seen an open attempt to convene a pacifist congress, for otherwise there would be no sense in giving expression to such a vague term as "kindred organizations."

The congress has as its object to bring together the supporters of peace in the countries of the Pacific, and as there are many supporters of peace among the bourgeoisie who have set up all sorts of pacifist societies for this purpose, then it is obvious that these "kindred organizations" will have a place at the congress. It is apparently, therefore, a question of a Pacific edition of the International Peace Conference at The Hague in December 1922, where there took place a fraternalizing of international reformism and of bourgeois pacifism. But we are still awaiting particulars regarding this project.

The third project—the convocation of a congress of trade unions of the countries of the Pacific in Sydney—seems to us to deserve the most attention. To this congress only trade union organizations will be invited, and these will discuss the common questions of the countries of the Pacific. Although we possess no detailed information regarding the agenda of this approaching congress or regarding the proposals to be submitted to it, we consider such a beginning as very useful. Such a congress could serve as a stage in the struggle for the united international and for the

unity of the international trade union movement, if the conveners invite the trade unions of all countries of the Pacific and realize that the questions of the countries of the Pacific not only concern the workers of this or that country, but also the whole of the international labor movement.

No matter what attitude is adopted to these projects, one thing is clear: they all mean a new era in the development of the international labor movement. The fight of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions against European narrowness, for the unity of the labor movement of the whole world corresponds with the requirements which have become historically ripe. There will be still much confusion, deviations and many attempts to create continental and colored internationals, but all this must not mislead the new countries, will compel the lead us. All these attempts, which express the growth of the enterprise labor movement of Asia, and also of Australia and the countries of the Pacific, to overcome their own narrowness and to weld themselves into a united, fighting trade union international based on the class struggle.

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Drive Against Left Wing in Trade Unions

By WM. Z. FOSTER.

WITHIN the past two years a comparatively new phenomenon has made its appearance in the American labor movement. This is the expulsion of members from the trade unions because of their political opinions and for activities in accordance with these opinions. In the past there have been many struggles between the reactionaries and the revolutionary wing of the movement and the utmost bitterness has been the result between the two factions. But almost never was the weapon of expulsion used in a general way in these struggles, save in the case of the I. W. O. where was open advocacy of secession, and even this was waked at in many cases. As a general rule the fight remains pretty much in the domain of verbal argument, however bitterly this may have been carried on.

But, as stated, in the past two years the expulsion of members from the unions, and consequently from their jobs, has come to be looked upon and applied as a regular weapon against the left wing by the reactionaries. The difference is that where expulsion was once practiced more or less spasmodically and in isolated cases, it has now become a settled means of warfare by the controlling bureaucrats in the unions.

The union that has the shame of having first applied expulsion against the left wing is the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which began the policy two years ago under the leadership of Sigman. Unable to beat the revolutionary elements otherwise, Sigman, aided by his lackey, Perlestein, tried to get rid of them by driving them out of the union altogether. Brutally he expelled many of the leading left wingers from the organization in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland and elsewhere, merely for membership in the T. U. E. L. with disastrous effects upon the union.

These destructive tactics of Sigman received a blessing from Gompers himself at the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1921, where with the aid of another stage setting and in the fullest glare of publicity, he expelled William F. Dunne from the convention. Dunne was a regular member of the Silver Bow, Montana, Trades Union and the only charge against him was that he was an avowed Communist. Dunne's expulsion was the signal for the trade union movement generally for the use of the weapon of expulsion against the growing left wing, and the reactionaries have not been slow to take the hint. Since then, in union after union, this policy, which is contrary to the basic principles of labor solidarity, has been applied.

Lewis in the miners' union has made drastic application of this mean. He immediately outlawed the Trade Union Educational League as a "dual union," and expelled Tom Myerbrook and other miner leaders of it. He crucified the militants in the Canadian districts. Farrington of Illinois has followed this up by the expulsion of Thompson, Watt, and others. In fact, under the whole organization a reign of terror has been set up against the left wing and every manifestation of it has been driven underground upon pain of expulsion.

Hutcheon of the carpenters, not to be outdone by his cronies Lewis, has expelled two-thirds of his organization in Detroit for sympathy with the Trade Union Educational League. In Los Angeles, with the cooperation of the police, he got rid of more militants. And his latest maneuver has been to have Rosen as a delegate from the New York district council of the carpenters because Rosen ran against him on a left wing ticket in the recent national elections.

In the electrical workers a number of militants have been expelled, and in the painters the intention to do the same has been shown by the adoption at their recent convention of an amendment to their national constitution providing for the exclusion of members of the Communist Party who oppose the principles of the A. F. of L.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

In the machinists' union, under the yellow socialist Johnston, an early stand was taken in this game by expelling members of militants in Toledo, Ohio, for membership in the T. U. E. L. At the ensuing convention Johnston managed to save his skin and to hang on to his job. Now, claiming the action of the convention was an endorsement of the expulsion policy, he has issued a vague demand for the wholesale expulsion of members of the Workers Party and members of the T. U. E. L. throughout the union.

The fur workers was also the scene of an active expulsion campaign, with interesting results not figured on by the reactionary, Kaufmann.

And now we have the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which so long passed as a left inclined union, showing that heretofore, the reactionary bureaucracy refuses to be outdone by the reactionaries in the miners, machinists, carpenters, et al, and is expelling militant left wingers on the usual pretexts. Other unions are following the same program in a more or less desultory fashion. And along with this campaign has gone a regular systematic terrorizing of the left wing in the unions by refusing to let the militants run for office, by placing militant left wingers on the usual pretexts. Other unions are following the same program in a more or less desultory fashion. And along with this campaign has gone a regular systematic terrorizing of the left wing in the unions by refusing to let the militants run for office, by placing militant left wingers on the usual pretexts, etc.

A number of central labor councils have also put into effect the expulsion policy, insofar as their limited authority permits them, by refusing to seat as delegates the Communists who have been elected by the affiliated local unions. The chief offenders in this respect are the councils at Minneapolis, Seattle, and Los Angeles. It is noteworthy that these are all left wing strongholds. The reason for this is that the application of the expulsion policy in these places is twofold, first, the necessity of the bureaucracy to fight the left wing with all the force of its power, and, second, the presence of all sorts of renegade socialists who are the most willing and unscrupulous tools to lead this fight of the reactionaries.

So far in the Chicago Federation of Labor the expulsion policy has not actually been applied. The leaders of the Chicago Federation, Fitzpatrick, Nockels, who long posed as radicals, work more insidiously. They comprise privately with the controlling factors in the local unions to prevent the free application of the expulsion policy. In fact, the leaders, in addition they are carrying on publicly the most contemptible fight against the Communists. It is noteworthy that Green is coming out with denunciations against the left wing, used verbatim in the lying arguments contained in a circular recently sent out by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

At the recent American Federation of Labor convention the expulsion policy once again got the support of the united labor bureaucracy. And in his Detroit speech a short while before the convention, Green declared for an open war upon the Communists. He said:

"Organized labor will not and cannot tolerate Communism or Communists. Members of organized labor are either trade unionists or Communists. They cannot be both. In view of the fact that the Communists have challenged us and are challenging the hosts of or-

ganized labor and by every means at their disposal are seeking to secure the supremacy of the trade union movement of America, we, the loyal members and officers of the organized labor movement will strike back and strike hard. We will neither rest nor cease our efforts until Communism and the Communist philosophy and those who represent it are driven from the ranks of organized labor."

What is the basis for this expulsion policy which is being used so violently against the left wing? The cause of it has two roots. The cause is to be found in the improved fighting policies of the left wing in the last few years, which makes it necessary for the reactionaries to proceed to more drastic measures of struggle. The second cause is to be found in the fact that the labor bureaucracy more sharply than ever towards class collaboration, which weakens their control over the organized masses and which throws them into the imperative necessity of this time of destroying the influence of the left wing at all costs, regardless of the means.

As to the first proposition: For many years the left wing, because of its infatuation for infantile ideas of dual unionism, has been a negligible factor in the trade unions. The reactionary bureaucracy had plain sailing to control the masses for their policies—the opposition of the yellow socialists being never very strong. Hence there was little or no need for an expulsion policy, except in special occasions where more or less spontaneous local revolts occurred. Now the situation is fundamentally altered. The left wing, despite all its failings, has learned how to fight in the unions. It has almost broken through the dualism which hamstringing it for so long and it has learned the main principles of left wing organization in conservative trade unions. Moreover, it no longer wastes its time in these unions, as it once did, in an empty, negative criticism of the organizations of conservative trade unions. Now it has a practical program for the revolutionizing of the unions. It takes the lead, so far as its all too small strength permits, in the everyday struggles of the masses, it contests the union elections against the reactionaries. In other words, it is no longer a real struggle against the bureaucracy. The effectiveness of these new tactics of the left wing was graphically demonstrated by the tremendous success in the small union movement. The reactionary bureaucracy, confronted with the new menace of an organized left wing that has learned to fight for control of the organized workers, had to strike back quickly and hard. The expulsion campaign was their answering tactic.

Now as to the other phase of the "expulsion policy": The great defeat of the trade union movement in the historic struggle of 1920-21 demonstrated clearly the burning necessity for the trade unions to consolidate their ranks, to organize a labor party, and to carry out a more militant policy of struggle. But the bureaucrats controlling the unions abjectly refused to learn this lesson. Instead of developing the power of resistance of the workers against the employers and adopting a policy of an offensive, they proceeded to hold the white flag of surrender, and accordingly began to work out and apply the various new schemes of class collaboration, such as the B. and O. plan, workers' insurance, labor banking, in which they are tending to degrade the trade unions into little better than company unions. But such a policy was not without its hazards, and it had to be fairly rammed down the throats of the rank and file of the unions, who, for the most part, although not yet ideologically advanced, do penetrate the real meaning of the new scheme of class collaboration and to develop a real opposition to them, nevertheless there is still in place a policy of militant action and the substantial results which such a policy brings. They want amalgamation, the formation of a labor party, the organization of the reorganized, and at

least some semblance of a fighting program. This situation is highly dangerous to the bureaucracy. The rank and file are susceptible to the propaganda of the left wing, and the only reason for their control of the unions and for the continuance of the class collaboration program recently so highly developed by the left wing is that, by organizing. This class collaboration is an ideological struggle. Consequently the resort to force through the expulsion of the left wing and the many other harsh disciplinary measures that are being used against the militants in the various unions.

What shall our policy be in this situation? How shall we successfully defeat the expulsion policy of the reactionaries and reach the rank and file with our message? The facts are one work in the trade union in the present period depend upon our correctly solving this problem.

The first and most important step to its solution is the mustering of the force in the ranks of our party for work in the trade unions. This remains much to be done in this respect. A very large proportion of our party has not yet belonged to unions, and of those that have joined only a small percentage are really active. These conditions must be rectified at once. A persistent and insistent campaign must be carried to the end that every proletarian member of our party is at the same time a member of a trade union. We must make this our first and foremost demand and for all the truth of the statement in the recent letter of the Communist and Proletarian to the effect that we must make our industrial country like the United States can really be a Communist unless he is a member of a trade union. And we must see to it that our members not only join the trade unions but are active in them. The only Communist in the trade union who is worth his salt to our party is the one who militantly and intensely fights to put its program into effect and thus to extend its influence over the membership. The development of our party strength in the trade union movement step, not only for combatting the expulsion policy, but also doing any successful work whatever in the trade unions.

A special feature of our fight against expulsion must be a flexible attitude towards the unions, whether they be in the shape of constitutions, amendments, as in the painters, or instructions from the executive boards, as in the machinists. In the trade unions we must be as flexible as possible. We must have contact with what is vital for the success of the revolutionary work of our party. This contact can best be maintained only if we are members of the unions. Hence we must put up a militant and intelligent struggle to remain within the unions. If we can do this openly as members of the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League, all the better. But if the opposition is in the nature of a demand to expel us the expulsion policy and in a position to apply it effectively, then we must be prepared to deny our membership in the organizations rather than be expelled from the unions.

Such a policy means the occasional swallowing of nasty pills in the way of amendments to constitutions that are put up to us by the reactionary officials in the hope that our revolutionary gorge will rise against them and thus make our expulsion all the more easy. A type of such statement was that recently gotten from the rank and file of the I. W. O. of Cleveland, which reads as follows:

"I, the undersigned, do hereby promise and agree to do my best to serve and comply with all the regulations, and laws of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and that I will in no way affiliate with, or give support, assistance, or comfort to the Trade Union Educational League, (Continued on page 3)

"Red Imperialism"

Where Should We Seek the Real Militarists?

By a RUSSIAN AUTHORITY.

AS to the numbers of armed forces at the disposition of the various states we are in possession of statistics which are based on both our own and on foreign statistical publications. In comparing these figures with the numbers of armed forces of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, we obtain a clear and completely objective proof of where we may seek the real culprits of militarism.

Let us consider these facts and figures.

You know that in 1914, just before the commencement of the imperialist war, the bourgeois press of the Entente countries, in inflaming the patriotic sentiments of their populations, asserted that it was only necessary to smash German imperialism and that the burden of militarism would then disappear.

What do we see in reality?

In 1913 when prewar militarism was in full bloom, there were 5,750,000 men under arms in the most important countries. In 1925 there are 5,232,000 men under arms without counting a number of states which have newly sprung up (for example, Iraq, Syria, Arabia proper, Northern Morocco, and others) and not counting one million soldiers (at a minimum) which are kept under arms at the disposition of the various techans of the Chinese provinces which do not acknowledge the authority of the central Peking government.

If we reckon that this prewar figure, 5,758,000 included firstly, the 1,129,000 soldiers which belonged to the states vanquished in the imperialist war (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and others) who now have 198,000, that is, 931,000 less than before the war) and secondly, the 1,250,000 soldiers of the former czarist Russia (instead of the 562,000 army of the Soviet Union, we will see that the victorious and neutral countries have increased their armies by 1,182,000 men, a new view of the new discord which is developing.

If we examine the military budget of the most important states for the same period, we see exactly the same picture. In 1912 the military budgets of the most important countries (including czarist Russia) amounted to 4,714,000,000 rubles. The expenditure of the same countries in 1924-25

amounts to 5,390,000,000 rubles, that is, an increase of 676,000,000 rubles.

If here also we reckon the considerable decrease in the war budgets of Germany and the Soviet Republics, we see that the expenditure of the remaining states has increased by 1,442,000. These two pieces of information are sufficient to prove how false the speeches of bourgeois pacifists are when they talk about decreasing the burden of militarism in bourgeois countries after the defeat of Germany.

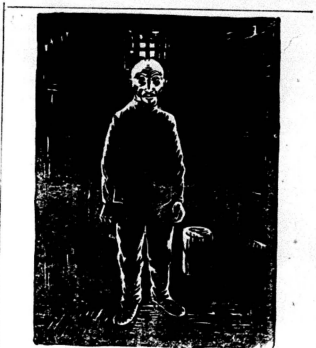
Let us consider naval expenditure separately. In 1912 the naval budgets of the seven big naval powers amounted to 100,500,000 pounds sterling (11,005,000,000 rubles). In 1925 it equaled 220,600,000 pounds sterling (2,306,000,000 rubles). This is a fairly striking difference. During the same period the naval budget of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was reduced to 2,400,000 pounds sterling (24,000,000 rubles) as against a 25,000,000 pound (250,000,000 rubles) naval budget of czarist Russia in 1912.

The shipbuilding programs of the most important bourgeois states are in full concordance with this state of affairs. Despite the agreement for the limitation of naval armaments at Washington in 1922, in reality the very same, if not a greater ship-building fever is proceeding; the only difference from the former being that instead of the large battleships, which are now prohibited, ships of smaller tonnage are being constructed: cruisers, destroyers, submarines, etc.) and also naval air fleets. One may judge as to the extent of such armaments from the following:

DURING the present year the five great sea powers (Great England, United States, Japan and Italy) are building 87 ships of different kinds and 181 faster ships are projected, making a total 268. As far as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is concerned, unfortunately we have not constructed and are not constructing one single ship, and up to the present no project has been devised to repairing those that already exist.

Air Forces.

The statistics on aerial forces give the same picture. At the present time the military air forces of the most important states are as follows: France



GERMAN WORKER IN PRISON: "SO WE'VE SIGNED THE TREATY OF LOGAN!"

4,114 aeroplanes, Great Britain 3,466 Italy 1,700, United States 2,500, Poland 498, Roumania 257.

I will remain silent in respect to the numerical strength of our red air force, but I will say one thing, and that is that unfortunately there is not much difference between the strength of our air fleet and that of our immediate western neighbors.

The numerical strength of the red air force, not counting the navy, amounts to 329,900. This is 183,000 more than France, and 17,000 less than our immediate western neighbors (Poland, Roumania and the Baltic states) taken together.

There are still a few more figures which prove the "growth of red imperialism."

For every 10,000 inhabitants the U. S. S. R. has 41 soldiers, Roumania and Poland about 100, France without the colonies 200, and so forth. In other words the Western European states have from three to five times more

men under arms than we. In relation to the territory, for every thousand square kilometers there are 27 soldiers in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; while there are 560 soldiers per thousand square kilometers in Roumania, 700 in Poland, etc. that is to say, 25 times more than we have.

Finally, whereas the cost of maintaining the army works out at less than 3 rubles per inhabitant in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, it reaches 7 rubles in the Baltic states, 11 rubles in Poland, and up to 14 rubles in France.

The figures I have cited should prove with convincing clearness that there can be no question of "red imperialism." Both absolutely and relatively we are spending less on military needs than any of the large bourgeois states, and relatively we are spending more than even the smallest bourgeois states. This is the truth of the matter as regards our "Red Soviet Imperialism."

THE DRIVE AGAINST THE LEFT WING IN TRADE UNIONS

(Continued from page 2)

or any similar or kindred organization.

"I further agree that I waive the right, benefit, or privilege of ever representing a local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in any way, shape or manner as an officer, delegate or committee member, or in membership in such organization.

"In subscribing to the above I do so of my own free will and accord and agree that if I at any time said agreement or pledge, it is understood that my membership in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is forfeited without complaint by me."

In such cases we must bear in mind the advice of Lenin and Zinoviev and sign a dozen such statements if necessary to our maintaining membership in the unions. This does not mean however that we must adopt a policy of indiscriminately denying membership and of signing such statements. On the contrary, each case must be separately considered. In those unions where we are strong the bureaucrats can be won over by such reactionary measures. At all times we must function in the unions, and we must fight for the right to do this frankly and openly. On those where we are actually confronted with expulsion we shall we adopt the expedient of denying membership as a weapon in defense of our right as workers to belong to the trade unions.

The program of expulsion is a policy of desperation. It cannot succeed. Brutal suppression of the left wing

cannot serve as a substitute for the powerful organization and militant program imperatively demanded by the workers in their struggles against the employers. For a time however, in spite of the mustering of our forces and denials of membership, it will hinder us by resulting in the comparative isolation of many good comrades. But if these expelled members follow the Comintern policy, by refusing to start rival unions and by waging a militant fight for reinstatement, identifying this fight with the burning needs and struggles of the unions, and cooperating with the organized left elements in the unions, they can eventually break this isolation and force their way back into their organizations.

To defeat the left wing by a policy of expulsion is impossible. The masses must build their unions and give them fighting policies. This can be done only under left wing leadership, and the organized masses are bound to accept such leadership despite all the efforts of the reactionaries to divorce them from it. Never was this more clearly demonstrated than in the needle trades. Sigman and Kaufmann tried the expulsion policy and the reign of terror method against the left wing, with results that are now a matter of history. And as the expulsion policy failed in the needle industry so it will fail, sooner or later, in all the industries. The left wing cannot be destroyed by expulsion, nor can its progress be stopped by it. The left wing has the program which corresponds to the needs of the trade union masses. This is the deciding factor in the situation.

Who Gets the Increase of Wealth in United States?

An analysis of the first 185 stock quotations on the New York stock exchange as of Nov. 28, 1925 as compared with the quotations of the same stocks a year ago brings out the astounding fact that their total value increased on the average more than 50 per cent. Being that the value of the shares of stock is not determined by the actual amount of money invested but the amount of dividend paid per share the increase in value of stocks signifies either an increase of exploitation of the workers or a proportional increase in the number of people employed. As seen from the table submitted below the former proves to be the case:

	1924	1925
Value of stocks	100	123
Employment	100	104
Pay rolls	100	104

While employment and pay rolls increased only 4 per cent the returns on stocks increased 33 per cent. In other words prosperity in the U. S. keeps higher returns on capital and heavier exploitation of the workers. It is a well known fact that the exploiters on their own hook do not increase the wages-scale and that only the organized strength of the workers as expressed in their union organizations can compel the bosses to disgorge some of their plunder.

The question in costs is what does the Gompers bureaucracy which

now has a stranglehold on the traditions do for the American working class whom they are supposed to be representing? An analysis of the organizational strength of the A. F. of L. shows that the leaders are falling down on the job. The total membership of the A. F. of L. for the year 1925 shows an increase of 11,500 but the membership figures as well as building trades increased by 24,400 the actual membership in the other trades decreased by almost 12,000. The stock market figures as well as those for employment and pay rolls given above pertain to industries outside the building industry; in other words while the exploitation increases the organizational strength of the F. of L. is falling down. The claim of the union bureaucrats that prosperity in the country brings with it increase in union membership and higher wages no longer holds true. With the continual concentration of wealth as shown by the income tax returns for 1924 on one hand and the class collaboration policies of the union officialdom on the other hand, the share of the American wage slaves in the total wealth produced is clearly on the decrease.

That worker next door to you may not have anything to do to-night. Hand him this copy of the DAILY WORKER.

Reply of Filipinos to Gov. General Wood

By CIRILO MANAT,

Ph. B. Law School, University of Chicago.

Chairman, Filipino Independence Committee of Chicago.

GOV. GENERAL WOOD is truly a man of character. And in the words of Mr. Bell, "He has magnetism. He has brains. He is not only a military man, but also a thinker and a statesman."

Nevertheless, his counsel will not be gulped and swallowed by the Filipino people, unless they forget their long struggle for justice, their investment of blood and sacrifice, of life on the sacred altar of liberty, enriched and hallowed by the memory of their heroic dead. Allow us then in behalf of truth and justice to throw the light of reason upon a many but honeyed masterpiece of General Wood.

Bolled to a nutshell, his recent utterances may be summed up thus: "In behalf of Christianity, I am opposed to giving absolute independence to the Philippines, not only now but for all ages and for all times."

In his own words, America must stay in the Philippines "indefinitely." If the Philippines is near America (as is Cuba), he would be willing to have the Filipino try liberty. In other words since the Philippines is eternally and permanently located in the Orient—far from America—he would not be willing to have us try liberty.

WHAT are the reasons given by Gen. Wood to justify his conviction? "Because," he says, "strife, disorder, and bloodshed would be the immediate results of Philippine independence." What a rabid prophet of disaster! What an incalculable crime is General Wood! In one breath, he says the future is replete with disaster,

and then in the next, he says: "I have visited 50 centers of life and motored extensively in the rural regions. I carried no arms. Not a weapon of any kind was needed in my party."

Wherefore, we ask General Wood, where will this foretold disaster come from? We can not believe that peace can be peaceful now if tomorrow we shall cut each other's throats. We believe, and it is reasonable to believe, that we shall meet peacefully hereafter as we have been in the past. Allow us to remind our ardent benefactor that America too had strife, disorder, and much bloodshed during the civil war. If so, why expect too much of the Filipinos?

IN the next place, he argues that since the work America set out to do was only begun, because the Filipinos are still in their backward condition, America should stay in the Philippines indefinitely. In General Wood's words: "Terribly honest. If so, he must have forgotten his report, page 20, to the late President Harding in 1921 that the progress which has been made in the twenty-three years of American occupation is extraordinary. This report made President Harding say that the progress of the Philippines is without parallel in the history of the world."

On page 21 of the same report, General Wood declares that although the Philippines is backward, they (the Filipinos) are essentially Western in religion, in form of government, and in ideals and aspirations. This was in 1921 a year after the Harrison administration. If then we are backward today, the direct, immediate, and inextinguishable cause must be General Wood himself. His Harrison administration before his regime was not a great folly as he would have you believe, for, if it was a great folly no good results could have followed it. If we are backward now under his

regime, it is because he has assumed the role of a Louis the XIV and has usurped the constitutional prerogatives of the Philippine legislature. If we are non-constructive now, it is because he vetoes every constructive measure our legislature proposes, the most notable of which is his veto of the appropriation bill for the extension of education throughout the land. It is because he wants to gamble the natural resources of the Philippines to Wall Street. It is because he wants our national bank, our railroads, our sugar centrals, our mines, our rubber, farmlands, all managed by American capitalists. It is because he is Americanizing us as he sees fit. This is more pernicious and criminal folly, when it is imposed upon and against the will of an alien foreign people. Such Americanism as is preached by this grandiloquent exponent of imperialism is a caricature of democracy.

WHAT is the noble work, with all its investment of blood and treasure and twenty-five years of idealistic labor, set out by America that is to pay only because it is a Christian? What is the noble work that will insure the deployment of Christianity for the regeneration of the world?

The utterance is highly commendable. It is the expression of the noblest and loftiest. But why should America, the mother of liberty as the term is understood in the world today, impose upon the twelve million liberty-loving Filipinos a foreign government, deriving its power not from the consent of the governed but from the United States congress—a legislative body in which the Filipinos have no voice—just to insure the deployment of Christianity?

We are surprised to see General Wood sounding the clarion call to such declaration of policy. No president of the United States would have thought that it is America's duty to

humanity to christianize the world. The Filipinos may well ask the American people to scrutinize Gen. Wood's declaration of policy. It should not be forgotten that to declare this principle, he ought to be a president of the United States.

Moreover, the United States constitution itself insures religious liberty. The principle is well settled and long established in modern democracies that the church and the state are and ought to be distinct and separate. And yet, here comes, the apostle of Christianity, Gen. Leonard Wood, in his military garb and imperial regalia, telling us that it is necessary to give political liberty to the Philippines to the detriment of the torch of the Christian faith. To him the result would be lamentable! What he deems heresimatic! The doctrine that church is paramount and supreme over the state belongs to the dark and middle ages. It is outworn and out of place in our modern world.

We claim that it is treason and a crime to civilization to disregard the righteous cause of the Filipino people to be equipped Christianity needs to be deployed.

IF the constitution of the United States is right, the Orientals have every right and liberty to remain pagan if they want to. The Filipinos are ninety per cent Christian. We challenge General Wood to show a better nation of devout Christians. We are, as he says, peaceful. We practice the ten commandments. Rape, adultery, burglary, divorce, murder, etc. ad infinitum are almost unknown in the Philippines. These are the antithesis of Christian virtues and yet they abound in the Occident—land of the Lord. But the Christians are not ninety per cent Christian. But can the western world deny that the Chinese have far superior virtues than those who talk of christianizing the world?

LABOR IN THE FAR EAST

By L. Heller

(Editor's Note.—The fifth installment of Labor in the Far East tells us of the victory of the workers and the losses of the employers. What went before: 1. The Workers' Strike the Backbone of the Entire Nationalist Emancipation Movement. 2. The Revival of Chinese Labor Movement in 1914. 3. The Textile Workers and their Struggle Against the Capitalist Offensive. 4. The National Anti-imperialist Current and the Labor Current in the Shanghai Strike.)

PART V.

THE first results were extremely favorable to the fighting Shanghai workers. Such points of the settlement between the Chinese Seamen's Union and the Japanese shipping companies, as the reinstatement of all the strikers, the payment of wages for the entire period of the strike, the forthcoming negotiations for wage advance, signify an indisputable and important, though not complete, victory for the Chinese seamen. The Textile Workers' Union apparently came to a similar agreement with the Japanese textile companies (full information is not available at this writing).

The negotiations on behalf of the Japanese company which were conducted by the Japanese general council, granted the concessions. The "paradise for employers" mentioned in the report of the British consul is apparently disappearing in China. The

Chinese worker, whom the Japanese capitalists could only recently maraudingly exploit without meeting resistance, whom the Japanese foreman could boast and intimidate with impunity, had begun to rebel. Worse than that, he even set up trade unions, and the Japanese foreman could not be recognized, but which even force one to retreat.

This victory of the Chinese workers in the more than the Japanese bourgeoisie, that it will undoubtedly be reflected in Japan itself and strengthen the revolutionary wing of the Japanese labor movement.

WE do not know the exact losses sustained by Japan in the three months of the strike and in the boycott of her goods. As has already been mentioned the 1919 boycott resulted in a trade between Japan and China being reduced by 40%. The losses caused by the present strike and by the much more effective boycott are undoubtedly incomparably larger. This apart from the general political motives. lie at the root of the present Japanese "leniency."

Japan's decision to seek a reconciliation with the Chinese workers through serious concessions greatly weakens the position of the British capitalists in the strike. The losses sustained by Great Britain are tremendous. This is seen in the drastic falling off of the exports of the Lancashire textile industry. In the complete paralysis of British shipping

in the Pacific. Each day of the Hongkong strike alone, according to the Hongkong correspondent of the London Times causes a loss of 250,000 pounds; the Hongkong losses for the two months' strike are equal at least to 15 million pounds. Wholesale bankruptcies have become the order of the day in Hongkong, and even the most solidly established firms are experiencing serious difficulties and cutting down their forces. Fanciful Hongkong has been bombarding London with telegrams demanding immediate military intervention in

Hongkong, the crushing of the Chinese Bolsheviks, of the Moscow "bandits" who have seized power in Canton, who destroy civilization and culture, lead China to its doom, etc. But London is "reluctant." True, but fresh troops have been brought up to Hongkong from India, a special warship loaded with hydroplanes arrived from Malta. Still, London is practically inactive. Moreover, London is actually preparing "treason" and seems to be inclined to compromise, to make concessions to the "rebellious slaves."

Off the Press on December 5

The Movement for World Trade Union Unity

By TOM BELL.

In this brief, concise booklet the worker will find a most complete, interesting picture of the factors involved in the move for world trade union unity. The steps already taken, the basis for the movement, the differences of principle, the bodies involved—all this valuable and essential information for every worker is here presented for the first time in one complete booklet.

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Comrade Frunze

(An Appreciation of the Late Commissar of War of the Soviet Union, written at the time of the overthrow of the Whites)

By A. VORONSKY.

HE is well known to the workers, peasants, red army men and citizens of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk industrial region. He is not only well known from our days of revolt, but he is also well remembered from those days which have already receded far into the realm of the past.

In January 1907 on the outskirts of the town of Shul, a group of underground Bolshevik revolutionaries encountered by chance a police-sergeant by the name of Prevov a devoted friend and bound of that section of the gendarmes whose work it was to exterminate internal enemies.

One of the group observed that it would be a good thing to remove the police sergeant or something similar. At that, another got down on one knee, drew out a Mauser and fired. The bullet missed fire. The sergeant turned round quickly and opened fire. The comrade who had fired at the gendarme was unable to return the charge as the cartridge jammed in his Mauser so that he was forced for it but to bolt. The one who fired went under the nickname of Arsenia. He was a young student. He had radiant eyes and limped with one leg because in 1905 he was arrested during a pogrom and dragged for one verst by savage drunken Cossacks.

It could hardly be said that the shooting of this police sergeant had been seriously thought out. It depended more so as the firer was far from being a terrorist, and belonged to the Bolshevik social-democrats and participated in mass political work.

On March 14th, 1907, one of those whom the gendarmes and police had so long sought for was arrested in a comparative apartment in the town of Shul. He was arrested. At the same time Mausers in his hand; he had wanted to fire, but decided not to as there were children and other people in the house. He was called Arsenia, but he was only a pseudonym; his real name was Mikhail Frunze.

How deep this young underground worker was to the Shul workers could be gathered from the following. The arrest of the group of Arsenia spread over the whole town in a flash. The factories came to a standstill. The workers left off work and huge crowds went to the prison and demanded the liberation of Arsenia. The chief police inspector was only able to appease the crowd by cunning and false promises and afterwards dispatched Arsenia to Vladimir in great haste. This incident was an interesting feature. The cold steel of bayonets of a whole company of soldiers swung. File after file of the firer ranks swung in measured steps. There was accompanying the one and only Mikhail Frunze. He was a guard of honor.

After a few months during a certain trial, the police sergeant, Prevov, who was there as a witness chanced to meet Arsenia, who was also a kind of witness in the court, and thereupon announced that this was the man he had fired at. They read over the deposition and Frunze was faced with the death penalty. Frunze meant while was imprisoned. In prison he continued assiduously to study the Russian language, and the syndicalist movement.

The trial came off, and the death sentence was pronounced. The Italian lessons ended but he began studying English, to believe, who knows, perhaps it may soon be necessary to go to England of Italy? It is worth while for a young eager student to go to Italy or England? Of course it was not such a simple matter.

The sentence was commuted. The prosecution protested. Once more the article on the death sentence, again a trial, and the police sergeant tried. According to witness N. G. Korolenko ("Russian Wealth" No. 19, p. 134) he had a witness brought from Shul to Vladimir at his own personal expense and personally conducted him to the prosecutor of the Vladimir court. He was very zealous in destroying seditious-mongers.

The sentence was again commuted. Once again the protest. This affair dragged on for not less than two

years. For two years his fellow prisoners saw the strong young form, for two years unwillingly they witnessed a man, and for two years his vile strangulating noose hung over him. For two years he supposed that it would be necessary to go to England or to Italy, and that at a journey abroad would it be without understanding the languages? What great foresight on the part of those who study languages prior to going abroad?

Among people condemned to death two types may be distinguished it is extremely difficult to look at the one, while with regard to the others feelings are more involved and the sentiment of pain is replaced by proud consciousness that they know how to die bravely. To this latter type Frunze belonged.

His trial ended in exile. For six years he had to sit in the Vladimir Central Penitentiary. Under these deadening, damp, gloomy and hermitic conditions he was able to free the thoughts of his comrades, did not let them pine for human sympathy, and brought assuagement into this perturbed, nerveracking atmosphere of these joyless years.

Those days were the hey day of all kinds of outrages and ill-treatment of political exiles. At one time the head of the Vladimir Central Penitentiary was a certain Gudimov. To use Huxley's expression, this was a man with the face of a corpse and the soul of a devil. He was a disgusting fat butcher, with sleek shabby skin, a foul breath and eyes like beads. He was a mixture of an enraged mediocrity, a Jesuit and a hangman. . . . He had a particularly strong desire to subject Comrade Frunze to a public punishment. . . . When some important state official or other visited the prison they always asked:

"Oh, say, you have got M. Frunze here, have you not?"

And the important one was conducted into the cell where he could feast his eyes on the victim and look him up and down with curiosity.

When fights, quarrels or scandals arose among the political prisoners, they always turned to Comrade Mikhail.

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hear the inscription: Kurgan-Ufa-Moscow. . . They have with them the most important military specialists of the old army.

Again an encounter. The Kappelites are smashed.

THIS is an episode from the battle. . . . A regiment with helmets with red stars was crossing a river. The enemy fired volleys of shells. . . . The detachments were making ever stronger and more audacious steps to break across. The people in the helmets were becoming disconcerted. . . . One detachment became shaky, another melted away.

Comrades, this way. . . . Not one pace backwards. Follow me. Forwards your commander-in-chief is with you.

A man runs forward limping, with a rifle in his hands.

"Forward, forward."

The commander of the division, the unshaken and fearless Chaparov, cries out:

"Comrade commander-in-chief. Go away from here. This is no place for you."

"Forward with me. I am taking over command of the regiment."

"Comrade commander-in-chief. It is I who am commander of the division here and you have no right to command these troops."

A shell bursts. . . . Confusion. . . .

TWO years of imprisonment under a death sentence, six years exile and other wanderings, are not capable, fortunately, to deprive of humanity, of extinguishing the radiant energy from eyes, or building their fresh glitter, of depriving a man of his audacity—these things do not always die with wings, or make him soft, feeble and dull. Honour and praise to humanity and to the party in whose ranks such people fight. . . .

On the Orenburg steppes, thanks to the skilful commanding on the part of this young red army leader, and thanks to his cautious tactics, sixty thousand Cossacks surrender.

It seems that he was not only able to defeat the enemy in the open struggle, but also make them surrender without bloodshed; and this is a particular talent.

On the Ural steppes Comrade Frunze stormed the army of General Tolstoy, a talented and clever black-hundrite.

In distant Turkestan the Caspian Sea is a comrade under the leadership of Comrade Frunze. . . .

I hope the diplomats will excuse me, but I think that the brilliant activity of the Bukhara revolutionaries, which ended in the East, being unopposed, were not entirely unconnected with the activity of our red general. . . .

Comrade Frunze conducted the military operations on the southern front against Wrangel with remarkable persistence and audacity. The capture of Perikop and Sivash represents one of the most brilliant pages in the history of our revolution. The most experienced French generals had been at work on the fortifications of the Isthmus. Comrade Kameney who inspected the southern front on the eve of the attack returning to Moscow gave an indefinite reply to a question as to the possibility of taking Perikop and Sivash. In this connection Comrade Frunze, in a leading article, also expressed rather warlike hopes.

BUT the red lava was already flowing on the Crimean Peninsula.

A Marxist, terrorist, agitator, underground worker, was commander-in-chief on the front.

Was it a miracle, that he had the warm heart of a boy, the personal courage of a terrorist and rare talent?

But how did he come a strategist and military leader?

He certainly did not sit with folded arms, but learned, read, took lessons from old specialists, tested his steps, but in the long run you can trace the path of this mysterious, hard and torturous path, this most miraculous laboratory in the world called the brain, which produces a famous artist from a razzamuffin, and a military leader and the just pride of the new army from an underground agitator? Who knows?

Comrade Mikhail knows how to rally people around him and to choose the right gear. All those who have ever worked with him know that. His victories are the victories of a great organizer. His comrades loved him, and specialists respect him. He is kind enough to manage things, but it makes people obey him by the force of his own personality, his words are simple, but command obedience better than official orders.

He obeyed because of his personal charm, but not only because of this.

A certain acquaintance remarked in a conversation:

"Comrade Frunze is a very kind man."

But another one who had been together with him in the Vladimir Central Prison replied:

"You do not know him. He is gentle, it is true in his personal relations, but you do not yet understand the secret of his greatness. He has tremendous will power and a strong heart."

This is more in keeping with the truth. He also commands obedience because his staunch heart and strong will make men obey him.

A considerable role is making him a talented red military leader is played by the fact that in his spare moments he was always ready to amuse himself by reading, by listening to lectures, clearing them, taking them to pieces, assembling them again. . . . During these moments, he is just like a child playing with his toys.

L. N. Tolstoy divided people up into two categories: those in whom masculine attributes dominate, and those in whom feminine attributes dominate. In his opinion with the first category, actions are a result of the activity of the mind and are determined by the mind; and with the second category, the activity of the mind is directed at attaining aims evoked by emotion or at justifying actions caused by emotion.

I do not believe that Comrade Frunze belongs to either of these categories; with him his thoughts do not justify emotions and acts, because he is inwardly veracious; nevertheless, his emotions are not suppressed by his thoughts; he does not make them obedient slaves of reason. There are some people with whom the synthesis of mind and feelings have now already attained a relatively high degree of harmony in so inharmonious century as ours.

In my opinion Frunze is one of these.

His Bolshevikism are astonishingly lavish. Just look at our rivals and opponents. How carefully they collect and preserve in their minds every thing worthy of note. With what love have they pictured Kibalov, Balmanov, Gershul, not to mention the Cadet leaders. . . . We are frantically lavish. But after all is Comrade Frunze less important figure than Kibalov, Gershul, or the others; just look at the weight of color in this man. Agitator, Marxist, terrorist, a man condemned to the gallows, a comrade Frunze, who has been in the front line with rifle in hand. . . . No, it is of real value to note these attributes if only because it will once more prove that the party of the revolutionaries, despite all bloodshed by the allies and the most difficult of conditions, still has powder in the magazines.

To the Ivanovo-Voznesensk district Comrade Frunze brought a title of blood both in the past and in the present. In drawing attention to his distinguished qualities and services, we associate them above all with the terrible and heroic experience, for it is with them that he fought on the Volga, at Ufa, Orenburg, in the Ural, by the shores of the Caspian Sea and in the Crimea.

Instruction in English

Foreigners and others wishing to improve, Georgian Bonita, 1843 Lincoln Ave., Tel. Diversity 6089.

In the Flames of Revolt Twenty Years Ago

By M. A. SKROMNY
(Reminiscences of the Revolutionary Days of 1905, by an old Rebel)

EDITOR'S NOTE:—In connection with the 20th anniversary of the revolution of 1905 we publish this series of word pictures of the revolution as told by a combatant who participated in the events of that time. This is the third story.

III.

In the House of Worship.

AFTER the pogrom the revolutionary movement in the city slowed down. Before the pogrom there was no trouble between the christian and Jewish population, there were no bad feelings. After the pogrom the trouble began. The different nationalities looked upon each other as enemies. It was quite a big job to bring some understanding and more unity between them for the sake of fighting the real enemy of both of them—the czaristic government. The revolutionists undertook that job.

The government, on the other hand, continued its work of bringing more control between the different nationalities. It began a systematic campaign to organize its forces for permanent work along these lines. Thus, for instance, the first patriotic organizations among the masses, made their appearance. Their main purpose was to "defend the czar and country from the reds and the Jews."

The hoodlums, however, as they were properly called, began their activities in the streets by beating up Jews, students and all those who looked like revolutionists. The police conveniently did not notice these beatings. The revolutionists were forced to organize in self defense. Thus the Boyevoy Otriad (military squad) of the revolutionary organization came to life in our city. It was under the strict and direct control of the city central committee.

THE most dangerous and difficult jobs were usually assigned to the B. O. as it was called. Such jobs were plentiful. The everyday task of the B. O. was to organize meetings. Under the laws of the czar, this was quite a job. There was no possibility of any kind to meet under the disguise of some legal organization for the simple reason that there were no legal organizations among the masses. Trade unions were not permitted, benefit societies or mutual aid societies, clubs or anything of the sort could not exist.

The only way workers could meet was illegally, in defiance of the law, taking thereby a chance of going to jail for three months or being caught. It was the job of the B. O. to organize the meetings so as not to endanger the workers and the party leaders. Usually nobody, except the members of the B. O. knew where the meeting is to be held. They would find the room, usually by a comrade or sympathizer, and the meeting would be held at the shop or the "birja" to the place of the meeting. A member of the B. O. would take along with him one or two comrades, two other workers would follow at a distance so as not to loose sight of them until they would come to the meeting place. Not more than three or three would enter a house at one and the same time. Other members of the B. O. would do the same. If it was necessary the trip would be repeated many times. Comez every time from a different direction so as not to become conspicuous on the street. After the meeting was over the way it was the business of the B. O. to watch the police and warn against a raid, and sometimes to hold off the police in order to give the comrades time to disperse.

THIS "birja" was mentioned as a little explanation is necessary for "foreigners" those who were not fortunate enough to participate in the movement at that time.

After work the workers would usually go home or to the "chaynara" (tea room), and after supper every party member and sympathizer would go to the "birja" (exchange). But

In the Defense of Red Petrograd



The Red Guard that came after the Boyevoy Otriads (military organization) in the October days. The Red Army came after the Red Guard.

This was not a labor exchange in the usual sense of the word. Not having any meeting clubs or buildings the workers would select streets or parks where people usually promenade, in order to see each other, to meet friends and to attend to party business that could be attended in such a manner. The different parties usually had their different "birjas" that were well known to everybody including the police. But the police was helpless, because thousands of other people were promading in the same places. From time to time raids would be conducted on the "birjas" but that would only create trouble for the police. Many strangers would be picked up and taken to every body including the police. But the police was indifferent, and sometimes raid fights with the police would result. If any known comrade was taken, the B. O. would rush to his home, make a general clean-up taking out every discriminating book, letter, or piece of literature that could be proven, indignation would be created among the indifferent, and sometimes raid fights with the police would result. If any known comrade was taken, the B. O. would rush to his home, make a general clean-up taking out every discriminating book, letter, or piece of literature that could be proven, indignation would be created among the indifferent, and sometimes

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The Red Army a School for Citizens

THIS red barracks, the red army of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, are not only a school for the military training and preparation of red army men, but are also a school for educating them to be citizens and cultured workers. The following figures will show us what tremendous work the red army is doing in this respect at the various regular and territorial units.

"Leninist Corners" in Army. There is a tremendous network of what are termed "Leninist corners" in the red army. Here the red army men spend the hours of their leisure and carry on autodidactic work. There are 4,500 such corners in the red army. The whole army circle and library work among the rank and file of the red army is of a very extensive nature. The number of books read increases year by year. In 1923, 6,438, 414 books were borrowed from the red army libraries and in 1924, 10,651,804.

Educating a Nation. The workers' republic is conducting tremendous work in the field of liquidating illiteracy. Unfortunately, until now a fairly large percentage of illiterates have entered the red army. In the arrears there are 14,212 absolute illiterates, and we are liquidating this illiteracy during the time of service in the ranks of the red army. In 1924 we liquidated 31,712 absolute illiterates, which represent 95%; also 33,717 semi-literate, that is 11.6% making a total of 71,238. In 1925 we will finish the liquidation of 14,212 absolute illiterates, and instructing 28,947 totally illiterates

to build barracks, how to use a gun, etc. Once in a while small groups of the B. O. would go out of town into the hills for target practice, and then they would discover that they don't know much about a gun, but they did the best under the circumstances.

AFTER the pogrom it was very difficult to obtain rooms for meetings. The Jews were afraid that the christian neighbors would betray them, and the christians were afraid that the Jews would betray them. Especially difficult became the situation after a meeting was attacked by a group of hoodlums. The meeting was called for the purpose of organizing the seamstresses. The party was functioning organizing workers into underground unions for the economic as well as political battles. On the way home the girls were attacked by a group of hoodlums and some of them badly beaten up.

This forced the B. O. to be more cautious, and to find safer places for meetings.

One cold winter night a very important meeting was arranged and when the comrades were brought to the meeting place, they found themselves in a Jewish synagogue. The watchman was somewhat sympathetic and being poor agreed for a certain consideration to allow us to meet there.

That synagogue was used a number of times and then it became dangerous.

At another time we also used a synagogue, but without the consent, or better say, in spite of the protests of the owners.

The Jews as well as the christians continued to pray daily for the health of the czar and his whole damned family. Finally we decided to do something about it. A proclamation was prepared and distributed over the city. The B. O. at the same time arranged a raid on a synagogue, one of the largest in the neighborhood. About a dozen members of the B. O. were assigned to the job.

It was a Jewish holiday, the house of worship was crowded to capacity. We came up from different directions and took up positions at the different entrances. Everybody was permitted to enter, but nobody to leave. Then came forward the speakers with their rifles. They walked up to the central platform where honors are sold for kissing the tora (holly scriptural). The speaker raised his hand and announced that he represented the revolutionary organization of the city and warned everybody to keep their seats and avoid trouble, as the Boyevoy Otriad is at the doors and it won't do anybody any good to start something.

THE crowd was dumfounded and "no one stirred."

"You are praying every day for the health of the czar, the czar that made the pogrom on us in this city," the speaker began in the Jewish language. "You are kissing the book that kills you. How long will you stand for this outrage? How long will you be slaves?" He continued with a short revolutionary talk winding up with: "Down with the bloody czar! Long live the revolution!" He was followed by the other speaker in the Russian language with a warning talk, calling upon the Jewish workers to unite with the christian workers for the overthrow of their common enemy—the bloody czaristic government.

When they finished, a rain of proclamations came fluttering down from the gallery where the women's department was located. The people began to read the proclamations and we quietly left the place.

Somebody notified the police, but when they came no trace of the "reds" could be found.

and 4,257 semi-literate, a total of 73,204.

Particular attention should be drawn to the cultural work conducted by our territorial units. Both during the preliminary training in the work of the territorial units themselves, not only the newcomers, but the entire male population of our villages in general take part. The following example will give an idea of this work. In the Volvoga and Cherpozivt provinces 28% of the members of military study circles are those who have already undergone military training while the rest are ordinary peasants. In the Troitsk county of the Pskov province, out of 4,250 people attending the military study circles, 670 are ex-red army men while the rest have not yet undergone military training. We have a similar state of affairs in other territorial divisions.

A Different Kind of Commander. The commanding and political staffs of our units are beginning to enjoy ever greater respect and recognition on the part of the peasants. Here is the opinion of a peasant from the Voronezh province concerning our commanders: "This is really our army. In the old days, we could not even go near the officers, but now the commanders are our best comrades and counsellors." When our commanders leave the villages after carrying on work there among the new recruits, there are scores and hundreds of applications from lower Soviet organizations, and from the peasant population requesting that they be allowed to remain behind in the com-

tryside to carry on ordinary civil Soviet work. This goes to show that the red army is the offspring of the working class and peasantry in the true sense of the word and that it is a tremendous cultural force in the countryside. The red army intends carrying on this work into the future, and we are firmly convinced that the work will give us the unity and the mutual understanding between the red army and the workers and peasants in the rear and the red front, which is the foremost and truest guarantee for the future victories of the workers' republic.

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