

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

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Our International Congress - By Alexander Bittelman

IT opens in Moscow on the 15th of June. And for two weeks, or so, the eyes of every fighter in the proletarian cause, no matter what part of the world he finds himself in, will be turned to the Congress—the living embodiment of the proletarian urge to victory and will to power.

The Unbelievable Happened.

So it was. Five years ago very few believed the thing to be possible. Lenin was the first one to proclaim the idea. It was then taken up by his most trusted and closest co-workers. And within a few months this flaming, life-generating ideal of a Communist International became a reality.

When it started it was Russia, the Russian Communist party primarily, that was the basis and substance of the new world-organization of the revolutionary working class. In fact, the only real party that participated in the first Congress of the Communist International was the Russian party, all the other delegates representing either small Communist groups or revolutionary minorities in the parties of the 2nd International.

And now, when the Fifth Congress comes into session, the Communist International represents a powerful, well-trained and disciplined army of revolutionary soldiers that numbers in its ranks millions of workingmen and workingwomen all over the world. Now the Communist International is the only real international organization. Composed of almost all the living races, nations and languages, yet its membership of millions knows only one loyalty, one objective and one language of struggle. It is the world revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

The Fifth Congress.

This is the Fifth Congress. It meets at a time, when the working-class struggle in the most important countries in the world is again on the upgrade. Life and hope and determination are once more coming back into the struggle of the workers in Germany, France and England. The complications and contradictions of capitalist rule have again brought the masses to the verge of ruin, which compels the revolutionary workers of the world once more to seize the initiative in the class-struggle.

Germany will be on the agenda of the Congress. It will most probably occupy the central place in its deliberations. Events in that most important country in Central Europe are fast coming to a head. It will require all the wisdom, knowledge and experience of the Communist International to steer and direct the working class of Germany successfully thru the ripening conflict for power.

Because of the approaching final show-down between the forces of Fascism and Communism in Germany, the Communist Party of that country, whose influence has been growing re-

cently by leaps and bounds, is passing at present thru an intensive process of internal crystallization of policies and tactics of revolutionary struggle. The Left Wing of the party seems to be definitely in control, but it has not as yet evolved with sufficient clearness a program of action which would satisfy the Communist International as to the soundness and correctness of the proposed policies.

This Congress will once more take up the German question and will say its authoritative word on the problems that are at issue in the ranks of the German party. And as in the past, so also will it be in the future! When the voice of the Communist International has spoken, the ranks close, and the party proceeds to action. One mind, one heart, and one will. England, too, is on the agenda. The

ing ever new ground, and that the International position of the Union of Soviet Republics has never been stronger than now.

Good news, indeed, this will be to the leaders of International Communism. But the thing that will most deeply reach into and gladden their hearts will be the report that the internal conflict in the Russian Communist Party has been settled definitely and successfully. The crisis has been overcome and the Russian Party is once more the unified and centralized party of Lenin.

The Congress will practically enter into the problems of the class-struggle in every country in the world. Much more so than the previous Congresses, this one represents a real international party whose national sections stand to each other in practically the

C. I. was really the making of our party, and for this the American working class will forever be grateful when it finally comes to realize the role and importance of a Communist party.

Five years ago the elements that make up our party at present were just a left wing of something or other. The Left Wing of the Socialist Party, the left of the I. W. W., radicals and militants at large. It was a loose, shapeless movement striving painfully towards self-expression and a definite crystallization.

We Are a Party.

Now it is a party. A party of conscious communists with a clear revolutionary ideology and a centralized, fighting organization. Now it is an army in the class-struggle, the advanced guard of the American working class, with a recognized leadership and a well established program of action.

Who wrought this wonderful change? The conditions of the class-struggle in America, of course. And the reverberations of the revolutionary struggles in Europe. But this change would never have been possible in such a short space of time if not for the directing assistance of the Communist International.

Unity Between Foreign and Native.

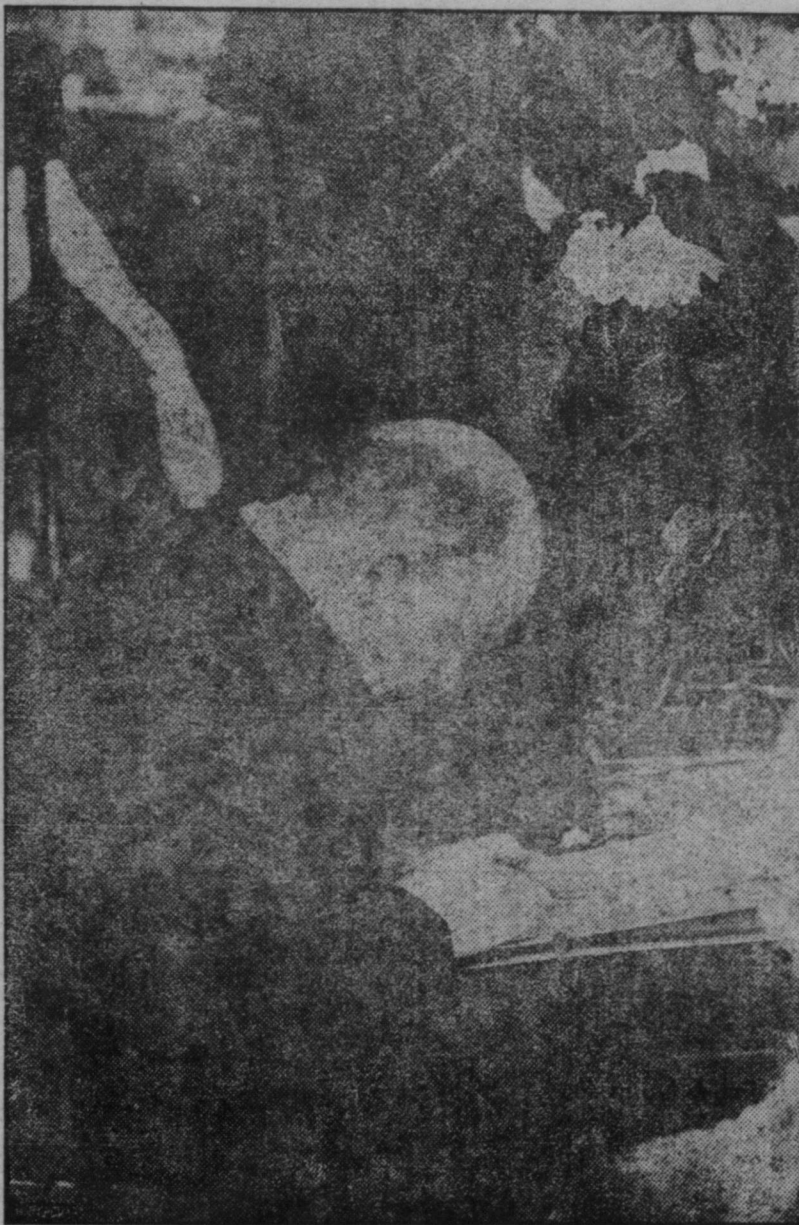
To crystallize a Communist party in America was a difficult proposition, indeed. With a working-class made up of foreign-born and natives, and these foreign-born in their turn divided into several races, languages and nationalities, with a political backwardness on the part of the workers that no other capitalist country in the world can compare with, with no revolutionary leadership that could command general recognition and support,—with all these conditions as a background, how many years would it have taken to crystallize a Communist movement in America had there been in existence no Communist International?

Many, many more years than had actually passed. Luckily for our party and for the labor movement of America as a whole the Communist International was formed in time to give us all the benefits of its knowledge, experience and influence.

Greetings to Fifth Congress.

To the Fifth Congress we send our greetings and expression of faith. We expect our International Party to emerge from this Congress more wise, more powerful and even more determined to lead us in the struggle for International Communism. As a result of this Congress we are certain to find each national section of the world-organization rejuvenated, strengthened and more fit in every sense to tackle successfully the complicated problems of their respective countries.

Hail the Communist International!
Hail the Fifth Congress!



N. LENIN AT THIRD CONGRESS OF C. I.



KARL LIEBKNECHT

coming into power of the British Labor Party had closed a chapter in the development of the class-struggle in England. The recent experiences of the English working masses in the "effectiveness" of parliamentary Socialism are preparing the ground for a new beginning. The mind of the English proletariat is becoming more susceptible to the ideas of Communism and revolutionary class struggle. Which raises before the Communist Party of England a series of new problems of policy and tactics. These problems will be discussed and solved by the present congress, and the decisions rendered will no doubt be of incalculable value to the Communist Party of England and to the working class as a whole.

And Russia, too, will come before the Congress. Our Russian comrades will be in a position to report that conditions of life in Soviet Russia are constantly improving, that the economic system of the new order is gain-

same relation as city and district units of one national section. It is one party, with one centralized leadership. And the International Congress of this party will deal with individual problems of each national section in the same way as these latter deal with the local problems of their own subdivisions.

By this token, Italy, Bulgaria, the United States, Japan, the Balkans and every other country in the world, including the colonies, will in one way or another be taken up by the Congress. This general staff of the world-revolution has a real world outlook, and strives towards no other objective but the final triumph of the world revolution.

The Communist International and the American Party.

It seems to us that no other Communist party in the world feels as strong a sense of gratitude to the Communist International as does the American party. The influence of the



ROSA LUXEMBURG

The Monetary Reform in Russia

ON February 22, 1924, the Government of the Federated Soviet Socialist Republics issued a decree by which silver coin was inaugurated, for the first time since 1914, to be accepted on par with the gold currency.

On March 9, 1924, the government added a decree on the redemption of the sovznak, or the soviet paper ruble, putting a firm price at 50,000 rubles of the issue of 1923 for one gold ruble to be accepted by all, at that price, until the tenth of April and by the government banks up until the 10th of May, then to be withdrawn altogether from circulation.

These two decrees have made an end to the worthless steadily falling sovznak, and have the Socialist Republics put on a basis of firm stabilized currency. The soviet ruble itself, steadily on the decline, became by the last decree until its final withdrawal, a firm currency, its worth being stabilized by the decree, and accepted by the population with great desire as small change, in which Russia, even after the issuance of the silver and copper currency, is yet in great need.

The decree on the silver coin tells that there are going to be five denominations of it; namely, in 10, 15, 20, 50 copeks and one ruble, while the copper coin will be 1, 3, 5 copeks. The silver coin of one and one-half ruble denomination must contain ninety per cent silver and ten copper, the rest half and half. The decree tells that it has been decided to mint and let in circulation up until the first of January, 1925, silver coins to the amount of one hundred million gold rubles, and prohibits the acceptance of any of the silver and copper coins of the old tsarist designs excepting the state banks who are to accept them only for the amount of sterling silver in them. The decree, besides, prohibits any and all institutions to issue surrogates in any form.

The monetary reform under the circumstances the Soviet government finds itself, with no credits in the outside world, still boycotted by many great powers, still threatened on all sides, hardly emerged from the most painful hunger and with industry less than a third of what it was before the war, was an undertaking of tremendous dimensions and demanded a serious change in the whole financial and economic life of the land. But it was put thru, and hard cash is ringing now as of yore in the pockets of the soviet citizen, and his ruble now is as real as it was never before, in fact, more real than all the favorite foreign currencies that the diverse "black bourses" in the big Russian cities were dealing in until the publications of the decrees. The Russian citizen refuses now to buy any foreign money on the markets and the "black speculators" have closed their street bourses. The most favorite of the foreign currencies, the American dollar, fell inside of two days on the "black bourses" of Moscow, Leningrad, Kieff, etc., from 2.60 chervony rubles to 1.98, and it is still on the decline, so that the dollars now sent by relatives to Russia do not look at all as big as before. A total end was also made to the speculation in tsarist gold and silver coin, because in the first place, the dealing in them is prohibited by decree and in the second place, the peasants who have hoarded them, have quickly decided to get rid of them, now that they have soviet "real money;" and while they have been getting only a month before as much as 1.20 chervony ruble for the tsarist silver ruble, they are glad to sell them now at 55 chervony copeks and the same holds true as to the gold tsarist coin.

The new monetary reform, while tremendous in scope and daring, was not altogether a surprise and was expected to come. In fact, life itself decreed the fate of the sovznak. For the last year the Soviet Government was constantly curtailing the emission of the sovznak or the soviet paper ruble, withdrawing it steadily from circulation, and lately it had become only as a means to cover deficits in

the budget which, in fact, quickened the total elimination of it from the economic life.

In the beginning of 1923, in the soviet republics, there were almost exclusively only sovznaks, but in January, 1924, the amount of the guaranteed and stable chervonietz in circulation was 81 per cent while the sovznak was only 19 per cent, and in February, this year, the amount of the sovznak in circulation fell still further down to 12.6 per cent, the amount of the chervonietz being something like about 300 million gold ruble and that of the sovznak about 39 million gold rubles.

Still there was a need in the emission of the sovietznak. In the first place, the deficit in the budget had to be taken care of. The government, in order not to put the chervonietz in the same class as the sovietznak, that is in order not to depreciate the chervonietz, had to fall upon the emission of the sovznak for this purpose. And in the second place, because the chervonietz was of big denomination, the populace and especially the peasants used the sovznak for their convenience, that is, for small change.

But the sovznak was tremendously falling in worth in the beginning of this year; the tempo of the fall of the sovznak was much quicker than the emission of it, and it was quickly realized that even as a means of covering the governmental deficits it would not do. It fell in worth in

fore, when prices were low and the only ones that had gained were the richer peasant and the speculator. The monetary reform practically forced itself on the Soviet Republics.

"We were forced into the monetary reform," declared Kameniev in his speech at a conference of active and representative workers of Moscow, because the sovznak had reached the actual bottom and we cannot hold out with it even a few more weeks. The peasantry refuses to sell grain to the government in exchange of sovznak and the inauguration of this policy is therefore as much political as financial. It will be undoubtedly a painful process but which we must pull thru."

But to assure the stability of the new stabilized currency, many things were to be done and they were done with the energy and endeavor characteristic of the Soviet government.

"The monetary reform," said Kameniev in his quoted speech, "has two deadly enemies, the government deficit and the high prices on commodities, and if we shall not conquer these two enemies we will have to acknowledge that we have acted heedlessly. We must therefore fight for the reform more energetically because when we lose out we have lost not only technically but more so politically."

The deficit is therefore a deadly enemy of the reform, Kameniev explained, because if the deficit shall

ment and the Communist party, mobilized especially for this new "front."

The merchandise ruble, of which Kameniev and the rest spoke, is practically a currency in theory. Because the sovznak was constantly falling in price, the government and the trade unions have devised a means by which the real wages should be more protected. Every month a commission of the workers and the government have taken up the budget of the worker, and striking an average figure for a given locality have calculated the amount of soviet rubles to be received by them. It had greatly bettered the lot of the worker but still never given him the full assurance of real wages. The sovznak was so constantly falling in worth that if, for instance, a worker did not buy in all his products right after pay he was in danger of getting for his pay, a few days later, much less, often as little as half.

(The only exception to the rule was housing where the worker gained by the decline of sovznak. According to the law, rent was to be collected of workers and clerks every tenth for the previous month, in amounts according to the worth of the sovznak on the 15th of previous month. The workers by this law have often paid less than a half of their real rent gaining on this decline of the sovznak for nearly a month.)

The reduction in prices was on all lines. At first on certain staple commodities, then many others, the reduction still keeping on. The private traders are not compelled to lower prices, the decree being only for the state and co-operative institutions, but they are nevertheless, compelled by law to hang out their price lists like the state and co-operative stores in a conspicuous place, and the result is that they had to fall in line. As to the state manufacturers, their prices were reduced even more by eliminating the so-called insurance against risk of the decline in sovznak that they have always added to the price. In general, prices on manufactured products fell from 16 to 35 per cent. Even newsprint paper and newspapers became cheap. The soviet citizen today buys his "Izvestia" at five copeks a copy and the loaf of bread for five copeks. Competing heavily with the private trader thru the state and co-operative stores, the government nevertheless decided to come to the help of the very small one. The small trader shows great tenacity of life not alone in the villages, but in the big cities as well. Even in Moscow where there is the greatest network of co-operatives and state stores, ninety per cent of the small trade is still done by the small private trader, a half of that in the popular markets. It has been decided therefore, to help them first by enabling the small trader to buy his goods directly from the state factories, avoiding the middle man and the middle state institutions, and then

(Continued on page 7.)

WHY COMMUNISM IS A MENACE

The American Legion has offered a purse,
To be paid for the best Exposés of the curse;
Which is first above mentioned. So, let us proceed
To win part of said cash, with all possible speed!

"Americanism" as these brave heroes view
It, means lynching whoever dares differ from you!
As Frank Little whose murder the Oil Thieves acclaim,
Or John Brown whose "Rebellion" brought Immortal Fame!

To "Americanism" like that, it is plain
COMMUNISM is a Menace, indeed! In vain,
Do we quote from the words of "The Crucified One!"
When we follow CHRIST'S TEACHING, THE LEGION IS DONE!

Among HIS DISCIPLES, there was no room for Greed!
They were COMMUNISTS sharing as each one had need!

I. D. McFadden.

January over a third and in February still more. There were, for instance, in January sovietznaks to the nominal amount of 178 billion rubles, and in February to the nominal amount of 333 billion rubles, whereas the worth of all that amount in January was 58 million gold rubles, and in February, with almost twice as much in amount, only 39 gold or chervony rubles.

Together with the speedy decline of the sovznak there was an equivalent rise in prices on commodities. Grain products have shown the greatest rise, textiles the smallest and the chervonietz something between. Grain products have risen in comparison with 1,000 for October of last year, to December, 4,456; January, 104,702; February, 38,852. Textiles in comparison with 1,000 for October; December, 2,451; January, 5,160 and February, 14,602. And the chervonietz, October, 1,000; December, 3,425; January, 7,500 and February, 20,500. The smaller rise in textiles is explained by the big cry of "coming together of the scissors" previous to the inauguration the new monetary reform, when it was decided to lower prices on manufactured goods so that the peasant can buy them, but this "coming together" did not show the success expected of it. Prices on manufactured goods really fell somehow and on the other hand prices on grain products really rose, but neither the workers nor the poor peasants gained much by it. The worker, as a matter of fact, suffered because of the high prices on bread and the poor peasant had already sold his grain be-

covered by more emissions the standardized currency will have the fate of the sovznak, it will have to become worthless in time. And we related how the government, in anticipation of the reform, made a great cut in emission and a very serious one in the budget for the last two months and is ready to go on that way further in the future months.

But the second enemy, that of the high prices on products, is just as serious. The fact is that the chervonietz, high in the foreign bourses, was lower in domestic markets because of that, and the government had already taken means to right this wrong. Commissions were appointed to commence lowering prices on basic commodities and for that purpose assemble stocks of bread products in the cities and industrial points, and there is the assurance that there will be enough. Seventy million puds of bread is needed, for instance, to feed the population till the new crop and there is as much and more. Prices must come down, because if they stay high it will mean the high prices of the merchandise ruble and the low prices of the gold one, and the failure of the new monetary reform. A plan was also worked out by which the wages of the workers shall be protected during change of currencies by announcing a parity between the merchandise ruble and the gold one. Needless to say that the "nepmen" were against the new monetary reform, putting as it did an end to speculation, but they have met the most active resistance of the govern-



PAUL VAILLANT COUTURIER
Communist Deputy, French
Parliament.

Letters From Moscow

By ANISE

IN spite of Nep and economic crises, and profiteers, and low wages, Russia still remains different from any place in the world. As soon as I crossed the border I noticed the change. In place of the beer and wines of Poland, bottles of Narzan began to appear on the dining-car tables, a sparkling mineral water bearing a snow-clad mountain on its label with the inscription showing that it is bottled by the Department of Health of Russia. Beer and wine are of course not forbidden, but Narzan is the favorite and very delicious drink.

I picked up a newspaper in Minsk. (Incidentally, there was a very comfortable sleeping-car from the frontier, and a dining-car from Minsk to Moscow.) One whole page of the paper was devoted to letters from local correspondents in the country around and all of them breathed an atmosphere of energy and reconstructive labor. A writer from Bobruisk was bragging about how the town got its new electric station, and how the peasants for miles around helped with labor and contributions, because the electric station would carry light for thirty versts. It was a hard job, and money was very hard to get, but now they are opening the station on May Day.

Another letter describes the "seed-help" campaign in a little township and tells how sixteen tons of grain were collected, and given as seed to widows, and families of absent soldiers and war-injured men. Still a third announces that "our township is far from the center and even from railway connections, none the less our classes against illiteracy and for training in civics are doing well"; and proceeds to prove it. . . . And letters like these have been going on in all the months that I have been away, a steady continuous interest in reconstruction.

On my first evening in Moscow—it was Easter Sunday—I was invited to see the "child-naming" of a baby, to be held in a Jewish Communist Club. This is a ceremony which is beginning to take the place of the circumcision rites with the Jews and the baptism with the Christians. The hall was packed and the door were jammed with young people, obviously working-class, energetic, much alive. There was much seriousness but no solemnity. After an address by the chairman, the father held the child aloof to the crowd amid much applause and said that he wished to call him "Lenid," a contraction of "Lenin" and "id", the latter meaning Jew. The name was ratified by the assembly, and various factory delegations proceeded to make gifts of baby blankets embroidered with the Hammer and Sickle, of books and membership cards in their clubs. The father also presented in the name of the child two books to the club library.

The ceremony has not taken any artistic or symbolic form as yet; it was crude; the chairman blundered and the crowd joyously laughed. But there was in it a vitality of belief and of dedication which was very impressive. Certainly the Russians have not lost their firm conviction that the World Revolution is on its way. The father announced that he had four older children, one in the Communist Youth, and three in the Young Pioneers, the younger preliminary organization. He expected them all to be ready for the tasks to be given them, "either to fight on the battlefield against the world bourgeoisie, or to build afterwards in peace the structure of Communism."

The special excitement in Moscow just now is the cleaning of the Communist party which is going on most drastically. Everyone is being examined as to the details of his life and work, and all those found unworthy of the stiff requirements are being thrown out. Men living "too much like bourgeois," or in too close relations with profiteers, or dictatorial and uncomradely in their jobs, or even neglectful of work, are ruthlessly eliminated. No doubt mistakes are made and personal grudges play their part. But certainly the cleaning was

needed and the few cases that have come under my attention seem to me to have been deserved. In fact, I much rejoiced to see certain small bureaucrats, who to my own knowledge continuously blocked any new ideas that did not contribute to their personal prestige,—now cast into the discard.

The bureaucrats and officials especially are getting it. Of the first two or three thousand members examined in Moscow, 7 per cent of the workers examined were eliminated, and thirty-three per cent of the intellectuals. This last term includes the office people and Soviet officials, many of whom have become Communists in order to make careers. "Careerism" is hated just as much as profiteering in Moscow.

I can't close this letter without telling my amusing and delightful experience of hospitality in Moscow. It is, as always, very overcrowded, and not being a Communist delegate who gets met at the station and cared for, I have not yet secured a room. For two days I have had my baggage in the room of a friend and have been sleeping on a couch in the ambulatorium, from which I have to get out before the patients come in the morning. But I have had no less than five offers of sofas from one comrade after another. First a hospitable comrade assured me that he had two beds in his room and I could have one; but I still have American prejudices against sharing a room with an un-

related man. . . . Then a man and his wife offered me a sofa in their tiny room. He is chief engineer for the electric stations of Russia, but he has only one room, eight by fourteen in size, for all living purposes of himself and his wife; in this he offered me the sofa. Such is Moscow crowding.

Next came a bureau member of the Immigrants Club, English-speaking section. This is a flourishing organization just founded, which has secured a house from the Moscow authorities. "We have nine fine rooms just freshly painted," he said. "We haven't any beds, but perhaps you can get one from somebody."

But the last and most perfect ex-

ample of Moscow hospitality was furnished by Paul Kipnick, of the Tambov Workers' Commune, now visiting in Moscow. He will be remembered by many Americans. I met him last evening about midnight. "Why didn't I know before?" he exclaimed. "You could have had Gordon's room."

"Where is Gordon?" I asked. "In Leningrad?"

"O, no, Gordon is in his room and I am visiting him, but we could move out. We have plenty of friends!"

Such is the comradeship in Moscow. And really, it is so pleasant that I would rather sleep around, on sofas among comrades than hunt for a private room in a nepman's hotel.

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INCREASE IN TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP IN RUSSIA

FROM October 1, 1922, until October 1, 1923, the membership of the Trade Unions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics increased by 22 per cent, the total membership amounting to 5,500,000 on October 1, 1923, as against 4,500,000 at the same date in the preceding year.

The table below gives a clear picture of the growth of the membership in the various categories of employees:

	Oct. 1, 1922	Oct. 1, 1923	Pct. of increase
Agriculture.			
Field and Forest workers.....	263,000	296,000	4.6
Industry.			
Paper workers	20,000	27,000	35.0
Miners	228,000	305,000	33.8
Woodworking industry	32,000	122,000	48.8
Leather workers	77,000	89,000	15.6
Metal workers	422,000	522,000	22.7
Printers	61,000	77,000	26.2
Food workers	183,000	269,000	47.0
Sugar workers	31,000	48,000	54.8
Building workers	102,000	245,500	40.2
Textile workers	400,000	476,000	19.0
Chemical workers	124,000	157,000	26.6
Clothing workers	49,000	53,000	8.2
Total	1,799,000	2,390,000	34.3
Transport and Communication.			
Water transport	122,000	123,000	0.8
Railroad workers	714,000	741,000	3.8
Local transport	102,000	139,000	35.3
Posts and telegraph.....	106,000	102,000	3.8*
Grand Total	1,044,000	1,104,000	5.7
State Public and Other Establishments			
Art workers	58,000	66,000	13.8
Medical and sanitary workers.....	297,000	333,000	12.1
Educational workers	386,000	467,000	21.0
Soviet employees	473,000	642,000	35.7
Total	1,214,000	1,508,000	24.2
Other.			
Municipal enterprises	125,000	173,000	38.4
Public feeding	38,000	70,000	84.2
Total	163,000	243,000	49.1
Not classified according to trade union	63,000
Grand Total	4,545,500	5,541,000	21.9

*—Decrease.
There has thus been a great increase all round. If the peculiarly marked increase in the number of communal and public dining room workers is disregarded, it is seen from the above table that the greatest increase of trade union members is in industrial occupations, in which on the average there has been an increase of 34.3 per cent during the year. The comparatively small increase in the membership of the Land and Forest Workers' Union is due to the fact that in many districts branches are only now being formed.

There has thus been an increase during the year of one-fifth in the number of organized workers, and an increase of one-third in the number of organized industrial workers. The relation is obvious between this increase and the ever-growing stability of the Soviet power and economy. The fact that there are now 5,500,000 organized workers, including 4,000,000 organized industrial workers, is the best possible guarantee of the further consolidation of the Soviet regime.

Of the total number of trade union members, 50 per cent belong to the four main industrial regions.

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Among the German Communists

(Impressions and Facts)
By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

A Semi-Legal Party

IT was difficult to find the leading German comrades. First they were at their national convention (a remarkable feat, indeed, to organize a secret party convention of some 150 members right in the face of formidable military dictatorship aided and abetted by labor union fakers and social-democratic traitors, then, upon return to Berlin, they were in hiding. When you came to campaign headquarters which was located in one building with the general office of the party and the editorial rooms of the "Rote Fahne" ("Red Banner"), you would not be admitted without credentials. If you had convinced the keepers of the gate that you were no spy and no provocateur, you would still be disappointed to find in the building only minor party functionaries busy with routine work, while absolute silence was maintained as to the whereabouts of the leaders. Only in a roundabout way was it possible for me to meet some members of the new C. E. C. of the party. One of them was in actual disguise which had changed his appearance to such an extent, he said, that his own mother would hardly recognize him. These precautions were imperative in spite of the party's return to legal existence. The party had just emerged out of a five months' underground starvation. Even in the worst times of persecution the illegality could not be complete, for the simple reason that it is not possible to drive under cover a mass party of several hundred thousand. The return to open existence was not so much a result of slackening persecution as a seizing of liberties by the masses whom no reichswehr (militia) could subdue. But while the government was forced to tolerate the activities of the party, it kept a close watch over the leaders. After I had left Berlin I learned that warrants were issued for the arrest of the fourteen members of the new C. E. C. of the party before the coming election so that they might not hide later behind the immunity of M. P.'s. The "Rote Fahne" was repeatedly issued and repressed and reissued. Party headquarters in the various cities were being raided and some permanently occupied by the police. Some party members had been sentenced to 9 and 15 months' imprisonment for spreading appeals of the Executive Committee (this is what they call freedom of elections in a bourgeois democracy). In Thuringia the "democratic" landtag (state parliament) had enacted a law forbidding the May first celebration, and the same body deprived a Communist representative, Neubauer, of his parliamentary immunity in order that he might be delivered to the authorities for trial on the ground of treason.

High Treason.

This "treason" business, in spite of the tragic aspect it assumed for some of the comrades, does not fail to provoke a derisive laughter among the German workers as a manifestation of the stupidity of the present reaction. It is a well known fact that the Fascist forces of Germany are armed to the teeth. It is well known that the proletarian hundertschaften (fighting battalions) were by far less equipped with rifles and ammunition than were the Rights. Now, while the government suppresses the proletarian units with an iron hand, while it allows the Hitlerists to arm openly, to make armed demonstrations and to do as much sabre rattling as would make the spirits of every old general soar high, it declares it an act of high treason to state openly, in the press or on the platform, that there are armed units within the empire. Mind you, not the arming itself is criminal, if it is done by bourgeois forces, but the mere mention of its existence. This is only one example of how far a disgruntled reaction can go in face of a revolutionary movement.

All the comrades I met in Berlin were still under the spell of the recent party convention. They were hardly able to discuss anything but factional controversies and party problems. This is a brief outline of what

I gleaned from their conversations and discussions.

The Swing to the Left

After the defeat of last October-November and after the party was driven underground, there ensued a period of inactivity towards the outer world and of heated discussion within. The left wing, then a minority in the C. E. C., accused the majority of having missed the opportunity, of having been undecisive and timid, of having pursued a united front in Saxony to the detriment of the revolution. Times after the ebbing down of a high revolutionary wave are always times of bitter accusations on the one hand, of differentiation in the revolutionary camp on the other. So it was also among the German comrades. Some went so far to the right as to practically give up hope of a revolution in the near future, while in the left wing had greatly increased in fest which went beyond the logical demands of the situation. On the whole, the left wing had greatly increased in the course of those transitional months, which were marked by no decisive steps and no clear line of action on the part of the party. By the time the national convention was called, the rank and file had recuperated far more than the leaders, and was manifesting a strong fighting spirit. Of the rights, none were elected to the convention; of the so-called center, thirty-four, of the left, ninety-two. The membership clearly wanted action.

extremists in the left majority, a union of the left with centre appears within reach.

To the Left of Reason.

This group of extremists, many of whom, I was told, had had no Marxian training and had not participated in the labor movement up to very recent time, came into prominence after the October-November debacle. The group as such would be of little consequence if it were isolated from the rest of the party. The difficulty lies in the fact that extremist tendencies in modified form can be discovered also among the responsible elements of the present C. E. C. who are to steer the party in the near future. This gave rise to an enormous volume of discussion both in the German party and in Moscow. Briefly stated, the tendencies of the extremists are: (a) to repudiate the united front tactics; (b) to create left wing unions, breaking up the old bureaucracy-ridden organization; (c) to do away with centralized form of party organization; (d) to slacken the tie between the party and the Communist International. These tendencies become the more pronounced the more we approach the left sector of the left majority of the present C. E. C., their chief exponent, Schuhmacker, being outside of that body, but, as I have mentioned, they color to a lesser degree also the utterances of such majority leaders as Maslow, Rute Fischer, Rosenberg, Scholem.

THE SWORD

Clang, clang! a burning torrent, clear
And brilliant of bright sparks, is poured
Around, and up in the dusky air,
As our hammers forge the sword.

The sword! A name of dread; yet when
Upon a freeman's thigh 'tis bound—
Whenever for the truth and right
It flashes in the van of fight—
How sacred it is then!

Whenever the battle-word
Is liberty, when men do stand
For justice and their friend,
Then Heaven bless the sword!

Julius J. Goldstein.

The Center and the Left.

As far as I could ascertain, there are no basic differences of outlook, of policies and tactics between the left and the center. What separates them is, first, their attitude towards the defeat of October-November, second the question of partial demands in the present, third the existence in the left wing of a group of extremists. The appreciation of past errors may be of very great importance for the party, but since the center accepts now—and has accepted at the convention—the majority view on the perspectives of the movement and on the immediate tasks before the party, the difference of attitude towards the past cannot form an insurmountable barrier between the two factions. The question of partial demands may appear much graver. The left wing declares to be decisively against partial demands short of the conquest of power. The centre says: we must relentlessly fight for immediate improvements in the situation of the workers. To the impartial observer, however, it is evident that the maximalism of the left wing cannot hold water. It has justly been pointed out by the leading minds of the C. I. that, whatever the phraseology of "everything or nothing," the party as a whole will be compelled to fight for the eight-hour work-day which is now being assaulted by the capitalist class, that it simply cannot avoid the fight for the abolition of military rule or for the control of production. These demands, and many others, which, if properly utilized, will only attract the masses to the party and accelerate the revolutionary movement, will not fail to unite both factions in common struggle. The fact is that, but for the

The Unions.

The gravest of these problems is the union problem. The so-called "free" unions under the bureaucratic leadership of Social-Democratic reformists are in the midst of a formidable crisis. Their membership is alarmingly decreasing. Out of some ten to twelve millions a few years ago it has dwindled to three or four millions or even less at present. The metal workers' union of Berlin had 180,000 members only three years ago, now its membership is slightly over 30,000. This collapse is primarily due to the compromising spirit of the union officials who are afraid of a vigorous stand against capitalist exploitation and who prefer "democratic persuasion" of the bosses to strikes and demonstrations. It is natural that the workers, failing to find in the union the staunch defender of their interests, should turn to it a cold shoulder. The crisis, however, is also due to unemployment which throws the worker out of the factory and out of an organized contact with his fellow workers.

One would expect the Germans, known paragons of efficiency, to do everything in their power to maintain the unity and cohesion of the workers' economic organizations. But such is the fate of those elements and groups whom history has doomed to death: they hasten their own perdition. Instead of revising their tactics and attracting all elements that are willing and capable to do the work of reconstruction, the union bureaucrats declared the Communists a fight to a finish. At a recent convention of the textile workers' union the leaders declared it to be the task of the German unions first to get rid of the Reds and

only then to resume a struggle against the employers. In accordance with this animus, members of a Communist orientation are being thrown out of the unions, whole locals under the control of Communists are being excluded, others are being reorganized after the well-known recipe of Schlesinger and Sigman. In times of an enormous economic crisis, with millions of unemployed aboard and a sense of hopelessness permeating large masses, this could only add confusion and weaken the unions still more. On the Communist side, especially among the less stable elements, it engendered a secessionist movement. Eighty per cent of the German Communists are now outside of the labor unions. A large portion of the left wing was disposed to break with the old unions altogether and to start the organization of "pure" class-conscious 100 per cent revolutionary "industrial" unions under the leadership of the Communist party.

It appears that this was the biggest problem of the recent convention. There were heated discussions. The view of the C. I. was known to be for continuation of the old union tactics. The opponents of such tactics pointed at the mood of the masses which, they maintained, was for breaking away from the hopeless mess of the old discredited union organizations. The supporters of the C. I. policy argued that by forming dual unions the Communists would isolate themselves from the mass of labor and so only help the union bureaucrats to continue their deadly influence over the workers. It is the task of the Communists, they argued, to lead the workers in the coming revolutionary struggles, and this would be impossible if a barrier is created between the party and organized labor. The decision was in favor of coming back into the old unions and fighting from within, but the echoes of the discussion are still reverberating in wide circles of the party.

United Front.

This difference of attitude naturally involved a wider discussion of the entire united front tactics. It is commonly accepted among the German comrades that one does not make a united front with the Social-Democratic leaders any longer. What one strives for is to form a united front from below, with the mass of workers who do not belong to any party or still belong to the so-called socialist parties. But here is the question of a general labor congress looming up on the horizon. The congress is to represent the shop and factory committees and will embrace all shades of opinion and all possible party affiliations among the workers. Should the Communists stay within and form the left wing, or shall they split the congress and capture the most revolutionary elements? The extremists were in favor of the latter decision. The more moderate of the left wing decided in favor of the former. But the spirits are not yet quieted down, the heat of clashes is intense, and time will be required to coalesce differing views into a set of uniform tactical ideas.

One instance may illustrate the mood. Clara Zetkin is the most known and most revered leader of the German Communists. But she is on

(Continued on page 8)



CLARA ZETKIN

Observations of a Publicist

By V. I. Lenin

Preliminary Remarks by Comrade Zinoviev.

THE following hitherto unpublished article was recently found among the papers of comrade Lenin. This article was written for "The Communist International" (approximately in February or March 1922) and was intended to be a continuation of those "Observations of a Publicist" which Vladimir Ilyitch at that time was publishing in almost every number of "The Communist International."

I remember how Vladimir Ilyitch had promised to finish this article for the regular number of "The Communist International" but this he failed to do owing to his being over-tired and overcharged with work.

With regard to the role of Paul Levi during the Third Congress there were also considerable disagreements within the Russian delegation. Lenin repeatedly in conversations acknowledged his error in this question. The declaration of Lenin in the following article puts an end to a dispute, which is not without interest, over the important episode which assumed great importance for the elaboration of the tactics of the Communist International.

As regards comrade Lenin's strong condemnation of Serratf, this refers to the time of the greatest errors of the latter and of his most reprehensible attacks against the Communist International. In this place we have deleted from the manuscript of Lenin some sharp phrases evoked by the heat of combat, and we are thoroughly convinced that in this respect we are acting in Lenin's spirit. He would now have been the first to strike out these sharp phrases and would have rejoiced at the return of comrade Serratf into the ranks of the Communist International—the more so as comrade Lenin held comrade Serratf's abilities in high esteem.

Lenin's article—even the unfinished—appears at the most opportune time. There will shortly take place the V. Congress of the Communist International which will deal with many of the problems, touched on in this article. The German C. P. is again experiencing a sharp inner struggle. There are ultra-left comrades appealing to the error made by Rosa Luxemburg in 1903 against the views of the Communist International as for instance in the organizational question. It will be particularly useful to these comrades to read what Lenin writes in this regard. There are sensation-mongers who are talking of the "crisis" of the Communist International. For these comrades it will be particularly useful to read what comrade Lenin writes about "the noiseless, unassuming, deliberate, unhasting, but profound work of constructing real Communist parties in Europe and America." And it would be of very, very great advantage if many "critics" of the policy of C. P. of Russia were to read, mark and learn what Vladimir Ilyitch writes on the "Ascent of High Mountains" and in particular on the "Evil Effects of Faint-Heartedness."

Moscow, April 15th, 1924.

G. ZINOVIEV.

I. An Example.

Let us imagine a man who is attempting the ascent of a very high and hitherto unclimbed mountain. Let us assume that he has succeeded, after having overcome unheard of difficulties and dangers, in climbing far higher than his predecessors, but that, nevertheless, he does not reach the top. He arrives at a position where to go forward in the chosen direction and path appears to be not only difficult and dangerous, but downright impossible. He is compelled to turn back, to go downwards, to seek new paths, even if longer but nevertheless promising the possibility of arriving at the summit. The descent from that height which had never at any time previously been attained and on which our imagined traveler found himself, involves even greater dangers and difficulties than those encountered in the ascent. One is more likely to lose the way, it is not so easy to find the place where one has to place his foot, there no longer exists that feeling of highest elation evoked by the movement of direct ascent towards the goal etc. One must bind oneself with a

rope, waste whole hours in order to hew out with an axe steps or platforms where one can firmly attach the rope, one must move with the slowness of a snake, and in addition to this move backward, downward, farther from the goal and none the less one cannot see whether this desperately dangerous and torturing descent is at an end, whether one has reached a tolerably reliable new path, following which one can again proceed, more boldly and rapidly, upwards to the summit.

It is only natural to assume that a man in such a situation, notwithstanding the fact that he has climbed to such an unheard of height would experience periods of faint-heartedness. And it is probably that these periods would be more numerous, more frequent, more burdensome, if he could hear the voices of those who, safe below in the valley, are watching him thru their field-glasses, making this most dangerous descent which even cannot be called (as do the "Smenovyekevtsi") a descent "with the brakes on," as this presumes a proper and approved equipage, an already prepared path and a previously tested mechanism. And here we have neither equipage nor paths nor in general anything which has been tested before.

The voices from below express a malicious joy, they triumphantly shout: he will break his neck, it serves him right, he should not have been so hare-brained. Others are trying to conceal their malicious attitude, they pose as being sorry and

(*) "Smenovyekevtsi" those who change the direction, i. e., the movement among Russian intellectuals in emigration in favor of now backing the Soviets, though not Bolshevism; a movement which has become ever stronger in the last three years and having as its central organ the "Nakanyune" (On the eve) one of the Russian daily papers being published in Berlin. Ed.

say: we regret to state, that our fear has been justified. Had we not, after having devoted all our lives to preparing a reasonable scheme for the ascent of this mountain, demanded a postponement of the ascent, until our scheme had been definitely elaborated? And if we have been opposing so passionately the path which has been abandoned by the mad-man himself (just look, he is turning back, he is going downward, he spends whole hours in preparing the bare possibility of moving himself on one yard. And he insulted us with the most insolent words, when we systematically demanded moderation and precision); if we have condemned the mad-man so sharply and warned everybody from imitating and helping him, we have acted exclusively out of our love for the great plan for the ascent of this mountain, and in order not to compromise this great scheme in general. Happily our imagined traveler, in the conditions of the example we have chosen, cannot hear the voices of these "true friends" of the idea of the ascent, otherwise it would have an ill effect upon him and this would not conclude to clearness of head and firmness of foot, especially at such a great altitude.

II. Without Metaphor.

An example is no proof. Every comparison is faulty in some respects. These are undisputed and generally known facts but they must nevertheless be called to mind, in order to better show how far any comparison in general is valid.

The Russian proletariat in its revolution clambered to an enormous height, not only as compared with 1789 and 1793, but also as compared with 1871. We must take into account as soberly, clearly and observantly as possible what we have already "put an end to" and what we have yet to achieve: then our heads will remain all the clearer and we will not be subject to giddiness nor illusions nor depression.

We have "put an end" to the bourgeois-democratic revolution as "purely" as never before in the world. This is a very great gain which no power can deprive us of.

We have found the way out of the most reactionary imperialistic war by revolutionary means. This too is a gain of which no power in the world can deprive us and is even of more value, in as much as reactionary imperialistic slaughters are unavoidable in the near future, if capitalism remains. But the people of the twentieth century will not very easily be fobbed off a second time with "Bastle Manifestoes," by means of which in 1912 and in 1914-18 the heroes of the Second and Second and a half International befooled themselves and the workers.

We have created the Soviet-type of the state and thereby inaugurated a new world-historical epoch, the epoch of the political state of the proletariat which is to follow the epoch of the dominion of the bourgeoisie. This too can no more be taken away, the only by the practical experience of the working class of several countries it will be possible to "achieve" the Soviet-type of state.

But we have not even completed the foundation of socialist economy. This can still be taken away by the forces of dying capitalism opposed to us. We must plainly realize and openly acknowledge this, because nothing is more dangerous than illusions (and the feeling of giddiness, especially at great heights). And there is absolutely nothing "terrible," nothing which would justify even the least depression, in acknowledging this bitter truth, for we have always been preaching and reiterating this primitive truth of Marxism: that for the victory of socialism the common efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are required. But we still remain quite alone, and in a backward country, in a country which has been shattered more than others, we have accomplished incredible things. Moreover, we have conserved an "army" of revolutionary proletarian forces, we have maintained its "maneuvering capacity," we have conserved clarity of thought, permitting us to judge soberly, where, when and how far we have to retreat (in order to advance more forcefully) where, when and how we have to set working on that which has not been accomplished. Those Communists who imagine that one can complete, without errors, without retreats, such a world-historical "undertaking" as the laying down of the foundation of socialist economy (especially in a country of petty peasantry) must be regarded indeed as hopelessly lost. Those communists have not failed (and are likely to fail) who are not given over to illusions or to depression, who maintain force and the adaptability of the organism for a repeated "beginning afresh," when dealing with a difficult task.

Just as little as we can permit ourselves to give way to the least depression, as little have we cause for so doing, as in spite of all the devastation, misery, backwardness and hunger, we have begun to move somewhat forward in the sphere of preparation.

(continued on page 6)

A BALLAD OF THE TOWN

By HENRY ACKLEY.

Spirit of steam and steel,
Spirit of men that feel,
Spirit of a growing commonwealth.

We stood on a swinging beam,
Me and my pal Joe.
He says, "That's quite a stream
Of biped ants below."

"Look," he says, "to the west,
Over the drifting smoke;
That hill is lifting like a woman's breast,
And a man would be some bloke,
If he didn't have thoughts come up in him
That swell his soul—my eyes are dim."

Iron to iron the rivets crept,
While thru the air our hammers swept,
And Joe drowned out the noise,
His booming voice sang: "Boys,
We are they with sweat anointed,
We are they in faith appointed,
With straining sinews to achieve
A glory that the gods conceive;
Thus, to the unformed ages given,
Thus, by an unknown purpose driven,
We ride with Death where the log-boom breaks.
We breathe his breath where the furnace shakes,
We finger his form where the wheels are whirled,
And soon to his knotted arms are hurled;
Our bones in the eddies lost,
Our bones to the ash-pit tossed."

The riveting ceased, and ceased the song,
And Joe looked 'round in his humorous way,
And said, "I'm glad, I'm here where I belong,
I've landed a job and I get good pay."

"Well, then," I said, "dig down in your brain,
And since you must sing, get off o' this strain!
I too,
Have work to do!"
But he kept on with the same refrain:
"The mice play far from the cat's cruel claws,
But the purring mill extends its paws;
Our children are belched from the mine's grim jaws"—
He never finished; just then he rose
Swinging his hammer, he toppled—the close!



B. KOLAROV
Secretary Communist International

"The World's Trade Union Movement"

"The World's Trade Union Movement" by A. Losovsky, published by the Trade Union Educational League.

(A Review)

By FRANK EVANS

TO those whose misfortune it has been to dig and delve into the numberless wearisome volumes written by industrious and often idealistic collegians who have been taken over upon graduation by pig-jowled union bureaucrats as intellectual atmosphere, this new book, "The World's Trade Union Movement," will seem almost too good to be true. For the digging and delving, thru interminable pages of mixed useless detail, stale statistics and ideological justification for class conciliation and collaboration, have been done to bring to light the vital forces in the labor movement and their relation to each other and to the problem—usually concealed in such books—of emancipation of the working class.

Here at last is a book on unionism that you can actually enjoy! Here is a book that deals not so much with the statistical measurement of unions, but of the deep, tidal influences that are moving the forty millions of organized unionists thruout the world onward and onward. . . . No, it is not so fast as we would have it move. It is a process; a process we can ac-

celerate by our activity, certainly, but an historical process none the less.

The Red International of Labor Unions, whose general secretary, A. Losovsky, gave this book to the world thru a series of lectures before the school of the Russian Communist Party last year, has brought into this historical process the objective analysis and incisive direction of international Communism which has become the dynamo of revolutionary action thruout the world.

This book is a story of unionism as a world movement, how it became a world movement, of the differing ideological currents within the great stream, their varying specific gravity in social power, the relation of these forces to each other, and the picture—almost a prophecy—based upon Marxian estimation, of the future development of the trade union movement.

There are eight lectures given, and in each is portrayed the vital aspects of one or more of the leading currents of the world's unions. Losovsky takes up first the broad outline of difference between the trade unions of the world before and after the war, showing the profound effect that great human slaughter and historical crisis had upon world unionism.

The three pre-war main currents of

unionism are here drawn in lines clear and bold—the "trade unionism" of the Anglo-Saxon countries which limited its action to an ideology confined to narrow economic problems; the "socialist unionism" of the German type, which—though visioning a new society in conformity with the ideal of the pre-war socialist parties, believed the traitorous leaders of the Second International who became "socialist patriots" and accepted the reformist illusion that the new society could be won gradually by extending democratic reforms inside capitalism without the necessity of its revolutionary overthrow; and, thirdly, the "anarcho-syndicalism" which was an idealistic reaction both to conservative economic unionism and to the reformist gradualism of the socialist unions. This last form particularly appeared in the Latin countries.

The birth and organizational basis of the International Federation of Trade Unions are given, together with an extensive and brilliant analysis of the actions and tendencies of this, the Amsterdam International, in the face of the tremendous upheavals taking place thruout the world since the war. The great sympathy and patience with which the Communists regard the backward masses, slowly but surely being forced on by capitalist economy into revolutionary situations, are

shown in the near tenderness Losovsky exhibits toward the war-weary working classes at the end of the imperialist butchery.

The Russian revolution brought to birth a new kind of unionism, a "Communist unionism" and Losovsky intimately portrays the phenomenal growth of this ideological current in the world's trade union movement, its relation to the other currents of the movement in the stormy years since the renaissance of union organization after the war, and the contest in the efforts of the Red International of Labor Unions (the Profintern) to win the millions of workers from the reformism of the Amsterdam International to the Communist program of militant class struggle.

"No one can tell how long it will take," says Losovsky, "until we will win over this numerically gigantic mass. . . . We are present at the very beginning of the dissolution of the system of exploitation which has been built up for centuries. . . . But one thing is clear; the more objectively we estimate the relation of forces outside and inside the working class, the sooner will humanity arrive at the developed form of Communist society." No worker who aspires to understand the labor movement can do without this book, the first and only book of its kind.

OBSERVATIONS OF A PUBLICIST

(Continued from page 5)

tion for socialist economy, while alongside us thruout the whole world, countries more advanced, a thousand times richer and military more powerful than we, are continuously regressing as regards "their" economy which they hold as sacred and which they have tested and experienced for centuries.

III. On Fox-Hunting; on Levi; on Serrati.

It is said that the best method of fox-hunting is the following: The fox is encircled at a certain distance by means of a rope with small red flags attached, not too high above the snow. The fox, fearful of this palpably artificial "human" apparatus, emerges from the circle only at the spot where the hunter expects him. One would think that with such a creature as the fox, which is hunted by everybody, caution would prove an extremely valuable quality. But here "exaggeration" of a "virtue" converts it into a disadvantage. The fox is caught precisely because of his excessive caution.

I must confess to one error which I was fated to commit at the Third Congress of the Communist International,—this also on account of excessive caution. At that Congress I stood on the extreme right wing. I was convinced that this was the sole correct position, because a very numerous (and "influential") group of delegates, with many German, Hungarian and Italian comrades as their leaders, occupied an exaggerated "left" and an incorrectly "left" position, too often substituting for a sober consideration of the circumstances, which were not very favorable for a rapid and immediate revolutionary activity, a vigorous waving of small red flags. Out of caution and in my care that this undoubtedly incorrect deviation towards leftism should not give an erroneous tendency to the whole tactics of the Communist International, I defended Levi by every means, expressing the view that, owing perhaps to an exaggerated fear of errors of the left, he had lost his head (I did not deny that he had lost his head) and that there had been cases where communists, who had lost their heads, afterwards had "found" them again. Even admitting—in face of the pressure of the "left"—that Levi was a Menshevik, I pointed out, that even such an admission did not decide the case. For instance, the whole history of the struggle, lasting for fifteen years (1903—1917) between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks in Russia shows, as also shown by the three Russian revolutions, that the Mensheviks in general were absolutely

wrong and that they were in fact agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers' movement. This is an undisputed fact. But this undisputed fact does not eliminate the fact that in single cases the Mensheviks were right as against the Bolsheviks, as for instance in the question of the boycott of the Stolypin Duma in 1907.

Eight months have already passed since the third congress of the Communist International. Evidently our dispute of that time with the "left" has already become antiquated, has already been decided by life. I have proved to be wrong as regards Levi because he has successfully shown that he had entered the Menshevik path not by chance, not incidentally, not only by reason of "exaggeration" in face of the most dangerous error of the left, but persistently, definitely, out of his very nature. Instead of honestly acknowledging after the third congress of the Communist International the necessity of seeking again to be admitted into the party—as a man has to do who has incidentally lost his head out of anger on account of some errors of the left—Levi began to attack the party, to create obstacles for it, i. e., to render practical service to the agents of the bourgeoisie in the Second and Second and a Half International. Of course the German Communists were quite right in replying to this by further expelling some gentleman who had secretly offered help to Paul Levi in this noble action.

The development of the German and of the Italian Communist parties after the third congress of the Communist International shows that the "left" have become clear regarding the errors committed by them at that congress, and that they are slowly, gradually but steadily improving, while the decisions of the third congress of the C. I. are being loyally carried out. The transformation of the old type of the European parliamentary party—which in fact was reformist and merely slightly tinged with a revolutionary color—into a new type of party, into a really revolutionary, really Communist party, is an exceedingly difficult matter. The example of France illustrates this difficulty best of all. To modify the type of party work in every day life, to secure that the party becomes the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat, without becoming estranged from the masses, but coming continually into closer contact with them—all this is the most difficult, but the most necessary work. If the European Communists, for the purpose of this radical internal profound modification of the whole structure and of the whole work of their parties, fail to make use of that (probably very

brief) interval between the periods of the particular intensification of the revolutionary combats which many capitalist countries of Europe and America passed thru in 1921 and at the beginning of 1922, this will constitute a very great crime on their part. Happily there is no reason to be anxious in this regard. The noiseless, unassuming, deliberate, unassuming but profound work of constructing real Communist parties in Europe and in America, real revolutionary vanguards of the proletariat, has been commenced, and this work is now going on.

The political lessons to be derived from the observation of even such a trivial matter as fox hunting prove not to be entirely without use: on the one hand excessive caution leads to errors. On the other hand we must not forget that by substituting for a sober estimation of the position mere "emotion" or waving of small red flags, one commits irretrievable errors and can even meet with a complete wreck, and that under circumstances where, altho the difficulties be indeed great, such a disaster is by no means unavoidable.

Paul Levi now desires to render special service to the bourgeoisie—and consequently to its agents, the Second and Second and a Half Internationals—by publishing precisely those works of Rosa Luxemburg in which she was wrong. To this we reply with two lines of a good Russian proverb: It sometimes happens to eagles that they descend lower than poultry, but poultry never succeed in mounting as high as eagles. Rosa Luxemburg has committed errors in the question of the independence of Poland; she made mistakes in 1903 in the estimation of Menshevism; she has been in error as regards the theory of the accumulation of capital; she was mistaken when, in July, 1914, along with Plekanov, Vandervelde, Kautsky and others, she backed the union of the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks; she also made blunders in her wrings in prison during 1918 (after she had left prison, at the end of 1918 and at the beginning of 1919 she rectified a great portion of her blunders). But notwithstanding these errors of hers, she was and remains an eagle; and not only will her memory always be treasured by the Communists of the whole world, but her biography and the full collection of her works (over the publication of which the German Communists are taking an unaccountably long time, which can only be partly attributed to the unheard of number of victims in their heavy struggle) will constitute the most useful lessons for the education of many generations of Communists thruout the world. "German Social-

Democracy, after the 4th of August, 1914, has become a stinking corpse"—it is with this quotation of Rosa Luxemburg that her name will be recorded in the history of the workers' movement of the whole world. And in the backyard of the workers' movement, on the rubbish heap, the poultry of the type of Paul Levi, Scheidemann and of this whole fraternity will of course cackle triumphantly over the errors of the great Communist woman. Everything in its right place.

As regards Serrati, the Italian Communists, who have created a party of the revolutionary proletariat in Italy, will now have an instructive model of Menshevism to put before the eyes of the working masses. Not at one stroke, not without many repeated instructive lessons, will the useful warning effect of this example make itself felt, but it will inevitably do so. Not to alienate oneself from the masses; not to lose patience in the difficult work of practical exposure of all the Serratis before the advanced workers; not to accept the solution which is at once too easy and most dangerous; where Serrati says: A "to repeat "minus A"; to educate the masses continually to a revolutionary world outlook and to revolutionary action; to make a practical use also of the magnificent (though dearly bought) instructive lessons afforded by Fascism—this done, and the victory for Italian Communism is secured.

Levi and Serrati are not characteristic of themselves, but constitute the modern sample of the extreme left wing of petty bourgeois democracy, of "their" camp, of the camp of the international capitalists who are fighting against us.

"Their" camp, without distinction from Gompers to Serrati, is rubbing its hands with malicious joy or shedding crocodile's tears over our retreat, over our "descent," over our new economic policy.

They are welcome to their malicious joy. Let them carry on their clown-like antics. Everything in its right place. But we must neither abandon ourselves to illusions nor to faint-heartedness. Let us not be afraid to acknowledge our errors nor afraid of the repeated work of rectifying them—and we shall reach the summit. The cause of the international bloc from Gompers to Serrati is a lost cause.

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Debating Capitalism

By A. G. Bosse

DESPITE an extremely warm day, a crowd of upward of 1,500 persons heard Scott Nearing debate Prof. E. R. A. Seligman of Columbia University on the subject: "Resolved, That present world problems cannot be solved under capitalism." The debate which was held under the auspices of the Workers School of New York, took place at the Central Opera House, New York, on Sunday, April 27th.

Nearing, in defending the affirmative, opened with a definition of capitalism, and spent the greater part of his speech enlarging and explaining this definition. Capitalism, he said, is the system of social organization in which the means of production and distribution, and the job are owned by one class and used by another, the second getting a return in the form of rent, interests, profits and dividends. Since the organization of the Standard Oil in the '70s, a turning point in American economic history, competitive capitalism has been changing into monopoly capitalism. The greater part of the \$12 billion yearly income of the country is derived from rent, interest and dividends, part of which is invited within the country, and part of which our financial imperialism invests abroad, with protection guaranteed by capitalism's police, the State.

Three of the world problems which Nearing said were unsolvable by capitalism are: (1) Competitive struggle for raw materials; (2) Competitive nationalism and war; (3) Expropriation of the workers. With regard to (1), Nearing stated that the Ruhr and Lorraine coal and iron fields, the oil deposits, and other sources of raw materials cause and will continue to cause conflicts, which capitalism cannot avoid, and which lead to war. As to (2), he said the great wheat plain reaching from Portugal to the Urals, with coal and iron to the south, and timber to the north and rubber and cotton in the neighboring continents make the continent of Europe practically self-sustaining. This natural scheme of things, however, is broken up by national boundaries and customs barriers, and imperialistic wars are the result. This second problem is unsolvable under capitalism. Thirdly, when manufacture expropriated the craftsman of his skill and tools, i. e., of his job, the masses of dispossessed workers became involved in a class struggle. Since economic power determines political and social power, this economic civil war internally, and imperialistic wars externally resulted, eating the very heart out of society. This third great problem is unsolvable by capitalism.

In his opening speech Prof. Seligman accepted Nearing's definition of

capitalism, insisting, however, that the intellectual job of managing production makes capitalist as much of a sharer in production as worker. He also said he would accept Nearing's formulation of the world's great problems. He chose rather to call them evils, and said that some had been unsolvable under precapitalist systems, such as private and social morality, the problem of the individual and society, hate, greed, sex, deceit, etc. These evils existed in ancient times, are independent of economic causes, and cannot be solved under any system. He questioned whether any system could cure them, and refused to believe that socialism would be able to.

In answer to Nearing's statement of the problems (Prof. Seligman chose to rebut during his first speech, rather than to state his side of the proposition). Seligman said that the problem should not be stated as the conflict over raw materials, but as the conquest of nature, since all people, you and I, as well as Stinnes, Rockefeller, etc., need tea, rubber and coal. The conflict is not worker versus owner, but consumer versus nature. (Laughter.) War is not caused by capitalist struggles for raw materials and markets, but by the power of the population to increase and encroach upon supplies of raw materials. In answer to the question of capitalism's ability to avoid wars, Prof. Seligman pointed to the wars we did not have with Mexico, Cuba, etc., over oil, sugar and so on. Capitalism is being held in check by an enlightened public opinion.

Answering Nearing's second point, as to nationalism and war, Seligman said that wars are not due to capitalism, since we have had wars thruout known history, many of them precapitalistic. Capitalism is in its incipient stage, considered from a world point of view, and wars are as old as history. Moreover many of them are due to religion, to radicalism, (such as Nordic vs. non-Nordic conflicts,) and as such are ineradicable. These nationalistic, racial, religious causes lie deeper than their economic aspects. In answer to Nearing's statement that national trusts cause wars, Seligman contended that there are international trusts, which don't stop at national borders, and which prevent war. Seligman refused to accept Nearing's statement that capitalism today is monopoly capitalism. He insisted that concentration, not monopoly was the proper term, the potential monopoly was admissible. The World Court as an international police, will stop wars, as in the case of Danzig, Poland, etc. At Versailles, the conflict was not between economic forces, but between racial, religious, and nationalistic forces. The division of Europe into

countries was due, not to capitalism, but to exaggerated nationalism.

With regard to the expropriation of the workers, Prof. Seligman said that he preferred to call that problem the distribution of wealth. He said it could be made more equitable thru taxes; thru more "good" capitalism, such as Ford, Johnston, and Dennison typified, and thru the elimination of sweatshops, contracting shops, etc.; thru good government interference; thru a shorter workday, as in the steel industry. Our finest not our worst capitalists should determine our judgment of capitalism. In Russia, where Communists rule, Seligman contended that liberty, comforts, etc., are gone, and medieval conditions prevail. Krasnotchokoff's imprisonment proves that human nature, not capitalism causes many of our evils. In conclusion, Seligman said that capitalism was unlovely, man was unlovely, and civilization only a veneer. Agencies are now transforming the world, and if we only give them a chance (laughter), if we act rightly and truly, the vision of a better future will be realized. We haven't enough knowledge today, we don't know the truth, we must wait for a balance of forces. The natural development of individual energy, subject to the common interest, and increased production of wealth, will give each man more some day.

In rebuttal, Nearing said that the struggle for raw materials came with capitalism, and that financial imperialism could not abolish this struggle. He instanced the marines and battle ships in Cuba, Mexico, Honduras, Haiti, etc. He said that capitalists were kinder because the press refused to tell the truth about them. Nearing insisted that the World War was due to the capitalists of the five great powers, and that the Treaty of Versailles and the Balkan-Baltic countries were the product of the capitalists and finance struggle for raw materials and markets. Good capitalists, like Ford, are the most efficient exploiters and open-shoppers in the country, the best slave-drivers, except for Gary. The problems he had enumerated, Nearing said, were real problems, not evils, were cancerous growths, not mere beads of perspiration. The expropriation of labor by capitalism, not the distribution of wealth, was the fundamental relation in society today, and to get rid of the basic defects of the present system, we must get rid of capitalism.

Prof. Seligman, in his rebuttal, insisted that wars are not caused by capitalism. The cure for wars lay in some such compulsory arbitration as the world court. One cause of war was paucity of raw materials. A certain bishop, by wonderful imagination and argument caused the opium prob-

lem to be solved, and other problems could similarly be solved. Russia, under the N. E. P. had all the evils of slavery and none of its benefits, so Hourwich and Levine had told him. The workers were seething with discontent and anxious to wipe out the present regime. The cure for present evils was the extension and development of the present system, not a socialist system. Model factories, if extended, will raise the standard of living of the workers, and give them a greater share of civilization. Gary instituted the shorter day because Harding told him to. The Child Labor Amendment is another instance of advance under capitalism. In short, salvation, in so far as it is possible today, lies under capitalism, not under socialism.

A few opinions which the reporter heard outside the hall from proletarians who had heard the debate may interest the reader, as typifying the attitude and intelligence of the average workingman in the audience. One worker thought that Nearing should have had the last word, since debates were usually run so. Anyway, he thought that Nearing, in the limited time he had, had answered Seligman well. Another contended that Nearing had overlooked, or hadn't had time enough to point out that precapitalistic wars were due to economic causes, resulting from private ownership of property. Many workers said that they had heard of Seligman as the foremost defender of capitalism in the country, and if that was true, they were disappointed with him. He had put up a very poor case, in their opinion. One intellectual clamored that Nearing had not answered the example of international trusts mentioned by Seligman. A worker answered him that due to limited time, to the large topic, to Seligman's digressions, and to his early rebuttal (in his first speech), and to the fact that Nearing had not had the last speech, he could not answer all of his opponent's arguments. Leave the reader to judge of the merits of the case.

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MONETARY REFORM IN RUSSIA

(Continued from page 2.)

to give him credits up to 500 rubles.

With emission to cover the deficit eliminated and without credits as yet from the outside, there remains one means, domestic loans. In that the Soviet Government had a fair success for the last year, placing domestic loans to the amount of 122 million rubles, mostly on short terms, the very latest being a six per cent loan under treasury obligations for a three months' term, but with the right to hold it up to a year and receive interest for all the time, from the date of the issuance to that of actual payment.

In all the loans practically the cities alone took part, the peasantry taking only thirty per cent of it, together with the bread loans which were of very favorable terms for the holders. It has been decided therefore, to issue a new loan for the peasantry. The 18th of March last such a loan, with a lottery combination, to the amount of fifty million rubles, was announced.

Also this loan is very favorable to the peasants. It is in the first place in very small denominations, in one, three, and five rubles, giving the peasant a chance to save up in any small amount. It is for three years, in ten series of five million each,

bringing five per cent yearly interest, and to be sold for the time of subscription at 85 for 100, with a reduction, that is, of fifteen per cent of the nominal price.

But that is not the whole thing. There will be drawings at certain periods and one out of every three hundred holders has the assured chance to win a certain amount from one thousand rubles down to five. There will be eighty chances of a thousand rubles, 1200 of a hundred, 6000 of fifty, 20,000 of twenty-five, 50,000 of ten, and 100,000 of five. Above all it will be accepted of the peasantry at nominal price in payment of the single cash money tax this year. In other words every peasant who will not care for the interest the loan brings or for the possibility of being among the lucky ones and win a thousand rubles, will, by the mere process of buying it, gain fifteen per cent by paying off with these lottery loan obligations his taxes.

The bread and other short term loans were successful and there are already signs that this new loan-lottery will be successful, too, as the government was already compelled to take proper means that this loan goes directly to the peasantry and avoids the speculators.

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To the Workers and Peasants of Japan

APPEAL BY COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Your country is in the power of a ruling class of landlords, militarists, bureaucrats and capitalist monopolists who refuse you any rights, who exploit you unmercifully and oppress you with the cruel hand of violence.

Since the great disaster that befell your country last September the oppression has become greater and the masses are seething with discontent and revolt.

Your ruling class is totally incapable of solving the economic crisis prevailing in your country and of coping with the great task of restoration. While your rulers call on you to cherish the interests of the nation, their only concern is how to get the greatest profit out of the national disaster. While they quarrel over the spoils, nothing is done to ameliorate your condition. Hundreds of thousands are still living in temporary huts in poverty and misery. Tens of thousands are unemployed, thousands of ruined farms are left unrestored.

Your rulers can offer you no prospect of improvement: meanwhile the country is falling into the power of American finance which will impose on you the additional burden of exploitation by foreign capitalists and convert your government into an instrument of foreign imperialism.

Your ruling class, the landlords, the militarists, the bureaucrats and the big monopolists, faced with a crisis they cannot solve, and seeing the rising tide of revolt against them, are growing frantic in their endeavor to retain power.

The phantom of "dangerous thoughts" is haunting your ruling class and it is introducing a reign of terror to destroy it. The wholesale massacre of Korean workmen, the murder of Japanese workmen in Kamidok, the savage sentences recently passed on the workmen in Nagoya and the forthcoming trials of the Communists in Tokio,—whose only crime is that they champion the cause of the toilers—witness to the ruthlessness of your ruling class. It realizes that its rule is being challenged.

But your ruling class also tries to employ cunning in order to enslave you. Your rulers offer you fictitious recognition of your labor unions if you will agree to save the face of your exploiters by sending delegates to the capitalist conference of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations in Geneva. They offer you the

protection of the law by their Trade Union Bill which in fact will paralyze your organizations. They try to bribe your leaders with high posts in the government. They offer you land courts which will settle rent disputes in the interests of the landlords. They talk about universal suffrage, but they do not intend to give it to you. They employ every trick to keep you in bondage.

It is significant that the tyrannical Russian tsarist government, prior to the revolution of 1905, employed the same measures of repression and cunning. But the Russian workers rejected the offer of "official" unions and instead, they fought to overthrow the tsar and established their own rule.

Toilers of town and country.

You are disfranchised, unemployment and starvation stare you in the face and your rulers can offer you nothing but increased exploitation and poverty, and repression that will force you back to serfdom. The radical bourgeoisie try to win your support by pretending to fight for reforms, but they only seek their own interest. Beware of them.

The government recently dissolved parliament and "appealed to the nation." But you have no voice in the election of a new government. If you think that a change of government will bring you any improvement in your condition, you will be disappointed. No government of bureaucrats, militarists, landlords and capitalists will bring you relief.

You must take up the fight for liberty. You alone can stop the reaction and open the way for the future development of your country.

You have shown good fighting spirit. In spite of the governmental terror you have bravely resisted the attacks of the capitalists and the landlords. You have shown independence by compelling your labor leaders to decline the offer of a government post. You have repudiated the pernicious Trade Union Bill. But this is not enough. You must storm the citadel of reaction.

Organize your forces for the fight for civil liberties. Hasten with the formation of your Workers' and Peasants' party by which alone you will be able to conduct your fight for liberty. Your party must be independent of the bourgeois radicals.

Put forward your program of liberties and fight until you get it carried.

Demand: Democratic government; immediate adult suffrage for men and women without any qualification; the right of combination; freedom to strike and the right to collective bargaining; freedom of political opinion; the right of assembly—to hold meetings without the presence of the police; real freedom of press and speech for the working class. Put forward also your economic demands.

Combine your labor unions and organize those who have not yet joined, and compel the government to recognize them as independent legal organizations.

Workers and peasants of Japan!

The savage sentences on your fellow workers in Nagya shows that the government holds out the same fate for your comrades now awaiting trial in Tokio, in Gumma and other places.

Remember, these cases show that the government intends to pick out and crush all the most active and thinking members of your movement

and thus demoralize your ranks by leaving you leaderless. The Communists are men and women who fight for the interests of the working class. In striking against them the government is striking against you. You must raise your protest in their defense. Commence your campaign for political liberty by demanding the release of all those who are persecuted for their political opinions, and the cessation of all future political prosecution.

Demand the release of the political prisoners.

Form your Workers' and Peasants' party to fight for your program of liberties.

Down with the government of landlords, militarists, bureaucrats and monopolists!

Long live the emancipation of the workers and peasants!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

TECHNICAL AID-FREIHEIT PICNIC POSTPONED TO JUNE 28—TAKE NOTE

The picnic planned for last Sunday by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia and by the Freiheit was postponed on account of the bad weather to June 28, at Stickney Park, Lyons, Ill. Those who had tickets for June 8 can use them on June 28.

Those who have not yet procured tickets may get them at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St.; Russian Co-op Restaurant, 1734 W. Division St.; Freiheit office, 1145 Blue Island Ave.; Cheski's Restaurant, 3124 W. Roosevelt Road.

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J. T. W. NEWBOLD
Leading English Communist.

AMONG THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS

(Continued from page 4)

the right side. It is known that the C. I. was in favor of her being elected to the C. E. C. Some of the leaders were also in her favor. The convention, however, refused to do her the honor. Clara Zetkin was neither made an executive member nor nominated for the reichstag (federal legislature). In the rush of battle no quarters were given. The new C. E. C. consists of ten lefts, three rights and one "wild" member.

Some Left Arguments.

If you talk to the leaders of the majority they point out a number of difficulties they are confronted with. They assert that the bulk of the membership is in the grip of impatience and is intolerant towards everything that smacks moderation. This, they say, is also the reason why Clara Zetkin could not be elected. They assure their loyalty to the C. I., but they express apprehension as to their ability to hold the extremists in check. They reiterate their readiness to stay within the labor unions, but they stress the existence of millions of unorganized who have to be kept in contact with the shop and factory committees in order thus to win them for the revolution. They declare themselves in favor of partial slogans which are to be utilized in a revolutionary spirit, but the masses of labor, they say, are sick of the struggle for petty improvements. They acknowledge allegiance to the united front tactics, but again they caution against the mood that prevails in the

party.

Altogether the German party appears in a state of regrouping of factions, revision of ideology, recasting of tactical slogans. Events after the convention seem to indicate a strong and healthful tendency towards consolidation along the lines of revolutionary realism. Thus the meeting of Berlin functionaries, some three thousand in number, unanimously indorsed the union policy of work within the old organizations. Another hopeful sign is the decision to organize local committees of action, composed not only of party members but of all sorts of militant workers who are in favor of revolutionary struggle. The task of those committees will be to unite all local revolutionary forces and to be the leading body in days of actual battle.

The deepest regret I heard expressed everywhere is over the lack of great leaders. The party is there, the forces are there, the conditions are ripe, if only the workers of Germany had a great all-embracing revolutionary leader! With a feeling akin to envy the German comrades speak of the Russian workers who were fortunate enough to have a Lenin...

A Personal Quest.

In conclusion: please do not look upon this as an exhaustive and absolute presentation of the conditions within the German party. These are only impressions, gained thru brief contact with the German comrades. They may be of interest to the readers of the DAILY WORKER.

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