

Unemployment in the United States

(Continued from Page 1)
 follow the direction of the following slogan:
Political:
 Government operations of non-operating industries and shops.
 Immigration of unemployed.
 Maintenance of unemployed at under rates of wages.
Economic: mines, railroads and public utilities.
Education of children.
 Recognition of and trade relations with Russia.
Unemployment insurance administered by the workers.
Grants by the government.
Industrial:
 Industry must be responsible for maintenance of its workers.
 Equal division of work among members in each industry and shop.
 Assessment of employer for relief of unemployed.
 Establishment of control committees and workers to regulate production and investigate accounts.
Trade:
 Trade union support of unemployed.
 Unemployment insurance support of unemployed by the employers, and administered wholly by the workers.
 Every worker to be organized to accomplish the aims of political enlightenment with the fight against unemployment.
 Unemployment insurance developed, without carrying the immediate struggle as far ahead of the ordinary mass of the workers.

to destroy the mass character of the movement. It shall be a major effort to actually obtain all possible immediate benefits for the unemployed, which must be made the basis for wider demands and more intense activity and reports from time to time to the Central Executive Committee. Workers' Party members must participate in a leading position in every action of the unemployed, giving it direction and consistency.
 As unemployment develops upon a mass scale nationally it will definitely be expected in the not distant future, the Party must make the lead in stimulating and organizing, councils of the unemployed in every section of the country and other workers' organizations, upon a local, state, industrial and national basis.

The acute unemployment in Fall River, Lawrence, New Bedford, Pawtucket and the New England region caused by the shift in production and not by a crisis in the textile industry as a whole, is a consequence of the great textile merger of a year and a half ago, which centralized the entire industry, has made it possible for the textile trust to concentrate its efforts and mills and throw the production into the southern section without causing a crisis in the capitalistic interests involved. The increased profits and lower wages of child labor of the south go to pay interest on the idle investments in the north.
 The comparison between the total employed in December, 1922, and December, 1923, does not, of course, give anything like a complete picture of the employment condition in the textile industry. Employment figures month by month for the years 1921-22-23 shows the sharp decline from the low and high points, which are January, 1922, and March, 1923, respectively, to be a little over 62,000. More illuminating are the figures for the first three months of 1923, respectively, to be a little over 255,580; 248,261; and 276,831. Unemployment in December, 1922, was seen to be 84,000 or a little below the peak figure and 28,000 or 17 per cent below the low point. It is interesting to note, however, that there is no such tremendous fluctuation in the yearly averages.

(Note Textile Industry.)
 The textile industry is like coal mining and copper, suffering from a large shift in production from one field to another. This makes the unemployment problem severely acute in the New England textile centers which are operating at from 50 to 60 per cent capacity for the textile industry as a whole, however, there is not the paralysis in the textile industry in New England, because the southern mills running at 100 per cent are producing 20 per cent of single shift capacity. The average for the textile industry as a whole is around 64 per cent at this time.

How the Communists Keep Power in Russia

(Continued from Page 2)
 at the time when the new economic policy was introduced, three thousand members were known. Any worker or peasant, who was not a member of the party, had to be taken into the party, because he was not a Communist. If the party considered the member a dud, he was thrown out of the party, and "classing" goes on constantly without comment. I have seen Communist Party members in Russia who were casting their votes who were playing party politics who were destroying democracy by personal grudges. I have felt the misery of the party and the misery of the village, but I have suddenly heard that they were not "cleaned out" of the party and transferred to jobs of unimportance and I have seen that other people than myself had observed them, and that I was not consistently acting, non-sensical delay and sometimes mistaken but striving for the purity of the Communist rank. Only this autumn the Central Committee of the Party in Moscow sent them down for party work in the matter with no other reason than that they were "living too much like bourgeois."

The Communist group in every factory and village will debate it, and send delegates to a district meeting. The district meeting will discuss it again, among other questions, without censorship, with concrete charges of oppression and abuse of power. The districts will then send delegates to regional conferences and thence to the Caucasian or Ukrainian or White Russian Party Congress. All at last, the views of the entire membership meet and mingle in the hands of the Communist Party, the ultimate authority on the policy of Russia's ruling Party.
 The Communist Party does not determine whether it is a question of the management of heavy industry, or of the relation of little industry within the Soviet federation—it becomes the duty of all party members to go home and explain to the people of Russia just why the decision was reached. It is their job to justify the government to the people, and see that the complaints of the people reach and influence the government before the pressure becomes too great. Long before the petty dissidents of peasants or coal miners or Ukrainians or Armenians reach the stage of organized protest, a vast network of the Communist machine detects these dissidents and appraises them.
 A recent series of strikes in South Russia, caused much searching of heart in the Central Executive of the Party. "What is the matter with our local Communist groups," they asked, "that they did not detect these dissidents and meet them in time."

Behind the Communist Party lie the League of Communist Youth, almost equal in numbers to the adult party, also under discipline which increases as the years go on, preparing to enter into government. Behind them are the Young Pioneers, who already have no memories of an army in Siberia and was now dying of tuberculosis in a little province down, transferred to secure a better climate, but still working on. I know a young boy who spent four years in Hungarian prisons and has incurable heart trouble from the tortures he endured; he is in the north building roads, where the open air will help keep him alive a little longer.
 Why should anyone enter a Party which demands such discipline? For the fun of building on the greatest undeveloped lands of the world a Workers' Republic, the next great forward step in history. There are always people who would rather run public affairs than enjoy private comfort. The organization of the Russian Communist Party chooses these people to choose themselves by a hard and simple test. It is a disciplined oligarchy, which anyone may join if he would rather organize a co-operative commonwealth than be comfortable.

A Strong Challenge
 Young men, however, must respond quickly to such a challenge. Join the "I want to make THE DAILY WORKER grow" club.

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Hold a party organized on such terms are scattered across Russia. North of the Arctic Circle, the Communist Party is the only future development, it does not attempt to enforce that goal at once. The Party, however, desires always to mold that desire in the direction of its own aims. For instance, there is a great desire among peasants for modern agricultural machinery; the government imports machinery, but sells by means of three peasant co-ops, or co-operatives which farm their land in common. That is one typical instance of the use of economic pressure to guide the development of Russia in the direction it wishes.
 They all know the job they are on, and their part in relation to Russia and the rest of the world. The Communists in the oil industry know the importance of oil in the Communist economy; the Communists who died fighting the famine did so knowing that agriculture was the basis of Russia's reconstruction. The Communists on low wages in the

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

Unemployment in the United States

Statement adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party.
UNEMPLOYMENT is a constant degree of the workers under capitalism. It is ever present, particularly acute, except in these periods when rival groups of imperialists wret the workers to mounting each other and when production of war materials temporarily absorbs the full labor forces. In "normal times" it is the so-called industrial reserve army, while in times of acute crisis, unemployment throws millions of workers upon the streets. The character of this unemployment does not bring into bold relief the inherent problems that face the working class at all times. It is a symptom of the problems in the character of the immediate struggle of the workers, but the experience of unemployment is not so directly involved. It, therefore, becomes of vital importance for our Party to have exact and constant knowledge of the growth and extent of unemployment, its sectional and industrial variations, its time of development, and to prepare definite lines of action for the workers in line with their interests against its devastating effects.

Special Magazine Supplement THE DAILY WORKER

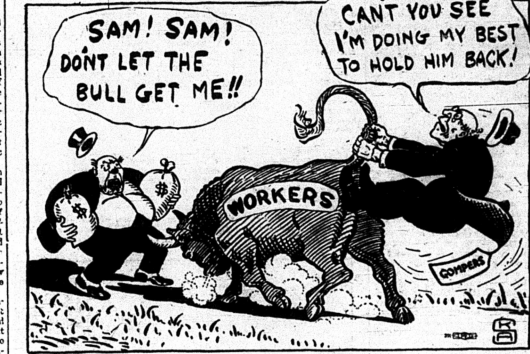
Unemployment in the United States

tempo of development is subject to variation. In many months there has been a distinct check in the downward trend, with many factors in the industrial situation registering an appreciable improvement. A study of the facts (comparative figures based on the 1913 index) of this character could be cited the record of car-leading for the week ending March 1st, which exceeded by a wide margin the leading record for any week in January, February or March in history.
 So eminent an economist as Eugene Varga has said, in his review of the economic situation of the world for 1923: "Production and the whole economic life of the United States and Canada continue on a fairly good level, without so far showing any clear signs of an approaching crisis. We do not wish to say that this crisis will not occur again. In accordance with the general law of capitalist production this should be the case in the not distant future, but so far as we

capital which are shifting the center of gravity of the industry toward the new fields, and thereby displacing labor and creating unemployment."
 These industrial and sectional problems of unemployment require special programs of action for the workers in the respective fields, coordinated and included in the general struggle, adjusting to local conditions the fight against imminent impoverishment and unemployment; they cannot alone, however, be made the basis of a general program to fight unemployment, which must be built upon the situation of the American working class as a whole. On this general basis, unemployment is increasing and threatening in any form like this summer, sometimes between the summer of 1924 and spring of 1925, but it has not yet reached that stage.
Program for Fighting Unemployment.
 The Workers' Party shall take a leading part in the fight against unemployment in all its phases. To

SECOND SECTION
 March 25th, 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

HE'S DOING HIS BEST



But He Can't Hold on Much Longer.

The capitalist system of the world has, since 1919 and up to the latter part of 1922, presented a spectacle of constantly declining production and growing unemployment. It is the throes of the most profound crisis of history. Many millions of workers are deprived of the means to make a living, and those who work have their wages constantly reduced. The experience of capitalist production is an integral part of world capitalism, and it is impossible that it should escape participation in this crisis.
 In 1921, when the first big drop in exports to Europe from the United States occurred as a result of Europe's bankruptcy, there were 7,000,000 workers thrown out of employment in the resulting depression. But in spite of the fact that in 1922 and 1923, exports declined still more yet American capitalists were able temporarily to recover itself, increase production to new high levels, and generally to restore "normalcy."
 The principal factor in this temporary recovery in the face of lost export markets was an unexampled domestic market, created by great capital expenditures, chiefly in the tremendous boom in the building industry, great replacements and extensions on the railroad systems of the country, and also in the automobile and oil industries. More than ten million cars, however, Roger Babson was pointing out what the Communists knew, that "Many of the men now getting an increased income will be out of work before 1924 ends."

The domestic markets could not continue indefinitely to absorb the high production of American industries under the limitations of capitalism. The turning point came in May, 1923, and industry has been on the down-grade since that time. A growing unemployment in the United States. This downward tendency will, in the not distant future, develop again the phenomena of mass unemployment in the United States.
Present Extent and Rate of Unemployment.
 We are certain that unemployment on a mass scale will face the working class in the near future. The fact does not mean that we can say positively that it will be in the summer of 1924, or that it will be in the summer of the industry, a decrease in the number of persons employed, and even that it may not be held off until the summer of 1925. The tendency is fixed by broad underlying factors which do not admit of employment being prevented, but

a few of the objective facts that follow general considerations will show our participation in such struggles:
 Unemployment is an inevitable accompaniment of capitalism, and can only be abolished with the system that produces it. The struggle against unemployment must be calculated to enlighten the workers to this fact, without dampening the ardor of their struggle but rather intensifying it. To this end, practical acts of demands must be formulated and a program of action established designed to weld all manifestations of protest against unemployment into a national movement; this must in turn be adjusted to local and industrial situation in a practical manner.
 The slogan and practical actions of the struggle will follow two general channels, the political and industrial; they will be directly against the government as the representatives of the capitalist system, and in the industry and individual employer as the immediate employer. These two aspects will often be interlarded and interchangeable; but for clearness are considered separately. They will

(Continued on page 8.)

How the Communists Keep Power In Russia

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG (Ailes)

TROTSKY and Rykov, and Zinoviev and Lenzin, had an epistolous chief seat in government in Russia were to die tonight. Now they are no longer in the government. It is the Communist Party which is the government. The Communist Party has held the earth down to its heels. The workers of the world have never seen such a thing as a government which would be another great funeral in the Red Square, there would be a great funeral for the organs and the Communist Party. It is the Communist Party which is the government. It is the Communist Party which is the government. It is the Communist Party which is the government.

Communist sitting near me. "Can't they even give us a debate?" "The factories that had an epistolous chief seat in government in Russia were to die tonight. Now they are no longer in the government. It is the Communist Party which is the government. The Communist Party has held the earth down to its heels. The workers of the world have never seen such a thing as a government which would be another great funeral in the Red Square, there would be a great funeral for the organs and the Communist Party. It is the Communist Party which is the government. It is the Communist Party which is the government. It is the Communist Party which is the government."

Any election day meeting. It is a very remarkable organization. The Communist Party of Russia. Millions of votes cast for it each year. These voters do not rank as Party Members. Voting is incidental expression of approval; it is a Party Member's life-long job. It is to be organized into a compact unit whose purpose is precedence over every other interest. You are a Communist first and everything else is secondary. You are on call always, to go wherever you are sent in Russia.

It taken from six months to three years to join the Communist Party. You state the conditions and the kinds of work you are fit for. You go into regular classes to fit yourself for the work. You attend Communist and international relations, and internal politics and fieldwork courses in an undeveloped region, taking ten to eighteen miles daily, wading thigh-deep in swamps, or organizing unlettered peasants labor to develop little mines. At the summer's end he brought back from his prospecting one hundred thousand dollars worth of mica; he checked it out for the Party. He is more permanent in the little provincial capital, and then turned back three days northward to his job. He put for his summer the Communist Party of Russia. Millions of votes cast for it each year. These voters do not rank as Party Members. Voting is incidental expression of approval; it is a Party Member's life-long job. It is to be organized into a compact unit whose purpose is precedence over every other interest. You are a Communist first and everything else is secondary. You are on call always, to go wherever you are sent in Russia.

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Chicago

By CARLS N. RG

Hog Butcher for the World, Tom Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads, The Nation's Freight Handler; Steamy, hazy, brewing. City of the Big Shoulders. They told me you are wicked and I believe them. For I have seen related women under the gas lamp lining the farm boys. And they tell me you are crooked and I believe them. For I have seen the gruman kill and go free to kill again. And they tell me you are brutal and my reply is: On the faces of women and children I have seen the marks of wanton hunger. And having answered so I turn once more to those who nace at this my obscenities: I give them back the answer and say to them: Come and show me another city with lifted head and singing so proud to be alive and courage and strong and cunning. Filting masser cures and the toll of piting job on job, here is a tall bold singer set vivid against the little soft cities: Strong as a dog without lapsing for action, cunning as a savage pitied against the wilderness.

Barbedwire, Bleeding, Shoveling, Breaking, rebuilding. Under the smoke, dust all over his mouth, laughing with white teeth, holding the terrible laughing as a young man laughs, laughing even as an ignorant fighter laughs who has never lost a battle, laughing and laughing that under his wrist is the pulse, and under his tongue is the heart that retorts the people.

Looking! Laughing! The sterner lady, bawling laugh of Youth, half-naked awaiting, round to Hog Butcher, Tom Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads and Freight Handler to the Nation.

Week by week the Communists of my acquaintance receive orders to go on certain evenings to teach reading and writing in factory night schools, or to give certain Sundays to the community work. In return for this discipline, this giving up of all claims to a higher plane, they are given jobs of ruling Russia. They are given trusted posts and job preference in high offices. They do not get a state high pay as the experts and technicians employed under them. The experts are supposed to be working for the Revolution; the Communist are supposed to be working for loyalty.

The temptations such men are exposed to can be best imagined by high country knowing the ancient habits of luxury in Russia, or imagine the ordinary desires of human nature. But the Party keeps close living is known; their style of life is aspen to the Communist; they are caught in crime against the Republic. The penalty is more severe than for the ordinary man. They are not in others might be merely the bad habit of old Russia, in him the cause is the Revolution. They are caught in crime against the Republic. The penalty is more severe than for the ordinary man. They are not in others might be merely the bad habit of old Russia, in him the cause is the Revolution. They are caught in crime against the Republic. The penalty is more severe than for the ordinary man. They are not in others might be merely the bad habit of old Russia, in him the cause is the Revolution.

For lesser offenses he may be demoted, or transferred to some hard-labor' areas from the present place or even "cleansed out of the Party." There are great cleansings. (Continued on Page 8)

The Struggle Within the Russian Party

Being the continuation of the report given by Comrade Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the Collective Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party Organization.

IN THE resolution passed at our conference, I made use of the expression: The struggle between two factions within the Party which is governing the state cannot be the beginning of the year 1918 the two governments existed. The present one everybody smiles at the idea that Bukharin and Ortuky could ever seriously contemplated despoing Comrade Lenin and replacing him by Pyatakov. It is at that very situation was such that this plan could be brought up in the party of the left social revolutionaries hostile to us.

Danger of Situation. When it is asserted that we should return to the times of the great peace, then we say: No, the lesson which we learned at that time shall not be in vain. It is not, as you say, that we are not the Party commits this or that error, so long as it is made within the experience. The errors committed at the time of the first peace have been the basis of our struggle. It signifies the decay of the proletarian dictatorship. We must consider more attentively the atmosphere prevailing in Moscow. We hear that Leningrad is provincial. I take the liberty of believing that this is not quite true. Leningrad is the center and is developing more and more. Comrades Saperov and Probenzky say: "To be sure, not only in the provinces they are behind and have no comprehension of the attractions of freedom of fraction and discussion" etc. Thus we are simply provincial.

Frictions Cause Demoralization. The same subject matter is busy in bourgeois and state officials. Moscow. It is just as I said on the occasion of my speaking in this city. In any differences of opinion arise in Party life these appear at lightning speed on the state apparatus, and the state apparatus splits and begins to whisper in ears instead of working. The experts are not to be despised as a quarrel in the Party. The Communists really come about would be the bureaucratic section of our state apparatus. Other parties may permit themselves squabbles, they may afford themselves this in the Party. Comrades neither commissariats nor specialists, nor state officials.

Comrades, there is a small grain of truth in this. Formerly, before the Party took over power and no such pressure was put upon it, it was not troubled with any questions of the state apparatus. Thus it would appear that the whole "mischievous" arises from our having taken over power. But allow me to say, comrades, that all this is good also for us. We are having our

What is a Fraction? I should like an exact definition of what a fraction or group is. If there is not a fraction, we shall of course argue, as demanded by Party discipline.

But we are prepared to say that the workers' democracy is again, as we are, a fraction within the Party, merely a proclamation upon paper. We do not know in which direction Comrade Krylenko tends at present.

THE PARTY AT WORK
Central Committee of Workers Party Supports South Slavic Bureau Against Former Editors

The disruptive tactics of former opportunist editors of the South Slavic section of the Workers Party were condemned by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party by a statement which was published here last night.

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The "National Farmer-Labor Party" -- In Memoriam

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

ROBERT M. BUCK and **J. G. McHenry**, the great organizers of the National Farmer-Labor Party, died on the 22nd of March, 1934, the anniversary of the founding of the party. Their lives were devoted to the cause of the farmer-laborer. Their work was not without success. They have left behind them a party which has grown to be one of the most important in the country. Their names are associated with the struggle for the rights of the farmer-laborer. Their work was not without success. They have left behind them a party which has grown to be one of the most important in the country. Their names are associated with the struggle for the rights of the farmer-laborer.

He picked up by the politicians and union bureaucrats who will dominate the July 4 gathering. They were talking of the risk of wrecking the whole movement for a class farmer-labor party in order to accomplish this purpose. Meeting with no success in St. Paul, he returned to his home in the motives that prompted them were understood by the real representatives of the Northwest Farmer-Labor movement who, however, secondarily, he was listening to as a man who was not only a misrepresenter, slanderer, innuendo and jesuitical argument but who had to be before the conference, this group then went to Minneapolis, and, forming another united front with the most reactionary section of the Minnesota labor and farmer movement, hung around the fringe of the powerful organization that was taking form and peddling their poison to everyone that would listen.

United Front of Reaction. During the three conferences that were held in Minneapolis following the meeting of the Minnesota delegates that brought unity in the labor-farmer movement in Minnesota, these reactionaries of a policy of carry-over and hesitation, were seen with such obstreperous and careerist tactics as Baidus and Thomson of the new defect non-partisan League, Francis and Vandenberg, mock tactics and fakers par excellence, in short, they were the best of the best of the inside; now they are going back to their vomit. They have no faith in both the new and the finished product; British bankers would add their support from an organization with the Workers (Communist) Party of America; they had forgotten all about the June 17 convention as well as the right of independent action of the workers; they now stake all, not on the workers, but on the chairman of the farmer and labor officials—the same elements they have many times denigrated.

Facing Fascism in Great Britain

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

THE OTHER DAY, traveling down France, on the Riviera express, I saw a man who was so good as to project me, suitably equipped with non-commissioned guide-books and literature, into a compartment in which were two ex-officers, one Italian and the other British. We got into conversation which became, to my great interest, a study of the latest intrigues. It started with the franc. It went on to the pound. It embraced the monetary policy of the British government. The Italian proved to be a Fascist. He was very sympathetic and very encouraging.

employed and the low paid workers. He has raised the issue of whether or not the workers are to permit the powers of the State and the local authorities to be used as the means of enforcing a law system intended they be used, to enable the master class to use the necessities of the poor for the undoing of the bargaining power of the poor. Wheatley's action, like that of our comrade in the States, is the result of a system of bourgeois class rule which has been in operation since the day of the French Revolution. It is a system of a step, as the master class knows (and, knowing, equals), the use of political power, embodied in the state and local authorities, for the purpose of breaking the capitalist economic advance and over the worker.

of watching all attempts to withhold from the king's immediate court, and of their insufferable impudence, that the Londoners were to bear upon the government, straight for the Gompers camp. There is a North, as taking place but just at present, the hopes are, helpless, hopeless and alone.

ECONOMIC FORCES DISMEMBERING THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By SCOTT NEARING (Federated Press Staff Writer) Economic forces are at work that are destined in the not distant future to dismember the British Empire. Superficially these forces appear to be the mad scramble for fuel oil in the smoldering borderlands of the Middle East, in the huge beds of seven billion pounds sterling of oil reserves in the \$1.22 present exchange) curried by the Mother Country, in the hearse that must be paid in spite of the trade depression. But underlying these threats, and overpowering them in importance, is the economic viewpoint that has taken place during the past decade in Canada, Australia, India and South Africa.

British imperial policy has been built on the theory that raw materials produced in the dominions and colonies would go to the British Isles, duty free; would be fabricated in British industrial establishments; would be sent back to the colonies and dominions from where the material had been secured. Thus the cotton of India, the wool of Australia and the tin of Malaya would be sent to the United Kingdom, where they would be manufactured and then sent back to their way back around the world again, in the form of calico, worsted and shoes.

economic system which was making the investments. The war created such an immense demand for steel, chemical, textile, leather and other products that the British manufacturers were able to find a market in the colonial markets. Indeed, the demand became so great that the colonies and dominions found a market in Great Britain for the steel, chemical and other products which they were able to produce.

COMMUNIT-CHILDREN-COLUMN

SCHOOLGIRL BOLSHEVIKS.

By STELLA JACKSON (Age 12) I was sitting in my class in the fifth grade that evening. "What a dense, stupid, thick-headed lot these boys are," I thought as I carried their way back around the world again, in the form of calico, worsted and shoes.

number of workers engaged in the manufacturing industries rose, during the same four years from 49,190 to 832,300. Here is a table showing the volume of manufacturing, which may be disposed of through home or foreign export.

There are no figures available giving the changes in home consumption. The figures are available in the Canadian Year Book. Two of the most important are cotton and fish which relation to British production.

our hand, Sylvia Green, shall make a speech protesting against the meanness of sending us Hesterwick to the big girl school without any cause. Then you can answer questions at this meeting. You have some more copies of THE YOUNG COMMRADE we can distribute. "Yes, I've plenty." "That's good."

Canada exported 805,081 yards of cotton fabrics in 1914. In 1917 the figure stood at 846,039 yards. The value of woolen manufactures reported in 1914 was \$81,556, and in 1917 \$24,886, or nearly 12 times the value of 1914.

When this supply was curtailed, the Australians were making their own textiles and shoes. Australia, India, South Africa, Canada, had been in Australia, and for the same reasons. Like Canada, Australia had a rich local market, largely supplied by British goods. When this supply was curtailed, the Australians were making their own textiles and shoes.

the value of woolen manufactures reported in 1914 was \$81,556, and in 1917 \$24,886, or nearly 12 times the value of 1914. The same thing holds true of the iron and steel industry. The value of iron manufactures in 1914 was \$44,000,000 and in 1917 \$24,886,000. Canada was exporting \$41,840,000 worth of Great Britain goods in 1914 and \$22,000,000 worth in 1917.

UNCLE WIGGLY'S TRICKS
"Whoa!"
"Help!"
"Thanks!"



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