

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 is coping with the great task of restoration. While your rulers call to you to cheer 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 and are suffering from lack of food, clothing, shelter and misery. Tens of thousands are unemployed. The ruins of ruined farms are left unrestored.

Your rulers can offer you no prospect of improvement; meanwhile the American financial power is imposing 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, faces 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 massacre of Korean workmen, the murder of Japanese workmen in Kanto, the savage attack on the workers in Nagoya and the forthcoming trials of the Communists in Tokyo—all these crimes are that they champion the cause of the toilers—witness to the ruthlessness of your ruling class. The day when the rule is being challenged.

But your ruling class also tries to enable coming in line with the masses. Your rulers offer you fictitious recognition of your labor unions if you will agree to serve as 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 is "let" 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 do not intend to give it to you. They employ every trick to keep you in line and to prevent you from demanding your economic demands.

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 and peasants, instead, they fought to overthrow the tsar and established their own rule.

Tollers of town and country. You are disfranchised, unemployed 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 you over by pretending to fight for your interests, but they only seek their own interests.

The government recently dissolved parliament and "appealed to the nation." But you have no vote 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 enormous terror you have bravely resisted the attacks of the capitalists and the landlords. You have shown independence by compelling your labor leaders to repudiate 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 liberation. Your party must be independent of the bourgeois radicals. Put forward your program of liberation and fight until you get it carried out.

Demanded Democratic government, immediate adult suffrage for men and women without any qualification, the right of combination, freedom to strike and the right to collectively 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 organized, and compel the government to recognize them as independent legal organizations.

Workers and peasants of Japan! The savage sentences on your first two workers in Nagoya shows that the government holds out the same fate for your comrades now awaiting trial in Tokyo, in Ginma 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.

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



J. T. W. NEWBOLD
Leading English Communist.

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. Organize 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.

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

Down with 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 and the Freiheit office, 1724 W. Division St., Chicago, 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 Coop. Restaurant, 1724 W. Division St.; Freiheit office, 1724 Blue Island Ave.; Check's Restaurant, 3124 W. Roosevelt Road.

Send in that Subscription Today.

AMONG THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS

(Continued from page 4)

the right side. It is known that the C. I. is 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 the delegates were given. The new C. E. C. consists of ten lefts, three righties 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 impotence and is intolerant towards everything that smacks of 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 realize that their position is 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 massing of the conditions, they say, are sick of the struggle for party improvements. They acknowledge allegiance to the anti-front tactics, but again they caution against the mood that prevails in the

party. Altogether the German party appears in a state of recouping of ideology, revision of ideology, recasting, revision of tactical slogans. Events after the convention seem to indicate a strong and healthy tendency towards consolidation along the lines of revolutionary realism. This meeting of the Reichstag functionaries, some three thousand in number, unanimously endorsed the union policy of work within the organizations. Another important 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 these 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, but 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.

Amalgamated Food Workers

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
81 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

An Industrial Organization For All Workers in the Food Industry



THIS IS OUR EMBLEM

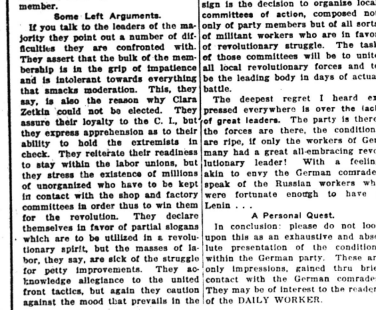
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ROSA LUXEMBURG

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

JUNE 14, 1924

SECOND SECTION
This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

Our International Congress - By Alexander Bittelman

It opens in Moscow on the 15th of June, and the workers of every eye of every fighter in the proletarian cause, no matter what part of the world he inhabits, will be turned to the Congress the living embodiment of the proletarian 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-giving ideal of a Communist International became a reality.

When it started it was Russia, the Russian Communist party primarily, that was the heart and substance of the new world-organizing class.

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 workmen and workwomen all over the world.

Now the Communist International is the only real international organization composed of almost all living races, nations and peoples, yet its membership of 100 million speaks only one language—the 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 world is again in the upswing. In 1921, 1922 and 1923, the workers of Germany, Poland, and Austria, and in 1924, the workers of the United States, again brought the struggle to the point of a general strike which would have brought the capitalist system to its knees.

Germany will be on the agenda of the Congress. It will most probably occupy the central place in all 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 showdown between the forces of Reaction and Communism in Germany, the Communist Party of that country, whose influence has been growing re-

cently by leaps and bounds, is passing every new ground, and that the international crystallization of offices Soviet Republics has never been and tactics of revolutionary struggle stronger than now.

The Left Wing of the party seems to be definitely in control, but it has not the leaders of International Communism as yet evolved with sufficient clarity. But the thing that will most impress a program of action which will deeply reach into and shakedown the Communist International hearts will be the report that the internal conflict in the Russian Communist Party has been settled on the proposed policies.

This Congress will once more take up the German question and will also have to be on the agenda of the Congress. It is the only real party that participated in the first Congress of the Communist International was the Russian party, the only party whose national section is still intact to each other in practically the

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It is really the making of our party and of the American working class will forever be grateful when it finally comes to realize the role of the Communist International party.

Five years ago the elements that make up our party at present were just a few scraps of something or other. The Left Wing of the Socialist Party, the left of the I. W. W., radicals and militants all larger, was a loose, uncoordinated 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 native, 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 not the Communist International been there 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 Communist International strengthened, broadened, rejuvenated, strengthened—no more fit to every sense to tackle successfully the complex problems of their respective countries.

Hal! the Communist International! Hal! the Fifth Congress!

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coming into power of the British Labor Party had closed a chapter in its own national section. It is one of the development of the class-struggle party, with one centralized leadership in England. The recent experience of the English working masses in the party will deal with individual "objectivity" of parliamentary So items of each national section in the program of the ground for some way as the Communist International as did the local problems of their own sub-English proletarian is becoming more distinct.

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Among the German Communists

A Semi-Legal Party
It was difficult to find the leading German comrades. First they were at their articles, then in their offices. A remarkable feat, indeed, to organize a secret party convention of some 100 members right in the middle of a formidable military dictatorship aimed at abolishing labor unions and other social-democratic traits. These comrades returned to Berlin, they were in hiding, when they met in the quietest of quarters 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 not spy and no provocator, you would still be difficult 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 residential way was it possible for me to meet some of the members of the new C. E. C. of the party. One of them was in actual disguise which had changed his name to the party, at least as far as he was concerned. He said, that his own mother would hardly recognize him. These discussions took place in spite of the party's return to legal existence. The party had just emerged out of a 15-month period of total starvation. Even in the worst times of persecution the illegally called meetings were complete for the simple reason that it is not possible to drive under cover a mass party of several hundred thousand. The return to legal status was not such a relief as it should have been, because no religious persecution as a result of the return to the masses, who no religious persecution (millions) could subside. 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 Lenin was issued a travel passport by the fourteen members of the new C. E. C. of the party before the coming election. The return to legal status was later behind the summit of M. D. C. "The Rote Fahne" was represented by several members of the party. Party headquarters in the various cities were being raised and some reorganizing. Some party members had been summoned to 8 and 10 months imprisonment for giving appeals of the Executive Committee (this is what they call freedom of elections in a bourgeois democracy). In Thuringia this "democratic" language (state parliament) had lapsed a law forbidding the May first celebration, and the same body deprived a Communist representative, Member of its 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 they speak of the stupidity of the present reaction. It is well known fact that the Parliament of Germany is now a laughing stock to the world. It is well known that the proletarian hordes of the "left" (right) "hottishness" have been equipped with rifles and ammunition than ever before. Now, when men die for the oppressed, when men die for the proletariat, when men die to allow the Hitlerites to arm ahead, while the bourgeois democracy pretends to make neutral demonstration, it is only as much as he rattling as would make the spirits of every old general, who has been pointed out for his treason to state openly, in the press or on the platform, that there are armed units within the party, that you are not the straggling left, that if it is done by bourgeois forces, but by the masses, the masses are not to be despised.

This is only one example of how far a disorganized reaction can go in face of a revolutionary movement. These are the conditions under which the party is now. All the comrades I met in Berlin were still under the spell of the revolutionary party convention and 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 October-November and after the party was driven underground, there ensued a period of inactivity towards the rest of the world and of heated discussion with the left wing. Then a minority in the C. E. C. accused the majority of having missed the opportunity, of having been unselective 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 all the ways 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 the left wing had greatly increased in size which went beyond the logical demands of the situation. On the whole, this left wing had greatly increased in size and the general course of the transition months, which were marked by no definite steps and no clear line of action between the party and the masses. The more pronounced the national convention was called, the rank and file had recuperated far more than the leaders, and was making a strong fighting spirit. Of the left, none were elected to the committee, while the right wing elected four of the left, nineteen. The membership clearly waded action.

extremists in the left majority, a union of the left with center appears within reach.
After the Left of Reaction
 This group of extremists, many of whom, it was told, had no Marx-Leninist training, but had not participated in the labor movement up to very recent times, 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 developed also among the respectable 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 extreme left are: (a) to repudiate the united front tactic; (b) to recreate left wing unions, breaking up the old bureaucratic-rigid organization; (c) to do away with centralized form of party organization; (d) to create the line between the party and the masses. These tendencies, more pronounced the more we approach the left sector of the left majority of the present C. E. C., the more pronounced are the extremes. The latter, who are, as I have mentioned, of that body, but as I have mentioned, they go to a lesser degree also the attitudes of the majority leaders as Maslow, Rute Flacher, 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 light 'tis bound
 When for the truth and right
 It flashes in the van of fight—
 Now sacred it is!

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

Julius A. Goidstein.

The Center and the Left
 As far as I could ascertain, there are no basic differences of outlook, or policy 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 the line of the left, the only difference between the two factions, is the difference of attitude towards the question of partial demands. The question of partial demands may appear somewhat an abstract matter, but it declares to be definitely against partial demands short of the conquest of power. The center does not want to fight for immediate improvements in the situation of the workers. To the impartial observer, it is evident that the maximum of the left wing cannot be denied. It has justly demanded, and by the leading minds of the C. E. C., that whatever the phraseology of the party, the organization, the party as a whole will be compelled to fight for the eight-hour work-day which is now being insisted by the capitalist class, that it simply cannot avoid the fight for the abolition of military law for the control of production. These demands, and many others, if properly upheld, would only attract the workers to the party and accelerate the revolutionary movement, will not detract in any way from the revolutionary movement, will not detract in any way from the revolutionary movement. This is a brief outline of what

(Impressions and Facts)
 By MOISSAYE J. GOLDEN

one idea is to assume a strategic attitude towards the employers. In accordance with the views of the Communist International, the union, while local units under the leadership of Communist are being expanded, the rest of the party is being reorganized (see the well-known receipt of Schilsky and Sigman. In times of emergency, it is necessary to have a sense of hopelessness permeating the rest of the party. The difficulty lies in the fact that extremist tendencies in modified form can be developed also among the respectable 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 extreme left are: (a) to repudiate the united front tactic; (b) to recreate left wing unions, breaking up the old bureaucratic-rigid organization; (c) to do away with centralized form of party organization; (d) to create the line between the party and the masses. These tendencies, more pronounced the more we approach the left sector of the left majority of the present C. E. C., the more pronounced are the extremes. The latter, who are, as I have mentioned, of that body, but as I have mentioned, they go to a lesser degree also the attitudes of the majority leaders as Maslow, Rute Flacher, Rosenberg, Scholem.

United Front
 This difference of attitude actually 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 leadership. The Social-Democratic leadership is slightly over-zealous for it is to form a united front with 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 opinions and all possible party affiliations among the workers. Should the Communist party in the united front, or shall they split the congress and capture the most revolutionary elements? The extremists were more in favor of the latter decision. The left wing of the left wing decided to favor the united front, but the center is not yet quieted down. The fact of clashes is intense, and this is the situation of the party. I will refer to a set of uniform tactical ideas.

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Preliminary Remarks by Comrade Zinoviev
 The following historical summary of the Communist International was read aloud during the Third Congress there were also considerable disagreements with the Russian delegation. Lenin is gratefully in conversational acknowledgment of 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.

A remark Comrade Lenin's strong condemnation of Zinoviev, 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's some sharp phrases evoked by the heat of combat and we are thorough convinced that the Com. Int. policy argued that he led the workers in the coming revolutionary struggle, 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 the ears of the party.

United Front
 This difference of attitude actually 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 leadership. The Social-Democratic leadership is slightly over-zealous for it is to form a united front with 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 opinions and all possible party affiliations among the workers. Should the Communist party in the united front, or shall they split the congress and capture the most revolutionary elements? The extremists were more in favor of the latter decision. The left wing of the left wing decided to favor the united front, but the center is not yet quieted down. The fact of clashes is intense, and this is the situation of the party. I will refer to a set of uniform tactical ideas.

Observations of a Publicist

By V. I. Lenin

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poppe, waste whole hours in order to blow out with an axe step or grudge where one can firmly attach the nail. This article was written for the Communist International (see the list of those who attended it in February or March 1922) and was intended for the information of those who were to be convened at 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 expect more respect, more attention, more respect, more respect. 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 the "Smencovsk's" descent, it would be a very awkward and unpleasant thing which has been tested before.

The votes from below express a malicious joy. This is the only respect about: he will break his neck. It serves him right, he should not have been so haughty. Others are trying to conceal their malicious attitude, they pose as being sorry and distressed. (**) "Smencovsk's" those who change the direction, i. e. the movement among Russian Intellectuals in favor of now backing the Soviets, though not Bolsheviks, a movement which has become ever stronger in the last three years and having as its central aim the "Nakanunye" (On the eve) one of the Russian daily papers being published in Berlin, etc.

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 asses below."

"Look," he says, "to the west,
 Over the drifting smoke,
 That bill 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 mind—my eyes are dim."

Iron to iron the rivets creep,
 While thru the air our hammers sweep,
 And Joe drowns out the moaning of the steel,
 His booming voice sang: "Boys,
 We are they with waltz notation,
 And we are dancing to the music of the steel,
 With straining sinews to achieve
 A glory that the gods conceive,
 Thus, to the unborn age given,
 Thus, by an unknown purpose, achieved,
 We ride with Death where the log-boom breaks,
 We breathe his breath where the furnace shakes,
 We sing his form where the wheels are whirled,
 And soon to his his handiwork are hurled:
 Our bones in the eddies lost,
 Our bones to the asphalt 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 stug, get off 'o' this strain!
 I see,
 Here work to do!"
 But he kept on with the same refrain:
 "The muck play far from the cow's creat claws,
 And the dirt is the dirt of the great gear,
 Our children are blebbed from the mill's grim jaws!"
 He never finished, just then he rose
 Swinging his hammer, he lopped—the dole!

B. KOLAROV
 Secretary Communist International