

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

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

AUGUST 9, 1924.

BARREN WISDOM

A REPLY TO LOUIS B. BOUDIN
By Alexander Bittelman

ASSUME for a moment that everything Louis B. Boudin says about the Communists in the July issue of "The American Labor Monthly" is correct. Assume further that his facts, premises, reasoning and conclusions are all faultless. Remember also that in doing so you will have assumed the following:

1. That the Workers Party has been willing to accept LaFollette as the leader of the American labor movement provided he breaks with the Republican Party.

2. The C. E. C. of the Workers Party has definitely assumed the position of the old reformists that whatever is not Big Capital, or "Wall Street," is not capitalist. And with that theoretical position of the old reformists it has also adopted the policies of those reformists: the policy of alliances with small capital against Big Capital.

Then we say to Boudin: Alright! The Workers Party and its C. E. C. are absolutely no good. They are reformists of the old school, new school and all future schools put together. They are a hopeless bunch. Now what shall we do? What have you got to propose? The intellectual gymnastics of "The American Labor Monthly" are at times quite enjoyable. When we have nothing else to do, an your worthy magazine happens to fall across our field of vision, we don't blink but look into it and see what's doing. As a rule, we find what's meaningless glances, skeptical smiles, derisive gestures, pompous pretensions, and hatred—bitter, burning, undisguised hatred towards the Communists and the militant workers of America generally.

For the moment we might be willing to disregard even this. We would be ready to approach you in the spirit of genuine Christian humanity and speak to you thus:

Louis B. Boudin:

Our land is big and fertile, but there is no order in it; come and rule over us.

We offer you, not LaFollette, the crown of leadership, but tell us, pray, tell us, what is your program? Where do you stand in the struggle between International Reformism and International Communism? What have you got to say regarding the immediate problems of the American workers?

You are a Marxist, of course. We know it from your own mouth, also from "history." But so is, or was, Kautsky, Hilferding and Plechanov.

You are an old-timer, a veteran, so to speak. We see it from your article in "The American Labor Monthly" where you relate battles of long ago between reformism and Marxism in the Socialist Party of America. All this is very nice, indeed, but somehow we cannot forget the fact that Kautsky too, and Plechanov, had fought reformism and "revisionism" in the pre-war Second International. Didn't they? And yet you know what became of them when confronted with the real test.

Give Us Something Constructive.

Yes, sir, give us something constructive, something positive, something that we can build on. We are real sick of the sort of political wisdom whose highest and ripest manifestation is a disdainful look and a sour face. Speak out in concrete, positive terms if you really have something to say.

Now, as to your criticisms.

The Workers Party, you say, was willing to offer LaFollette the crown of leadership if he breaks with the Republican Party. You even go as far back as the year 182, the beginning of Russian history, to find a

similitude to fit the occasion as you see it.

Let us quote a little of your high grade wisdom.

"It seems that the New Era in the American Labor Movement, to be ushered in under Socialist, or at least Socialist Party, auspices on July 4th at Cleveland, and under Communist auspices on June 17th, at St. Paul, is to be opened by a joint deputation of these hitherto warring factions to the farming regions to the north of them, there to seek out Senator Robert M. LaFollette with an invitation to come to rule over them. Presumably the message this deputation will deliver to Senator LaFollette in the name of American Labor will say: 'Our land is big and fertile, but

LaFollette the nomination for president provided:

He runs as the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party and accepts its program. Provided also—

He accepts the leadership of the National Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party and the latter's control of his campaign funds.

If it can be shown that these conditions are tantamount to offering LaFollette a crown or calling upon him to rule over us, then we would be willing to accept the leadership even of Louis B. Boudin.

The friends of LaFollette at St. Paul were bitterly opposed to us putting the above proposal to a vote at the Convention. Why? Because they knew (just as we did) that LaFollette is opposed to a Farmer-Labor Party

Party is sheer nonsense. The S. P. is only a part of that outfit, and a subordinate one at that.

Blame the Communists Again.

Now that Boudin has found himself in a hole due to his venture in forecasting the results of the St. Paul Convention, we have no doubt that this, too, he will blame on the Communists.

He will say: "Well, it ain't my fault that the Communists failed to offer LaFollette the cream. According to all available information they (the Communists) were bound to do in St. Paul as I said they will. Then they went ahead and betrayed all their commitments and promises. They simply turned traitors to LaFollette. Am I to blame for it?"

Which takes us to the real heart of the dispute. What was it that the Workers Party actually stood for in this matter of LaFollette?

First: The Workers Party has always considered LaFollette and LaFolletteism a menace to the American labor movement.

Read our party literature, our documents, statements and declarations. Go as far back as the early summer of 1923 and you will find this general idea—the menace of LaFolletteism underlying all of the strategy and tactics of the Workers Party.

We said: This petty-bourgeois struggle of the liberals and progressives within the old capitalist parties is gradually crystallizing into a movement toward a third party. We said further: This third party, LaFollette movement, will attempt to utilize in the interests of small capital the discontent and political awakening of the working masses of the country, thereby disrupting the movement toward an independent political party of workers and exploited farmers.

On the basis of this analysis, which events proved to be 100 percent correct, we proposed the following policy: Intensity the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party. Unify all the adherents of independent political action and make them serve as a center of resistance against the deadly dissolution influences of LaFolletteism in the labor movement. Our slogan was: A United Farmer-Labor ticket in the presidential elections of 1924. It was on this theory that we were working and preparing for the June 17th Convention.

Second: The Workers Party attitude toward LaFollette has always been one of opposition and fight.

Which is merely the logical conclusion of our whole conception of the LaFollette movement. The Workers Party has fought LaFolletteism in all its manifestations, politically and organizationally. A notable instance is our fight in the arrangements committee about the date of the St. Paul Convention that took place in the early spring of this year.

The LaFolletteites under pressure of their chief wanted us to postpone the holding of the St. Paul Convention (originally set for May 30th) until after the Convention of the two capitalist parties. The purpose of this move was to prevent the crystallization of a national Farmer-Labor center thus leaving LaFollette a free hand to manipulate the labor forces in the interests of the petty bourgeoisie.

To this we said: No. We fought the attempt tooth and nail and finally carried our point. The original date had been changed only to June 17th, that is, to a date sufficiently ahead of the conventions of the two old parties to enable us to crystallize a national Farmer-Labor center.

This is merely one of the many in-

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CHINA IS AWAKENING

there is no order in it; come and rule over us."

The above is a sort of a forecast of what was to happen at St. Paul on June 17th and at Cleveland on July 4th. Boudin was quite sure, as can be seen from the quotation, that the St. Paul Convention, under the leadership of the Communists, will offer LaFollette the leadership of the American labor movement.

Presumably, Mr. Boudin says, presumably the Communists will come to LaFollette and will say: Come and rule over us.

Well, it did not happen exactly that way. You know it by now. Instead of offering him a crown the Communists in St. Paul fought LaFollette with every means at their disposal. They exposed and unmasked him at the Convention as was never done before. And in order to make this exposure of LaFollette as an enemy of the workers and exploited farmers still more effective and convincing to the masses who believe in him, the Communists were even willing to offer

and will never consent to be its candidate. They also knew (just as we did) that by refusing to accept these conditions LaFollette will definitely expose himself as the real enemy of the working masses thereby alienating from himself the support of certain sections of the workers and exploited farmers. Because of the above reasons William Mahoney and Taylor (of Nebraska) and Starkey of St. Paul were threatening us with a split if we put to a vote our proposal to offer LaFollette the conditional nomination.

You can see now, Mr. Boudin, that on the outcome of the St. Paul Convention you were all wrong. Your presumptions were made a little bit too soon. You really should not have ventured a forecast.

And, by the way, you were a good deal wrong also on the Cleveland Convention, too, not so much regarding its outcome as regarding its nature. To say, as you do, that the Cleveland Conference was to be held under the auspices of the Socialist

Negro Migration and its Causes

By LOUIS ZOBOCK.

The recent spectacular movement of the Negroes Northward assumed such large proportions as to overshadow in its results all other movements of the kind in the U. S. The movement is another chapter in the story of the masses struggling to secure better conditions of living and a better life. It is greatly influencing and vitally changing the South; and the Negroes themselves, North and South. While the South is confronted with a serious labor shortage caused by the migration, the North is gaining large numbers of Negroes for its industries. Besides, the cessation of European immigration has made the Negro a very important factor in the national labor situation. Men in industry are looking to the black population as a reservoir of good and thoroughly "American" labor to be drawn upon in the future.

Several recent writers have been prone to emphasize the development by the Negro of a "sudden desire to move," but an examination of available data soon reveals the fact that the Negro, ever since the days of his emancipation, has shown a tendency to migrate.

From 1875 until 1915, there was a constant, fluctuating stream moving northward. It was a part of the drift of the general population from the rural districts to the cities, and it followed an exodus between 1855 and 1875 similar to the present one. The breaking up of the plantation system based upon slavery and racial friction were the moving causes of the striking increase in the movement of that period. Between 1890 and 1900, there was also a considerable increase in the movement due to economic and social disadvantages of the period.

The European war has simply hastened and intensified a movement that has been under way for a half century. Nevertheless, the recent migration, that of the last census, differs from the previous migrations in several important respects. And, first and foremost, in volume or amount. An examination of statistics shows that from 1870 to 1910 the number of Southern born Negroes in the North increased from 148,490 to 415,552, an average decennial increase of 67,000. But in the decade, 1910 to 1920, there was an increase of 321,890 which was more than the aggregate increase of the preceding 40 years.

Since 1920, the migration has shown still greater increase. Thus, during the year ending September 1, 1922, according to data collected by the late Phil H. Brown, the Negro migration from 13 Southern states reached a total of 478,000. Georgia alone, according to figures given by the Bankers' Association of that state, lost for the past three years nearly a quarter of a million Negroes.

Another characteristic of the recent migration is that it has been to a much larger extent than ever before a migration from the far South. The earlier northward migration was mostly from the more northern states of the South. Even as recently as 1910, 48 per cent of the southern born Negroes living in northern states came from two states, Virginia and Kentucky. The migration between 1910 and 1920 reduced the proportion born in these two states to 31.6 per cent. On the other hand the proportion of northern Negroes coming from the states farther South increased 19.2 per cent of the total number of southern born Negroes living in the North in 1910 to 40.5 per cent of the total of 1920.

Negroes in the North.

In 1870 the total number of Negroes living in the North was 452,818, but of these 118,071 were in the state of Missouri, which had been a slave state. In 1920 there were 1,472,309 Negroes in the North as compared with 452,818 in 1870. Since 1920, the Negro population in the North has increased considerably.

The movement of the Negroes to the North is not to this section as a whole, but rather to a few industrial centers. Outside of the large cities,

there is only a small Negro population. It is found that 73.4 per cent of the Negro population in the North is living in ten industrial districts as follows:

District	Population
Indianapolis	47,550
Detroit-Toledo	55,918
Cleveland	58,850
Kansas City	45,393
Pittsburgh	88,273
Columbus-Cincinnati	89,651
St. Louis	302,697
Chicago	121,589
Philadelphia	242,342
New York	251,340

The total Negro population of the North is now little more than 2 per cent. The percentage, as we see, is still very small. Only one person in 43 in the northern states is a Negro. If, therefore, the Negroes were evenly distributed over the northern states, to correspond with the distribution of the white population, their numbers would not be large enough to constitute a disturbing factor in the social organism. But, as pointed out, the Negroes are concentrated largely in certain cities where they form a considerable part of the total population. It is this concentration that produced the Negro problem in the North.

And it is almost impossible to consider the importance of each as a separate factor. However, considering them as joint forces, the causes may be classified as underlying and immediate. The former are both economic and social. The main economic causes are: the tenant system of farming, or the landlessness of the Negro farmers, the low wages paid to Negro labor in the South; while some of the underlying social causes have been the desire for better schools, for justice in the courts, for equal political and civil rights, etc. The immediate causes have been the demand for labor in the North during the years of "prosperity," the cessation of immigration, and the activities of labor agents, the persuasion of friends. An examination of some of these causes will give us a clearer understanding of the situation.

The Negro Farmer-Tenant.

The Negro in the South still clings to the soil. His condition as a farmer is very low. He is being reduced to a state of landlessness. In four of the most congested Southern states, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, containing over 36 per cent of all the Negroes in the country, 83 per cent of them are landless. The

settlements of which the tenant farmers, white and colored, complain bitterly. Apparently, in order to secure his labor, the landlord often will not settle for the year's work till late in the spring when the next crop has been "picked." The Negro is then bound hand and foot and must accept the landlord's terms. It is impossible for him to get out of the landlord's clutches.

The Negro, like other sections of our population, is not content with the drudgery, the homelessness, the exploitation, and the cheerlessness afflicting him during the winter months in the South. And, whenever he is able to get out of his landlord's clutches, he moves to the North expecting to find something better.

Negro Disfranchisement.

Disfranchisement of the Negroes in Southern states is another important cause of the Negro exodus. The fifteenth amendment provided that "the right of citizens of the U. S. to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the U. S. or by any of the states on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." But the Negro enjoyed the full use of the ballot only so long as federal troops had control of Southern elections. Following their withdrawal, the black man was debared from the polls. At first the whites used force, intimidation and other extra-legal and illegal devices to accomplish this end. Later, wearied with such methods, the states of the South amended their constitutions in such a way as to achieve the disfranchisement of the Negro without expressly excluding him on the ground of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Legal restrictions based on the ability to read and write, ownership of property, payment of poll tax, long periods of residence, good character, good understanding of the constitution, military service, and voting ancestors have fully achieved the purposes of those who drafted the amendments; they have deprived the Negro of the ballot.

Educational Disadvantages.

Another source of long slumbering discontent is in the matter of Negro schools. Seven years ago, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones made a thoro study of the school situation in the South. The results of the study, embodied in bulletins 38 and 39 U. S. Bureau of Education (1917), reveals the great inferiority of the colored schools. Conditions at present are not any better. "The Negro schoolhouses are miserable beyond description. They are usually without comfort, equipment, proper lighting or sanitation. Nearly all the Negroes of school age are crowded into these miserable structures during the short term which the school runs. Most of the teachers are absolutely untrained and have been given certificates by the county board, not because they have passed the examination, but because it is necessary to have some kind of Negro teachers."

In Georgia, as a recent report shows, four-fifths of the colored pupils must meet in church buildings and lodge halls for lack of school buildings. And even these "schools" are wholly without equipment in the way of desks, blackboards, maps, charts, and the like. High schools are badly lacking; "there are less than a dozen junior high schools for colored youths, and only one with a four-year course, while there are more than 100 for whites."

Even in training for their work, the Negroes are not given a fair show, "although the Negro performs 75 per cent of the agricultural labor of our state, there is not a single first-class agricultural school for colored people in Georgia, and only 3 of any kind, and these receive such small appropriations that improvement upon what they are now doing is practically impossible; while there are 12 for whites, one in each congressional district, aside from the State Agricultural College."

As to the funds set aside for higher educational institutions, practically all of them go for the use of the whites. Thus, of a recent appropriation of \$750,000 for higher educational insti-

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The Saw-Mill's Closed!

By Charles Oluf Olsen

The saw-mill's closed, because—so I've been told—
There's too much lumber and it can't be sold!
I scan the daily paper—There I read
Of homeless people. So there must be need,
There must be bitter need, somewhere, it seems,
Of timbers, planks and boards and beams.

The woolen mills are closed, the textile too,
And I'm told,
"There's too much clothing and it can't be sold."
And so it goes—everything—down the line—
This factory and that, and here a mine;
"There's too much coal, too many things 'to eat,"
Too many shoes . . ." And yet—that fellow's feet,
Just look! His toes stick out—

There's thoughts that bother me—my head's not strong—
Maybe I'm crazy! Yet there's something wrong—
I'm glad the saw-mill's closed. Without a doubt
I need a lot of time to figure it out.

The recent exodus has carried off a surprisingly large number of Negroes from many sections of the South. The movement has been confined to no one class entirely: the ignorant and the educated, the inefficient and the capable, the unskilled and the skilled Negroes have gone. They have left both the farming districts of the South as well as the cities. The South's mining, lumbering, and manufacturing districts lost a considerable number of their working forces. Indeed many of the first immigrants came out of the industrial regions of the South. The Northern manufacturers, thru their labor agents, recruited laborers first of all in these districts. These local centers in the South in turn filled up their depleted ranks with farm labor. As a result, in places like Birmingham, Alabama, the center of the South's largest mining and iron manufacturing district, a two-phased migration was taking place: one stream from industrial centers of the South to industrial centers of the North, and the second stream from the rural districts of the South to the industrial centers of the South.

The fact that the recent migration is not only from the country, but also from the city districts of the South; the fact that the migration affected all classes; the fact that the recent migration is but the accentuation of a process which has been going on for more than 50 years, calls naturally for a full discussion of the causes of this mass movement. The forces producing such an effect must be deep-seated and fundamental.

Causes of Migration.

There have been many causes of the exodus of Negroes from the South,

per cent of landless farmers actually increased in every Southern state during the past decade. The large plantation owners are gradually taking over the land, thus reducing tenants, white and colored, to a state of unrelieved and helpless peasantry.

The agricultural laborers and the share tenants who are little more than laborers, are low in the industrial scale. They are paid a wage on which they can hardly exist. Many are improvident and constantly in debt.

Their institutions are poor and rendered poorer because of their shifting constituency. A landless people is a hopeless people, and it is not long before hopelessness develops into shiftlessness. A careful observation of farming regions of the South reveals this fact: Negro farmers are most backward in places where they do not or cannot own land. It is in such places that schools are most backward, that home life and morals are most backward. It is in such places that plantation houses are not homes. They are little more than temporary shelter where the laborer remains until the crop is made and then moves on.

To make matters worse, the planters persistently exploit their labor. True, under the share cropping system the landlord furnishes everything except the labor, but in the end he gets everything. Tenants, croppers and other agricultural workers are subject to the overseer's driving and directions. They must respond to the landlord's bell. And when the renter has made his cotton crop he can not sell it. According to the laws of many states, only the landlords can give a clear title to the cotton sold. This gives rise to the frequently deferred

An International Conference of Communist Cooperators

BY ALGO.

Since the III. World Congress in July, 1921 the Communist International has taken up Co-operative work as a component part of political work. As is known, the II. International at its congress in Copenhagen in 1910 dealt with the Co-operative question from the point of view of the class struggle, and for its work within the Co-operative movement drew up theses of an ambiguous character with the result that in certain countries very radical phrases could be made use of, while in other countries, on the ground of the same theses, the most blatant opportunism was possible.

Now after three years there exists in the III. International a clearer plan which accords with the Co-operative resolution which comrade Lenin submitted as member of the Co-operative Commission of the II. International in 1910. In order to meet before hand the reformist danger of the individual party members acting as they wish in this important section of party work, the Communist co-operative theses lay it down as the absolute duty of every Communist to be a member of a co-operative society and at the same time to form nuclei in the numerous co-operative societies in order that a systematic work by party discipline is assured.

Already in November 1922 there took place in Moscow the first International Conference of Communist co-operators, whose task was to lay down a theoretically based attitude for the class conscious proletariat with regard to the co-operative question and at the same time to approve the tactics by means of which the co-operators under reformist leadership could be got into the hands of the class conscious proletariat. This task which the conference undertook, was completely accomplished and was embodied in the co-operative theses of the IV. World Congress. The Enlarged Executive at its sitting in June 1923 extended the co-operative theses in a comprehensive manner and expressly called the attention of the sections of the Comintern to co-operative work.

From the 11th to 17th of July there took place in Moscow the second international conference of Communist Co-operators, in order on the one hand to sum up the results of the co-operative work accomplished in the various countries and on the other hand to state in concrete terms the practical work lying ahead. The conference was attended by 43 delegates from 17 countries and 10 institutions. To the presidium were elected Comrades Chintchuk, Algo and Marran. The conference dealt with a very extensive agenda which included the report of the section and the reports from the various countries. The first two speakers dealt with "the role of the co-operatives in the present period of proletarian revolution," while comrade Algo dealt with the role and the task before the capture of political power by the proletariat. The co-operatives can not only serve as a tribune for revolutionary propaganda among the masses of proletarian housewives and the politically indifferent among the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, but they also have the possibility to render moral and material support to all trade-union and proletarian campaigns and to act themselves as class organs by setting up strike funds and acting as suppliers of provisions for the fighting working class. As regards illegal work there are many possibilities offered within the co-operative organizations, whilst co-operative work is admirably suited for the important task of the proletarian united front from below, for the revolutionizing and neutralizing of the masses.

Comrade Chintchuk dealt with the highly important role of the co-operatives during and after the proletarian revolution. Comrade Meschtereyakov spoke on the international task of the co-operatives, comrade

Marran dealt with the question of the trade-unions and the co-operatives, while comrades Stromer and Ostrovskaya spoke upon the women and the co-operative movement. Under the item "miscellaneous," comrade Tishomirov gave an interesting report on the housing co-operative societies in Soviet Russia. All the reports were followed by detailed and thorough discussions.

In the resolution of the section report, it was pointed out that the old decisions of the congress must be carried out with all energy, that a co-operative section must be set up in the party central of every country and that in the general political campaigns, as well as in the press the co-operative work must form an essential part. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that there must be a better mutual exchange of information, that an international co-operative journal, "the co-operatives in the class struggle," must appear regularly, that visits must be arranged to the various countries and a national Communist co-operative conference take place, that co-operative courses must be arranged in the various countries for the education of trained Marxist functionaries, etc. The first three reports are embodied

from all strata of the oppressed and exploited by capital; it is formed of thousands of separate organizations, tens of thousands of stores and industrial enterprises.

What could this organization become, what power could it exert?

What does it represent in reality? In what manner did the co-operatives demonstrate their power when the hideous nightmare of the imperialist war hovered over Europe? When grasping capitalists drove house-wives to despair? What did the co-operatives do to ameliorate the unheard-of distress of the working class? And where did the co-operatives really try to place the control of industry into the hands of the workers?

The practical help that the co-operative gave the masses of workers is insignificant. All members of co-operative societies know this and are loudly expressing their dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs. The co-operatives cannot lag behind in the development of the capitalist production. The advance of capital in many countries has seriously affected the co-operatives and thrown them back several years in their development.

The illusions of the reformist leaders of the co-operative movement who thought that they could reconstruct

cheaper and pay a dividend, but that they can be of help in the class struggle to free the workers completely from the yoke of the capitalist dictatorship.

You must put yourselves the question: What have our co-operatives done till now? Have they established funds to help the workers during strikes? Have they supported the workers in all their demonstrations, political and trade union, that form the preparatory fights for the seizure of power? Have they formed close connections with the revolutionary trade unions and proletarian parties? Have the town co-operatives closely co-ordinated their activities with those of the country co-operatives and other organizations? What have they done to create and support close economic relations with Soviet Russia? Relations that are essential to improve the industrial life of the world and thus ease unemployment? What have the co-operatives done to fight the constant danger of war and fascism?

The answer to these questions will show how far the co-operatives have realized the task that confront us in the great fight of the working class. It will show whether they have remained passive to the important international events and whether they have become converted into a useless, commercial, compromising organization in the hands of the reformists.

The co-operatives will only fulfil the historical tasks they are called upon to perform when they become a component part of the proletarian movement and take an active part in the fight of the working class and in this manner help establish a united front between the revolutionary workers and peasants.

We delegates to the Second International Conference are astounded at the successes of the Russian co-operatives and now understand that those achievements were only possible after the proletariat had seized power.

We participants in this conference, delegates from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Germany, France, England, Italy, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Austria, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, U. S. A., Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Spain, turn to you with the following call:

Working men and women, join the co-operatives and make them a weapon of the class war!

Follow the path marked out by our great leader Lenin!

Follow the slogans of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International in the fight to overthrow capitalism!

Workers of the World, Unite! Moscow, 17th of June, 1924.

The Second International Conference of Communist Co-operators.



Young Communist Groups in Turkestan

In these, which lay special stress upon the importance of co-operative work as regards the political education of the backward working masses and of the housewives, and further emphasize the necessity of collaboration with the trade unions, of the fight against fascism and MacDonaldism and the necessity of intensive participation in anti-war propaganda.

Finally, a manifesto to all members of co-operatives was issued, the full text of which is given below.

The Conference has shown that almost everywhere there are comrades possessing the energetic will to link up the co-operative work within the frame of Communist party work. It was repeatedly stated that there was no country where sufficient work has been carried on among that great reservoir of masses of proletarian housewives and petty bourgeois elements, who are organized in the co-operatives. There is scarcely any other organization which is so highly adapted for the realization of the slogan "Into the masses" as the co-operatives.

Manifesto.

To all Co-operators.
To all Workers and Peasants.
To all proletarian Housewives in the world.

The International Cooperative Alliance (London) appealed to all co-operative societies to conduct a campaign on the 5th of July to attract the masses of the workers into the co-operatives. We wish to take advantage of these days when the eyes of the masses are directed towards the co-operatives to issue the following manifesto to all-members of the working class conscious of their interests.

What are the co-operatives? The co-operatives form an enormous organization covering the whole world; its members are recruited

society thru "peaceful" development, are scattered.

All conscious members of the co-operatives are beginning to understand, that it is impossible to improve the conditions of the exploited workers under the capitalist system. The only way is the victory of the social revolution. The slogan of the working class is: "Proletarians! prepare to seize political power." The class conscious members of the class co-operatives are also convinced that this is the right way.

What have the co-operatives done and what could they do to help the emancipation of the working class?

This question is most important for every co-operator. It is high time to reconsider the old theses formulated by the Rochdale pioneers in 1844. It is high time to adapt and develop the theses to suit the epoch we live in. Every co-operator must understand that the idea of political neutrality at a time when fascism is attacking the workers' organizations and ruthlessly destroying the co-operatives, is wrong and may even be disastrous. In Italy the co-operative stores have been plundered and closed, the co-operative leaders have been killed, thrown into prison and kidnapped. Both Communist and reformist leaders have suffered. The strongest workers' co-operative society in Bulgaria, the "Osvobozhenie" (Emancipation) has been destroyed, and the peasants co-operatives have suffered considerably. Is it possible to talk of neutrality toward the present state of affairs?

Class Conscious Workers, Women-Proletarians!

We call upon you to help us to force the co-operatives to take an active part in the fight of the working class for its emancipation. The value of the co-operative societies consists not only in that they supply products

South Side Branch Wants Help to Put Across Race Play

To the DAILY WORKER:—A group of us of the South Side Branch, Workers Party, are promoting a Communist play, and we ask the co-operation of friends, party members and others who can afford a little time for this effective means of propaganda, combined with entertainment.

We have selected a play dealing with Communism and the race situation. Our next step is the selection of the cast. We want to include some others in our group, and at the Press Picnic we want to meet any who might become interested.

I will be near the entrance to the picnic ground between six and six-thirty p. m., and would like to have those interested make themselves known to me. Ask for me at the gate. After introductions a reading of the play will take place.

COME IN CROWDS.
Fraternally your, Andrew Shelly,
826 North Clark St., Chicago.

Send in that Subscription Today.

Civilization Through Bombs

By EARL R. BROWDER

Carrying civilization to the natives of the East and Near East by means of bombs has long been a favorite occupation of British Imperialism.

When the Labour Party formed the Government, however, all the sentimental ladies and gentlemen of the world thought that an era of non-violent and benevolent guardianship toward these weaker brethren was to be inaugurated.

How horrified they were, then, when it became known that British (Labour Government) airplanes have been flying over villages in Iraq (Mesopotamia) and dropping bombs upon them, with great loss of life among men, women and children.

Why does a "Labour Government" blow natives into kingdom-come by means of bombs dropped from the air?

This question was raised thruout the local Labour Parties in England by the Communists who represent their labor unions therein. A flood of demands for explanation poured into the headquarters of the Labour Party and the offices of the Labor M. P. A. An explanation was demanded.

An explanation was given. It was a most illuminating explanation. Mr. William Leach, M. P., Under-Secretary for Air of the Labour Government, explained the matter. And his explanation was a defense of the British military as "invariably the model of civility, patience, and good will", who "dislike this work as much as a judge dislikes sentencing a prisoner to death".

So far so good. Mr. Leach explains that the military forces of the Labour Government do not kill the natives simply out of thirst for blood. They look upon the slaughter as a disagreeable job which they dislike very much. We are also assured that the Labour Government that gives the orders is also much distressed by the necessity to bomb the natives of Iraq. Why, then, the bombings? Ah, it is

a simple matter, if you understand Labour Party politics. You see, "yes"—the British Government—"accepted the job (from the League of Nations, which means from ourselves) of straightening things out" in this country which had been conquered from the Turks.

"Quite early we converted that country into a monarchy by putting a king on the throne", quietly says this astonishing Labour Secretary.

Well, the story runs that the natives didn't like the King, Faisal, that Great Britain had so kindly given them. They have harassed both him and his Government with insurrectionary raids and sudden onslaughts.

"What could we do?" asks the innocent Mr. Leach, Under-Secretary for Air of the Labour Government.

It might occur to an ordinary member of the Labour Party that the imposed King might be asked to step out in favor of a Government of the choosing of the natives of Iraq. But instead:

"In pursuance of the mandate, British troops with armoured cars were sent after them over mountainous territory and impassable roads". But the natives got the best of it. "Costs went up enormously", says Mr. Leach, "and it looked for a while as if there was nothing to show for it all".

Now comes Mr. Leach to the rescue. The Army cost too much, and didn't get results. So the airmen step in. "This gave us prompt knowledge of brewing trouble. Warning notices were dropped which, when disregarded, were followed by bombs."

There! You see how simple it is! The reason whom the airplanes dropped bombs was because ordinary killings by the Army cost too much!

"The new methods produced immediate results", says Mr. Leach. "British casualties in Iraq have practically ceased".

Peace and civilization had been established. King Faisal, appointed by Great Britain, was no longer an-

noyed by protesting natives who didn't want him for a king. The graves of the men, women, and children, killed by bombs from the air, stood as a guarantee of the "stability" of the Faisal government.

But "we", the Labour Government, didn't start it, protests Mr. Leach. We are not responsible. We merely inherited it. "I am not discussing whether or not we should have accepted the job", says Mr. Leach. But, he says, once we went into the Government we had to carry out the established policies.

And there is the explanation of, not only the bombing in Iraq, but of the whole bankruptcy of the British Labour Party. It looks upon itself as a simple continuance of all Governments that went before. It is bound by the old policies, the old contracts are sacred obligations; it can, only hope; thru infinitesimal changes thru years gradually to make the civilization process less bloody and more profitable; it must smother out strike movement of the British workers, carefully it is true, but surely; it is only another bourgeois Government with a Labour camouflage.

The Leach statement foused a storm of protest thruout the British Labour Party. The smothering of strikes by the British Labour Government had made the rank and file sensitive to bombings of natives in Iraq. The Labour daily, HERALD, of London was swamped with letters of indignation. Which gave rise to an even more damning document than that of Leach.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, editor of The Daily Herald, was worried about the indignant and astonished protests of his readers. So he wrote an article which he calculated would cajm the storm.

If Fyfe's article does not arouse a hurricane that will topple some leaders off the back of the Labour Party, then it will be because that body is corrupted beyond all redemption.

What Fyfe says is this: Of course our hearts are filled with indignation, astonishment, pity, disappointment and alarm. Good! That's the way I feel too. Let us all continue to feel that way, for it's really a good thing—it is our function.

But, says Fyfe, "I am afraid that, were I in his (Leach's) place, I might be behaving exactly as he behaves." "Let us be fair", says Fyfe. "Those who are in authority can never look at things from the same angle as that from which they looked when they were irresponsible."

"We have put these Labour Ministers into office," he says. "It is unfair to expect them to behave as if they still had no official ties. We, on the other hand, can keep our principles unaltered."

Principles are nice, and we must carefully preserve our moral indignation, but practice—ah, that is entirely different: Such is the attitude of the Labour Government officials and the editor of the Labour daily paper.

Preserve your indignation, for it helps to keep every one feeling righteous and holy; but don't expect a Labour Government to be any different from any other capitalistic Government.

But the workers are awakening, even in sleepy old England. They are beginning to say:

"To Hell with such a Labour Government, that boasts of being no different from any other!"

"To Hell with these leaders who keep their principles in one pocket and their practice in another."

"To Hell with a Labour Party and a Labour Government that is nothing more than a continuation, under camouflage, of the same old imperialistic exploitation backed up with the murder of defenseless men, women, and children."

"If this is what 'peaceful' Labour Government means, then we are ready to turn to the Communists, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat—the Soviet Republic of Britain."

News From the Class Struggle Front

By ART SHIELDS.

This article which the editor of the DAILY WORKER magazine section asked me to write is addressed to the voluntary correspondents whom he wants to get on the job.

I wish to put over this idea—that the influence of a revolutionary labor paper depends on the activity of the voluntary correspondents from whom the paper must get a large part of its news.

NEWS! That is the stuff that makes a paper if it is abundant and interesting—and kills the circulation if it isn't supplied promptly. The circulation of a newspaper depends firstly on its news columns. Editorials have their importance in clinching the ideas developed from the news but they don't break the ice into the big circulation pond as live news does. And it hardly seems to need stating that a successful appeal to the masses is impossible unless the masses are hearing the message.

I do not wish the reader to think that I regard the news columns as mere bait to catch a subscriber for the editorials and special articles. I am arguing for the news for its own sake. I believe that no other department of a labor paper has the educational value of the news pages if these really mirror the class struggle with accuracy. I am confident that nothing stirs a worker to action in this struggle as the running news picture of the fight itself.

News From 48 States.

An revolutionary labor newspaper must burn with the news from the class war front of its city, country and the world—but first of all with the news close to home because that is what relates immediately to the life of the worker. Its columns must illuminate the garment and steel strikes of its city, the stockyard "jungle"

and "Western Electrica." If it is a national newspaper it must flash back the significant events of the farms and factories of the 48 states. It MUST do this to awaken national interest and achieve power.

This news must be told in your workingclass newspaper but if the telling of it depends on the unaided efforts of the small staff which a class conscious labor paper can maintain then the reader will have to go hungry for most of the facts he bought the paper to find. A paper which does not get and does not want the support of the department store, banks and railroads that make possible the huge staffs of capitalist newspapers has to operate on a very low cost basis. Newspaper cemeteries are dotted with the crosses of labor papers that tried to run on too large an overhead. To live, a revolutionary labor paper has to cut its paid staff down to the bone, perhaps down to a bare five editors, assistants and reporters.

This means that the voluntary correspondent has to put his shoulder to the wheel if the nation's news is to be done. Fortunately he is beginning to do it. But he needs to be spurred into ten times as much action as he is yet showing.

Much Big News Now.

Think of all the live news that is breaking today. A report has just come in of a strike of steel workers at McKee's Rocks. Can you imagine how the editor of the DAILY WORKER is fuming if the local correspondents are not supplying the details. The Ku Klux Klan and the shipping trust has been raiding the wobbly marine workers at San Pedro. Fiendish atrocities: little girls scalded near to death in boiling coffee vats; men frightfully beaten by the gangsters but undaunted in their fight to organize the seamen and longshoremen. One God story comes in, then silence. The la-

bor world wants to know what happens. The paper doesn't tell them because the local comrades just neglected to put their pens to paper.

These are events that are taking place or have recently occurred. They can be multiplied by the dozen. At the present time there is a cloakmakers' strike in Baltimore; there are Amalgamated Clothing Workers' strikes in New York, assaults on free speech in Pennsylvania, important political developments in Minnesota and a host of other happenings in the labor world. An ocean of news, much of which is printed and much of which is passed over because the correspondents have not been on the job.

To the extent to which the correspondents are supplying this news to that extent the paper becomes a force in their locality.

Active radicals accept the idea that the revolutionary press is their strong weapon in the fight. They get up picnics to raise money for the press and they hustle out selling the paper. But not many of them realize the aid they can give to their paper by SENDING IN THE NEWS.

Workers' News in Russia.

Over in Russia the workers have learned to send in the news. Anna Louise Strong told about it at the annual dinner of the Federated Press in Chicago last January. In Moscow and other Soviet cities the individual workers' stories fresh from the job are prominently displayed. They increase the circulation of the paper and they supply the specific data from the job which leads to the installment of better management methods. If a technician is slighting his work he is likely to read about himself when he is expected it. If a new invention is applied in an industry the workers on the job tell how it sizes up.

Here in America there is no workers' administration of industry just

yet but there is a fight for this goal and there are revolutionary papers that are aiding in this fight. The intelligent workers' duty is to keep his paper posted about the fight in his locality. As in Russia this voluntary correspondence will not only increase circulation—the first requisite for newspaper power—but it supplies the facts about the class war battles which other workers must have to check up with their own experience and improve their tactics of warfare against the common enemy.

If the Russian workers, most of whom could not read or write until after the revolution, can SEND IN THE NEWS the American workers can also.

In another article I will tell how easy it is to write news reports, the easiest form of composition. There are a few simple rules to follow and presto! the thing is done.

Triolet

By Henry George Weiss

You can say what you like,
It's all very true,
(I'm speaking of Mike).
You can say what you like;
But not when you strike!
The judge sent him thru.
You can say what you like!

Russian Air Service.

MOSCOW, Aug. 8.—Beside the Moscow-Kenigsberg air line, which is run regularly every day by the "Derulit" Company, the Junkers Co. has opened new air routes Leningrad-Moscow-Kharkov-Rostov and Batum-Tiflis-Baku (Caucasus), while the "Dobrolet" (Russian Volunteer Air Fleet) has inaugurated a Moscow-Hijni-Norjorod-Kazan line.

DANKO

By MAXIM GORKI

In olden time there dwelt a certain race of men on earth. I do not know where they lived. I only know that vast trackless forests surrounded their encampments on three sides, and on the fourth lay the steppe. They were strong, brave and merry men, content with little.... They may have been gypsies. And lo, one day trouble came upon them. Alien tribes appeared who drove them into the depth of the forest. There darkness brooded over the marshy ground, for the forest was old and tall, and so thickly were the boughs interwoven that the sky was invisible through them and the sun could not pierce through the thick leafage to the bog. And did rays of light strike the stagnant water of the marshes, a stench arose, whereby men perished. And then their women and children rose up crying, and the fathers grew thoughtful and sad. They must needs leave the forest, but only two roads led away from it: one—back to their old haunts, where the fierce and mighty foe lay in wait, the other—forward where stood the giant trees, their boughs embracing each other, their gnarled roots deep in the clutching mire of the marshes. While day lasted the trees stood silent and motionless in a gray twilight, and of evenings, when the fogs were lit, they crowded closer about the tribe. And the people were ever surrounded by a suffocating circle, they who were wonted to the free spaces of the steppes. And even more terrible was it when the wind beat upon the tree-tops and the forest resounded with muffled thunder, as it were tolling the death-knell of those who had found refuge there.... And the men sat and pondered through the long nights, to the voice of the forest's muffled thunder, in the poisonous stench of the marshes. There they sat, while shadows thrown by the boughs leapt round them in a silent dance, and these seemed to them not playing shadows, but the gestures of the evil spirits of forest and bog in their triumph.... They sat, they pondered. There is nothing, neither work nor women, that so drains the bodies and souls of men as do the sad thoughts that suck the heart like snakes. And the men grew weak with thinking.... Fear rose among them, fettering the strong arms, and terror sprang from the mourning of the women before the corpses of the dead and over the fate of the living—and cowardly words began to be heard in the forest, spoken low at first, then louder and louder.... Already some wished to surrender themselves and their will to the foe, and none had fear any more of the life of a slave.... But now came Danko and saved them all.

Danko was young and beautiful to look upon. The beautiful are always brave. And he said to his comrades: "Reflection will not alter the course of a stone. Who dares naught, achieves naught. Why waste our powers on sorrowful meditation. Rise, let us go into the forest and pass through it. It must have an end—all things have an end. Forward!"

The people looked at him and they saw that he was the first among them all, for strength and fire burned in his eyes.

"Lead us," they said. So he led them. Danko. All followed him and all trusted him. The road was difficult. Darkness fell about them and at every step the marsh yawned with foul and eager jaws, swallowing men, and the trees reared a mighty wall across the path. The boughs were intertwined like snakes, and the roots stretched in all directions, and each step cost blood and sweat to the marching host. Long, long they marched. The forest grew denser, and their strength melted! And then they began to murmur against Danko, saying that it was on a vain journey that he, in his youth and inexperience, undertook to lead them. But he moved at their head, confident and serene.

But once a storm burst over the forest, and the trees roared with a

muffled tumult. And it grew as dark in the forest as though all the nights that ever fell upon earth had gathered there. They men trudged on amidst high trees in the fierce play of lightnings, and the giant trees aye, in-leaping angrily, and lightnings, flying over the tree-tops, lit them for a moment with cold blue light, and vanished as swiftly as they had come, terrifying the people. The trees, lit with the cold fires of the lightnings, looked alive. They stretched their long, gnarled hands, reaching after the people, who fled from the prisoning darkness. They wove their arms into a net, trying to catch the people. Chill terror looked at them from the blackness of the boughs.

.... The road was difficult, and the men felt a sinking of the spirit. But they were ashamed to acknowledge their weakness, and with vicious wrath they turned against Danko, the man who led them. And they began to scorn him for his inability to govern them. They halted and to the trium-

phant roar of the forest in the quivering darkness, tired and troubled, they began to denounce Danko. "You are a puny soul! You do us injury! You led us and you out-weared us," they said, and for that you shall perish.

And the lightnings and thunder confirmed their verdict. "You said, 'Lead us,' and I did so," cried Danko, thrusting out his chest. "I have the courage of leadership and so I led you. And you—what have you done to help yourselves? Your courage does not last through a long journey. You travel like a flock of sheep."

His words only inflamed their anger. "You 'shall die! You shall die!'" they shouted. And the forest roared, answering their cry. And the lightnings tore the darkness into shreds. Danko looked at those for whose sake he had made his effort, and saw that they were even as beasts. Many men stood about, but there was no nobility in their faces. He could not hope to be spared by them. Then indignation, boiled up in his heart, but it was extinguished by pity. He loved these

people, and he feared that perhaps without him they would perish. And lo, his heart was aflame with the fire of desire to save them and to lead them upon an easy road. And the light of that fire sparkled in his eyes. But they, beholding his burning eyes—thought he had grown furious, and they became as wary as wolves. They pressed closer, so that they might the more easily seize and slay him. But he knew at once what was in their minds, and therefore his heart burned within him all the more brightly. Still the forest sang its gloomy song, and the thunder resounded and the rain poured down.

"What shall I do for the people!" cried Danko, outbidding the thunder. And suddenly he tore his chest open with his hands, and wrenched out his heart, and held it high above the heads of the multitude. It blazed as brightly as the sun, nay, brighter. And the forest grew silent, lit with this torch of surpassing love for mankind. And the darkness evening, and the river grew crimson in the sunset, like that blood which pulsed in a hot stream from Danko's torn chest.

Proud in his passing, Danko glanced before him at the broad spaces of the steppe. He cast a joyous glance toward the free lands that unfolded before his eyes, and laughed triumphantly. Then he sank in death. The smazed trees behind him whispered softly, and the grass stained with his blood murmured in answer. Meanwhile the people, joyous and full of hope, did not notice his death, and did not see that Danko's brave heart was still blazing beside his corpse. One man only, a cautious man, beheld it, and moved by a vague fear he trod upon the proud heart. And as it crumbled, its sparks were scattered and extinguished forever.

Book Reviews

AS SOME SEE THE NEGRO

By GEO. McLAUGHLIN

The May, June and July issues of the "World's Work" contain a remarkable series on the Negro. It is remarkable since the author honestly tells what he saw without race prejudice, without anti-labor bias. In the "World's Work" this—marvelous. His mistakes—and they are dazzling—are due to ignorance alone.

He tells (July) of the reception Claude McKay received in Russia. He tells too that Gene Debs kissed a black girl at a negro meeting. This typifies the communist and socialist position, he says. The Communists want the Negro to join hands in the huge task of fighting for freedom. The socialist is willing to kiss. Judas once gave a kiss. The author sees what a fertile revolutionary field the Race is. He is wiser than many of my comrades.

Naivete

The June issue is exquisitely naive on the labor movement. He says "there has been some ground" for the charge that the unions exclude Negroes. The unions are different now. His proof? Some twenty needle trade unions inserted May day greetings in the "Messenger"! (This was a disgusting misuse of union funds. The magazine felt no call to give space to May Day or the labor movement or the poor Negroes, but devoted pages and pages to two successful Negro parasites—one an insurance man, one a real estate dealer. Why should such a paper be supported by union funds?)

He discusses soberly the influence of Gompers among the black masses. He thinks it would be infinitely greater were he black—ebony black if possible! Imagine Sammy sighing sadly because he is not the hue to appeal to—the Negro highbrows. That is the heart of the matter. All this twaddle represents the information given the author by the Negro "leaders". The ignorance of these gentry is incredible.

Negro "Wealth"

The author discusses the Black Belt. It is acutely comic. In spite of my literary fastidiousness, I quote: "costly rugs", "a library replete with sumptuously bound volumes", "abundant silver gleaming superbly". He tells of costly cars, of Raeb pride, of colored girls in riding breeches or in fashionably expensive costumes. In the name of Denmark Vesey, is this the Black Belt? I too have studied the Belt. Not .01 per cent live in luxury, not more than 2 per cent live in comfort. For the rest—it's hell. A Negro who lives in a well built brick house, with sewer, running water, and electric light is lucky, remarkably lucky. A hideous per centage have outside privies and flies swarm from there to their food. The barns of America are better built than the hovels of the Negroes.

Gallant "Defenders."

Mayors of the sixty Illinois cities with populations of 10,000 or more will meet at the Chicago Athletic Club at the invitation of the Illinois defense day test committee this evening. Plans for the state-wide observance of defense day will be discussed.



MAXIM GORKI.

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fled before it, and in the depths of the thicket, shivering, it was swallowed by the foul jaws of the marsh. The people turned to stone with amazement.

"Forward!" cried Danko.

And he leapt to the van of the marchers, holding high his burning heart, and therewith lighting the road. They flocked after him, curious and fascinated. Then once more the forest lifted its voice, swaying the treetops in wonderment, but the roar was lost in the tramp of Danko's followers. All forged on, swiftly and bravely, drawn by the miraculous spectacle of the burning heart. And some perished, but they perished without plaints or tears. And Danko was marching before them, and his heart burned and blazed.

And lo, suddenly the forest parted for them, parted and remained behind dense and dumb. And Danko with his followers plunged into a sea of sunlight and pure, rain-washed air. The storm was there behind them, above the forest. But here the sun shone, the steppe breathed gently, the grass scintillated with rain-drops, and the golden river glittered. It was

India's Revolutionary League

BY A HINDU.

The Jingoistic summing up of Justice McCordie, in the Nair-O'Dwyer libel case, which shows a definite Americanization of a British legal procedure, or should one say Mussolinization?—has merely aggravated what is already a ticklish situation in that great portion of the British Empire, India. The chief of the Amritsar massacre, who was suing, has gained little by his victory.

It has refreshed the memory of Amritsar in the minds of Indians—if, indeed, the memory of that wanton massacre had at all faded. It has helped to shatter what remains of their belief in British justice, not because of the technical verdict in the case, but because of the exonerating, gratuitously pronounced by Mr. Justice McCordie, of General Dwyer, who was really responsible for the horrible deed.

It has always been a fair illusion, hugged fondly to the bosoms of the British liberals, that there is some peculiarly unique quality of impartiality about the British bench. It has been an attitude of self-righteousness; we are not as others are, they said, in warm self-congratulation, comparing the icy aloofness of British judges to the furious class partiality of America, and other jurists.

"Impartial" Judges—Bunk!

And this conception has, in some measure, accepted by our colonial people. It was, perhaps, their last scrap of confidence in British institutions. Now, after the harangue of Mr. Justice McCordie—in which he showed an admirable and honest, even if somewhat ill-advised, class loyalty—even this last shred of confidence is gone. Well, let it be so; it is to be welcomed, as precipitating the realization, by Indians, that only their own efforts can save them.

In India, at present, the nationalist movement is in the throes of change and disagreement. Of one thing, I think we can be certain: the star of Gandhi is at last on the wane. This leader has shown all the indecision, the fluctuation and vacillation, typical of the idealistic pacifist. He has been desirous of freeing India by harking back to a period forever dead.

Ghandi Failed.

He gave the Indians an idyllic picture of India as it once was, in the days of the village craftsman, before the introduction of large-scale industry. He preached the way of freedom by a reversion to homespun cloth, and by the use of "spirit force." And, like most such intransigent dreamers, when the moment for decision came, he faltered and was lost. After preaching civil disobedience, he feared, when the moment came, to order it. He missed his opportunity; and he is finished as the supreme leader of Indian nationalism. This is not to say that he is utterly discredited; he still has a considerable following. But other leaders, and other methods, have sprung up.

Whereas Ghandi opposed all participation in India parliamentary processes, the present majority leaders of the Nationalist Congress, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and others, advocated that Nationalists should stand for election to the Provincial and National Councils, but that, once elected, they should pursue a policy of obstruction.

They recognized the futility of attempting to use the existing political apparatus of India, for the securing of national emancipation, but they did not ignore the opportunities afforded by elections and membership of elected bodies for propaganda, and for showing that these bodies could not secure the ends desired. Whether they will stay by this policy, is another question. They may succumb to the temptations that beset elected persons who are not controlled by the strict discipline of a highly conscious political party.

Recently, a conference took place between Das and Nehru, on the one hand, and Ghandi, on the other. Agreement, however, on a common policy for the Home Rule movement, was impossible; and the two parties to the discussion issued separate

statements. These showed fundamental tactical differences between the non-cooperation policy of Ghandi and the obstructionist tactics of the Swarajists led by Das and Nehru.

Industrialism Grows.

And, while Indian Nationalism hammers out the differences inevitably arising from the transitional stage thru which India itself is passing—the growth of Indian machine industry, and of a native bourgeoisie—the Indian masses are slowly coming to a glimmering of the important role which they must play in the course of future developments.

Strikes are becoming more and more frequent in India. And they are accompanied by all the features of the most violent industrial warfare. The shooting down of striking workers in Bombay, in the Cawnpore mills, is but part of the tragic unfolding of the history of Indian wage-slavery. And the recent industrial troubles are also providing us with the spectacles of the United Front between the armed forces of the foreign imperialist rulers—the British—and the Indian capitalists.

While the Indian bourgeoisie may be eager to bring about a separation

from the Empire, they are by no means anxious to see the Indian working class emancipate itself from the thrall of capitalism, British or Indian. They even oppose the most modest demands of the exploited native workers. They want, not India for the Indians, but India for the Indian capitalists, bureaucrats and intellectuals. **United Front With Nationalists Now.** And the Indian trade union leaders are also by no means the militant leaders which the workers need. They are far more closely allied with the middle class nationalist element, than with the proletariat.

Yet, in the present stage of the Indian movement, it is the duty of all revolutionists to support the nationalist movement, to support the movement against imperialism, while, at the same time, endeavoring, by every means, to base it ever more upon the mass action of the workers and peasants, to link it up with their economic and social demands, and to give it an increasingly leftward orientation.

It is for such activities, for the endeavor to form a mass political party of workers and peasants in India, that four Indian workers have re-

cently been sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. And this despite the fact that the assessors, who in India, assist the judge in the trial, differed as to the guilt of the defendants.

Four Communists Jailed.

They were Communists, it appears, these four Indian workers; and therefore, they must go to prison. And this, it must be remembered, took place when the central ruling body of the Empire—the British government—was a Labor Government.

Well, it was really to be expected. Only a few weeks ago, the daily press stated that officials of the India office had just inspected some new tanks. These were tanks of an improved type, specially adapted for street fighting, and were to be sent to India.

And so our brilliant Fabian Socialist sits in the India office, saying bland and empty statements of sympathy for the Indian people, and sending tanks over to prove to them the friendship of the British labor government. This a pretty picture, upon which our I. L. P. friends must needs gaze with surprise and sorrow. If, indeed, they retain any of their old ideals of freedom and internationalism.

An International Language

A Letter to the Editor.

Dear Comrade:—I hasten to congratulate you on publishing the article called "Our Language Problem" in Saturday's Magazine Section. But the fifth and last section of it was bunk. Here is a word for word copy of an official statement by the Secretariat of the Comintern, delivered in the hands of Comrade E. Lanty of Paris, referring to this question:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International. No. 1455. Moscow, Aug. 14, 1922.

Comrade E. Lanty, delegated by the Esperanto Organization "Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda," with approval of the International Secretariat of the French Communist Party, having come to Moscow for the purpose of investigating the work of "Study Commission for the Adoption of an Auxiliary Language in the Communist International, is officially informed that this committee is already dissolved and that the Communist International has not made any decision concerning the adoption of either Esperanto or Ido.

The Secretariat of The E. C. of the C. I. Rakoshi.

A similar statement has also been received from the People's Commissariat for Education in the Republic of Abkhazia.

There are two sides to every question, the theoretical and the practical. The article in Saturday's Magazine Section entitled "Our Language Problem" from the theoretical point of view, in pointing out in clear terms the need of an international language. But when we come to the practical side, the introduction and application of such a language, then our troubles begin. For if we start talking Ido propaganda at the present time when Esperanto has travelled the greater part of the road to universal adoption, we only cause confusion, and our work and trouble will have no practical results.

We need not be guided by the so-called "Study Commission" of the Comintern, inasmuch as the Executive Committee of the Comintern will have nothing more to do with it. It was dissolved more than two years ago, and the Comintern has as yet made no decision whatever on the adoption of any international language. And the others who are said to recommend Ido have simply been fooled to do so with the understanding that the Commission of the Comintern was official. Esperanto has at least ten times the number of followers that Ido has ever claimed, and it has fifty times bigger chance of being the future in-

ternational language. And this is a very conservative estimate. Why then should we try to hinder evolution and progress by throwing confusion into the public mind, advertising rival schemes.

Those who are really interested in this question ought to read "A Short History of the International Language Movement," by Guerard, published by

Boni and Liveright, New York. He is neither Esperantist nor Idist and is therefore an impartial authority. Also "Esperanto and its Critics" by E. W. Collinson, Professor of German and Hon. Lecturer in Comparative Philology, University of Liverpool, ought to be read. It can be ordered from Scand. Esperanto Inst., Rockford, Ill., for only five cents.—Karl Froding.

RUSSIA'S REMARKABLE REVIVAL

Just as the average capitalist newspaper persisted for years after the Bolshevik November revolution in running daily fairy tales about the "overthrow of the soviets"—so are the same capitalist papers continuing now to speak of Russia as "in ruins" and its people "victims of starvation and chaos" and so on. After many years only the most daring of these liars will now venture so far as the old yarns about the "impending overthrow or collapse of the soviet government." But the "ruin-famine-and-casualties" lie is still going strong.

For this reason it is important that the labor press circulate the facts about the remarkable revival of production under the soviets and how better conditions for the workers while in other countries—including America—the life of the workers becomes more miserable and hopeless every day.

It is with considerable joy, therefore, that we read in the LABOR HERALD for July, a thorough and graphic description of both industrial and human reconstruction after the long years of war and revolution.

Moreover, the article is authoritative, since it is written by Wm. Z. Foster who has just returned from his second visit to the Workers' Republic under the title "Russia in 1924."

All is changed," says Foster, "since my visit in 1921. The workers are stronger and healthier. To prove this it is not necessary to have recourse to statistics. It is patent to the naked eye. The average man is 20 to 30 pounds heavier than in 1921. The crowds are full of life and energy."

Another short and interesting note in the July LABOR HERALD on this subject quotes the official paper of Moscow, "Economic Life"—the authority headed by capitalist and Communist alike—to the effect that the English pound sterling, matched against the new gold money of the soviets on the Russian market, fell 23 per cent between January 1st and April 5th. It will be astonishing to all our 100 American dollar compared to this Bolshevik ruble fell 12 per cent in the same three months! The LABOR HERALD is the first publication in America, so far as known, which has given this significant fact attention.

Rondeau

By Henry George Weis

With tar and rope the Ku Klux Klan
Would regulate its fellowman,
And hold thru fear the colored race
Oppressed and martyred in their place,
Would strangle freedom with its plan.

Ah! shade of Lincoln, stoop and scan
This white-hood mob that seeks to fan
Hate into flame, and thus disgrace
With tar and rope.

Is it but six score years that span
Your day from this?—Oh, tell me, can
You look on them without a trace
Of shame and ire on your face?
You did not spell AMERICAN
With tar and rope!

Facilities for Trade with Soviet Russia

BY ECONOMICUS.

THE foreign trade monopoly, which was introduced in Russia by the decree of April 22, 1918, implies the concentration of all foreign trade operations in the hands of the State. By the decree above-mentioned concerning the nationalization of foreign trade, every transaction between the U. S. S. R. and foreign countries is made thru specially authorized government organizations. Any other commercial dealings with foreign countries are prohibited.

The State organization for the conduct of foreign trade was finally set up in June, 1920, with the institution of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. At that period the monopoly of foreign trade bore a strictly centralized character, no other State, co-operative, or private organization, except for the Foreign Trade Commissariat, being allowed to enter into foreign commercial relations.

The New Economic Policy.
With the development of the new economic policy a reconstruction of the Foreign Trade Commissariat became necessary.

By a decree dated August 9, 1921, the Foreign Trade Commissariat was authorized to direct all operations in providing raw material for the different government institutions as well as its own independent provision of exportable goods.

In April, 1922, a further reorganization took place, including the foundation, under control of the Commissariat, the State-Export and Import Department (the Gostorg).

On March 13, 1922, by a decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Com-

mittee, some state enterprises were given the right to conduct foreign trade independently on condition that their contracts would be presented for approval to the Foreign Trade Commissariat or its Foreign Trade representatives. To secure closer cooperation between the Foreign Trade Commissariat and the different institutions, representatives of the Supreme Economic Council were added to the staff of the principal trade delegation. In addition, the Central Union of Co-operative Associations (Centrosyoyuz) received the right to conduct, under the control of the Foreign Trade Commissariat, independent contracts with foreign co-operative associations, and to have its own representatives abroad.

Finally, by order of the Central Executive Committee on March 13, 1923, the foundation of mixed companies was decided upon, with the Foreign Trade Commissariat or other similar body taking part in export trade and of controlling special branches of export; they are at the same time permitted to build their own apparatus for this purpose.

Special Bodies.
With the further development and differentiation of the separate branches of foreign trade, a number of special institutions for the sale of different classes of export, with the Foreign Trade Commissariat as partners, have been organized, such, for instance, as the Estallotorg, Nepht-export, Inotorg, and a number of exporting companies.

Increasing activity made a further reorganization necessary. By a decree of October 16, 1923, the more important State enterprise received the

right to conduct independent commercial operations abroad.

They were compelled to inform the Foreign Trade Commissariat of every proposed business transaction, and the latter had the right of veto if necessary.

The rights of these organizations which were admitted to participation in foreign trade were more precisely fixed by a series of decrees published on April 12, 1923. The first of these decrees lays down that the Trade Delegation of the U. S. S. R. must be considered the fundamental commercial organs of the U. S. S. R. abroad. The industrial State enterprises which have the right of conducting foreign trade operations can only buy and sell goods which they themselves produce or which their own industry is fit need of. In some special cases, connected with the necessity of buying foreign currency, some exceptions may be made as regards the sale abroad of goods purchased in the U. S. S. R.

The second decree of April 12, 1923, deals with the general principles and machinery for the State regulation of foreign trade, and particularly with the fixing of the quantity which may be exported or imported in the case of articles subject to such restrictions, and with the issue of certificates and licenses for such operations.

Foreign Trade Facilities.
The quantities which can be exported or imported are fixed by the Council of Labor and Defense on recommendations from the Commissariat for Foreign Trade and State Economic Planning Commission. The Foreign Trade Commissariat and its local rep-

resentatives allot the proportion of these quantities to the different State enterprises and other organizations.

The right to import and export goods must be proved by means of (1) certificates, and (2) licenses. The latter give permission to conclude separate transactions. Usually the issue of certificates and licenses is in the hands only of the Foreign Trade Commissariat and its local organs, in some cases after preliminary approval of a special export bureau.

The holders of licenses must present them to the representatives of the Foreign Trade Commissariat abroad (Torgpred), but, if they have more profitable propositions made to them directly by private foreign firms than those made by the Torgpred, they have the right to make use of such private offers, but under only strict control of the organs of the Foreign Trade Commissariat. In such a case the Torgpred concerned must let the holders of the license know its decision not later than after two days in the goods quoted on the exchange, and in five days for other goods.

Finally, in accordance with the third of the above-mentioned decrees, foreigners are permitted to start business negotiations, to open offices, agencies, and so forth, in the way prescribed by the regulations of the Chief Concessions Committee and with the approval of the Foreign Trade Commissariat.

Government institutions, State enterprises, co-operative associations, as well as private companies and persons, are only allowed to sign such contracts with such representatives of foreign firms who hold the above-mentioned rights.

Negro Migration and its Causes

(Continued from page 2.)

tutions in the state, \$735,000 was assigned for the use of the whites and only \$15,000 was devoted to institutions for the colored.

It is this lack of educational facilities that serves as an impelling cause of unrest among the colored people. In whatever else the Negroes may differ they are one in their desire for education for their children. Naturally the better educational opportunities of the North, together with the opportunity to earn better wages, serve as a strong attraction to the colored people.

Treatment of the Negro and the Courts.

In general, the South regards the Negro as a thing. The treatment accorded him shows this very clearly. On July 19, 1924, THE DAILY WORKER carried a story of two Negroes who escaped from Georgia, where "actual Negro slavery, with no hypocritical pretense of obeying the constitutional amendments exists." It is a known fact, that in many small towns and villages Negroes are roughly handled and severely punished by the whites. The beating of farm hands on the large plantations in the lower South is so common that many colored people look upon every great plantation as a peon camp. In sawmills and other public works, the Negro is not treated any better. A "poem" written by a Southern Negro, descriptive of conditions as he sees them in the South, has two lines bearing on this point:

"If a thousand whites work at a place—
—each one there is my boss."

In the cities and towns Negro sections are usually shamefully neglected in the matter of street improvements, sewer facilities, water and light. Most of the larger Southern cities exclude Negroes from their fine parks, and in general make little or no provision for the recreation of the colored people. Harrassing, humiliating "Jim crow" regulations surround Negroes, on every hand and invite unnecessarily severe and annoying treatment from the public and even from public servants.

Courts and Police.

The treatment which the Negroes

receive at the hands of the courts and the guardians of the peace constitute another cause of the migration. Negroes largely distrust the courts. And for good reason. The Negro is made to feel that laws in the South are designed for his punishment and not for his protection. "When a white man assaults a Negro—he is not punished. When a white man kills a Negro he is usually freed without extended legal proceedings, but the role as laid down by the Southern judge is usually that when a Negro kills a white man, whether or not in self defense, the Negro must die. Negro witnesses count for nothing except when testifying against members of their own race. The testimony of a white man is conclusive in every instance. In no state of the South can a Negro woman get a verdict for seduction, nor in most cases enter a suit against a white man; nor, where a white man is concerned, is the law of consent made to apply to a Negro girl." (Scott—"Negro Migration During the War"—Page 19.)

The abnormal and unwarranted activities of Southern police officers are also responsible for deep grievances among Negroes. In some places of the South there is a system of employing convicts on the roads of the county in which they are convicted. Colored people believe that the judges and the police in such counties have been the tools of powers higher up; they have been influenced by employers in order to fill up convict camps. The constables and other petty officers in many cases do not get any salary. They are rewarded in accordance with the number of arrests made. Naturally they get all out of it that the business will stand. The Negro suffers and pays the bill.

Lynchings.

Add to this the horrible lynchings, the burning at stake of many Negroes whose names never get to our larger papers, and also consider the fact that the field Negro is a primitive creature desperately afraid of the dreaded K. K. K., and we have another reason for the vast migration from the South. Almost any day we can read of some blighted Negro peasant being hustled down with bounds, or shot by a posse of men or burned at stake amid the

multitudinous cheers of a vast concourse of people.

The records of past years reveal the foul and deadly spirit of lawlessness practiced upon the Negro. Between 1891-1901, there were 1,460 lynchings; in the next decade (1901-1911)—782 lynchings; and for the next ten years ending with 1921,—the total was 607. These figures do not include the record of the victims of race riots.

The annual average number of lynchings during the whole period of 36 years for which statistics are available was 94, as compared with 65 in 1920 and 63 in 1921.

Eight of the 65 persons lynched in 1920 were burned alive, one was flogged to death, two were drowned, 15 were shot, and 31 were hanged. The manner of death in 8 cases is not known.

A typical example of a lynching "ceremony" took place near Hubbard, Texas, in September, 1924. A mob which included women and children, burned a Negro alive. While the victim was slowly roasting various members of the mob amused themselves and entertained the rest by jabbing sticks into his mouth, nose and eyes.

Immediate Causes of the Migration.
Such are some of the most important economic and social causes of the Negro migration. This brings us now to a discussion of some of the immediate causes:

During the World War and during the years immediately following the war, there was a great demand for labor in the North. As is well known, the industrial centers of the North were formerly supplied thousands of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled immigrants. The World War and then the restrictive immigration laws practically shut off this supply. The manufacturers of the North began to look for a new reservoir of cheap labor. And they found it in the South among the discontented Negroes.

A study of occupational statistics shows that the male Negroes who have recently been migrating Northward in such large numbers have most of them become industrial laborers. They have found employment in mills, factories, and stockyards rather than in hotels, restaurants, office buildings, and domestic kitchens. This is an

other distinctive feature of the new migration.

Another of the immediate causes was the labor agent. The agents have played and still play the part of middleman in the exodus. They are the representatives of the manufacturers and the industrial corporations of the North. They have been unscrupulous as to means used for soliciting Negroes to be sent out of the South. One of the agencies at Bessemer has issued attractive circulars from time to time as a means of advertising. They contain such phrases: "Let's go back North, where there are no labor troubles, no strikes, no lockouts; large coal, good wages, fair treatment; two weeks' pay good houses; go free; will advance you money if necessary; scores of men have written us thanking us for sending them; go now while you have the chance."

Finally, another of the most potent immediate causes of the exodus has been the persuasion of friends and relatives already in the North, and the personal appeals in the form of letters. The United States mail was about the most active and efficient labor agent. In every community of the black belt letters have been received from former residents. These letters contained more than glowing accounts of the "better life," "better wages," and "better conditions" generally. In many cases, hundreds of thousands of dollars accompanied the letter to pay traveling expenses North for those hopelessly sick of the drab of life of want and debt on the plantations.

This outlines the causes of the recent Negro migration. The Negro is migrating because the South has stolen his political liberties and curtailed his civil liberties; he is migrating because he desires to escape the exploitation of the Southern landlords; he is migrating because his children are denied an education; because he is refused common jurisdiction; because he is segregated in the cities and condemned to the Jim Crow car; the Negro is migrating because the South holds over him the ultimate terror of mob violence and Judge Lynch.

RIVERVIEW—RAIN OR SHINE
AUGUST 10th—SUNDAY
PRESS PICNIC DAY

Women in the Soviet Union

By R. A.

ONE of the great principles of the Soviet Revolution was that of complete equality of rights for women and men. Politically, this has been realized to the full. Legally, women (married or unmarried) are in exactly the same position as men. There is no sex disqualification whatever. Women are eligible for all government posts.

Of course this does not mean women are taking an equal part in the work of government. Women are eligible, but they have tremendous handicaps to overcome—tradition, custom, and above all, illiteracy.

In Russia proper, where illiteracy is no worse than in other parts of the Union, nearly 73 per cent of the women are illiterate—about three times the proportion of illiteracy among men.

The proportion of women taking part in elections to the lower Soviet organs, such as the county and village Soviets, is on the average about 14 per cent of the total electors voting. In the case of provincial Soviets, this proportion is only about 5.5 per cent. In the elections for All-Russian Soviet Congress, the proportions of women voting was only 2.9 per cent. Women have not yet learned to use these political rights.

With such low proportions of women voting, it is natural that the proportion of women elected to Soviet congresses is very low. In 1922 only 0.9 per cent of the total members of the district executive committees, and 2.3 per cent of the members of the provincial executive committees, were women. The percentages during 1923 increased, but no exact figures are at present available.

The government is anxious to attract proletarian and peasant women to take a more active part than ever

in Soviet institutions. With this object in view, the Union Central Executive Committee recently issued a circular in which, after noting with satisfaction the increase in the number of women elected during 1923 to government organs in the Ukraine, Siberia, and other parts of the Union, and the more active part taken by women in the work of these organs, it urges the Central Executive Committees of all the Republics in the Union to instruct their district and provincial executive committees to give every possible opportunity to their women members to carry out or to participate in the practical work of the Soviets.

The women of the East suffer peculiar disabilities, even in the Eastern provinces of the Soviet Union. Since 1922, efforts have been made by the Soviet authorities to improve the lot of the Eastern women.

On March 7, 1924, the Council of People's Commissaries of the R. S. F. S. R., in consultation with the local authorities, issued a decree. This decree, applicable to the Kirghis, Turk-estani, Bashkir Republics, makes it a criminal offense to give or accept payment (kalyim) either in money or kind for a bride, or to compel a woman to marry against her will.

Similarly, a decree has been issued for the Oriat Autonomous Area, making it a criminal offense to steal a woman for the purpose of marrying her, or for parents or guardians to force any woman to marry against her will. Marriage with a woman below the age of maturity, polygamy, and payment of kalyim are also made criminal offenses. On the annulment of a marriage, a wife is to have the right to her own property. In addition to a certain proportion of the property that may have been acquired during the marriage.

The trade unions of the U. S. S. R.

have generally been very successful in attracting women members. But the same conditions which have hindered the participation of women in the work of government have naturally affected their participation in the active work of the trade unions.

At the fifth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions in September, 1923, note was taken of the growing participation of women in trade union work in the resolution of the congress on organization. This congress decided to carry on the work of organizing women as part of the general work of the unions, and appointed special women organizers in unions and trades in which there were a large number of women workers.

According to the report of the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions for 1923, the number of women members of trade unions has decreased slightly owing to the greater proportion of unemployment among women resulting from the concentration of industry and the cutting of government staffs. On the other hand, the proportion of women taking an active part in trade union work has increased very considerably.

At the present time, women make up 36.6 per cent of the trade union membership; 21.5 per cent of the dispute committees; 32.5 per cent of the labor protection committees; 30.3 per cent of the educational committees; 18 per cent of the mutual aid fund commissions; and 32.6 of those in attendance of delegate meetings. These figures are high, compared with the trade union statistics of the Western countries.

The proportion of active women workers, whilst high in the lower committees, particularly in those organized by the factory committees, is considerably smaller in the higher and central departments of the trade unions. In the factory committees

and the local trade union committees, women constitute on an average 14.4 per cent of the members (varying from 0.9 per cent in the sugar workers' to 36.7 per cent in the Tailors' union). The proportion of women in provincial councils of trade unions is only 6 per cent (varying from 2.4 per cent in the above-mentioned provincial councils, 5.7 per cent, and in the central executive committees, 4.2 per cent are women).

In 1922 only 2.5 per cent of the elected members and 10.4 per cent of the paid officials of provincial trade union councils were women. In 1923 these proportions increased to 5.7 per cent, respectively.

The co-operative movement has carried on systematic propaganda among women. Since 1921, at every delegate meeting or conference of peasant or proletarian women, lectures have been formed for the systematic study of the co-operative movement and of all questions concerning co-operation, and its significance in socialist reconstruction. Many women are attending educational courses on co-operation.

This agitation has borne fruit. The number of women who have joined the co-operative societies is considerable. Women take part in the administrative and control commissions, as well as in co-operative conferences. In the local administrative departments there are now more than 7,500 women workers and peasants.

Throughout the provinces of the Union, special women's conferences are held from time to time, at which the range of subjects discussed varies from the most hum-drum needs of the peasant to foreign policy and conditions in Germany. There are peasant journals, edited and written by peasant women. Many peasant women are well-known as splendid organizers.



BARREN WISDOM



(Continued from page 1)

stances showing the fight of the Workers Party against the menace of LaFolletteism and for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Third: The C. E. C. of the Workers Party at first favored an alliance between the Farmer-Labor Party and the third party movement, provided it breaks completely with the two old parties, in order to maintain contact with the working masses for a continued fight against LaFolletteism and for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Read the following quotations from the March thesis of the C. E. C.:

"If under the conditions set forth above an election alliance, either national or local, is made the Farmer-Labor Party must maintain a distinct organization and carry on an independent campaign for its own program and utilize the situation to the utmost to crystallize in the definite form of an organized Farmer-Labor Party all those workers and exploited farmers who can be brought to the support of a class party.

Through any campaign in which we maintain an alliance with the third party, we must constantly criticize and expose it and its candidates show up the feeblity of its program, and make it clear to the workers who are reached by our own campaign that the third party will bring them no salvation and no relief. We must make it clear that the whole campaign is simply a starting point in the struggle for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government."

What does this mean? It means that the originally proposed alliance with the third party movement has been conceived as one of the means of fighting the menace of LaFolletteism. This and nothing more.

Later on, after consultation with the Communist International the C. E. C. of the Workers Party has decided to drop the alliance proposition and to concentrate on exposing and fighting LaFollette from two bases only—that

of the Farmer-Labor Party and of the Workers Party.

This policy has been put into effect at the June 17th Convention in St. Paul—a policy of fighting LaFolletteism which the Workers Party has maintained all through its campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party.

They Changed!

Here we can see Boudin jumping up again gleefully and triumphantly shouting at the top of his voice: "Well, don't I say they changed? They betrayed me. They failed to live up to my expectations. That's all."

Yes, and we changed once more. When we found out, after July 4th, that the betrayal at Cleveland removed the basis for a United Front working-class campaign in the presidential elections, we entered the campaign as the Workers Party and nominated

Communist candidates.

Too bad, Mr. Boudin, isn't it? Even Sam Gompers did not like this change of ours. He went as far as charging us with betraying the Farmer-Labor movement. What do you say?

To us these changes indicate only one thing. The Workers Party is seriously adjusting its tactics to serve its main strategic aims, which in this case are: Fight LaFollette and promote the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Now, Mr. Boudin, just a few words in conclusion. We find in your article some very suggestive, one might say, even illuminating expressions. For instance: In introducing the term "menshevik" you say in parenthesis: "to borrow a little color from the Holy Land." Which strikes us as an apology before the mensheviks and a sneer at Soviet Russia. Are we right?

Then again in developing your picture of a Communist deputation offering the crown to LaFollette you say sarcastically that you realize, of course, that this tactic leads "in a straight line to the Great Revolution, the regime of Lenin, and the dictatorship of the proletariat under the Bolsheviks."

The tone makes the music. This little phrase of yours breathes so much bitterness, malice and impotent rage toward the Lenin regime and the Bolsheviks that we can't help feeling that we are dealing here, in the person of Boudin, with an enemy of the Communist International.

Are we right?

Poor Fish Objects.

The Poor Fish greatly resented the insult when a Communist called this dying "hero" a "poor fish":

THE DYING SOLDIER.

A soldier of the plunder band was dying on the job,
His breath was coming hard and fast, his heart could hardly throb,
His guts were hanging out of holes torn through with chunks of lead,
And every time he choked and gagged the blood flew from his head,
Still in his agony he gasped the song he loved to sing,
How glorious it is to die, to die for God and King.

He left a wife and little ones, he left them all alone,
His only care was for his God and King upon the throne,
The God and King were all he had, he was of peasant birth,
He didn't own a foot of soil in all the blooming earth,
And yet how rich he deemed he was, how dearly he did prize
His King that sat upon a throne, His God up in the skies.
Oh thrones and altars, what a joy, what happiness was bringing out his life,
That unless a peasant glad to die, to die for God and King.

RIVERVIEW—RAIN OR SHINE
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