

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

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SECOND SECTION
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The Next War and the Amsterdam International

By L. TROTSKY.

WE read reports of the debates and decisions of the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam (reformist, not revolutionary) trade unions with reference to the questions of war and the struggle against it. How did this question arise? Evidently because the danger of a new war is becoming more and more felt. This conclusion must be drawn, first of all. If the Amsterdam trade unions are forced to return again to the question of war, it is quite evident that the danger of a new bloody conflict is getting to be clearer understood and is felt even by the most backward toiling masses.

The resolution concerning the danger of war and the measures to fight it is introduced by Jouhaux, the general secretary of the General Confederation of Labor of France (reformist). By this very fact Mr. Jouhaux recognizes the danger of a new war. However, it is still fresh in our minds that during the last imperialist war Mr. Jouhaux, day in day out, emphasized the fact that this was to be the last war and its aim was to crush militarism and to establish the triumph of democratic international justice, and because of this very fact he demanded of the French workers active support of the French bourgeoisie in their "last" war which was to end all war. And now, ten years after the commencement and almost six years after the end of the "last" war, Mr. Jouhaux introduced a resolution dealing with measures against the dangers of a new war. Clearly, someone has erred, someone has been deceived. Who? By whom? Was Mr. Jouhaux deceived by the French bourgeoisie, or did Mr. Jouhaux deceive the French workers in the interests of the bourgeoisie? This is a very important question. This preliminary question must be solved before we start discussing with Mr. Jouhaux the methods of fighting the dangers of war. One of two things is possible; either Jouhaux consciously deceived the workers as to the meaning and ultimate result of the "last" war, and for this he should be thrown out of the workers' movement, or else he was deceived himself, i. e., he became the victim of his own erroneous reformist policy and then he should openly proclaim that his own reformist policy during the imperialist war was erroneous. This he must do before he assumes the right to discuss the policy of the working class facing new dangers. There is no way out of this alternative.

As far as we know, neither Mr. Jouhaux nor his other partners are willing to proclaim that their policy with reference to the greatest event of the world history in the imperialist war was erroneous and ruinous thru and thru. And if this is a fact, we are justified in considering their present policy, including the resolution of the Vienna Congress, as a continuation of their former policy. We are quite aware of the fact that even before the imperialist war, trade unions and social-democratic parties have carried resolutions against war with the same unanimity as the last Vienna Congress. And when the war approached, not a single European social-democratic party, not a single trade union organization was in a position, made even an attempt, to prevent it. On the contrary, they all aided the sanguinary work of their national bourgeoisie. Where have we, not to say a guarantee, but even a shade of hope, that with the approach of a new war, the conduct of

Jouhaux and the others of the Amsterdam International will differ from their conduct of 1914 and 1918?

Such is our preliminary question. Those very same people who before the imperialist war, at their congresses, were the sworn enemies of militarism and military dangers, and during the war became the worst chauvinists—now in the interval between two wars begin again to repeat their anathemas against militarism so that in the event of war they may again become its most loyal and reliable supporters and lackeys. This is an indisputable fact. Is it not true? One could really stop right here, were it not for the fact that some people had already forgotten their experience and that there are young generations who had no experience. It is upon the forgetfulness of the former and inexperience of the latter that the whole policy of the Amsterdam leaders is based.

Let us therefore closer examine the

group of workers in munition factories. Not one of the gentlemen from Amsterdam take it seriously. They don't believe it themselves. That much sanity they possess.

It is true that the resolution speaks of a general strike, thus making it obligatory upon the whole working class to put out its fighting front against the war. It is not difficult to prove, however, that their speeches concerning the general strike differ very little from their speeches with reference to the strike in munition works. A general strike, they seem to believe, is such a powerful instrument of the proletariat that it can prevent the bourgeoisie from accomplishing its will in the most important question in the life of capitalism—war and peace. It would seem that the proletariat organized by the Amsterdam international is able to paralyze the will of the bourgeoisie at any moment. If so, why does it not act in this manner in questions of lesser importance? Prolongation of working hours, growth of military expenditures, etc. Where did the Amsterdamers get their splendid assurance that in the 24 hours before the bourgeoisie decides to throw the peoples into war again, the proletariat will be powerful enough to paralyze this plan with the help of a general strike?

During the pre-war period the bourgeoisie, as was mentioned before, concentrates all power into its hands. A general strike under such conditions signifies a revolution. It seems, therefore, that the noble Amsterdamers bind themselves at the proper time, chosen not by them, but by the bourgeoisie to make a proletarian revolution. It would seem, however, that the necessary strength would be an indispensable factor. And if such strength exists, then pray why postpone the revolution to the approach of war? Is it not better to accomplish the revolution beforehand, and thus by this very fact prevent the possibility of war? This question can be better understood from another angle. The French General Federation of Trade Unions led by Jouhaux is closely bound up with the French Socialist Party, just as the English trade unions are closely connected with the party of MacDonald, and as the German trade unions stand in the closest relation with the social-democracy. The military budget, the very same budget which guarantees, by the way, the work of the munition factories comprises the most important part of the budget of Mr. Snowden. the "labor" minister executing the tasks of the imperialists of Great Britain.

Thus the Amsterdamer, Snowden, first compels the English workers to pay taxes to cover the needs of the English munition and military works. And then, as soon as the feverish time arrives, when it will be necessary to begin action, those very same English workers will immediately have to go on strike in those same munition works and in industry in general.

And this is not only so in England. The French Socialist Party decided to vote for the "radical" budget. This radical budget includes quite radical expenditures on militarism. At the same time Mr. Jouhaux, pursuing the same policy as the French socialists, wishes to make the French workers strike as soon as it becomes clear that the "radical" army is not built for amusement, but for serious action—for war. Can one imagine a baser form of charlatanism?

During peace times we will collect the budget for the bourgeoisie. We will urge the toiling masses, by the

The European news agencies, Havas and Reuter, have fabricated a speech for Comrade Trotsky in which he is alleged to have said that Russia needs Bessarabia in order to annex Constantinople later on.



Trotsky takes observation of Constantinople before annexing it to Russia.

program of their fighting measures. This program has a dual character. On the one hand it recommends propaganda directed to the abolishing of enmity between peoples, to the establishment of a binding court of arbitration, etc., that is, it is of a pacifist nature. One the other hand, it has the semblance of a fighting program for it advocates in the event of war, the cessation of work in all munition factories, and transport, the economic boycott and finally the proclamation of an international general strike. There is very little to say with reference to the pacifist part of the program. It is needless to say, that it would be splendid if it were possible to establish a "just" and binding for all International Tribunal. But to establish such a tribunal, it should have been the task of the bourgeois governments, for the power lies in their hands. However, it is from these very bourgeois governments that the war danger comes. Therefore, the question is again shifted from the pacifist program to the fighting program and it will be decided by the means and the extent with which the workers will be able

number of strike breakers, etc. These arguments, one must confess, would not be without basis. But is it really easier to call a strike in munition works during the period of approaching war than in peace times? One must either be a fool or a scoundrel to assert this.

To advocate a strike in munition factories and other military works during the moment of an immediate war storm is in fact to postpone it to such an hour when it would be less likely possible.

We all remember July 1914. On the eve of war every government is strongest. It completely monopolizes all press organs, all means and instruments of mobilization of public opinion, adding terror to these means. How would we have liked to hear Jouhaux call the munition workers on strike in 1914! But no, we recall quite well a totally different program which Jouhaux developed, and later, Thomas. Des canons! Des munitions! (Canons! Ammunition!) What basis have we to think that on the eve of a new war they will act differently? It is absurd to put the main burden of the struggle against the war upon a

group of workers in munition factories. Not one of the gentlemen from Amsterdam take it seriously. They don't believe it themselves. That much sanity they possess.

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Communist International to German Party

By G. ZINOVIEV, Chairman.

DEAR COMRADES:—

Your party conference is being held at a moment of profound change, stirring the thinking section of the whole German working class to its inmost depths. Never before has such a heavy responsibility lain upon the party conference of the German Communist party as on this occasion. Without exaggeration it can be said, your party conference will decide the fate of the German Communist party for many years to come, and with this the fate of the German revolution.

I. The International Situation

At the present juncture the Third International is more than ever incorporated in Moscow, and the Second International more than ever in London.

The international position of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has become strengthened in a manner hitherto unheard of. The number of recognitions of the Soviet government on the part of the mightiest governments of the European bourgeoisie is the outcome of the foreign policy pursued by the first proletarian government in the world. And that the balance thus drawn is satisfactory is due to the efforts made by the vanguard of the whole international proletariat. That the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has been recognized de jure by a number of bourgeois governments is not the most important point. What is important is that the de jure recognitions have taken place without any material or moral concessions whatever being made to the international bourgeoisie on the part of the proletarian government.

The mightiest party of the Second International is in power at the moment in the mightiest of the bourgeois states. The so-called labor government, headed by McDonald, is naturally pursuing a bourgeois and not a proletarian policy. At the present moment there are broad masses of workers in England who do not yet perceive the policy pursued by Ebert and Noske. But MacDonald's government is showing itself in its true colors more and more. Since the time of Marx, the greatest and most difficult problem of the labor movement in England has been the formation of a revolutionary proletarian mass party. At the present time the objective pre-requisites for the formation of a Communist mass party are given in England for the first time.

In the Far East and the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the leaden clouds of imperialism are pierced by flashes of lightning with ever increasing frequency. In India, in Egypt and in China, the movement against imperialism is growing stronger and stronger.

New events are maturing in the Balkans, pregnant with fateful international consequence.

The knots tied by the shameful treaty of Versailles have not yet been cut.

The Anglo-French competitive antagonism becomes more and more acute. The French bourgeoisie is paying for the piratical occupation of the Ruhr district with the disastrous fall of the franc and by financial ruin. The impending election to the chamber will draw the balance of the inexorable combat going on within the various fractions of the French bourgeoisie.

The German bourgeoisie is enjoying an apparent breathing space. What is happening at the present time may be designated as the shadow of an improvement in the international situation of the German bourgeoisie. But it is nothing more than a shadow. Now as before, the drawn sword is hanging over Germany. It will either become a colony exploited by victorious imperialism, or it will accomplish the proletarian revolution—Germany is definitely confronted by these alternatives.

II. The Further Prospects of the German Revolution.

The proletarian revolution in Germany is inevitable. The error made in the estimation of the speed of events in October, 1923, has been the cause of much difficulty to the party. But this is none the less a mere episode. The fundamental estimation re-

mains. The revolution is coming.

It is difficult, at the present moment, to state definitely when the revolution is likely to take place. It is possible, and indeed highly probable, that the decisive struggle will begin much sooner than many people expect; it may be that before a year has passed we shall find ourselves in the midst of the decisive battle. But the possibility of the slower development of events is by no means excluded. The party must at the given moment be prepared for both possibilities. And where the interests of our cause depend on the subjective factor, that is, upon the extent to which the proletarian vanguard is organized, the party must so order its ranks that it is ready to plunge into the decisive struggle at the shortest notice.

The slogan of the fight for the proletarian dictatorship, for the establishment of Soviet power and the preparation of armed insurrection for this purpose remains fully and entirely in force. Persevering and tenacious work for the arming of the workers—this is the task to which we must now devote our most serious attention.

We can well comprehend the impassioned energy with which the German

not win over the man in small circumstances from the Fascist. And to dispense with doing this signifies renouncing the hope of the hegemony of the revolutionary movement, and then it is superfluous to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat at all.

There was much that was superfluous in the late campaign fought around Schlageter. But we cannot permit Nihilism in the national question.

We have no right to forget, even for a minute, that very considerable strata of the German proletariat are still under the influence of clericalism. The party must regroup its ranks, and so conduct its work as to win the workers for Communism. This is rendered possible, beyond all doubt, by the pre-revolutionary period. In the coming parliamentary election the Party is marching forwards with closely welded ranks, penetrates into the deepest strata of the masses of the people, and seeks to further the cause of revolutionary enlightenment of millions and millions of working people. If the results of the elections are favorable to our party, the working class will go forward with fresh courage, faith will be increased in the

question, we devote a special document to its discussion.

IV. Party Work Among the non-Proletarian Strata of the Population.

A party which demands the hegemony of the revolutionary movement, a party which aims at the seizure of state power and the conversion of the bourgeois republic into a Soviet republic—such a party must perform much preparatory work among the non-proletarian strata of the population. The working class and its party can only put the idea of the proletarian dictatorship into actual practice if they prove capable of neutralizing a part of the petty and middle bourgeoisie in town and country, and in bringing the other part into their camp. We may as well candidly admit that up to now our party has done extremely little towards winning the sympathy of the man in a small way of business, the employe, etc. in the cities, and still less towards winning over those strata of the peasantry whose class position is such that they can and must join the working class against the bourgeoisie. The party conference must devote its main attention to this problem.

V. The United Front Tactics and the Transition Slogans.

The most important statements to be made by the Executive Committee of the Communist International with reference to this subject have already been given in the January theses based on the Moscow consultation. At the debates held in January between the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the leading representatives of the German left, we defined the united front tactics as a method of our agitation, and as a method for the organization and mobilization of the masses for a long period in advance. Have we any reason to depart from this formulation? In our opinion no such reason exists.

If we are to understand, under united front tactics, such opportunist errors as were lately committed in Saxony, then it need not be said that we are opposed to united front tactics of this description. Happily, the fact that opportunist errors have occurred in this or that country, during the utilization of revolutionary parliamentarism, has not yet led anyone to draw the conclusion that it is unallowable to utilize revolutionary parliamentarism at all, and that the party should not take part in the Reichstag elections.

The Comintern will not abandon the continued application of united front tactics in other parts of the world simply because this or that great opportunist error has been committed in Saxony.

It now perfectly clear that the united front tactics in particular have to be exactly adapted, in each separate country, to the stage of development which has been attained by the labor movement in the given country. In Germany the stage arrived at requires us to adopt the tactics of a united front from below, that is, we can dispense with negotiations with the official leaders of Social Democracy. The united front tactics from below must, however, be carried out sincerely and determinedly, down to their last logical consequence. In this question all fractional diplomacy is unallowable.

It is equally imperative to arrive at a clear conclusion with reference to the question of partial demands and transition slogans. The Russian Bolsheviks fought against the Mensheviks for ten years on the question of partial demands and transition slogans. What was the attitude of the Bolsheviks? They never opposed partial demands and transition slogans. The Bolsheviks themselves even put partial demands and issued transition slogans. The Bolsheviks did not differ from the Mensheviks in that they opposed partial demands and transition slogans, whilst the Mensheviks supported them. No, the Bolsheviks differed from the Mensheviks in standing for the preparation for proletarian revolution, whilst the Mensheviks opposed this. They differed in the fact that for the Bolsheviks every partial demand and every tran-

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Russian Party Congress decides, "No more political concessions."



British Imperialism Takes It In.

comrades discuss the question as to whether we should have resorted to arms in October and November 1923, or whether the retreat was unavoidable. To revolutionists such a question is bound to be a burning one. But despite everything the party must not look backwards, but forwards. The party is not demolished, the party has retained its fundamental core, the party has emerged with closely welded ranks and all honor from the period of illegality. The party must now, more emphatically than ever before, make it clear to the working class of Germany that the most important of its tasks is: the preparation for the definite struggle for power, for the proletarian dictatorship.

III. Winning over the Majority.

The task of winning over the majority of the proletariat, and of augmenting its ranks by the largest possible number of sympathizers from the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and the peasantry, still remains one of the fundamental tasks of the party. We must not under-estimate the first successes gained by the Fascists among the workers. These are extremely dangerous symptoms, and the party must devote its serious attention to them. Unless we put the national question in a Bolshevik form, we shall

powers of the Communist Party, and the working class will be strengthened.

There can be nothing more dangerous for a revolutionary party, during a period in which it finds itself becalmed, than the under-estimation of the tasks bound up with winning over the majority. This task has not yet been accomplished. Until we have won over the majority of the socially decisive strata of the workers we cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie. Your party conference must consider the whole of its steps and resolutions from the standpoint of whether these conduce to the furtherance of the aim of winning over the majority, or whether they are likely to lead to fresh danger of alienating the masses of workers, and of thus contributing to the conversion of the Party into a sect.

The trade union question must also be approached by us from this point of view. In the interests of winning over the majority of the working class it is our duty to maintain unity in the trade unions, and to keep in view the fact that the slightest false step in this direction may cost the party its head. In view of the enormous importance of the trade union

Our Language Problem - By A. Rostrom

"Workers of the world unite."
Karl Marx.
"In order to unite, understand each other."
Emancipanta Stelo.

I. The Language Obstacle In Our Movement.

WITHOUT doubt the language confusion is a great obstacle in the international correspondence between labor organizations, but in no country is this obstacle felt in such a degree in the daily work of the party as in America. Consequently the question how to satisfactorily solve this problem is one of the most important confronting our party.

We here in America are so used to this language confusion, that we hardly realize what an enormous amount of energy is used every day for merely going around the language difficulties, energy which, if released, could be employed in direct party work. A satisfactory solution of this problem, therefore, means saving of an unimaginable amount of energy in form of time, money and better understanding.

We realize easily this language obstacle in the international correspondence between parties and other organizations; in the int. congresses, where now three or four languages are being used officially, translations to be made of all speeches, motions, resolutions and minutes; in the spreading of propaganda by books and pamphlets to be translated into the languages of all civilized peoples.

Here in this country we feel this language obstacle in our daily life. Our conversations with the fellow workers in the shop are made difficult; our organizations, for instance our party, must have a peculiar and clumsy form, consisting of language federations and language branches; the co-operation in our City Central Committees and District Committees is difficult and unsatisfactory, because in these bodies English must be used as an auxiliary language tho the majority of our membership consists of foreign comrades, of whom very few are competent in this language; we must spend a lot of money and time in supporting newspapers and publishing pamphlets in every language.

In spite of all this energy that is spent a lot of misunderstandings occur. Being myself a foreigner and besides a student of this problem I can give many an example of this, for instance how a D. O. must take the floor several times and with great trouble explain some party affairs to those delegates, who are not able to immediately grasp the meaning.

This energy is lost energy, and the more of it that we can save, the more effective will our organization grow.

The language obstacle was great enough in the S. P. and is still greater in our party. In the S. P. it could be enough that one member of the branch was competent and could serve as delegate to the County Committee or as secretary, but in our party all or most of the officers and delegates must be able to take part in meetings where English is used as an auxiliary language. The secretary who receives communications, indorsed organizers who must attend organizers' meetings, delegates to the F. S. R., defense councils, etc. At a time the party instructed the branches to order also their foreign literature thru the districts. This instruction was soon repealed, but if it had been kept in effect, also every branch literature agent must have been able to write English well enough to order books from the district.

The tendency of the party is to more and more make the foreign language federations only propaganda and translation bureaus, not organizational parts of the party. This is quite right, but it requires that each branch has a sufficient number of members who know the official language of the party, English.

II. Reformistic or Revolutionary Treating of the Problem.

Like other questions the language problem can be treated from either a reformistic or a revolutionary point of view. The question is: Shall

we only avoid, i. e. go around the language difficulties, or shall we abolish the cause of the obstacle? We radicals condemn the idea of only patching up the capitalist system and propose to abolish the cause of it, which of course is the revolutionary way of treating the subject. And yet we are still using the reformistic method in dealing with our language problem. We are walking around the obstacle by means of language federations, translator - secretaries, language newspapers and pamphlets, and by using one national language as the official language at our meetings. The idea of abolishing the obstacle, i. e. the diversity of languages has never seriously occurred to us yet.

In the technical field we easily see the advantage of using the revolutionary method of abolishing an obstacle instead of wasting energy by walking around it. If a block of stone is barring a pathway and forces thousands of people to walk around it, sooner or later these people come together and lift the block away. Where formerly a railroad ran around a mountain causing the loss of considerable time, a tunnel is constructed, thru the mountain saving a lot of time and expense. Does not the same apply to the language problem in our movement?

lutely dominating. The German, French and English delegates with delegates from other foreign nationalities were placed downstairs in the large hall and every address in either language was interpreted into the two others, but also only into these. On the balcony sat the numerous representatives of the Scandinavians, most of them unable to follow the debates and still less able to contribute their valuable experience to the discussion. (Black mine. A. R.) At the very closing, however, it happened that among the many expressions of thanks to the Danish hosts a few words were allowed also in a Scandinavian language, in this case Swedish. The Scandinavians, who for the first time felt themselves at home, rose to their feet applauding continuously, violently, mainly an as expression, it seemed, of an internal need of making their existence known. And for the first time a silence spread over the noisy crowd downstairs. They looked astonished and at the same time solemnly towards the thundering balcony. The upper class of the language families had discovered the lower class upstairs, a new people." (Black mine. A. R.)

This episode shows vividly that the nationalities that have a small lan-

is available to the English speaking comrades. Smaller foreign language federations cannot even publish enough pamphlets to sufficiently educate their members.

All this shows that the American comrades and those foreign comrades, who are competent in English constitute a small privileged class in our movement in America. In the international field those nationalities that have a large language as mother tongue, constitute the privileged class.

IV.

The Solution of the Problem.

How, then, can the language difficulties be abolished in the world? It would seem the easiest way simply to select one of the larger, national languages, English, French or German, adopt it officially as an international auxiliary language and introduce it into all schools all over the world. We soon understand, however, that this solution is out of question on account of two obstacles; first, the national egotism which makes it impossible to select a living, natural language. The main requirements of an auxiliary language must be: 1st, it must be neutral, i. e. not be a national language; 2nd, it must be so easy that anyone can learn it himself without sacrifice of much time or money.

That a living, natural tongue is not practicable as an auxiliary language we learn best from our own experience here in our movement in America. Here we are using English as an auxiliary language at all our international gatherings, with well known difficulties. Imagine this on an international scale! If any living, natural language, for instance English, would be officially adopted, it should be learned in the public schools in every country. Considering the time it takes us foreigners to learn the language here, where we have all the opportunities to hear and practice it, we realize that thoro understanding of the language cannot be acquired thru learning from books only. Especially not English with its peculiar orthography and pronunciation.

We may consider the suggestion of adopting a so-called "dead language," in which case only Latin could be considered, which would be neutral, but the second obstacle still remains, for Latin is no easier to learn than any living tongue, rather the opposite.

The only imaginable solution left us, therefore, is to adopt one of the so-called "artificial languages" (Volapuk, Esperanto, Ido, Interlingua, Idiom Neutral), which are neutral and also much easier than any living tongue. The only problem is to select the system, that is most suitable as an international, auxiliary language.

All modern, artificial language systems are very similar in construction and appearance, since they all are based upon the principles of "greatest internationality of words," and "greatest simplicity of grammar." The question to consider in selecting the system is, which one is the most logically constructed, most expressive, most exact, easiest to speak fluently and best fitted for scientific as well as every-day use.

V.

Communist International and Other International and National Organizations Recommend Ido.

In January 1921 a "Study Commission for the adoption of an international, auxiliary language in the Communist International" was established in the Comintern. The Commission consisted of comrades Pogany (Ex-President of the Senate of Soldiers in Soviet Hungary), Guilbeau (France), Wax (England), Krilenko (Russia), and Hans Itschner (Switzerland).

This commission studied the problem thoroughly and adopted the following decision:

"The Study Commission recognizes unanimously that the general adoption of an International language would very much facilitate the task of Communism, but it regrets to state that the time is not yet opportune for its general and official introduction into the C. I.

"The main task of the Communists, Esperantists and Idists is to unite their forces and form a common or-

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THE PROLET.

By Oskar Kanehl.

Who the engine moves,
Who the seed-corn sows.

Who pokes in the pits,
Who the hammer leads.

Who bread and light makes,
Who, with tormented wrinkled face.

Who in sweat and soil,
Must toil.

Who stooping over writing books,
From whom the hunger looks.

Whom the money-mob enslaves,
Whom he pumps out. Whom he all takes.

Whom he puts into arrest,
Till his last breath.

Whom he shoots dead,
Like mad.

Prolet, he is called. His children are prolets.
Bourgeois! They hate you! Will you annihilate?

For you they don't work more. Want no wages, no illusion,
They are raising the arms. For revolution.

They accomplish the hour. Their reign is near.
Give free the Earth. The man is here!

Trans. Paul Acel.

Would it not pay to spend a little time and money in abolishing the language confusion instead of continually trying to avoid it. It would be interesting to figure out the loss of time and money in our party alone that the language confusion is causing us. It is probably impossible to figure out the time, but perhaps the national office could figure out the cost in dollars of keeping up our federations and language publications. Perhaps the money and time spent during one or two years would enable us to forever abolish the obstacle.

The main question is then, shall we keep on using the reformistic way of going around the language obstacle, or shall we apply the revolutionary way of abolishing it?

III.

Is There a Small Privileged Language Class in Our Movement.

In the introduction to his motion for a world language in the Swedish parliament in 1915, Carl Lindhagen, an able statesman, for many years social-democratic mayor of Stockholm, tells an episode illustrating this question. I take the liberty of translating and quoting the same: "An episode from the international socialist congress in Copenhagen in 1910 will stay in my memory forever. More than a thousand delegates were gathered and the three great language families, German, French and English were abso-

lute as mother tongue do not have the same opportunity as those that have one of the larger languages. This is in the international field.

How is it in America, in our own party? Have all members and branches that have a foreign language as mother tongue the same opportunity to work and advance in our movement? It is evident that in each foreign language branch those few members who are most advanced in English have the privilege of being elected officers and delegates. Other members may be better qualified otherwise, but can be given only secondary consideration. Then in the C. C. C. Has a delegate using broken English, poor vocabulary and bad grammar the same chance to present his arguments as one who speaks English fluently? At all elections of secretary and other officers who have to do more clerical work in English, the difficulties are evident. Even among those who have acquired a passable practice in speaking, it is hard to find many who can master the written language as well, due to the extremely irregular orthography of English.

Naturally the foreign language federations are not able to keep so many national speakers touring the country as the National Office of the party can. This deprives the foreign comrade of a great deal of education that

Soviet Diplomacy in China - By Alexander Bittelman

ON May 31st, 1924, the great powers of the earth, notably, France, America and Japan have been administered a strong dose of their own patent medicine—a peace treaty between the government of China and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.) concluded and signed in secret. Dr. Wellington Koo, foreign minister of China, and Comrade Karachan, special envoy of the U. S. S. R. in Peking, have gone secretly thru the procedure of signing and exchanging diplomatic notes by which both countries agree to the resumption of normal diplomatic relations and to a settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway question satisfactory to both sides.

Thus came to a successful conclusion a process of peace-negotiations between Russia and China which lasted for many months and which finally paves the way for a great future between the peoples of the Far East and the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

Why in Secret?

Altho openly negotiated and openly arrived at, the actual signing and exchange of the treaty documents was done in secret. Very much so. The ceremony took place not in the official offices of the Chinese government, but in the private residence of the Chinese Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Wellington Koo. Every humanly possible precaution was taken to prevent the leaking out of the news before the signatures were affixed and the notes exchanged.

Why? Because the great "peace-loving" powers of our blessed earth were bent on preventing, at all cost, the consummation of peace between Russia and China. Because the governments of France, England, and Japan have been exerting upon China terrific pressure not to accept Russia's offer of peace. Because our own democratic, humanitarian, "open-door" government in Washington has been doing all it possibly could to frighten China away from Russia.

The entire diplomatic corps in Peking was busy at the thing. Every single embassy in China was hatching plots and conspiracies against the peace-mission of the Russian enemy, comrade Karachan. It was impossible for him to move a single step ahead without the representatives of the great powers immediately stepping into the affair and nullifying all his previous efforts.

Some three months ago (March 14) the Chinese government had already been on the verge of accepting the Russian offer and signing a treaty of peace. But then something happened. Buttons have been pruned. Wires pulled. And the Chinese government found its hands, all of a sudden, paralyzed.

It was after this experience, we imagine, that Comrade Karachan sat down quietly and decided "to pull the trick." He must have reasoned this way: I have been trying to do it openly, frankly and above-board, before the eyes of the entire world. But they wouldn't let me. Alright. Then I'll try their own methods and give them a dose of their own medicine. Since they want secret diplomacy, they shall have it.

And so it happened. On the morning of May 31st the diplomatic corps in Peking were rubbing their eyes and murmuring confusedly: Is that so? They signed the treaty, did they? Confound them!

Significance of the Event.

It is impossible to over-estimate the world-importance of this event. China has been for a long time, and still is, the prize premium of European imperialism. With its over four hundred million population and immense natural resources, it presents a field of limitless possibilities for exploitation, enrichment and power. It is the key to a whole continent.

For years past China has been kept in subjection by the so-called great powers. Every bloody device known to the imperialist game was employed in China with deadly effect to prevent its millions from organizing themselves and asserting their independence.

In fact, there is no such thing as an independent China. Since 1840-42,

when England succeeded in opening the doors of China to "modern civilization" by compelling the importation of opium, China is being ravaged continuously by the organized bands of European Imperialism. The richest parts of northern China are practically in the hands of Japanese, English, German and French capital. Since 1921, the entire economic life of China has been in the hands of an international combine in which American bankers are playing the first fiddle. Morgan and Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the National City Bank, the Guaranty Trust Co., the Continental Trust Saving Co. (Chicago) and the Chase National bank—these are our own American bankers that are "helping" the Chinese to modern civilization.

The policy of the world-imperialists with regard to China is practically the same as the policy of the American imperialists with regard to Mexico. First, by creating and encouraging violent disorder, to prevent the existence of a stable native government. Second, by utilizing the "inability of the nations to govern themselves," to step into the affairs of the country and to take hold of it for foreign, imperialist ends.

Such have been the policies of the European imperialists in China for the last 75 to 80 years. And since the late war our own, the American imperialists, have actually joined the game and are pugnaciously developing into a first-rate imperialist factor in the life of China.

What do the great powers want in

Germany and America were able, since 1911, further to entrench themselves and to hold the country in subjection.

And it was only with the beginning of 1918, when it became known in China that the Russian czarist government is no more, that the menace from the north has disappeared, having given way to a government of workers and peasants, that the first warm day of light made its way thru into the lives of the Chinese masses. The oppressed masses of China, and even the native bourgeoisie, began turning their eyes to Soviet Russia as the only earthly source of hope and encouragement.

Capitalism Senses the Danger.

The capitalists of the "victorious" countries in the late war were slow neither in sensing the danger of nor in reacting to a possible friendly approach between Soviet Russia and China. We all remember well the Siberian operations of the soldiery of Japan, America, etc., which were more of the nature of a military cordon between Russia and China than of a serious attempt at overthrowing the Soviet government. The imperialists knew only too well what effect the Russian revolution may have on the spirit, self-consciousness and fighting ability of the Chinese masses.

But cordon or no cordon, China was bound to learn what the Soviet government stood for in the matter of foreign policies. On July 22, 1919, the Russia Soviet government addressed a note to China renouncing its rights

among them the government of the United States.

We already have heard a good deal about the Chinese Eastern Railway, the disposition of which forms part of the agreement. We shall hear more of that railway as time goes on. Our own Secretary of State, Hughes, had made this railway one of his main reasons for obstructing the Russo-Chinese peace negotiations.

Needless to say that this railway, against which Mr. Hughes claims five million dollars for the cost of operating it in 1918-22, is not the main reason for the imperialistic displeasure at the Russo-Chinese agreement. There are more weighty considerations involved. It is the fate of China as a field for imperialist exploitation and conquest that is at stake in this agreement. Well, therefore, may the imperialists of the world feel worried!

Particularly when they read the telegrams of greetings sent to Comrade Karachan by Deputy Koonga in the name of 181 members of the Chinese parliament. This menace of congratulations creates a spirit of revolt and defiance which augurs the coming of an entirely new epoch in the life of the Chinese masses. It foretells the coming of a day when the colonial peoples will finally come into their own and will jointly with the workers of the "superior" races establish the International Soviet Republic.

The Questioner

By F. W. Reed.

Why are your hands so white,
Soft, and with jewels dight,
Exquisite Lady?
Men kiss them and begem,
Women bend over them,
Tending them. Questioner.
Your dainty nail points frail
For labor scarce avail,
Fastidious Lady.
Take what others win,
Others who toil and spin,
Envious Questioner.
Your brow is smooth and fair;
My child has sweat drops there,
Why is it, Lady?
Thrive on workers' sweat,
The poor, alas! must fret,
'Tis their lot, Questioner.
Your back is straight and strong,
My daughter limps along.
How comes it, Lady?
What is your child to me?
Never akin are we,
Move on, base Questioner.
Bold is your step and free,
Yet stay and hear from me
A message, Lady—
Scum of the earth, I say!
Dare not to block my way
With vile hands, Questioner.
Your silken stuffs enthrall,
Who plied the needle small?
Do you know, Lady?
Beware to touch what's mine!
Swift shall the law consign
You to jail, Questioner!
This brodered collar rich,
What did it cost to stitch?
Answer me, Lady!
Take your hands from my throat!
It cost but half a groat.
Mercy! Dread Questioner!
It cost my child her eyes,
Helpless and blind she lies,
To your knees, Lady!
Help! Help! Oh, give me breath!
Whom have I done to death?
My sister, Questioner.

PULVERIZE PLUTOCRACY!

By I. D. McFADDEN

COMRADE WORKERS NEVER SHOULD
Fight with ONE ANOTHER.
Disagree, but KEEP IN GOOD
Humor WITH EACH OTHER!
If your neighbor will not go
WITH YOU ALL THE WAY,
Help him MAKE SOME PROGRESS, tho
Weak he seems to-day!
When the Plutocratic bands,
WITH EACH OTHER FIGHT,
WORKERS MAY GET THEIR DEMANDS!
LABORERS, UNITE!
Send in that Subscription Today.



THE DIPLOMATS: Oh my, why did they do it in secret?

China? A free hand for continued exploitation of its man-power and natural resources. That's what they want. And to achieve this end, they have got to have a China which is unable to stand on its own legs in a political and military sense. That is, they have got to have a divided country, whose governmental agents are willing to do the bidding of foreign imperialists and whose masses are incapable of offering effective organized resistance.

This is practically the situation as it prevails in China at present. With this difference, tho, that a section of the peasantry and the city workers, large numbers of the petty bourgeoisie and the student youth are in a state of permanent revolt against the disgraceful position of their country. This nationalist-revolutionary movement against the domination of foreign capital is centered mainly in the southern parts of China.

Soviet Russia—The Saviour.

It was the successful development of this revolutionary movement that resulted in 1911 in the overthrow of the royal dynasty in China and the formation of a republican form of government. Which in itself was, no doubt, a step forward in the development of China, since the old feudal-monarchistic regime was seriously hampering the industrial development of the country. But for a while—for quite a long while, one might say—the foreign imperialists were able to exploit in their own interests even the revolution of 1911. Because the Chinese bourgeoisie failed to create an effective central national government, the imperialists of Japan, England,

to all privileges and concessions extracted from China by the government of the czar. In plain and understandable language, the Russian masses made it known to their brethren in China that they do not intend to follow in the footsteps of the czar, but that, on the contrary, they have made up their minds to treat with the Chinese masses on the basis of perfect equality, peace and co-operation.

The effect upon the Chinese of this pronouncement of policy was tremendous. Only those who are familiar with the bloody doings of the czar in China, Mongolia and Manchuria will be able to realize what the Chinese must have felt upon learning the contents of the famous Soviet note of July, 1919. It was nothing short of a revelation to them. And when, later on, they have come more to understand the real nature of the new order in Russia, by this very token the basis has been created for an alliance between the Soviet union and the masses of the Far East which will mark an epoch in the life of humanity.

Recent Negotiations and the Agreement.

The negotiations between the Soviet Union and China, which resulted now in the resumption of normal relations between the two countries, have lasted for nearly eight months. It shouldn't have lasted more than eight days. As between Russia and China there were really no serious differences of opinion to prevent formal agreement at an earlier date. The cause of the delay, as already pointed out, were the great powers, chief

MARIE

(OUT OF THE SHADOWS OF THE PAST) By Schachno Epstein

MARY was the darling-pet of our colony in Siberia.

Our party of exiles, about one hundred of us, among whom there were Jews, Russians, Letts, Poles, Armenians and Grousinians from Caucasia, had no other name for her but "sister," and Marie called every one of us "brother." In her presence we never called each other "comrade"; that sounded too formal, every-day like and dry. She never said "you" to any of us, and to address her as "you" meant to cause her mortification; so we were all on terms of "thou" with her, all members of one big family. She abhorred formalities and insisted that there is none among revolutionists. For, were we not all brothers and sisters, workers for one sacred Cause? Was there any tie in the wide world that could create a stronger sense of kinship between man and man than that of our common exile?

She was a strange, charming figure, our Marie. She was hardly beautiful, but her pale, Madonna-face, with its small, slightly tilted nose, her hair drawn back above a high, smooth forehead, her deep black eyes full of tenderness and courage, and the faint smile that never deserted her lips, all breathed of inner nobility. She was of medium height, that at times we feared lest she might snap in two, and was always dressed in the same garb—a dark skirt and a boyish embroidered blouse that buttoned slantwise from collar to waist-line.

I had first heard of Marie during my stay in the Petrograd "Peresilnaya" prison. It was a cold Thursday dawn in the December of 1907. The day before a report had gone round the cells that all the Socialist members of the Second Duma, who were sentenced to hard labor in the mines of Siberia were to be brought to our jail. We began feverishly to prepare to welcome our comrades. The entire prison was awake all night, and as sitting-up at night was prohibited, we lay stretched out on our cots and whispered away the impatient hours. It was one of those nights that one never forgets. The deadly stillness of the jail seemed to be broken only by the monotonous, heavy tread of the sentries; yet the great prison was wide-awake, and her soul fluttered and buzzed with suppressed emotion; shattered, melancholy murmurings drifted across the cells, filling our ears with sorrow and our hearts with aching.

There were about twenty men in our cell, all political, and among these only three Jews, two besides myself, one a Social Revolutionist from Odessa, and the other a Social Democrat from Ekaterinoslav. The rest were all Russians, among them a few students from the Petrograd University, some mechanics from the renowned Putilov steel works, all of them Social Democrats, and a man about fifty, a wealthy landowner from the nobility of the province of Costroma, who did not belong to any party, but was more inclined toward the Social Revolutionists. This landed proprietor was a rare specimen of human kindness, and was being exiled to the province of Archangelsk for the mere offense of having divided up the greater part of his inherited lands among the peasants. His name was Pcholin, and he was taking his sojourn in prison quite naturally. He would always say: "Now at last, I feel that I am alive. Now, at last, I am in the right company!" We all treated him like a dear old father, and I became deeply attached to him.

Pcholin, to my surprise took a particular interest in the Jewish problem, and I used to talk to him for hours of the life of the Jews in Russia, their literature and history. For this they dubbed me in our cell the "learned Hebrew." My other two Jewish comrades did not have the least conception of Jewish life and conditions; like many other Jews in the Revolution they were completely assimilated intellectually by the predominating environment of Russian life and culture. Our friend Pcholin regarded them with amazement and even some

scorn. Once I recall we had a heated discussion over the question of nationalism during which the Social Democrat from Ekaterinoslav savagely attacked our "Bund," the militant organization of Jewish workers, and Pcholin, good, old soul that he was, completely lost his temper and cried out: "You are a traitor, I don't want to know you." All the Russians in our cell, particularly the workers from the steel foundry, sided with him, and it took several days before complete good feeling was again restored in our compartment.

That wakeful night, when we waited for the Socialist deputies of the Second Duma, we all devoted to quiet reminiscences. Each told of his life and work in the revolutionary movement, and Pcholin among others recounted some intimate pages of his own life. We learned that his grandmother was a wonderful Jewish woman, who filled the old manor-house with legends of herself, and that these traditions emplanting in him a deep regard for the Jews, which took on strength and light from the information I supplied about the life of the nation. Our feelings on this subject were so intensified in our cell that night that even the Ekaterinoslav Social-Democrat admitted that he was conscious of being a Jew, at which Pcholin was so gratified that he constantly slapped him on the shoulder, saying:—"Now, I love you!"

With the break of dawn we all felt exhausted, and the no one thought of

the morning. The prison falls into silence again, except for the tender, girlish voice which only grows more melancholy until little by little it dies out.

The long expected party has arrived. They are with the men of the "Katorga" in their cell. We are all shaking with emotion, and strain our eyesight thru the tiny door-window, to get a passing look at them. But all we can see is the coarse figures of the guards with guns in hand, and soon the news is brought to us that we have to pay for our singing with our daily allowance of exercise in the prison yard.

Only after we were seated in the prisoners' car which took us to the Far North, did we learn that our song-bird was Marie Karchenko, and that she was shot at thru the window by the guard. Fortunately he missed her, and instead she was placed in a solitary cell for five days. Even the none of the inmates of our cell ever saw her singing lodged so deeply in our memories that we thought of her as a divine being, and all yearned for at least a look at the brave songstress. Old Pcholin became quite melancholy after that morning and wandered around lifeless and meditative. He talked much less than usual, and it was quite apparent that Marie's singing had awakened in his soul a spring of new feelings from which he could not free himself.

2.

After we had arrived in the Volog-



Workers' International Relief Committee distributing food to locked-out textile workers in Dusseldorf, Germany.

sleep, our murmured conversations came to a halt. The desire of talk was gone, and as we lay stretched out on the cots listening to the subdued breath of the jail, each of us wanted to be left alone with his thoughts. A strip of gray appeared thru the iron bars, we recognized the snow upon an adjacent roof; the skies gradually paled into lighter hues, and the dull silver of the morning star blending with the primrose lights of the lamps in the prison courtyard filled our cell with fantastic shadows. The sorrows of the jail pressed heavier still upon our hearts. A choked sigh wanders across from one of the cots. From afar, probably the other side of the building, a quiet sob reaches our room, accompanied by clanging of chains. Will the morning never come?

Suddenly the heavy padlocks begin to creak, and the prison is at once filled with a great commotion. From the cells where our comrades sentenced to hard labor are confined, comes the heavy sound of iron chains. Some one calls out: "Comrades, be ready!" We hear a soft woman's voice. She sings the familiar song of the revolution, another one joins her, another and another, but above all of them, her voice rises high, sweet and resonant. Men's voices boom in reply, commingling with the rapid "talk" of the chains of the "Katorga" men, but that thrilling girlish voice surpasses and covers them all!

Bang, bang, bang! The guards are shooting and their shots crack and reverberate in the dry, frosty air of

disciplinatory barracks and were waiting for the convoying parties that were to take us each to our destination in Siberia, we received the news that a new party of prisoners had come from Petrograd. It was late at night, and while the rules in the barracks were not so rigid as in the jail, still we were not allowed to see them, not even our chief, the "starosta," who enjoyed some privileges.

On the following morning we learned that with this group of political had come also Marie. The news spread a holiday-like feeling among all of us. Pcholin at once took a new lease of life; his eyes sparkled youthfully and he constantly smiled. The men even began to tease him: "You are in love, old man, in love!" Whereupon the poor fellow would turn crimson and would try to find occupation for his eyes in a different direction. As we all liked him extremely well, we decided to elect him as "starosta," a rank which carried with it the freedom of going from cell to cell, and which would incidentally give him the chance to meet Marie frequently. We carried our conspiracy thru in a neat way. It was agreed to take the present incumbent of the position into our confidence and ask him to resign, ostensibly on account of ill-health, to place in nomination along with Pcholin a number of candidates in order that his suspicions might not be aroused, and to elect the old man. Pcholin at first refused the honor. But we insisted and he had to become our "starosta." His first visit, as we expected, was paid to the cell occupied

by Marie, and he came to us full of exultation. "She is just as I had pictured her in my dreams!" he whispered to me, and there seemed to be no end to his happiness. That same day we all met Marie, and thereafter she became our pet. During the hour allotted for walking in the yard of the barracks we would prefer to linger around the doors of her cell rather than amble around the court, and more than once we even bribed the guards when they showed irritation at our affection. The warden of the prison, a liberal-minded man, paid little attention to our irregularities, and we were thrice happy over it.

At twilight, before lamps were lit in the cells, and while the pale northern skies were still shimmering thru the iron bars, Marie would sing, and her songs would bring back to us that day in Petrograd when we first heard her voice. As we listened to her, our spirits would rise, the burden fall from our hearts and we all wished that the minutes might be prolonged into hours. Memories revived of the homes we had left behind, the faces of friends near and dear would suddenly reappear from the shadows of bygone days, and the harsh present would be forgotten for the time in the sweetly painful recollections of the past. How grateful we were to Marie for the warm rays she was shedding into our sad lives!

Finally the day came when our party had to break up. Pcholin was almost out of his mind that day. Out of our group of twenty only two went with him to Archangelsk; the others were being sent into the Far North, and among us was Marie. My heart grieved for the dear, old man; he fell in so well with all of us; Marie too had become attached to him, and now he had to part with us and go alone into the bleak unknown lands near the White Sea. Would he ever find in his lonely exile a friendly soul that would understand and love him as we had?

That day Pcholin spent mostly with Marie, and when the convoy came after him he bade us farewell in a few words. His eyes were full of tears, and as he kissed each of us he would murmur: "Don't forget old Pcholin, comrades, write!" When he reached me he said with a forced smile: "Well, my 'learned Hebrew,' now we part!" He stopped suddenly with a choked voice and we fell upon each other's neck. In those moments Pcholin became even dearer to me. I cannot forget the look in his eyes when he said to me in a barely audible voice: "Please take care of Marie."

The convoy started. We started to sing, but Marie's voice was not to be heard among ours. Only after the guards were outside of the gates, a voice rang out hysterically all over the massive building of the prison: "Farewell, father, farewell, and don't forget your daughter!"

(Continued next week.)

Spanish Dictator Will go to Direct Moroccan Situation

MADRID, Spain, July 4.—Dictator Primo de Rivera has decided to go personally to Morocco to investigate the serious situation that is developing between the native tribesmen of the western zone and the Spanish troops of occupation.

The Spaniards are being attacked in the territory of Teutun but the government has announced that reinforcements will be sent in and a punitive drive will be pushed against the natives. Gunboats will fire from the seaboard and from the river.

The Moroccan problem is considered one of the most vital facing Spain. At any rate it distracts attention from the pressing situation at home.

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Industrial Child Labor in U. S.

By LOUIS ZOBOCK.

In a previous article in this magazine (May 24, 1924), we described rural child slavery in the United States. The children of the landless farmers, as shown, are forced to perform the hardest tasks on the farms. They have no opportunities for education, health, recreation and the enjoyment of a normal childhood. Somewhat similar conditions can be found in the cities, where children of wage earners in endless procession are passing thru the gates of child labor into initial employment in low grade industries.

It is very hard, almost impossible, to find how many juvenile workers there are thruout the country employed in city industries. The Children's bureau states: "Every year an army of 1,000,000 children between 14 and 16 marches out of the schools to become wage earners. This does not include the children under 14 years of age who in a number of states are permitted to work at that early age." The 1920 census, however, shows that only 1,000,000 children, 10 to 15 years old inclusive, are employed in the United States. Both estimates are altogether too low for accuracy.

One thing, however, is certain. Since the time when the supreme court, the bastille of American capitalism, declared the child labor law unconstitutional, there was a steady increase in the number of children employed. Of 34 cities furnishing statistics of employment certificate issuance in 1923; 30 reported an increase in the number of children under 16 years of age entering regular employment for the first time during the calendar year of 1923 as compared with 1922. In these 34 cities, the number of 14 to 16 year old children receiving first regular employment certificates was 75,752 in 1922 and 89,813 in 1923.

In 15 of the cities reporting there was an increase of at least 20 per cent in 1923, as compared with 1922. In other cities the percentage was higher. The largest increase was in Waterbury, where almost eight times as many children received employment certificates during the first six months in 1923, as during the same period in 1922; other Connecticut cities reported increases from 98 to 178 per cent. Springfield reported an increase of 214 per cent, Pittsburgh 126.7 per cent, San Francisco 84.8 per cent, Indianapolis 74.8 per cent, Birmingham 63.2 per cent, Baltimore 56 per cent, and Philadelphia 50.6 per cent.

These figures are the best proof of the loyalty of the supreme court to the manufacturing interests of the country. In the various industries of the cities, in coal mines, in canneries, in tenement home work, in street trades, etc.—children of all ages are being mercilessly exploited. A great deal of work done by these juvenile workers is quite unsuitable, involving too much sitting, or too much standing, the carrying of too heavy weights, the over-exercising of one set of muscles at the expense of another, and in some occupations—the loss of sleep. A description of some of the occupations in which children are employed will help us get a clearer understanding of the greatest curse of capitalist civilization—child labor.

Children in Street Occupations.

Child labor in street occupations, as child labor in agriculture, receives very little protection. It is estimated that over 300,000 children under 16 years of age are engaged in various street occupations: as newsboys, boot-blacks, errand, delivery and messenger boys, vendors of chocolate, chewing gum and shoestrings, market-stand helpers, etc.

The children are compelled to work long hours for very low wages. Thus, in Connecticut, it was found that the greater number of children engaged in street trades earn less than 50 cents a day. In Alabama, children engaged in street selling made about an average of \$6.50 a week; the boys who were engaged in delivering papers made an average of \$2 a week. In North Dakota, carriers were paid according to the number of papers

they delivered, from \$2 to \$2.50 a week in Minot, from \$7 to \$10 a month in Grand Forks, and from \$5 to \$5.50 a month in Fargo. Sellers' earnings were usually smaller—about one-fourth of those reporting earnings made less than \$1 a week.

It is understood that most of the street workers come from homes of the poor. In Birmingham, about 30 per cent of the boys doing street trading were found to come from broken homes, and the mothers were found to be engaged in some kind of work outside the home each day. This meant that the children were left on their own resources from the time they left school until they returned home late at night. Many of the boys stay out all night; some of them sleep on the floors of the distribution room of the newspaper establishments, in nearby garages or such sheltered places.

Investigations have shown that the greatest number of street workers have physical defects and ailments, such as heart, lung, throat, stomach, and foot troubles. In many instances the defects and ailments are traceable directly to the occupation. The long hours, the exposure to all kinds of weather, the irregular meals, often unwholesome and inadequate, the rush and excitement of the streets,—all these are factors in undermining physical health and nervous stability.

Children in Industrial Home Work.

Another form of child slavery is—

home work, almost 9-10 earned less than \$100 and nearly 3-5 earned less than \$25.

In other cities, particularly in New York, conditions are the same. In the process of work, fingers are cut on the threads which must be drawn from the lace. Rosary beads are linked and wired with the aid of pliers and the hands are left sore or caloused. In some homes machines had been installed and fingers were crushed or cut in using them.

The children usually work till 10 or 12 o'clock at night, the smaller ones fall asleep before this time. Sometimes the whole family rise again at 5 o'clock to go on with the work. Stopping at the factory for more work on their way to school, the children are likely to be tardy, and it is little wonder that teachers say that they come to school worn out and listless. It is also little wonder that many of the children are below their normal grades.

But in addition to the evils from which children suffer, a possible danger to the public health is found in the fact that many families work at home on these products during times when some of their members are ill with communicable diseases. In one region, a study of tenement home work conditions revealed at least 19 cases of tuberculosis. Children who were kept out of school because they had whooping cough were doing home work. Among other diseases which

sharp oyster shells, shrimp thorns, work knives, and to constant soreness of the hands from acid in the heads of the shrimps. Severe colds, injuries from falls, infections from cuts from the oyster shells, bruises and poisons in picking shrimps—are very common among the child and women workers.

The earnings of the children are very small, the medium wage ranging between \$4 and \$5 a week for children of 14 years of age and over; younger children earn between 50 cents and \$2 a week; among the part time workers, the median earnings fall between \$1 and \$2; while the median earnings of the occasional workers are less than \$1 per week.

A great number of the workers in canneries are imported from the north. They are forced to live in quarters provided by the cannery, which are often shamefully overcrowded. Fifty people, including men, women and children, may be housed in an old barn; or shacks may be erected of the poorest construction, allowing but one small room for a whole family of adults and children. Often several hundred people live together in the utmost squalor, lacking all the decencies of life.

The illiteracy among the children over 10 years old is six times as great as for the children of about the same ages in the United States as a whole. Many children of school age have never been to any school. This is especially true among the families brought from the north. In the spring, they return to the Middle Atlantic States and work till fall, perhaps in the corn and tomato fruit canneries, where conditions are likely to be much the same as in the oyster canneries on the gulf. Wet, uncomfortable work, long hours, lack of sleep, exposure to inclement weather, insufficient food, crowded camps to live in, and no one to take care whether the children are sent to school—since they are not "legal residents" in any district.

Child Labor in Coal Mines.

The demand for child labor in mines is greater than is generally supposed. The census of 1920 shows nearly 6,000 children between 10 and 16 years working in mines. This figure, of course, is far too small. Everywhere in the coal mines, boys of 10 years old and over are performing duties which properly belong to groups. In Pennsylvania, the 14-year-age minimum of the state law is being violated. Hundreds of boys are employed in mining before they reach that age. Many of the boys work underground, sometimes obliged to wade in mud or water, sometimes enveloped in suffocating gas and smoke. They usually begin as trappers, which means that they sit and stand beside a door which leads from one mine chamber to another, and open the door for the electric coal to pass. Sometimes they work in total darkness. Others turn the ventilating fans in the dangerous sections where the last remaining coal is being cut away, and where the roof sometimes falls in.

The Children's Bureau studied conditions in an anthracite coal mining region with a population of about 25,000. Most of the boys working in the district were in the breakers, receiving very low wages. And, as one of the workers stated, "You begin at the breaker and end at the breaker, broken yourself." "The men and the boys," says the report, "worked in the constant roar which the coal makes as it rushes down the chute, is broken in the crushing machines, or sorted in the shakers. Black coal dust is everywhere, covering the windows and filling the air and lungs of the workers. The slate is sharp, so that the slate pickers often cut or bruise their hands; the coal is carried down the chute in water and this means sore and swollen hands for the pickers. The first few weeks after a boy begins works his fingers bleed almost continuously and are called red tops by the other boys. Slate picking is not itself dangerous; the slate picker is, however, sometimes set at cleaning-up jobs, which require him to clean

(Continued on page 7.)

THEME

By Haskell Rein.

Thrumming electric wires
Are drawn ominously to taut
Fingers: A gust swoops—
And in austere masses
Veering,
Tall cloud-figures raise arms,
Eloquently tragic—
A desperate moon struggles,
With the pall: Tenseness gasps—

Pin-eyed rats
Dart from alleys—
Shacks creak from burden of tossing
Wrecked flesh—

Eloquently tragic,
Blue-white arms extend,
In fierce gestures of imploration—

O water lapping in a country stream!
O undulating ecstasy!

tenement home work. This is the most vicious form of child slavery which is not protected by any definite state laws. Thousands of children, many of them little more than babies, are victims of the iniquitous tenement home work system. They work late at night at occupations which strain the eyes and blister and callous hands.

The work is both hard and tedious. Coming home from school, with little playtime, or with none at all, the children go to work. Perhaps they carded glove or dress-fasteners or shoe buttons, or jewelry, or they worked at stringing tags or separating bands of lace held together by some threads. Usually the whole family works together. The older members doing the harder parts of the job, and the little children doing the easier. The average earning of each person is about 3 cents an hour. To earn ½ of a cent at carding fasteners, it is necessary to place a gross of them in cards, and very small children even working at top speed, could not make more than a few cents an hour.

The investigations of the Children's Bureau in three Rhode Island cities revealed shocking conditions. Children were engaged in home industries, working long hours and receiving very little pay. Four-fifths of the children, who assembled jewelry, strung beads, finished lace and performed many other operations incidental to manufacture, could make at rates paid so much as 10 cents an hour working at top speed; half of them could not make 5 cents. Of the families reporting total yearly earnings from

the home working families reported were pneumonia, typhoid fever, tonsillitis, influenza, and diphtheria.

The system of industrial home work is one long tale of neglect, undernourishment and over work. It continues because the employer who uses it saves rent, floor space and overhead charges for heat, foremen and wages. It cannot be controlled or regulated in any way. It must be abolished unconditionally.

Children in Canneries.

Another industry in which children are practically without legal protection—is the canning industry, which stands on the borderline between factory industry and agriculture.

Canneries depend for their labor almost exclusively on women and children. On account of the perishability of their product and even more on account of the unauthorized and irregular method of securing their raw materials, these establishments work overtime to a degree almost unprecedented in any other industry.

Conditions of work in canneries are intolerable: The whistle blows 4 o'clock in the morning summoning the wage slaves. Women and babies, and children of all ages, appear from the row of barracks behind the cannery. These are the workers. The oyster cars are pulled along into the drafty shed and the workers fasten containers to the sides of the cars and reach in for clusters of oysters. They break apart the clusters and open the shells with knives and begin to fill the cups with oyster meat.

The work is wet and dirty. The workers are liable to injuries from the

The Next War and the Amsterdam International

(Continued from page 1.)

efforts of the socialist ministers, to pay taxes for militarism. We will support, develop, and strengthen the military works, observe the strictest discipline in the bourgeois army, accustoming the workers to the thought it is their duty to support the imperialist government. And then, at the very moment when the bourgeoisie, which takes the question seriously, decides to put the army, created with the help of the socialist ministers and reformist trade unions, into action, oh then, at that moment, we shall call upon the workers to make a general strike! This policy is calculated for cattle who are led to slaughter.

But if, in your opinion, the general strike to prevent war is impossible, we hear the argument of a cunning and sly Amsterdamer, then what remains? Then the working class is armless against militarism! Our reply to this is: the working class is not armless against militarism, but it is you, from Amsterdam, who exercise every effort to disarm it.

Why not start with little things? Before calling a strike in munition works, especially a general strike, refuse military credits to the bourgeoisie, with the aid of which it supports munition works, and if the parliamentary socialist parties refuse to submit to such a decision, then it is the duty of the trade unions to boycott every party which directly or indirectly supports the military budget in the bourgeois government. But this would signify breaking the reformists, with the compromisers, that is, breaking with themselves! The question is indeed beyond solution!

One cannot support the bourgeois government, day in, day out, sanction its budget, in the name of the proletariat, permit it to gain strength and exercise its muscles exhausted by the last war, and at the same time add, that just as soon as the government will attempt to bring these muscles into action, we shall start an uprising. The knavish stupidity of such

a position is indeed monstrous!

But does the voting against the budget in itself decide the question? In order to preserve the power of the bourgeoisie, parliament always guarantees a majority for the ruling class. This means that it would have its military budget approved even if the representatives of the working class vote against it. Military danger cannot be abolished in this manner. This is an indisputable fact. By means of parliamentary opposition alone the danger of war cannot be avoided. However, it is quite evident, that those workers' organizations which have not the courage even for parliamentary opposition are absolutely good for nothing.

Voting against military (and in general, capitalist) budgets, has significance inasmuch as the trade unions and the parties unite the workers for the irreconcilable fight against the domination of the bourgeoisie, not only in the event of war, but in peace, that is, during the systematic preparation for war. It is true, indeed, that the bourgeoisie, for some time yet, will have its own budget and its own militarism. But the trade unionists must say that only sworn enemies of the working class will vote for these budgets. In these budgets is rooted not only slavery of today, but also tomorrow's war. Whoever from the so-called "labor" representatives votes for the budget, is a traitor, and should not be permitted to approach workers' organizations within gunshot.

The creation of such a political atmosphere among the toiling masses is the creation of the first, most elemental promise for the struggle against military danger.

However, one should not stop here. One must build a fighting organization of the working class. In order that a strike in the munition works be made possible, it is necessary, first, that the working masses in their factories, the majority at least should be permeated with hatred against the rule of the bourgeoisie, and second, that they should have a strongly welded nucleus, able at the

decisive moment, to lead the mass.

Even under such conditions we cannot promise that we can bring about a strike on the eve of the war. At that moment a strike (that is, a revolution) is less likely to be possible.

In reality, either the revolution, with a general strike as one of its phases, will develop from the class struggle and will thus make war impossible, or a new war will sharpen the class struggle and result in a general strike and revolution. In this question, no serious revolutionist can take formal obligations upon himself. Quite another thing for a political charlatan. He can juggle with the general strike, uprising, general boycott, and war, like a clown with his tin plates.

As if to expose its naked reformist nature to the very end, the Amsterdam Congress decided to set the 21st of September as a "day of protest against the war." Woe to militarism! But, pray, the reader will say, the working class already has a day of protest against militarism—the 1st of May. But the trouble is that the 1st of May falls on a Sunday only once in seven years! So that in order to "protest" on the 1st of May against war, one must strike, enter into conflict with the bourgeoisie. This is the reason why Amsterdam transferred its protest to the third Sunday in September. This formidable protest will take such a form that no one will even notice it. One must add that the Congress committed the central organizations of the separate countries to transfer the protest to the 28th of July, the day on which Jaures was assassinated.

By a happy foresight of the calendar, this day falls this year also on a Sunday. Next year on the anniversary of the death of Jaures, it will not be necessary to protest, but there will remain the third Sunday in September! Sunday will always remain Sunday! The final denial of the 1st of May as a holiday is the only new word of the Amsterdamers in their struggle against the dangers of war.

The following are the general conclusions from the "anti-militarist" decisions of the congress of the Amsterdam International: It is necessary

with greater effort, more persistently, more systematically than ever before, to make it clear to the working masses that the Amsterdamers traitorously betray them in the most fundamental acute question of war. The prescriptions of the Amsterdam Congress are but a political narcotic in the service of capitalistic militarism. It is in the position of the Amsterdamers that the main danger of war is rooted. To destroy this position, to deprive it of the confidence of the masses, is to disarm the bourgeoisie and arm the proletariat. This is the last task that we must fulfill.

Our Language Problem

(Continued from page 3)

organization which, strong on account of the harmony and co-operation between the Esperantists and Idists, will be able to abolish the prejudice that still oppose official introduction of the international language. This preparatory propaganda is indispensable, and it can be done without it being necessary for the adherents to already now renounce the use of either one of the two languages.

"To all comrades and organizations that have expressed their explicit desire to propagate the international language in accordance with the decisions of the Study Commission we recommend to base the propaganda upon the study and teaching of IDO, which must be regarded as scientifically superior, more easily perfectible, even its defects, and which consequently has the greatest chances of being finally adopted officially.

"This recommendation expresses the opinion of all members of the commission except one, who would have obtained from any recommendation.

Hans Itschner,
Sec'y of the Commission."

Ido has also been recognized or recommended by many other organizations, for instance, The Red Sport International, The International Workers Aid, The Communist Children's Groups, Paris, The Peoples Commissariat for Education of Soviet Russia, and the Peoples Commissariat for Education of the Soviet Republic Abkhazia.

INDUSTRIAL CHILD LABOR IN U. S.

(Continued from page 6.)

out shakers, the chute, or other machinery." (Child Labor and the Welfare in an Anthracite Coal Mining District, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication 106, 1922, page 16.)

Conditions of life in this mining district, as well as in others, are those of a frontier town. The population of 25,000 people is crowded into half a square mile between hills. Nearly every foot of land is covered with houses. There are mines underneath the town and where the coal had been taken out the workings were not always filled in to support the surface. As a result, one house after another is giving way as the land caves in.

The population then crowds still more closely together. The sewers, and the water supply are in a very damaging condition. All this obviously is not good for children. Out of every thousand babies born in this town, 187 were dying in their first year. The death rates from bronchitis and diphtheria and croup were three or four times as high as in the United States registration area as a whole. The scarlet fever was 12 times as high.

Children in Other Industries.

In various other industries child laborers work under similar conditions:

In the cotton mills of the south thousands of children under 16 years of age are working nine and ten hours a day. Fatigue and atmospheric conditions in cotton mills are productive of various diseases, particularly tuberculosis. In southern mills, it was found that boys of 15 and over had a death rate twice as high as that for non-operatives; and for girls of the same age period—the rate was even higher.

Children are also employed in the various steel and metal industries. Thus, in Michigan, minors are employed extensively in automobile and

metal industries. They work from 48 to 54 hours a week, performing all kinds of factory work.

Accidents during working hours are very common. In 1918, there were 1,905 industrial accidents in Michigan factories. Many of the accidents resulted in deaths, dismemberment, or incapacity for work lasting from 15 days to one year.

Conclusion.

This, in general, describes conditions of industrial child laborers. The children, under the system of wage slavery, have been and still are regarded as commodities, as mere instruments for the accumulation of riches.

Children must develop physically, and to do so they must play; children must develop mentally, and to do so they must be sent to school; children must develop morally, and to do so they must be kept within the guarded precincts of the home.

But, as things stand today, the children of the producers are forced to work. This means that their physical development is checked. It means, in other words, arrested growth, stunted stature, anemia, thin, emaciated limbs, sunken cheeks and hollow eyes. It also means diseases of all kinds—of the lungs, of the joints and of the spine.

Premature toil also means—arrested mentality. At times, it means not only a stopping short, but a development in the wrong direction.

The moral effects of premature toil are of the same sort: loosening of family ties, roving the streets, familiarity with vice, a startling independence before the moral nature is fit to maintain independence, a process of selection so trying that in many cases it leads those subjected to it—to ruin.

In brief, under the capitalist system of production, the children of the wage-earners are denied health, education, vocational fitness, and a fair start in life.

THE VIEWS OF OUR READERS ON LIFE, LABOR, INDUSTRY, POLITICS

Fight Ku Klux Klan.

To the DAILY WORKER:—Permit me as a ceaseless booster for our DAILY WORKER to register some old and some near-old stuff.

The K(rooks), K(owards), K(riminals): Let us keep up our effective sledge-hammering at the Krook Klans until they crack and disappear . . . Thoughtful people knew it when this mob of patriotically clownish chumps first burst out into indiscriminate violence, that our Christian (!) government had deliberately raised and organized this American equivalent of the infamous Black Hundreds of Czarist Russia; only ours are organized on an immense scale.

The diabolical purpose activating our official Plug-Uglidom at Washington was to sic 'em on and slaughter the helpless underlying rank-and-file who might dare to try and exercise their constitutional rights. And if any local government for some reason or other dared to show up the fiendish atrocities of this doubly invisible government, as attempted by Governor Parker of Louisiana, why, our Department from Justice would actually dare send down an army of publicly paid armed thugs to intimidate and prevent the people's governments from giving them their due protection. Gullible rank-and-file!

But the catching at this K. K. K. straw on the part of the drowning parasites is a fiendish desperate expedient. So the parasite, always in a hopeless minority, must feel their back to the wall, hence their last-ditch try for the last time to befuddle the masses, and make them fight among themselves, tho they are natural co-operators. Evidently the fool victims

haven't as yet touched the bottom of the valley of suffering. They will set foot on the upgrade only after, but not until, they have actually touched the bottom of the valley of suffering.

In the editorial entitled, "Under the Fascisti Thumb," the DAILY WORKER, May 9, surprise is expressed that certain members of the foreign peace delegates including Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, should have been refused permission to call on Mrs. Coolidge at the White House. The real offending black sheep of that group was, I believe, Mme. Schwimmer. The others who were likewise refused audience were victimized just in order to afford camouflage to hide the purpose behind that refusal. Wasn't she the same Rosika Schwimmer of the Ford Peace ship fame whom the flivver king conveniently denounced after the fiasco in order to qualify for a ride on the anti-Semitic band wagon for immense personal profit? Having this background in mind, and a political deal up Coolidge's sleeve, would you think that "Cautious Cal" would permit a person taboo to Ford to darken the threshold of the White House while Cal was busy in the act of slipping to Henry the people's great Muscle Shoal? Not Cal. Fraternally, B. Dana.

What Are They?

HONOLULU, T. H., July 4.—Filipino workers and other Filipino residents of Hawaii are wondering how attorney general Matthewman "gets that way" when he says that they have no right to vote, because they are neither "citizens or aliens." If the Filipinos have served in the United States Army, they can vote, says the big business attorney.

Communist International to German Party

(Continued from page 2.)

sition slogan was bound up with revolutionary agitation for the preparation of revolution, whilst for the Mensheviks the partial demands and transition slogans were substituted for revolutionary agitation, and opposed to the preparation of revolution.

It need not be said that the German Communist Party cannot adopt an attitude of complete rejection with respect to partial demands and transition slogans. If need not be said that the German Communist Party cannot renounce the struggle for the eight hour day. There is no fundamental difference between partial economic demands and political transition slogans, so long as we understand how to issue every transition slogan to the masses in its true light as an organic constituent of revolutionary agitation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

VI. Organizational Questions.

We are obliged to admit that up to now the German C. P. has not yet accomplished the task of building up its structure upon the basis of Communist nuclei in the works and shops themselves. In questions of organization, and in many other questions, we are still paying rich tribute to the traditions of Social Democracy.

And yet there can be no thought of creating a really revolutionary proletarian Party, capable of seizing power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, until the party is built up on the basis of Communist nuclei firmly anchored in the factories and shops themselves. The Communist International is of the opinion that it is high time for words to be converted into deeds in this matter. The Reich party conference must set a term, a term speedily expiring, within which the party has to be reorganized everywhere on the principles here given. Without this prerequisite—we repeat—it is ridiculous to talk about the seizure of power by the German proletariat. Such a reorganization of the Party is not a simple organizational task, nor a question of organizational technique, it is a political question of the highest grade. The solution of this question decides whether the German Communist Party is to be a mere machine for parliamentary elections, like the Social Democratic Party, or whether it is to be an organization capable of leading the millions of workers in the factories and workshops.

It is necessary that the party conference resolves upon the retention and completion of the illegal party apparatus. We must not on any account calculate on the permanency of the present "legality." On the contrary, we must be definitely prepared for repeated periods of illegality for the party. The present breathing space should indeed be utilized for the creation of a really powerful apparatus, one existing not only on paper, but actually capable of action, and of working efficiently under any circumstances. Until this is accomplished, it is impossible to speak seriously about the further arming of the workers.

VII. Arming the Workers, the Red Defence Units.

The arming of the workers is still the most important task before the Party. The preceding period bequeathed us something. But that which has so far been accomplished is merely a drop in the ocean. The German workers are striving to gain possession of arms. The party must count it amongst its leading duties to satisfy this striving. And this must be done without unnecessary fuss, properly and efficiently, without stinting forces and means.

The party must understand the work of strengthening the Red Hundreds; not only those consisting of party members, but those participated in by other revolutionary workers. The party must once and for all grasp the fact that the Red Hundreds can never form a real source of power so long as they are looked upon as an organization solely intended to appear on occasions of revolutionary celebrations, at the moment of a general strike, etc. It is an imperative necessity to impress upon the German

workers the idea that the Red Hundreds are necessary for the daily struggles. The Red Hundreds will only be able to strike firm root in the working class if they accustom themselves to the idea that they have to protect workers' demonstrations from the attacks of the Reichswehr, to defend the best fighters against arrest, to undertake this or that enterprise towards the arming of the workers, etc. The Red Hundreds must be rooted in the depths of the working class itself, in the factories and workshops. And then they will be immune against the attacks of the bourgeois authorities.

VIII. The Situation within the Party.

The German Communist Party is at present undergoing a thro' regrouping in forces, is working for a fresh orientation, is endeavoring to be a really Bolshevik party. Danger from the Right has been overcome in the party, altho there can be no doubt but that this Right danger still exists, and may involve serious danger for the German Communist Party and for the whole Comintern. During transitional periods between two revolutionary Communist Inter. to German Party. 4 tions—and the German proletariat is experiencing such a period at the present time—the proletarian party is threatened by two main dangers: on the one hand the opportunist deviations of the Right, and on the other the phrases of the "Left." The lack of

strengthening of the Party. The Party can now march forward on the broad road of revolution. The party can at last free itself from opportunist errors, and take up a firm attitude towards the right and "left" leaders of German Social Democracy. We must succeed in finally creating a situation whereby the German proletariat will believe that the German Communist Party will lead it, not only in word, but in deed, to revolutionary battle; and not only to heroic defeats as in January 1919 and in the year 1921, but to decisive victory over the bourgeoisie. Up to now the German proletarians have not had this faith in us. But it is a faith which the German Communist Party must now impart to the working class.

It is an important duty incumbent on the party, to put an end to the existence of some factors within the party, and to the contests of these fractions among themselves. It is time that we create a party which employs a hundred per cent of its forces in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents, the Social Democrats, and does not waste its powers in squabbles among its own members. The victorious majority must be capable of taking a number of clear-sighted political and organizational steps, enabling the new majority to create a new regime in the party, to utilize all forces of value, regardless of the camp to which they



PRIEST: The masses won't obey the dictates of their masters.
ALMIGHTY: Give them a little more religion.

faith in the revolution of the one, the attempt to evade actually existing difficulties of the proletarian struggle by means of Left phrases of the other, form the two greatest dangers. Bolshevism in Russia fought under analogous circumstances against both aberrations, and it was solely in the struggle against these two aberrations that Russian Bolshevism became steered, and became the party which we all know.

The victory of the left wing of the German Communist Party is of enormous significance for the fate of the German revolution. There is no doubt but that this victory is a reflection of a far-reaching process going on in the working class, or at least in its vanguard. This victory signals the growing readiness to fight among the most advanced strata of the German working class. This victory bears witness to the commencing radicalization of considerable strata of the German working class. But woe to us if we over-estimate these symptoms, if we imagine that what we desire has already been attained, if we imagine that the majority of the German proletariat is already prepared to plunge into battle under the leadership of the left wing of the German Communist Party. This is not yet the case. Work towards this goal is the leading task of the Party.

The acute crisis thru which the German Communist Party is passing at the present time may become the starting point for the rebirth and

may have formerly belonged, and to lead the party, on the basis of a firm and steadfast revolutionary communist line of action, to the fulfillment of the great historical tasks lying before it.

Your last conference of the Central Committee quite rightly declared, that the tasks of the European Communist Parties do not consist of demands that the Russian Communist Party be de-Bolshevized, but on the contrary, of work towards the Bolshevization of the West European Communist Parties. This is well said. We are firmly convinced that your party conference will make further great strides forward in this respect. Unity—a truly steadfast proletarian unity, not a merely external paper unity, but a downright Bolshevik unity—cost what it may—must be created by your party conference. Go to the masses, and once more—go to the masses! This was taught us by our lost comrade Lenin. The party conference must inspire the mass of party members and all followers of the Communist Party with infinite devotion to the cause of proletarian revolution. The Reich party conference must impart to the workers the belief that the proletarian party is preparing, without losing an instant, for the great fight which is coming. The Reich party conference must create a firm revolutionary majority. The Reich party conference must prove that the German Communist Party is to be held in high esteem among the

sections of the Communist International.

The Communist International for its part, will do its utmost to aid the brother Communist Party in Germany to accomplish the great historical tasks with which it is confronted.

Long live the proletarian revolution in Germany! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat in the German Soviet Republic! Long live the Communist Party of Germany!

Moscow, March 26, 1924.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International,
Chairman: Zinoviev.

TENNANT—A COMPANY TOWN

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

The sparse-clad peaks rearing against the sky,
The sinuous stream abrawling down the green
And rocky mountain meadow, towering high
Great pine trees swaying, with the stumps between
Of sister monarchs felled by ruthless man,
Long rows of houses built to one set plan,
And dusty roads o'er which "tin lizzies" bump.
With many a lurching groan and swaying thump.

Here nightly from their toil the slaves come in
To bunk-house or to home, wash off the dirt
Of ten to sixteen hours work, and grin
To think that day went by and still no hurt
To life or limb; eat, smoke, and then to bed;
Rise, back to toil, and so on, till they're dead!

ATTENTION

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

Ye sons of the scythe and the plough-share,
Ye slaves to the bankers' clan,
Ye serfs of the field and the orchard,
We ask you to march in the van.

You who have toiled and have sweated
That others might gorge on your toil,
Now shoulder to shoulder and onward
In defense of your right to the soil.

The grafters are flocking like vultures
To feed on the wealth ye have grown:
Stand pat with the workers, ye farmers,
And keep from the robbers your own.

Old parties? Forget them! They've tricked you
With promises year after year!
Now fling wide your working class banner
And graven this battlecry there:

To the workers the tools of production,
To the farmers the land that they till,
To the grafters the wage of corruption,
To all labor the fruits of its skill!

A BRYANESQUE SONNET

By I. A. McFADDEN.

Missouri remembers Bill Jennings, the Bold,
Who forewarned the workers of that Cross of Gold
On which they were crucified. William would give
Free Coinage of Silver that Workers might live.

When Bill obtained office, to God he gave thanks,
Bestowed the "Free Coinage" of Paper on Banks,
Left Poor Labor hanging on that Cross of Gold,
And lined Willie's pockets, ere he became old!

Instructed for Champ Clark, his trust Bill betrayed
And VOTED FOR WILSON! Thus, Bryan became
The Leading Adviser. He quit amid snarls!
As a climax to all the tricks he has played,
He now tries both Jackass and Camel to tame,
And drive them to Washington with Brother Charles!