

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."

—Karl Marx.

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Trade Union Developments in the Asiatic and Pacific Countries

By A. LOZOVSKY.

The fight for the unity of the international trade union movement and the creation of a united International embracing the workers of all Continents, has up to recently encountered a great obstacle in the arrogance of the European labor aristocracy. Until the war Europe possessed the financial, industrial and political hegemony of the world—a fact which found expression in the leading bodies of the socialist and trade union movement, upon which the Internationals were based and which were entirely limited to Europe.

These remnants of pre-war psychology dominate up to the present the minds of the leaders of the reformist labor movement who do not like going beyond the confines of Europe. They intentionally refuse to understand that enormous upheaval which has come about as a result of the war, of the October revolution and the rise of real world Internationals, the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions. It is only recently that international reformism has designed to cast a glance at the East, because the labor movement of the East is assuming a revolutionary character and disturbing the plans of international reformism.

In the meantime the labor movement is growing in every corner of the earth, and a number of international tasks are arising, which can only be solved by common international action. In connection with this a whole number of projects have recently arisen which are highly characteristic of the attitude of the labor movement of the new countries on the stage of international politics. Of such projects there are at present three:

1. The prominent Japanese reformist Bundshi Susuki (a Japanese bourgeois paper describes him as "Our Japanese Gompers") spoke at the Conference of the International Labor Office of the unions of India regarding the conference, which is affiliated to the League of Nations, with representatives of vening of a Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference. According to the proposals of Susuki, this Labor Conference is to be participated in by representatives of the trade unions of Japan, China, Persia, Siam, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, the Philippines, India, Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey.

2. The Trade Union Council of New South Wales has taken up the initiative in calling a conference of the trade unions of the Pacific countries for the 1st of May 1926. As the Australian "Daily Standard" reports, the secretary of the trade union council, Garden, (he took part in the II. Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions) has sent an invitation to the labor organizations of China, Japan, Canada, the Philippines, the Hawaii Islands, Singapore, India, South Africa and the United States, in which invitation it is pointed out that this conference is called to "discuss the questions of the Pacific."

3. The same Australian newspaper, the "Daily Standard", reports that the Executive Committee of the Australian Labor Party has decided to arrange a conference to be held in Honolulu in November 1926, of the representatives of the countries of the Pacific. To this conference there are to be invited representatives of those trade union workers and kindred (1) organisations of all countries of the Pacific who stand for the maintenance of peace.



ANTHRACITE MINER: "SO THIS IS PEACE!"

All these three projects deserve serious attention, while it must be remarked that the character of the three undertakings, in spite of the scantiness of the news, is quite clear.

With regard to Susuki's proposal, this means nothing else than the creation of an Asiatic International, and in this respect the Japanese reformist is following the footsteps of Gompers, who for his own purposes organized the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and of the leader of the English railway workers, Cramp, who a few months ago put forward the idea of the creation of a Continental International.

Bundshi Susuki at his interview with the representative of the "Japan Advertiser" said nothing regarding a colored International. He only intimated that he had decided to convene an Asiatic Labor Conference when the "labor unrest in China has subsided", and its aim is "to raise the level of the Asiatic workers, so that they will be better prepared to take part in the work of the International Labor Office." But as a matter of fact, Susuki is not arranging his projected Asiatic Conference for this purpose. The "Daily Standard" adds the following words of Susuki regarding this Conference:

"We representatives of the colored workers have decided to create a colored International as a counterpoise to the white International."

Susuki's projects therefore, go much further than the revival of the internationalism of the International Labor Office: he wants to have his own Asiatic International. What will be the political tendency of his International?

Judging from the fact that it was Bundshi Susuki who instigated the splitting of the trade unions of Japan and the expulsion of the revolutionary elements from the Japanese Labor Federation, we see that for him it is a question of setting up the new reformist International as speedily as possible in order to fight against the revolutionary labor movement of Asia. It is not for nothing that Susuki is

making preparations to convene this conference immediately the "labor unrest in China has subsided." When it is further remembered that Susuki entirely forgets the existence of the trade unions of the Soviet Union which is also bordered by the Pacific Ocean, then the color of this Pan-Asiatic project will not differ from the child of Gompers: the Pan-American Labor Federation.

The project of the Australian Labor Party for the convening of a congress at Honolulu of "all trade union workers' and kindred organizations of the countries of the Pacific" has a somewhat different but likewise unique character. Here is to be seen an open attempt to convene a pacifist congress, for otherwise there would be no sense in giving expression to such a vague term as "kindred organizations." The congress has as its object to bring together the supporters of peace in the countries of the Pacific, and as there are many supporters of peace among the bourgeoisie who have set up all sorts of pacifist societies for this purpose, then it is obvious that these "kindred organizations" will have a place at the congress. It is apparently, therefore, a question of a Pacific edition of the International Peace Conference at the Hague in December 1922, where there took place a fraternizing of international reformism and of bourgeois pacifism. But we are still awaiting particulars regarding this project.

The third project—the convocation of a congress of trade unions of the countries of the Pacific in Sydney—seems to us to deserve the most attention. To this congress only trade union organizations will be invited, and these will discuss the common questions of the countries of the Pacific. Although we possess no detailed information regarding the agenda of this approaching congress or regarding the proposals to be submitted to it, we consider such a beginning as very useful. Such a congress could serve as a stage in the struggle for the united international and for the

unity of the international trade union movement, if the conveners invite the trade unions of all countries of the Pacific and realize that the questions of the countries of the Pacific not only concern the workers of this or that country, but also the whole of the international labor movement.

No matter what attitude is adopted to these projects, one thing is clear: they all mean a new era in the development of the international labor movement. The fight of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions against European narrowness, for the unity of the labor movement of the whole world corresponds with the requirements which have become historically ripe. There will be still much confusion, deviations and many attempts to create continental and colored internationals, but all this must not mislead us. All these attempts, which express the growth of the enterprise labor movement of Asia, and also of Australia and the countries of the Pacific, to overcome their own narrowness and to weld themselves into a united, fighting trade union International based on the class struggle.

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Drive Against Left Wing in Trade Unions

By WM. Z. FOSTER.

WITHIN the past two years a comparatively new phenomenon has made its appearance in the American labor movement. This is the expulsion of members from the trade unions because of their political opinions and for activities in accordance with these opinions. In the past there have been many struggles between the reactionaries and the revolutionary wing of the movement and the utmost bitterness has prevailed between the two factions. But almost never was the weapon of expulsion used in a general way in these struggles, save in the cases where there was open advocacy of secession, and even this was winked at in many cases. As a general rule the fight remained pretty much in the realms of verbal argument, however bitterly this may have been carried on.

But, as stated, in the past two years the expulsion of members from the unions, and consequently often from their jobs, has come to be looked upon and applied as a regular weapon against the left wing by the reactionaries. The difference is that where expulsion was once practiced more or less spasmodically and in isolated cases, it has now become a settled means of warfare by the controlling bureaucrats in the unions.

The union that has the shame of having first applied expulsion against the left wing is the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which began the policy two years ago under the leadership of Sigman. Unable to beat the revolutionary elements otherwise, Sigman, aided by his lickspittle, Perlstein, that to get the best of them by driving them out of the union altogether. Brutally he expelled many of the leading left wingers from the organization in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland and elsewhere, merely for membership in the T. U. E. L., with disastrous effects upon the union.

These destructive tactics of Sigman received a blessing from Gompers himself at the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1923, where with the most elaborate stage setting and in the fullest glare of publicity, he expelled William F. Dunne from the convention. Dunne was a regular delegate from the Silver Bow, Montana, Trades Council, and the only charge against him was that he was an avowed Communist. Dunne's expulsion was the signal in the trade union movement generally for the use of the weapon of expulsion against the growing left wing, and the reactionaries have not been slow to take the hint. Since then, in union after union, this policy, which is contrary to the basic principles of labor solidarity, has been applied.

Lewis in the miners' union has made drastic application of this mean. He immediately outlawed the Trade Union Educational League as a "dual union," and expelled Tom Myerscough and other miner leaders of it. He persecuted the militants in the Canadian districts. Farrington of Illinois has followed this up by the expulsion of Thompson, Watt, and others. Throughout the whole organization a reign of terror has been set up against the left wing and every manifestation of it has been driven underground upon pain of expulsion.

Hutcheson of the carpenters, not to be outdone by his crony Lewis, has expelled two-thirds of his organization in Detroit for sympathies with the Trade Union Educational League. In Los Angeles, with the cooperation of the police, he got rid of more militants. And his latest maneuver has been to bar Rosen as a delegate from the New York district council of the carpenters because Rosen ran against him on a left wing ticket in the recent national elections.

In the electrical workers a number of militants have been expelled, and in the painters the intention to do the same has been shown by the adoption at their recent convention of an amendment to their national constitution providing for the exclusion of "members of the Communist Party who oppose the principles of the A. F. of L."



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

In the machinists' union, under the yellow socialist Johnston, an early stand was taken in this game by expelling a number of militants in Toledo, Ohio, for membership in the T. U. E. L. At the ensuing convention Johnston managed to save his skin and to hang on to his job. Now, claiming the action of the convention was an endorsement of the expulsion policy, he has issued a ukase demanding the wholesale expulsion of members of the Workers Party and members of the T. U. E. L. throughout the entire union.

The fur workers was also the scene of an active expulsion campaign, with interesting results not figured on by the reactionary, Kaufmann.

And now we have the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which so long passed as a left inclined union, showing that here, too, the reactionary bureaucracy refuses to be outdone by the reactionaries in the miners, machinists, carpenters, et al, and is expelling militant left wingers on the usual pretexts. Other unions are following the same program in a more or less desultory fashion. And along with this campaign has gone a further systematic terrorizing of the left wing in the unions by refusing to let the militants run for office, by placing heavy fines against them upon all sorts of flimsy pretexts, etc.

A number of central labor councils have also put into effect the expulsion policy, insofar as their limited authority permits them, by refusing to seat as delegates the Communists who have been elected by the affiliated local unions. The chief offenders in this respect are the councils in Minneapolis, Seattle, and Los Angeles. It is noteworthy that these are all left wing strongholds. The reason for the sharp application of the expulsion policy in these places is twofold, first, the necessity of the bureaucracy to fight the left wing with all the means in its power, and, second, the presence of all sorts of renegade socialists who are the most willing and unscrupulous tools to lead this fight of the reactionaries.

So far in the Chicago Federation of Labor the expulsion policy has not actually been applied. The leaders of the Chicago Federation, Fitzpatrick and Nockels, who long posed as radicals, work more insidiously. They conspire privately with the controlling fakery in the local unions to prevent left wingers coming as delegates. In addition they are carrying on publicly the most contemptible fight against the Communists. It is noteworthy that Green, in one of his latest fulminations against the left wing, used verbatim the lying arguments contained in a circular recently sent out by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

At the recent American Federation of Labor convention the expulsion policy once again got the support of the united labor bureaucrats. And in his Detroit speech a short while before the convention, Green declared for an open war upon the Communists. He said:

"Organized labor will not and cannot tolerate Communism or Communists. Members of organized labor are either trade unionists or Communists. They cannot be both. In view of the fact that the Communists have challenged and are challenging the hosts of or-

ganized labor and by every means at their disposal are seeking to secure supreme control of the trade union movement of America, we, the loyal members and officers of the organized labor movement will strike back and strike hard. We will neither rest nor cease our efforts until Communism and the Communist philosophy and those who represent it are driven from the ranks of organized labor."

What is the basis for this expulsion policy which is now being used so violently against the left wing? The cause of it has two roots. The cause is to be found in the improved fighting policies of the left wing within the last few years, which makes it necessary for the reactionaries to proceed to more drastic measures of struggle. The second is to be found in the turn of the labor bureaucracy more sharply than ever towards class collaboration, which weakens their control over the organized masses, and which throws them into the imperative necessity at this time of destroying the influence of the left wing at all costs, regardless of the means used.

As to the first proposition: For many years the left wing, because of its infatuation for infantile ideas of dual unionism, was a negligible factor in the trade unions. The reactionary bureaucracy had plain sailing to control the masses for their policies—the opposition of the yellow socialists being never very vital. Hence there was little or no need for an expulsion policy, except in special occasions where more or less spontaneous local revolts occurred. But now the situation is fundamentally altered. The left wing, despite all its failings, has learned how to fight in the unions. It has almost fully recovered from the dualism which hamstrung it for so long and it has learned the main principles of left wing organization in conservative trade unions. Moreover, it no longer wastes its time in these unions, as it once did, in an empty, negative criticism of the organizations and their officials in general. Now it has a practical program for the revolutionizing of the unions. It takes the lead, so far as its all too weak resources will permit, in the everyday struggles of the masses. It contests the union elections against the reactionaries. In other words, it is now engaged in a real struggle against the bureaucrats for the leadership of the unions. The effectiveness of these new tactics of the left wing was graphically demonstrated by the tremendous sweep of the amalgamation movement. The reactionary bureaucrats, confronted with the new menace of an organized left wing that has learned how to fight for control of the organized workers, had to strike back quickly and hard. The expulsion campaign was their answering tactics.

Now as to the other phase of the expulsion policy: The great defeat of the trade union movement in the historic struggle of 1920-23 demonstrated clearly the burning necessity for the trade unions to consolidate their ranks, to organize a labor party, and generally to adopt a more militant policy of struggle. But the bureaucrats controlling the unions absolutely refused to learn this lesson. Instead of developing the power of resistance of the unions as against the employers and adopting a policy of an offensive, they proceeded to hoist the white flag of surrender, and accordingly began to work out and apply the various new schemes of class collaboration, such as the B. and O. plan, workers' insurance, labor banking, etc., which are tending to degrade the trade unions into little better than company unions. But such a policy was not without its hazards for them. It had to be fairly rammed down the throats of the rank and file of the unions, who, for the most part, although not yet ideologically advanced enough to penetrate the real meaning of the new schemes of class collaboration and to develop a real opposition to them, nevertheless refuse to accept them in place of a policy of militant action and the substantial results which such a policy brings. They want amalgamation, the formation of a labor party, the organization of the unorganized, and at

least some semblance of a fighting program. This creates a situation highly dangerous to the bureaucracy. The rank and file are susceptible to the propaganda of the left wing. Hence a basic condition for their control of the unions and for the continuance of the class collaboration program recently so highly developed is to crush the left wing at all costs. This cannot be done by argument and ideological struggle. Consequently the resort to force through the expulsion policy and the many other harsh disciplinary measures that are being used against the militants in the various unions.

What shall our policy be in this situation? How shall we successfully defeat the expulsion policy of the reactionaries and reach the rank and file with our message? The fate of our work in the trade union in the present period depends upon our correctly solving this problem.

The first and most important step to its solution is the mustering of the full available forces of our party for work in the trade unions. There still remains much to be done in this respect. A very large proportion of our membership do not yet belong to unions, and of those who are members only a small percentage are really active. These conditions must be remedied at once. A persistent and insistent campaign must be carried on to the end that every proletarian member of our party is at the same time a member of a trade union. We must make our members understand once and for all the truth of the statement in the recent letter of the Comintern and Profintern to the effect that no worker in an industrial country like the United States can really be a Communist unless he is a member of a trade union. And we must see to it that our members not only join the trade unions but become active in them. The only Communist in the trade unions who is worth his salt to our party is the one who militantly and intelligently fights to put its program into effect and thus to extend its influence over the masses. This development of our full party strength is the first and foundation step, not only for combatting the expulsion policy, but also doing any successful work whatever in the trade unions.

A special feature of our fight against expulsion must be a flexible attitude towards the expulsion orders now in force in the unions, whether they be in the shape of constitutional amendments, as in the painters, or instructions from the executive boards, as in the machinists. In the trade unions there are organized proletarian masses, contact with whom is vital for the success of the revolutionary work of our party. This contact can best be maintained only if we are members of the unions. Hence we must put up a militant and intelligent struggle to remain within the unions. If we can do this openly as members of the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League, all the better. But if the opposition is in such a desperate frame of mind as to use the expulsion policy and is in a position to apply it effectively, then we must be prepared to deny our membership in these organizations rather than be expelled from the unions.

Such a policy means the occasional swallowing of nasty pills in the way of signing the various statements that are put up to us by the reactionary officials in the hope that our revolutionary gorge will rise against them to the extent that we will not sign them, and thus make our expulsion all the more easy. A type of such statement was that recently gotten out by the carpenters district council of Cleveland, which reads as follows:

"I, the undersigned, do hereby promise and agree that I will observe and comply with all the rules, regulations, and laws of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and that I will in no way affiliate with, or give support, assistance, or comfort to, the Trade Union Educational League, (Continued on page 3)

"Red Imperialism"

By a RUSSIAN AUTHORITY.

AS to the numbers of armed forces at the disposition of the various states we are in possession of statistics which are based on both our own and on foreign statistical publications. In comparing these figures with the numbers of armed forces of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, we obtain a clear and completely objective proof of where we may seek the real culprits of militarism.

Let us consider these facts and figures.

You know that in 1914, just before the commencement of the imperialist war, the bourgeois press of the Entente countries, in inflaming the patriotic sentiments of their populations, asserted that it was only necessary to smash German imperialism and that the burden of militarism would then disappear.

What do we see in reality?

In 1913 when prewar militarism was in full bloom, there were 5,759,000 men under arms in the most important countries. In 1925 there are 5,232,000 men under arms without counting a number of states which have newly sprang up (for example, Iraq, Syria, Arabia proper, Northern Morocco, and others) and not counting one million soldiers (at a minimum) which are kept under arms at the disposition of the various tuchuns of the Chinese provinces which do not acknowledge the authority of the central Peking government.

If we reckon that this prewar figure 5,759,000 included firstly, the 1,129,000 soldiers which belonged to the states vanquished in the imperialist war (Germany, Austro-Hungary and Bulgaria who now have 198,000, that is, 931,000 less than before the war) and secondly, the 1,350,000 soldiers of the former czarist Russia instead of the 562,000 army of the Soviet Union, we will see that the victorious and neutral countries have increased their armies by 1,192,000 men in view of the new discord which is developing.

If we examine the military budget of the most important states for the same period, we see exactly the same picture. In 1912 the military budgets of the most important countries (including czarist Russia) amounted to 4,744,000,000 rubles. The expenditure of the same countries in 1924-25

amounts to 5,300,000,000 rubles, that is, an increase of 556,000,000 rubles.

If here also we reckon the considerable decrease in the war budgets of Germany and the Soviet Republics, we see that the expenditure of the remaining states has increased by 1,442,000. These two pieces of information are sufficient to prove how false the speeches of bourgeois pacifists ring when they talk about decreasing the burden of militarism in bourgeois countries artef the defeat of Germany.

Let us consider naval expenditure separately. In 1913 the naval budgets of the seven big naval powers amounted to 100,500,000 pounds sterling (1,005,000,000 rubles). In 1925 it equalled 230,600,000 pounds sterling (2,306,000,000 rubles). This a fairly striking difference. During the same period the naval budget of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was reduced to 3,400,000 pounds sterling (34,000,000 rubles) as against a 26,000,000 pound (260,000,000 ruble) naval budget of czarist Russia in 1913.

The shipbuilding programs of the most important bourgeois states are in full concordance with this state of affairs. Despite the agreement for the limitation of naval armaments at Washington in 1922, in reality the very same, if not a greater shipbuilding fever is proceeding, the only difference from the former being that instead of the large battleships, which are now prohibited, ships of smaller tonnage are being constructed (cruisers, destroyers, submarines, etc.) and also naval air fleets. One may judge as to the extent of such armaments from the following:

DURING the present year the five strongest sea powers (Great Britain, United States, France, Japan and Italy) are building 87 ships of different kinds and 181 further ships are projected, making a total 268. As far as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is concerned, unfortunately we have not constructed and are not constructing one single ship, and up to the present have restricted ourselves to repairing those that already exist.

Air Forces.

The statistics on aerial forces give the same picture. At the present time the military air forces of the most important states are as follows: France

Where Should We Seek the Real Militarists?



GERMAN WORKER IN PRISON: "SO 'WE' HAVE SIGNED THE TREATY OF LOCARNO!"

6,114 aeroplanes, Great Britain 3,460, Italy 1,700, United States 3,800, Poland 498, Roumania 257.

I will remain silent in respect to the numerical strength of our red air fleet, but I will say one thing, and that is that unfortunately there is not much difference between the strength of our air fleet and that of our immediate western neighbours.

The numerical strength of the red armed forces, not counting the navy, amount to 529,000. This is 183,000 less than France, and 17,000 less than our immediate western neighbors (Poland, Roumania and the Baltic states) taken together.

There are still a few more figures which prove the "growth of red imperialism."

For every 10,000 inhabitants the U. S. S. R. has 41 soldiers, Roumania and Poland about 100, France without the colonies 200, and so forth. In other words the Western European states have from three to five times more

men under arms than we. In relation to the territory, for every thousand square kilometers, there are 27 soldiers in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; while there are 560 soldiers per thousand square kilometers in Roumania, 700 in Poland, etc., that is to say, 25 times more than we have.

Finally, whereas the cost of maintaining the army works out at less than 3 rubles per inhabitant in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, it reaches 7 rubles in the Baltic states, 11 rubles in Poland, and up to 14 rubles in France.

The figures I have cited should prove with convincing clearness that there can be no question of "red imperialism." Both absolutely and relatively we are spending less on military needs than any of the large bourgeois states, and relatively we are spending much less than even the smallest bourgeois states. This is the truth of the matter as regards our "Red Soviet Imperialism."

THE DRIVE AGAINST THE LEFT WING IN TRADE UNIONS

(Continued from page 2)

or any similar or kindred organization.

"I further agree that I waive the right, benefit, or privilege of ever representing a local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in any way, shape or manner as an officer, delegate, or committeeman during my membership in such organization.

"In subscribing to the above I do so of my own free will and accord and agree that if I should violate said agreement or pledge, it is understood that my membership in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America be forfeited without complaint by me."

In such cases we must bear in mind the advice of Lenin and Zinoviev and sign a dozen such statements if necessary to our maintaining membership in the unions. This does not mean however that we must adopt a policy of indiscriminately denying membership and of signing such statements. On the contrary, each case must be separately considered. In those unions where we are strong the bureaucrats can never enforce such reactionary measures. At all times we must function in the unions, and we must fight for the right to do this frankly and openly. Only where we are actually confronted with expulsion shall we adopt the expedient of denying membership as a weapon in defense of our right as workers to belong to the trade unions.

The program of expulsion is a policy of desperation. It cannot succeed. Brutal suppression of the left wing

cannot serve as a substitute for the powerful organization and militant program imperatively demanded by the workers in their struggles against the employers. For a time however, in spite of the mustering of our forces and denials of membership, it will hinder us by resulting in the comparative isolation of many good comrades. But if these expelled members follow the Comintern policy, by refusing to start rival unions and by waging a militant fight for reinstatement, identifying this fight with the burning needs and struggles of the unions, and cooperating with the organized left elements in the unions they can eventually break this isolation and force their way back into their organizations.

To defeat the left wing by a policy of expulsion is impossible. The masses must build their unions and give them fighting policies. This can be done only under left wing leadership, and the organized masses are bound to accept such leadership despite all the efforts of the reactionaries to divorce them from it. Never was this more effectively demonstrated than in the needle trades. Sigman and Kaufmann tried the expulsion policy and the reign of terror method against the left wing, with results that are now a matter of history. And as the expulsion policy failed in the needle industry so it will fail, sooner or later, in all the industries. The left wing cannot be destroyed by expulsion, nor can its progress be stopped by it. The left wing has the program which corresponds to the needs of the trade union masses. That is the deciding factor in the situation.

Who Gets the Increase of Wealth in United States?

AN analysis of the first 185 stock quotations on the New York stock exchange as of Nov. 28, 1925 as compared with the quotations of the same stocks a year ago brings out the astounding fact that their total value increased on the average more than 33 per cent. Being that the value of the shares of stock is not determined by the actual amount of money invested but the amount of dividend paid per share the increase in value of stocks signifies therefore either an increase of exploitation of the workers or a proportional increase in the number of people employed. As seen from the table submitted below the former proves to be the case:

	1924	1925
Value of stocks	100	133
Employment	100	104
Pay rolls	10	104

While employment and pay rolls increased only 4 per cent the returns on stocks increased 33 per cent. In other words prosperity in the U. S. signifies higher return on capital and keener exploitation of the workers. It is a well known fact that the exploiters on their own hook do not increase the wage-scale and that only the organized strength of the workers as expressed in their union organizations can compel the bosses to disgorge some of their plunder.

The question in costs is what does the Gompers bureaucracy which

now has a stranglehold on the trade unions do for the American working class whom they are supposed to be representing? An analysis of the organizational strength of the A. F. of L. shows that the leaders are falling down on the job. The total membership of the A. F. of L. for the year 1925 shows an increase of 11,500 but being that the membership in the building trades increased by 24,400 the actual membership in the other trades decreased by almost 13,000. The stock quotations figures as well as those for employment and pay rolls given above pertain to industries outside the building industry; in other words while the exploitation increases the organizational strength of the A. F. of L. is falling down. The claim of the union bureaucrats that prosperity in the country brings with it increase in union membership and higher wages no longer holds true. With the continual concentration of wealth as shown by the income tax returns for 1924 on one hand and the class collaboration policies of the union officialdom on the other hand, the share of the American wage slaves in the total wealth produced is clearly on the decrease.

That worker next door to you may not have anything to do tonight. Hand him this copy of the DAILY WORKER.

FLYING OSIP - - By Ivan Kasatkin

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ONE evening in May, having arranged for our wounded at the depot, we established ourselves on a meadow, waiting for kasha, when suddenly, from the direction of the forest, he appeared—Flying Osip!

"Brothers, it's Osip!" rolled over the meadow—"Flying Osip!"

"Where? Where?" The newcomers among the guerilla-fighters turned their heads eagerly. "What Osip?"

"Open your eyes, not your mouths! There!"

"And really, it's him!" cried one of the old-timers; he jumped up, stuck his spoon in back of his boot-leg and yelled:

"It's him! Osip! The flying devil! . . ."

"I tell you, it's him."

"Still alive! True chip of the Urals!"

"Well, brothers, if Osip's turned up there'll be something doing!"

"You don't catch Osip coming for nothing!"

"I tell you, if he's turned up! . . ."

A tall man, clad in a muzhik's coat, was approaching along the embankment, swerving aside from the piles of torn-up ties and rails of the demolished road. The skirts of his coat were stuck like wedges behind his belt, and his dingy, rust-colored cap with the visor was thrust forward on his head. One could see by his worn-out, bast shoes that the man had walked many a mile.

Coming up close to us, he slowly took off his cap, bowed to either side, and a weary smile fitted across his pock-marked face.

He asked hoarsely:

"Ours?"

"Whose then? You rum guy!"

"Osip, don't you know us?"

"We spotted you way, way off!"

The man again smiled wearily, with a simple-hearted smile. He passed his dark palm over his face as if brushing off cobwebs, and unexpectedly asked in a firm voice, in military fashion:

"What detachment? Whose?"

Eagerly, interrupting one another, we named our detachment, explained our position and the disposition of the enemy forces.

And the fellow with the spoon in his boot-leg, pressing forward until his nose almost touched the other's, yelled as if across a field:

"Osip, lad! Have you forgotten? Didn't you lead us in the flanking movement at Sabanov! And we struck the enemy in the rear so that . . . Gee! . . ."

"Smashed 'em to smithereens!"

Leaning wearily against a wagon, and twisting his matted beard around his finger, Osip shook his head, as if wishing to say: "I don't remember, somehow."

"At Sabanov. . . . Wait. . . ." He began to rub his nose on the outside, where the nostril was torn away. "Isn't Sokolov in your detachment? Kirsan's his given name?"

"There, you know us all right!" eagerly cried the one with the spoon in his boot-leg. "Where else should Kirsan be! Sure he's with us!"

"Sokolov's with us!" the men shouted from all sides, surrounding Osip. "Sokolov's here! Only, as it happens, he's wounded. Last night. Badly! He's at the depot, is Sokolov!"

Just then the wagons with the large caldrons of kasha came up. Pans began to rattle. The boys rushed to the caldrons, and the cooks, swinging their ladles, shouted:

"Get in line, get in line! Look sharp, or you'll get scalded!"

Osip twisted his beard around his finger and started toward the depot. He refused even the hot kasha.

"He's off to wake up old wounds," said one of the old-timers, carefully holding his palm under the spoon that was on its way to his mouth.

"Sokolov, boys, was an eye-witness when Osip's family was completely wiped out. The Whites did the job. That's why he remembers Sokolov. No wonder! They were neighbors. . . ."

"Sokolov will die," said a callow youth, blowing on the steaming kasha, his eyes bulging out. He stuffed the kasha from the spoon into his mouth, burning his tongue, and added, "A bullet hit his lung, khlear thru his back."

"Look out; you'll choke, you 'khlear thru,'" mimicked a neighbor. "Swallow it first. . . ."

Osip soon came out of the depot.

Sokolov was unconscious. The ride in the wagon had shaken him up. The nurse who was there on duty asked them not to disturb him.

Osip sat down on a tie and lowered his head as if meaning to doze off. They gave him a pan of

kasha. A few of them tried to address questions to him. But pushing the kasha aside, he suddenly arose, as if he had all at once recollected something.

"I have to go to headquarters. Where's headquarters?"

"Eat some kasha first! What a fellow! . . ."

"I can't! Matter of business," Osip grumbled in his beard.

And one could see that he was hungry. While we were putting the hand-car on the track to bring him to headquarters, he greedily swallowed a few handfuls of kasha, scooping it up with his fingers.

On the platform of the hand-car—we had barely started—Osip fell asleep, his head lowered between his knees.

II

Meanwhile it grew dark. Stars appeared. June-beetles buzzed like bullets over our camp. The men stretched themselves out on the meadow. Here and there little, golden gleams of cigarettes flared up.

In the forest a bittern was booming, as if into a barrel.

"Yes, there are all kinds of men. . . ." sighed a Uralian, Babushkin, who came from Sokolov's district. "It's a year and a half now that Osip's been looking for death. . . . But she won't take him! He dashes from front to front, throws himself forward, straight into the fire . . . she won't take him! Did you notice the mark—the torn nostril? That was when the Whites caught him once, right in their headquarters nearly. They buried him up to his neck in the ground for a whole day. . . . And they stuck a rusty nail in his nostril, and just like that . . . ripped it out with the flesh."

"You say he's looking for death," interrupted one of the youngsters, "and what the devil does he want death for? You've got things twisted, uncle."

Babushkin kept silence for a while, gazing at the crescent that was entangled in the tree-tops.

"Sometimes even death is sweet," he said after the pause. "Only, it's hard for some men to find it. Just for spite, death won't take one who doesn't fear it. And he who tries to hide from it, you turn round, and there he is, lying under a bush, his eyes staring upward, poor soul. . . ."

"Say, uncle, just tell us straight. . . . About Osip! Why is he called 'Flying'?"

"Well, that's what I'm telling you; he flies from front to front, looking for death, and she runs from him. . . . Understand? That's the kind of a man he is: he goes plump in the midst of the enemy, finds out everything, sniffs out all their plans. And when it comes to battle, he's the first everywhere, in front of all, like a wild beast. . . . And when resting—you see how it is—we laugh and make merry, but he, Osip, is blue. . . . He sits somewhere in a corner alone, and you can see that he's sad. And when he's sad, then he likes most of all to play the guitar. Of course, he don't know how to play—he picks at the strings. He lowers his head all the way down and just keeps strummin' quietly. Then you'd better not bother him. Once I sat next to him—I look—tears are rolling from his eyes. . . . Hey, seems to me you're snoring!"

"N-n-no . . . only . . . those who are tired. . . ."

"You just keep on telling the story. Semakov, Mitka, give me a pinch of 'backie. Ah, he's asleep—the devil!"

"And it's really time to sleep," Babushkin yawned lazily. "And Osip, I tell you, is a man of gold. A smart one. He's a teacher; one of the village teachers. When the Whites showed up around here, he, you must know,—he raised the whole Ural district against them. And when ours retreated, the others went wild—uh! And they started to slash, you may say,—even the babes. . . . Workmen perished by thousands. They used to put out their eyes, drive nails into their brains. When they caught any of 'em in the woods they would hang 'em right there on the trees. That was when they found out what kind of a bird Baev was . . . Osip's name is Baev . . . so right off they wiped out his whole family, that is, the wife and the little ones. When Sokolov starts to tell about it, your hair stands on end. . . ."

Babushkin pressed down the tobacco in his pipe with his finger-nail, and struck a match. The feeble light flared up and for a moment illumined the darkness around. The boys were sleeping in every possible position. Only Vasyaga Grach, the youngest, resting his face on his palms, looked with wide-open eyes straight at Babushkin's beard.

"Say, uncle," Vasyaga said in a low and pensive voice, "that Osip is sort of strange. . . . He's terrible. . . . He twitches his torn nostril and his eyebrow . . . and he seems to grin . . . I've noticed it. He's like a demon. He's ferocious!"

"What?—he!—ferocious! . . . He's like a babe, Osip is. He's got the soul of a saint, lad. You couldn't find a kindlier man. Of course, he's pining . . . that's about his family. He would like to die, but even death respects the brave. But you're right. He is like a demon. Or a wild cat that lives in the woods. And just watch—he'll spill a lot of blood yet . . . of those . . ."

And Babushkin fell to snoring. Vasyaga stretched out at full length, put his hands under his head, and gazed and gazed at the crescent that had already risen high.

In the forest a bittern boomed intermittently. Over the meadow, over the sleeping men, mosquitoes droned piteously; June-beetles hummed.

III

The housewives of the village where we stopped had not slept, it seemed, all night; in the morning they brot us a mound of stuff cooked, fried, and what not. . . .

For us this is a holiday after the wilderness of marches and fighting. We walk like heroes thru the village. Girls and women peep out of the windows and gates, and invite us with smiles and waving hands for a treat.

"Come in; try some of our eats!"

"Ah, it's hunger and tired limbs you've had!"

"The samovar is on the table. . . . Step in!"

And toward noon neighboring muzhiks arrived with carloads of all kinds of supplies. Hundreds of people gathered—old and young, women and children. They surrounded us in crowds. "Some lads, those Uralians!" We can see at once that their hearts are with us and not with the enemy.

We look at them, and then, smiling from ear to ear, husky lads come over to us and ask:

"Where can we step in here?"

Volunteers, you understand, sons of— I don't know where they come from, but each carries a new rifle on his shoulder; they're oiled, in fact, and just shine. Some, we notice, show a red ribbon on the bayonet.

Ah, blast their hides! Noise, commotion, laughter. . . .

"Look, boys, look at the old fellow!"

"Hey, pop—you going to the war?"

"Well . . . I've sharp eyes, mother!"

"Hey, girls, stand aside, we'll tear your sarafans!"

We look up and we see our brave lads rolling out a machine-gun. A pug-nosed fellow wipes the sweat off his face with his hat and says:

"Show us where to stick in this spouter!"

"Come on, right here!"

"Oho-ho-ooo!"

"Some brute!"

"Never mind, he'll sneeze it out on our hills!"

"He'll cackle, all right!"

"He's had a long rest under the straw in a barn!"

"He! he! . . . Now look out, kondra-revolution!"

And in the evening Osip came from staff-headquarters with the news: "Get ready for the offensive quietly; we start in a day or two."

Well, that's all right—a scrimmage is nothing new to us.

And Osip, you know, mounted on a bay gelding, in a leather coat and boots, and at his side a long, long revolver. But the dingy, rust-colored cap remained unchanged, its crown completely flattened in.

The repair-brigade, on hand-cars loaded with implements, rushed off somewhere. Our Osip is a real hero, turns up here and there like an ace, gives orders and all that. . . . Quite a different man from yesterday's Osip!

Night fell, but few of us cared to turn in to sleep. The young folks scattered among the nooks here and there. In the houses—lights, feasting, chatter, this and that. . . .

The crescent-moon was already high, and the bittern boomed again in the forest; the nightingales, too, were not letting their chance go by. And we—some behind the hedge, some at the gate, and some just in the corner—cooing with the girls, in pairs. Ah, what great girls they are!

And there, on the meadow, a three-decker accordion was going strong, and our boys stamping away, now the komarinski, now the barynya.

IV

And all that time, at the depot, leaning over the fatally wounded who were lying on the floor, Flying Osip implored, hissing like a goose:

okolov, friend . . . I see you're about to . . . Tell me for the last time, about . . ."

The crescent-moon was gazing into the bullet-ed window with a greenish, smoky light, wag on the floor the shadow of the window. The wounded moaned and raved in many . . .

Sokolov was silent under his coat. In his at, or somewhere inside, something was rattling and gurgling. His face appeared dead and a by the light of the moon. . . ."

Sokolov . . . friend . . ."

"Don't torture yourself," gasped Sokolov.

"I need it . . . do you hear? . . . I need it!"

He bent down until he was on all fours, and still lower over Sokolov and began to tell in a hot, penetrating whisper how he had been in the enemy's rear, in the very capital of the Ural, had found out, sniffed out everything, and was to strike them squarely on the head . . .

"And from there, not sparing my head, I made way to Isetsky, to the site of my ruined home. . . . I crawled over to my house. . . ."

"I hid through the window. . . . Empty, quiet. . . . I hid so? I almost screamed with pain. I hid the window, do you understand, kissed the h . . . and the ground near the porch where the villains . . . A-a-ah!"

Sokolov grabbed his head, swung it to and fro, became silent for a moment, moaning as if with the hache, and again said to Sokolov:

"Friend, for the last time . . . How did it happen? Don't spare me. Tell me everything, every- . . ."

And Sokolov, with rattling gasps and long sobs, began to tell how the Whites had burst into the village, how they found out thru various bearers that Osip was the head man in every- . . . in the district, and how they broke into house. . . ."

"I did not see, I don't know what happened in house. Only, they dragged your wife, that is, Natasha, out on the porch. I see she is all in tears, breasts bare. . . . The little one is in her arms and Vasyatka clings to her skirt, bawling the way down the street. . . . The little officer opened to be a quick-tempered fellow, he complains that the brats interfere with his question—this bitch. . . . He turns to a soldier and sticks him both on a bayonet! The soldier started back, wouldn't do it. I see him now in my eyes, a red-haired fellow, and his eyes blink, blink. . . . The officer struck him one, lying square on his freckled face . . . He obeyed the little chap and banged him against the fence, like a fish . . . And the soldier, as if right, stuck Vasyatka with a bayonet, so to . . . Then your wife, Natasha, began to scream in a horrible voice, and like a vulture she pecked at the officer, grabbed him by the throat with her hands and teeth . . . O-o-oh!"

Sokolov choked. He tries to catch his breath something boils and rattles in his chest . . . He still bends over him, his head lowered stiffly, he trembles with a rapid shuddering, a sud- den twitching, and his clenched hands rest on the . . .

And Sokolov continued:

"He, the son of a—, grabs Natasha by the . . . with one hand . . . and the other hand, I reaches for the revolver. Vasyatka is struggling at his feet; he keeps pulling his trouser leg . . . He's all blue from the strain . . . The officer . . . points downward under his feet. Vasyatka fell in a lump and rolled down the steps, his little . . . stretched out, his shirt turning up The soldiers turned away. . . ."

Sokolov held his breath for a long time, and . . . obeyed the blanket with his fingers, as if listen- . . . to something within himself.

In his rage, he wanted to shoot her; it would . . . have been much better. But then . . . the devil . . . took two more. . . . Blue uniforms with gold . . . braid on their breasts. One had glasses, . . . again, he didn't have 'em, so to say; he had a . . . in one eye. . . . They grabbed Natasha, put . . . her face down. . . . Then the two sat on . . . tore her clothes off, and began to flog her . . . with the nagaika. . . . But she broke loose, I don't . . . know how. . . . And then she struck the one that had . . . ass in his eye straight in the mug. . . . He got . . . h. . . . He yells to the soldiers in a shrill . . . voice. 'Sharpen a stake, you sons of—!' And . . . self he grabs a birch-stake that was by the . . . and-pile near the fence. . . . 'Point it,' he yells, . . . and sharp!"

Sokolov, obviously excited, began to swallow . . . greedily, like a fish thrown on the sand. His . . . eyes filled with tears and glistened sharply in . . . moonlight that fell thru the window upon the . . . r. . . . And then . . . the sons of—dug the stake . . . into the ground with the point up. . . . They tore

off Natasha's clothes to the last rag . . . And stuck her naked, alive, on the stake. . . . Do you understand? They put Vasyatka and the little one at her feet. . . . And she stayed there for two days on the stake, horrible, blue. . . . They wouldn't let her be taken down. People burst into tears at the sight of her. . . ."

Sokolov turned away. With hooked fingers he grabbed the edge of the pillow, and an ominous wheezing came from his chest due to the burning pain of the disturbed wound between the shoulder-blades. . . .

Osip was sitting on the floor, with his head lifted up, like a huge, shaggy dog, ready to howl. . . . He looked wild and terrible in the moon- light. He was trembling with a rapid shudder- ing, like a dog,—his beard shook, and his teeth showing thru his beard, chattered with swift tremors, clenched, and chattered again. . . . His eyebrows twitched in strange bewilderment, in unbearable sorrow. . . .

V

Overnight the line was put to rights. The test locomotive woke up with its merry hoot- ing. We look and see that an armored-train, a "beetle," as we call it, was there too. Well, we started forward, Osip with our detachment, and at the very head. . . .

The staff kept turning to him all the time.

Well, what is there to tell? Of course, we can- not even understand how and what. . . . But it seems there were no preliminary attacks. It seems that we cut into the very center of the Whites. It was night-time. Again—that's more than we, just rank and file, can understand—but toward noon we had finished the job and were

snoozing in camp.

And our Flying Osip was attending to the captives. He was very strong on sparing captive soldiers. He would say a word or two to them and tell them to think it over. Well, and the lads straight off beg to shoulder rifles; they be- come ours.

But with their officers he had his own way. Don't you dare kill an officer, but by all means bring him to Osip. And he takes his long, long revolver, and—square on the bridge of the nose—bang! And walks off without turning back. Only, his eyebrow trembles a bit and his torn nostril twitches. . . . And sometimes he would drag thru his teeth:

"D-d-dog!"

And he had another way with him: when we came to rest in a little town or a village, then, you could be mighty sure of it, he wants a guitar. We—you know,—some go after the girls, and some hang around the eats—but for him—give him a guitar. Once, fools that we were, we gave him a balalaika. He silently pushed it aside—no good.

He would sit down somewhere, on the porch or on the logs, and, pulling his dingy old cap low down over his eyes, would begin to pinch the strings: trin-tren, tren-dren. . . .

He would forget himself, let his hand drop, and his head would sink lower and lower on the guitar. . . .

And at such times, tho it sounds strange—we were afraid of him. We were afraid, and we were sorry for him to death. Just think—what a terrible, inhuman load hangs over his head, if one rightly understands.

The Fascist "Amnesty" in Italy

By A. CHIARINI.

THE results of the amnesty which the Italian government timed for the 25th year of the king's reign are being felt more and more every day. The prisons which were cleared of the criminal elements and fascist hooligans which even a bourgeois government should have at least given a light sentence, are now becoming more and more filled with revolutionary workers, and primarily Communists. The persecution of Communists and all revolutionary workers in general, mass arrests, exceptional measures and extraordinary decrees against any kind of workers' unions whatsoever which are not under fascist control, are becoming more frequent every day. It would appear that the fascist government is even annoyed by the fact that thanks to parliamen- tary immunity, a few prominent Communists are still at large, and therefore charges are now being brought up against them to provide a plea for their imprisonment.

The cynical fascist "amnesty" loudly heralded as being "for public paci- fication" was widely advertised. On the one hand it was a kind of ex- pression of devotion of the fascist gov- ernment for the king, and on the other hand it was of a demagogic nature to show the wide masses that fasc- ism also is not devoid of "generosity" towards political prisoners.

Whereas former amnesties served as a stimulus for individual fascists to commit their unpunished crimes and acts of violence against the work- ers and peasants, this last amnesty has opened the doors wide to all fasc- ist cut-throats whose crimes even bourgeois justice had been unable to leave completely unpunished in face of public opinion.

With regard to the workers and peasants languishing in prisons, it would seem at a first glance that now the iron doors of the cells had been opened wide before them: 1,600 polit- ical prisoners were liberated as a re- sult of the amnesty, but they had hardly time to look around when a section of them was once more seized and clapped into jail, while the others who succeeded in dodging this recent lot of theirs were compelled to go away from their "homes" and live as political refugees in centers where they are not known and where the keen eye of the fascist "troopers" and police had not yet succeeded in hon- oring them with their attention. It is sufficient to say that during this last month of "public pacification" of the fascist government, another 2,000 revolutionary workers were again im- prisoned. And whereas before the

amnesty the average number of per- manent political prisoners fluctuated from 8,000 to 9,000, it now reaches about 11,000.

In addition to these permanent prisoners of capital, many of whom are condemned to imprisonment for life, thousands and thousands of work- ers suspected of being "Soviet" rev- olutionaries have been compelled to pass thru the school of the fascist prisons, even if only for a short time. In reply to Comrade Gramsci's ques- tion in parliament as to why these arbitrary mass arrests were being un- dertaken, Mussolini cynically stated: "We are arresting you in order to be- come acquainted with you." And this "acquaintance" which not thousands, but already tens of thousands of com- rades are being subjected to, will cost the working class of Italy very dear. This is all quite apart from the condi- tions inside the Italian prisons, the deprivation of wages, and the state of terror in which the families of the prisoners are kept. What is more, the arrested workers who are liber- ated are put on the black books of the police, the bosses and the fascist "troopers." This means that on the slightest pretext and even without any pretext they can be once more seized and thrust into jail, that it is with great difficulty that they can find any work, while they will also meet with persecution on the part of the local fascists. These workers are com- pelled sooner or later to emigrate from Italy or to be put in the posi- tion of political refugees within Italy itself, in places where they are not yet known and where the hand of re- action has not yet been able to reach them.

It is obvious that under such con- ditions, the problem as to thousands of political prisoners, of their unfor- tunate families, and of the thousands of political refugees resulting every- where from the fascist regime, faces the Italian working and peasant masses in all its gravity.

Already at the present time the Italian section of International Red Aid has about 150,000 members. But the society has not yet been formed everywhere, and its membership would be much larger if the very fact of belonging to this society of aid to class war prisoners were not con- sidered as a crime and punished by the legal and illegal fascist laws. Cases of persecution and ill-treatment of workers and peasants only because of their being known to conduct ac- tivities in favor of the International Red Aid, or simply thru an I. R. A. membership card being found on them, is a frequent occurrence in any large or even small center in Italy.

In certain localities activities of the International Red Aid are openly for- bidden by a police decree. Recently, for instance, Comrade Serrati, one of the most important I. R. A. leaders in Italy, was handed a decree by the Milan police prefect which forbids in Milan and the province the existence or undertaking of any activities what- soever on the assumption that "the I. R. A. is in contact with rev- olutionary organizations." In small centers the prohibition of I. R. A. activ- ities amounts in simply terrorizing those who show any activities in this direction, or who even show their sympathy. In spite of this, the Italian section of the I. R. A. has already dis- played a very considerable activity and has done a great deal in solidi- fying the workers' and peasants' united front of struggle with the white terror and in aiding its victims.

The black cloud of reaction is once more forcibly hanging over workers and peasants of Italy. The persecu- tions of Communists and of all rev- olutionary workers in general creates extremely difficult conditions of life and struggle for the workers and peasants in Italy.

Under these conditions, however much the fascist government may publish "amnesties," the number of political prisoners and of persecuted workers will continue growing, and the Italian section of the International Red Aid is now the mass organization which is actively and fearlessly rally- ing the workers' and peasants' front against the white terror and its stretching out its fraternal hand to the revolutionary captives.

**CHICAGO TO CELEBRATE
1905 RUSS REVOLUTION
ON DEC. 20, AT 2 P. M.**

Preparations are under way for a big celebration of the 20th anni- versary of the 1905 revolution and the 100th anniversary of the De- cembrists uprising. The celebration will be held Sunday, Dec. 20, at Schoenhofen Hall, cor. Milwaukee and Ashland Aves.

Over 150 people will participate in the concert program, speakers will address the crowd in different languages.

Beginning at 2 p. m. sharp. Tell your friends about it.

The celebration is arranged by the veterans of the revolution of 1905. There will be an admission charged of 25 cents for the benefit of the International Labor Defense.

Reply of Filipinos to Gov. General Wood

By CIRILO MANAT,
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of Chicago.

Chairman, Filipino Independence Com-
mittee of Chicago.

GOV. GENERAL WOOD is truly a man of character. And in the words of Mr. Bell, "He has magnetism. He has brains. He is not only a military man, but also a thinker and a statesman."

Nevertheless, his counsel will not be gulped and swallowed en toto by the Filipino people, unless they forget their long struggle for justice, their investment of blood and sacrifice, of life on the sacred altar of liberty, enriched and hallowed by the memory of their heroic dead. Allow us then in behalf of truth and justice to throw the light of reason upon the seamy but honeyed masterpiece of General Wood.

Boiled to a nutshell, his recent utterances may be summed up thus: "In behalf of christianity, I am opposed to giving absolute independence to the Philippines, not only now but for all ages and for all times."

In his own words, America must stay in the Philippines "indefinitely." If the Philippines is near America (as is Cuba), he would be willing to have the Filipinos try liberty. In other words since the Philippines is eternally and permanently located in the Orient—far from America—he would not be willing to have us try liberty.

WHAT are the reason given by Gen. Wood to justify his conviction? "Because," he says, "strife, disorder, and bloodshed would be the immediate results of Philippine Independence." What a rabid prophet of disaster! What an inconsistent critic is General Wood! In one breath, he says the future is replete with disas-

ter, and then in the next, he says: "I have visited 50 centers of life and motored extensively in the rural regions. I carried no arms. Not a weapon of any kind was needed in my party."

Wherefore, we ask General Wood, where will this foretold disaster come from? We can not believe that we can be peaceful now if tomorrow we shall cut each other's throats. We believe, and it is reasonable to believe, that we shall remain peaceful hereafter as we have been in the past. Allow us to remind our ardent benefactor that America too had strife, disorder, and much bloodshed during the civil war. If so, why expect too much of the Filipinos?

IN the next place, he argues that since the work America set out to do is only begun, because the Filipinos are still in their backward condition, America should stay in the Philippines indefinitely. Is General Wood honest? Terribly honest. If so, he must have forgotten his report, page 20, to the late President Harding in 1921 that the progress which has been made in the twenty-three years of American occupation is extraordinary. This report made President Harding say that the progress of the Philippines is without a parallel in the history of the world.

On page 21 of the same report, General Wood declares that altho Oriental in blood and birth, they (the Filipinos) are essentially Western in religion, in form of government, and in ideals and aspirations. This was in 1921, a year after the Harrison administration. If then we are backward today, the direct, immediate, and irresistible cause must be General Wood himself. In other words, Filipinization before his regime was not a great folly as he would have you believe, for, if it was a great folly no good results would have followed it. If we are backward now under his

regime, it is because he has assumed the role of a Louis the XIV and has usurped the constitutional prerogatives of the Philippine legislature. If we are non-constructive now, it is because he vetoes every constructive measure our legislature proposes, the most notable of which is his veto of the appropriation bill for the extension of education thruout the land. It is because he wants to gamble the natural resources of the Philippines to Wall Street. It is because he wants our national bank, our railroads, our sugar centrals, our mines, our rubber, farmlands, all managed by the American capitalists. It is because he is Americanizing us as he sees fit. This is more pernicious and criminal folly, when it is imposed upon and against the will of an alien, foreign people. Such Americanism as is preached by this grandiloquent exponent of imperialism is a carcinomatous cancer to democracy.

WHAT is the noble work, with all its investment of blood and treasure and twenty-five years of idealistic labor, set out by America that is today only begun? "To found a christian Filipino nation that will insure the deployment of christianity for the regeneration of the world."

This utterance is highly commendable. It is the expression of the noblest and loftiest. But why should America, the mother of liberty as the term is understood in the world today, impose upon the twelve million liberty-loving Filipinos a foreign government, deriving its power not from the consent of the governed but from the United States congress—a legislative body in which the Filipinos have no voice—just to insure the deployment of christianity?

We are surprised to see General Wood sounding the clarion call to such declaration of policy. No president of the United States ever thought that it is America's duty to

humanity to christianize the world. The Filipinos may well ask the American people to scrutinize Gen. Wood's declaration of policy. It should not be forgotten that to declare this principle, he ought to be a president of the United States.

Moreover, the United States constitution itself insures religious liberty. The principle is well settled and long established in modern democracies that the church and the state are and ought to be distinct and separate. And yet, here comes, the apostle of christianity, Gen. Leonard Wood, in his military garb and imperial regalia, telling us that it is treason to give political liberty to the Philippines to the detriment of the torch of the christian faith. To him the result would be lamentable! What a jejune jeremiade! The doctrine that church is paramount and supreme over the state belongs to the dark and middle ages. It is outworn and has no place in our modern world. We claim that it is treason and a crime to civilization to disregard the righteous cause of the Filipino people, just because christianity needs to be deployed.

IF the constitution of the United States is right, the Orientals have every right and liberty to remain pagan if they want to. The Filipinos are ninety per cent christian. We challenge General Wood to show a better nation of devout christians. We are, as he says, peaceful. We practice the ten commandments. Rape, adultery, burglary, divorce, murder, etc. ad infinitum are almost unknown in the Philippines. These are the antithesis of christian virtues and yet they abound in the Occidental world. The other Orientals are not ninety per cent christian. But can the western world deny that the Chinese have far superior virtues than those who talk of christianizing the world?

LABOR IN THE FAR EAST

By L. Heller

(Editor's Note.—The fifth instalment of Labor in the Far East tells us of the victory of the workers and the losses of the imperialists. What went before: 1. The Workers' Strike the Backbone of the Entire Nationalist Emancipation Movement. 2. The Revival of China's Labor Movement in 1914. 3. The Textile Workers and Their Struggle Against the Capitalist Offensive. 4. The National Anti-Imperialist Current and the Labor Current in the Shanghai Strike.)

PART V.

THE first results were extremely favorable to the fighting Shanghai workers. Such points of the settlement between the Chinese Seamen's Union and the Japanese shipping companies, as the reinstatement of all the strikers, the payment of wages for the entire period of the strike, the forthcoming negotiations for wage advances, signify an indisputable and important, tho not complete, victory for the Chinese seamen. The Textile Workers' Union apparently came to a similar agreement with the Japanese textile companies (full information is not available at this writing).

The negotiations on behalf of the Japanese company which were conducted by the Japanese general council, granted these concessions. The "paradise for employers" mentioned in the report of the British consul is apparently disappearing in China. The

Chinese worker, whom the Japanese capitalists could only recently mercilessly exploit without meeting resistance, whom the Japanese foremen could beat and intimidate with impunity, had begun to rebel. Worse than that, he even set up trade unions, formed councils and federations that must not only be recognized, but which even force one to retreat.

This victory of the Chinese workers is the more obnoxious to the Japanese bourgeoisie, that it will undoubtedly be reflected in Japan itself and strengthen the revolutionary wing of the Japanese labor movement.

WE do not know the exact losses sustained by Japan in the three months of the strike and in the boycott of her goods. As has already been mentioned the 1919 boycott resulted in the trade between Japan and China being reduced by 40%. The losses caused by the present strike and by the much more effective boycott are undoubtedly incomparably larger. This, apart from the general political motives, lie at the root of the present Japanese "leniency."

Japan's decision to seek a reconciliation with the Chinese workers thru serious concessions greatly weakens the position of the British capitalists in the strike. The losses sustained by Great Britain are tremendous. This is seen in the drastic falling off of the exports of the Lancashire textile industry, in the complete paralyzation of British shipping

in the Pacific. Each day of the Hongkong strike alone, according to the Hongkong correspondent of the London Times causes a loss of 250,000 pounds; the Hongkong losses for the two months' strike are equal at least to 15 million pounds. Wholesale bankruptcies have become the order of the day in Hongkong, and even the most solidly established firms are experiencing serious difficulties and cutting down their forces. Panicky Hongkong has been bombarding London with telegrams demanding immediate military intervention in

Hongkong, the crushing of the Chinese Bolsheviks, of the Moscow "bandits" who have seized power in Canton, who destroy civilization and culture, lead China to its doom, etc. But London is "reluctant." True, fresh troops have been brought up to Hongkong from India, a special warship loaded with hydroplanes arrived from Malta. Still, London is practically inactive. Moreover, London is actually preparing "treason" and seems to be inclined to compromise, to make concessions to the "rebellious slaves."

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Comrade Frunze

(An Appreciation of the Late Commissar of War of the Soviet Union, written at the time of the overthrow of Baron Wrangel in the Crimea)

By A. VORONSKY.

HE is well known to the workers, peasants, red army men and citizens of the Ivanovo-Voznessensk industrial region. He is not only well known from our days of revolt, but he is also well remembered from those days which have already receded far into the realm of the past.

In January 1907 on the outskirts of the town of Shui, a group of underground Bolshevik revolutionaries encountered by chance a police-sergeant by the name of Prelov a devoted bloodhound of that section of the gendarmerie whose work it was to exterminate internal enemies.

One of the group observed that it would be a good thing to remove the police sergeant or something similar. At that, another got down on one knee, drew out a Mauser and fired. The bullet missed fire. The sergeant turned round quickly and also opened fire. The comrade who had fired at the gendarme was unable to return the charge as the cartridge jammed in his Mauser so there was nothing for it but to bolt. The one who fired went under the nickname of Arsenia. He was a young student. He had radiant eyes and limped with one leg because in 1905 he was lassoed during a pogrom and dragged for one verst by savage drunken Cossacks.

It could hardly be said that the shooting of this police sergeant had been seriously thought out. All the more so as the firer was far from being a terrorist, and belonged to the Bolshevik social-democrats and participated in mass political work.

On March 24th, 1907, one of those whom the gendarmes and police had so long sought for was arrested in a conspirative apartment in the town of Shui. He was arrested with two Mausers in his hand; he had wanted to fire, but decided not to as there were children and other people in the house. He was called Arsenia, but that was only a pseudonym; his real name was Mikhael Frunze.

How deep this young underground worker was to the Shui workers may be gathered from the following. The news of the arrest of Arsenia spread over the whole town in a flash. The factories came to a standstill. The workers left off work and huge crowds went to the prison and demanded the liberation of Arsenia. The terrified police inspector was only able to appease the crowd by cunning and false promises and afterwards dispatched Arsenia to Vladimir in great haste. This incident was an interesting picture. The cold steel of bayonets of a whole company of soldiers flashed. File after file of the grey ranks swung by in measured steps. They were accompanying the one and only—Mikhael Frunze. He was worth a guard of honor.

After a few months during a certain trial, the police sergeant, Prelov, who was there as a witness chanced to meet Arsenia, who was also a kind of witness in the court, and thereupon announced that this was the man who had fired at him. They recorded the deposition and Frunze was faced with the death penalty. Frunze meanwhile was imprisoned. In prison he continued assiduously to study the Italian language, and the syndicalist movement.

The trial came off, and the death sentence was pronounced. The Italian lessons ended but he began studying English, I believe. Who knows, perhaps it may soon be necessary to go to England or Italy? Is it worth while for a young eager student to go to Italy or England? Of course it was, very much worth while.

The sentence was commuted. The prosecution protested. Once more the article on the death sentence, again a trial. And the police sergeant tried hard. According to a witness V. G. Korolenko ("Russian Wealth," No. 10, P. 134) he had a witness brought from Shui to Vladimir at his own personal expense and personally conducted him to the prosecutor of the Vladimir court. He was very zealous in destroying seditious mongers.

The sentence was again commuted. Once again the plaintiff protested. . . . And thus time went by. This affair dragged on for not less than two

years. For two years his fellow prisoners saw the strong young form, for two years unwillingly they were engaged in him, and for two years this vile strangulating noose hung over him. For two years he supposed that it would be necessary to go to England or to Italy. But what kind of a journey abroad would it be without understanding the languages? What great foresight on the part of those who study languages prior to going abroad?

Among people condemned to death two types may be distinguished it is extremely difficult to look at the one, while with regard to the others feelings are more involved and the sentiment of pain is replaced by proud consciousness that they know how to die bravely. To this latter type Frunze belonged.

His trial ended in exile. For six years he had to sit in the Vladimir Central Penitentiary. Under these deadening, damp, gloomy and hermit-like conditions, Mikhael aroused the thoughts of his comrades, did not let them pine for human sympathy, and brought assuagement into this perturbed, nerveracking atmosphere of these joyless prison days. . . .

Those days were the hey day of all kinds of outrages and ill-treatment of political exiles. At one time the head of the Vladimir Central Penitentiary was a certain Gudjms. To use Hugo's expression, this was a man with the face of a corpse and the soul of a devil. He was a disgusting fat butcher, with sleek flabby skin, a foul breath and eyes like beads. He was a mixture of an enraged mediocrity a jesuit and a hangman. . . . He had a particularly strong desire to subject Comrade Frunze to bodily punishment. . . . When some important state official or other visited the prison they always asked:

"Oh, say, you have got M. Frunze here haven't you?"

And the important one was conducted into the cell where he could feast his eyes on the victim and look him up and down with curiosity.

When fights, quarrels or scandals arose among the political prisoners, they always turned to Comrade Mikhael.

But such a fellow as this never gives one a chance to whip him or to truss him up. But let us once get hold of him. . . . and then we'll give him something to think about.

Nevertheless, even this butcher, this mixture of mediocrity, jesuit and hangman, never found an appropriate occasion for carrying out his intentions. He sought for such a chance persistently and stubbornly. . . . but the opportunity never came.

Years of imprisonment, and exile. Illegal work in Siberia, an attempt at a new arrest, flight, illegal life. . . .

They were forever on his track. . . .

ACROSS the far-off Volga Steppes the Ufa division of the black admiral lay stretched but in fighting columns. They were sure of themselves. They were marching on Moscow. These were the best troops, the hope and support, the well-tried royal bodyguard. On the other side of the lines came wagon loads of young troops of a new army but still weak. Some of the new soldiers wore cap-helmets with big red stars similar to the helmets of the Normans and the ancient heroes. These warriors, however, came from starved working class districts. And the workers of the Volga rallied to them. They came from a country encircled by a huge ring of fire, a country which seemed to be suffocating in a death-like embrace of cold. . . . Now they are entering the final death struggle. . . . They swept on and the Ufa division was smashed. Glory to the young army. But we do not forget its commander, Comrade Frunze, who although never having passed thru military staffs or academies, showed his distinguished talents as a red military leader.

The helmets with red stars have already flashed by Ufa. The black admiral plays his trump card, he sends forward the Kappel regiment.

The Kappelites marched forward. . . . The Kappel regiments know no defeat. . . . The Kappel regiments are marching on Moscow: their wagons

bear the inscription: Kurgan-Ufa-Moscow. . . . They have with them the most experienced military specialists of the old army.

Again an encounter. The Kappelites are smashed.

THIS is an episode from the battle. . . . A regiment with helmets with red stars was crossing a river. The enemy fired volleys of shells. . . . The detachments were making ever stronger and more audacious steps to break across. The people in the helmets were becoming disconcerted. . . . One detachment became shaky, another melted away. . . .

Comrades, this way. . . . Not one pace backwards. Follow me. Forward. Your commander-in-chief is with you.

A man runs forward limping, with a rifle in his hands.

"Forward, forward." The commander of the division, the unrestrained and fearless Chapaev, cries out:

"Comrade commander-in-chief. Go away from here. This is no place for you."

"Forward with me. I am taking over command of the regiment."

"Comrade commander-in-chief, it is I who am commander of the division here, and you have no right to command these troops."

A shell bursts. . . . Confusion. . . .

TWO years of imprisonment under a death sentence, six years exile and other wanderings, are not capable, fortunately and to the pride of humanity, of extinguishing the radiant energy from eyes, or building their fresh glitter, of depriving a man of his audacity—these things do not always clip a man's wings, or make him soft, feeble and dull. Honour and praise to humanity and to the party in whose ranks such people fight. . . .

On the Orenburg steppes, thanks to the skilful commanding on the part of this young red army leader, and thanks to his cautious tactics, sixty thousand Cossacks surrender.

It seems that he was not only able to defeat the enemy in the open struggle, but also make them surrender without bloodshed; and this is a particular talent.

On the Ural steppes Comrade Frunze stormed the army of General Tolstoy, a talented and clever black-hundredite.

In distant Turkestan the Caspian Sea is cleared under the leadership of Comrade Frunze. . . .

I hope the diplomats will excuse me, but I think that the brilliant activity of the Bukhara revolutionaries, which ended with the Emir, being deposed, were not entirely unconnected with the activity of our red general. . . .

Comrade Frunze conducted the military operations on the southern front against Wrangel—with remarkable persistence and audacity. The capture of Perikop and Sivash represents one of the most brilliant pages in the history of our revolution. The most experienced French generals had been at work on the fortifications of the Isthmus. Comrade Kamenev who inspected the southern front on the eve of the attack, on returning to Moscow gave an indefinite reply to a question as to the possibility of taking Perikop and Sivash. In this connection Steklov, in a leading article, also expressed rather wavering hopes.

BUT the red lava was already flowing on the Crimean Peninsula.

A Marxist, terrorist, agitator, underground worker, was commander-in-chief on the front.

Was it not true that he had the warm heart of a boy, the personal courage of a terrorist and rare talent?

But how did he come a strategist and military leader?

He certainly did not sit with folded arms, but learned, read, took lessons from old specialists, tested his steps, but in the long run who can trace the complicated, mysterious and torturous path, this most miraculous laboratory in the world called the brain, which produces a famous artist from a ragamuffin, and a military leader and the just pride of the new army from an underground agitator? Who knows?

Comrade Mikhael knows how to rally people around him and to choose the right men. All those who have ever worked with him know that. His victories are the victories of a great organizer. His comrades loved him, and specialists respect him. He "knows how to manage things." He makes people obey him by the force of his own personality, his words are simple, but command obedience better than official orders.

He is obeyed because of his personal charm, but not only because of this.

A certain acquaintance remarked in a conversation:

"Comrade Frunze is a very kind man."

But another one who had been together with him in the Vladimir Central Prison replied:

"You do not know him. He is gentle, it is true in his personal relations, but you do not yet understand that he is as hard as stone inwardly. He has tremendous will power and a strong heart."

This is more in keeping with the truth. He also commands obedience because his staunch heart and strong will make themselves felt.

A considerable role in making him a talented red military leader is played by the fact that in his spare moments he was always ready to amuse himself by playing about with firearms, cleaning them, taking them to pieces, assembling them again. . . . During these moments, he is just like a child playing with his toys.

L. N. Tolstoy divided people up into two categories: those in whom masculine attributes dominate, and those in whom feminine attributes dominate. In his opinion with the first category, actions are a result of the activity of the mind and are determined by the mind; with the second category the activity of the mind is directed at attaining aims evoked by emotion or at justifying actions caused by emotion.

I do not believe that Comrade Frunze belongs to either of these categories; with him his thoughts do not justify emotions and acts, because he is inwardly veracious; nevertheless, his emotions are not suppressed or violently restrained, he does not make them obedient silent helots of reason. There are some people with whom the synthesis of mind and feelings have now already attained a relatively high degree of harmony in a so inharmonious century as ours.

In my opinion Frunze is one of these.

We Bolsheviks are astonishingly lavish. Just look at our rivals and opponents. How carefully they collect and preserve in their minds everything worthy of note. With what love have they pictured Kalaev, Balmanov, Gershuni, not to mention the Cadet leaders. . . . We are frantically lavish. But after all is Comrade Frunze a less important figure than Kalaev, Gershuni and the others; just look at the wealth of color in this man. Agitator, Marxist, terrorist, a man condemned to the gallows, a commander-in-chief, fighting in the front line with rifle in hand. . . .

No, it is of real value to note these attributes if only because it will once more prove that the party of the revolutionary proletariat, despite all bloodshed by the allies and the most difficult of conditions, still has powder in the magazines.

To the Ivanovo-Voznesensk district Comrade Frunze is bound with ties of blood both in the past and in the present. In drawing attention to his distinguished qualities and services, we associate them above all with the red textile workers of our province, for it is with them that he fought on the Volga, at Ufa, Orenburg, in the Urals, by the shores of the Caspian Sea and in the Crimea.

Instruction in English

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In the Flames of Revolt Twenty Years Ago

By M. A. SKROMNY
(Reminiscences of the Revolutionary Days of 1905, by an old Rebel).

EDITOR'S NOTE:—In connection with the 20th anniversary of the revolution of 1905 we publish this series of word pictures of the revolution as told by a comrade who participated in the events of that time. This is the third story.

III.

In the House of Worship.

AFTER the pogrom the revolutionary movement in the city slowed down. Before the pogrom there was no trouble between the christian and Jewish population, there were no bad feelings. After the pogrom the trouble began. The different nationalities looked upon each other as enemies. It was quite a big job to bring some understanding and more unity between them for the sake of fighting the real enemy of both of them—the czaristic government. The revolutionists undertook that job.

The government, on the other hand, continued its work of bringing more hatred between the different nationalities. It began a systematic campaign to organize its forces for permanent work along these lines. Thus, for instance, the first patriotic organizations among the masses, made their appearance. Their main purpose was to "defend the czar and country from the reds and the Jews."

The hooligans, (hoodlums) as they were properly called, began their activities in the streets by beating up Jews, students and all those who looked like revolutionists to them. The police conveniently did not notice these beatings. The revolutionists were forced to organize in self defense. Thus the Boyevoy Otriad (military squad) of the revolutionary organization came to life in our city. It was under the strict and direct control of the city central committee.

THE most dangerous and difficult jobs were usually assigned to the B. O., as it was called. Such jobs were plentiful. The everyday task of the B. O. was to organize meetings. Under the laws of the czars, this was quite a job. There was no possibility of any kind to meet under the disguise of some legal organization for the simple reason that there were no legal organizations among the masses. Trade unions were not permitted, benefit societies or mutual aid societies, clubs or anything of the sort could not exist.

The only way workers could meet was illegally, in defiance of the law, taking thereby a chance of going to jail for three months or being exiled, if caught. It was the job of the B. O. to organize the meetings so as not to endanger the workers and the party leaders. Usually nobody, except the members of the B. O. knew where the meeting is to be held. They would find the room, usually by a comrade or sympathizer, and then would lead the workers from the shop or the "birja" to the place of the meeting. A member of the B. O. would take along with him one or two workers, two other workers would follow at a distance so as not to lose sight of them until they would come to the meeting place. Not more than two or three would enter a house at one and the same time. Other members of the B. O. would do the same. If it was necessary the trip would be repeated many times. Coming every time from a different direction so as not to become conspicuous on the street. After the meeting was already under way it was the business of the B. O. to watch the police and warn against a raid, and sometimes to hold off the police in order to give the comrades time to disperse.

THE "birja" was mentioned and a little explanation is necessary for "foreigners," those who were not fortunate enough to participate in the movement at that time.

After work the workers would usually go home or to the "chaynaya" (tea room), and after supper every party member and sympathizer would go to the "birja" (exchange). But

In the Defense of Red Petrograd



The Red Guard that came after the Boyevoy Otriads (military organization) in the October days. The Red Army came after the Red Guard.

this was not a labor exchange in the usual sense of the word. Not having any meeting clubs or buildings the workers would select streets or parks were people usually promenade, in order to see each other, to meet friends and to attend to party business that could be attended in such a manner. The different parties usually had their different "birjas" that were well known to everybody including the police. But the police was helpless, because thousands of other people were promenading in the same places. From time to time raids would be conducted on the "birjas" but that would only create trouble for the police. Many strangers would be picked up against whom nothing could be proven, indignation would be created among the indifferent, and sometimes real fights with the police would result. If any known comrade was taken, the B. O. would rush to his home, make a general clean-up taking out every discriminating book, letter, or piece of illegal literature. By the time the police would arrive, everything had been cleaned out and the police would gain nothing.

The B. O. also had many other more difficult tasks, as for instance, the organizing of street demonstrations, mass meetings, the distribution of literature. At the same time it was training, theoretically, of course, how

to build barricades, how to use a gun, etc. Once in a while small groups of the B. O. would go out of town into the hills for target practice, and then they would discover that they don't know much about a gun, but they did the best under the circumstances.

AFTER the pogrom it was very difficult to obtain rooms for meetings. The Jews were afraid that the christian neighbors would betray them, and the christians were afraid that the Jews would betray them. Especially difficult became the situation after a meeting was attacked by a group of hooligans. The meeting was called for the purpose of organizing the seamstresses. The party was functioning organizing workers into underground unions for the economic as well as political battles. On the way home the girls were attacked by a group of hooligans and some of them badly beaten up.

This forced the B. O. to be more careful and to find safer places for meetings.

One cold winter night a very important meeting was arranged and when the comrades were brought to the meeting place, they found themselves in a Jewish synagogue. The watchman was somewhat sympathetic and being poor agreed for a certain consideration to allow us to meet there.

That synagogue was used a number of times and then it became dangerous.

At another time we also used a synagogue, but without the consent, or better say, in spite of the protests of the owners.

The Jews as well as the christians continued to pray daily for the health of the czar and his whole damned family. Finally we decided to do something about it. A proclamation was prepared and distributed over the city. The B. O. at the same time arranged a raid on a synagogue, one of the biggest in the neighborhood. About a dozen members of the B. O. were assigned to the job.

It was a Jewish holiday, the house of worship was crowded to capacity. We came up from different directions and took up positions at the different entrances. Everybody was permitted to enter, but nobody to leave. Then came forward the speakers with their bodyguards. They walked up to the central platform where honors are sold for kissing the tora (holy scriptures). Ane speaker raised his hand and announced that he represented the revolutionary organization of the city and warned everybody to keep their seats and avoid trouble, as the Boyevoy Otriad is at the doors and it won't do anybody any good to start something.

THE crowd was dumbfounded and no one stirred.

"You are praying every day for the health of the bloody czar, the czar that made the pogrom on you in this city," the speaker began in the Jewish language. "You are kissing the boot that kicks you. How long will you stand for this outrage? How long will you be slaves?" He continued with a short revolutionary talk winding up with: "Down with the bloody czar! Long live the revolution!"

He was followed by the other speaker in the Russian language with a similar talk, calling upon the Jewish workers to unite with the christian workers for the overthrow of their common enemy—the bloody czaristic government.

When they finished, a rain of proclamations came fluttering down from the gallery where the women's department was located. The people began to read the proclamations and we quietly left the place.

Somebody notified the police, but when they came no trace of the "reds" could be found.

The Red Army a School for Citizens

THE red barracks, the red army of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, are not only a school for the military training and preparation of red army men, but are also a school for educating them to be citizens and cultured workers. The following figures will show us what tremendous work the red army is doing in this respect amongst the various regular and territorial units.

"Leninist Corners" in Army.

There is a tremendous network of what are termed "Leninist corners" in the red army. Here the red army men spend the hours of their leisure and carry on autodidactic work. There are 4,500 such corners in the red army. The club, study circle and library work among the rank and file of the red army is of a very extensive nature. The number of books read increases year by year. In 1923, 6,438,484 books were borrowed from the red army libraries and in 1924, 10,051,804.

Educating a Nation.

The workers' republic is conducting tremendous work in the field of liquidating illiteracy. Unfortunately, until now a fairly large percentage of illiterates have entered the red army. On the average they fluctuate around 20%, and we are liquidating this illiteracy during the time of service in the ranks of the red army. In 1924 we instructed 33,421 absolute illiterates, which represent 9%; also 33,717 semi-literate, that is 11.6% making a total of 71,138. In 1925 we will finish the liquidation of illiteracy; we are instructing 28,947 totally illiterates

and 44,257 semi-literates,—a total of 73,204.

Particular attention should be drawn to the cultural work conducted by our territorial units. Both during the preliminary training in the work of the territorial units themselves, not only the newcomers, but the entire male population of our villages in general take part. The following example will give an idea of this work. In the Vologda and Cheripovitz provinces 28% of the members of military study circles are those who have already undergone military training while the rest are ordinary peasants. In the Trotsk county of the Pskov province, out of 4,220 people attending the military study circles, 670 are ex-red army men while the rest have not yet undergone military training. We have a similar state of affairs in other territorial divisions.

A Different Kind of Commander.

The commanding and political staffs of our units are beginning to enjoy ever greater respect and recognition on the part of the peasants. Here is the opinion of a peasant from the Voronezh province concerning our commanders: "This is really our army. In the old days, we could not even go near the officers, but now the commanders are our best comrades and counsellors." When our commanders leave the villages after carrying on work there among the new recruits, there are scores and hundreds of applications from lower Soviet organizations, and from the peasant population, requesting that they be allowed to remain behind in the coun-

tryside to carry on ordinary civil Soviet work. This goes to show that the red army is the offspring of the working class and peasantry in the true sense of the word and that it is a tremendous cultural force in the countryside. The red army intends carrying on this work in the future, and we are firmly convinced that this work will give us the unity and the mutual understanding between the red army and the workers, between the rear and the red front, which is the foremost and truest guarantee for the future victories of the workers' republic.

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