

Juanita Preval

FIFTY-ONE MINERS KILLED IN COAL MINE EXPLOSION AT SULLIVAN, IND.
Proper safety appliances had not been installed "because they eat up to much profit."

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

A Combination of the Labor Herald, Liberator, and Soviet Russia Pictorial

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APRIL, 1925

No. 6

Rear Admirals and Russian Recognition

By Earl R. Browder

SOME one has said:
"What fools think, is important because there are so many fools."



EARL R. BROWDER

What are the fools thinking—the rotarians, the kiwanises, the clubwomen, the little cockroach business men of the commercial clubs, the labor leaders and the ministers of the gospel—the socially articulate who get their opinions ready made from the Saturday Evening Post and the Sunday supplements and pass them on to their underlings?

What are the opinions of the middle class groups, who still mold to too large an extent the thoughts of the working masses of the United States, on British-

American rivalry, recognition of Soviet Russia, American imperialist policy in the Far East, the need for a larger navy and more aircraft?

These are the issues which are featured by the press and once we determine its attitude on them we have a good idea of the direction in which the ruling class of the United States wants the current of thought to flow.

When we take a good look at the questions treated by the capitalist press we notice something that gives us a start if we remember that isolation from world affairs was traditional for the United States just a few short years ago.

Every one of the burning issues of the day deals directly or is intimately connected with matters of foreign policy. Until 1914 the job of Secretary of State was a place to pension off some deserving political supporter. Today it is the most important post in the cabinet. Until the war for democracy began to make Europe a slaughter house the Secretary of State did not have work enough for one amateur stenographer. Today he has an army of attaches who keep their fingers on the pulses of every capital in the world.

One more thing the headlined news has in common—not one of these questions can be divorced from the rest or any solution arrived at independently.

American foreign policy no longer is confined to securing indemnity for the what was probably justifiable extinction of a photograph salesman in Costa Rica or the release of bibulous sailors from some one of the port jails of the seven seas; it is a world policy with the United States playing a dominant role in finance, diplomacy and in war—as in 1917.

Let us look for a moment at the international alignments.

Three great nations hold the center of the stage; around them, or rather within overlapping circles which they form, revolve the satellites.

Great Britain is the center of a world system. So is America.

So is Soviet Russia.

Great Britain and America have but one mutual bond—they are capitalist nations and hate Soviet Russia with all the bitterness that fear of their loss of power can arouse in them. At every other point they meet as enemies—in the field of finance, in the race for oil, in the contest for the power to rob China, in shipping and in the world markets.

There are two great wars being fought before our eyes—the war for world supremacy between Great Britain and America and the war for world supremacy between these two great capitalist nations and Soviet Russia.

It is well to say here that Soviet Russia merely symbolizes the force that contests with capitalism for power. It is the Communist International and the millions of workers and farmers of all races and nations who accept its leadership that British-American imperialism fears. It is an enemy WITHIN the gates which leaves capitalism without that primary military necessity—a strong rear.

America is in far better position in both the imperialist war and the class war than Great Britain. The working class of America has not tasted the bitter crust of mass starvation and hopeless unemployment

that is the daily food of the British workers. The trade union and political movement here is years behind that of Great Britain. The American workers are still obsessed for the most part with the fallacy that this is a land of equal opportunity.

America still feeds herself.

American imperialism moves into the conflict for world hegemony with a steady step. Her limitless resources that no foreign power can capture assure her of the material backing for markets and war. Her capitalists can devote all of their attention to creating the necessary mass psychological background for conquest.

For the present she does not fear Soviet Russia to the same extent as does Great Britain. America has no India along whose northern frontier are peasant and pastoral masses who see in Soviet Russia their deliverer.

Soviet Russia is much more of a menace to Great Britain than to America—Hughes could not see this, or if he did would not act accordingly. He has gone. The assiduous Senator Borah, the liberal middle class appendage to the Republican Party of big capital, gets the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations committee. Kellogg, ex-ambassador to Great Britain, who for eight months has been watching closely the foreign policy of our overseas cousins, takes the job of Secretary of State.

We have now a rough sketch of the world background and it resembles a powder magazine sheltering a number of careless boys who have chosen to hide from their parents while they smoke cigarettes.

All of the ingredients for a first class explosion are present. It has become apparent that what fools are thinking is indeed of some importance.

In the later part of February President Coolidge, Secretary of War Weeks, Secretary of the Navy Wilbur and other high government officials" (we quote from the Chicago Tribune) conducted a school in Washington. The school had but one course in its curriculum—"National Defense as Peace Insurance."

The fools were to be made to do some organized thinking.

The pupils were delegates from women's patriotic societies and the claim was made that they represented sixteen million club-women. They had been called to Washington to listen to the official reasons for a substantial increase in the armed forces. The instructors were almost without exception naval and military men.

Rear-Admiral W. W. Phelps was one of the lecturers. His remarks were given the greatest prominence in the capitalist press. Here are extracts from his lecture featured in the Washington dispatches:

The American open door principle has been invoked to help American citizens secure oil concessions. Wherever we turn, this principle has so successfully been combatted by the imperialistic

powers and fought by our own provincial powers for temporary partisan ends, that American rights and interests have been pretty generally defeated."

Let it be noted that the admiral uses the word "imperialistic" as an opprobrious term. Does America come under that classification? Perish the thought: Do we not know that it is only the enemy whose purposes are unholy and that the God of the Founding Fathers smiles warmly upon our own own unselfish motives?

"The result is that the bulk of the world's oil supply is in English control, and within another generation, when our own oil pools are drained, as they are being drained not only by us but also by England and Japan to conserve their own oil reserves, your navy and merchant marine will be at England's mercy for their fuel."

Here is the ancient foe, the hated redcoat of our school days, parading in full-plumed readiness, the "imperialistic" monster that Phelps, the outspoken militarist names with high disregard for diplomatic usage.

"As people are ordinarily polite the world over, none of them are so rude as to tell us exactly what they think of us. Given all these situations, it is not too much to expect that the nations who owe us huge sums which they spent settling quarrels among themselves, will coalesce whenever they can pos-

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American Shibboleths

NO. 2 FREE SPEECH.



"Let Your Superintendent Be Your Labor Leader"

By Robert Minor

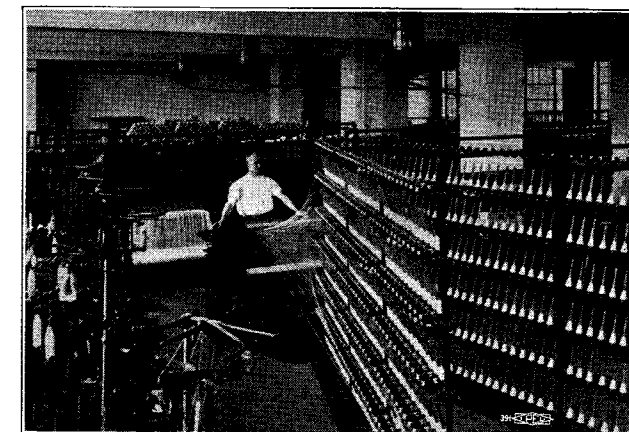
"GO AHEAD on the basis that your overseer and your superintendent are your labor leaders . . . Don't be misled by any so-called labor leader outside of your own mill to believe that it will profit you anything to do less work or to make more jobs for more people . . . In many mills wages have already been cut at least ten per cent . . . Increased production per operative, and a consequent lowering of the cost of production is going to be the salvation of cotton manufacturing in New England . . . In one cotton mill . . . the weavers used to run sixteen automatic looms; now they are running thirty-two automatic looms up to 60 inches in width . . . In another mill the operatives have doubled up on the work, . . . the weavers tend more looms, spinners tend more sides of spinning, card-room help tend three frames where they used to tend only two; all extra hands have been done away with, and this 100,000-spindle mill with 3,000 looms, which before the war employed 1,200 operatives, now runs full with 600 operatives, . . . This doubling up of the production per operative has become very common in New England . . . Go ahead on the basis that your overseer and your superintendent are your labor leaders, and make them be your leaders in fact as well as in name . . . Don't be misled by any so-called labor leader outside of your own mill to believe that it will profit you anything to do less work, or to make more jobs for more people . . . You can beat the life out of the operatives in any other mills if you will make a race of it . . . Go into the savings bank and ask the president of the bank, or the cashier if all of this isn't true. Ask the clergyman of your church."

The foregoing words are quoted from a single propaganda statement on behalf of the cotton and woolen textile capitalists of New England, which appeared in the Fall River Globe, February 9, 1925, as a paid advertisement signed by the "American Wool and Cotton Reporter." In quoting I have rather arbitrarily placed at the beginning two salient lines which appear again in their regular order; and I have deliberately omitted several plainly insincere references to "increased earnings" which are only a bit of raw lying intended to soften the hard fact of wage reductions.

Program of Textile Multimillionaires

The quotation expresses in illuminating words the program which is being expressed in grim action in New England and elsewhere. Considering New England alone, the program constitutes an effort to transform the entire lives of hundreds of thousands of working-class population. It is hardly possible to make the reader understand the tremendous significance of this. It is not a mere reduction of wages; it is an effort to alter and further to deplete the whole basis of life of a working class population. The mill owners have plainly in view a plan to introduce into the wage-labor system a ghastly modern imitation of feudal class relationships—an effort which very logically raises the slogan "Let Your Mill Superintendent Be Your Labor Leader!"

As to the wage cut itself it is officially called "at least ten per cent." "At least ten per cent" turns out to be—in



IN A SPINNING MILL
All these spindles are operated by a single worker. He receives somewhere around \$25.00 a week.

the pay envelope—often as much as twenty or twenty-two per cent reduction. That is, the reduction of pay in relation to the amount of time spent at work. But the reduction of pay in relation to the amount of labor done—that is, in relation to the amount of production—is in many cases more than fifty per cent. The mill superintendents do not speak of the reduction of pay without calling in the same breath for "doubled production per operative." And the proof that they mean to get twice as much production out of each worker, lies in their bland admission that with half the textile workers doing as much work as all did before, they intend to throw on to the street the other half of the mill force.

All over New England today, mill superintendents and overseers, under admitted and advertised instructions to "be the labor leaders in fact as well as in name," are propagandizing the mill workers to "do more work and get increased earning." For instance, in the Atlantic Mill—a woolen mill of a big corporation at Olneyville, a suburb of Providence, R. I., the superintendent came around to each weaver a few weeks ago to tell how each "could make more money." Each was to run three looms instead of two, thus turning out 50 per cent more goods and supposedly getting 50 per cent more piece-work pay. Very well; the weavers tried it. But no sooner had they gotten under way at this system, than the piece-work rate was reduced from \$12 per "cut" (roll of cloth) to \$8 per cut. At first glance this seems to be a simple case of speeding up the work while leaving the amount of earnings unchanged. But look again: Weavers cannot, in fact, keep up the pace. The result is that workers who were making about \$35 a week (skilled weavers) are now running three looms instead of two and receiving less than \$20 per week. And this is in woolen mills. Woolen mills are supposed officially not to be affected by the wage-cut, which is officially put forward as applying only to cotton mills.

Rear Admirals and Russian Recognition

(Continued from page 244)

sibly do so on whatever policies will seem to them calculated to break our favorable balance of trade."

..... One of the primary objectives of the League of Nations, under the leadership of England, is to devise some policy to destroy the American favorable balance of trade."

..... Serious differences are brewing with England over shipping policies. These differences can be prevented from developing into conflict only by a strong navy. That America determines to build up a great merchant marine fleet has created against us the bitter animosity of the English shipping interests."

Notice that the England is mentioned specifically SIX times. Japan ONCE. This is an approximate indication of the extent of the menace of each to the imperialists of America.

Japan interferes in two spheres only—oil and China—and in a minor degree.

England ranks first as a rival in China (the admiral mentions the failure of the "open door" policy to "protect American interests.") Second, England is a competitor for the world's oil supply. Third, she is the most powerful of the defaulting debtors. Fourth, she is our chief trade rival. Fifth, she is a danger to the American merchant marine. Sixth, she has the most powerful navy in the world.

Yes, Japan takes sixth place as a potential foe. Not in point of time, for we may have war with Japan before we clash with England, but England is the enemy against whom most of the energy of the nation is to be directed.

No more frankly provocative speech has been delivered by a responsible official of the United States since the parliamentary battle over the armed ship bill when the "twelve wilful men" exhausted their vocabularies in denunciation of the motherland.

Such statements, unless disavowed immediately by the state department, are generally taken to mean a severance of diplomatic relations. The admiral, however, has not even been rebuked. The tolerant attitude of his superiors is a striking contrast to that displayed towards General Mitchell, who spoke out of his turn and exposed the weakness of the air fleet.

Navies are the weapons of aggression in the far reaches of the Pacific and Atlantic. It is a navy more powerful than Britain's that our imperialists want.

The admiral's fiery remarks were a juicy bit for the capitalist press correspondents who have been surfeited for

eight years or thereabouts with the official bunk concerning "hands across the sea," "blood is thicker than water" and "the noble mission of the two great anglo-saxon races." The correspondents raced for the War, Navy and State departments. The admiral would undoubtedly get his, they told one another. Not so.

The Secretary of State said there was "nothing in the offing that could not be settled diplomatically."

The Secretary of War said, "Nothing has come up that cannot be settled."

The Secretary of the Navy—"He just grinned." That was that. Evidently Admiral Phelps had obeyed orders and said what he was supposed to say.

Let us discount as much of the admiral's speech as we wish. Let us say that 75 per cent of it was "navy propaganda." After all what is a navy? It is an instrument of aggression and not of defense—it is the modern weapon of imperialism.

And what is the reason for the announcement from official sources of the intention of the administration to open negotiations with Russia?

And what became of the disarmament conference Coolidge was going to call and which sent the pacifists into an ecstatic delirium? It has disappeared from the capitalist press.

It is not wise to have fools do too much thinking about disarmament when the need is for a larger navy, more oil for that navy so it can extend the American world empire.

But other admirals have been turned loose to guide the thoughts of fools. Admiral Fiske, speaking in New York last month was more general, but just as emphatic as Admiral Phelps. Admiral Fiske merely glorified war before the Wayne County, Pennsylvania Society of New York. This American Bernhardt declared:

"War has been a protector and promoter of civilization in the main. In fact, no civilization has ever existed except under the protection of some organized government, which maintained order by employing military force, and which has been brought into existence by a succession of wars. Furthermore, no recognized government has ever been able to continue long, unless it could and did protect itself by war.

"As to the expense of armies and navies, we ought to realize that the money spent on a navy goes as wages to American workmen in every industrial and mechanical art and manufacturing business in the country. The nation would not be any poorer if the navy were made ten times bigger than it is."

To these and other utterances of Admiral Fiske the capitalist press did full justice. The New York World headed the story: "Fate of Carthage Menacing America," declares admiral; War Promotes Civilization; Sees Need to Protect Wealth; Better Spend on Navy Than on Furs and Silks."

The country that is to play Rome to our Carthage? Great Britain.

What do the revolutionary diplomats and political observers of Soviet Russia say of the connection between the British-American rivalry, America's strained relations with

Japan and the new Administration policy towards Russia? Their opinion is well worth reading. It is the considered opinion of Communist diplomats whom MacKenzie of the Chicago Daily News compliments by saying that Soviet Russia "for the moment at least has beaten the United States in the diplomatic battle in China. . . got the better of Britain in Afghanistan. . . in Europe, is diplomatically gaining ground every week." No diplomacy, says this enemy of Communism, "of our age has gained such triumphs."

Says the Soviet Ambassador to China, Karakhan, in a recent number of the International Press Correspondence:

"The agreement with Japan, which has strengthened our position in the Pacific Ocean, serves as a warning to America, that by refraining from concluding a treaty with us, it is only worsening its own position. . . For Japan the agreement has at present a still greater importance than for us. The threat of isolation which characterizes the present situation of Japan, is removed by the existence of a power on the Asiatic continent friendly to Japan. . . We look forward to extensive economic cooperation with Japan, which will offer us the possibility of developing our productive forces and of supplying Japan with those raw materials without which she is completely dependent upon America and England. . . reports received from America go to prove that America is beginning to perceive all the disadvantages of the non-existence of relations with us. It is true that these reports express the fear that negotiations with America will be equally prolonged and difficult as were the negotiations with Japan. But I consider this to be incorrect. As a matter of fact, there are fewer disputed questions separating us from America than was the case in the negotiations with Japan."

This is a plain statement that the driving force of her imperialist policy in the Far East forces America to recognize Soviet Russia.

Let us quote one more Russian. Peritus, writing from Moscow, is even more specific than Karakhan. Speaking of the rumors of recognition following the resignation of Hughes, he says:

"The key to the solution of this very interesting event is to be found in the increased activity of American world policy. Viewed from this standpoint, the recognition of the Soviet Union is only part of a big scheme, but a part which has now become essential for the further development of America's active policy. This development is now becoming impossible without the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union. . . the active participation of America in the reconstruction and pacification of Europe by an inescapable logic leads America to a resumption of relations with the Soviet Union. . ."

"The active policy of the Soviet Union in the Far East, the strengthening of its influence in China, the far-reaching changes which are taking place in China itself, the strengthening of the anti-American elements in China, the approaching arrival of an official representative of the Soviet Union to Tokyo,

these are some of those facts which are inevitably driving American policy to greater activity in the international field. Aggressive imperialism in the Far East was represented by the Anglo-Japanese alliance whilst America represented the policy of non-intervention in the inner affairs of China and of the open door for all. Since the Conference of Washington the Anglo-Japanese alliance has ceased to exist. In its place there is at work in China the Anglo-American bloc, which is in no way an alliance. The Anglo-American bloc is due to the fact that England does not venture to intervene in China without America. As the next step there appeared the necessity for a solution of the very acute problem of interallied debts: a problem which is indissolubly connected with the economic relations between the West and the Soviet Union. The problem of international debts and the resulting possible profound changes in French policy must compel American policy to a more active participation in all European affairs.

"The economic interests of America, especially the oil interests, are drawing it into the affairs of the Balkans and the Near East. An important role in the raid of Achmed Zogu into Albania was played by the support of American agents who are connected with great American firms. The oil interests of America in Mesopotamia and the greed on the part of Americans for concessions in Asia Minor led to the well known intervention of the American observer in Lausanne, who insisted upon the protection of American interests, the more so, as in Persia the policy of America is closely connected with the world interests of Standard Oil.

"But the international policy of Standard Oil brings America into immediate contact with the Soviet Union. Standard Oil has for a long time favored boycott and intervention against Soviet Russia and staked all its cards upon counter-revolution. But times change and the policy of Standard Oil towards the Soviet Union has undergone a complete alteration. More and more is Standard Oil becoming a big purchaser of the oil products of the Soviet Union. As Standard Oil is one of the largest undertakings in existence dealing with mineral oil, it has to purchase crude oil from abroad, particularly in view of the visible shrinking of the supplies in America."

Do we need additional evidence of the relationship of forces in world affairs that changes the American policy towards Russia? Here it is.

According to the latest figures on oil consumption furnished by the Department of Commerce, American industry and the American navy is using 18,000,000 barrels of oil more than is produced at home. The navy needs a minimum of 10,000,000 barrels annually.

Hardly had the resignation of Hughes been followed by the announcement of a change in the Russian policy of the Administration than the news was released that Standard Oil had purchased 150,000 tons of kerosene and 20,000 tons of gasoline from the Baku and Grozny fields of the Soviet Government and had taken an option on 50,000 tons more for delivery in 1926.

Great Britain is not going to get the oil from the only remaining source of supply open to American imperialism abroad if our patriots can help it.

The Communist International has said over and over again that the imperialist rivalries within capitalism are the greatest factors making for revolution. The diplomacy of the workers and peasants government of Russia, which is Communist diplomacy, has been based on the ineradicable conflicts within capitalism. Has it met the final test? Has it worked?

Let the capitalist press and the more despicable enemies of Soviet Russia and the Communist International,—the "socialist" hangmen of the revolution—answer this question as America, the would be conqueror of the world, bows to forces that the youngest Communist understands, forces unleashed by the capitalist system and used against capitalism by revolutionary workers and peasants of the Communist Parties of the world.

If we read the more intelligent capitalist press, from now on we will find that Soviet Russia is no longer the black-guard among nations. The capitalist press will discover that tremendous changes have taken place in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia, changes that will be given as reason why "democratic" America can now do business with her.

The menace to world peace will now become the Communist International and its leaders. Already the capitalist press has spoken very sympathetically of Trotsky and all the harlot tribe of journalists emphasises the handicaps placed

on the soviet diplomats by the Russian Communist Party. First the European press and now the American press devotes much space to the discussion on Trotskyism in the Communist International. Zinoviev is vilified as only Lenin was before his death. The evidence of any opportunistic tendency within the International bring encomiums for its adherents and for the first time we begin to read in the capitalist press of "sane Communists."

In war on the Communist International and the Communist Parties, Great Britain and America can join hands. Not only will these greatest imperialist nations form a united front for this offensive but into it will come France and Italy, Germany and the Scandinavian countries followed by all the vassal states from Rumania to Finland.

Two wars are in preparation. The imperialist war for the control of the world by one or the other of two powerful nations—and the war between capitalism and Communism.

Is it important to know what the fools are thinking and how it is that they think as they do? I think so.

More important that this however, is the Communist duty of preventing the middle class fools from dragging in the bloody wake of imperialism, in its internecine strife and in its war on the world revolution, our class—the working class.

This is the task of the Communist Party of America and it is a task made not less but more urgent by the coming recognition by America of Soviet Russia—a change in policy that indisputably means the intensification of the conflict between British and American imperialism.

Committee for International Workers Aid, National Office, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago

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30435 A. Mencke, Cleveland, Ohio	2.50	
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30438 Otto Olson, Troy, N. Y.	18.00	
30439 Paul Hanp, Hawley, Pa.	1.25	
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30442 So. Slav. Bureau, W. P., Garden City, L. I. N. Y.	14.00	
30443 Theo. Mevans, Aberdeen, Wash.	1.00	
30444 A. Mencke, Cleveland, Ohio	2.50	
30445 I. W. A. Committee, Akron, Ohio	102.50	
30446 I. W. A. Committee, Boston, Mass.	216.57	
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30462 Victor Nevanen, Drummond, Mich.	6.00	
30463 Finnish Workers Society, Leadville, Colo.	5.25	
30464 Clinton Finnish Branch, W. P., Clinton, Ind.	10.00	
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30466 Antoinette Brooks, Rockford, Ill.	6.00	
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30468 Josephine Salminen, No. Stanington, Conn.	1.00	
30469 F. Swami, Michgame, Mich.	5.25	
30470 S. F. S. S. Osasto, San Francisco, Calif.	12.75	
30471 Henry Berlung, Chicago, Ill.	1.00	
30472 J. P. Haven, Casmalia, Calif.	1.50	
30473 Edna L. Good, Los Angeles, Calif.	4.00	
30474 Eusebies Alvarez, Tampa, Fla.	2.00	
30475 Minneapolis L. D. C., Minneapolis, Minn.	15.00	
30476 Wm. Pelster, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00	
30477 F. Milman, Br. 516 W. C., Chicago, Ill.	1.50	
30478 Cancelled		
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