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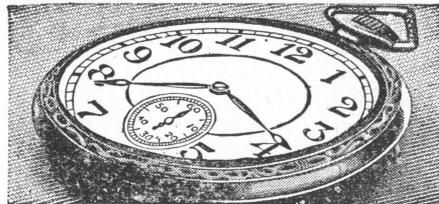
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Nikolai Bukharin—A Friendly Caricature

even where the belief in the present Farmer-Labor movement was not strong enough for active participation in the campaign, the pro-labor party tendency manifested itself by abstentions. The workers did not go back to the Republican Party but rather abstained from voting, waiting for a revival of a militant political labor party movement. This is evidenced by the unusually low votes cast in the proletarian precincts of Minneapolis and other cities of the state.

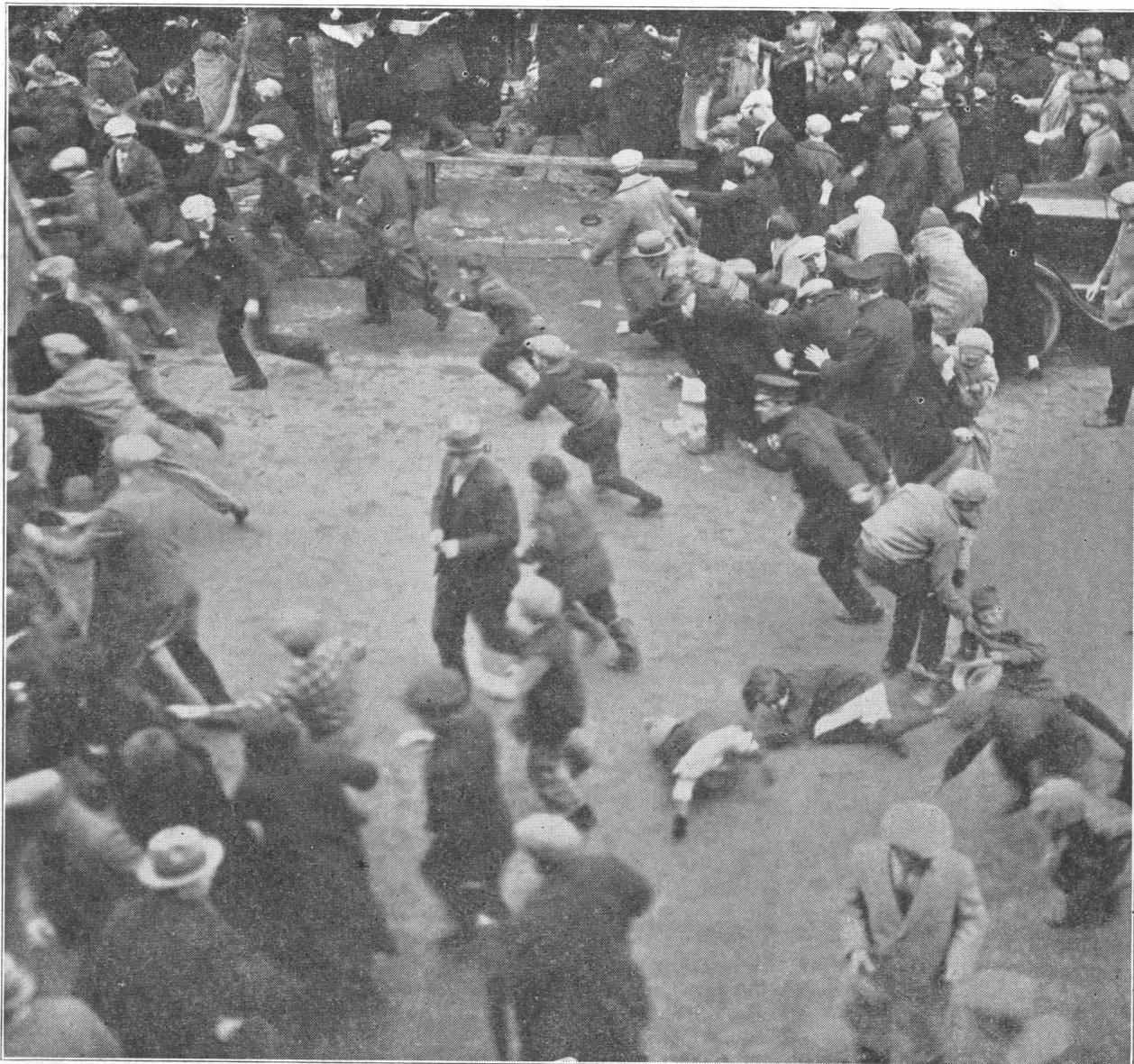
With the movement for a labor party still very much alive, and with the leadership of the old party politicians in this movement completely discredited, the Communists face an entirely new situation. They were fought and attacked for lack of good faith toward the movement. But now, they can point to the lack of good faith toward the labor party movement on the part of the old party politicians, who had originated and led the attack against the Communists. The Communists now can prove that the attacks against them were not made because they "lacked good faith," but on the contrary, because they were the only conscious element which acted in good faith toward that movement. These old party politicians saw in the Communists the obstacle on the road to their betrayal. They knew that their desire to lead the rebellious urban and rural masses of Minnesota back into the folds of the Republican or Democratic Party could never be fulfilled with the Communists guarding against betrayals. In other words, while they accused the Communists of lack of good faith toward the labor party, they had designs all along to betray that party. In order to carry out their breach of faith to-

ward the movement, they had to remove the Communists as the element most faithful to the labor party.

The last elections made this clear. They thus cleared the field for the further activities of the Communists. The old-party politicians had raised the issue of Communism in the Farmer-Labor Party, declaring that they wanted to protect the party against destructive influences. It is now up to the Communists to raise the issue of Communism in the Farmer-Labor Party, as a measure of cleansing that movement from its treacherous leaders, who openly aim at its destruction.

As far as great political issues and changes are concerned, the last election campaign was not very eventful. In fact, the election was the least exciting from that point of view, for many, many years. Yet the signs of inner disintegration of the capitalist class, which it brought to the surface, are clearer than they have ever been before. The struggle between the leading factions of the big bourgeoisie—imperialist finance capital on the one hand and pro-tariff industrial capital on the other,—overshadowed all other tendencies and currents. But alongside of this struggle, the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie against the rule of the big bourgeoisie was clearly visible. And, running concurrently with this revolt of the petty bourgeoisie, sometimes merged with it, sometimes independent of it, we see the movement of the exploited masses of city and country for independent political action. The elections were a new proof of the importance which the labor party movement has in the class struggle at present. The elections are over: Now forward toward a Labor Party for the 1928 elections!





Men, Women and Children Are Trampled Down in Passaic.

the offensive again and again. Unions smashed in 1919, "hunger-cure" unemployment in 1920-1921, wage cuts in 1922, these were the signs of the times. With the spirited resistance of the workers in 1922 the employers were forced back in some cases. More clever devices were tried. Collaboration with the trade union officials through "B. & O." plans, new "efficiency" systems, Company Unions, a whole series of tricks was developed to destroy the resistance of the workers. Having thus prepared the way, the bosses launched their next offensive in 1924.

This time the campaign was conducted far more skilfully than in 1922. Starting first in the textile industry, particularly in the cotton mills of New England, the bosses began to cut wages 10 per cent. Not all the workers of a mill had wages cut at the same time, but

cautiously mill by mill, department by department, city by city, the drive proceeded. By the spring of 1924, all of the workers in the cotton mills had had their pay reduced. The same thing started in the woolen and silk mills while a drive to speed up the workers began in the cotton mills. In some places as much as one-third of the working force was permanently displaced, two workers doing what three used to do before. By the end of 1925, this second drive had been successfully accomplished in the textile mills of New England and the campaign moved south to New Jersey and the middle Atlantic States.

Not satisfied with this, the mill owners went further. They started to lengthen the hour-week. A tremendous lobby killed the bill put forth in Albany, New York establishing a forty-eight hour week for women. In Boston



On the Picket Line in Passaic

a great agitation has started for the repeal of the forty-eight hour law there. The drive to push down the standards of the workers was now in full swing.

But the situation had become intolerable. If the A. F. of L. officials would not act, there would spring forth leaders from the ranks of the workers themselves who would give battle to their masters. The most militant of these workers, the Communists, had already analyzed the situation correctly. Basing itself on the needs of the workers, the Workers (Communist) Party had incessantly raised the slogan "Organize the Unorganized," and the unity of labor in its struggle against the employers.

It was therefore, quite natural that when in Passaic the textile mill owners cut wages of workers already on the starvation line, that it would be the workers in the Workers (Communist) Party that should lead the movement of resistance and actually demonstrate the Workers (Communist) Party could carry out in battle those slogans it had raised that best expressed the needs of the workers.

## II.

The conduct of the Passaic strike itself has been an important addition to the collective experience of the working class. The strike leadership, because it was Communist, having no interests separate from those of the workers, had two major principles which it strictly adhered to during the strike: one was to unify and connect all sections of workers together, to have them move in disciplined solid formation; and two, to awaken into

consciousness all strata of the workers, to train the workers to know their enemies and how to overcome them.

During the strike it became again increasingly clear how powerful the mill owners were. The workers began to see that not only the mills but the government belonged to the owners. The brutal and unprovoked police clubbings; the stabbing and shooting down of strikers; the invasion of hundreds of armed deputies into the strike area; the illegal arrests and seizures, the torturing of prisoners, the irregular trials, the excessively high bail and outrageously heavy fines and sentences imposed; the evictions and injunctions; the closing down of meeting places for the workers and the abolition of civil liberty in the strike area; the strike-breaking efforts of the local state and national governmental officials; all these things proved so clearly to the workers that the whole power of the state was ranged against them to crush them. The role of the government as strike-breaker, the role of the state as an instrument of force employed by the bosses who were beyond the law, to keep the workers in subjection became thoroughly exposed.

All sections of the workers were awakened. Through mass meetings, language meetings, concerts, leaflets, strike paper, district meetings, songs, games, and through the actual experiences of the struggle many of the illusions and prejudices in the minds of the workers before the strike disappeared. Special meetings were called for the women, their special problems discussed and special tasks assigned to them. It is the women who are the most enslaved. It is the women who have the most to gain through organization and struggle. These women became the most active and militant strikers, the best enthusiasts of all.

The same good job was done with the several hundred Negroes that came out. They proved to be fine strikers and unionists.

Nor were the young workers forgotten. The American Federation of Labor officials generally sneer at the youth. The young workers are not even taken into the unions at all, or are grossly discriminated against. But it is the youth who are starved most in the capitalist system. A real leadership would see that the energy and ability to learn on the part of the young workers make them the very best union material. In Passaic every attention was given the youth. The union took the position that with the young workers won over, a union would have to be formed some time in Passaic.

Even the children were mobilized for the struggle. The children were formed into special clubs and given special attention. In many ways the children were invaluable. They would ferret out where scabs lived and picket their homes. And many a scab quit work because his child came home with a black eye after a fight in school. The class struggle entered the schools. The children demanded to know why the schools did not open up free lunch rooms for the strikers' children. At every opportunity the lies spread in the schools about the strike and the union were fought against and the truth told by the children of the strikers.

It was this intense inner solidarity and unity that enabled the strikers to smash the company union

schemes of the mill owners and day after day kept up their morale. This inner unity showed itself in the mass demonstrations, the mass marches, the mass picketing that took place in Passaic. It showed itself in the self-obedience that the strikers gave to their elected delegates. It showed itself in the stubbornness of the battle.

Not only inner unity was developed by the Communist leadership, but outer unity also. Again and again efforts were made by the strikers to broaden the struggle and to unite with ever larger and larger masses. The Passaic strike has demonstrated that far from being disruptors of unions the Communists can build unions and are the only ones that fight for the unity of labor.

First, the strike leadership addressed Mr. Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, asking for support in the strike and stating that the Passaic strikers earnestly desired unity in the textile industry and would do all in their power to join the A. F. of L.

Mr. Green evaded this letter. In the meantime the Strike Committee had made an offer to the Associated Silk Workers' Union in Paterson to join hands in an organization drive among the dye workers of Paterson. This too was put off. Again efforts were made to get the Federated Textile Unions, a group of five unions, loosely banded together, to begin a drive to organize the unorganized and fight wage cuts. But all to no avail.

While these negotiations were going on the whole labor world was witnessing the scene where 16,000 textile workers, battling against tremendous odds and successfully holding their own under Communist leadership, were being rebuffed by the officials of that very organization that should have organized them long ago and at that very date should have been fighting their battles. Everyone realized that the fight of the Passaic strikers was the fight of all labor. Everyone realized that the Passaic strike had meant the definite checking of wage cuts and a body blow to company unionism.



15,000 Passaic Strikers Give Weisbord Vote of Confidence.

ties of a feudal hang-over with the ruthlessness of a nascent and greedy capitalism.

Perhaps the full story of the gruesome mass brutality that has characterized Roumania and its acquired provinces since the war will never be known. There will never be a record of the silent murders in the torture chambers of the Siguranza. It is impossible to know how many workers and peasants, taken as political prisoners have been "legally" exterminated by the armed mercenaries of the Boyars under the law which permits the military to cover up murder with the phrase, "shot while attempting to escape." The Dniester River alone can tell how many bodies of Bessarabian peasants are buried in its depths.

What we do know is that at this moment there are 2,500 political prisoners in the Bastilles of Queen Marie's sunny and happy land of 17,000,000 population. We know as the Roumanian workers know, that at the time Queen Marie was on her way to receive the bows and hand-kissing of the plutes and politicians in the land of the free, Pavel Tkatchenko, a political prisoner in the Dof-tana jail in Bucharest was foully murdered by his jailers. We have seen transcripts of some of the hundreds of testimonials in the possession of Costa-Foru, one of the greatest attorneys in Roumania, not a radical, but a liberal in politics and president of the League for the Rights of Man, describing the inhuman tortures inflicted in the police stations and prisons of Roumania upon Nationalists of the provinces, Communists, trade unionists and members of the Peasant Party.

We know that a party of the workers or peasants which expresses opposition to the Roumanian oligarchy is an impossibility. We know that workers co-operatives have been dissolved. We know that the entire central committee of the Unitarian Federation of Labor was arrested last year and are now awaiting trial because of their attempts to organize the workers into trade unions.

We have the word of no less a person than Henri Barbusse, one of the foremost novelists of the world

who made a trip to Roumania to investigate the excesses of the White Terror. The facts of the tortures and acts of murder in both Roumania and Bulgaria he has put into a book, with authentic documents and photographs, that speaks volumes of the mass persecution rife in both those countries.

No. There can be no doubt about the terror in Roumania nor can there be any doubt that it numbers its victims by the thousands.

It is to an oligarchy of landowners and capitalists responsible for this terror that Wall Street millions will find their way, to an oligarchy whose troops crushed the Soviet government of the Workers and Peasants of Hungary in 1919, which drowned the stolen Bessarabia in blood, which persecutes Jews wholesale, which suppresses the least sign of a movement for liberty in Transylvania and Banat, which declares all political and industrial activity on the part of the workers and peasants an act against the state that calls for torture, imprisonment or assassination and which at this very moment makes no secret of its intention of waging an aggressive war upon the Soviet Union.

The jewelled daughter of the Romanoffs, grand-daughter of Victoria of Britain, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Royal Consort of Ferdinand of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen is the emissary of this oligarchy. Queen Marie, in addition to satisfying her own predilections for the spectacular and her love of mass adulation, has performed her mission, ably assisted by Roumanian diplomats. She has gotten the gold she came for. She has dazzled the money barons and made the heads of their lackey politicians fairly swell with thoughts of having entertained a real queen. She has earned a new lease of life for the Roumanian White Terror by bartering Roumanian oil and the sweat and blood of Roumanian workers for Wall Street credit.

She has done her job well. She and her moron husband Ferdinand still sit upon their luxurious thrones. But the workers and peasants of "Greater Roumania" as the Boyar imperialists fondly call it, have yet to speak the last word.



whole world, particularly of the petty bourgeois and proletarian strata against "Russian Bolshevism."

3. On the other hand there is an uninterrupted growth of the revolutionary sentiments of the masses of the international proletariat; there is a process of the emancipation of these masses from reformist illusions, their breaking away from the leadership of the Social-democratic parties, their passage to the side of the proletarian united front, their sympathy for the Russian proletariat, their approach to the Communist parties. (Workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, struggle for trade union unity, left tendencies in the English, French, Polish, German and Italian working class, political mass movements against the will of the Social-democratic leaders, general strike and miners' struggle in England, etc.). The revolutionization of the international proletariat develops unevenly, with contradictions in which the social differences within the proletariat itself, the betrayals of the right and the hesitations of the left leaders of the Social-democracy, and the correct or incorrect policy of the Communists all play a great role.

4. Within the Communist parties there is a profound ripening process taking place. They are collecting and analyzing their experiences in the class struggle, gradually increasing their theoretical consciousness, strengthening their strategy and tactics, improving their organizational structure, breaking with the Social-democratic traditions and with the sectarian diseases, absorbing the fundamentals of Leninism and applying them to the concrete conditions of their country.

5. Parallel to the war preparations of finance-capital against the Soviet Union, with the beginning of the revolutionization of the international working class, with the ripening process of the Communist parties, there develop various contradictory tendencies in the camp of the international petty bourgeoisie. A section of the small commodity producers, above all in the colonial and nationally oppressed countries, allies itself with the proletarian revolution. The peasantry is drawn into the class struggle (agrarian revolutionary movements in Eastern Europe, increasing political activity in the village of Western Europe). The urban petty bourgeoisie faces economic ruin in a number of capitalist countries. Its

economic decline, that had already begun before the war with the rise of finance-capital and rule of the trust, is extraordinarily hastened through the consequences of the world war and the post-war crises. The petty bourgeoisie is compelled to defend itself against extinction. Since the petty bourgeoisie has neither class consciousness nor political experience nor political leadership, it continually oscillates without any principle between the chief embattled classes: the capitalist bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. Exhausted and desperate, without logic and without orientation, the petty bourgeoisie seeks help from all political tendencies without exception.

The petty bourgeoisie reflects like a mirror all the political phenomena and tendencies of the present transition period. Its political soul shows like a film the restless picture of capitalist stabilization and its contradictions. At one moment the petty bourgeoisie is filled with illusions and bright optimism—a moment later with dark desperation. When the price of bread falls, stabilization becomes perpetual; it is all over, however, when a minister falls. Today it is pacifist and tomorrow it demonstrates for war. Today it is friendly to the Soviet Union and tomorrow it wants "to destroy the Muscovites." Today it is enthusiastic for Bolshevism—tomorrow for the white terror. The day before yesterday it was for the Soviet Republic, yesterday for the Social-democratic government, today it wants the great coalition, tomorrow it will hail a Mussolini regime or a Pilsudski coup d'etat, and the day after tomorrow it will perhaps be again for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The penetration of millions of annihilated, unorganized, urban petty bourgeoisie into active politics is one of those new and unique things that influence the class struggle in all capitalist countries. This most hesitant of all elements unquestionably has its effects on definite strata of the proletariat. It is reflected, as in all great political phenomena, in the periphery and among certain followers of the Communist parties. The more carefully we investigate the spiritual content of the ultra-left tendencies within the Comintern, the more clear become its traces herein, the chief signs of petty bourgeois policy.

(Continued next month.)



It was not merely an abstract struggle for independence. It was a class struggle, waged, with class forces essentially the same, tho in very different forms, in England as well as in America. In America it reached the stage of open civil war (armed revolution); in England the same struggle was seen in the open sympathy and help that many prominent Whigs gave to the American revolutionists long after hostilities had broken out and the Americans declared traitors. This conception—of horizontal class divisions in England and America, not simply the vertical division between England and America—is very significant and fruitful. Professor Hinkhouse brings it out clearly.

Professor Hinkhouse's method is also to be commended altho he uses it to a limited extent and in a somewhat confused way—naturally, considering his class limitations. He undertakes "an analysis of sentiment among English social classes" (p. 202) and uses "this division of class interests" (p. 203) as an argument to prove one of his main points. Elsewhere (p. 48), he remarks: "The student of the period must pay attention to the desires of the English merchant and manufacturer if he would understand English action." That the investigation and analysis of class interests and relations is the basic method of history both of our books show.

We cannot close our remarks about Professor Hinkhouse's book without bringing forward two interesting items for the delectation of our readers.

American revolutionists who are only too familiar with the stories of "Bolshevik atrocities" will be pleased to hear that in the Tory press in England "the Americans were accused of scalping and cutting off the ears of the wounded." (p. 185.)

But surely this one is a gem! "When some shipwrights went out on strike in England in July, 1775, a paragraph (in the *London Chronicle*) reported that the troubles 'prove to have been fomented by some American Agents here, who are very busy in rendering themselves as useful as possible to the rebels, their masters. . .'" (p. 21.) Our 100 per cent Chamber of Commerce Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, who attribute every strike to "Russian Agents here," are certainly maintaining the glorious tradition; they are following right in the footsteps of—the British reactionaries and oppressors!—Apex.

**FOLK BELIEFS OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO**, by Newbell Niles Puckett. pp. 644, The University of North Carolina, 1926.

**T**HIS is an interesting and voluminous account (although the author claims that "the lore presented here is but a smattering of the material existent") of what are generally known as the "superstitions" of the Southern Negro.

Though Mr. Puckett's attitude is of course, the good-humored patronizing "superiority" of the white man, yet a certain sympathy and love for his material—the folk-beliefs—enable him to present the entire picture with a

large degree of objectivity and truth. The book certainly promises to remain the standard on the subject.

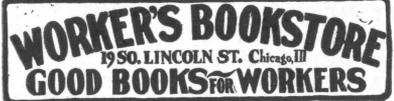
It is when he leaves the task of recording data and ventures into the field of analysis of origin, development, and significance of the social phenomena he records that his step becomes less sure. The short description of the American Negro's African antecedants is good—in spite of certain "racialisms." So also is the discussion of the phenomena of acculturation attendant upon bringing the African Negro to America and placing him in the environment of the old South. Especially commendable is the clear indication given as to the role of "superstition" (and religion) in the life-process of mankind (p. 520).

But the folk-beliefs, so carefully studied, are never explicitly regarded as the superstructure growing out of the social conditions under which the Negroes lived and are still living (economic and class relationships) and so they are left resting in the air as it were. We are not shown how the beliefs arose, how they developed and under the influence of what factors, what they mean in the development of human ideology, and why they are peculiar to the Southern Negro (if indeed they are which is nowhere expressly indicated). And so the work is imperfect as a scientific study.

As a scholarly and readable compilation, analysis, and classification of the folk-beliefs of the Southern Negro it seems to be nearly perfect. —Apex.



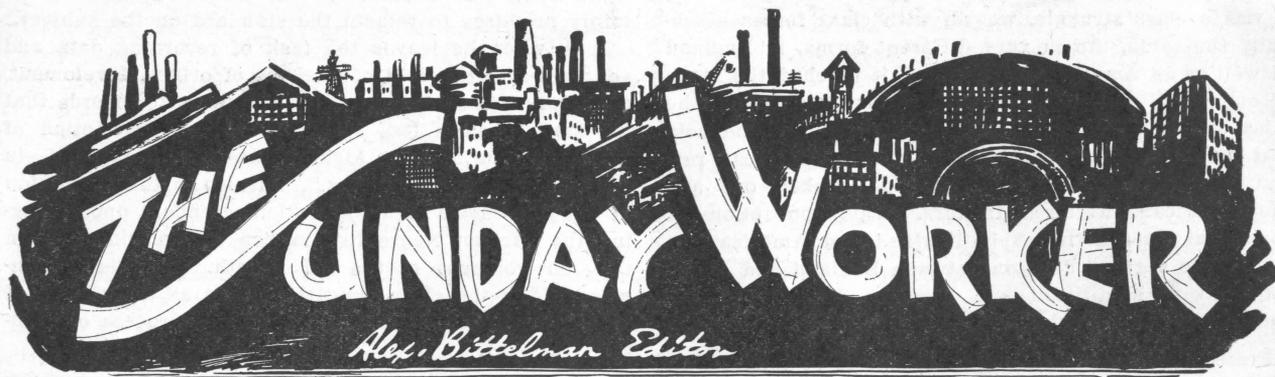
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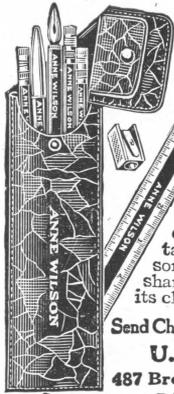
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