

FAIRY TALES

for

WORKERS CHILDREN

by

Herminia Zur Mühlen

Translated by IDA DAILES
Color Plates and Cover Designs by
LYDIA GIBSON

THE AUTHOR

writes from Germany:

Very many thanks for sending me the fairy tales; I was pleased to get them and to see how splendid the book looks and how nicely it is translated and illustrated.

UPTON SINCLAIR

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SEPTEMBER
1925-25¢

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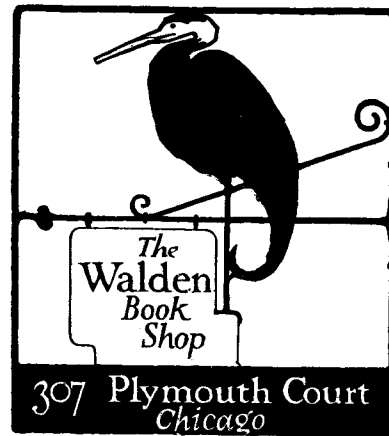
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No. 11

On the Road to a Bolshevik Party in America

By Alexander Bittelman

IN the present imperialist era a Bolshevik party is the best weapon in the hands of the workers in their struggles against the capitalists. A Bolshevik party is the only possible and effective leader of these struggles. Therefore, the building of a Bolshevik party becomes of tremendous significance not only to the Communists but to the working class as a whole.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America is on the road to becoming such a Bolshevik party. Its recent national convention, held in Chicago, August 21-26, shows not only a steady growth of Communist sentiment among the workers, but also a growing cohesion of the Communist party itself, a higher Bolshevik and Leninist quality.

Main Policies of American Capitalism.

American capitalism is at present chiefly concerned with the pursuit of four main policies. These could be stated as follows:

First, the extension of American imperialism. This means to secure for the financial and monopolistic oligarchy of the United States new sources of raw materials and new markets for the export of capital. This also means the further subjugation, economically and politically, of the present spheres of economic influence of American capitalism abroad. And last, but not least, the further concentration in the hands of a few capitalist dynasties (the Morgans, Rockefellers, etc.) of the economic wealth of the nation and the autocratic rule of these dynasties over the rest of the country.

Second, the development and the intensification of militaristic propaganda and organization. This is a natural consequence of the first policy. The strong arm of imperialism is militarism. Hence, the feverish campaign of militarism and navalism that is now taking place in the United States.

Third, the isolation of the working class. This is a third objective that the American capitalists are following now with great resourcefulness and tenacity. The capitalists have learned their lesson from the recent agrarian crisis which produced the revolt of the farmers and the close rapprochement between them and the city workers in the farmer-labor movement and to a certain extent in the La Follette movement. Big capital is now trying to win the farmers back to the support of big capital and the Republican Party. The recent conferences of President Coolidge with the congressmen and senators from the agricultural regions, his trip to the agrarian Northwest, the frantic efforts of the Republican

administration to break up the so-called farm bloc, the various schemes for agricultural economic organizations sponsored by Hoover, etc., all this points to the fact that big capital is manipulating to win the farmers, at least the well-to-do farmers, to the support of capitalism and thus to isolate the American working class.

Fourth, to prevent the revival of the petty-bourgeois La Follette movement and to demoralize every attempt to promote a movement toward a Labor Party. Of all the policies aforementioned none is more vital to the success of the imperialist schemes of American capitalism than the policy which aims to prevent the crystallization of a working-class movement for independent political action, and to prevent an alliance between such a movement and a political movement of the poor farmers. As long as Big Capital is successful in this aim, nothing can seriously interfere with the voracious appetites of American capitalism.

American Communists are Alive to Their Problems.

The convention of the Workers Party has shown that the American Communists are fully aware of the manipulations of American capitalism and of the tasks confronting the American workers. A mere glance at the agenda of the convention shows that the Workers Party has a full grasp of the various phases of the present situation.

On the matter of American imperialism it is important to say that this was no new problem in the councils of the American party. Ever since the great imperialistic war, and particularly after the armistice, the American adherents of the Communist International were fully aware of the tremendous change that had taken place in the world position of American capitalism. Ever since 1919, when the American Communist Party first came into existence, the question of American imperialism and its effects upon the life and struggles of the workers was a prominent feature of all Communist propaganda and agitation. But it was only during the last two years that the campaign of the American Communists against American imperialism began to assume definite forms of political struggle. This is particularly noticeable in the development of the anti-imperialist struggles in Latin-America. The recent Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party will undoubtedly lead to a still further intensification and extension of the struggle against American imperialism.

The resolution on imperialism adopted at the convention of the Workers Party shows a much clearer understanding

of its tasks than prevailed among the Communists heretofore, particularly as regards American imperialism in Latin America. The resolution points to the development in Latin America of a nationalist-revolutionary and working-class movement against the domination of American imperialism in Latin America. By this resolution the Workers Party pledged itself to promote and assist this movement, aiming to bring about an alliance of the workers and poor farmers of Latin America against the imperialist oppression of the capitalists of the United States. The support that the Workers Party is giving to the activities of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League is in accord with the policy as expressed in the resolution.

Hand in hand with the struggle against imperialism goes the struggle against militarism. The decisions of the convention mean that from now on the fight against militarism will play an ever larger part in the activities of the Workers Party and in the life of the American working class. This fight, in which the Young Workers League is bound to play an important role, will assume various forms.

First, an intensive campaign of agitation to expose the true nature of the growing militarism as an organ of capitalist oppression abroad (the subjugated colonies and semi-colonies) and of the workers and poor farmers at home. Second, an energetic struggle against the militarization of the public schools and other educational institutions of the country. Third, a struggle for the democratization of the army, the right of the soldiers and sailors to form unions, opposition to court martial, etc. Fourth, opposition to any appropriations for military purposes. The convention directs the Workers Party to educate and organize the working masses for a determined struggle against American imperialism and militarism.

A Campaign for a Labor Party.

One of the main strategic aims of the Workers Party at present is to fight for and promote the movement toward a Labor Party. The American capitalists and their lieutenants in the labor movement are doing all in their power to prevent the crystallization of such a movement and the formation of a Labor Party. The recent statement of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor against the formation of new parties and in favor of the old discredited game of non-partisan politics is part and parcel of the capitalist strategy to prevent the American workers from entering the field of independent political action.

Despite the setback suffered by the La Follette movement following the last presidential elections, this movement is bound to come back. The same is true of the Labor Party movement which was swallowed up by the La Follette movement prior and subsequent to the Presidential elections. The Labor Party movement, although weak at present, is bound to pick up new strength in the coming months. The convention of the Workers Party commits the party to an energetic campaign for a Labor Party in the United States.

The Workers Party was the first working-class organization in the United States to foresee and declare the need for a Labor Party. It was the only political organization to carry on a consistent struggle for the formation of such a party. In this struggle it was defeated by the combined forces of the capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie and the reactionary

labor bureaucrats. But this was only a temporary defeat. The basic changes that have taken place in the American class struggle since the war, the experiences of the working masses with the old capitalist parties and with the petty bourgeois La Follette movement, together with the sharpening economic struggles is bound to bring about a new surge of mass sentiment for independent political action. Hence, the decision of the convention to initiate a new intensive campaign throughout the country for a Labor Party.

For the municipal elections that are being held this year in such important industrial centers as New York and Cleveland, the Workers Party has issued the slogan:

For a United Labor Ticket as a Step Toward a Labor Party.

The success of this slogan is not to be measured by immediate organizational results. The Workers Party sees the formation of a Labor Party as the culminating point in a long process involving a broad break-away movement from the old capitalist parties with the eventual crystallization of a definite working-class political movement toward the Labor Party. The value of the propaganda carried on by the Workers Party for a Labor Party slogan lies in the fact that it explains the manifold experiences of the masses in terms of political struggle and centers their attention on the supreme need for a working-class political party.

The deep differences of opinion on the Labor Party policy which were causing sharp internal struggles in the Workers Party, practically since May, 1923, have been finally liquidated by the decision of the Communist International on the American question adopted in May, 1925. The convention and the Party as a whole are practically unanimous in the acceptance of this decision.

Win the Unions for the Class Struggle.

The convention adopted an elaborate program for winning the unions for the class struggle. This is a basic idea in the theory and practice of Leninism and the Communist International.

There was a time when the American Communists were lacking sufficient clearness on this point. In fact during the first two years of its existence (1919-1921) the American Communist movement was quite seriously affected by what Lenin called the Infantile Sickness of Left Communism. But those days have long gone by. The predominant majority of the Party accepts fully the principles of Communist work in the trade unions as laid down by the Communist International. During the last eighteen months the Workers Party was able to register several striking successes in its trade-union work due to a correct and intensive application of Leninist policy in the trade unions.

According to the resolution on trade-union work adopted by the convention, the Workers Party sees its immediate tasks in the trade unions as follows: One, the building of Communist fractions. This is an old and basic principle of Communist organization which, however, was not adhered to very strictly in the past by the American Party. The convention took measures to correct this deficiency. Two, to continue to build and extend the influence of the left wing in the trade unions. This means more active participation of Communists in the activities of the Trade Union Educational League, and special efforts to bring into the League wider circles of left-wing non-partisan workers. Three, to promote

the crystallization of a Progressive Bloc in the trade unions. This means united-front efforts by the Workers Party with the opposition elements in the unions and with progressive unions for joint action against the reactionary bureaucracy.

Re-organization on the Basis of Shop Nuclei and a More Centralized Party Apparatus.

It will take the Party several months of intensive propaganda among its own membership and of deep-going organization work to bring about the complete re-organization of the Party. But this will be done. The convention as well as the Party seems to be in a mood which guarantees the success of the re-organization.

There will undoubtedly be opposition to this radical change in the form of Party re-organization. The non-proletarian and opportunistic elements in the party will offer all kinds of resistance. Loreism, that is the opportunistic wing of the Party, may find a new resting place in opposition to the abolition of federations. This, however, should cause no misgivings regarding the success of the re-organization. The Party is well aware of the difficulties confronting it and will be able to devise effective means to overcome these difficulties.

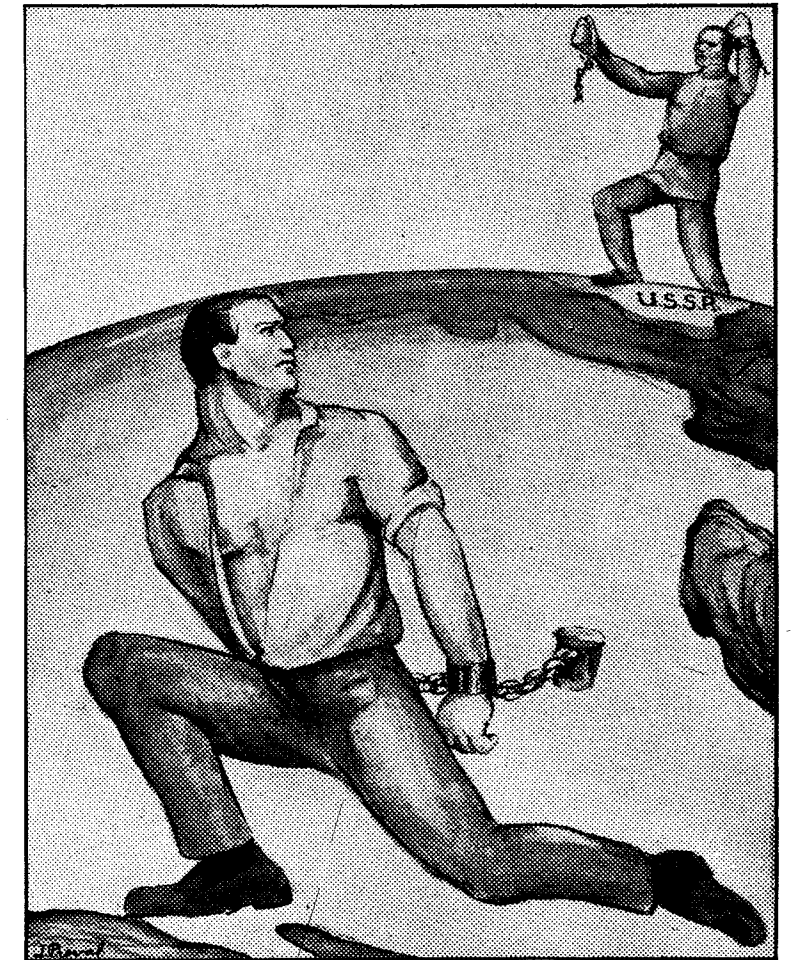
The successful re-organization of the Party will be of tremendous significance for its future work. When this is achieved the party will become a really unified Communist Party, and will have acquired for the first time in its history a really centralized apparatus. Through its shop nuclei it will at last begin to function where a working-class party really should function—in the shops and factories where the workers live, suffer and struggle.

The Unification of the Party and the Liquidation of Loreism.

And last, but not least, the unification of the Party and the liquidation of Loreism. The convention has contributed greatly towards this end. The Party, under the leadership of its new Central Executive Committee, will have to complete the work.

The liquidation of Loreism is inseparable from the Bolshevization of the Party. A party which has a strong opportunist wing can not be really Bolshevik. To Bolshevize the Workers Party means first of all to liquidate its opportunist tendencies. This is what is meant by the liquidation of Loreism.

The success of the process of Bolshevizing the Party depends in a large measure upon the unity of all Communist forces within it. There can be no successful attempt at the liquidation of Loreism as long as there is disunity in the ranks of the Communists in the Party. Only in the measure in which such unity is established will opportunism in our ranks be defeated. The idea that dominated the convention was as simple as it was correct: through unity of the Communists to the Bolshevization of the Party!



Drawing by Juanita Preval.

THE AMERICAN WORKER LOOKS TOWARD RUSSIA!

His Grave

THEY say no stone or cross doth mark
The spot where Wesley Everest lies,
That vandal feet have stamped the ground
Into his wide and staring eyes.

They say the place is near unknown,
That rarely red-eyed mourners come
To leave their wreaths of flowers on
That lonely and deserted tomb.

Perhaps—but ah, what matters it!
We say to them who tread him down,
Six feet of earth is not the grave
On which we lay the martyr's crown!

—Henry George Weiss.

The International Battle Front in the Coal Industry

By Alex Reid

"NOTICES suspended. Continue work."

This message flashed across Great Britain on July 31 as a signal to the miners that the enemy had capitulated. The strike of more than a million coal miners had been averted almost at the last moment by the government's promise of a bribe to the owners in the form of a "subvention." The British government dared not face the consequences of a giant labor upheaval, in which the railway and other transport workers would have supported the miners in a solid alignment of some six million men.

However, no one believes that the "settlement" reached is more than temporary. The inquiry which is to be instituted—the fourth in the last few years—is not designed to better the terrible conditions under which the miners work, but to find a way to improve the productive efficiency of the mines for the purpose of meeting competition in the world-markets. Elemental capitalist disorganization—that is the disease from which the coal industry is suffering, not only in England but in every coal-producing country in the world.

The coal industry is experiencing the international crisis. Unemployment is rampant. Wage-cutting is the order of the day. As a result the miners, who form one of the most advanced detachments in the great army of organized labor, are everywhere pitted against their exploiters.

The Belgian miners are facing a big lockout.

In Germany and France the coal-diggers are offering militant resistance to attacks on their standard of living.

In Canada a condition of persistent warfare exists, featured by the outrages against the miners committed by Dominion troops at the behest of the British Empire Steel Corporation.

And in the United States, the wage-slashing program of the operators has aroused the indomitable fighting spirit of the anthracite miners to such a pitch that even John L. Lewis saw himself obliged to approve an industry-wide strike call

for September 1. Something of the fire of the British miners has spread to this country. There is a strong sentiment for support of the anthracite miners among the coal-diggers of the bituminous fields, although the yellow officialdom is attempting to discourage it. Throughout the country the condition of the miners has been getting worse from year to year. They have their backs against the wall and cannot retreat much further. Struggle is in the air.

It is no accident that these rumblings of conflict in England, in Belgium, in Canada, in the United States, blend with each other and are heard all at the same time. An international strike situation has developed out of the international crisis which capitalism brought upon the coal industry. Now as never before, the international solidarity of the workers becomes an immediate practical necessity of the class struggle. This is, in fact, the only way to a solution of the problems confronting the miners.

The United States and England are the two main points of focus in the present situation. The next move is up to the miners of the United States, and all eyes are on the date of September 1, when the anthracite walkout is scheduled to take place. The British miners have already given an account of themselves.

The temporary agreement entered into by the British miners carries a government subsidy of \$50,000,000 to help the coal owners maintain the present profit rate until next Spring. A new wage cut had been set for August 1 and only the determined stand of 1,200,000 miners averted it. Four years ago the miners faced the operators under similar circumstances—a fight over wages and working conditions—with the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers apparently backing them, but their aims were not achieved at that time, due to the treachery of Hodges, then leader of the miners, and J. H. Thomas, chief of the railroaders, on what has become notorious throughout the world as Black Friday.



—Cartoon from the "Sunday Worker."

GENERAL COUNCIL OF BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS ESTABLISHES COUNCIL OF ACTION TO SUPPORT MINERS.

In the present crisis a new agreement was concluded, taking in the Locomotive Engineers. The railroaders agreed not to move a ton of coal that might in any way be used to defeat the miners. This meant that, unless Black Friday should be repeated, the millions of tons of coal on the ground and in cars on sidings could not be moved.

Led by A. J. Cook, the left-wing leader who a year or so ago was chosen secretary of the British Miners' Federation, a committee representing the General Council of British Trade Unions proceeded to Paris, where a conference was held with representatives of the miners of France, Belgium, the Ruhr region, the Saar Basin, and Germany. Germany has 10,000,000 tons of surplus coal above-ground, Belgium has 4,000,000 tons, and France also has a large surplus. This surplus might have been unloaded in Britain to the satisfaction of all capitalists concerned, and incidentally to break the impending British strike. But the representatives of the miners said no. They concluded an agreement in Paris whereby they pledged that in the event of a strike in Great Britain, no surplus coal would be produced in the other countries, that only an amount equal to the domestic demand would be mined. An understanding was then arrived at with the marine transport workers, who assured the delegation that no coal would be transported across the North Sea or the British Channel.

On July 30, the German Miners' Union met in Berlin and pledged full support to the British coal-diggers.

Never before in the history of the mining industry did such a titanic struggle face a nation, which the workers supported both nationally and internationally.

A threat to slash the wages of the British railroaders was made about the same time as the attack upon the miners, and this bound the two organizations more closely together than ever.

A feeling swept Great Britain that the nation was about to be shaken from top to bottom. A member of the House of Lords shrieked hysterically that the whole British Empire was face to face with its greatest trial and it was brought

out in Parliament that arrangements had been made to give soldiers and sailors treble pay for strike duty. Plainly, the government was disposed to use any means to break the strike if it should eventuate. In the closing days of July, government officials were in almost continuous session with naval and military chiefs, mineowners and representatives of the miners.

Stark fear finally seized Prime Minister Baldwin and his associates at the probability of class war throughout Britain. A temporary respite was won for the British coal-diggers.

There is no denying the fact that the British mining industry is in crisis. Production has been steadily curtailed since the war with the result that 150,000 miners are unemployed and many of them are lacking the most elementary necessities of life. Meantime, the owners are living on the fat of the land. Secretary Cook, of the Miners' Federation, points to the fact that their profits for the last year exceeded \$873,000,000. This does not take account of the heavy "royalties" with which the industry is burdened. Royalties paid

to the dukes of Hamilton and Northumberland give them a higher tonnage rate on coal produced than the coal-diggers who mine it.

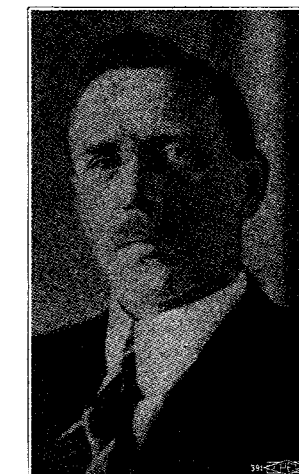
But the crisis in the British coal industry cannot be analyzed and understood without taking into consideration the state of the industry in Germany, France and Belgium. Every conceivable means has been applied to bolster up the failing system of private ownership of the mines, but to no avail. "Uneconomical" mines have been closed down, miners and day laborers have been laid off, day labor has been speeded up—and yet the industry is on the toboggan, with the owners unable to arrest its headlong plunge.

"Whether or not we believe in Nationalization," declared Herbert Smith of the British Miners' Federation recently, "we will be driven to that as the only way to save the mining industry."

The Berlin "Statist" declares that 30 per cent of German coal is being exported to former British markets—as a result

of the famous Dawes' Plan in Germany. Approximately a million tons of coal were exported during the ninth of December, the report shows. Low production costs (based upon the suffering of the German workers) have enabled the German operators to win contracts in Scandinavia, France, Italy, Argentina, etc.

"Why does Germany seemingly pursue this destructive policy (of undercutting prices)?" asks the Manchester Guardian. And then answers its own question as follows: "To meet her own obligations under the Dawes' scheme, Germany is forced to accumulate funds by export business. This largely explains



A. J. COOK, BRITISH MINERS' LEADER

the sacrifices which are now being made to capture coal business at prices which entail in many cases serious losses."

The foregoing quotation does not mention the sufferings of the workers in the mines of "Dawes' Plan Germany." It does not state that the German coal operators are able to sell so cheaply because the wages of the workers have been cut to the bone—because miners are receiving \$1.50 per day for their labor power. Even so, some 70,000 miners in the Ruhr valley are unemployed, and suffering there is extreme. The Saar basin miners, 74,000 strong, have thrown down their tools for an increase in wages.

In America the coal crisis is no less deep-going than in Europe. Soft-coal production in this country is 50 per cent overdeveloped, as a result of which over 200,000 miners are unemployed, and have been for many weary months. America has its own "Dawes' Plan" for the coal industry—known as the "American Plan," operated by the same set of international buccaneers. A tremendous drive is under way on behalf of the mineowners, to take advantage of the disintegration which capitalism has brought upon the industry and attempting to destroy the Miners' Union, force down wages and depress working conditions. The coal operators are supported by the railroad magnates, with whom they have become interlocked.

The drive proceeds along the line of the closing down of mines in the unionized fields and the further development of mines in the non-union section. This has been going on for several years now. Already 70 per cent of the soft coal produced in America is non-union. Taking the state of Illinois alone, we find that 60 per cent of the mines are closed down and have been for the last two years—except for a few weeks' work in the winter time.

Thousands of miners have been forced to move out of

the mining camps to the cities, where they live in misery and want. Having spent their lives in the mining communities, they know nothing about any other kind of work than mining.

Militant resistance is needed. Also a new type of leadership in the United Mine Workers of America—a leadership which will devote itself earnestly to the task of organizing the non-union fields and which will actually struggle against the bosses instead of holding tea parties with them.

The miners in the hard-coal field of Pennsylvania are now in the forefront of the attack. What they do on September 1—and after—will be an important factor in determining the immediate future of the entire struggle. If the men in the anthracite field force their leaders to take a resolute attitude, if they strike together and stick together, and if they are supported by the bituminous miners as well, they can achieve just as resounding a victory as their English brothers. The system of private ownership and operation of coal mines is breaking down on a world scale, an omen of the general disintegration of capitalism. To a determined stand of the workers, the bosses can oppose no solidly concerted resistance.

The threat of the miners of Britain shook the foundation of the British empire. International class solidarity won the case for the British miners, and it will win for the Canadian miners and the miners of the United States.

In the midst of the international strike situation which is inherent in the international crisis of the coal industry, the progressive miners of the U. M. W. of A., represented by the International Progressive Miners' Committee, raises the slogan:

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

The War in Morocco, The French Compromisers and the Communist Party

Speech Delivered in Moscow

By Gregory Zinoviev

IN certain parts of the world events are now developing which constitute, although for the time being on a relatively small scale, the precursors of those great upheavals which will undoubtedly take place on a huge scale in the future. One of these is the war in Morocco. In Morocco there is proceeding a typical colonial war which affects only two of the great powers. But in this struggle there are to be seen, as the sun in a drop of water, the outlines of great events which await humanity in the next few years.

In one of his writings just before his death, Comrade Lenin stated that, in about the years 1925 or 1928 a new great world war was to be expected which would cost humanity five to ten times more victims than the war of 1914 to 1918.

The events which we are now observing show that this prediction is undoubtedly proving correct. In fact the French

Republic, in which the Mensheviks who defeated Poincaré are in power, a government which calls itself a democratic and a left government, the government of the Left Bloc, is now carrying on a typical colonial war of plunder and robbery against a little people. One would have expected, after the lessons which the workers of the whole world received in the war of 1914-1918, that even the Party of the Mensheviks would have shown in this whole affair at least some vestige of shame. Meantime, the whole tragedy of the situation consists in the fact that in the year 1925 the French Party of the Mensheviks, who constitute a considerable power in France, have the brazenness to repeat word for word that which international Menshevism declared at the beginning of the war in the year 1914. The same deception, the same speeches regarding "defending the fatherland," the same false phrases

and in reality the same help for the bourgeoisie of their own country.

If in the war of 1914 the state of affairs, at least at the commencement, was somewhat confused, if at that time it was not at once quite clear who was the aggressor and what was the question at stake, if at that time there was a whole tangle of complicated relations, in the present affair in Morocco everything is perfectly clear. Here there can be no two different opinions regarding the causes and the character of the war. On the one side there is a small people, on the other side a great imperialist power, which is attacking a weaker country and is twisting a fresh knot of international conflicts through which it will be exceedingly difficult to cut. And if in the war of 1914 one still spoke of defending civilization and democracy from the attacks of Russian Czarism and such like, we have before us now a perfectly naked example of open robbery. Here no mention whatever is made of defending "culture," of rescuing Europe from Czarism and the Cossacks. Here the only fact is that French imperialism is lusting for conquests; it is endeavoring to wrest from a small people, the Riff Kabyles, fresh stretches of territory. And therefore, in the summer of 1925, after the victory of the Left Bloc over Poincaré, after the victory of so-called Democracy, which has introduced a new era of pacifism, etc., the French bourgeoisie sends its troops to Morocco and begins a new war.

Within the last few days the most prominent representatives of the French Parties have, in the press and in parliament, expressed their opinion regarding the events in Morocco. Renaudel states: "With what means does the government hope to end the military operations and to restore peace

been attacked (just fancy, France has been attacked!) but who provoked this attack? My criticism does not give you the right to believe that we are defeatists. The Socialist Party does not by any means demand the evacuation of Morocco (!) but it will not agree to a war for the sake of fame, a war in which the flower of the manhood of France would perish."

Renaudel asks, what is the number of the French troops in Morocco and what losses has France suffered there. He states that the hospitals of Casablanca are overcrowded with wounded and that there will soon be no place for further wounded. Renaudel further states that he is pleased to hear the declaration of Painlevé, that as soon as the French have won back their former positions they will cease military operations. Finally, he has found the most important argument against the war: "It is a question of the interests of France.



A FRENCH 6-INCH HOWITZER BATTERY IN ACTION.

Now, when in France there is a shortage of workers, we shall not agree to fresh victims in Morocco."

If there were no lack of workers, then the evil would only be half so great, then the hospitals could be filled with fresh wounded. But as (just think) there exists no unemployment in France, but on the contrary a lack of workers, the representatives of the French Mensheviks will not agree to permit fresh victims. That is the attitude of the representative of the French "Socialist" Party. Is this fellow not a traitor, a social chauvinist?

No less interesting is the attitude of Jouhaux. Jouhaux is the President of the French menshevik trade unions, even though he calls himself a syndicalist. The syndicalists at one time constituted a left wing element, but since the beginning of the war of 1914 they have, just as the Mensheviks, gone right over to the side of the bourgeoisie. Before all Jouhaux is overflowing with criticism. Against whom do you think?



WOUNDED ALGERIAN RIFLEMAN BEING HELPED TO A DRESSING STATION AT THE REAR OF THE FRENCH LINES.

in Morocco? Right from the first commencement of the occupation of Morocco the Socialist Party pointed out the danger. Who is responsible for the present conflict. We have



FOR CIVILIZATION.

have as their aim, to penetrate to the Spanish zone." ("Le Peuple" of 23rd of May, 1925.)

As you know, a struggle is proceeding in Morocco between the Riff people on the one side, the Spanish bourgeoisie on the other side and the French bourgeoisie on the third side. When the war between the Riff Kabyles and the Spaniards had come to complete standstill, the representative of the Left Bloc, Malvy, a member of parliament, who had been sent to Spain, endeavored to kindle the war afresh. Now, when a bold word requires to be spoken against the capitalist plunderers who have attacked a small people and who are prepared to kindle a new European war for the sake of their predatory interests, the so-called representatives of the proletariat, the French Mensheviks, attack the Third International and issue the slogan: "We do not want any extension of military operations which would have as their aim to penetrate to the Spanish Zone."

Ten years have passed since the outbreak of the first world war. In this war the imperialists sacrificed ten million human lives. One of the greatest sufferers was France, where today there is hardly a village which has been able to maintain anything approaching an appropriate proportion between the number of the male and female population. As a result of the first imperialist war, the French village has been devastated and destroyed. And now, at the very first attempt of the capitalists to inaugurate fresh slaughter, these mensheviks literally repeat what they said in the year 1914. You have here a sample of what the Second International would do to-morrow if a new war were to break out. From this example it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie and the social democracy now represent one camp as regards main questions, and that one cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie without having to defeat the treacherous leaders of the Second International.

But the Morocco war has served at the same time as a certain testing of those new forces which have grown up in the past few years. When the war of 1914 broke out, in France, in the first period there was hardly a single man who ventured to oppose it. The first protests in France against the war were made in the year 1915. And then people came forward with a confused and vague program. In

The imperialists? Oh no. The Communists! "The so-called internationalism of the leaders of the Third International is, in fact, only an appeal to the narrowest nationalism. The workers do not support it, in the same way as they are not minded to follow those who wish to extend an adventure and those who dream of fresh conquests. The workers of our country pronounce themselves categorically against any extension of military operations which would

Germany at that time Liebknecht stood alone in his opposition to the war. The events in France have shown that should the bourgeoisie now attempt to resort to a fresh war, we would not see one but thousands and thousands of Liebknechts in all the prominent countries of Europe. (Applause.)

I am happy to be able to say that the Communist Party of France, a Party which has grown strong in the last few years, has in this matter proved itself a Party worthy of the Communist International. There have been found people in this Party who succeeded in the French parliament in flinging a protest, full of contempt and indignation, in the face of the bourgeoisie, as well as of their lackeys in the menshevik camp. Especially worthy of note is the fact that, in the name of the Communist Party, a young comrade came forward, who only recently emerged from the ranks of the Young Communist League, a typical representative of the new generation of revolutionary leaders, Comrade Doriot (applause), who delivered a splendid speech in parliament. After the speech of Comrade Doriot, the Central organ of the Communist Party of Germany quite rightly published an article under the title: "Liebknecht lives"; yes, he lives in the new generation of workers!

The attitude of Comrade Doriot is, so to speak, a small example of how the new forces which are ripening among the working masses would speak and act if events should develop and the bourgeoisie decide to kindle a new imperialist war on a large scale. French democracy, supported by the Men-



DORIOT, "THE FRENCH LIEBKNECHT," WHO HEADS COMMUNIST OPPOSITION TO THE RIFF WAR IN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

sheviki, has carried out hundreds of arrests throughout the whole country. Communist workers who post up bills and leaflets against the war are being arrested, fresh proceedings are being brought against them. It would be a good thing if

we were to send from this meeting brotherly greetings to all who have been arrested on account of the fight against war. (Applause.)

"Join Hands
and Crush
Your
Exploiters"

--Slogan of the
Communist
Party of France



Expropriation of American Farmers

By O. Preedin

FOR social-democrats, this question relates solely to the competition of large farming enterprises with moderate and small farms. Economic struggle between farms of different sizes—that is the whole secret of farm expropriation as far as they can see; and they may thus very conveniently devote themselves to endless and fruitless discussion concerning the strength and fate of small enterprises in agriculture. Communists cannot consider the question so narrowly, divorced from all awareness of the multiple and complicated mechanisms which capitalism has developed for exploitation of producers in agriculture. There are other relationships to consider besides those of the different agricultural producers with each other. It would be both incorrect and foolish to deny that competition among farmers exists, and that cases of absorption of economically weak farms

by their stronger neighbors occur. But we must note that the apologists of finance capital are always very glad to see such examples pushed to the foreground, so as to conceal the violent attacks of imperialist capitalism upon the property of producers.

Present agricultural statistics do not furnish us a direct answer to the question: to what extent are poor farmers expropriated by their brothers? We are obliged to seek indirect information. The best that may be found is in the classified statistics of mortgage loans.

According to the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association of America, farm mortgages about the end of 1921 amounted to \$8,044,000,000, and were held by the following groups, as indicated (000,000 omitted):

—a—Insurance companies	\$1,247 or 15 per cent
—b—Farm Mortgage Bankers' Ass'n	2,000 or 25 " "
—c—Other farm loan companies	1,200 or 15 " "
—d—Federal farm loan system	497 or 6 " "
—e—Local investors, private lenders and banks not otherwise specified	3,000 or 39 " "
Total	\$8,044 or 100 per cent

It is clear that all farmers who are mortgage-holders are included in the last group (5), among other "local investors" and "private lenders." The extent of their operations appears therefore as some part of one-third of total mortgage loans. How much in this group relates to "banks not otherwise specified," to local merchants who are very largely exploiting the economic dependence of the farmers, and to other elements outside of farm production, cannot be here determined. However, the participation of active farmers in mortgage loans is without question negligible in comparison with the operations of agents of financial capital.

2. Progress of Expropriation.

Expropriation of farmers, centralization of farm land and farm capital in hands of non-producers, is thus plainly revealed. Even the U. S. Department of Agriculture cannot conceal this process. Estimates of this department show that capital in agriculture (all farm property, including land, is considered here as capital) has decreased in value considerably due to devaluation in face of decreased prices, deterioration and destruction, dropping from \$79,607,000,000 in 1919-20 to \$59,409,000,000 in 1923-24.

We may consider the decrease as an expression of current agricultural crisis. But the crisis alone does not serve to explain the most vital development in agriculture—a development which was not started by the crisis but is, however, carried through it in intensified form: the expropriation of producers. To explain this movement we must compare the different groups gathered together under the head of "capital investments." "Operators" are farmer-owners and tenants. Changes in "operators' net capital investments" and changes in the "rented and borrowed property" used by them, show that in the decrease of value of agricultural capital the farmer-owners and tenants had to carry most of the losses and that at the end of the five-year period they were left with only a part of that capital with which they operated at the beginning. In 1919-20 agricultural capital (including land) in the hands of outsiders, principally financial capitalists, amounted to about 39 per cent of the total, but in 1923-24, they already possessed 44 per cent.

The figures of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in the estimates considered may be sufficiently correct. However that may be, they do not and can not give a true picture of the rate at which "operators" are being expropriated, and still less of the significance of this in the class struggle.

By their very nature, such statistics only furnish us a basis for comparing conditions at stated intervals; they do not always show the movement which governs those conditions. While they may serve for individual or isolated situations, they are apt to be very misleading for a description of the movement as reflected in phenomena produced by a combination of many contradictory forces. A special study of each of the separate forces is required. Water in an

isolated pond is one thing, but water in a city reservoir depending upon human consumption and regulation of supply channels must be considered from an entirely different angle.

Farm "capital" which is here marked "operators' net capital investments" is a category compounded of many conflicting elements.

Relative losses by farmers equalled not one-twelfth of their part in the total agricultural capital during the past five years, but considerably more.

3. Reproduction of Farmers and Perpetuation of the Process of the Expropriation of Farmers.

There are many streams bringing new capital into agriculture, as well as new farmers. Origins of these streams are diverse. New farmers, for instance, are created not only through attraction of farm life but through repulsion of life in other fields. Industrial cycles play a great role. Some of the factors are of such nature that they do not cease to operate even during periods of agricultural crisis. Disappearance of free lands for settlement, extraordinary rents and land prices, increased exploitation of agricultural producers under the conditions of centralized land ownership—in addition to much-improved system of exploitation in the sphere of exchange of commodities, slicing up of land for farming with hired labor and tenants: all this tends to contract and to deplete the streams of new farmer-owners. Nevertheless, the streams are not stopped. The same capitalism which expropriates small owners and has established in agriculture a permanent machinery for these operations, to some extent itself supplies crude material for this machinery. Capitalism in its development has had to create many "positions" not only in industry and trade but also in agriculture, where salaried employes and skilled workers are able to make some savings. With these savings as a basis they sometimes set out to realize their dreams of economic independence by going into something on their own hook. Others become suddenly "rich" through inheritance or gifts and also wish to strike out on their own. But concentration in trade and industry excludes past possibilities for application of small capitals there. The investors are therefore influenced to turn their faces and step out on the traditional American road to the farms—a road which some time ago led to considerable independence. Sweet memories here cover the realities which signify inevitable submission to the greed of finance capital.

About the number of new farmers who go over to agriculture with capital accumulated outside, we can get some idea from the special investigation of the U. S. Agricultural Census of 1920, which was the first of its kind. Investigation of "farm experience" discovered that nearly one and one-twelfth million owners (41 per cent of all owners reporting) and over a million tenants (47 per cent of those reporting) were without any farm experience previous to the time when they became farmers.

The historical mission of these new farmers is mainly to replace expropriated farmers and to perpetuate the expropriation by supplying fresh material for the process. Without reproduction of farmers there will not be very much left of the old farming class, and without the "net investments" of these new "operators" the figures in the statistical records under that head would be inconsiderable. The movement of a considerable number of people into agriculture who do not

increase the number of farmers but simply replace others hides the savage rate at which expropriation of farmers is going on.

Instead of seeking to find the rate of expropriation it is in place to conclude from the cited figures only approximate decrease of existing capital owned by agricultural producers, a decrease created by such "advanced" methods of expropriation that even the recruiting of new farmers with their investments could not replace all of what was expropriated and destroyed.

It is highly necessary for us to perceive this process in its true features and true dimensions.

4. Growth and Substance of Control of Financial Capital Over Agriculture.

Capital investments of non-producers in agriculture are increasing all along the line. We find corporation farms organized and operated by financial institutions with the help of hired managers directing hired labor—in short being both in form and substance capitalistic enterprises in agriculture. No less than 7,428 farming corporations filed federal income tax returns. Farm building is not the direct aim of capitalists in general or of financial capital in particular. What they are after is profit. So long as the exploitation of small producers offers them good profits (both in the matter of surplus products and direct acquisition of properties), financial capital will be very careful about starting its own farming enterprises.

It is useful to note here that available information—returns from 1,689 corporation farms out of 7,428, and therefore not a very large basis—indicates that corporation farms are established nearly exclusively in stock farming (42 per cent of them) and in fruit farming (56 per cent). From the point of view of intensification, stock farming and fruit farming are at opposite poles; in one case the most extensive farming, where constant capital in the proper sense and expenses for labor are negligible in comparison with land required, and in the other case a type of farming requiring heavy investment of capital. The first type may be of particular interest in transactions of landholders—as a means of using land temporarily while waiting for a favorable opportunity to get hold of farmers with their properties. The second is not within the reach of small producers.

We cannot take up here the peculiar conditions of Ameri-

can agriculture in the period of imperialism which are responsible for some differences in the matter of concentration of agricultural enterprises from other countries in periods of competing capitalism. That question would not only lead us from U. S. territory into the sphere of "agriculture under the flag of the United States," but would oblige us to follow our imperialists still further. Here it is only necessary for us to note that "agriculture under the flag of the United States"—a term met with more and more frequently in official reports—does not imply merely territorial expansion, but includes a special form of agriculture, which for over 50 years has engaged in competition with certain specialized farms in U. S. territory, and victoriously. The history of the sugar cane farms offers an eloquent example.

Conditions for the extension of large-scale capitalistic farms in the United States are difficult and complicated. As a rule such farms appear not side by side with small "independent" farms but on the graves of the small producers.



A Great Deed Was Needed

By Michael Gold

MIDNIGHT on the hills. Black as a mine-shaft, the world. Immense, strange, with shadows great as lost continents.

And a mine-lamp hangs from the sky. The huge, strong Moon. A white tower-lamp all night, lighting the great mountains,

Coal-mountains, old stone mountains that have given birth to trees, rocks, bears and men.

Peg-Leg Johnson is standing under a black tree. Look at him. He is thinking. "We gotter —we gotter—O, we gotter—"

This is thinking. It hurts and chokes a miner's brain,
A miner alone in midnight on the black mountains,

A miner on strike.

II.

Peg-Leg sees soldier-tents in the dim valley. Camp-fires, too, like red and yellow play-bubbles. Or gay colored lanterns of ghouls at the miners' funeral.

"God damn them, what right have them soldiers in our town?"

Coal-diggers' town is there in the valley. Black stacks of houses down Main street, cut by a glittering sword of moon-silver. Then a splash of yellow lamplight across the sward. People awake in that house; a kid sick, maybe.

Human yellow-lamplight sorrow splashed across the hard, white-moonlight perfectness.

No sounds.

Only a horse whinnying. Only a low cow-bellow, and a brooding of hens. No humans about in the moonlight.

Hush, the wind shakes the dark leaves.

No sounds, no humans about.

But there is loneliness, brooding, suicide-worry behind the walls of the frame houses on Main street.

Peg-Leg knows; it hurts his brain.

III.

Lanky Peg-Leg. Old, slow, powerful Peg-Leg, the miner. Ancient as coal-mountains. Storm-gnarled as a big tree on a hill. Hungry. Peg-Leg Johnson, thinker for the town of coal-diggers.

He lost his left leg in a mine explosion; yes, it was shot away, clean off.

But the stump still lives, like an unrevenged ghost; it burns and itches and hurts like mad when he is thinking.

It throbs and hurts now; Peg-Leg is thinking. His heart goes like an automatic coal-drill. Sweat's on his face, like damp on the coal-face.

There's been four months of strike. Everyone's tired and hungry. The men are hungry. The women pale as flour; hungry. The kids are like sick puppies; they don't play much; hungry.

A little beans and coffee from outside. Not enough. Cast-off clothes comin', too, but not enough. There was snow last week down the valley. Winter's comin' on, and we'll be hungry. Cold. Sick. Outside help no good any more. The soldiers are here, too. And the kids are hungry.

God, we're dyin' on our feet. The strike's cavin' in. Cowards want to give up; crawl back to the company like yaller dogs, and say we're licked. Give up the union. No. No. Never. The union is all we miners have got in this world. There's no God, no heaven, no justice, no nation for us miners—only the union.

And the strike's cavin' in. Cowards want to give up the union.

Never!

Kids. But the kids. But the poor worn-out little hungry kids—

"We gotter—we jest gotter—we GOTTER do somethin'—"

What? Peg-Leg is suffering under the black trees. He sweats. He is the thinker for the town of coal-diggers.

The night ended. Then the man-trip ended. The world mine-cage shot from darkness into light. The moon-lamp flickered out, there was a bucket of smoky blood held up, poured out over the mountains.

The Sun.

Peg-Leg walked home.

His stump burned like mad.

A great deed is needed. The strike needs a great deed.

IV.

Mary, my wife, the strike needs a great deed, he said.

Buddy, my miner son, the strike needs a great deed.

Come from door to door with me, come from house to house down the valley.

And before the red sun has set over the black mountains

The strike will have its great deed.

V.

From house to frame house, from door to screen door they went. Whispering, arguing, flaming: Deep stormy words to rouse storm. Rough words, plain words in overalls, deep proletarian words. Hunger's learning, hunger's eloquence.

Come along, they said, in rough, flaming words, the strike needs a great deed.

Huge, hairy Jack Dorsey, and his three huge, hairy brothers, and their wives, came along.

Lucky Bill Watkins, the miners' fiddler. Hilda McGregor, mother of five hungry kids, she came. Fighting Jane Hamilton in her red shawl. Poor old Kate Leith, who lost husband and sons in the mine. Many women came along.

Old Bob Shaw, with his shot-in face; it was tattooed blue in a mine explosion. Frank Hamilton, with three fingers shot off in a mine explosion. Other peg-legs, other tattooed miners, other hungry bellies and bursting hearts. They came along.

The Welsh, the Wops, the Greeks came.

Young Stanlitch, that eager boy, explained to the Hunkies in their tongue, the strike needs a great deed. And all came along.

Are you lonely, brother? Come along. You'll find comrades here.

Are you hungry, brother? Come along. We'll share your hunger.

Are you beaten, brother? Come along. We must seek for courage together.

Are you ready to die, brother? Come along, we will all die together, the strike needs a great deed.

VI.

Main street at noon. Bare, cheap, American Main street, familiar as a dollar bill. Common and dull as birth.

But see the brave October sun. O, beautiful yellow god of the dark miners. Courage, a fine day!

Why are the stores closed on this fine day? The show windows boarded up?

Danger?

Danger!

Business heard the alarm word ringing over the valley all morning. Business knows. Danger! This ain't no buying crowd this morning; no groceries or shoes sold today.

Danger. The coal-diggers are out for something. Muttering uneasily, in little groups, like plotters. Or forbidding and steely-hued of face, like the color of storm-clouds. Pent-up like prisoners, walking up and down the sidewalks. Or lounging against lamp-posts, spitting carefully. Waiting. Storm-clouds. Danger.

A fire broke out in the northern end of town. The coal diggers whispered the news up and down Main street. Desperate laughter. A desperate proletarian joke Business will never understand.

The troops were rushed to put the fire out. The miners watched the boys leave.

NOW IS THE TIME.

FALL IN LINE; WE'LL MARCH ON THE COMPANY OFFICE.

WE'LL TELL THE SUPERINTENDENT WE'RE HUNGRY.

EVERYONE COME ALONG!

Yes, hurry. Two thousand soldiers of poverty, fall in line. March!

Rages are the uniform, shawls and overalls. No music or drums. Unromantic army, common as birth, as daily bread. Ragged ranks of men and women shuffling common clay-dust on Main street. No banner, only the naked blue sky, the old flag of hunger. Shabby, harsh, disorderly, the shuffling regiment of the unloved poor. A mob. The sun shines on their pale, stern faces.

Peg-Leg Johnson, his white hair like plumes, stumps in the first rank. His boy, Buddy, the young ex-soldier, marches beside him.

Danger! Famine in fat America! Ring the alarm bell over America, the miners are marching!

Lawyers, beware! Legal lies won't help you now! This is famine marching!

Landlords, barricade your tenements of profit! Justice is marching!

Capitalists, order out the gunmen to guard your man-slaying factories! Justice is marching!

Professors, ministers, editors, run to your holes! Poets, to your ivory towers! Reality is marching!

Danger, O, Republic, call out the troops, the miners are marching again,

Guard yourself with cannon, O, Republic, against Justice, Truth, and the Brotherly love of the Proletariat!

VII.

They marched to the company office. They came to the picket fence and stopped. They yelled for the Super. Nobody answered them. Then two rough gunmen came out. What do you want? they asked. Peg-Leg Johnson and Angus Hamilton stepped out of the crowd, and said: We want to speak to the Super. What do you want to tell him? a gunman asked.

We want to tell him we're hungry, said Peg-Leg Johnson.

Get the hell out of here, you big bum, said the gunman, and he tried to pull his gun.

Angus Hamilton grabbed him and threw him over the fence.

The other gunman pulled his gun, too, and fired a shot, and then ran away waving his hands like crazy. He was scared. That mob of miners was all talking and yelling at the same time. They had a sound that would scare a gunman.

The crowd was all pushing against the picket fence. What'll we do next? everyone was ask-

ing at the same time. Suddenly the fence fell down by accident. The crowd rushed into the cinder yard, laughing and yelling like kids. There was a barbed wire fence they found there, but the coal-digger boys who had been in the army in France tore it down. They knew how. They showed the others how to tear barbed-wire fences down.

What'll we do now? everyone was asking Peg-Leg Johnson and Angus Hamilton.

Let's march back.

No, no, no, rattled and roared the great thunder of Justice, the voice of the mob. The storm was rising.

Then somebody said something about the company store. They went to look at it. The store was closed tight, and a black lock was on the warehouse. The watchman had run away.

Somebody walked up and tore the lock of the company warehouse from its staples, and threw the big warehouse doors open, wide as Justice.

The mob of coal-diggers rushed in. They grabbed everything they found there, shoes and canned beans and flour and dried pears and coffee and overalls and oatmeal and tinned milk for the kids—

They grabbed it up in their arms. Everyone had enough. Everyone was wild and happy over the big proletarian joke. Everyone suddenly bust out singing. Some of them began eating things with a laugh on their faces, like drunk. They acted like kids. Everyone loved everyone else. They were happy. It was a Fourth of July picnic, the miners' Fourth of July.

At last Peg-Leg and Angus got them back in line again.

Let's march back and hold a big meeting in town, said Peg-Leg.

Everyone is cheered up now, he yelled, and we can hold the biggest meeting yet, everyone'll come.

This strike is good for another four months now, he yelled with a happy look on him, we can get through the winter, can't we, boys?

For there has been a great deed.

So the mob fell in line, and they marched back, singing, laughing and eating things as they raised the dust in the sunlight.

There was green bushes on both sides of the red clay road. At Hoyt's Corners, as they were swinging along, they suddenly came around a bend, and found the troops standing on guard among the green bushes. Their rifles were up, with shiny bayonets sticking from them, like a cactus fence among the green bushes.

Halt, yelled the Captain, a fat young feller with a waxy moustache.

The coal-diggers halted. Peg-Leg Johnson stepped forward to talk to the Captain. Suddenly a hundred shots belched red from the rifles. Peg-Leg was torn to pieces with bullets. He fell into the red clay road. Blood came out of him. Red blood was on his face, and his white hair. There was suddenly such a lot of his blood. Peg-Leg's boy Buddy rushed to help him, but it was too late. Peg-Leg had died for the coal-diggers. About thirty other miners were wounded, and ten women and three kids. Yes, there was plenty blood on the green bushes and red clay road.

Again strange immensity.

VIII.

Midnight on the hills.

Black as a mine-shaft, the world.

The huge moon shines on the coal-mountains.

Under the black tree where Peg-Leg Johnson used to stand, another miner is standing. It is Peg-Leg's son, Buddy.

We gotter—we gotter—O, we gotter—

He is thinking. It hurts and chokes the brain of a young miner who first begins to think.

He remembers England, France. His three years in war. Democracy. Wilson. The Kaiser. The lives of the poor in England, France, Germany, too.

Those coal-diggers in those other countries—are they up against our kind of fight, too? he asked the Moon.

He was weeping for his brave father. He was shivering. He wanted to shoot somebody. He was bitter as poison. He wanted another war. He wanted dynamite. He wanted books to read. He wanted to know how to do something big. He wanted a big revenge. He wanted an earthquake, flood and fire over fat America. He wanted to run amuck. He wanted to think.

Then the night ended over the black tree.

Flood and fire swept in over America.

The Sun.

Buddy Johnson walked home.

The whole world needs a great deed.

This whole world needs a great proletarian deed, he shouted at the Sun.

Men of England! Men of France! Men of Germany! Men of America! The world needs a great proletarian deed!

Company Unions

By Wm. Z. Foster

WITHIN the past several years there has been a tremendous growth of "company unions" in American industry. This is an indispensable wing of the "open shop" movement. The development is of the utmost consequence to the labor movement in all its phases. Strangely enough, however, our Party has devoted practically no attention whatever to this menacing movement. This indifference must come to an end. We must carefully analyze company unionism and work out a policy to combat it.

The first suggestion of a company union was put forth by one James C. Rayles in 1886 in an article entitled "The Shop Council." The first company union organized, however, was in 1901 in the plant of the Nernst Lamp Company in Pittsburgh. In 1907 the Nelson Valve Company of Philadelphia instituted a similar organization. But the movement did not get well under way until the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company founded its plan of "Employee Representation" following the bitterly fought coal miners' strike of 1913-14. This plan was the work of W. L. MacKenzie King assisted by "Poison" Ivy Lee. The endorsement of this budding movement by the powerful Rockefeller interests, attracted the attention of the capitalists to it generally as a means to hold their workers in subjection, and soon in big plants all over the country similar schemes were developed. The movement took on tremendous impetus about 1916 and extended all through the war period with growing force. At the end of the war there were about 250 company unions. The movement has reached the point now where most of the leading concerns of the country in every industry have company unions in some form or other. Exact statistics are not to be had on the number of these unions, but there are at least 500 of them at the present time. The growth of the company unions has been simultaneous with that of the avowed "open shop" movement.

Metal and Railroad Company Unions.

The company union movement has been widely extended in the metal industry, especially in the steel-mill section of it. Practically all the big "independent" steel companies, such as the Bethlehem, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, etc., have such an organization in their plants. At the close of the steel strike of 1919, Gary stated that the experiences of the strike indicated company unions were no guarantee against the growth of trade unions and he doubted whether they would be instituted in the plants of the United States Steel Corporation. The great meat-packing interests have highly developed systems of company unions. These were organized directly to combat the trade unions, which had been founded in their plants during the war period. The packers established their company unions in 1920. About the first important act of these organizations was to accept a reduction in wages on behalf of the workers. The trade unions struck against this wage cut, but were defeated in the ensuing struggle. Undoubtedly many of the workers in the packing industry were deceived by the fair promises of the companies in establishing the company unions.

The railroad industry has also been the scene of an enormous growth of company unions. The pioneer company in this respect was the Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1921 this ruthless organization swept aside the shop unions, clerks, and maintenance of way organizations and established its plan of employe representation, after taking a fake referendum vote of the workers on its vast network of railroads. This greatly weakened the unions on that road, large numbers of the weaker unionists deserting the bona fide organizations to pin their faith on the company organizations. During the great shopmen's strike of 1922, which was caused in large part by the growing company-union movement, most of the large railroad systems followed the lead of the Pennsylvania by establishing company unions among the scabs in their shops. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and a number of other large systems took a different tack. They did not establish company unions outright, but made a "settlement" with the shop unions. Shortly after this settlement the so-called B. & O. Plan was developed. The essence of this is to turn the trade unions into near-company unions. A further complication developed when some of the railroads, which had followed the lead of the Pennsylvania in setting up company unions, also made settlements with the trade unions. Such were the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, etc. On the roads involved, one sees the spectacle of company unions and trade unions existing side by side.

Thus, on the railroads, there are three stages of company unionism: (1) the Pennsylvania type of straight company unionism to the complete exclusion of the trade unions in certain departments; (2) the Baltimore & Ohio type of trade unions reduced practically to the status of company unions; (3) the Great Northern and Northern Pacific type of company unions and trade unions together. The result of the growth of company unions on the railroads has been to completely demoralize the various railroad trade unions.

Ideologically all these company unions are of one type. Their very breath of life is the theory of class collaboration, which means the complete subjugation of the workers' interests to those of the employers. A typical statement of policy is that of the company union of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, Traffic Department, which says:

"The operating employes of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, and operated companies, desiring to establish a means of presenting to the Company their collective views regarding wages, working conditions and other matters of mutual concern, through channels supplementary to the Company's administrative organization, and recognizing their common responsibility with that of the Company in giving continuous and efficient public service have adopted the following plan of representation."

Organizationally the company unions follow two general

types, (1) the governmental type; (2) the committee type.

In the governmental type, which is sometimes called the "Industrial Democracy" plan, a system of organization is set up parodying the United States Government, consisting of a Cabinet, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Cabinet comprises the higher executives of the plant, the Senate is made up of foremen, and the House of Representatives is composed of the elected representatives of the employers. In the committee type, the effort is to parody, to a greater or lesser extent, trade union forms of organization. Committees are elected from the various shops and works.

These may be either entirely of workers or joint committees of workers and bosses. But whatever the system, whether of the governmental type or the committee type, the company unions are always completely under the control of the company officials, and serve the companies' interests.

Company unions in American industry are not to be confused with Works' Councils in England and Betriebsrate in Germany and in other countries. The American company unions are purely instruments of the employers, set up as substitutes for trade unions and designed to preserve the "open shop" and to enforce the will of the employers. The Works' Councils and Betriebsrate of Europe on the other hand, are in most cases either direct auxiliaries of the trade unions or completely dominated by them. This does not mean, however, that the workers in American industry cannot, under certain circumstances, seize control of company unions and transform them into weapons against the employers.

We Must Fight the Company Unions.

The company unions are the employers' first line of defense against the trade unions. The success of these organizations in demoralizing the workers and stilling their protests is attested by the popularity and rapid spread of the company-union movement in the big industrial plants. The path to the building of shop committees and trade unions lies through the shattered ruins of the company unions. The Workers Party must consider as one of its major tasks the war against company unions. This war shall be carried on principally through the instrumentality of the shop nuclei. Wherever there is a shop nucleus in an unorganized industry one of its principle tasks must be to carry on the struggle against the company union of the plant.

This struggle will have many phases. The shop nuclei must carry on ceaseless campaigns of exposure of the hypocritical pretenses of the company unions and make clear with a thousand illustrations how they operate against the interests of the workers and in favor of the employers. Besides this, the nuclei must arrange, either through the membership of our comrades or that of sympathizers, to bring before the company unions various demands of the workers. By refusing to defend these, it will be made clear to the masses that the company unions are tools of the employers against them. In times of foment in the industries, when the masses are aroused against wage-cuts or are in a mood to demand wage-advances, the company unions will always be found in violent opposition to the workers' interests, and it is then that they can best be discredited. In favorable circumstances, it will be advantageous to penetrate these organizations by putting up candidates in the shop elections against the recognized company candidates. In such circumstances, especially when the trade unions are making a

drive to organize the industry, it will be quite possible in many cases to capture the company unions either through the elections or by other maneuvers. In their warfare against the company unions, the shop nuclei must hold clearly before the workers the program of abolishing the existing yellow unions based upon the principle of "class collaboration," and the creation of shop committees, based upon free elections of the workers, exercising the free right of assembly inside or outside of the plant, controlled by the trade unions, putting their demands into effect, and animated by a policy of class struggle.

It is my good fortune to have had a considerable experience with company unions. From this I have learned that they are far from being the anti-union specifics that their enthusiastic supporters claim. They can be successfully fought, and even turned to advantage if the proper tactics are used against them. A case in point, where we successfully fought them, was in the plants of the Corn Products Co. This concern, owned by the Rockefeller interests, has a number of plants, the largest of which is located in Argo, Ill. When, in 1918, we began to organize the workers in this plant, we immediately had to confront the company union which was used vigorously. After a short struggle, we captured this organization. Later, when a general meeting of the company union committees representing all the plants of this company was held, we also captured that, by winning over all the proletarian members of the committees. This definitely established the trade unions in the plants. Another place where we captured the company union was in the plant of the Fairbanks Co., manufacturers of the Gold Dust Washing Powder. This concern, during the big drive in the Chicago stockyards, attempted to forestall the unions by setting up a company union. We soon won over this, however, and forced the company to deal with the trade unions.

Fighting Company Unions in the Steel Industry.

But it was in the big campaign to organize the steel workers that the best success was had in fighting company unions. As stated above, such organizations were to be found in scores of the biggest plants. Most of them had just been organized and the companies were flooding the whole industry with glittering promises of what these yellow unions would do to protect the interests of the workers. The demoralizing effect of this propaganda was manifest. The trade unions opened up a big counter-campaign. On May 25, 1919, at a national delegate conference of the rank and file of the 24 unions affiliated to the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, held in Pittsburgh to stimulate the general campaign of organization, I introduced a long resolution condemning the company unions.

This resolution pointed out in detail the differences between the company unions and genuine trade unions, showing (1) that the elections to the company union committees are controlled by the bosses and the candidates are either officials of the company or their lickspittles, (2) that the company unions always meet under the eye of the officialdom and are denied all rights of mapping out independent programs, (3) that committee men who venture to make a fight on behalf of the workers are immediately discharged or otherwise discriminated against, (4) that although the companies utilize the best skill procurable in dealing with the

workers, they refuse to permit the latter, in the company unions, to secure the assistance of skilled leaders, (5) that the company unions are destitute of economic power, having no connections with organizations in other plants, no funds, and no means of making a fight to enforce their will, should they venture to make decisions contrary to the interests of the employers, (6) that the companies systematically divert the aim of the company unions away from all idea of struggle against the companies and turn their attention to such questions as safety-first movements, problems of efficiency, health and housing, recreation and "education," Americanization, sale of company stock, etc. This resolution was widely circulated among the steel workers and did much to awaken them to the menacing danger of the company unions.

In many centers completely successful fights were waged against the company unions. A striking illustration was in the plants of the Bethlehem Steel Co. To block the advance of the unions, Schwab, with a great fanfare of trumpets in the press, founded a plan of "employee representation." Undismayed, the unions carried on a militant campaign of exposure against this fake organization and enlisted the more intelligent elements from among the workers into the unions. When the election was held for the company union committees, the unions put up their own ticket, not officially designated, but nevertheless known to the men. Notwithstanding the corruption and terrorism of the company, a large number of the union candidates were elected. Then, one fine day, when the company union committee met, every member of it appeared wearing a special A. F. of L. button fully two inches across. Those members of the company union committee who were not also members of the trade unions, found it convenient to stay away from this and other meetings of the company union. Later the plant went on strike along with the others in the big struggle.

In Johnstown, Pa., home of the giant Cambria Steel Co., the unions waged another very successful struggle against the company union. When the big campaign started in the fall of 1918, the Cambria Steel Co., employing 22,000 men, met it by the formation of its plan of employee representation, coupled with an elaborate propaganda as to the futility of trade unionism. The trade unions carried on simultaneously a most active campaign and exposure of the company union. When a worker was discharged for joining the trade union, his fellows in the shop immediately submitted his case to the company union committee, which naturally refused to fight for him. A hundred other devices were used to expose the company union as an instrument of the employers. In the elections, union men ran against bosses on a trade union ticket, with the result that many of them were discharged, to the further discredit of the company union. The workers rallied so strongly behind their candidates that the company was forced to adopt the most flagrant means to elect its agents. Consequently the stock of the company union fell rapidly. It collapsed altogether when the company took the committee to Atlantic City, wined them and dined them at the best hotels and then got them to adopt a resolution condemning the demands of the trade unions for an eight-hour day and better wages. When the news of this reached Johnstown, an explosion took place. Those bodies of skilled workers who still clung to the company union repudiated it en masse, marched down to the trade union hall and joined the organ-

ization in a body. It was a 100 per cent victory for the trade union over the company union. By and large, the activities of the company union in Johnstown, because properly exploited by the organizations, contributed largely to the organization of the trade unions. It was through observing such instances as this that Judge Gary was led to say that the company union was at best but a doubtful means to forestall the organization of trade unions.

Organize the Unorganized.

It is a historic task of the Communist movement in America to organize the millions of unorganized workers in the great industries. The bureaucrats now at the head of the trade unions have shown themselves unwilling and unable to accomplish this gigantic task. The very existence of the maze of company unions points to the failure of Gompersian trade unionism. The reactionary leaders refuse to consolidate their organizations, to follow a policy of class struggle, and to adopt the various other measures absolutely essential to the organization of the vast armies of unorganized workers. They are helpless in the face of our super-militant capitalism. Only the revolutionary left wing possesses the requisite initiative and understanding to accomplish the tremendous task of organizing the unorganized.

The existence of the company unions is a great barrier to the conquest of the industries for trade unionism. Our Party must come to a keen realization of this fact. In the company unions the employers have a potent means to poison the minds of the workers against all forms of revolutionary thought and activity. They also serve as at least a weak substitute for trade unions and delude masses of the backward workers into the belief that they offer some sort of protection against the injustice of the employers. They must be shattered before shop committees and trade unions can really become entrenched in the industries.

Our party must take the lead in the war against company unions. The shop nuclei must be given to understand this from the first. They must be instructed to concentrate their attention on the company unions, aiming always to discredit and destroy them, or, in favorable circumstances, to capture them and to transform them into genuine shop committees and trade unions. The success of our campaign to organize the unorganized as well as to secure the lead over the workers generally in the industries depends upon the success of our campaign to destroy the company unions.

TOIL

TOIL hath a swart face, darkened by sun and smoke,
He is thin-lipped, curt of speech, bitter at a jest or gibe.

Toil waters the ways with sweat, out of the dust and grime
makes homely useful things,
Orders the world with a steady hand.

Only at evening when the sun sets with unimaginable splendor,
and the radiant voice of Beauty is heard across the fields,
does Toil pause and with sombre, questioning eyes gaze at the stars.

—Buelah May.

Making Revolutionists of Women

A Visit to the Women's Section of the Comintern

By Anise

ON the walls as I stepped into the rooms were two large silken banners, recalling the Third International Congress of Communist Women, presents from the working women of Sokolniki and from the working and mining women of the Southeast. They bore greetings in golden embroidery, the symbol of hammer and sickle, the "Workers of the World, Unite."

It will be noted that they did not say: "Working Women of the World, Unite," and in this they were symbolically true to the policy of the Communist International which does not form a separate women's organization as does, for instance, the British Labor Party, but has merely a



CLARA ZETKIN, VETERAN GERMAN REVOLUTIONARY LEADER; SECRETARY OF THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF COMINTERN.

special women's bureau, for devising slogans and special methods of appeal to women. Once the women are in the organization, they are grouped right along with men. But in getting them in, there are various special methods to be thought of.

The charming efficient woman who gave me my information reminded me that Clara Zetkin was still the official secretary of the women's section, whose name appears signing all official publications. But in practice her place is taken, in the routine work of the office, by several younger women, of various nationalities, speaking various different languages. One especially for the Western women and one for the Eastern, since the politically aroused women of Europe and America can be approached in a different manner from the women of the Orient. Yet even in China, Java, Turkey there is women's work going on under the Comintern.

"We follow the usual Communist tactics," said my informant, in describing work among the western women.

"We try to penetrate into all proletarian or semi-proletarian organizations of women, especially when they are struggling for some improvement of their conditions. Even if these organizations do not yet make our demands, yet we consider it better for women to be aroused and organized than sitting at home. We enter these groups and encourage them, forming within them our own fractions, and agitating for our own slogans within their ranks.

"For instance in Germany the rents have been steadily going up, and this causes much distress. There is a regular organization of women to protest at this, and we enter it. In addition to their slogans, we have our own housing program and our slogans, and we try to win the women to the more revolutionary program.

"In the same way we enter the womens unions and help fight for the eight-hour day and the protection of women. In England just now there is a big question of mothers' pensions in which we are interesting ourselves. In Germany there is an attempt to cut down the pension given to newly-born babies, and we are helping in the fight against this.

"In other words, our tactics are not to make a complete list of theoretical demands and try to convert women completely; but rather to watch the economic struggle and join it, leading in those demands which seem important to the women themselves at a given time, guiding them and at the same time pointing out our own solution. For this reason we are active in different ways in different countries, always taking advantage of any demands that have even the beginning of a revolutionary significance.

"In France, Italy and England, there is a fight just now for political rights, since in France and Italy women have no political rights and in England only women over thirty may vote. Our tactics in France were to put women up for election in places where we had a majority. In a few places, where we had Communist mayors, working women actually went and voted. We elected several women to municipal offices. Naturally the municipalities refuse to seat them. The bourgeois point of view would be that it was a waste of time to elect women who could not serve. But that is not our view. For the fight to get them seated is in itself the important thing since it awakens women to their rights.

"In many central European countries large numbers of civil servants are being dismissed. The women are always the first to go. Here also we Communists champion the women, demanding equal rights for them. But in general the most important demands are economic, wages, hours, protection in factories, motherhood protection, food prices, housing.

"In Czecho-Slovakia the soaring prices of food brought about really serious demonstrations. Women went in great masses to the Stock Exchange, the magistrates, the trade unions and the cooperatives, demanding a lowering of the cost of food. The bourgeois threw down stones and even furniture from the windows in the crowds; the police

shot and even killed children. All day long the women would be demonstrating in the markets and if anyone started to make a speech there would be a special demonstration. In this situation we Communists tried to organize for special slogans: 'Higher wages and price control.'

"Housing is especially interesting just now in north England and Scotland. Unemployed who could not pay rents are being evicted. But the workers have formed 'Watch Committees' who keep guard; when the police draw near to evict a family, they alarm the neighborhood and bring everyone out to prevent the eviction. Sometimes families already evicted have been put back in their homes. On Christmas the Watch Committees took a day's vacation, not believing that anyone would be evicted on Christmas Day so the police put out several families on that day.

"In the United States there is a Working Women's Council, which agitates against fire-traps, child labor, deportation of foreign workers; and which raised aid for tornado victims in the west. This also we join and try to influence, though we have not the majority in it.

"Our organization is growing very fast throughout Europe. The International Women's Day last March was a big event in many countries. This day was started in 1910 by the Second International on suggestions from America and was organized by Clara Zetkin. The war destroyed it as the war destroyed all connections of the Second International. In 1917 the women of Leningrad revived it, demonstrating on the streets with cries of "Bread! Send back our men!" These were among the demonstrations that led up to the fall of the czar. Now the Comintern has taken up the day and made it an international event again."

I talked with another woman organizer about the work in Eastern lands. This is in two sections: there is a large work carried on among the women in the various Soviet Republics towards the East, where for reasons of the Mohammedan religion, women are very backward. Here women may not appear in public or go to men's assemblies, so a special type of women's club is organized for them. There are now 44 of these clubs with over 5,000 members. The clubs maintain schools for illiterates, a cooperative section, a legal aid section, a section of motherhood and baby care, a dramatic section, a singing section. All kinds of productive work are organized through these clubs, book-binding, sewing, shoe-making, rug-weaving. Baby consultation also take place at the clubs, which are attended by thousands of women.

In the far east, outside the Soviet Union, women's work also goes on, though not so freely as inside the Soviet Republics. In China, Japan, Java, Turkey, there are also small sections of Communist women, taking part in the demands of their sisters for political freedom, for abolishing of social slavery, for all the things which the awakening women of those countries are beginning to demand.

International Women's Day was celebrated also in Canton, with mass meetings, processions, speeches from motor trucks. Among the slogans used were: Abolish Polygamy; Abolish Girl Slavery; Free China from the Imperialists; Equal Education for Women. The oriental women are the most enslaved individuals left on earth, being four times enslaved, to their men, to their religious prejudices, to the capitalism of their own country and to the imperialism from

abroad. Yet even among them stirrings of protests are beginning, and wherever such stirrings appear, the Communist women try to keep it alive and direct it.

After I had heard of a women's section in Iceland, and in Java, and in Syria, I asked: "Is there any corner of earth left where a capitalist can escape you?" My informant laughed: "Not as long as he remains a capitalist, for he creates us wherever he is."



WOMEN OFFICERS OF THE RED ARMY.

THE CLASS

THE room is stale with yesterday's atmosphere.
Thickly powdered women robed in fluffy chiffons
Settle heavily on the painted seats.
Surrounded by books and charts
The professor lectures on "Ethical Ends."
Every action and motive is ticketed and placed in pigeon holes.
Wilting in the heat
A rose drops its petals on the floor.

Without, Life festers in the sun,
Burdock, nettle and cankered fruit.
A man without a job trudges
Through the dust and weeds of a railroad track.
A soft pliable girl goes riding
With a slender, shifty-eyed sheik.
A young mother cries with weariness over the steaming wash
While her children laugh and scabble in the dirt.
As Life, heavy, pushing, fecund,
Refuses to be ticketed and placed in the professor's pigeon holes.

—Beulah May

Workers Conquest of the Films

By William F. Kruse

"OF all the arts, the motion picture is for us the most important,—these words of Nicolai Lenin are quoted in an interesting illustrated pamphlet, "Conquer the Film!" by Willi Muenzenberg, head of the International Workers' Aid, and one of the most expert propagandists in the world today. Many other authorities are quoted in support of his thesis: that the film is today an avenue to the mass mind comparable only to the press and worthy of the same intense support by the workers. Zinoviev, Lunacharsky, Clara Zetkin and many others give their testimonials, and the author cites the decision of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, held in March of this year, that all Communist Parties are to devote much more attention than heretofore to the problem of placing the cinema into the arsenal of Communist weapons for propaganda and enlightenment.

Muenzenberg points out that in Western countries the film already reaches perhaps greater masses, numerically, than do the daily papers—that it reaches them in a peculiarly effective and convincing manner—and that precisely those basic elements to whom we must appeal, the politically primitive, unorganized, poorly schooled worker and peasant masses, these are the ones most readily and most effectively approachable by a working class cinema.

Soviet Russia Workers' Film Base.

That difficulties beset the way of adequate use of the film by our movement is fully recognized, and the author grants that only the victorious Revolution in Soviet Russia gives the world proletariat an economic and ideological base for film production. Russia, with its 120 millions on one-sixth of the earth, itself furnishes an economically self-sufficient film market that can more than cover the costs of production, precisely as the United States furnishes a self-sufficient market for capitalist film production. Both countries can do without foreign sales; these are only extra receipts, "velvet," which in the United States represents less than 20 per cent of the income.

The problem of production being largely solved through the Russian Revolution, we next face the serious problem of

bringing these films to the masses. The difficulties are quite correctly listed under three heads:

1. Political restrictions.
2. Economic conditions.
3. Organizational difficulties.

A Thorny Path.

The first includes customs duties and regulations, censorship (which is our worst bugbear), and building and fire-code restrictions and license requirements. Some of these figure also as economic obstacles.

The second embraces the costs of import, and of retitling and adaptation. After the film is ready for showing the problem of distribution must be solved: most of the film exchanges and theatres are trust-controlled and closed against us, so there remain only the expensive roads of direct theater rental or else itinerant road shows with our own mended in the pamphlet as the result equipment. The last form is recommended in the pamphlet as the result of experience in Germany, France and Czecho-Slovakia, as well as on the basis of lessons from other countries. This method is projected for use in the near future in the United States also.

The third difficulty is found within the movement. Motion picture work is hard, involves an unending burden of tedious detail work. Its importance is not as yet recognized by the movement, hence it is difficult to attract the required interest and co-operation of able comrades. It is new to the movement and, while it borrows much from our experience with old media of propaganda, it requires the learning of some new lessons that are hard to our settled workers.

The pamphlet is loaded with apt examples out of the European proletarian film experience, with which the author was most closely in touch, and the American experiences are used only as incidental illustrations. But precisely because in this country the bourgeois film has reached its greatest development, the workers use of the film must be most strongly fostered here. Ours is one of the few movements that with very small means, have attempted a widespread film campaign, and our achievements in this field are considerable, as the German pamphlet recognizes. It will be



ARMY PLANES AND AUTOS FIGURE IN THE FACTORY WORKERS' VICTORY IN THE RUSSIAN FILM ENTITLED "THE ULTIMATUM."

well to follow Comrade Muenzenberg's outline and add our American experiences to those so excellently set forth by him on an international scale.

American Experiences.

Every argument cited to prove the importance of the film is doubly true in the United States. The film speaks a universal language and has bridged all racial differences in bringing to the masses the truth about Soviet Russia and about the international movement to extend its principles to every quarter of the globe. The film gives greater inspiration and draws a more constant stream of agreement (as shown for instance in applause) than any ten speakers. It delivers a message of equal excellence in the tiniest mine town or backwoods farming village, and hence will go far to solve some of the problems of rural activity in which our movement thus far is pitifully backward. In about 250 cities of all sizes and compositions we have shown anywhere from one to seven film programs, to average total audiences of 100,000 for each film. On the first handsome profits were realized, on the others the costs were more than covered.

Can this be called a success? If we compare our record with the failures of other branches of the labor movement on this field of the bankrupt "Labor Film Service," backed by yellow Socialists and Gompersites, it would seem an excellent result. But this would be sectarian gloating, and foreign to Communist reasoning. Our comparisons must be made against the achievements of our capitalist enemy. Our enemy shows his films in 20,000 houses, we show in about 200. Our record receipts for one night were about \$4,000 in collections and admissions, but in the same city the "Auditorium" record for its 3,600 seats for one week was \$55,000—this for the vicious anti-Negro film, "The Birth of a Nation." Our enemy produces about 700 feature films a year, several thousand short features, and a couple of hundred more are imported, few of which reach the American screen. Against this we put out two or three features at most, and a few short subjects. Our enemy reaches fifty million people a week, according to the "Wall Street Journal," which says of film that it "Meets a human need at a price with-

in the reach of almost all." We reached ten thousand a week, once.

Our weakness in comparison with the tremendously powerful Film Trust is an argument for more film activity, not less. Our press seems at a similar disadvantage; yet we know that its power is far greater than its comparatively limited number of readers would indicate. So also with our film. Our enemy knows this too and overlooks no obstacle that can be put into our way. Let us consider a few of them.

The "Sense" of Censorship.

The first of these is Censorship. If any doubt is entertained as to the true function of the State, let the limping liberal but consider the case of movie censorship. In the flush of bourgeois revolutionary romanticism this country's "Fathers" legalized, on paper, the revolutionary weapons which had helped them overthrow the British ruling class. Thus, "free" conscience, speech, press and assemblage were sanctified in the form of constitutional amendments—which, like the 18th, are more noted in the breach than in the observance. But the movies have not even this figment of legality to protect them—there is, legalistically, no such thing as "freedom of the films." They did not exist in 1776, hence were not listed among the approved methods of political persuasion.

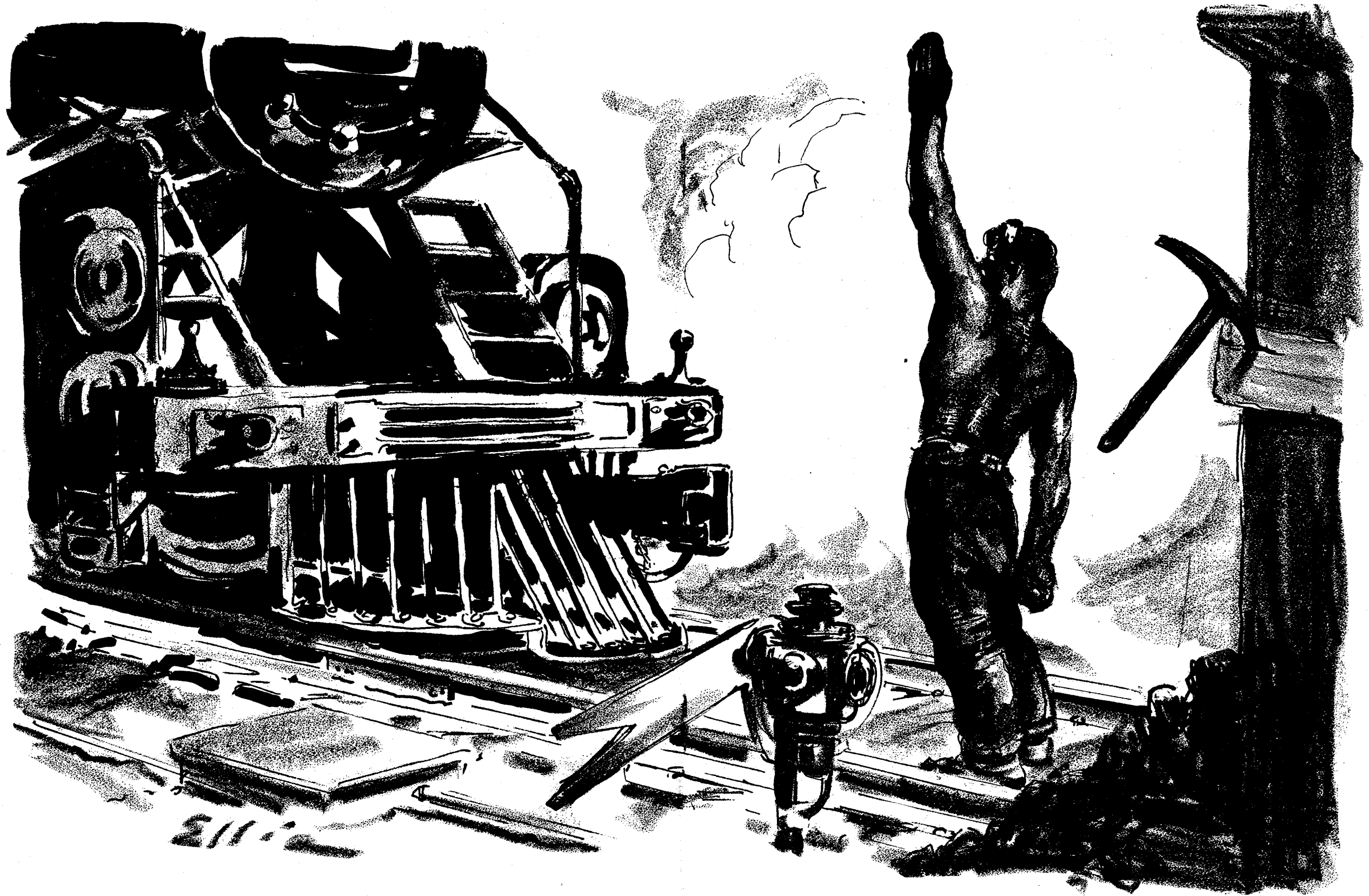
The State function is revealed frankly in the Censorship Board. In Maryland the "standards" forbid: "Inflammatory scenes and titles calculated to stir up racial hatred or antagonistic relations between capital and labor." Other items taboo include: "Doubtful characters exalted to heroes," "Advocacy of the doctrine of free love," "Birth control," "Irreverent treatment of religious observances and beliefs."

In Ohio standards forbid "Scenes which ridicule or deprecate public officials, officers of the law, the United States Army or Navy, or which tend to weaken the authority of the law." Pennsylvania prohibits: "What reflects upon national fame, patriotism, self-respect, or adversely affects international relations, attacks or ridicules public institutions

(Continued on page 525)



CHICAGO POLICE GENTLY CHIDING WORKING CLASS "RIOTERS"—FROM NEWSREEL PRODUCED BY THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA



The Anthracite Miners Call a Halt

The Hell of History

By Thurber Lewis

"**M**ANY persons are unable to realize the tragedy of certain contemporary events. When they are shown the actions of a government whose other face is dignified and smiling, they shrug their shoulders and say: 'That's impossible! Such things might have happened once, but not in our time . . .' Now we must very definitely recognize this fact: never have crime, cruelty, attempts upon life and liberty been so widespread as in our time, which is truly the hell of history."—HENRY BARBUSSE.

WHEN Barbusse wrote the above, he referred directly to the white terror that has left a trail of blood and horror from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Latvia, Esthonia, Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria—to the revolutionary worker these names cannot be spoken without conjuring up terrible visions of murder, torture and prison. The prize butcher of them all is the military government led by Professor Zankov, minister to King Boris, ruler of Bulgaria. The name of that black-bearded pedagogue will take its place in history next to that of Caligula and Torquemada. On his murderous head and therefore on the heads of the bankers and exploiters for whom and in whose name he kills, rests the black stigma of foul and willful mass slaughter. The dead bodies of thousands of his own countrymen, workers, peasants, women and children cry out against his infamy in the name of the revolution for which they gave their lives.

What was the prelude? An American observer, not in the least sympathetic to Communism, R. H. Markham, wrote to the "Freeman" from Sofia in November, 1922, "This (Communist) movement has swept over the whole country, capturing the whole proletariat and most of the youth. Just imagine! There are Communist clubs among army officers and a large proportion of primary teachers are Communists. At the polls, the Communists have elected the municipal governments in a large number of important cities. They represent the second strongest party in Bulgaria. They circulate far more literature than any other group. They are the most vigorous and energetic social group in the land."

Subsequent to this awakening, on the 9th of April, 1923, the so-called "peasant" government of Stamboulsky was overthrown. The impression seems to have gotten abroad that the Stamboulsky government was friendly to the Communists. It was not. His regime was purely and simply a temporary hegemony of the petty-bourgeoisie. It came to power by grace of the old regime which, defeated in war and economically broken by the treaty of Neuilly, withdrew and turned the government over to the petty-bourgeoisie. When Bulgaria had sufficiently rehabilitated itself with the aid of international bankers, the masters decided to take the reins again. They killed Stamboulsky and many of his followers and set up a "democratic" cabinet under Zankov.

Stamboulsky was overthrown largely because he had alienated himself from the proletariat of the towns led by the Communists and could not reckon on their active support at the decisive moment. The new regime was even more unpopular than the last. Not only the workers of the towns but large sections of the peasantry flocked to the banner of Communism. Zankov knew he could never win the parliament. He dissolved it. He knew his government could not win the elections. They were not held.

But his cabinet was heading a "democratic" government. Something had to be done.

A document was forged. It declared the Communists were preparing for an armed uprising in the night of September 17, 1923. Of course they were not; they were certain of winning the elections: why at such a time should they stake their all on an insurrection? No one took the "document" (which has never been published) seriously. But on the night of September 17th all known Communist and peasant leaders were arrested in Sofia and throughout the provinces. The peasants took up arms. The military camarilla organized punitive expeditions. Whole villages were burned to the ground. In the weeks that followed no less than five thousand workers and peasants were slaughtered and fifteen thousand imprisoned. It was in this way that Zankov won the elections.

But the opposition was not broken. Thirty-five per cent of the members returned to the Sobranje were peasants and workers. The terror was increased. All trade unions and co-operatives with memberships running into hundreds of thousands were declared illegal and their funds confiscated under a "defense of the state" act. One by one, the worker and peasant members of Parliament were assassinated. At this time not one remains.

Is it any wonder in the face of this beastly terrorism that government officials, responsible for it, were murdered? Is it any wonder that a bomb was set off in a cathedral where several hundred of these brutes were assembled? No. The explosion in the cathedral was the direct result of continuous suppression and slaughter.

Using the Sveti Kral incident as a pretext the terror was enhanced. Thousands more were arrested, thousands more were shot. It is well here to point out that this fearful carnage was openly sanctioned and aided by the capitalist press of the world when it attempted to outdo in lying and false reporting the fake despatches issued by the official Bulgarian Telegraph Agency. A few days after the explosion three visiting members of the British Parliament gave out the statement: "We have used every conceivable influence in order to induce the government to restrain the militarists from carrying out a blood-bath among the men and women of their own country who have fallen into the hands of the authorities. On Monday, four days after the arrests began, we saw forty arrested persons executed by the police prefecture in the space of five minutes." It is now established that four thousand workers and peasants were executed and thirty thousand arrested for the explosion of that bomb. And the terror has not stopped.

Reading over a partial list of murdered Communists and peasant revolutionaries with notes on the manner in which they met their fate reminds one of a report of the Spanish inquisition. Here is an old physician, a party secretary, shot from around a corner. There is a young peasant leader, tied with seventy other comrades in the square of his village to perish under machine-gun fire. A priest, Andrei Ignatov, "the red pope," speaks to his executioner, "Hangman, dear, why are you trembling? Or is there left a shadow of conscience in your soul?" Doctor Ilyef, a party comrade, was murdered while ministering to the wounded after 120 were killed in the town of Ferdinand. Elena Gicheva hung herself in the intel-

ligence office after terrible tortures. Haralambi Stoianov, a Communist deputy, fell fatally wounded before the very door of the parliament. So reads the grim record, on and on, thousands of brave, revered names.

The surviving members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party during 1923 are at present on trial in Sofia for their share of the "revolt" of September. It is not at all impossible that they too will have to "dance on the table" as Marco Friedman and his two comrades did after they had faced their executioners with brave, clear eyes and told them they were dying for the revolution.



MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA ON TRIAL BEFORE ZANKOV'S JUDGE; LEFT TO RIGHT: KABAKCHIEFF, TRINA KIRKOFFA, LUKANOFF. COMRADE LUKANOFF'S TRIAL IS A POST MORTEM. HE DIED IN JAIL SOME TIME AGO.

Poems by Jim Waters

Hallelujah!

A GAUNT, gray wolf poaches
In the shadows of tenements:
The faces of children are pinched
By his merciless jaws.
A pimp, in gay checkered suit
And gaudy tie, hangs on corner
Waiting for a painted factory-lily
To do his bidding.
The blue ghost of a prison guard
Loiters in the gutter—watching;
Boys are fighting and shooting craps,
Preparing their necks for the hangmen.
A dead-wagon clangs through the street,
Halts before a battered door
And carts a body to the morgue.
On the corner,
A fat Salvation Army captain
Beats a tambourine and shouts:
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

By Night

THE skeleton of a sky-scraper
Weaves a cross-word puzzle
Against the night-glow of a great city;
Ten stories check their identity
In amber squares above the sky-line;
I ponder the structure of this great building,
Its solidity of form, its unity of purpose,
As it flaunts its steel ribs unflinchingly
In the face of a March gale;
Welded in the ten amber squares,
I spell the secret of its strength:

SOLIDARITY

By night,
The skeleton of a great sky-scraper
Flaunts the secret of strength
Into the faces of the workers..

Deposing a Faker

The Fight Against Johnston in the Machinists' Union

James McGuire

THE Johnston-Davidson administration of the International Association of Machinists is as determined to hold power in the organization regardless of the sentiment of the rank and file, as the labor fakers in control of the Miners, the Ladies' Garment Workers, and the Carpenters.

The latest move of the Johnston administration was the suspension of J. F. Anderson, the opposing candidate for International President in the recent election, and the subsequent warfare against the Communists and other militants in the union. Instead of answering Anderson's charges that the election had been stolen, the administration answers by suspending him and threatening to expel all others who are fighting the administration. Thus proving that the charge of election-stealing is correct. In the present struggle, all the crooked deals carried on by the Johnston-Davidson combination, not only in the 1925 election, but also in the 1922 election, came to light.

According to the affidavit signed by a member of Lodge No. 441, the legal vote cast and sent in to the Grand Lodge was 35, but in the report sent by Davidson to the Machinists' Union, the lodge was credited with 344 votes. The recent exposure by the same lodge looks even worse. According to the affidavit, supported by evidence in telegrams signed by E. C. Davidson to J. B. Duncan, recording secretary of Lodge No. 441, the lodge sent in 39 legal votes, but in the journal Davidson reports 277 votes for Wm. H. Johnston and one for J. F. Anderson! This local had supported the Johnston administration, and the 39 votes were evidently cast by honest rank and filers who believed in the Johnston administration. The committee of investigation shows that the Johnston administration had made the Secretary send in a blank Grand Lodge talley sheet and that the whole deal was made in Washington. The death of J. B. Duncan, however, disclosed Davidson's and his campaign manager's telegrams asking the lodge to supply more votes.

According to the statement by the watcher for Anderson, all lodges that were supporting Anderson and came in later than the date designated were thrown out and all of those supporting Johnston were counted. Further, the ballots of ten locals that voted for Anderson were thrown out because no talley sheets were received. The "Grand Lodge boys" used to make up talley sheets in Washington whenever it worked out for their own benefit, but in this instance they were very, very constitutional.

Ten locals were excluded because Davison insisted they were delinquent in their reports. These locals also voted for Anderson. Twenty lodges were counted that were protested by the Anderson watcher on the ground they were received in the headquarters later than the constitution permits, and some of them as late as May 18th. Here, however, the constitution could not serve, as these locals voted for Johnston.

Twelve lodges that votes for Anderson were excluded because Davidson claimed they had voted in excess of their membership. The peculiar fact in the situation is that the number of votes thrown out in this group of lodges was

1,174 for Anderson and 39 for Johnston. Instead of following out the instructions of the Detroit convention, where it was decided that the counting of ballots shall be supervised by two tellers of the opposing candidates, Davidson evidently knew all about how the vote was going before the tellers started their work.

Instead of answering these charges, the Johnston-Davidson administration answers by suspending J. F. Anderson from the organization, on the flimsy ground that he sent out a circular entitled, "The Story of the Big Steal," and further, that he has given statements to the press instead of keeping the matter within the organization.

The next day, however, appear in the capitalist press of the entire country statements of the administration that they are declaring war upon the Communists and other militants. The bureaucrats are evidently desperate in their attempt to hold power in spite of the overwhelming sentiment existing against them. Every industrial center of any importance defeated the Johnston administration overwhelmingly and the administration had to rely on a lot of fake ballots from small-town locals. John L. Lewis, who stole the election in the Miners' Union, is not the only "election expert." Davidson and Johnston have also become masters of this art.

Davidson once made the following statement: "I will never be defeated so long as I count the vote," and he is evidently determined to keep his word.

This brazen steal, which has been so thoroughly exposed, has aroused the old fighting spirit of the machinists and they are determined to clean out of office the "class collaborationist" gang that counted themselves in.

A move has already been made to recall all officers that were supposed to have been elected in the last referendum vote. This recall is sent out by Lodge No. 1,154, of Jersey City, N. J., and it no doubt will receive the endorsement not only of the lodges that endorsed the Anderson slate and voted in the election for him, but also of a good number of lodges that supported the Johnston administration such as the Portsmouth, Va., Lodge, through which the general character of the steal was exposed.

The Left-Wing Role in This Struggle.

The militant left-wing elements, under the leadership of the Communists, during the election and pre-election, as well as the present struggle, have consistently put before the membership a program of action which would strengthen not only the machinists, but the metal trades in general.

The program of the left wing calls for a national intensified agitation for amalgamation, for a struggle against the B. & O. Plan of "class collaboration," for lifting the bars that prohibit colored workers from joining our organization, for an emergency convention to change our laws so as to make possible honest elections in the union, and organization of the unorganized.

It calls for participation in the organization of a Labor Party in this country instead of supporting the old parties and the La Follette middle-class group.

(Continued on page 526)

Social Forces in Late American Literature

By V. F. Calverton

THE development of American industry during the latter half of the nineteenth century had created a social psychology that in its attitude toward ethics and esthetics was peculiarly narrow and rigorous. National and town pride and patriotisms had developed with ferevish swiftness and intensity. Religious enthusiasm, shaken among a paucity of the intellectuals had not lost its gusto for the ruling dictators and critics. The family with its unceremonious but inexorable obligation was the impeccable symbol of the advance of civilization. Sexual infidelity and extravagance were elements unpermissible in American realism. The desire for the sweet and the pure in sentiment and life, with an aversion for the brutal and depressing, however vivid as realities, was the singular inconsistency of American realism of this epoch. It was a type of what we might describe as semi-realism, a genre certainly different from that of Hawthorne and Poe, and yet scarcely more vigorous in its artistic photography of life than the poems of Longfellow or the novels of Holmes. Although William D. Howells in *Criticism and Fiction* (1891), wrote that the realist in fiction "cannot look upon life and declare this thing or that thing unworthy of notice, any more than the scientist can declare a fact of the material world beneath the dignity of his inquiry," he never treated the matter of sex with candor and was timid of approach to every problem that might induce violation of prevailing convention and propriety. In illustration of this fact we cite an example from Mr. Firkin's work on Howells—in forty volumes of Howell's fiction "adultery is never pictured, seduction never, divorce once and sparingly; marriage discord to the point of cleavage only once." The same can be said, with less sweepiness of description and censure, perhaps, of Henry James and Mary Freeman. It was a kind of myopic realism, then, an affectation of name rather than a reality of substance.

The latter half of the nineteenth century in America was a period of phenomenal, almost volcanic expansion. From a young country struggling to enter the self-supporting stage of economic security we have a country transformed into a swelling gigantic exporting nation that reached a climax in its career at the time of the Spanish-American War when in the words of Senator Frey it had either to "expand or bust." An era of imperialism had to follow. The intensity and wastefulness of competition had led to the organization of trusts, the creation of the notorious railroad combinations, and as a result the division between employer and employe was widened and aggravated. Millionaires were born with almost oriental fecundity from the new synthesis of industry. The laborers to protect themselves organized into unions and in the great strikes of '77 and '78 and later of '94 violent collisions between the classes occurred. In 1902 Roosevelt, during the coal strike threatened to use soldiers to take possession of the mines and have the government run them, and in definite terms declared that "no man and no group of men can so exercise their rights as to deprive the nation of the things which are necessary and vital to the common

life." Despite the conflicts, and the anti-trust acts that were passed, and on the surface so zealously endorsed by Roosevelt, wealth continued to centralize rather than spread. The era was one of prosperity, however, and denizens of Europe fed upon Algerian stories of success and allured by the promise of illusory bonanzas, concoctions of a prehensile capitalist psychology, crowded into our eastern ports with appalling steadiness and abundance. An unhealthy and bloated optimism pervaded the country. The ideals of the business men determined the character of the leading magazines. The progress of American industry and mercantile enterprises gave spirit to American life. This was America's great contribution to a *Welt Geist*. Pragmatism was the philosophy that justified it. In the words of Howells: "If one is young and a poet, Venice may very well call one away from boisterous America; but if one is a man and a doer, America will call one back from Venice."

Howells represented this optimism, this mawkish semi-realism so strikingly and tragically American. His work is a reflection of the bourgeois psychology that dominated America during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Henry Van Dyke and Frank Crane, in less finished and subtle style, continue to represent the same attitude today. But within the shell of this same society another embryo was hatching—another trend evolved. It was this trend that was the genuine harbinger of the new spirit that we find so emphatically manifest in twentieth century American poetry and prose.

Walt Whitman was perhaps the first in America to express this trend which for convenience and definiteness we shall call the realistic in distinction from the semi-realistic, or the proletarian in distinction from the bourgeois. The labor strikes of the last quarter of the century, the organization of the workers, the concerted rise of the proletariat, created a movement for economic equality that swept over the country with alarming rapidity. The Knights of Labor, for instance, took an unequivocal and fearless stand against the wages system of production, and declared for an entire annihilation of *laissez-faire* economics. Both the Socialist Labor Party and a few years later the Socialist Party stood for the same economic change in our system of production and distribution. The Haymarket riot only for a time stalemated this movement which was later to throw more of its energy on the political instead of the economic field. The insufficiency of political equality was apprehended throughout the left wing of the labor movement.

Where Howells, affecting an interest in democracy, wrote in reference to the aristocratic spirit in literature:

"It is averse to the mass of men; it consents to know them only in some conventionalized and artificial guise. . . Democracy in literature is the reverse of all this. It wishes to know and to tell the truth, confident that consolation and delight are there; it does not care to paint the marvelous and the impossible for the vulgar many or to sentimentalize and falsify the actual for the vulgar few,"* he nevertheless

* *Criticism and Fiction* (1891)—William D. Howells.

failed to express any profound democracy in his work and certainly, as we have shown, avoided many truths of singular significance. It was Whitman that actually represented this realistic spirit, this absolute democracy in every branch and phase of life. It was Whitman that in reality overthrew and trampled upon the effete classical conception and tradition. Whitman's attitude was revolutionary in poetry, ethics and economics. He was not only the precursor but likewise the innovator of modern poetic technique; from his verse is derived the inspiration if not the twist and trickery of contemporary metrics. In ethics he opposed the sex-silence and prurience of the semi-realism of Howells and the class that the latter represented; in fact the frankness and fervor with which Whitman approached and dealt with sex prevented his work from having a wide appeal in the generation in which it appeared. One could not exalt physical desire—and certainly never as in Calamus—with impunity in 1855—nor in 1875 either. In economics he was entirely for the proletarian, for the laudation of work and the worker, for every condition of time or place that would effect a permanent equality and brotherhood among men and women. The influence of Whitman upon twentieth century American literature is very much more profound and enduring than his effect upon the literature of his own era.

Despite the prepotent influence of Whitman upon contemporary literature and the unparalleled character of his achievement, we cannot approach the new literature without noting the sundry gradations of advance toward the modern attitude that are revealed in the work of Bellamy, Norris, Frederic and Phillips. In the writings of the first of these men, Edward Bellamy, particularly in two of his novels, *Looking Backward* and *Equality*, we discover an open rupture with the old sociology and a striking if somewhat fanciful picture of the new. At the time that Bellamy wrote, during the 80's and early 90's, discontent with capitalist economics had expressed itself in many circles with unconcealed vigor. In the framework of *Looking Backward* was impaled the delicate and complex framework of the new society. The projection of this new society was placed at the remote date of 2,000, but the hurly-burly of change that was in the air made the readers of the novel conceive it as an approaching and close reality. Not many years before, it must be remembered, Marx was contributing to Greeley's *New York Tribune*, and, not many years after, De Leon with many other socialists was preparing the way for what seemed to them the rapid collapse of capitalism and the beginning of the class-revolution. Just two years before Bellamy's famous novel came out, a Union Labor Party was organized in Wisconsin and a similar party was begun in New York with Henry George as its candidate for mayor. The atmosphere was vibrant with discontent and protest. In response to the excitement caused by *Looking Backward*, and in keeping with the maelstrom of political and economic opinion that had seized the populace, Bellamy societies were formed in cities and towns over the country and discussion groups everywhere grappled with the problem of social reconstruction. Later the book became a kind of basis of faith for the Nationalist Party. There was in Bellamy's attitude no uncompromising rigidity of sentiment, no rabid vaunting of class egoisms, but a spirituality of ethic almost religious in character. The Christ-like exaltation of "universal love (as

the seed and fruit, cause and effect, of the highest and completest knowledge" tempered, and, in a philosophic way, sentimentalized, its otherwise revolutionary essence and appeal. Bellamy's work, however, marked the beginning of a definite revolt in American literature against the old economics, and by the very nature of its theme expressed an advocacy of the cause of the proletariat.

Frank Norris, in less romantic and speculative fashion, represented the same social motivation. Norris was the Upton Sinclair of his generation. The slippery perversity of capitalist enterprise, its basic shallowness of purpose and ruthless exploitation of the commoner, irritated him into stricture and attack, denunciation and exposure, that too often savored more of the heroic than the exquisite. Norris was unquestionably a healthy force in American literature of the last century. A tendency to melodrama that diluted the artistic value of his work heightened its social influence and appeal. *The Octopus* is a brilliant if melodramatic narrative of the growth of the railroads and the expansion of the west. It is an attack upon the tyrannic methods of the railroad combinations in their struggle for territory, their consuming injustice of theory and tactic. It is an untimid disclosure of graft and greed. In places, its more poetic and less factitious situations, it attains almost an epical sweep and gesture. The character of Vanamee is an iridescent apparition of the wheat-laden fields and the endless plains. In no other instance has Norris contrived such an ethereal creation. Against a background of strife and chaos, Vanamee is like a disembodied spirit gliding in and among the rigid realities of a strange and insensate world. In *The Pit*, on the other hand, the characters are uniformly human and unmystical. In this novel the center of interest is the Chicago grain market; the struggle and suspense revolve about the gruesome gamble for wheat-values, the catastrophic fluctuations of exchange, the irrational and merciless rise and fall of fortunes and birth and ruin of lives. Without the expressionistic hideousness of Toller's symbolic stock-exchange, Norris' picture of the Pit is more incisively realistic and impressive. The cancer of capitalistic civilization is seen to redden and swell. In *McTeague* this social cancer changes profile but does not disappear. Here the study is in an acquisitiveness that a money-mad society can induce in a woman so ill-fated as Trina McTeague, and in the decadence of masculine ambition in the face of such acquisitiveness and subjected to a fitfulness of circumstance sufficient to undermine the finest purpose. *Vandover and the Brute* reveals a psychological theme exploited to the barest detail, a hard, unyielding picture of a lycophobic crushed by a vicious environment. As a study of psychopathology, a case of environmental insanity, regardless of its clumsiness of construction and shoddiness of style, it marks a considerable advance over such a fantastic parade of the strange and abnormal as in Holmes' *Elsie Venner*. On the whole, Norris' novels, although clinging to the old forms and playing to the old heroics express much of the recalcitrancy of their period, and harbinger the revolt against tradition and the old order that we find so invigoratingly characteristic of contemporary verse and prose.

In the work of David Graham Phillips, another precursor of the contemporary spirit, we find the old attitude toward sex undergoing a somewhat precocious and crude annihilation. *Susan Lenox* was like a volcanic eruption on the Am-

erican scene. When it originally appeared in periodical form it excited the secret reading and open condemnation of spinster and pedagogue; the sex-neophyte read it with avidity; the preacher, searching for sermons, devoured it with moral gusto; the octogenarian scanned it for vicarious thrill. The novel was a projection, in bold, vivid style, of the life of a prostitute. Its structure was tediously and disconcertedly amorphous, but its episodic vitality so straightforwardly and bluntly erotic that the interest of the prurient never flagged. As a piece of art *Susan Lenox* is decisively inferior in both magnificence of conception and power of execution to *Nana*—or, to take two later novels, inferior to *Sister Carrie* and *A Bed of Roses*. Its social signal, however should not be underestimated because of its poverty of esthetic substance. Phillips' predecessors had in no instance dared the candor of description or the brutal intimacy of sex-situation that he had undertaken to delineate. The sex-laxity of recent musical comedy, the artistic abortion of our generation, and the unhesitating approach to the erotic theme made by a score of American writers in the last decade, are extensions of this trend which found an early and unobnoxious expression in Phillips' novel. In others of his novels, for instance *A Husband's Story*, Phillips revealed an attitude toward the capitalist system and its effect upon personal ambition and domestic felicity that almost dovetailed with that of Norris, if not going as far as that of Bellamy.

There are a score of other writers whom we might discuss before plunging into the last two decades of our century, but the social importance of their work, aside from that of Harold Frederic, is too infinitesimal to be included in a critique of this type. Even the endeavors of Frederic are of limited appeal and significance. It is only his novel, *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, that shoves his work above the border of oblivion. In this fragmentary fiction the religious struggle of the last quarter of the nineteenth century is epitomized. The conflict between the ancient faith with its adolescent simplicity and the new science with its evolving complexity found clear if not finished expression in this novel. The maudlin sentimentality of the Methodist, the backward bovine nature of his beliefs, are pictured in sharp relief to the latitudinarian attitudes of Father Forbes, the Catholic priest, and Celia, his strange and echanting mistress. The insubstantiality of Christian evidence is exposed in a story created for popular taste. The superficiality of the Christian ethic is exhibited with unmollified rigor. The severing of the old bonds of theological superstition is here begun in the pages of a novel. That the characters in most instances are uncogent creations, thin pallid snatches of substance patched into grotesque mosaics of reality, and that the plot is loose and obvious, a nexus of dangling episodes twisted into a frail and fragile whole, does not alter the importance of the book as a reflector of the social ideology of its time.

The twentieth century marks a new era in the evolution of America. With the conclusion of the Spanish-American War the period of imperialism begins. Even the affectation at the old democracy disappears. The world-expansionist stage of American enterprise starts in real earnest. Class-divisions among the artists sharpen into uncompromising philosophic dichotomies of approach and attitude. Either the

artist falls in rhythm with the march of American progress, painting and praising it with the swelling gusto of the callow optimist, or he beats time out of step, protesting against the madness and fury, the ruthlessness and cost of this aggrandizement of industry and commerce. In the former instance he is a kind of Howellsian, almost Pollyanistic optimist; in the latter he is a pessimist, the tragedy of his outlook tempered only by the prospect of a social reformation or revolution. The latter attitude represents the protest of the underclass, the submerged proletariat. Between these attitudes, as the decay of capitalism begins, there creeps in the pessimism of the bourgeois intellectual who senses futility in all endeavor and sees no hope for a reconstruction of society and a re-organization of life. This intermediate type is always characteristic of the decadence of a social system. It usually marks a return of mysticism. In Shakespeare's chronicle-plays we have an example of the first type we mentioned, the optimist, the devotee of the ruling class; in the philosophy of the Puritans of the seventeenth century we find the second type, the pessimist with faith in the reconstruction of value through the rise of his class. The school of Dada today is an extravagant example of the intermediate type always an index to social decay.

Howells was the representative of the first type in American literature. Upton Sinclair is a representative of the second. Of the third we have our contemporary esthetes in abundance, our Waldo Frank critiques, Menckonian menageries, Sherman aquariums. While the popular novelist played piper to the bourgeois, Upton Sinclair drove in with his muck-raking stilettos. The Chicago slaughter yards provided the setting for his Byronic splash into fame. *The Jungle* was a merciless exposure of the wide-spread and appalling corruption of the meat-industry. It fired the public with indignation and horror. Even the White House heard the reverberation. Roosevelt proceeded to publicly cudgel the slaughter merchants. An investigation followed. The Pure Food Law was one of the results. As a work of art, a creation designed for subtle and sweeping emotional response and catharsis, *The Jungle* slides into secondary significance. A journalistic tawdriness of style, an unpleasing obviousness of method, and a factitious finale suffice to undermine and cheapen its esthetic appeal. As a social document, however, it is almost without parallel in our literature. Its fearless candor tends in part even to redeem its crude and scabrous substance. *King Coal*, *The Metropolis* and *The Money-Changers* are all novels with social themes, but in no sense comparable with *100 Per Cent*, the best social satire Mr. Sinclair has produced. Unhappily, the smart of the satire is largely lost in the incredulous rush of episode, the extravagant parade of personifications, human abstractions of social forces instead of individualizations of character, that need an appendix to support and justify their reality. A brilliant and enduring social satire should be able to stand without explanations or appendices, defense or argument. This *100 Per Cent* cannot do. It is this weakness which prevents the novel from rising to exquisite and finished satire. Yet in its picture of the machinery of the frame-up it contrives an ingenious introduction to the agent-provocateur and uncovers the pollution and brutality of bourgeois justice. Its basis in the Mooney case enhances its interest at least from an historical point of view. Between these two novels, *The Jungle*

and 100 Per Cent, almost a decade and a half intervened, yet no deviation in the attitude of Mr. Sinclair is to be detected. The *Profits of Religion* had appeared and *The Brass Check*, twin-companions in the *Dead Hand Series*, and in both of these sojourns into sensational sociology Upton Sinclair attacked the bourgeois and defended the proletariat. No critic could mistake Mr. Sinclair as a herald of American happiness and prosperity. Early in his career he represented in literature the whole movement of discontent which spread so rapidly over America in the years of imperialism that followed the Spanish-American War and which attained their culmination in the catastrophe of 1917. The muck-raking period, beginning about 1897 with the trouble with the great trusts and pandering politicians, which made McClure's, *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey's*, *Collier's* and *Everybody's* the magazines of the hour, soon found Mr. Sinclair in its vanguard. These exposures had been expedited somewhat if not inspired by the appearance in 1888 of Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, which had gradually won a wide reading audience in America. Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell but prepared the way for the more thorough and genuinely socialistic onslaughts of Upton Sinclair. The latter was always in the forefront of social controversy, always avid for attack upon social intrigue and political chicanery. Georg Brandes spoke without exaggeration when he declared that "Upton Sinclair is one of the not too many writers who have consecrated their lives to the agitation for social justice. . . : a convinced socialist and eager advocate of unpopular doctrines (he is), an exposé of social conditions that would otherwise be screened away from the public eye."

How different is Upton Sinclair's attitude from that of the first type, the social optimist and chauvinist, can easily be noted by reference to the works of F. Marion Crawford who maintained that all novelists were "public amusers," and all novels "pocket theaters." Crawford later, just preceding his death, turned Roman Catholic and completed his reactionary philosophy. His work, his attitude, are distinctly in line with those of his popular contemporary, Richard Harding

Davis, whose handwriting is still preserved among the memorized ornaments of the Johns Hopkins University. Aside from the posthumous *What is Man* and *The Mysterious Stranger*, confessions of pessimism guilty of the emptiness of a consuming senility, Mark Twain can be classified in the same, smug, conventional, prosperity-whooping group. In fact, he is but a ramification of the Howellsian philosophy. His realism, so risible and roseate to the readers of two generations, was always romantically skittish in the face of the realities of sex and society. He never offended the delicate meticulousness of the Victorian taste. Even his picaresque heroes never do more than rob and plunder—and swear a bit. Twain unquestionably expressed the spirit of his time; his optimism, his satire, his caricatures all represent a social attitude the replica of the Howellsian and the antitheses of the Sinclairian. In the contrasts of these writers we can trace the character of the civilization, the nature of the class struggle, the psychology of the classes, the respective optimisms and pessimisms, felicities and sufferings. Just as Harold Bell Wright crystallizes a type of bourgeois psychology, expresses the bourgeois ethic in our popular novel, Upton Sinclair crystallizes a type of proletarian psychology, expresses the proletarian protest in our literature.

In every literature the interaction of social forces in determining the character of the substance and the peculiarity of the form can always be traced. In ethics and philosophy the same thing is true. Chaos in social conditions produces chaos in poetic conceptions. Bitter class-conflicts accentuate the disparities of the opposing class-protagonists. During the first decade of the twentieth century American literature was in the throes of a seething suspense. Discontent had grown to preponderant stature and in literature was fumbling for new forms of expression. Whitman had been a precocious harbinger of this revolt. Bellamy, Frederic, Norris and Phillips had made more than insinuating contributions to its advance. The young Upton Sinclair was an explosive manifestation of the violence of its gestatory struggle.

Organizing to Fight the Steel Trust

By Arne Swabeck

SIX years ago a whole continent was stirred by the great events of the steel strike. For the first time since the advent of steel it became possible to move four international unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in a united campaign of organization of the workers in the industry under the able leadership of Wm. Z. Foster.

Today all of these unions, except one, have disappeared from the mills without leaving a trade behind them.

This one exception, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, is but a shadow of its former strength; crippled to a point where it performs none of the functions of a union and existing only in smaller independent plants.

No reflection of its glorious past can be found in the

present policies of this union, nor any of the traditions of its militant predecessors. It has a miserably small membership; counting on December 31, 1924, only 11,505 dues-paying members, while the steel industry employs almost one half million workers. The official policy as pursued by the Amalgamated Association makes no pretense whatever of militancy towards the bosses, it makes no effort to organize the unorganized mills or even get near the mill gates of the big corporation plants; it has nothing but scorn for the thousands of unskilled workers in the industry. Several strikes called by the Association and now running into the fourth year receive no further attention but the payment of some paltry benefits. The international officials hold down their salaries and parade their own stupidity; their highest aspiration seems to be to maintain the sanctity of contracts entered into with the



A GROUP OF STEEL WORKERS

rapacious steel manufacturers, who yet tolerate the union but don't give a snap for agreements. The contract is a "bond of honor to be kept inviolate" is the repeated expression of "old grandmother" Tighe, the president of the Association.

Early Militant Unionism.

Long before the iron-puddling furnaces had become generally supplanted by open hearth and bessemer steel furnaces, the iron workers became conscious of the need of unionism. In 1858 the first union appeared in the industry—the Sons of Vulcan, composed of iron puddlers. It remained secret until 1862. In 1861 the Associated Brotherhood of Iron, Steel, Bar Plate and Guide Mill Heaters was organized and in 1864 the Iron and Steel Roll Hands of the United States. Some jurisdictional overlapping occurred between these unions until in 1875 they succeeded in bringing about the present Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. However, a struggle for control, mainly between puddlers and finishers set in and several secessions took place, but the seceding unions were comparatively short lived.

Between 1880 and 1890 practically all the iron mills in the Pittsburgh district were unionized, at least as far as the skilled workers were concerned. In 1891 the Amalgamated Association reached its pinnacle as a factor in the industry, counting 24,068 members and wielding great power. At the Homestead mills before the strike of 1892, shop committees organized by the union were functioning effectively, in fact had complete control of working conditions. They did not permit the bosses to hire and fire men at will. They secured advantages for the workers. The militancy of the Association of that time has been splendidly attested to by the subsequent events of that memorable strike. When the employers finally, after this bitter contest, emerged supreme, the union disappeared from Homestead to be brought to life again, in 1901, as a secret organization numbering about 1,000 members, but it was no more secret when one day several hundred members were fired from the mill and the organization busted.

Since its heyday before the Homestead strike the Amal-

gamated Association has witnessed a rapid decline both in numbers and in strength. During its more recent history strong progressive groupings have developed from within the union aiming at infusing it with a more militant spirit and a better fighting leadership. In 1911 a left-wing movement developed, composed mainly of Socialist and I. W. W. elements, who, however, accepted the policy of staying within the union. This group came almost to a point of controlling the 1912 convention held in Chicago and it put through the initiative and referendum, but shortly thereafter disintegrated and withered away.

Blocking the Great Steel Strike.

During the 1919 organization drive the Amalgamated Association, with the present administration headed by Mike F. Tighe in control, became one of the principal factors; but this administration also became one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of success. Although in the words of Mike Tighe, testifying before the senatorial committee of investigation, the secretary of the Association issued 150,000 dues cards during that period, this golden opportunity for expansion was completely neglected. More than that, while the rank and file members gave wholehearted co-operation the international officials deliberately sabotaged every active organization step taken and even tried to make the union desert the movement. In the midst of this organization drive, participated in jointly by 24 different organizations, the Amalgamated convention, under the leadership of Mike Tighe made a bid for separate consideration by the United States Steel Corporation in a letter addressed to Judge Gary.

Catering to all the intense capitalist hatred of "disturbing elements" and appealing on the basis of patriotic duty that the judge use his efforts to "stem the tide of unrest," the letter proposed that a separate conference be arranged between the corporation and the Amalgamated Association. In replying Judge Gary showed his scorn for the unions. Refusing to engage in any kind of a conference he stated that his corporation was rendering efficient patriotic service by maintaining the "open shop." Later the same officials repeated the treasonable performance and attempted to enter into a separate agreement with the Bethlehem company, which was also refused.

More than once after the historic September 22, 1919, when the great steel strike was called, did the Amalgamated officials demonstrate their slavish servility to the bosses and their readiness to betray this young, splendid movement. While the strikers, numbering hundreds of thousands, were engaged in this most bitter struggle, when they were facing cossack terrorism and the tyranny of the steel towns, Mike Tighe and his helpers deliberately thrust a knife into their backs.

The Amalgamated Association had previously obtained contracts with certain mills covering only the skilled tonnage workers. Thousands of unskilled workers meanwhile joined the union and when all were swept along in the strike movement the Amalgamated officials ordered the workers in these mills back to work in the name of sanctity of contract with the employers. An outright violation of the principle of labor solidarity which was looked upon as such by the other unions! It seriously crippled the strike. Tighe even revoked

charters of local lodges in Cleveland, Ohio, which refused to obey his traitorous ruling. While the mighty steel trust, with all the terrible weapons at its disposal and the active support of the government and its crawling officials, could not stem the tide of revolt and could not quench the spirit of the workers these servile tools of capitalism led by Mike Tighe succeeded in driving the first dangerous wedge into their ranks. They must now take their share of responsibility for the final defeat and for the grievous conditions still prevailing in the steel mills.

Reaction Becomes Further Entrenched.

The big steel corporations have built up a terrific reputation as union-crushers. They have again and again succeeded in vindicating this reputation. Other obstacles, however, have grown with the expansion of the industry and its development of technic and specialization; obstacles of the kind which the unions interested have not yet learned to overcome. The highly centralized stage of ownership, control, policy and organization of the industry makes and approach toward unionization on a craft basis impossible. The interests of the multitudes of specialized crafts with almost as many different scales of wages and working conditions will appear conflicting as long as unions exist on a craft basis, and can only be properly taken care of by a union operating on a complete industrial basis, departmentalized according to the needs of the industry. At two successive conventions, in 1923 at Warren, Ohio, and 1924 at Pittsburgh, Pa., the industrial form of organization was endorsed but nothing has been done to carry the endorsement into effect. The Amalgamated Association is stubbornly maintaining its craft outlook; a policy actively stimulated by all the conservative officials. In fact so narrow is the outlook that interest is taken only in the tonnage men—the skilled iron and steel trades—little attention being paid to other skilled workers within the mill gates and absolutely none to the unskilled. Yet the latter compose the overwhelming army of the most ruthlessly exploited industrial slaves in America,

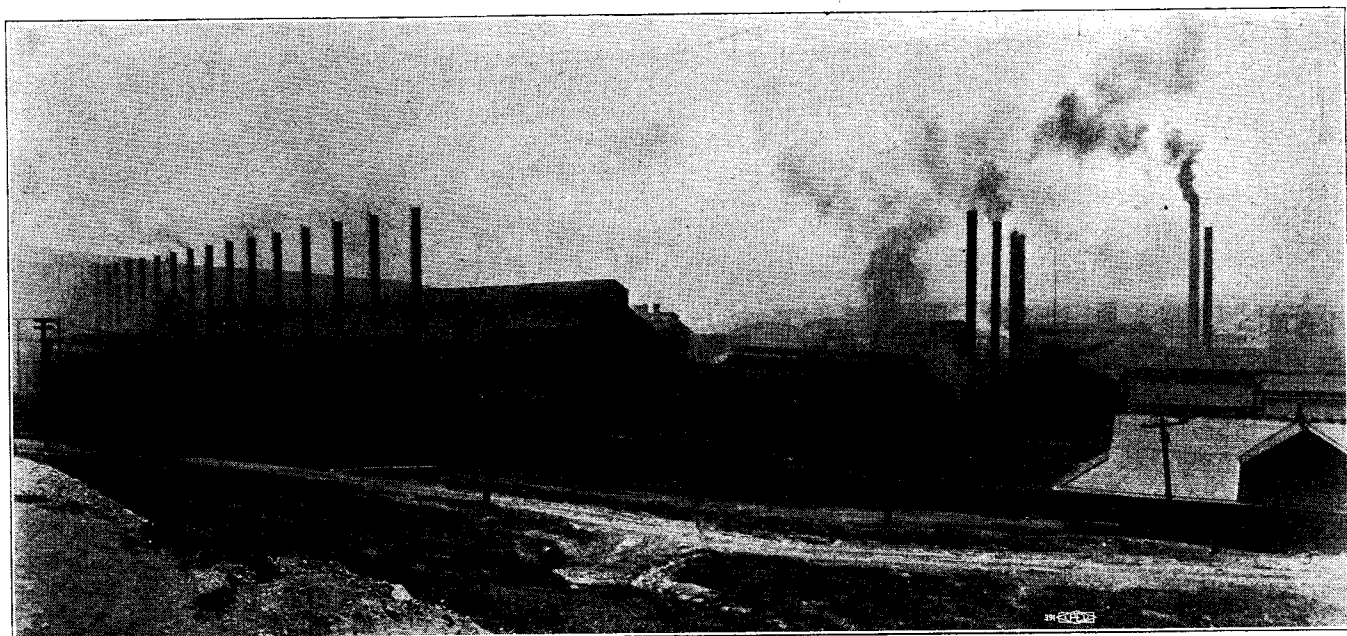
whose ranks are constantly increasing with the advancement of the machine.

Before the Homestead strike in 1892, the shop committees organized by the union initiated efforts to get some benefit for the workers out of any newly established machinery increasing the output. Today it has almost become an accepted policy by the leadership of the Amalgamated Association that only the corporations are entitled to such benefits. It is ever ready to acquiesce in any demand for reduction of wages because of eliminations of certain turns by the new machines or in having the members thrown on the streets because of elimination of a certain amount of labor power. Instead of courageously facing the real problems of the workers in the industry, attempting to work out some kind of a solution, this spineless leadership has plunged headlong into the methods of "class collaboration" confirming its own bankruptcy by giving way to whatever the steel manufacturers see fit to demand.

Progressive Movement Revived.

The rapid decline suffered by the union since the great organization drive, the heavy loss of membership, the disastrous effects of the reactionary policies pursued and growing collaboration of officials with the manufacturers coupled with the increasing pressure of exploitation, even amongst the better paid members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, gave rise to a new progressive movement.

About two years ago it started on a local scale, calling itself the I. D. K. D. Y. Club. These initials signifying, "I Don't Know, Do You?" It was the first attempt to question the policies of the administration and it became a rather fitting name as the movement in its first stage had no clearly defined aim. But soon it assumed the form of a conscious opposition to the official policies and to the administration in general. It linked itself up loosely on a national scale, endeavored to establish connections with the lodges and prepared to give battle for its ideas. This movement received



CARNEGIE MILLS, BRADDOCK, PA.

generous support from some of the more substantial lodges and it grew rapidly.

The Convention "Red" Scare.

At the last annual convention, which convened at Pittsburgh, Pa., on April 7th, the progressive movement mobilized considerable strength. Almost half of the delegates generally followed the progressives' lead. It struck terror into the hearts of Mike Tighe and his supporters who repeated their desperate cry of the union elections the year before—"The reds are getting after us." They launched into acrimonious attacks upon the progressive opposition in which they were actively assisted by the invited spellbinders "representing both labor and capital." Day by day for more than two weeks the little red herring was dragged across the trail. The progressives fought back, showing that only such lodges in which the militants were active had a spark of life left. But by failing to present a definite program of aims and objects, upon which they might unite all their supporters into a solid block and gain new adherents, they made a cardinal mistake.

The official reports made of the past year's administration policies and achievements, despite the volumes of words and figures, represented a complete confession of bankruptcy. Yet the progressives were not able to rise to the occasion and their criticism became purely negative. They had no clearly defined policies, a situation which was cleverly utilized by the officials. And thus the convention with its seething discontent still confined itself exclusively to trade issues, and particularly to sectional issues, of wage scales of the various crafts. A criminal waste of effort when it is considered that the Amalgamated Association has no power to enforce any wage scale the basis of which is always set by the larger unorganized mills. One proposal made by the progressives to abolish the one per cent strike assessment and in its place levy an increase on dues payments was adopted after a hot contest. One proposal sponsored by the administration providing for a stricter censorship on material submitted to the official journal was defeated.

Although the progressives since their inception have fought the corrupt officialdom at every step they have failed signally in laying the solid foundation required to build a left-wing movement and to establish leadership. Their task should be to raise the general issues affecting the rank and file as a whole and to bring before them, and before the convention, the needs of the Association and of the workers in the industry formulated into a practical concrete program, this program to be expressed in definite measures to organize the industry—measures to establish a system of shop committees as a basis of the union and composed of both organized and unorganized—measures necessary for a functioning departmentalized industrial union as well as stating in unmistakable terms the political issues confronting the working class. Recognition of the class struggle and adoption of class policies. Need of independent political action by the workers through a labor party and need of trade union unity.

The lack of clearly defined aims has since reacted heavily upon the progressive movement and should serve as a real lesson of which benefits can be drawn for future activities. A few months ago an election was held in the Amalgamated Association to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the vice-president for the sheet and tin division. J. Mc-

Keown became the standard bearer of the progressives, and Lerner the choice of the administration force. The latter carried the election with 2,307 votes against 1,070 cast for McKeown. At the preceding general election the administration slate just got through by the skin of their teeth and while a superficial view may lead to the belief that the verdict of the membership had now changed in favor of the old bureaucrats there is nothing to indicate that such is the case. It must rather be assumed that the complete absence of a program made both sides seem almost alike to the rank and file, thus destroying the hopes formerly pinned to the progressive cause.

Communists Present Solution.

The organization of the steel workers still remains a task to be accomplished the need of which is as pressing as ever. But it is a herculean task requiring unstinted courage and militancy. In the steel trust is bound up all the powers of the capitalist system itself. It will not give up its terrific grip on the hundreds of thousands of unorganized slaves without a desperate struggle. No results can be expected from the fossilized methods pursued by the present trade-union officialdom. Their personal interests are too bound up with the capitalist system to permit them to strike the bold blow that alone can bring results. Only the Communists can master this gigantic task.

Although the match today may appear fearfully uneven, the Communists toiling inside the mill gates are serenely preparing their first steps toward giving expression to the needs of the workers and formulating the measures which will lead to the hammering out of a complete strategy of organization. In the most elementary and practical terms possible these measures are being proposed within the union to bring new life and new hope into an almost devitalized aggregation and to give new leadership. It should soon become a more solid rallying point for the progressive elements. Simultaneously the first bond is being established with the unorganized. The Communists are conscious of the requirements to secure a mass basis for a powerful movement. Ultimate success is foretold by the fear exhibited by the spineless union bureaucrats and by all the pliant tools of the steel trust. It is assured by the iron march of the world proletariat.

Anti-Imperialist Protest



Lenin and Trotsky

By N. Krupskaya

YOU have, I see, found it necessary to give some attention to Max Eastman's book, "Since Lenin Died." As Mr. Eastman in his book attempts to depict me as a violent opponent of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party vainly endeavoring to protest against its actions, I shall be obliged if you allow me to explain the situation to English readers of this book.

Eastman throws no light on the work of the Russian Communist Party. History has imposed upon this Party a most responsible and difficult task. They have to build Communism in an economically backward country during a period when capitalism in countries more advanced economically is temporarily stabilized.

Eastman's book shows nothing of this. It is a collection of petty gossip. There is nothing of what is actually happening; nothing of our vast economic achievements, or of the cultural awakening of the masses; nothing of the tremendous work of laying a secure foundation for the slogans of the November Revolution.

The author is only concerned to gather up and smack his lips over every scrap of gossip and color it with his petty-bourgeois anarchist leanings.

* * *

The most monstrous thing in Eastman's book is his treatment of the "Lenin Enrollment." When Lenin died hundreds of thousands of workers flocked into the Communist Party to help carry Lenin's work on to a triumphant end. The whole working class rallied round the Party and its Central Committee. The new applicants for membership were examined at open meetings in the factories and workshops, and enthusiastic non-party workers decided whether the applicants known to them were fit for the honor of membership. Never has there been such an expression of confidence in our Party as was given by the Russian workers in selecting their best to go forward as units in the "Lenin Enrollment."

Lenin's dearest wish was realized. The Russian Communist Party became, not only in its ideology, but in its composition, overwhelmingly proletarian.

* * *

Eastman knows nothing of this. In his eyes the workers are merely pawns, understanding nothing; waiting to be led by any leader. To him the "intelligentsia" is the salt of the earth.

We Bolsheviks understand the workers quite otherwise—to us the more workers in the Party the better. And these workers know that the Central Committee consists of comrades who during years worked with Lenin, deliberated with him every step, and with him built up the Party. In goal and in exile his work was theirs and their his. The working masses know their leaders better than any passing writer forming conclusions from the outside.

These old Bolsheviks have since Lenin's death felt a double weight of responsibility—a weight they could not have borne without the confidence and support of the masses.

Lenin's death united them and the masses still more closely by the obvious need to carry his work to a successful conclusion.

It was in this frame of mind that I wrote to Trotsky the personal letter which Eastman has misrepresented. Lenin considered Trotsky a talented worker faithful in the interests of the revolution and to the working class. That was his view to the end—and such an appreciation calls for thinking of when I wrote to Trotsky.

Trotsky, of course, could not draw from this letter the conclusion that Lenin considered him his successor; or regarded him as understanding his views better than anybody else.

I could not possibly write anything of the sort—or that Lenin was always at one with Trotsky. Everybody in the Russian Party knows otherwise.

Eastman invents various fictions about Lenin's letters to the Party Congresses—calling them "testaments." Eastman fails absolutely to understand the spirit of our Party. For us a congress is not a muster of bureaucrats but a supreme Party occasion upon which every member must express himself with the utmost frankness regardless of personal considerations. It was thus that Lenin thought about them. He knew that the Party would understand the motives that dictated his letters—and that they would be read and considered only by those about whom there could be no doubt that the interests of the Revolution stood above everything.

If in these letters there is criticism of certain comrades and an indication of their faults, there is also, and to a far larger degree, praise of them. Of this praise Eastman says nothing. The letters were intended, and understood as, helps to organization—to the allocation of tasks. To call them "testaments" is folly.

The real Testament of Lenin is contained in the last articles he wrote and relates to fundamental questions of Party and Soviet work. All these articles have been published. But Eastman finds nothing of interest in them. He is too busy helping the enemies of the Russian Communist Party to calumniate and discredit the Central Committee by alleging that the "testament" (meaning the letters above-mentioned) has been "concealed."

Finally, the part of Eastman's book which deals with Trotsky himself seems to me extremely insulting to Trotsky. It is needless for me to unravel the network of lies Eastman has woven around the question of our Party differences with Trotsky. Others have done that. Suffice it to say that the whole question took an acute form solely because the whole Party felt keenly the need, after Lenin's death, for ideological unity. Personally I was not in agreement with Trotsky and spoke accordingly on several occasions. I also criticized his "Lessons of October" in detail in "Pravda."

I was throughout in agreement with the views of the Central Committee. Eastman perverts the truth on this point as he does all through his book.

History of Communist Party

By George Zinoviev

FINALLY, a controversy over the party program also arose at this congress. We must pause here for a moment, for here Plekhanov once again came forward as an energetic advocate of the concept of the hegemony of the proletariat.

Plekhanov was one of the main authors of the party program, which the economists, led by Martov, bitterly criticized, and to which they attempted to make a score of amendments. The conflict arose over a number of points which involved basic principles, and were living issues of the day—before all, the question of universal suffrage. In one of his speeches on the program, Plekhanov formulated his viewpoint as follows: "At the moment, certainly, we place the question of universal suffrage in the foreground, but as revolutionists we must openly state that we do not intend to make a fetish of it. A situation can very well be conceived of, in which the victorious working class would withhold the right of suffrage from its age-long enemy, the bourgeoisie." This statement called forth great indignation on the part of the future mensheviks.

In the course of the ensuing debates, there arose the question of the Constituent Assembly, and the frequency for calling together parliament. In our minimum program we demanded the convocation of parliament once every two years, that is, as frequently as possible. One of the future mensheviks held, however, that yearly convocation would be preferable—it would be still more democratic. Then Plekhanov rising to answer him, said in the course of a memorable speech: "You must bear in mind, my friends, the fact that the question of the frequency of summoning parliament is, for us revolutionists, a subordinate one. If a given parliament is advantageous for the working class, we shall, of course, endeavor to prolong it; if, however, it is against the working class, we shall, if it be in our power, attempt to disperse it within two weeks." This declaration of Plekhanov threw the meeting into an uproar. Part of the delegates burst into applause; the rest began to hiss and whistle. When the chairman called the latter to order, one of them, striking a haughty attitude, declared: "When such unspeakable words are spoken at a congress of the Workers' Party, it is my duty to hiss." By the irony of history, this was no other than Rosanov, who was working at the time in Petersburg, under the name of "Martin," and was a member of the Petersburg Committee and the Central Committee, and a prominent leader of that generation of revolutionists; the same Rosanov who, beginning with the above attack on Plekhanov, ended as an organizer of the party of Denikin, being arrested for participation in the "National Center" and condemned to death. Thanks to our leniency, he is, however, still at large, and has, we believe, now completely renounced politics.

Plekhanov on the Question of Capital Punishment.

In this little incident is mirrored, like the sun in a rain-drop, the whole strife of the "Mountain" and the "Gironde," of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks of the future. Those fundamental questions were concretely put before the second congress, which were later to play a decisive role in bringing about the final split between the mensheviks and

ourselves. Plekhanov was at that time a Bolshevik in the best sense of the word, and he proudly bore the nick-name of "The Jacobin." When the problem of capital punishment was under discussion, and the mensheviks demanded its abolition, Plekhanov threw cold water on their enthusiasm, declaring: "Abolition of capital punishment—very good. But I believe that certain reservations must be made. What, is Nicholas II to be allowed to go on living? I believe that for him capital punishment must be retained." Already at that date the mensheviks argued like liberals, that it is not good to shed blood; not like the revolutionists, who say: everything depends upon the circumstances: there can be nothing wrong in putting an end to tyrant Nicholas II. When Kerensky attempted to introduce capital punishment for the soldiers and workers, we aroused the whole people against this step—and we were right. But capital punishment which falls upon Nicholas, or the landowners—that is altogether another matter.

Plekhanov—Bolshevik.

In all these hotly disputed questions—universal suffrage, parliamentarism, the Constituent Assembly, or capital punishment, Plekhanov played the role of a true Bolshevik, of a genuine defender of the concept of the hegemony of the proletariat, and as a revolutionist, proudly called himself "Jacobin." At this congress he declared, "Yes, our social democracy does fall into the divisions of 'Mountain' and 'Gironde'; you, Mensheviks are the Girondists, the future betrayers of the workers' revolution." Many know of Plekhanov only in the last years of his life, when his star was already setting, and when, during the war, he went over to the enemies' camp; but, he was to a certain extent one of the founders of Bolshevism; and in 1903, he fought for those concepts which have become our common heritage. At the Second Congress he stood side by side with Lenin, and in the Party Council and editorial board of the central organ he represented the same view-point as Lenin.

After the Second Congress.

The congress came to a close after its split, the Central Committee being elected by the Bolsheviks alone. Martov came forward with a pamphlet entitled, "The State of Siege in the Party," accusing Lenin of every deadly crime in the catalogue, and of heaping insults on worthy individuals. The menshevik delegates returned to Russia, where they created a separate "bureau," against which the Bolshevik Central Committee immediately declared a boycott; and no one worked on "Iskra" save Lenin and Plekhanov. It was, as Plekhanov pointed out with his native wit, "a general strike of generals." Those "generals" who had collaborated on "Iskra," laid down their pens, refusing to write for a paper on which were neither Martov nor Axelrod. Six issues of "Iskra" appeared under the editorship of Lenin and Plekhanov, and in these issues the latter for a last time appeared in his old role. He put in articles in which he taught the tactics of street fighting; he, the learned Marxist, wrote on how to construct wire entanglements in collisions with the Czarist gendarmes. He did as the Bolsheviks of the period did, who

felt the coming of the revolutionary storm. But very soon, only too soon, Plekhanov forsook his stand. Only a few months went by before he switched around. He proposed to Lenin that they should bring the "striking generals," back into the editorial board, and yield to their strike, in the hope that, although in the minority, they would still be able in some way to keep them in hand. But Lenin, as always where questions of principle were involved, was inexorable, and left the editorial board. Plekhanov remained alone, and, as it was jokingly put at the time "unanimously" reinstated the four Menshevik grandees on "Iskra." The new "Iskra" became a Menshevik organ, and Plekhanov, although at first trying to restrain the "generals" from extreme right deviations, gradually gave in, submitting to his fate, and himself becoming a Menshevik.

Thus, at the end of 1903, we already had two clearly defined groups, two organizations, two parties. It can be said, that at that time Bolshevism and Menshevism, as ideological tendencies, had already taken on definite form, and at the moment when the revolutionary storm broke, they were already finally crystallized.

IV.

The Russo-Japanese War.

The most important event of 1905, was, undoubtedly the Russo-Japanese War. It was of immense significance, in that it acted as a factor in impregnating our country with the revolutionary spirit, and bringing nearer the first, 1905, revolution, without which 1917 would have been inconceivable.

Something must be said relative to the causes of the war, regarding which a division of opinion existed among the Russian social democrats of the period. The Mensheviks emphasized chiefly the dynastic character of the war, explaining it exclusively as an effort on the part of the House of Romanovs to steady themselves upon the throne by attempting to distract the attention of the people from internal to external affairs. To a certain extent, this viewpoint was, of course, correct. The country was dissatisfied, obscurely troubled, and it is quite natural that the government, under the leadership of Witte and Pobednostzev, should seize upon this means of diverting the attention of the people. Numerous examples can be found in history of kings and emperors endeavoring at critical junctures, to make use of war artificially to work up the people into a fever of patriotism, thereby averting catastrophe within the state. But history also shows us that the greatest part of such attempts have only hastened the crash of the monarchical government. And so, too, in the case of the Russo-Japanese War.

The Menshevik Viewpoint.

But the dynastic motive was not the only one. An important role was also played in this war, undoubtedly, by purely imperialist and annexationist aspirations, by the desire to acquire new markets, etc. Many of the party committees active in Russia at the time, underscored just this character of the Russo-Japanese War, but the Mensheviks fought this view-point, seeking to demonstrate that in this case it was in no way applicable. Reflecting nowadays upon the evolution of Menshevism, one is forced to the conclusion that already here, in their analysis of the causes of the Russo-Japanese War, is enclosed the seed of their future political mode of thought; here as later also in 1917, they were

unwilling to see the underlying economic motives of this conflict.

Defeatism.

During the period of the Russo-Japanese War there first arose that tendency which was, in 1917, designated as "defeatism." We must pause for consideration of this tendency, since it is intimately bound up with the succeeding evolution of Bolshevism, and with our war with our political antipodes.

Not only both sections of the Workers' Party, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, were gripped by defeatism, but also practically the whole of bourgeois liberal society. This phenomenon, which was far from accidental, demonstrated that when Czarism, if we may put it thus, trod on the pet corns of the bourgeoisie, the latter was fully capable of going the limit, and even permitting the defeat of "its" government, in a foreign war, if only they could thereby gain concessions in the sphere of internal politics. To those desiring to acquaint themselves in detail with these questions, I recommend the collection of articles "Against the Current"; here I shall limit myself to showing how, during the Russo-Japanese War, the whole of Russia was swept by great waves of defeatism.

In 1904 a well-known liberal writer, who was, at the same time, a convinced monarchist, Boris Chicherin (not our present-day commissar, but his relative, the noted publicist), wrote as follows:

"The consequences of this war will, finally, help to solve the internal crisis. It is difficult to say what outcome of this war is more to be desired to this end."

These words, which declare with little ambiguity the defeat of Czarist Russia to be more desirable than its victory, were written under the Russian censor. Can one for a moment imagine that in the year 1914, during the imperialist war, one could have found any bourgeois capable of making a similar statement? This was impossible because in the course of the first, second, third and fourth State Dumas the Czarist autocracy had somehow or the other managed to establish a more or less close understanding with the highest circles of the Russian bourgeoisie; and because, in 1914, albeit only externally, the monarchy was not that which it had been in 1904. The division of power between the landowners and the bourgeoisie had, by 1914 already been carried through, and for this reason the bourgeois assumed an attitude toward the war in no way resembling their attitude in 1904. In 1916, Miliukov, at the very climax of the war, made a speech in the State Duma, in which he declared that if the road to victory over the Germans lay through revolution, then he would renounce victory. This most enlightened representative of the bourgeoisie stated that if the Germans could not be conquered without revolution, it were better to give up victory over the hated enemy—revolution must be avoided. In other words, he meant to say that he feared revolution more than a German victory. These two statements—that of the most noted representative of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, in 1904, Boris Chicherin, on the one hand, and, on the other, that of the most influential representative of the liberal bourgeoisie, Miliukov, on the other—show the path that Russia had traversed and the evolution of its bourgeoisie.

In 1904 a large part of the bourgeoisie stood for the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese war, hoping thus to gain

certain concessions from the autocracy, and to divide up power with the landowners, who under other circumstances would have yielded nothing. The bourgeoisie were very well aware that should Czarism conquer, the position of the landowners would be still further strengthened, and with it all hope of a constitution, i. e., of the division of power between the landowners and the bourgeoisie, would be lost.

The Memoirs of Gershuni.

The defeatist view-point made its appearance in acuter form, naturally, among the revolutionists, including the socialist revolutionaries. This party which in 1914-1917 did not escape the bondage of "patriotism," were, during the period of the Russo-Japanese war, also arch-defeatists. One of the recognized leaders of the party, for instance, Gershuni, now deceased, at the time a prisoner in the fortress of Peter and Paul, wrote of the war as follows. He first came to know of the defeat of the Russian troops and about the Russo-Japanese war in general from his lawyer, Karabchevsky, when he came to visit him in prison. This meeting of the famous Russian terrorist with the leading Russian lawyer, a typical representative of the opposition society of the period, is of great interest.

"I waited with impatience," writes Gershuni, "for this whole comedy to be at an end, for my defender to at last be left alone with me—the only living being not of the enemy camp who had this right!"

"At last, after a long and tiresome ceremony, the door of my cell clanged to, and we remained alone, quite alone!" (Here commences a long and fevered catechism).

"Is Plehve still in power? Is he alive?"

"Yes, but there is greater news; do you know that war has been declared?"

"War? With whom?"

"With Japan. Some of our cruisers have already been blown up, and we have already suffered defeats."

"A second Crimean campaign? And Port Arthur?—Sebastopol? Ex oriente lux (light from out the East)?"

"It seems so."

"And how about the country? Has it been overcome by the fumes of 'patriotism'? Does it thirst to make one with 'the sovereign heads'?"

"Yes, that goes without saying. But the whole thing is in the highest degree manufactured and artificial. The war is unpopular. Noone expected it, and noone wants it."

"Strange," adds Gershuni, "that here in the half-light of a cell in the fortress of Peter and Paul, everything suddenly seemed to become clear. I felt that something infinitely terrible, infinitely menacing and infinitely sorrowful was rushing upon us, which would hit the state like a thunderbolt, arousing the sleepers, and rending asunder the veil which conceals from the majority of the people the true essence of the autocratic system."

In his memoirs Gershuni also relates how he and his prison comrades learned of the fall of Port Arthur from a scrap of newspaper which he picked up while exercising in the prison yard of the Schlüsselburg Fortress. The news was confirmed by a prison guard who fell for the "war bait." It is hard to express in writing the joy of the Schlüsselburg captives. "We trembled," writes Gershuni, "Port Arthur had fallen. . . the autocracy would fall too." Clearly a defeatist state of mind.

Defeatism in Savinkov's Novel.

And it was not only Gershuni. Even Savinkov, in his noted novel, "The Pale Horse," which he published under the pseudonym of "Ropshin," described the state of mind of his hero, on the way to Russia from abroad, on terrorist work, from this view-point. On the way he learns of Tsushima—the crushing defeat of the Czar's fleet—and he is seized by the most contradictory feelings; on the one hand, as a Russian, he regrets the defeated fleet; the destruction of the men, the slain and drowned Russian sailors, and on the other—as a revolutionist, he understands that the defeat at Tsushima means the conquest of the revolution, that destruction of the Czarist fleets will be to its advantage.

We see the same viewpoint in "Tales of the Russo-Japanese War," by eVrasayev, who, in his work superbly pictures all the new currents arising among the Russian intelligentsia. Every page of his "Tales" bears witness to the fact that almost the whole Russian intelligentsia held the defeatist view-point, and very well understood, that the defeat of Czarist Russia in the Japanese war would mean victory for the liberation movement.

Church and State in Mexico

By Bertram D. Wolfe

THE conflict between the Calles administration and the Catholic Church promises to assume considerable importance and may even lead to a Catholic revolt. In the half-year that Calles has been President of Mexico dispute has followed dispute until the friction assumes the form of a running warfare. It began with the foundation of the "schismatic" Church by seceding Catholic priests. The movement is known as the "Mexican Catholic Apostolic Church" in contradistinction to the "Roman Catholic." It holds as its central doctrine that no money should be sent to Rome. Other doctrines are: the permission of priestly marriage, the obligation of all priests to be native-born Mexicans and other distinctly nationalistic features. The government covertly, and not too covertly, has favored the schismatic church while the CROM ("Confederacion Regional Abrera

Mexicana"), government labor organization, has openly declared that it favors the Mexican Church. The net result so far is that the Schismatics as they are called have failed to capture the popular imagination but have aroused Catholic indignation.

As a counter organization to the Knights of Columbus (which in Mexico also has fascist armed-guard tendencies) the Laboristas and Schismatics together have formed the Knights of Guadalupe. (The virgin of Guadalupe is the brown virgin that is the patron saint of the Mexican Indian. She appeared not to a Spanish bishop or other dignitary but to a Mexican Indian. She appeared to him three times, giving him proofs to convince the sceptical archbishop of the truth of the vision and sending a message to the archbishop through the Indian Juan Diego, that said dignitary

"was not worthy of seeing her." She served as the standard of Mexican independence in the civil war that liberated Mexico from Spain and has now been taken as the symbol of liberation from Rome. It is interesting to note that the hill on which she appeared was formerly a sacred hill in the pre-Christian Indian religion and sacred to an Indian goddess.)

In addition to the Knights of Guadalupe, a group hostile to the yellow labor leaders and claiming to be Communists has formed an organization called "The Knights of Humanity" which is a sort of Christian Communist movement. It has received no sympathy or encouragement from the Communist Party but professes to sympathize with the latter as the Knights of Guadalupe sympathize with the Labor Party.

Recent events in the unofficial religious war have been:

The closing of the Jesuit College in Guadalajara, capital of the State of Jalisco, by Zuno, the governor of that state. This governor is hostile to the CROM and the Labor Party and therefore pretends to have Communist sympathies, which pretension the Communist Party does not recognize;

The passing of a law at the instance of the governor of Tabasco, forbidding non-Mexicans and unmarried clergy to practice the profession of priest in that state. This law is based on article six of the Mexican Constitution which authorizes the governments of State and Nation to "regulate the practice of professions."

An executive decree of President Calles was issued just before Easter week, forbidding non-Mexicans to officiate as priests. This is in accord with the Mexican Constitution, but has never been enforced. The majority of the priests are Spaniards and Italians, less than one-third being Mexicans. In general, the Mexicans are the "poor priests" and hold only lower positions. This gives a certain basis for the fomenting of class divisions within the Church and the Schismatics are attempting to utilize it.

The Catholics have responded to the attacks on the social field as well as through the forming of nuclei of armed bands. Among the miners, the Catholic unions are stronger by far than the CROM unions. In many parts of the country, the Catholic unions are the only ones in this basic industry. (Petroleum is not included. In the Petroleum field there are powerful autonomous unions in which the Communist Party is quite strong and which belong neither to Catholic nor CROM organizations.) The Catholic Church is now trying to give its labor movement national scope and extend its strength. It has issued programs quite as "advanced" as the hopelessly conservative program of the leaders of the CROM and very similar in language and scope. It has issued declarations attacking "godless socialism" but its concrete program is no less "advanced" than that of the CROM since both include the protection of the "legitimate rights of capital," both tend to condemn strikes, speak of harmony of interests between capital and labor, favor class collaboration and certain minor legislative reforms. Moreover, the Church, which has control of the majority of the peasant minds and has hitherto opposed political activities on the part of the peasants, now offers a "reasonable" agrarian program which compares favorably with that of the CROM. Here again, both oppose the taking of the land by the peasants and both favor the "enforcement of the agrarian laws" which provide for the distribution of small parcels

of land as private property to the landless on the basis of compensation to the landowner.

It should be noted that the Church as a social force represents the reactionary landowners, whereas the CROM represents the government. Thus it is interesting to note that the landholders program under pressure of social unrest is exactly analogous to the government program under the same pressure although the government represents a difficult feat of "reconciling" the interests of the Mexican masses with those of American imperialism and is bitterly opposed by the landowners and the Church.

The struggle between Government and Church in Mexico is of long standing. The church dominated the government (which amounts to saying that it was a landowners' government) until the so-called "reformation" of the fifties and sixties of the last century. Then the beginning of capitalism came into conflict with the Church, the feudal landholding system, based technically, not on serfdom, but on debt-peonage which amounts in practice to the same thing. The result of the conflict was the temporary triumph of a liberal, jacobinistic, anti-church, pro-capitalist faction under President Juarez (who became Minister of Justice in 1855, became President 1857.) The "reformation" Constitution of 1857, which still remains the fundamental law except where expressly modified by the Constitution of 1917, which doesn't change its religious features, aimed at the destruction of the property of the Church and the communal property of the Indians, thus being analogous to the enclosure acts in England and the "liberation" of the serfs from the land. It forbids, among other things, the holding of property by the Church, the right of ecclesiastics to sue or defend themselves in civil cases, the right to hold processions of a religious nature or wear religious dress outside of the church building, the right of the Church to interfere in politics or establish elementary schools etc. It is undoubtedly the most jacobin constitution that prevails at present in Christian and Catholic countries.

The Church responded by conspiracies and the invitation of the French to intervene which the latter nation did, setting up the Bourbon emperor Maximilian of Austria in Mexico. The civil war in the U. S. coming to a close, Maximilian lost French aid, and Juarez was victorious. The reformation resulted in the distribution of the Church lands and the destruction of most of the communal Indian holdings thus providing a basis for capitalism in the enriching of government elements, liberal landowners etc., and in the "liberation" of a source of labor supply, the peasant.

The reformation laws gradually fell into disuse under Diaz and the Mexican bourgeoisie remained weak thanks to the entrance of the expanding American bourgeoisie. The Church allied itself with Diaz and the bourgeoisie with the landowners and the Church. But the revolutions culminating in the Constitution of 1917, on their formal and legal side revived the anti-Church tendencies to a limited extent. This was largely due to the fact that the Church and the landowners supported English as against American capital in the struggle for oil and Church and landowners and British capital, after temporary successes (the Huerta regime) lost out to the strange alliance of American capital and the Mexican peasant mass. This explains the present complicated situation and anti-Church policy of the government and the official labor and peasant organizations controlled by the government.

BOOK REVIEW

THEODORE DREISER IN AMERICAN LITERATURE.

Theodore Dreiser, by Burton Rascoe.
Robert McBride & Co., New York; \$1.00.

USING a lengthy quotation from Garret Garrett's article on "business" in *Civilization in the U. S.*, Burton Rascoe prepares his case for Dreiser by giving a vivid picture of the deep-going industrial and economic changes in America which started about 1860. These conditions gave birth to the material from which Dreiser built his massive novels of American life and American business. With this justification of Dreiser's "sordidness," Mr. Rascoe goes forth to do battle with Stuart P. Sherman, whose criticism of Dreiser is typical of the sort of righteous hokum the college professor school of critics spout out for the consumption of the Babbitry. His attack against the professorial critic, who maligns his victims in a vacuum far removed from the hurly-burly everyday life of the average individual, is healthy and stimulating. Professors who attempt to judge works like those of Dreiser from the cool Olympian heights on which they dwell deserve the trouncing they receive at the none too gentle hands of Mr. Rascoe.

Dreiser was the forerunner of the modern school of non-complacent American literateurs, of whom Sinclair Lewis is an outstanding example. And, like all pioneers, it was hard sledding for him. His first published work, "Sister Carrie," was howled down by those who set the intellectual pace in 1900, and the books were placed in the storehouse where they would not corrupt the morals of the younger generation. What Rascoe calls the Dreiser legend was kept alive "by those college professors who . . . did not find it necessary to read Dreiser in order to warn the world against him." It is interesting to note that those who came after Theodore Dreiser should have found it so much easier, some of them even being classed as "best sellers. . ." A good commentary on the much-wanted immutability of the standard virtues. Even Carl Sandburg finds his "sordid" literature so highly rated by the highbrows that he is paid \$100 for a poetry-reading in a university.

Dreiser's work as a reporter in the growing young industrial cities of Chicago, St. Louis and Pittsburgh furnished him with valuable experience. Balzac inspired him toward the naturalistic style, and Pittsburgh crystallized his observation of the mad scramble for power, with its concomitant misery and poverty for the oppressed workers. In his "A Book About Myself," the most vivid and interesting section is that dealing with the conditions of the workers in the Pittsburgh region, keenly contrasted with the splendidly luxurious lives of the Carnegies, Phipps and Fricks.

Though far in advance of the maudlin sentimentalists who found literary expression in that period, Dreiser has no concrete social philosophy. Chemical, psychological and biological forces satisfied him when he attempted to explain the terrible conditions he depicted. The economic force, which correlates and gives the key to the whole problem, never greatly absorbed Dreiser's mind. There was even a strain of the mystic in his approach. And he himself confessed in his biography that he presented life as he found it—confusing, exciting, beautiful, painful, rough-hewn and—

inexplicable. His views and analyses go no deeper than that, for though he sees the social injustices that bring so much of the ugliness that he describes, he cannot see deep enough to glimpse a future when much that now exists will be altered by a new society based on the abolition of all classes.
Ida Dailes.

The Dead Janitress

ALL my life I have longed
For a few rare flowers;
An occasional handful of buds would have
brightened my holiday—
Would have lifted me clear away
From the hum-drum purposeless round
Of living.

Now you are bringing me flowers,
Great, misty, blue-black violets.
I can see them from under my half-closed lids.
I can see your pitiful look, half fearful,
As you lay them down—
You are afraid to come near me,
Dead.

I wish I could speak to you!
I should ask one little boon.
Those violets raised under glass, so costly,
so fragile—
Lay them here in my hands,
Fold my fingers around them—
I should like to touch flowers so lovely.
There they lie just out of my reach,
Unattainable.

—Harriet S. Wardell.

My Masters

PILE high the mountains of our dead;
Fill all the Continents with dread;
Let Terror thru the nations stalk,
And Murder armed with Famine walk
The country road and city street
With saddest heart and deathful feet,
My Masters.

Drive, Pity, Love, and Hope, and Truth
From out the planet without ruth;
Task then your scientific slaves
To build for Dreamers jails and graves;
Within your soulless Servile State
Bind Labor to a helot fate,
And close forever Mercy's gate,
My Masters.

But harken this from one who dreams,
Who sees beyond the thing that seems:
Out of this night of blood and death,
Though wounded sore and short of breath,
We yet shall come—we yet shall rise
And drive you from Earth, Seas and Skies,
My Masters.

—Covington Ami.

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Labor Day.

BIG Business has never pretended to dearly love the labor movement, but it gives its full-hearted approbation to "Labor Day"—the solemn, respectable, 100-per cent American substitute for May Day which is proclaimed once a year, on the first Monday in September—in the name of Labor.

There is a reason for the compacency of Big Business. "Labor Day" has been wrenched quite loose from all the traditions of the working class struggle. It serves as the occasion for empty speeches by prominent capitalists and yellow trade union officials on the "dignity of labor"—and incidentally on the "harmonious interests of capital and labor," on "the value of class peace," etc.

Labor Day as a substitute for May Day was initiated by the capitalists with the connivance of trade union officials who were doing the work of the capitalists inside the labor movement—with the late Sam Gompers at their head.

It is dedicated to the continued enslavement of the workers, not to their liberation. It is the symbol of "class collaboration" and the betrayal of the workers' struggle by those who are pretending to lead that struggle.

But symbols have been known to change and to take on entirely new significance. The power of the workers can take a hand in the reshaping of the symbolism of Labor Day. We shall make of the first Monday of September a second May Day, when the spirit of May Day will shake the capitalists out of their smugness, when revolutionary watchwords will displace the former drivel about "class peace." Only then will Labor Day really belong to the workers. Only then will it be their own holiday.

Chinese Prefer Freedom to Christianity.

CHRISTIANITY in China is in a bad way.

The Chinese appear to have discovered that missionaries of the various Christian faiths are nothing more or less than advance agents of western imperialism and are systematically boycotting the religious and semi-religious institutions behind which imperialism hides until a successful grab of some coveted Chinese natural resources can be made.

In periods of great upheavals the masses learn in a few months more than in years of slow development of the anti-imperialist struggle and the rapidity of this process of enlightenment in China can be compared in the broad sense to the great strides made by the Russian masses in 1917.

The holy trinity of capitalism as described by Kirkpatrick—the cross, the cannon and the cash register—is losing its ability to pacify the Chinese workers, peasants and stu-

dents mainly because of the concrete example of its failure to stop the volleys of Christian soldiers directed against the strikers and students. The blood of murdered Chinese workers is an argument against Christianity that the Rockefeller institutes cannot answer.

The students boycott the faculties of Christian colleges, General Feng, to whom the imperialist press has given much publicity as "the Christian general," supports his countrymen against the sanctimonious Christian sects and another bulwark of world imperialism in China gets shaky.

Missionaries, merchants, opium and gunboats have failed to stem the drive of the Chinese masses for liberation.

There is huge menace to world imperialism in the fact that the greatest friend of China, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, is not a Christian nation. Czarism preceded superstition to the scrap-heap in Russia, Christianly may precede imperialism to the scrap-heap in China.

The Seer of Swampscott.

AN addition to the Coolidge myth is being promoted industriously by the corps of press agents who swarm around the summer home of Wall Street's marionette at Swampscott much as flies swarm around that indispensable rearward appendage of rural homes.

The drool in the capitalist press aims at the erection of a great public figure in the person of the President, a personage whose giant intellect is engrossed constantly with weighty problems of state such as the liquidation of the Belgian debt, world peace, etc.—a personage far above the petty squabbles of politicians, but never too busy to visit his dear old father in the humble residence in which he first saw the light of day.

But the figure of Andrew Mellon, steel trust and house of Morgan representative, intrudes itself into the picture. So does that of Senator Smoot of the Oregon Short Line Railroad and the water power trust. These two gentlemen make many visits to Swampscott and it is after these visits that the great personage makes decisions.

Cause and effect?

The patriot press rejects such crass suspicions with wordy indignation, the process of popularizing the Coolidge myth goes on but in the editorial rooms of the metropolitan press and the mahogany furnished directors' rooms in "the Street" fat-paunched, soft-handed, hardfaced men grin knowingly when the name of Coolidge is mentioned.

In Pullman cars, country clubs, Chambers of Commerce and hotels the name of Coolidge is mentioned reverently. The middle class has taken Coolidge to its bosom. The farmers like the description of the president furnished them—that is, those farmers who have no mortgages.

The seer of Swampscott is with us.

But among the workers in the basic industries and the landless farmers there is a great cynicism. As yet it is not finding expression in organized form but American industry and agriculture are tending downwards and, as the Wilson myth was destroyed by the world crisis, so will the "seer of Swampscott" come to have the same approbrious meaning as that other phrase, "He kept us out of war," dripping with the blood of murdered workers, come to mean the ultimate in hypocrisy and servility to American capitalism.

International Youth Day.

WHEN rivers of working-class blood flowed over Europe in the last imperialist war, the revolutionary youth were the first to raise the banner of international Socialism as the rallying point of all honest workers. When the principles to which they had pledged allegiance were thrown to the four winds at the request of the bourgeoisie by the Social-Democrats, when every bit of the energy of the social-patriots went into dragging the workers under the yoke of the war mongers, the young socialists were the ones to issue the historic call for War Against War.

The first week of September was set aside in 1915 for the demonstration of the strength of the working class in their struggle against war. Each year International Youth Day has rallied greater numbers of young workers in protest against the dangers of new wars and against the intolerable position of the working youth under capitalism.

At this time in particular does International Youth Day take up an especial significance. The menace of war is clearer today than ever before. On every hand can be seen feverish preparations for a new world slaughter. And this time the American imperialists occupy first rank. To the American young workers before all the danger of war is of pressing importance.

The Young Workers League, as the American section of the Young Communist International, is bearing onward the anti-militarist tradition of the International of Revolutionary Youth. As its ranks swell it becomes an ever more powerful reservoir of struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the freedom of the proletariat.

International Youth Day is a demonstration of the youth! Let the older in years but the rebellious in spirit aid in this task of rallying the proletarian youth in the determined battle against the enemy.

What Do You See?

WHAT do you see where the sword-like steel
In its stony scabbard scrapes the sky?

A girder swung
And a worker flung,
And his body toppling down to die.

I am your meat,
I am your heat,
I am the street beneath your feet.

What do you see where the coal's cocoon
Yields butterfly light in gold and red?

A faulty lamp
In the fire damp,
And a hundred miners lying dead.

I am your meat,
I am your heat,
I am the street beneath your feet.

What do you say when Milady goes
In garments gay, of the latest lines?
The crush of flesh
In the cog's quick mesh,
And red dye working its weird designs.

I am your meat,
I am your heat,
I am the street beneath your feet.

What do you see when the sugar kings
Reveal their skill with seductive sweets?
The salty tears
Of the child whose years
Are buried beneath the sugar beets.

I am your meat,
I am your heat,
I am the street beneath your feet.

What do you see through the sleepless night
That stretches before the bright red dawn?
The lightning flash,
And the thundering crash
Of the Revolution, rolling on.

I am your meat,
I am your heat,
I am the street beneath your feet.

—J. S. Wallace.

What Some Workers Think

GOD is an old man grown stupid with age
Christ is an asterisk marked on a page,
Mary is a pale saint carved in a church,
And us—we're the guys they left in the lurch.

—Henry George Weiss.

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Expropriation of the Farmers

(Continued from page 493)

Financial capital is still occupied primarily with digging those graves and therefore the main lines of application of non-producers' capital in agriculture are still predominantly in the strategic places in production and exchange from which subordination of capital of "operators" is possible and profitable.

Behind the relative quantitative increase of capital of "outsiders" in agriculture there is the qualitative change in agriculture brought about by this increase violent destruction of old colonial relations based on private (individual) ownership of land and other means of production, and establishment of new relations based on exploitation of the labor power of proletarianized masses by landlords and absentee owners of capital, both of the latter being bound together in a single highly centralized system dominated by financial capital. Financial capital influences this change in relations through increased exploitation, using and improving all the old channels which had served in the past for taking surplus products from "independent" farmers.

Centralization of trade in agricultural products, more advantageous distribution of mortgage and other loans to farmers, simple insistence on the return of short-time loans, interest and rent payments, amortization dues, etc., immediately after harvest—all these means help financial capital to increase its "share" without any additional investments in agriculture. Relative increase of outsiders' capital in agriculture must therefore be considered as increased power for wider operations and more intensive use of all the capital.

Thanks to this increase it becomes easier to understand: (1) why an increasing portion of the yearly production is sold immediately after harvest when "hunger prices" prevail and the "carried over stocks on farms" decrease; (2) why the trend of farm prices shows an increasing difference between the harvest-time price and the price in later months; (3) why there is a growing difference between farm prices and retail prices of agricultural products all the year round.

5. Accumulation of Social Conflicts.

Financial capital cannot proceed along the path of expropriation of farmers without creating a special class of "owners" whose only basis for considering themselves such is the "leniency of creditors." This "tendency" has a valid business purpose, and in some cases it may continue for a considerable time. For example, in sugar cane and sugar beet farms. As long as the labor problem and other such obstacles postpone the transition to large plantation production in the United States, the domestic sugar trust can find no better system for growing its sugar-base than the system of operation by "owners under leniency." Such owners may not disappoint and desert the factories by turning to the raising of other crops than cane or beets. They may not "talk back" in discussions of agreements as to prices. They must be diligent and on the job. Under such conditions a more or less permanent "leniency" is possible.

In other circumstances temporary leniency may be required—if the creditor is not yet ready to take over the debtor's farm, whether for farming with hired labor, for leasing to tenant-farmers, or for outright sale. Prospective tenants and purchasers for farms appear mainly in the midst of industrial depressions, when factories and business houses

are closed and many positions in industry and trade are lost for an indefinite period. The time of their appearance on the "land market" marks the limit for many instances of "credit leniency."

In the period from January, 1920, to March, 1923, over 16 per cent of the farmers of the Middle West (nearly 400,000 in number) "retained farm or property through leniency of creditors." How many hundreds of thousands of farmers throughout the country must at the present time have their necks in the nooses of the "leniency" of financial capital?

Those "Marxists" who consider the question of expropriation of farmers from the angle of competition of different sizes of farms can find no better place to get lost in than the farming area of the United States. If we look at the problem from the Marxian point of view of class struggle we are obliged to take note of many conflicting currents. They all lead inevitably to intensification of the class struggle. Peace on the surface of the economic developments we have described indicates only accumulation of combustible material which sooner or later must explode in aggravated form.

Conquest of the Film

(Continued from page 503)

or organizations. . . what may produce riots, mob violence, defiance of proper exercise of authority, or suggest action tending to the same." Also: "Themes or incidents in picture stories which are designed to inflame the mind to improper adventures, or to establish false standards of conduct." Portland, Oregon, instructs its censors to take "due regard to any sectional, national or class prejudice" and commands that "Lengthy portrayal of riot scenes should be shortened to a mere fact or event of current news."

Standards Made to Order.

Only the strictly political aspects of censorship can be gone into here, although the moral strictures are likewise eloquent—and amusing. Most censors do not state clearly what is permitted or what is forbidden, confining themselves to a general ukase against "any riotous, disorderly, or other unlawful scene, or that has a tendency to disturb the public peace." This is the law in Chicago and it was effectively used to prohibit a picture showing the activity of the local police in breaking a strike. No reason other than a quotation from the ordinance was given and the appeal machinery—the Police Department—of course refused to function.

"Picture of Prisoners Incites to Crime," say Censors.

A similar film condemned in New York received a whole page of description and condemnation. The following are excerpts:

"Picture opens with views of French Revolution and the triumph of the workers. . ." Next: ". . .the workers' and peasants' revolt in Russia, where broken eagles of royalty are shown in contrast to the triumphant 'new ruling class—workers and peasants' . . ." "In an attempt to show that Labor is always crushed, views are shown of 'the Republican Guard' of Paris breaking up parades of workmen and unemployed, and of heavily armed troops, tanks and cavalry 'replacing policemen' in breaking up 'political demonstrations' in Germany." "The following sub-titles show the revolutionary trend of the picture: 'An International Institution—the Patrol Wagon.' 'Any effort of Labor to express itself is crushed, but armed Fascist bands which undertook to over-

throw the government were let alone. . . 'As soon as a strike is called the cop is on the corner.' 'The patrol wagon does its stuff in Chicago as in Berlin.' 'When the fight gets hot the cops don't stay on the corner' (policemen on horses and motorcycles seen charging into revolutionary mobs)."

These "revolutionary mobs" were really strikers in the Chicago Stockyards, and every foot of film submitted in this picture had already been passed by the same censors as part of other productions. The pictures of the strike had been taken and served up by a great newsreel agency with anti-labor titles, which excused the manhandling and arrest of strikers on the ground that they were "sniping" at the police from the housetops, and the police were praised for their Cossack ruthlessness. This proves clearly that not the views but the class use to which they are put are the real basis of censorship. To continue:

"When the police are inadequate there is always the militia (scenes follow taken during the Herrin strike). A Chicago banker is in charge of operations—his operating tools, rifles and bayonets and six-shooters, in case the machine guns fail." This also is newsreel film passed by the same censors in another connection. "The picture. . . gives the impression of being an attack upon property, law, order, the prison system, the police departments, and American institutions. . . The film is of such character that, in the opinion of the Commission, it would tend to incite crime." "Police Power" Covers Censorship.

Formal censorship requirements need not exist to ban a workers' picture. The Mayor of Springfield, Mass., forbade a film he refused to even look at, because he did not like the committee in charge of the show. This film had been highly praised by the "National Board of Review." This high-handed attitude turned even the conservative "Springfield Republican" against him, but he stood pat. In McKeesport, Pa., the authorities simply closed down the theater; they tried unsuccessfully to do the same in Washington, D. C.; in Portland, Ore., after a successful fight for our first film, the rule has been, "no more Russian worker films." In San Diego, Cal., the chief arrested a handbill distributor because he thought he was not going to like the show.

The Pennsylvania Board once rejected a film in toto and on appeal demanded a list of 32 eliminations, practically every one political. Even the name of the organization, the slogan, "From the workers of America to the workers of Russia," painted on the boxes of food, annoyed the censors. A title starting, "The American workers rallied to support . . ." had to be changed to "American workers supported. . ." because "not each and every worker contributed."

Films Cost Money, But Do the Work.

On the whole only one film has been finally rejected in any principal city, and our heaviest difficulties are still in the field of finance and organization. Our film sources are not yet sufficiently regular. The cost of preparing films for showing (duty, duplication, titles, etc.) is a strain at certain seasons because we lack a sufficiently elastic amortization policy. Our organization is not fully equal to the task of exhibiting our films extensively and intensively as well. Presentation costs are high, due to high rentals, cost of promotion, etc., and our low-cost itinerant program has not yet been adapted to overcome all obstacles everywhere. But with the will of the movement back of the films they will meet with constantly increasing success. To sum up the case for

greater recognition of the motion picture film by the Labor Movement:

1. The film is the newest and most effective avenue to the mass mind, and as such it is exhaustively exploited by our capitalist enemy. It bridges all barriers to common understanding: language, race, numbers, all are meaningless as the picture sweeps convincingly through the eye-gate to the mind. What goes in one ear may go out the other, what people see with their own eyes is retained and treasured.

2. Its development illustrates within the short space of 25 years, the whole economic evolutionary process of capitalist industry. Individualistic pioneer gamblers of 25 years ago are now, some of them, magnates in a trustified industry already tightly interlocked with the banks and other organs of Big Business.

3. It illustrates likewise the whole adaptive process of present-day social institutions—State, Church, School—all at first fought to destroy the new instrument, then turned it to their use and sought to monopolize it against the rebelling under class.

4. Its tremendous revolutionary possibilities, among precisely those elements difficult of access by our ordinary propaganda weapons—the primitive-minded inert working masses who never go to meetings, and never read anything better than a capitalist comic page—as well as special elements like the scattered rural proletariat and semi-proletariat; the oppressed and often illiterate subject peoples; the children, and similar groups. These vast masses hold the future of the revolutionary movement in their hands—they will determine the outcome of our struggle against imperialism—we must win them. Every weapon used by the masters to hold them we must seek to turn to help set them free. And the film is by no means the least of these. We must win it for the working class.

Deposing a Faker

(Continued from page 508)

The left wing has put before the membership, during this struggle, the question of international trade union unity on the basis of the Anglo-Russian Committee's report, and the need of affiliating to the International Metal Workers' Federation.

During the nomination struggle the left wing put forward its own candidates and its own program, popularizing the slogans of amalgamation, international trade union unity, etc. They put forward the class-struggle policy as against the "class collaboration policy" of the Johnston administration. In the election the left wing supported the Anderson group although strongly criticizing it for lack of a definite policy. At the present time the left wing is working for the recall of the usurping officials and is again actively putting forward its entire program, at the same time advocating unity of action between the two groups against the Johnston administration.

In the course of events, the left-wing policies carried on in the Machinists' Union will be vindicated and accepted by the majority of the rank and file. The extermination policy of the administration has not so far done anything to strengthen their administration. Instead, it has worked as a boomerang, and the Johnston gang is in a state of confusion. The rank and file is gradually learning that only through a militant policy and the adoption of correct tactics will they be able to rid the union of the Johnston-Davidson machine.

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