

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

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SECOND SECTION
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Economic Depression and Unemployment By JOHN PEPPER

THE economic depression makes rapid and great advances—production is decreasing, and unemployment is growing.

I.

The great economic prosperity which started in 1922 reached its high point about May, 1923. In many respects this prosperity shows record figures in the expansion of means of production and in volume of production. But from the middle of 1923 we see a constant, gradual aggravation of the economic situation. Three figures illustrate best of all the great change. The monthly unfilled orders of the Steel Corporation reached their peak in March, 1923, with 7.40 million tons. In December, 1923, only 4.44 million, which is a decline of about 40 per cent. The May, 1923, average daily output of pig iron was 124,764 tons. In December, 1923, 94,225, which means a decline of almost 25 per cent. And a third figure is the average decline of 16 per cent on the stock exchange in the second half of 1923. The iron and steel industry reports showed a decrease of full time operation from 90 per cent in May to 68 per cent in October, to 58 per cent in November, and to 57 per cent in December. In December only a third of the full time operating establishments were utilizing their full capacity. Exports of iron and steel were running on an average of about five million tons a year (for about six years, until early in 1921); exports of iron and steel in 1923 fell a few thousand tons short of two million tons.

Slump In Mining Production.

Coal mining is in a catastrophic condition. Dr. Honnold, statistician for bituminous coal, stated that "the Illinois fields declared that the November demand so far has dropped 28 per cent below that of last year. It means a slump of about 30 per cent in production in both the Illinois and Indiana fields. At least 72 mines in Illinois with a potential daily capacity of 100,000 tons and 69 in Indiana with 50,000 tons have been closed or abandoned since January 1. Of the mines still active at least 75 per cent are operating upon only 40 per cent of normal time. The situation is occasioned solely thru lack of demand. Every day scores of cars are loaded at the mines and left standing on switch tracks. More mines have been closed in Illinois during the last six months than at any previous period in the history of mining in the state."

The total value of building undertaken in December, 1923, fell by 4 per cent below November.

The textile industry is almost completely paralyzed thru the depression. The number of active cotton spindles in December was about 700,000 less than a year ago and fell over 300,000 in November alone. In Massachusetts, the center of the textile industry the December report of the Department of Labor shows a majority of the establishments on a part capacity basis. Dun's January 5, 1924, review said:

"Curtailed production is continuing in many cotton, wool and silk goods centers. . . . In cotton goods this tendency is expected to increase."

Shoe Industry Decline.

In the shoe industry the Massachusetts December report shows that only 34 per cent of the leather shoe establishments were operating at full capacity. In Haverhill, a shoe town, in November and December, 30 per cent of the workers have been laid off and only 5 out of 34 establishments are operating full time and full capacity. In Lynn, only 6 of the 32 shoe establishment report normal operations.

The December report of the Department of Labor of the United States showed that not less than 23 per cent of the industrial establishments reported part time operation and 2 per cent were entirely closed down. And in addition to that one-third of the establishments reporting

full time operation were operating below full time capacity.

In connection with the tremendous decrease of the volume of production there is a decrease of railroad traffic and a decline of railroad operations.

II.

The propaganda of the capitalist press, government and banks' attempts to make the public believe that with the beginning of 1924 the economic conditions are changing to the better. That is just as little true as the deceitful propaganda which was conducted by the same elements with President Coolidge at their head, during the growing depression in the second half of 1923. It is true that the unfilled orders of the Steel Corporation have showed 353,090 tons in January. But this small increase makes very little

it is warranted by the actual supply-and-demand position—then it can hardly be expected elsewhere."

Efforts to Check Depression.

The Philadelphia Reserve Bank's monthly summary of business conditions covering 36 various trades says that of the 36 trades at the end of October, 6 trades could be classified as good, at the end of November only 5, at the end of December, 3, and at the end of January, 1.

It is true that the capitalists are making big efforts to check the aggravation of the economic depression. The new two billion dollar railway construction program and the big orders for Japanese reconstruction are the last great reserve of the capitalists which they can muster against the economic crisis. But it would be entirely anti-Marxist to believe (as some comrades are in-

ually in a slow process to the worse, or whether it will turn into a dramatic panicky crisis.

III.

The curtailment of production, the closing up of factories, or putting them on part-time operation caused an ever-increasing unemployment of big masses.

The United States has no real unemployment statistics, so that it is not easy to form a complete picture of the breadth and depth of unemployment. But the figures and facts which we could ascertain suffice to characterize the situation.

We have no figures on unemployment in the steel industry.

The unemployment among the coal miners is especially very heavy. The Illinois Industrial Review of December 6, 1923, stated: "The miners are face to face with a winter of unemployment. In Illinois 20 per cent of the mines have been closed. In Indiana one in every three mines has shut down. Over 25,000 Illinois miners are out of work, and close to 50,000 are employed only about one-fifth of their working time. In the non-union fields the suffering of the workers is taking an even more acute turn."

Mines Closing Down.

A. E. Lafferty, a West Virginia mine inspector, said in December: "Coal mines thruout West Virginia as well as Ohio and Indiana are closing down. The business slump has grown in almost an incredible volume, and its effects are deplorable. It will be a hard winter for the miners. . . . It is no theory when we say that our organization is composed of a vast army of reserve members that only get to work, in hundreds of instances, one day a week, and not even that in many localities." And the unemployment among the miners has been growing recently, too. The report of the Illinois department of Labor for January says: "Coal mines in Illinois and adjoining states have closed down throwing hundreds out of work."

The railroad workers are virtually decimated thru unemployment. The reports of the Interstate Commerce Committee show that in August 1,973,505 workers were on the pay rolls of all railroads. In November only 1,899,545. That means a reduction by 73,760 or nearly 5 per cent. But at the same time a big part of the railroad workers were forced to do part time work. In the middle of November there were 81,246 fewer workers on full-time jobs than in the middle of August. That means a reduction of almost 5 per cent. The unemployment increased still further in December. A single railroad, the Pennsylvania, discharged not less than 26,185 workers in December.

The condition of the workers in the textile industry is frightful. The director of the municipal employment bureau of Boston estimated the number of unemployed workers in Boston in January at not less than 60,000.

The "Lawrence Labor" shows that masses of workers are getting paid only for a five-day, a four-day or even a two-day week.

Unemployment In Chicago.

Unemployment in Chicago under the influence of the Illinois situation shows a very serious character. Even a capitalist paper, the Chicago Evening Post, wrote on January 19, 1924: "The problem of unemployment is with us again. The apologetic gentlemen who suggest that they are in need of a meal 'an' most starving' are approaching the prosperous in appearance along West Madison street."

Carl Haessler wrote in the Federated Press of early December, 1923: "Jobs are hard to get in Chicago. Trade union secretaries say so. The chief statistician of the Illinois Department of Labor says so. And a study of the classified ads under the headings of Wanted Male and Wanted Female Help, proves it. Altho (Continued on page 8.)

NEW SCHEME TO END WAR



But the Dogs Will Fight.

change in the general situation. We should not forget that the unfilled orders of the Steel Corporation at the end of January, 1924, were less by 2,112,000 tons, or over 30 per cent, less than at the same date in 1923. Iron production was in the last week of January 6 per cent less than in the same month of 1923. The New York Times of February 4 was forced to admit that: "To predict repetition of the wholly abnormal industrial boom of the early months of 1923 would be a little rash." And the same New York Times states about the textile industry in the same article: "The singular dilemma in which the textile mills are placed, between raw material costing 25 per cent more than a year ago, and finished goods which are selling 5 to 10 per cent lower, with consumers ECONOMY Depression—Galley 2 . . . holding out obstinately against advances, no doubt reflects the exceptional character of the cotton situation. But to the extent that it indicates unwillingness among buyers of goods to follow a rising market in their purchases (unless they have absolutely used up their stocks of goods), it has its bearing on the general business situation. A sensational 'trade boom' must in the nature of things rest on the taking of the opposite attitude by consumers, and if they will not take it in the cotton trade where, if anywhere,

clined to do) that the capitalists, notwithstanding big monopolies which eliminate competition on a national scale (thus making it so much the sharper on an international scale) that these capitalists are in a position to change the normal cycle of "vitality, prosperity, over-production, crisis, and stagnation" of industry, as Marx puts it.

Despite that the number of business failures is growing from month to month, that in individual sections the small banks fail by the hundreds, the economic depression thus far has not assumed the character of a panic. The main reason for this is the unusual abundance of money. The Federal Reserve ratios recently reached its highest point since 1917. The unheardof plentifulness of money is due to three causes: (1) The export of American capital decreased in 1923 because of the insecurity of European conditions. (2) The United States is today the creditor nation of the world and the profits of exported American capital and foreign securities bought up, bring an uninterrupted stream of gold into the country. (3) Foreign capital flees from Europe to the United States. The first wave of fugitive capital came from Germany; the second wave, recently, from France and Great Britain. We cannot pass final judgment today whether the present economic depression will turn grad-

Are You Reading "A Week"?

By IURY LIBEDINSKY

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(WHAT HAS GONE BEFORE)

The Russian Communist Party branch is governing this frontier city and fighting the counter-revolution. Earlier installments tell of the fuel shortage that prevents seed grain from being fetched on the railroad. The Party meeting decides to send the Red Army far away for fuel, at the risk of leaving the city open for bandits and counter-revolutionists. It also decides to conscript the local bourgeoisie for wood cutting in a near-by park. Varied types of party members are flashed on the screen: Klimin, the efficient president of the branch, who still finds time to have a sweetheart; Robeiko, the consumptive, whose devotion is killing him; Gornuikh, the brilliant youth of 19 on the Cheka; Matusenko, the luxury-loving place-hunter and Stalmakhov, a practical workingman revolutionist. Gornuikh, disguised as a peasant, overhears talk in the market place about a plot of counter-revolutionists to seize the town while the Red Army is away getting wood. The Communist company is summoned but, perhaps, too late. Robeiko is dragged out of his house and shot, Klimin's sweetheart is butchered and Klimin and Stalmakhov are overpowered and hurled into a dungeon. The counter-revolutionaries are in possession of the town, with the Red Army away.—(NOW GO ON WITH THE STORY).

CHAPTER XI—Continued.

BUT suddenly the vivid remembrance of Simkova's mind like the blow of a whip. Simkova, Aniuta! He was not going to see her again! But that was impossible! He must see her! In his head began to spin a fiery, many-colored kaleidoscope of plans of escape. He thought of the big oaken bolts of the door, of the little cellar window. . . . But, as President of the Cheka, he knew too well that during the whole time of his work, there had not been a single case of an escape from this cellar. It was clear that there was no hope. . . .

But the noise of shooting became nearer and nearer.

"Our folk are coming nearer," said Klimin, and Stalmakhov began to swear. His curses, long, cynical and filthy, rang with the notes of a burning, flaming hope.

On the other side of the door there was a sound of steps, and then the turning of the lock.

"For us," said Stalmakhov. And Klimin had no time to answer before they had laid hold of him and were pushing and knocking him about. . . .

"Take the swine to the Chief!" a stentorian voice snouted into the darkness.

Klimin tried to fight himself free, but they hit him on the head with a club. He lost consciousness and they dragged him up the narrow staircase with its rotting, wooden steps, as if he were a heavy sack. Stalmakhov walked up by himself, and his pock-marked face, covered with blood, was calm as ever.

The night had wholly dispersed, and there was a blue sky with a ruby East. Stalmakhov looked at the pale face of Klimin, whom they were dragging along by the arms, and threw a glance round the big inner courtyard of the Cheka, which was shut in by two-story buildings and a high stone wall. A blue flag was leaning against the wall of the little house in which formerly had been the refectory of the Cheka workers. A pile of rifles were scattered about and a boy with a blue cockade in his cap was fitting locks to them. The torn skin on Stalmakhov's forehead smarted from the fresh wind.

"Ah, whom have we here? . . . Comrade Stalmakhov who so carefully collected the corn-toll from the Dmitrov district? See what a bird we have caught!" Stalmakhov

heard the malicious, mocking words. Grey, insolent eyes looked at him out of a pink, clean-shaven face under a shaggy fur hat. A well-built figure, gripped at the waist by an officer's broad leather belt. . . . "You don't recognize me, eh? But we are old acquaintances. Besides we met quite recently. Surely you have not forgotten the Military Specialist, Repin, whose documents you looked thru during the search? We did not happen to thank you then for your careful collection of the corn-toll, but we will settle our account now. . . ."

Klimin came to himself when a bucket of cold water had been thrown over him and, at once, tottered to his feet. He was shivering with cold and his head felt as if it were flying to pieces.

As soon as he stood up he saw Stalmakhov, whom two young fellows were holding by the arms. A third in nothing but a blue shirt was flogging Stalmakhov on the back with back-hand blows, satisfaction shining on his bony browless face, with its narrow slit eyes. Stalmakhov groaned now and again, and, together with his groans, bitter curses flew from his mouth. Repin was standing on the steps. He turned to Klimin, smiled maliciously and insolently, and was just going to say something when some one shouted for him and he unwillingly went out.

They were carrying a wounded man thru the yard. A grimace of pain was twisting his pale face, but he, with difficulty lifting his head from his comrade's shoulder, cried out to the men who were flogging Stalmakhov:

"That's the stuff, brothers. . . . Lay into him, Vaska!"

The rifle shots were rattling not more than half a verst away, and sometimes a ricocheting bullet flew over the yard with a resounding

wailing hum. And suddenly, breaking thru the monotonous rattle of shooting, there gushed out a powerful wave of shouts of anger and triumph, mingled with shrieks and groans. . . . After that the shooting came suddenly nearer, bullets flew more and more often over the courtyard, every other minute smashing windows in the upper story of the building.

Repin ran into the yard and with him another officer, on whose shoulders Klimin saw epaulettes.

"Harness the horses!" shouted Repin, and the two of them went hurriedly out of the gates.

The flogging of Stalmakhov came to an end of itself. The bandits rushed to harness horses to a cart, and Stalmakhov, no longer supported by any one, tottered and fell in the snow, thin streams of blood pouring from his back.

Klimin ran to him and began to lift him to his feet, getting his hands smeared with the blood. Stalmakhov groaned, trembled and cursed but none the less stood up, tottering. He looked with agony in Klimin's eyes, and whispered with grey lips: "It's cold. . . . Death has come, sure enough. . . ." Klimin took him by the shoulders, and putting him into a little barn at the far end of the yard.

"Come on. We'll hide, and perhaps they'll forget us."

In the twilight of the barn, the back of his head pressed into the horse dung on the floor, lay the mutilated body of Ziman. His entrails, scraps of scarlet, white and purple flesh, mixed up with rags of clothes and horse dung, were scattered on the ground, and a heap of corn had been poured into his ripped-open and disembowelled stomach. Terrific suffering was written on Ziman's little, thin, sharp-nosed face. One of

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his eyes was wide open, and into the other had been pushed a broken splinter of glass from his spectacles. . . .

"He, too, carefully collected the corn-toll," Stalmakhov whispered hoarsely, dropping on a log and covering his face with his hands.

The shooting came still nearer. One of the bandits was wounded in the yard and sank with a scream on the snow. They carried out the wounded and put them in one cart and shoved a pile of rifles into another. Two officers ran out from the doors of the Cheka building, and with them a civilian in a very good new shuba (fur coat) and spectacles. He carried several portfolios of papers, and in the hands of the officers were revolvers. They had made ready for the victoria, the same in which, so lately, Klimin had driven to meet Simkova. Stalmakhov and Klimin, it seemed, were entirely forgotten. Suddenly Repin, on a foaming horse, rode into the yard. His face was pale, anxious and angry.

"Bring the prisoners here," he shouted. "Where are they?" (To Be Continued Monday.)

Democratizing Honduras - By JAY LOVESTONE

NOW Honduras is to be given a baptismal bath of Wall Street democracy in a rain of bullets. Marines from one of our cruisers have been landed on the northern coast, ostensibly to protect the American consulate from attack by opposing revolutionary forces.

From what we know of the history of our marines this is most unwelcome news to the working and farming classes of our country. The capitalist government running and ruining our country today has always assigned its dirtiest work to the marines. It was these soldiers of the sea that raped Haitian independence. It is these mercenaries of Yankee imperialism that have outraged the national existence of our Latin American republics and have engaged in capitalist brigandage in far-off China. It was the marines who were sent by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt to drive the poor settlers off the Teapot Dome oil reserves so that Sinclair might be able to consummate his crooked deal with Fall.

Why doesn't the United States first send a note to Honduras to request the safety of our consulate, as our department of state ordinarily does when such cases arise among first rate powers? Why is the despatching of the cruiser Denver and the landing of marines our immediate and first step here? Besides, why is it that our consulate has been singled out for attack by the conflicting groups?

These are all pertinent questions. They arouse us to some rather unsavory conclusions about the mission of our marines. American capitalism is rapidly extending its imperialist gold over the less developed and weaker countries. Our ruling class doesn't pussyfoot with recalcitrants. Our capitalists are arrogant, aggressive, and pursue a policy of boldness marked by recklessness.

Last year there were floated in the United States, Latin American government bonds to the value of \$120,000,000. In addition to these loans there were placed in American hands industrial issues totalling a value of more than \$50,000,000 in 1923 alone.

These gigantic investments of the surplus value wrung from our work-

ing masses by our capitalist exploiters must be protected. A challenge to the security of these investments in any one country is a menace to the safety of these bonds in every country. Unsettled conditions in Honduras tend to undermine the security of our bankers' and manufacturers' investments not only in this little afflicted republic, but in every sphere of influence where the American dollar is on the offensive.

The marines landed in Honduras are there to inflict a heavy dose of dollar democracy, of capitalist tyranny on the people of the weak country. The marines are landed in violation of the sovereignty of Honduras. The landing of the marines is in utter violation of that holiest of principles of self-determination of nationalities, for which hundreds

of thousands of our workers and farmers were wounded or killed during the world war.

The marines were landed in Honduras to protect our capitalist bonds and investments and nothing and nobody else. And being the proletarian guards of our capitalist imperialist clique, our marines will pour hot lead and thrust cold steel into the poor exploited masses of Honduras as they have done to the Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Dominicans.

Remember German Relief Day, March 9th.

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The Priest Speaks

By WILLIAM GAMALIER SHEPARD

Scene: Madison Square Garden, New York City.

Time: 1923.

The speaker has been talking a long time, his peroration is heard in a high singing voice above the heads of a monster crowd.

Brother Gods, behold the crawling ant, the lion, the tiger, the crow, the toad, the crayfish and the chrysalis, little and big beasts to dress the world for us. And the birds to sing.

And we . . . oh see me beat my breast and do a few steps of the divine mandance . . . why we sit on the top roost crowing over all, with one foot in God's Home and one on this ash-pile. . . Did you ever see the likes of this? Never on sea or land such majesty was seen as a man coming out of the white palm of God, the walls of darkness light-shattering to greet him. Look no further for the finest. Acid Proof Made for the Whole Family. Non-shrinkable. Send it to the laundry and get it back new.

Who's your Tailor?

Stick to God. With a thread and a patch of beef he sews up angels. The Miracle Man.

A secret. Listen. Shut that typ-

writer. Turn in the radio.

God sat all night in seance with the stars that breathed Him forth in a gust of light, studying the blue prints of his new invention, lopping off a corner here, adding a beam there. When he wrote Appd. and broke a package of Fatimas to celebrate labor's end he handed it to His angels yet lacking that round turret packed with square mirrors. The copying clerk added this detail. And the Hosts of Heaven stood to see the strange new beast whose first words, "I, Am," stirred a shudder in Demigorgon.

Eventually, why not now? Lay your heart and your dollar on the right altar, you can't miss dividends. Your bread is buttered on the right side, children of God. Keep your eyes on the grand old nag.

Don't Forget to Grease the Gears. It takes grease to get there. Not Three-in-One either, but Gargoyle.

In the night my soul, my daughter, cries, clinging to a raft of greenbacks, and lol Christ! . . . walking on the water, with a harp and a handful of signed receipts.

Glory . . . And the harp has golden strings. Glory. And the harp has . . . golden . . . strings.

Marx in Words and Action

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

NO better illustration of the wide gulf between the formal, sterile acceptance of Marxian principles in words, and the use of those principles as a guide in formulating policies for a party engaged in leading the workers in the class struggle against capitalism, can be found than that which appears in an article by Louis B. Boudin in the February issue of the American Labor Monthly.

Boudin has acquired a reputation as a Marxist. He has written a book on "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx," which the writer confesses to have studied as part of his Marxian education something over a decade ago. Like Kautsky, Boudin knows the principles which Marx developed from his study of history and analysis of capitalist society. Undoubtedly he could make brilliant theoretical presentation of these principles. But when Kautsky and Boudin stand beside the seething ocean of our present day social order, in which the waves of conflicting class interests dash hither and thither and break in great torrents as they meet, their Marxian theories remain sterile intellectual formulas which they are unable to apply to this seething ocean of social forces and thus formulate the guiding policies which carry the working class movement to its goal thru these stormy waters. Because of this intellectual twist the Russian Revolution was for Boudin "the tragedy" and for Kautsky something much worse.

Boudin's inability to carry Marxian principles into the field of actual class struggle is expressed in comment on the policy in relation to the development of a "Third Party" in the United States, presented by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party to the convention of the party in December. To Boudin this appears as "The United Front—Berger and Ruthenberg." For him there is no difference between the reformism of Victor Berger and the Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Marxism of the Workers Party, because for the moment there is agreement between the two policies in striving for, what is in appearance, the same end.

In passing it is worth while correcting Boudin's historical recollections. He states that Ruthenberg and Berger have formed a United Front before—at the St. Louis Convention of the Socialist Party in favor of the manifesto against the war. The fact

of the matter is that Victor Berger was bitterly opposed to the St. Louis Manifesto, threatened to write his own manifesto and fell in line only when he found that his position had no support in the St. Louis Convention. It may be worth while recalling, too, that Boudin's resolution introduced in the same convention, was regarded by the Left Wing delegates who dominated that convention, whether he intended it to be so or not, as a pro-ally statement, which they rejected for a clear-cut declaration in opposition to the war, which no one could misunderstand.

Let us return to the main question, however. Boudin sees it thus: Victor Berger is for LaFollette; C. E. Ruthenberg is for LaFollette; thus there is a united front of the "right" and "left." By the method of throwing the question into the terms of individuals Boudin may give the uncritical reader the impression of the correctness of his statements, but that is hardly a Marxian method of making a point. We shall try to make clear the fundamental differences which Boudin obscures thru this method.

Victor Berger is unquestionably for LaFollette. Victor Berger is for the individual LaFollette because LaFollette favors certain measures of reform also favored by Victor Berger. Victor Berger, and probably also the Socialist Party, are for a "Third Party" which LaFollette will lead because the policies of such a party would undoubtedly be the petty bourgeoisie reform measures which are the policies of the Socialist Party. Victor Berger and the Socialist Party can identify themselves with LaFollette because fundamentally there is no difference between them. LaFollette and the "Third Party" represent the realization of the Socialist hopes. He is their Ramsay MacDonald.

This is not the road to the proletarian revolution, Boudin would say—if he is still a Marxist, which one may doubt from his comment "History A La Mode" in the same article in which he criticizes the Workers Party. The working class can only win its emancipation thru a revolutionary political struggle thru which it becomes the ruling class, he would argue. Since the Workers Party is in a United Front with Berger and the Socialists on the question of LaFollette and the "Third Party," it is guilty of the same opportunism which characterized the Socialist Party.

Thus, for the Marxist for whom Marxism is a mere formula, the case would be complete against the Workers Party.

But is that all that there is to the present situation in the United States? Let us see whether Marxism does not offer us something more than what is contained in this sterile formula.

It was Marx who wrote that the bourgeoisie was not "one reactionary mass." There are divisions and conflict of interests within the bourgeoisie. Particularly there is a deep-going conflict of interest between the petty bourgeoisie and the capitalist class. What, for instance, does the present struggle in Congress over the Mellon tax plan represent but a struggle whether the petty bourgeoisie or the big capitalists shall bear the burden of taxation resulting from the huge expenditures during the war and its aftermath?

The conflicts within the capitalist class, between the big capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie, and between the capitalist class and the working class have all been intensified in this country since the end of the war. This intensification of the economic conflict has its expression politically.

The two old parties have both been dominated by the capitalist class, yet they have had as their supporters capitalists, petty bourgeoisie, workers and farmers. What we are witnessing at the present time in the "Third Party" movement and the Farmer-Labor Party movement is crystallization of political parties representing the petty bourgeoisie and the workers and exploited farmers respectively—the birth of the political consciousness of these classes. At the present time the petty bourgeoisie "Third Party" and the working class Farmer-Labor Party movements are inextricably intermixed; LaFollette and the "Third Party" has the support of both movements.

Is there nothing of interest to a revolutionary Marxian party in these developments? Is it of no importance from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution that the centralized power which had the support of capitalists, petty bourgeoisie and workers alike is breaking up? Is it of no importance to the proletarian revolution that a petty bourgeoisie "Third Party" is being created, which will array itself in opposition to the ruling capitalist power? Is it of no importance that within and alongside of this

"Third Party" movement there is the tendency for the creation of a mass working class party?

For the Marxist for whom Marxism is more than an interesting theoretical formula these movements are of the most vital significance, for it is the very essence of Marxism that it is thru this crystallization of the class struggle in political struggles, thru the weakening of the ruling capitalist power in this process, that the way is opened for the victory of the working class.

Shall we stand aside while this process goes on and in splendid isolation protect our revolutionary virginity? Is that our role as a revolutionary Marxian party—a Communist Party?

We answer a thousand time no. To do so is to hold ourselves aloof from the development of the revolution itself. We must enter into this movement. We must play our part in it. We must throw all our strength into hastening the crystallization of the petty bourgeoisie "Third Party" and at the same time of the mass Farmer-Labor Party.

We will not be deterred from carrying out these tactics by the fact that seemingly we are working in a united front with Victor Berger and the Socialists. We know that while the Socialist support of a "Third Party" is an expression of opportunism, that our tactics are revolutionary Marxism because we are aiming at a different goal.

The Workers Party is not for LaFollette as an individual. The Workers Party is not for the measures which LaFollette the individual favors, not for the measures which a LaFollette "Third Party" may favor. The Workers Party tells the workers and farmers frankly that neither the measures which LaFollette favors nor the measures which a LaFollette Party will advocate, will open the road for their escape from the exploitation and oppression of capitalism.

But the birth of a "Third Party" will weaken the centralized capitalist power. It will place the petty bourgeoisie definitely in opposition to that centralized power. That is an event of great revolutionary importance. The Workers Party is ready to throw all its strength into the balance to bring about this situation.

Boudin may know Marxism in words. But the Workers Party is applying Marxism in action.

Capitalism Offers No Choice

By SCOTT NEARING

Changes in the ways of making a living cause misery and suffering. The time must come when such alterations in the economic structure can be effected without the terrible upsets that now accompany them, but while one class holds special privileges, it will almost inevitably resent changes which threaten to destroy its vested interests. Under present circumstances, important changes in economic life invariably involve very heavy losses.

During the past few years Russia has been held up as a horrible example of the Soviet idea. "See how the Russians have suffered," cry the critics. "Do you want to try communism and pay the same price? Can't you be content to let well enough alone?"

No Freedom of Choice.

Such remarks presuppose that the world is free to choose between capitalist prosperity and Soviet hardship. Consequently, the argument finds general favor at this present moment it is true for the United States. Ten years ago it would have also been true of Germany, but meanwhile German capitalism has ripened and rotted. As between Russia and Germany the choice is Soviet hardship with hope, or capitalist hardship with despair.

During the past half century Karl Marx and his followers have insisted that the capitalist system would ripen and rot, and that from it would drop the seeds of a new social order.

Germany and Russia.

The Russian revolution came before Russian capitalism had ripened completely on prematurely by the failure of the Russian bureaucracy during the war. This made the task of the revolutionists doubly difficult, since they were compelled to transform and to build at the same time.

German capitalism had developed more completely however, and the war-crisis merely hastened its maturation. The events of the last few years in Germany therefore probably point the way that will be followed when matured capitalist countries race a life and death crisis.

What is that way? Here are two answers written by men supposed to be upholders of the present order.

"The Germany of today is a huge economic organization that is not functioning," writes Prof. E. M. Patterson, Professor of Economics in the University of Pennsylvania. "The problem is not one of shortage of labor or of fixed capital and a dearth of raw materials, while all production is carried on at such costs that competition with other countries in the world market is in many lines entirely impossible at present. The result is widespread unemployment and suffering."—(New York Evening Post, Jan. 10, 1924.)

Professor Patterson sees an economic organization that will not work—a machine that has failed to live up to the anticipations of those who built it. Far more emphatic is the summary of Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, Consulting Statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Co. and Dean of the Advanced Department of the Babson Institute. Professor Patterson is disturbed.

Dr. Hoffman is appalled.

"The situation in Germany today is as tragic as it is incomprehensible. It goes without saying that the rich are growing richer while the poor are growing poorer. There is a frightful and disgusting contrast of ruthless extravagance and sordid poverty. Proportionately, the rich and parasitic element is probably more numerous today than previous to the war. The once wealthy and highly educated

middle class has been forced to the wall. All the old time investments and savings have gone for nothing. All of the life insurance in force previous to 1921 has lapsed. All pension funds, including those of the Government, are bankrupt, and the pensions are of no intrinsic value. Paper money of enormous denominations has become ridiculous. Incredible confusion reigns everywhere, and prices for articles or services of real value are preposterous, and often higher than in the United States and Europe."—("The Economic World," Jan. 12, 1924, page 41.)

Complete Descriptions.

These two descriptions are almost complete—idle men, idle land, idle machinery, mounting wealth, deepening poverty, the destruction of the middle class, the degradation of the worker, misery and chaos. This is exactly what Marx and his followers said would happen when a capitalist society ripened, and in almost their words. Neither Professor Patterson nor Dr. Hoffman are Marxists. Both would repudiate the suggestion. But both of them, surveying the conditions of economic life in a dying capitalist system, picture, in Marxian terms the form of the catastrophe.

No Hope in Capitalism.

What will happen to a society that trends the path of capitalism? Class war, international war, disaster, desolation. The inhabitants of the capitalist world cannot choose between capitalist prosperity and soviet hardship. Capitalism will bring elsewhere, what it has brought to Germany—terror and want.

The people of the capitalist countries face a simple choice: capitalist hardship, with the despair of a dying order; soviet hardship with the hope of a new world.

IMPEACH COOLIDGE!

LENIN

He burned himself out
To feed a larger flame;
And now his ashen body
Lies within the Kremlin walls—
Soon to pass to naught.

We bow our heads in sorrow
That our leader's gone.

But Lenin is not dead.
He lives in the heart of great Russia;
In the heart of the lowly Hindu;
In the workers of France and Germany;
In all the workers and peasants
And all the exploited of the earth,
He lives.

He carried the wounds of a martyr,
And suffered the shame of an outcast.
He was hated like a hound of hell
By all the Plutes thruout the world.

But Lenin held within the depths of
his brain,
The mighty pillory which rocked
The whole network of capitalism,
And on this rock he built his dream
Which is marching on triumphantly;
While all about, capitalism
Falls to ruin.

All hail! To the Workers' Republic,
The work he loved so well.
Lenin is not dead,
His monument lives, forever.
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The Job of Rebuilding Russia

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

EVERY month the organization of Russia improves, under the stimulus of the new economic policy and the continued peace. When I first entered Russia, in August, 1921, at the beginning of the famine, I carried my own bedding and food with me, and prepared for disinfection at the journey's end. Nine months later, in June, 1922, when again I entered, there was already on the fast trains an attempt to provide blankets for those who had none, but sheets were only available for the first comers. I succeeded in getting one sheet, which appeared to have been washed, but not ironed.

By mid-summer, even a year and a half ago, it was possible to take trips in all directions without fear of disease. A strong and well organized health department, reinforced at last with hospital and disinfecting supplies thru the American Relief Administration, had cleaned up the centers of disease along the railroads. Until autumn there were regulations against traveling south of Moscow without a certificate of inoculation against cholera, but step by step, as the months advanced, the area of cholera was limited.

Travel Is Easy.

At present, travel is easy and not very expensive thruout Russia. I have been so far north as the Arctic Circle, three days above Petrograd, visiting mica mines and feldspar quarries; and as far south as the Crimes, where the entire coast is one great health resort under the Department of Health. I have been to the oil fields of Baku, where 157 new wells were being drilled, and where production was steadily increasing according to a program which will reach pre-war about 1925, from the proceeds of the fields alone and without foreign capital. I have been in Tiflis, capitol of the Caucasus, which suffered less from civil war than any city in the Soviet Federation, and which is gay with home-woven silks and delicious nougat and Georgian wine. To Kiev also I have been, the ancient capitol of the Ukraine, which endured during the civil war some sixteen bombardments, as it changed hands to Germans, Poles, Denikin, and many other bands, but which is now rebuilding its shattered dwellings under the capable and sacrificing direction of a tired-looking youth named Vidensky, who dreams of making here on the banks of the Dneiper the greatest garden city of the world.

In all these directions, and in many others—out across Siberia to Vladivostok or Peking, southeast across the plains of Turkestan to the heart of Asia—traffic is regular, equipped with sleeping-cars and dining-cars, and, most surprising of all, on time. The Russian trains run slowly, but for the past year, traveling in all directions, I have not once been noticeably late. An accumulated delay of two hours on a four days journey to Baku, reduced by one hour on the following day's run to Tiflis, is some thing that might happen on any American railroad.

City Life Improving.

City life in Russia has also vastly improved. The stores all over Moscow are open, and many of them have the appearance of flourishing greatly, tho others close spasmodically from time to time, saying that they have been ruined by their heavy taxes. Under the hotel where I lived in Moscow was a bakery which would do credit to any American city. Some thirty or forty varieties of bread and rolls might be obtained here fresh every morning. Inhabitants of the hotel above developed extreme individuality of choice among raisin breads, whole wheat, French rolls, and various mixtures of rye and white flour.

Clothing also has improved perceptibly. Two years ago I saw a red soldier in the Minsk railway station, barefoot, holding his rifle by a piece of rope. The following winter, peasants in the Moscow market were, in general, rags wound round their feet with string. Now, everybody wears shoes, mostly of Russian make, ranging from high boots to sandals. Large, newly painted stores of the State Textile Trust display cotton goods of all kinds from sheerest voile to velveteen and corduroy.

Prices were high this past summer, tho I myself, never discovered the fabulous prices I have heard others quote, such as \$35 for a pair of American made shoes and \$150 for an ordinary suit of clothes. I bought in September, a satisfactorily pair of

low shoes for \$9, and wide blue linen for a dress at sixty cents a meter. A little higher than New York prices, and this in a country where wages were still from \$20 to \$75 a month and where all food products were exclusively cheap.

The Swinging Pendulum.

The peasant was highly discontented at these prices, which in some regions, displayed such great discrepancy between the cost of grain and the cost of manufactured articles that he had to pay more to buy sacks for his grain than the grain itself was worth. The previous harvest, the first good return after the great famine, had paid the peasant well, for

cumulated her own reserves, which, altho far below her needs, yet put her in a much better situation than two years ago.

The case of the State Bank illustrates the drastic measures used in the restoring of Russia. The bank started two years ago with a capital of ten million dollars worth of paper; a year later it had twenty millions worth of gold; now it is issuing one hundred and forty million dollars worth of bank notes, backed half by gold and half by commercial paper. For a year, the bank was allowed to pursue a "robber policy" towards the industries. It loaned paper roubles to the fur trusts, and took in return

city. Houses, streets and side-walks are repaired in every direction; in one summer 100,000 square yards of city paving in Moscow were repaired.

Yet Moscow had no taxes and no possibility of issuing city bonds, the only two methods of finance known to the modern city. She wanted city loans, but the conferences at Genoa and the Hague failed to secure them. She has rebuilt herself by the rents from her stores and market-booths, which, since the revolution, are municipal property. The large apartments where people live do not yet pay profitable rents to the city, but thru various forms of contract their rents provide for their own repairs and improvements. These contracts are drawn in such form that it pays people to repair quickly, since they get the use of the improved property over a term of years without other charge than that of repairing.

State Control of Housing.

The state keeps ultimate legal ownership of all land, renting it out on certain terms of taxes to peasants or maintains ultimate legal title to buildings, tho it may give up these rights over long terms of years or leases. The state keeps control of basic transport and basic resources. And finally, the state keeps rigid control of exports and imports, far more rigid than any tariff America has ever experienced, using this control to build up some necessary industry, or to establish a gold reserve thru favorable balance of trade, or to allow entrance, under pressure, for cheap goods for the peasants.

The general policy of reconstruction remains the same; but the details may swing like a pendulum every six months or year, causing confusion in the interpretation of Russia by the outside world. For Russia has not the reserves of capital necessary to provide for unbroken advance in any one field; nor is she willing to sacrifice permanently her cotton industry, for instance, to the peasant's immediate need of cheap clothes. She uses her reserves at the point where strain seems greatest, and as soon as either the bank or industry or agriculture seems capable of standing extra pressure, the reserves are ruthlessly removed to another weaker point. Thus the whole country struggles forward and will continue to do so, even if she receives no aid from any foreign land. Foreign aid would, however, make the process of reconstruction steady and without the jolting strain which now accompanies it.

What Lenin Thought of Wilson

(At the opening session of the Second Congress of the Communist International at Petrograd, July 17, 1920, Lenin made a report on the international situation. Analyzing the book by Maynard Keynes on the "Economic Consequences of Peace" published a short time before, he took the occasion to speak of Wilson and Wilsonism.)

"I DO not believe that a Communist or revolutionary manifesto in general, could compare, by its vigorous language, with those pages of Keynes dealing with Wilson and Wilsonism. Wilson was the idol of the lower middle class and of the pacifists of the Keynes sort, the idol of the big personages of the Second International and even of the Second-and-a-half International, who were overcome with joy over the 'Fourteen Points' and even published very scholarly tomes on the reasons of the Wilsonian policy, which was destined, according to their hopes, to save social peace by reconciling exploiters and exploited thru social reforms.

"Keynes shows Wilson in the situation of a fool, and describes the fading of all his illusions from the moment of first contact with the real policy of capital as conceived by Clemenceau and Lloyd George.

"The laboring masses now see more and more clearly by their daily experience, and the erudite pedants might have drawn the conclusion from the very book of Keynes, that the roots of the Wilson policy spring from an ecclesiastic emptiness and a lower middle class phraseology implying a total lack of understanding of the class struggle."

the price of food was relatively high, at the cost of the city workers. Last autumn the pendulum had swung in the other direction.

The pendulum will swing back and forth in this way for several years to come until there is a reserve of capital in Russia, either thru foreign loans or thru the slower process of gradual accumulation within the country itself. There will be periodic "economic crises," each one a little less severe than the one before. For Russia is pulling herself up out of a condition of utter exhaustion such as no one in America can adequately visualize. It is enough to say that no nation in the modern world ever carried on an extended war without borrowing heavily on the future, in order to pay for munitions and uniforms and soldiers. But Russia, in the long years of war that followed the revolution, had no means of securing loans or any sort of credits.

When peace at last came, and with peace, the actual planning of industry, which took the form of the new economic policy, there was in all Russia no reserve either of materials or money, which could take the place of credit.

Drastic Measures Used.

Only by drastic measures can industries accumulate capital, since they cannot borrow from abroad. For the coming year it is quite possible that state industries will again run below cost in order to distribute goods widely and enable the peasant to produce. Thus jerkily, and throwing its reserves of strength to the point of greatest strain, has Russia managed to do a phenomenal amount of reconstruction without any capital to start with. It has been a forced process, not one of choice. Two years ago she was already offering terms to foreign capital, in many ways more profitable terms than she is offering now. For now she has ac-

pounds sterling in London, where the furs were sold. It exacted not only interest, but half of the profits on such transactions. At the end of a year the cry of the industries led to a relaxation of this policy; but meantime the State Bank had a gold reserve, which has since given Russia a stable coinage, the first war-injured country in Europe to attain it.

Gold Standard Possible.

The drastic policy of control of exports and imports has also made the gold standard of money possible in Russia. No imports are allowed but articles of primary necessity. Tractors and trucks, for instance, may be imported; but automobiles are classed, not indeed as luxuries, but as articles of secondary necessity. Only for important government purposes may they be imported into Russia. Even necessary goods, such as cotton cloth and shoes, are severely limited, if they can be produced within Russia. This policy is not only for the purpose of protecting the revival of war-ruined industries, but to improve the balance of trade. As a result of this policy, Russia's exports during the past year have exceeded her imports by forty-five million dollars, a result which a year ago seemed incredible in this war-ruined land. It is this excess of exports over imports which gives her a gold reserve of American dollars and English pounds.

The rapid repairs in Russia's cities, noticeable to anyone who has lived there for two years, are achieved by still another method. Two years ago, the car lines of Moscow and Kiev and other cities had practically ceased running; the water works were so ruined that water pressure came only to the second floor in the hotel where I lived; the houses were incredibly dilapidated. Now the Moscow car line has built twenty-five miles of extensions, paid for from earnings; the water pressure is good thruout the

New York

By JOHN REED

By proud New York and its man-piled Matterhorns,
The hard blue sky overhead and the west wind blowing,
Steam-plumes waving from sun-glittering pinnacles,
And deep streets shaking to the million-river:

Manhattan, zoned with ships, the cruel
Youngest of all the world's great towns,
Thy bodice bright with many a jewel,
Imperially crowned with crowns. . .

Who that has known thee but shall burn
In exile till he come again
To do thy bitter will, stern
Moon of the tides of men!



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British Strikes and the Labor Government

By EARL R. BROWDER.

RAMSAY MACDONALD had not even time to warm the Premier's chair when he was put up against the question of questions for the Labor Government: For Labor or for Capital? The railroad strike, carried out by the Amalgamated Society of Locomotivemen and Firemen in spite of the desertion of the National Union of Railwaymen (headed by Thomas, a cabinet member); the dockers' strike, tying up all ports in Britain and threatening the country with starvation; the promised strikes of building tradesmen, textile workers, and miners—all of these put to MacDonald the same question asked by workers the world over: "Are you really a Labor Government or are you a Capitalist Government?"

Capitalists Also Want to Know.

That the capitalists are anxious to know just how far MacDonald takes his socialism seriously was shown, as was also MacDonald's tactics of evasion, by an incident in the House of Commons on Feb. 26th. Sir W. Davidson asked the Prime Minister if he "could give assurance that neither he nor any members of the government were any longer in any way connected with the Socialist International." MacDonald replied that all members of the government had resigned from official positions in the international, and that the Labor Party affiliation "was purely voluntary and could be terminated at any time, should necessity arise."

This reply was evasion, so far as the workers are concerned, but the capitalists understood the real answer behind it, which is plainly: "The international is good camouflage to keep the workers fooled; but don't worry, we'll smash it if it interferes with government as usual." Strike policy of the Labor government is a similar mixture of evasion, assurances to the employers, and covert activity against strikers.

Cabinet Member Calls for Scabbing.

J. H. Thomas, Colonial Secretary in the MacDonald cabinet, is at the

same time head of the National Union of Railwaymen. His organization was party to resistance to the wage cuts, in common with the locomotive men and clerks, but deserted the enginemen when the wages board issued a decision in favor of the companies. The N. U. R. is an industrial union and in the past has looked down upon the Amalgamated Society as craft-conscious and conservative. But now the roles were reversed. The conservative enginemen struck, putting up the first national wage battle since the ill-fated Black Friday of 1921, while the "progressive" N. U. R., under the leadership of Thomas, issued a manifesto calling upon its members to stay at work as if nothing was going on. The manifesto said, among other things:

"Some discussion on the word blacklegging has taken place but the member of the N. U. R. who ceases work or refuses to do any job that he would have done if there had been no strike is a blackleg to the signature of his accredited representatives. . . ."

The cabinet member, Thomas, who signed this official scab order, is the same Thomas who broke up the triple alliance of railroad workers, transport workers, and miners, on Black Friday; his 1921 treason inaugurated the period of decline, 1921-23, during which the British unions lost over 2,000,000 members. But his present treachery, according to present indications, is only going to hasten the process of disillusionment within the Labor Party, and the formation of a left wing therein. The strike wave now on shows no signs of being checked by his action.

"Labor" Government Really "Liberal Bourgeoisie."

The truth is becoming plain to the British workers, that the so-called Labor government is really more cautious and conservative than the liberal bourgeoisie. It is, at the same time, putting over policies that would bring a storm of protest from the

workers if Lloyd-George was in charge. In colonial affairs, for example, under the direction of the same "labor leader," Thomas, the government issued a stern note to the revolting Hindu workers that it would not tolerate any action other than the "constitutional" means of petitions, etc. And while this threat is on its way to the 300,000,000 workers of India, Thomas paraded thru a big "British Empire Exposition" in London to survey "his colonies," and boasted of the loyalty of "his subjects."

When the dockers' strike began MacDonald went into the country for a week-end, instructing his secretary to issue a statement denying that he would intervene unless "called upon." The strikers adopted a resolution calling upon him "to use at once emergency powers to take full control of all shipping and docks, and pay the increase asked for by the dockers until the employers and the union has reached a solution to the difficulty." Certainly a modest demand! But MacDonald evidently did not hear the "call"; he was not yet "called upon" by the employers. The dockers, aided by the overwhelming public opinion, including sections of the capitalists but not the "Labor" government, finally won half their demands with a promise of the rest on June 1st. But MacDonald and his government did nothing but issue warnings that the food supply must be insured, making his warnings equally threats against the workers and capitalists.

Division in the Labor Party.

All these are things not reported in the capitalist press, and are the real cause of the ferment going on within the Labor Party that promises the development of a militant left wing with mass support before long. Evidences of the many conflicting elements within the Labor Party are seen by glancing over the pages of the Daily Herald, organ of the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress. While the railroad strike was on this

paper carried, indiscriminately, manifestos of the strikers, for example, under the direction of the same "labor leader," Thomas, the government issued a stern note to the revolting Hindu workers that it would not tolerate any action other than the "constitutional" means of petitions, etc. And while this threat is on its way to the 300,000,000 workers of India, Thomas paraded thru a big "British Empire Exposition" in London to survey "his colonies," and boasted of the loyalty of "his subjects."

Liberals Overreach Themselves.

All of these developments were doubtless foreseen by the Liberal Party leaders when they put the Labor Party into power. They depend upon the growing division in the Labor Party to check its growth and put the Liberals back into power more securely than ever, with much dirty work done for them without charge. But they were too smart for their own good; they overreached themselves. Because what they are actually accomplishing is that work of disillusionment which Lenin pointed out as the prerequisite for a revolution in England. In the words of Thalheimer, leader of the German Communist Party, writing on the situation in Britain on February 14th:

"If the astute English bourgeoisie is reckoning rightly that the next political move on the political chess-board will be in its favor, it is overlooking the fact that it is precisely inevitable disappointment of the English workers over the policy of their liberal Labor government that will lead the English working class upon the way of proletarian revolution."

Marxism, Blanquism and Street Action

By J. DURET

EDUARD BERNSTEIN in his famous book, which is given up to a criticism of Marxism tried to show that revolutionary Marxism was not a homogeneous whole. According to him the fundamental doctrine of Karl Marx which should have led to evolutionist and reformist conclusions was deformed and deviated by a strong influence of Blanquism.

This criticism is unfounded.

According to the Blanquist doctrine the Revolution should be the work of small and closed groups, but closely united and disciplined; they profit by a difficult situation in which the capitalist government finds itself, to overturn it by a daring coup and to establish a dictatorship of the revolutionary party.

Marxism is revolutionary in a different way altogether.

The Revolution in itself is not a coup carried out by a small heroic group, it is the inevitable outcome of the development of capitalism, provoked by the action of millions of workers advancing to the assault under the leadership of their class organizations.

Marx Opposed to "Putch."

Marx was an irreconcilable enemy of the "putch." The fight against Bakunin within the First International has proved it sufficiently.

The Third International has remained resolutely within the Marxist path in adopting at its Third Congress a thesis closing the door to all Blanquist deviation. This thesis specifies that to make the Revolution triumph the majority of the working class must be converted to Communist idea.

It would be dangerous to conceive of this slogan in a mechanical way. It will be impossible to determine by the help of statistics whether the majority of the working class has been won over to Communism.

Only in the course of the struggle is it possible to determine, in the final instance, the influence of the party, and the response among the masses to our slogan.

But the importance of the above-mentioned thesis lies, above all, in the directions which it gives to the Communist parties for their daily struggle.

For in order to win over the majority of the working class it is necessary to go to the masses, to fight for the everyday struggle, to prevent "putches" and to transform the Party more and more into a true mass party.

But, even the condemned by the Third International, traces of Blanquism still remain within the international revolutionary movement. It is in France, the country of Blanqui, that these traces make themselves felt most clearly.

Street Action.

One of the most important forms of revolutionary activity is the street demonstration. However, the sense, the form and the purpose of these demonstrations will vary completely according to whether they are inspired by a Blanquist or Marxist spirit.

For a Blanquist, the street demonstration must serve above all, to keep track of the flexibility and elasticity of the Party, to determine whether the whole mechanism obeys with sufficient promptitude the orders of a central command.

The Blanquists prepare a demonstration in great secrecy, so as to take the enemy always by surprise. Nobody, except the initiated, know the place, the date, and the purpose of this demonstration.

In showing himself at the right moment to the helpless mass, the Blanquist chief should be able to lead the mass after him, and that is why Blanquist action always takes on the air of a conspiracy.

A demonstration possesses, for Marxists, a totally different character.

If, on the one hand, the Party should use it for getting its apprenticeship of revolutionary fighting, on the other hand, and above all, it should serve to train and educate large unorganized masses by direct participation in the struggle.

That is why the purpose of a demonstration should be systematically and amply explained to the masses.

The masses ought to feel the necessity for the demonstration, and wherever the circumstances permit, the masses should be carefully prepared by meetings, by a campaign of the press and by every means at the disposal of the Party.

Danger of Blanquism.

All those who were present at the Fourth Congress still remember the marvelous analysis made by Trotsky of the causes of the failure of the general strike called after the events of Havre, and which could have been entitled: The necessity for a systematic and serious preparation.

If the street demonstrations form the best weapon and the most effective means of propaganda for a revolutionary party, it is so much the more dangerous to use it wrongly.

What is the effect produced by a demonstration in the organization of which Blanquist influences make themselves felt?

It is nefarious for members of the Party to form an erroneous idea of what an action of the masses should be and to contribute to the creation of a Blanquist and putchist mentality; it is still worse for the unorganized masses who thus begin to believe that the Revolution can be the work of a secret organization outside of them and without their participating actively in the struggle.

This conception increases its passiveness.

The problem of the relations existing between the Party and the unorganized masses is an elementary study for the whole Communist tactic.

Isolation From the Masses.

By its inaction, a party always isolates itself from the masses; curled up on itself and absorbed together by questions of organization, it soon becomes a sect incapable of all serious action.

But, it can also isolate itself by a badly prepared action.

In presenting this problem it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration the relation which exists between the numerical force of the Party and that of the unorganized masses.

The failure of the policy of the German Communist Party in March, 1921, ought to serve us as an example.

In France, where the numerical importance of the Party is feeble, it is ridiculous to think that the masses will be set in motion on a simple order of the Party and without a big campaign of propaganda and agitation having sufficiently prepared the ground beforehand.

Street action, carefully prepared, in which the working class fights to attain an aim which it has learned to know and the full necessity of which it understands, binds the Party and the masses; a Blanquist or badly prepared action isolates the Party.

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Stalin on Tasks of Russian Communist Party

Note.—THE DAILY WORKER today publishes the concluding part of the speech delivered by Comrade Stalin to a large meeting of party workers on the problems confronting the Russian Communists at the present time. Our readers cannot help but admire the frankness with which the Russian leaders discuss their weaknesses. Smaller men would try and gloss over or excuse them. Not so the Russian Communist chiefs. They know that organizations are composed of men and women who are liable to err and the best way to remedy mistakes is to acknowledge their presence and find a cure for them. We urge you not to miss a single part of this important discussion. In our next issue we will publish the first portion of Comrade Zinoviev's speech. He is Chairman of the Communist International and President of the Petrograd Soviet.

Comrade Stalin Continues:

In the seventh place, it is necessary to do more work among the non-partisan workers. This is one means by which the inner Party situation and the activity of the Party masses can be bettered. I must say that our organizations still pay too little attention to this. Too little attention especially to the presence of non-partisan workers in our Soviet organs. Comrades, I believe that if we do not put a certain minimum

of faith in the non-partisans, we shall evoke a very great mistrust of our organizations on the part of the non-partisans.

Faith of Non-Partisans.

This faith on the part of the non-partisans is imperatively necessary. Comrades, it is imperatively necessary to force the Communists to drop their candidatures. No speeches should be held maintaining that Communists only should be elected. The non-partisans must be encouraged, induced to take up state work. We shall gain only advantage from this, and will receive as a reply the trust of the non-partisans in our organizations.

In the eighth place, work among the peasantry must be intensified. I do not know why our village nuclei, for instance, cannot be set to practical tasks: First, of being the interpreters and distributors of the Soviet laws bearing on the life of the peasantry, and secondly, of being agitators and spreaders of elementary agronomical knowledge, if no more than to teach that the fields must be sown at the right time, the seed cleansed, etc.

I should like to mention two extremes, two exaggerations which have appeared in some discussion articles in the "Pravda" with respect to the questions of the workers' democracy.

Danger of NEP.

The first extreme is in regard to nomination by election. This consists of the efforts made by some

comrades to carry out nomination by "election" to the utmost possible point. Election having once been admitted to be the right method, then go on electing at any price! This view, comrades, is a mistaken one. The Party will not accept it. To be sure we are no longer living in times of war, we are passing through a period of peaceful development—but we have the New Economic Policy. Do not forget this, comrades. It was not during the war that the Party undertook the task of purging itself, but after the war. Why?

Because during the war the fear of defeat held the Party closely together, and various elements corroding the Party internally were obliged to fall into the line of the Party which was struggling to the death. These bonds are no longer there to hold us together, for there is no war. But we have the NEP, we have permitted capitalism to re-enter, and the bourgeoisie is striking fresh roots. It is true that all this furthers the work of purging the Party, of placing it upon a firmer foothold. But on the other hand, it envelops us in the atmosphere of the rising and growing bourgeoisie.

Sifting of Party Membership.

It was precisely after the NEP that the Party undertook a sifting process, reducing its number by one-half. It was precisely after the NEP that the Party decided that the security of our organizations against the NEP required, for instance, that it be made difficult for non-proletarian

elements to gain admittance to the Party, that lengthy membership of the Party be made condition to appointment as a functionary of the Party, etc. Did the Party act rightly in taking these precautionary measures, which limited the "broad democracy?" In my opinion it acted rightly. It is just for this reason that I assume that the democracy is necessary, that nomination by election is necessary, but that the limiting measures prescribed by the XI and XII Congresses must still remain in force, at least, the most fundamental of them.

The second extreme deals with the question of the limits of discussion. Some comrades demand that discussion be unlimited; they consider the Alpha and Omega of Party work to consist in consultation on all questions and forget all other sides of Party work, that of real activity demanded by the execution of the Party decisions in real life. The Party is not merely a union of persons acting in like manner; it is a fighting union of participants in like action, fighting on the basis of common ideology of their program and tactics.

I conclude my address, comrades, by warning you against these two extremes, and proceed determinedly and straightforwardly on the course towards inner Party democracy which was laid down by the Central in September of this year, then we shall assuredly experience a great uplift in our Party work.

In the Domain of the Children's Struggle

By NAT KAPLAN.

IT is lucky for us that the Communist children's movement in America suffered its birth pangs at the time when its legitimate parents, the youth and adult Communist movement had already evolved from out of their isolated conditions and became live fighting bodies engaged in mass activity.

The favorable conditions surrounding the birth has naturally reflected itself in the straddling infant—the Junior Section of the Young Workers League—in so far as it has retained its identity from the very start as an organization engaged in the class struggle.

Many of the parents of the 3,000 young communists in the Junior Section do not recognize this important feature of the organization and when it is brought to their notice "via the gossip route" many untrue and distorted conceptions of the matter are formed. It is at this point that the parents take advantage of their economic superiority over the child to force it to sabotage this phase of the Junior Groups' activity. Even Communist parents—members of the Workers Party have been known at times to sabotage the class struggle feature of the children's movement. This sad factor is not new and can only be rectified thru the establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the adults and the children. This is already being partially accomplished in the Junior Groups.

On the Field of Battle.

The battle field of the children's struggle centers in the public school. Even as the shop, factories, mines etc., form the center of the class struggle for the adult proletarians, so the public school class room forms the battle field—the center of the class struggle for the proletarian child.

It is here that the child is confronted with the iron heel of the teacher's dictatorship. Everything is

done for the child. The child can do nothing for itself. It would astound a great many parents were they to listen to an ordinary discussion in one of the Junior Groups. "Oh! Our teacher doesn't let us ask questions!" speaks up one child. "We can only answer the questions which our teacher asks us," verifies another. And so it goes, a complete subordination of the personal initiative of the child to the so-called superior knowledge of the modern bourgeoisie pedagogues. The child with a strong will, a rebellious spirit—in other words, a child who would make a good class fighter, both now and for the future—has to have that will and spirit broken by the teacher's dictatorship in the school and by the parental dictatorship at home. It is only natural that the child should rebel against this state of affairs.

Not only is the method of education in vogue in the public school based on the erroneous application of the principle of the "Right of the stronger," but the education itself—the material utilized as lessons—is nothing but the vile propaganda of American imperialism. History is the glorification of capitalist wars. Reading is the glorification of bourgeois ethics; the inculcation of superstitious ideas; the weaver of mysticism around the memories of dead bourgeoisie heroes, etc., etc. Arithmetic is the glorification of the profit system. The combination of the method and the education proper of the public schools can only serve one purpose and that is: To make servile wage slaves of the workers' children.

The struggle against this state of affairs for the child also has its forerunner: The struggle against the immediate rotten conditions in the schools, such as, insufficient number of seats, veritable fire trap school buildings, unsanitary conditions, etc., etc. Special care must be taken to link up both features of the struggle in every campaign undertaken within the public schools, or else we will be

faced with seeming contradictions. Thus a fight for more schools to curtail a seat shortage must be coupled at all times with the demand of "Down with the Nationalist and Religious propaganda of the public schools."

How the Battle Is Conducted.

It is marvelous to watch how very naturally the children take to the class struggle activities, and how they can utilize League and Party experience for their own ends. An interesting example of this is portrayed by our Daisytown, Pa., Junior Group. One week the group reported that they had been playing some Communist games, among them one which is called: "Catching the shop nuclei organizer." Thru the medium of this game the children grasped the entire idea of the nuclei form of organization and the week following the game had already divided their Junior Group into four school nuclei, which today functions right on the field of battle.

As a generalization you can lay out the form that the battle takes as follows: The children having gained a Communist perception in the Junior Groups; having made a study of the true nature of history, etc., will naturally rebel when the teacher presents these subjects in the usual manner. At times a solitary little rebel will get up and: "Oh! teacher, in our Junior Groups we found out that George Washington was a wicked man who bought and sold black and white slaves." This little rebel will no doubt be defeated and forced to submit to the will of the teacher. At other times the other children will be won over by the solitary little rebel and join him in his fight—or else the existence of a Junior Group School or even class nucleus will serve as the basis for the winning over of ever greater masses of the school children to the fight on hand. At no time is the child permitted to feel as tho the struggle is the machination of some older comrade. Everything that

the children do is done on their own initiative as a group. They formulate their own demands and lay the basis for their own fight. The older comrades, the leaders and teachers of the Junior Groups, thru hints and suggestions endeavor to guide the decisions of the children into the proper channels, and they can only do this after they have won the confidence of the children by becoming part of them in their struggle, play and educational work.

United Front of Parents and Offspring.

The bourgeoisie educational system has long recognized the necessity of winning over the parents for their system. Thus there has come into existence powerful parent-teacher associations whose purpose is to coordinate the home life of the child with the life of the child in the schools. The Junior Section recognized this problem especially at the time when the class struggle features of the Junior Section became intensified and the parents loomed up as an opposition in certain cases.

The solution of the problem is in the words of the Hammond, Ind., Juniors, as follows: "We are for the united front with the grown-up in the battle for all who toil." In carrying out this principle the Juniors thruout the country are today organizing parent's conferences, where the Juniors report of their activities and where the life and work of the child in the Group are discussed and acted upon in an advisory capacity. These conferences are made very interesting by the children when they arrange little programs: plays, recitations, child speeches, etc., for their parents. Hence, we see that the Junior Section is getting the parents more and more interested in the activities of the children and is laying the basis for the better relationship between the adults and the children: A principle which can only reach perfection after the conquest of power by the proletariat.

UNCLE WIGGILY'S TRICKS



A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN

Jack Campbell

The Trade Union Movement in Poland

By J. LENSKY

THE last year was for the trade union movement in Poland a period of exceedingly hard struggles against capital. The enormous depreciation of the Polish mark in connection with the general financial catastrophe, caused by the reactionary policy of the ruling classes—capitalist and landowners—forced large masses of the working class, even those under the influence of the opportunist and conservative leaders to enter the fight for existence. The last year, therefore, has witnessed such big and stormy strikes as independent Poland had never experienced before. There were the heroic struggles of the workers of Lodz, Warsaw, the Dombrovo coal district, Upper Silesia, and others, which began merely as demands for higher wages to keep up with the ever rising costs of living, and ended with big political demonstrations and regular battles with the police. The apex of these fights was the Cracau revolt of the railroad workers with the assistance of the entire working class and a part of the army. The workers were victorious, inasmuch as the old historical capital of Poland was in the hands of the workers up to the minute when the experienced social-traitors of the Polish socialist party handed over to the reactionary government the position acquired in blood.

Economic Situation Grows Worse.

After all these hard struggles and betrayals the labor movement weakened. The economic situation of the country is getting worse. The exchange rate of the dollar grew from 3,600,000 in November to more than ten million in January.

The inflation, mainly under the influence of the reforms for stabilization, took on such proportions that not only did it rob the laboring masses of a big part of their income, but it even undermined production. The wages, whose real value falls continually with the rise in the cost of living, were lower in December than in November. The rise in the cost of living, according to the reckoning of the central bureau of statistics, in the two halves of the month of December, amounted to 51.06 per cent and 53.67 per cent, respectively, in December, 66.89 per cent and 62.50 per cent, respectively. The wages fell considerably more wherever the bosses regulate them monthly, as, for instance, in Starachowice.

Still more dangerous for the laboring masses is another outcome of the present period of inflation—unemployment. The impoverishment of the internal market as well as the considerable rise in the price of industrial products as a result of the expensiveness of raw material and foreign machinery, and the high risks, with the depreciation of the mark, and finally, the policy of financial economy—all this produced further curtailment of production. This holds true especially of the export branches of industry, mainly in the textile industry, as well as those branches of production which are dependent upon financial economy, such as the metal industry, the tobacco industry, etc.

Unemployment Increases.

In the textile industry unemployment gradually affected a number of small factories in Lodz and Bielsk. More than a thousand workers altogether are unemployed there, and more than half work from two to five days a week. In the metal industry those factories were affected which worked on government orders (mainly railroad cars), as these orders were in part cancelled and in part curtailed.

There has been a shrinkage of work also in the Upper Silesian coal and steel district. As a result of the move to lease out the tobacco monopoly the crisis has also affected the private tobacco industry.

The deterioration of the market made itself evident also in the branch of industry which has been the strongest up to now—in the coal industry, despite the fact that the turnover tax was reduced by 25 per cent on Upper Silesian coal and by 22.5 per cent on Dombrovo coal, and despite the fact that the tax was lowered further by 5 per cent for export. The Dusseldorf agreement between the German and French capitalists, which brought about an increase in the production of coal in the Ruhr area, creates new difficul-

ties for the development of the Polish coal industry.

The standard of living of the workers, which is very low as it is, has lately sunk still lower.

The tremendous increase in the cost of living, the proposal and adoption of the stabilization of taxes, together with the phenomenal fall in the rate of exchange forced the question of the stabilization of wages on the order of business. All taxes must be paid in Polish marks according to the value of the French franc. The merchants are demanding francs for their merchandise, but they do not want to pay the workers "stabilized" wages. In various branches of industry the workers put up concrete demands as regards wages, based upon pre-war wages in gold.

Trade Unions Weakened.

A sharp defensive fight was waged only in cases of curtailment of work, as this threatens the existence of thousands of workers' families.

The trade unions were weakened numerically and otherwise by their feeble activity as well as the tactics of the opportunists, who failed to co-ordinate the individual struggles, and prevented decisive action. It was in this way that confidence in the trade unions diminished. The existence of the trade union is being undermined still further by the financial crisis. The trade unions are no longer in a position to satisfy their most elementary needs, they cannot, for instance, pay their secretaries, traveling expenses, or cost of publications; they have to ask the local unions to pay even for postage.

In order to meet the financial crisis the opportunist Central Executive Committee of the trade unions simply raises the dues, regardless of the fact that there is a great drop in membership. The Left Wing proposes the increase in the number of dues payers rather than the amount of the dues. Raising the fighting spirit of trade unions, gaining back the confidence of the masses, setting up of factory councils which would embrace the broadest masses—that is the only and durable means, in the opinion of the Left Wing, to bring about the salvation of the unions and to increase their funds.

Besides raising the dues in keeping with the rise in wages the left wing of the trade unions favors as an immediate measure the abandonment of the present apparatus of officials and instituting elections for the leading positions.

In addition to the general causes for the weakness of the trade unions there is also the persecution of rad-

ical organizations by the government. And this interrupts their normal activity from time to time. There is only one representative of the lefts at present in the Central Committee of the Trade Unions, and a second one is prevented from taking part in the meetings. Individual unions are being massacred. In December there was not a single new trade union registered. What is more, a law was promulgated that a trade union which has once been closed could not be opened again.

Left Wing Active.

As a result, the situation of the left wing of the trade unions is very difficult, but still it has been able to hold its own, and even to make some advance, as, for instance, in the building trades, among the chemical and lumber workers. In Lemberg the left wing received more votes in the last elections in the trade unions than ever before. In Upper Silesia the left wing brought about a union of the Free Trade Unions (of a left tendency) which came into existence under the influence of the Polish socialist party, with the Central Committee of the German radical trade unions. Provision is made for a greater unity campaign; and by the time of the Congress the left wing is assured of about half of the places in the Central Committee of the Free Trade Unions.

The hardest fight for the left wing was in those organizations which are of great political significance, principally in the Warsaw Central Committee of Trade Unions. Since the November strike certain Polish socialist party elements are doing their utmost to destroy the influence of the Left Wing, and are going so far as to persecute the Left Wing. This sort of action was occasioned by the meeting called by the central committee on December 16 to discuss economic questions (minimum wage, weekly regulation of wages). On the day before, on December 15, the Witos government fell, and it became apparent that the meeting would assume a political character. For this reason the meeting was attended by the deputies of the Seym faction of the Union of City and Village Proletariat.

Socialists Are Betrayers.

Their presence focused the attention of all the thousands at the meeting upon them, especially as there were workers present who had been delivered up to the bosses and the government by the Polish socialist party. The crowd did not allow the chief speaker, Deputy Gardetzky, to finish his speech, for he attempted to put all the blame on the workers for

the bad conditions. The socialist officials seized this opportunity to close the meeting without having discussed the new government. The left wing was blamed for it, and a resolution was published by the central committee charging that the left wing had broken up the meeting, and condemning the Communist Deputies of the Seym and the Communist Party. But the representatives of the Left Wing retorted with a strong resolution protesting against such high-handed methods and calling for an impartial investigation. The resolution of the Left Wing representatives ended with an appeal to the membership of the trade unions to preserve the unity endangered by the leaders of the Polish socialist party.

Lately there has been a tendency in a certain part of the Polish socialist party toward splitting the trade unions. This is due to the sharpening of the social conflicts, and to the effort of the Polish socialist party to prevent mass action. The Polish socialist party is intent upon destroying the influence of the Left Wing in the trade unions at a time when the Polish socialist party has time and time again gone over to the support of the capitalist government and participation in it.

Those members of the Polish socialist party in the trade unions who realize that splitting the trade unions with their present internal weakness and their financial crisis would result in their complete downfall are of a different view.

As the creation of separate, red trade unions under present conditions cannot be successful (difficulties with the police and indifference of the masses) and as such action harbors the danger of curtailing the Party's area of activity and the danger of the slackening of the tension in the economic struggles, it is our duty to come out strongly for the defense of the unity, of the existence and the power of the trade unions. It is our duty to reveal the real motives of those who are for the split and to make it easier for those in the Polish Socialist Party who are for unity of the trade unions to win a majority.

Left Wing Demands Unity.

A strong resolution for unity was passed on December 29 by the Trade Union Department of the Communist Party. It reads in part:

"The principal tactic of the Left Wing shall continue to be the unity of the trade unions.

"The most important prerequisite for this unity is full freedom of criticism and agitation for the left wing within the general framework of organization of the unified trade unions."

With the view that the agitation for the formation of factory councils hangs together with other problems, the trade union department links this agitation with the current trade union questions. In view of the weakening of the trade unions it becomes a pressing necessity to recruit new masses, and the surest way to do this is to use the factory councils as a support. At the same time, this policy breaks down the opposition of the opportunists who sense in the factory councils a dangerous competitor; the chairman of the Warsaw Central Committee of Trade Unions, Gardetzky, came out decisively against the factory councils.

In order to plant the ideas and existence of the factory councils in the masses we must defeat, not only the opposition of the opportunists, but also the indifference of the masses. Wherever such factory committees exist in their modern form—in Upper Silesia—they are dominated by a Polish or German opportunist majority and the masses have as little confidence in them as in the opportunist trade unions. The role played by the central executive committees formed during the November strikes proved amply what the factory councils can be, if revolutionary workers stand at their head. The task of the left trade unions is to transform the existing factory councils into actual fighting organizations.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Government of India, By J. Ramsay MacDonald, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.

THIS book gives considerable information on the political machinery of the British government in India and at the same time gives a good picture of the alleged radical Ramsay MacDonald. The premier of Great Britain, and the possessions beyond the seas, won a reputation for progressivism and pacifism, but his attitude toward India is not clearly distinguishable from that of an avowed Tory, and on his coming into the office of premier one of his first moves was to order the construction of seven warships. This is a novel form of pacifism—but that is Ramsay MacDonald.

The British—to judge from Mr. MacDonald's book—were forced by an unkind fate to assume political dominion over India. In 1858 as in 1914 the British Empire did not desire "a foot of territory." The Queen said in 1858 when assuming sovereignty over what were the East India Company's possessions "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions." How like Lloyd George in the early days of the world war?

Another quotation may give our readers an insight into Ramsay MacDonald's imperialistic mind: "As I have indicated, at a very early time the British nation regarded the transactions of the merchants in India as being something more than trading affairs. We felt we were undertaking political responsibilities and consequently the long drawn out history of the relations of the Company and the Government tells the story of how the nation's sense of its obligations to India overshadowed the original purpose of the Company. . . . We regarded the people as wards and we governed as trustees. . . . India has not been kept by the sword but by the law; not by fear but by trust in Parliament."

This monumental charlatan, posing as a socialist speaks the language of British imperialism more eloquently than Lord Curzon. The Sepoy Mutiny is glossed over. We read nothing

of the blowing of Hindoo rebels from the mouths of cannons. This hypocritical specimen of the most slimy, canting, robber-ruling-class in the world "carries the white man's burden" and exalts the pirate traders and buccaneers of old England to the status of saviors and leaders of backward races, into the paths of progress. The fate of the countless millions of Indians who have starved in the midst of plenty while British plunderers at the point of the sword buglarized their country does not arouse MacDonald's righteous wrath but the blessings of Parliamentarism are held before the beggared Hindoos as the Sacred Cow of the New Dispensation.

We do not quarrel with Mr. MacDonald's facts. We rebel against his conclusions. This may not be a review of his book but it is a brief glimpse at the real MacDonald. That is of greater importance than the book. Many of our readers may be disappointed in MacDonald or the British Labor Party's achievements. They should read the book not for what they may learn about India, but about MacDonald.

Changes in Agricultural Relations in United States By OSCAR PREEDIN.

(Concluded from Last Week)

How high is already the toll imposed by landholders and mortgagors? How much values are taken from the people by "manufacture" of land rent and mortgage profits?

We have no direct answer on this question neither from census investigations nor from any other official investigation. All what pertains to the operations of financial capital on this field is kept in a harem-like secrecy. Census investigations carefully record every cent paid by farmers to workers, paid by farmers for fertilizers, etc., but census reports are silent about amounts paid by the farmers to financial capital in the form of rents and mortgage dues.

Economists who were interested in above questions, having no ready statistical material, were compelled to apply deductive methods to find some conception about the amounts of land rent and mortgage dues. One of the most interesting estimates about this was made by the staff of National Bureau of Economic Research. This bureau came to conclusion that "income of land which goes to persons outside of agriculture" was in millions of dollars:

In years	In the form of interest on rent of mortgage tenants
1910	120 560
1920	252 1,082

("Income in United States, Its Amount and Distribution, 1909-1919," by National Bureau of Economic Research. Figures taken from table on page 303, vol. II.)

Total amount paid by farmers in 1920, according to this estimate, was then 1,334 million dollars.

From explanation of this bureau (page 305, vol. II) how the above estimate was deducted from available more or less reliable statistical material we can see that amounts of land rent paid by new farmers to "persons outside of agriculture" in the form of prices of land, that is, as capitalized land rent, were not considered by the bureau at all. Amount of total mortgage indebtedness is taken by the bureau as being 4 billion dollars. But we know from the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture himself that this amount was rather over 8 billion dollars. Thanks to this and some other omissions in the calculations of this bureau their estimate without question represents only a part of the true amount which is paid by farmers "to persons outside of agriculture."

But this estimate, even as it is, gives sufficient conception about crops which are gathered already now by agriculture for landholders.

There was and still is ear-breaking cry in all the bourgeois press about high wages of farm labor, which, they say, destroys the agriculture.

The census investigation found by careful records that in 1920 farmers paid in cash to farm workers 1,101 million dollars and that "rent and board of farm hands" was worth additional 262 million dollars. These suppose to make out the total amount of wages in cash and in goods 1,363 million dollars. Therefore, if we accept above estimates, then the wages

of over 4,000,000 farm workers seem to be a little more than total payments to people who own nearly two-thirds of all "land in farms" and very much outside of these land—for doing nothing there!

The new relations in agriculture, which are established now on large scale as permanent and enable "persons outside of agriculture"—finan-

cial capital—to snatch enormous quantities of values directly out of agriculture, in their development are creating the following conditions:

First. The land suitable for agriculture is going over and most of it is already in ownership of non-cultivators.

Second. Previous free farmers-owners are transformed into tenants or in nominal owners who are dependent from their mortgage holders and are temporary on the bridge leading to tenancy or to the class of workers.

Third. The system of tenancy, as established at present in the United States, differs from systems of tenancy in other capitalistic countries with centralized land ownership by the fact that the class of land owners is here invisible, being in a physical unity with ruling financial capital.

Fourth. This unity is in itself the possible highest centralization of land ownership. In regard to tenants this creates such economic dependency from land owners which nowhere existed in capitalistic relations. In regard to special agrarian interests this allows to utilize means about which the separate classes of land owners in other countries could only dream, because opposition to measures for increase of land rent, which land holders in other countries met in groups of manufacturers, trades and even bankers, is here excluded by the very unity of land holding with financial capital. In regard to foreign relations, imperialistic forces in politics of the United States are increased and made more parasitic, more reactionary and, therefore, more inclined to oppressive measures as at home, so abroad.

Fifth. The financial capitol of the United States in changing the relations in agriculture is changed itself and by its increased means and power for oppression and exploitation will rapidly create conditions where the large oppressed and exploited masses will be pressed as never to find ways and means and to use them for a change of the order itself, which is founded on oppression and exploitation.

The Train from Jena.

In the train from Jena to Weimar, Germany, a workingman was reading the special election edition of the Communist newspaper. A candidate for the Landtag of one of the capitalist parties who was sitting beside the working man was highly indignant when he saw the paper and asked the workingman whether he knew what distance there is between a respectable person and a criminal. The workingman calmly took a tape measure out of his pocket, measured the space between himself and the candidate for the Landtag and answered "75 centimeters."

THE AWAKENED BEAR

A Bolshevik Ballad.—By JOHN S. CLARKE.

There are folks whose constitutions shrink from "bloody" Revolutions,
Who at such upheavals "never could connive";
They can hear the distant drumming of the one that's surely coming,
But they "hope it doesn't come while they're alive".
They admit the putrefaction of a regime of reaction
Would make, with satisfaction, Satan grin:
But if you dare to mention that it is your firm intention
To root it up by force—why, that's a sin!

When a man is sentimental, and his heart is soft and gentle,
You can wager that his head is soft as well;
From the wit of his decision you can fix on his condition,
And his mission is what God alone can tell.
An unpalatable crisis isn't piquanted with spices,
And you've got to stick a mental pin in this—
The warfare of the classes isn't honey or molasses,
And you'll need a sharper weapon than a kiss.

Can you call to recollection an eventful insurrection
That Privilege has never labelled CRIME?
From a strike for better wages to that glory of the ages,
When the guillotine was working overtime!
Call it ghastly, call it bloody—but assiduously study
The foundations of a justified revolt!
Then against a Reign of Terror weigh a thousand years of error—
Ye may then with sober judgment fix the fault.

Prithce! say who disregarded, who rejected or retarded,
With a selfish and tyrannical design,
Each and every declaration by the spokesmen of a nation—
The peaceful "Third Estate" of 'eighty-nine!
When the royal butchers blustered and upon the frontiers mustered,
When Brunswick's sanguinary thirst beset him,
When he swore that he would slaughter until blood was cheap as water—
Had the folk to stand with folded arms and let him?

When they heard Reaction thunder, do you genuinely wonder
That a people born anew should burn with zeal?
Do you think they'd hesitate or shrink from stringing up a traitor,
Or to tear the filthy guts from a Bastille?
If you cannot feel elated o'er a king decapitated—
One who never tried to act upon the square—
Then, for God's sake, take your exit from the movement, do not vex it,
For it isn't just exactly your affair.

For the wolves again are howling and the hyenas are scowling,
And the jackals they are prowling on the plains,
For the peasant, soldier, weaver, from the Volga to the Neva,
Have risen to their feet with broken chains.
While the tyrants sat a-scheming, they, instead of pious dreaming,
Hitched Emancipation's wagon to a star:
And the seal of their reliance, and the gage of their defiance,
Was the bullet-riddled carcass of a Czar.

And you'll find the counter-plotters, with a horde of foreign rotters,
In the land that hasn't time its wounds to lick!
You will find them just the same—minus manhood, minus shame—
At a foul and filthy game to turn the trick.
But the folk who work the double are the folk who strike the trouble;
Had I but a single rouble I would bet it,
That the knaves now teasing Bruin are INVITING blood and ruin—
And I hope it won't be long before they get it.

Economic Depression and Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

the state reported 139 job hunters for every 100 jobs in October, help is still wanted, but at lower wages and longer hours."

The Herald and Examiner of January 5, 1924, reports a trend for the worse: "Superintendent I. A. of the State Employment Agency, estimates 75,000 men out of work in Chicago alone and said there were 195 men for every 100 available jobs—nearly two to one."

And the latest report of the Illinois Department of Labor, which sums up the whole January situation, is again forced to announce a new aggravation in January as compared with December. The decline of employes in January was 2 per cent. "Probably the most important change during the 30 days has been the collapse of car building. The drop of 40 1-2 per cent in the slaughtering and meat packing industry was but little more than the average for all food industries. In the offices of the Illinois Free Employment Service in thirteen principal cities in the state, the excess labor supply in January was the largest that has been reported since early in 1922. Places could not be found for 10,000 applicants for jobs. There were in the state as a whole 166 applicants for each 100 jobs. This was measurably worse than at any time in 1923." The DAILY WORKER of January 31, 1924, reported that in Chicago: "A large number of the offices of the

labor agents which used to line West Madison street are closed because no one is hiring workers."

"Few Jobs Can Be Supplied."

The November and December reports of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin show that since August, month to month the number of employed workers fell, and in December reached a point 7 per cent below the peak of 1923.

The Federated Press reports from San Francisco: "Unemployment is rife in California, and the employment agencies are reaping a harvest." The Gompers agency, the International News Service reports: "Each day 5,000 men and 500 women apply for work at the Los Angeles City Employment Bureau. Do they get the jobs? What do they do when they don't get the jobs? Organizer George E. Bevan doesn't say except that: 'Few can be supplied.'" The Federated Press reports from New Orleans on February 2: "Conditions in this city from the standpoint of the workers are deplorable. Despite official reports, unemployment is on the increase."

The very important report of the New York State Department of Labor issued in the middle of February establishes the fact that unemployment is steadily growing in New York City too: "Employment went down about 1 per cent in New York factories in January. The three successive decreases in November, December and January have now brought the level of employment

somewhat lower than it was in January of last year."

IV.

All these figures do not give a complete picture of unemployment. All these statistics speak only of the factories and mines which were shut down and which discharged their workers or of establishments which work only part time and threw out a part of their workers. But beside this factor we must take into consideration five other factors, if we are to measure the magnitude of unemployment. These factors are:

1. The hundreds of thousands of farmers who have become bankrupt and have moved into the cities to become industrial workers.
2. The great migration of Negroes from the South to the industrial centers of the North and Middle West.
3. The immigration from Europe which, altho limited, increases the number of those seeking for work.
4. The immigration from Mexico which makes itself felt in the steel industry in Illinois especially.
5. The seasonal unemployment of agricultural workers and migratory road construction workers who in winter time are forced to seek work in cities and industrial centers.

All these factors make unemployment a mass phenomenon today.

V.

The economic depression, curtailment of production and unemployment is releasing a new offensive of capital against the workers. The power of resistance of the unions is

very much weakened because the workers drop out en masse. The bosses are making wage cuts everywhere and more and more generally. Most of the categories of workmen accept the wage cuts without any resistance (for instance, the completely demoralized railroad workers). Some categories put up some fight (the clothing workers). Other sections of workers again, are willing to continue the present wage rates in spite of the increasing cost of living (United Mine Workers). How the depression is wearing down the power of resistance of the workers is shown best by the January report of the Department of Labor: "Considerable numbers of wage increases have been reported each month of 1923, increasing rapidly each month from January to May, when 1,279 were reported, and then decreasing to 147 in October. During these months decreases in rates were reported from 1 to 9 establishments only, each month, but in November the decreases totalled in eleven industries." The number of strikes is ever decreasing as the depression and unemployment is growing. The report of the New York State Department of Labor says that there were 105 strikes in New York state in 1923. Sixty of the strikes were during the four-month period from March to June, each month thereafter showing a smaller number of strikes, with December "Making what was practically a record in industrial peace in this state."