

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

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SECOND SECTION  
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# Veterans of the Russian Revolution Meet

By M. A. SKROMNY.

An interesting meeting of old time political prisoners, in fact the oldest living ex-politicals, was held recently in Moscow. Most of them were of the Schlüsselburg group, that is, people who were imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, the Bastille of Russia. We are reproducing here some of them.

The younger comrades who think sometimes that the work in the movement is hard and tiresome, who sometimes become apathetic, may learn something from these veterans. Read their short life sketches. There is no fiction or poetry in them. Just dry facts. If we would tell of the horrors of the czarist Katorga, give the stories of the most terrible jails and of the work in the mines, that would probably add to the mental picture of the sufferings of these heroes of the revolution. But we did not want to make a "story" out of it. Just a short biographical sketch. Read it over.

The first one on top is Vera Figner, a member of the revolutionary movement since 1873. Was an active member of "Zemlia i Volia" and later of "Narodnaya Volia" (The Will of the People). Participated actively in the assassination of Alexander II, and all other activities of the organization. Was a member of the military committee, arrested in 1883. Given a death sentence, but it was changed to Kamorga (hard labor) for life. Was in prison 20 years. Liberated in 1904 and went abroad.

The first in the second row is Michael Frolenko. In the revolutionary movement since 1872. In 1878 he became a guard in the jail where the revolutionists Deitch, Stefanovich and Bochanovski were held for the purpose of liberating them. On May 27 of the same year he succeeded in leading them all out to freedom. He participated in all terroristic work of the Narodnaya Volia, including the assassination of Czar Alexander II. Arrested March 17, 1881. Sentenced to death, but the sentence was changed to life in Katorga (hard labor). Liberated by the revolution of 1905 and

went abroad. Was in jail 24 years and 8 months.

The second in the second row is Michael Novorusski. Joined the revolutionary movement in 1886. Arrested in 1887. Was accused of participating

in the attempt to assassinate Czar Alexander III. Sentenced to death. Sentence changed to life in Katorga. Was imprisoned 18 years and 6 months. Liberated by the revolution of 1905.

The third in the second row is Michael Shebalin, a member of the revolutionary movement since 1880. Was arrested in 1884 with an underground printing plant of the Narodnaya Volia. Sentenced to life in Katorga, but later changed to 12 years. Was in jail for 12 years. After that banished for life to Siberia. Was there for 10 years. Liberated by the revolution in 1905.

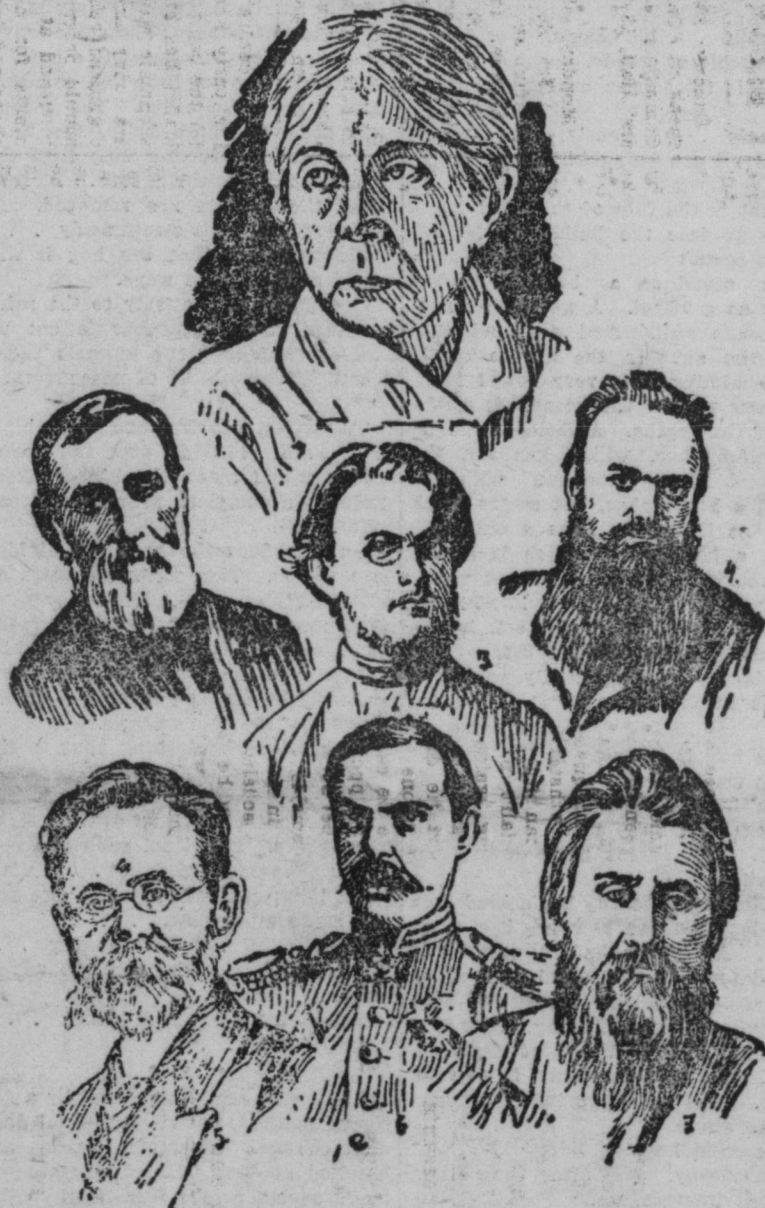
The first in the third row is Nicolai Morosov. Member of the revolutionary movement since 1874. First time arrested and sentenced in 1878. Participated actively in the terrorist work of the Narodnaya Volia. Arrested again in 1881. Sentenced to death. Sentence changed to 20 years Katorga. Was in jail a total of 29 years. Liberated by the revolution of 1905. Sentenced again to one year in the fortress in 1912 for a poem.

The second in the last row is Michael Aschenbrenner. Born in a family of "nobles." Member of the military organization of the Narodnaya Volia. In the revolutionary movement since 1879. Worked for the party in the army all over Russia. Arrested in March 1883 when 40 years old. Was a colonel in the army when arrested. Sentenced to death by hanging, but sentence was changed to life in Katorga. In 1896 sentence changed again to 20 years. Liberated in September 1904. Was in jail 22 years.

The third in the last row is Dimitri Surovzev, son of a priest. In the movement since 1874. Was arrested and banished to Siberia in 1876. Escaped in 1878. Arrested again in 1882 in Odessa. Sentenced to 15 years Katorga. Served all 15 years. After that, in 1896, banished for life to Siberia. Remained there 19 years.

This is, in short, the story of the above comrades who were among the first to raise the banner of revolt against czarism in Russia. While they were in the jails at hard labor, their comrades kept up the fight which finally resulted in victory, in the overthrow of czarism and capitalism and the establishment of the first workers' and peasants' Soviet republic in the world.

## EX-POLITICALS OF RUSSIA



By N. SEMASCHKO

Chairman of the Central Council for Physical Culture.

THE Soviet Union is the country of the worker. The Soviet Union is surrounded by bourgeois enemies. These two features which characterize the position of the Soviet Union determine its immediate tasks regarding physical culture.

The foundation of the Soviet system is labor. The most important duty of the republic of the workers is therefore to maintain the working capacity of the population, and preserve and develop the young sources of creative power of the country. Physical culture in our Union chiefly serves this purpose and aims in this direction.

The bourgeois-capitalist environment is another factor which induces us to devote a corresponding attention to the development of the protective power of our army. As it is, our army is at present built up on the territorial principle. It is, as a matter of fact, a part of the working population. The first task (improving the health of the population) is thus inseparably linked with the second (increasing the fighting capacity of the army).

The tsarist system has bequeathed us a very burdensome inheritance as regards to physical culture. Tsarist Russia was a country with a tremendously high rate of mortality: about

three million persons died every year. The chief causes of death were the so-called "everyday illnesses", the various forms of typhoid fever, cholera, smallpox, infantile diarrhoea, and syphilis, which was not due to sexual intercourse. About twenty-five per cent of all diseases were such "everyday" illnesses. In a population so backward in culture the most elementary hygienic habits were lacking.

Handicapped by such an inheritance, the Soviet government had to train the population in physical culture.

The sense of the necessity for physical culture seized hold of the widest circles of the active workers. It is only a year since the Central Council for Physical Culture at the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive was founded, and already, on a moderate estimate, millions of workers are practising various forms of physical exercise. The youths were the first to respond to this call. The C. Y. P. A. R. (Communist Youth League of Russia) was a pioneer of the idea of physical culture. At every congress of the C. Y. P. A. R. members were urged to take a really active part in this movement, and there is at present no group of the C. Y. P. A. R.

which does not, in some form or other, take part more or less in the general movement.

The trade unions also have taken up keenly the idea of physical culture. They grasped at once that physical culture is, for the workers, the fundamental prerequisite for their personal well-being and for the improvement of the national economy. The trade unions also had a decisive influence on the nature of the physical exercises. For the workers, physical culture is not a means to hypertrophy in one particular direction (and therefore injurious)—it is no bourgeois sport which produces champions with strong fists and weak brains. Physical culture in a workers' state is a powerful means for the harmonious development of the mental and physical forces of man. The physical exercises are also intended to counterbalance the injurious sides of certain occupations. Thus, for occupations which involve for instance the breathing in of dust, noxious vapours, etc., exercises are organized which differ from those for occupations associated with abnormal positions of the body (carpenters, turners, shoemakers, etc.) The idea of physical culture has become popular among the troops.

## Physical Culture In U.S.S.R.

Physical exercises are a part of the system of military training. In this way the ideas of physical culture not only permeate the Red Army, but are also carried by the territorial divisions to the towns and villages of our extensive Union.

The Soviet physical culture has no easy fight against the remains of the old bourgeois sport (even now this struggle has not come to an end). We are of course not opposed to sport. On the contrary, we regard sport as one of the most important factors in the development of the body. We are, however, opposed to sport which does not promote health, but cripples the individual; we disapprove of sport which does not promote human feelings in man but turns him into a brute.

In order, however, to direct the physical training in this way towards a "eugenic" goal, the goal of the harmonious development of all the forces of the individual, it was necessary to form a staff of well trained instructors. The State Institute for Physical Culture of the People's Commissariat for Health has undertaken this task and, during the six years of its existence, has specially educated several hundred doctors and pedagogues for this function and, in short training courses, has prepared special instructors for various factories and assigned them for this purpose to the factories in question.

The All-Russian Congress of the  
(Continued on page 8)

# The Stockyards

By JOHN LASSEN

I asked a worker where the stockyards are and how I could best reach them. He tells me by the street car line and says that I could read in the car with tranquility—"As soon as we get near it, you will smell it right away."

What he said was true.

A terrific, pervading stench enveloped the car. A stench that bursts into the nose, that penetrates the brain and remains there a long time. One feels it for days. When one eats, when one goes in the street, when one sees meat.

Seen from outside, the neighborhood of the stockyards would not attract special notice. A broad street. Animation. The offices of the stockyards. The cattle market. Officials. Police. Inspection stations for the cattle. A division for the department of agriculture. In the street, mounted messengers gallop by, and I notice also a saddle factory.

Suddenly a loud bellow pierces the air. A dead ox in a cart. Bloody and dirty. And another dead ox. It may have died on the way.

The stench which infects the air over a stretch of ten blocks, grows stronger and stronger in the broad street. And the number of mounted messengers grows continually. The rhythm of life increases from one moment to the next. Now a line of carts crosses the street—the carts are like prairie dogs. The line of carts is loaded with manure which is transported from the cattle pens for freighting.

All of a sudden a horrible bellowing makes the air tremble. This is not the bellow of cattle pasturing on the open prairies of the wild west. The animals seem to feel that what is happening here is the beginning of the end. The bellowing spreads. It mixes with other sounds coming out of the depths.

The cattle are crowded in pens. The watering troughs are connected by canals.

Cattle, cattle everywhere.

All of America's cattle seem to have been driven here. And now the cattle stand here. Penned up. Bellowing. Waiting for the last moment. There is no rescue from these enclosures. Men come. Terrible to look upon with their clubs. These men push in among the cattle. The closely crowded cattle. And they swing their hard clubs. The defenseless, abandoned beasts look up at them with fright in their eyes.

Now comes a troop of cowboys. Noisy. Yelling. The cowboys yell here in Chicago the same as in the wild west. The cattle hesitate a moment at first, then they rear. They defend themselves, and their bellowing breaks out like a veritable hurricane.

The cattle are in commotion. They strain in the direction of a bridge. The bridge bears a resemblance to the bridges of Venice. It connects the two sidewalks and vaults over the street in an arch. This is the bridge of sighs. A cowboy yells. One of the cattle bellows. The many cattle trot in that direction. Even the bridge seems to have acquired a voice. It is as if the tones do not break out of the animals, but that the bridge itself were wailing, bellowing, sobbing. The cattle push on.

A few minutes later the railroad trains spit out new loads. The enclosures fill up again.

Mounted messengers gallop by in the street.

A little further off are the sheep. Not all of these go to the death machines today. Three men stand in the midst of the herd. A red, chalky substance in the hand. Every animal on which the red mark is stamped lives its last day. Do the sheep know it? Terrible fear quivers in their eyes, the horror of the unknown. A struggle begins. The sheep want to flee from the red mark. They rear. They want to break thru and away over the bodies of other sheep. They want to hide.

But whither?

There is no refuge.

If a sheep is picked out by the man's eye, it is lost.

The animals are driven from the enclosures.

The sheep push forward in the street.

The odor becomes unbearable. Here is the assembling point for hogs. The grunting does not stop for a moment. Just as piercing as their odor.

The hogs get nothing to eat before their slaughter, for it is easier to work on them this way.

The hogs are hungry, they burrow eagerly in the ground. They too, are filled with uneasiness. Death hangs here in the air. A yelling bursts out. The hogs start moving. They are counted. The line seems never to end. It is the last road.

The hogs hasten forward in the street.

Beasts . . . beasts. . .  
A jumble of people.  
One is tired from seeing and hearing.

Beasts . . . beasts. . .  
And all are being killed.

What is the fate of the hog?  
We go into the building.

The scene:

We stand on a bridge. Underneath us a wheel. A wheel that never stands still. And a sound cuts thru the air. In the din which is overwhelming, this very sound itself becomes part of the scene. It comes out of the depths. A shrieking sound of self-defense, which has not the slightest bit in common with the sound a hog makes, but seems much more as if coming from a child. A child, a little child, which is in the neighboring house, and whose shrill, bitter entreaty gives the same feeling as if on a feverish night one is tormented by the impression that a criminal is just getting ready to cut a child's throat.

The hog is hanging in the air.  
The wheel turns.

The hog is seen swinging on the turning wheel, the constantly moving wheel. And chains hang down from the wheel.

A Negro seizes the hog's hind legs. One does not see how the hog came down. A cry breaks out now. The hog defends itself. And the wheel revolves. Revolves without a stop and pulls the animal along. Now it is in the air with the hind legs upward. And it suddenly is struck dumb. It is bound against the wheel and is dumb.

A second hog.  
Ceaselessly, one after the other, without interruption.

Thirty head a minute. Two seconds are enough for one hog. The wheel revolves. Does not stop an instant. The chain pulls past, the ever-revolving chain which comes ever back again.

The stunned animal with head hanging towards the ground reaches the first man. No halt is made here either. The wheel revolves. The chain pulls past. Rolls on. The eternal chain. Together with the hog. It is still living, but is completely stunned. It gets the death blow from the first man.

This is a powerful Negro. A knife in his hand, shod in high rubber boots.

With the knife he pierces the heart of the hog. Thirty hogs a minute. The Negro stands in blood. He drips blood. The room in which this goes on is in the form of a basin. The blood has a fearful odor. The blood spurting in every direction. The blood in which they wade here.

The room is red. The man is red. From the red blood.

It is a question of always making the same movement. One must be skillful, quick. One must guess exactly the place where to stab. The wheel revolves. Thirty hogs must be slaughtered in a minute.

Blood . . . blood. . .

The Negro looks up a moment. Two hogs still alive are dangling from the chain against each other. He must hurry. He must make the movement more quickly. The Negro is red. Drips with blood. His hands.

His face. His boots. His cap. His overalls. Everything here drips with blood.

From the enclosure nearby can still be heard a last rattle. Here, however, only blood prevails.

The hog is already dead now. The chain swings off, and the animal together with it.

A long way still lies ahead of it.

On this floor it has to move further on along a winding route. The men sit here along the chain in two long rows. The dangling hog moves past them. Six hundred men work in this one big room. The room seems to stretch off into infinity.

Every worker has a single motion to perform. Here, too, there is no pause. Everyone must do his own work with the same speed with which the hog is slaughtered. Thirty movements in one minute. The same movement thirty times. Exact to a hair.

The hog moves in quick measure from one to the other. The second man splits open the belly, the third has to make a further cut; then the intestines have their turn. At one point the bristles are removed. At the next the dirt is swept away.

Further than that the hog is disposed of in various ways.

One part goes entirely to the refrigerating room. Another is cut up and dressed. To the animals themselves this should be of no concern.

The chain reaches one floor higher up, still loaded with the hogs. Those which reach the highest floor undergo a complete process of treatment.

On this floor the hogs are divided into pieces. This work too, goes on at a breathless pace. Here they work with axes. Moving tables advance the meat further on. The axes whizz downwards. Always on the same place. The fat is cut away. Every piece has the same shape.

From there everything goes to the salting rooms, where the separate pieces remain thirty-six hours.

In the packing rooms again a flood of workers. Here too, each one performs a single movement . . . without a let-up, without a pause, one and the same movement.

Swift & Co. . . Best quality . . . That is the way the meat is advertised.

The meat . . . the bloody . . . bloody meat. . .

The cattle are slaughtered by a different method, but the essential does not change. Fourteen cattle are handled at once. Here too, the way leads over a bridge from upon which the whole room can be surveyed. Here too, the men are bloody. And the floor is bloody. The axe is bloody.

Fourteen cattle are awaiting their turn. There are two cattle in each of seven enclosures. They do not bellow. At least their bellowing is not audible.

It is so far off.

Hurry up!

Everything is ready. The chains. The people. The axes. Twelve o'clock is near. The men are already tired. The big, broad-shouldered men drag themselves on, bent over. Their clothes stick to their bodies. The blood has already oozed thru their clothes. The blood drips even from their caps. They wade thru the blood.

The poor men are dead tired.

But the working time is not yet over. Another bit must still be done. Their mouths move constantly. They chew tobacco and spit from time to time.

Strained waiting.  
A signal sounds.

The trapdoors fly open. The cattle. The cattle stand with their legs planted wide apart. Their eyes—those great cattle's eyes—stare rigidly, stare at the scene before them. The bloody people. The shreds of meat hanging from the axes. The lifeless cattle's heads. The lumps of meat. The chunks of meat.

An ox wails. Walls in the most literal sense of the word. Walls! This sound has nothing of the animal about it. And now the other thirteen wail too.

In vain.

Still they do not give up without a struggle. That would be contrary to the nature of a living being. The will to live, which every creature has.

The ox stumbles.

The men start up.

The axe strikes downward.

The animal still writhes.

It is all in vain.

Blood spurts. Hot blood. It streams

over the men. A bright red.

Blood runs from the axes. Blood

runs from the hands of the men.

Poor, tired men drag themselves

bloody thru the blood. . .

Everything here smells of blood.

Even the chewing tobacco tastes of

blood. Even the spit seems to be

blood.

The room exhales blood.

And the poor bloody human bodies

moving about the bloody animal

bodies are ever inhaling the bloody

air.

The beasts, the people, the room,

everything, everything exhales blood.

The chain clicks.

The bloody animal's body swings

up into the air. The tired, bloody

men's bodies pounce upon the animal.

They slit open its belly with a single

motion.

The intestines burst out.

. . . .

A man fetches off the intestines in

a small cart. The excrement, the

dirt, which fell out of the body thru

the opening, is shoveled together.

The intestines are carried away

in small carts; the animals are skinned.

All who work here, are already

tired, very, very tired. They can

hardly drag themselves forward.

The piercing, heavy smell of blood

settles on the chest. . . .

. . . .

The work goes on in rhythm.

The fast work.

Even we are tired, altho we have

only looked on.

Now it is the turn of the refrigerating

rooms. Before we step in, every

one pulls up his collar. It is very

cold here. We seem accustomed al-

ready to the smell of blood and flesh.

The refrigerating room offers a hell-

ish sight.

It is almost impossible to see the

end of the immense room. The meat

hangs from hooks. The bloody meat.

One sees nothing else than meat,

fresh meat, as it had just been hung

up. Bloody and red. An endless mass.

Meat, meat, meat. . . .

. . . .

Noon rings.

Lunch.

The steel arms of the tired, bloody

people sink down. Then faintness

takes possession of their muscles.

The meal is eaten in the building.

The dining room is there. The smell

of blood prevails where the people

work; the smell of blood prevails

where they eat. Even their stomachs

feel it. With tired, but nevertheless

with quick step the bloody people go

on. They are going to eat.

. . . .

On the floor below there is also a

lunchroom. The officials come here.

And visitors also come here.

I go along.

But the blood follows me. The

smell of blood.

Everything smells of blood. I no

longer feel the smell of dung at all.

It has succumbed to the smell of

blood. I only feel the blood which is

unavoidable.

I fetch myself a plate of food. I

get corned beef and cabbage.

I move forward mechanically.

I bite into the meat.

Blood . . . blood . . . blood.

The smell, the taste.

I take a bit of cabbage with the

end of the fork into my mouth.

Blood . . . blood . . . blood.

The smell, the taste.

I set down knife and fork.

I close my eyes.

Blood . . . blood . . . blood.

. . . .

The hogs weep.

The cattle weep.

The poor, tired, bloody people

weep. . . .

I flee.

# Mr. Pickwick on Communism

Bernard Shaw's Excellent Satire on British "Socialism."

By KARL RADEK.

**B**ERNARD Shaw was asked by Izvestia to express his opinion concerning Anglo-Soviet relations after the fall of the labor government. Izvestia approached Bernard Shaw as a sincere friend of Soviet Russia, evidently overlooking the fact that he is at the same time, one of the greatest satirists in the world. The result is that a reply was received equally valuable both from the standpoint of politics and literature. Bernard Shaw is a first class satirist, not only when he directs his arrows against the philistinism and prudery of the British bourgeoisie, but also in his reply, he presents an excellent picture of the poverty of thought, the philistinism and the national narrowmindedness of the best of the British petty bourgeoisie.

In publishing his satire in the Daily Herald, the organ of the British labor party, and wishing completely to camouflage it, Bernard Shaw expressed the fear that Izvestia would not dare to publish his "article". The Daily Herald in publishing the article in full, stated that the author is exceedingly well able to mystify his readers; but we are convinced that the very first number of the Daily Herald falling into the hands of the more intelligent readers, would immediately expose the scheme of the brilliant satirist and would cause a hearty laugh at the expense of Mr. Hamilton Fyfe. Mr Bernard Shaw's new satire is ten times more excellent than his "St. Joan," for it takes as its subject, not the religious prejudices of the middle ages, but the burning questions of reality. It is reported that Bernard Shaw was not pleased with the manner in which "St. Joan" was produced at the Kamerny Theatre in Moscow. I hope that I have grasped his idea better than Tairov, the Kamerny producer.

Bernard Shaw on the Comedy of the MacDonald Labor Government in England.

**B**ernard Shaw commences his satire by words of consolation addressed to Soviet Russia:

"Don't be afraid of Baldwin and Chamberlain, don't be afraid of the conservative government, they are businesslike fellows. MacDonald dare not even look over the hedge but Baldwin would steal a horse. MacDonald dare not grant Soviet Russia a loan, and actually come to an agreement. If economic facts press with sufficient firmness upon Baldwin he will be 'Marxist' enough to draw all the political conclusions. You see to it that the economic relations between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world are strengthened. Wait, and Mahomed will come to the mountain."

Can a more witty satire, on the British labor government be imagined than this from the pen of Bernard Shaw? Picture to yourself: Bernard Shaw, member of the labor party, and friend of MacDonald comes forward and says to the British workers: Rapprochement with Soviet Russia is one of the central questions of the world, one of the central questions affecting the international proletariat. Fortunately, the economic interests of the British bourgeoisie demand the improvement of relations with the Union of Soviet Republics. MacDonald and the labor government could have taken up the fight on this question, if they had only dared. But they lost their heads and quailed before the camorra of foreign office officials and the professional prisoners of public opinion of the yellow press. Baldwin could and would dare to steal a horse, but these cowards dared not even look over the hedge. How then can they lead you to the fight for emancipation from the domination of capitalism? Why, in that fight, it will be necessary not only to look over a hedge, but over a barricade.

One can recognize the genius of the satirist at the first stroke.

Concerning Moses, Marx, Wells and English Simpletons.

**I**NDICATING by a motion of his eyebrows the direction in which he intends to direct his arrows, Mr.

Bernard Shaw strives to give us a description of the philosophy of the British—pardon the expression—socialist intelligentsia. He says to us: If you wish to know where we get our MacDonalds, look where these gentlemen get their philosophy:

"You Russian Bolsheviks were brought up on Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels lived in England in the pre-imperialist days when the British Empire was not as great as it is today and when capitalism was only in its first stride. Poor Marx, too poor to buy a postage stamp, or newspapers, was obliged to study in the British Museum the whole history of capitalism; the whole history of England, and the whole history of England's foreign policy. There is not a single English economist whom he did not know. There is not a single English philosopher whom he did not study, there is not a single secret of British foreign policy into which he did not penetrate. His trousers were ragged, he could not go to five o'clock tea to freethinking ladies of both sexes in English society. But, in the quietude of his study he learned all the secrets of capitalism and of the premier capitalist state. Engels, obliged to engage in commerce, studied not only biology, but also the anatomy of capitalist England and helped his great friend in the study of all the details of the mechanism—of the great apparatus for exploiting the world—the British Empire. And what did the British so-called intelligentsia understand of Marx and Engels? Hyndman tried to make of the great doctrines of Marx something in the nature of a collection of worthless recipes, a cookery book of revolution, but he failed to link it up with the vital work of the masses. And the MacDonalds and the Snowdens?—they discovered the the living stream of the British labor movement, but they did nothing but render it turbid with the bourgeois mud they brought to it. Although they had at their disposal the life work of Marx, they studied economics from Marshall and John Stuart Mill who taught that competition would defeat monopoly: they learn sociology from Spencer the last descendant of Robinson Crusoe. They imbibed their philosophy from parsons. What results could one expect? These people regard Mr. Wells as a great thinker because he hashed up a history of man, from Pithecanthropus Erectus to MacDonald. It is a tremendous work, it has all about the stone-age and about the Great Mogul and about Queen Victoria. But what sort of science does this historian present to man with this hash of herring, whipped cream and Scotch whiskey. The 'little' Communist Manifesto of 20 pages was a contribution to the history of man concerning not only what had been in the past, but what would be in the future. It gave a key to humanity: it lighted up like a searchlight its future history. And you Bolsheviks holding in your hands the torch of Marx were able to see how competition gave birth to monopoly, how class antagonisms were becoming more acute, how this led to world revolution. Meanwhile the MacDonalds and the Snowdens armed with the works of Wells and their guides to 'constructive socialism' with their Fabian text books under their arms waited for the class antagonisms to die out, for capitalism to grow into socialism, for the era of peace and for the time when liberalism will become permeated with socialism, when the war broke they became terrified by the thunder of the guns: they shed copious tears over the bloodshed, but they were incapable of teaching the workers how to overthrow the domination of the class which flung the British and the world proletariat into the horrors of the war, which drove Welsh miners to the deserts of Kut-el-Amar, to the graves of Gallipoli, to the forest of Archangel and the tundras of Siberia. Some of them, frightened by the war shed tears and wrung their hands; others more scared by the prospect of revolution flung themselves on their knees before Moloch and themselves brought sacrifices to him.

"I, Bernard Shaw, have not studied Marx, but you will remember how

I exposed the war in my 'Arms and the Man.' If you think that I wrote only about the Bulgar-Serbian war, then read the articles I wrote at the beginning of the war on 'The British Lion on the Edge of a Precipice' (?) Or my pamphlets published prior to the Versailles Conference. But these other fellows understand nothing, they laugh at Marx as if he were a queer relic of the Victorian age, and fail to see that they are laughing at themselves. Mr. Wells wrote a book entitled: 'Mr. Britling Sees it Through' but he could have written a better one entitled 'Mr. Pickwick, Socialism and War'. These simpletons, these intellectual cowards and heroes of phrases ridicule you, ridicule the young British Communists who are striving to take possession of the only weapon capable of destroying the British bourgeoisie, and call them pupils of Moscow. Stupid asses, they fail to realize that all their lives they have been merely pupils in Sunday schools of the British bourgeoisie."

Bernard Shaw says all this with incomparable art. The author takes up the role of the hero in a petty-bourgeois socialist comedy of errors: he speaks in the name of the British philistine intellectuals in order to express their thoughts clearly as MacDonald, Snowden, Webb and Wells could never formulate to them, for they fear even to express their cowardly thoughts.

Factors Which Exist and Factors Which Should Not Exist.

**A**FTER this brilliant gem of satirical humor at the expense of the philosophy of the "socialist" intelligentsia of England, Bernard Shaw presents in a new setting a picture which is frequently drawn in his satires. Bernard Shaw is an Irishman and therefore is better able than anyone else in England to ridicule the Englishman's conceit, in other words, the attitude the Englishman takes in regarding himself as the center of the universe, as not having any connection with the external world and his demand that the only relation that the external world shall have to England, is that of a worshipper and slave. In one of his dramas Bernard Shaw pictures a young Englishman of good family who travels in Europe after leaving the university. It is well-known that a young Englishman of good family would dress for dinner, even if he was stranded on an uninhabited island and had to dine alone. On the ship, however, where he dined with Germans, he wore his lounge suit. In reply to his tutor's query as to why he did not preserve the good old British customs, the young man said: "I am going to dine with foreigners." The most witty Austrian writer and statesman, Pernesdorfer, relates that once on the Danube he met a young English woman and, like the gallant gentleman he was, he offered her his services, explaining that, as she was a foreigner, she no doubt required his aid. The pert young English miss retorted: "I, a foreigner—No, you are a foreigner." Since England is the axis of the universe, it follows that all those who are not English, are foreigners, Englishmen however, are never foreigners anywhere. On one occasion, I was visited by a young and not very clever English diplomat, who had long lived in Russia and had traveled abroad generally. He was surprised at the fact that it was necessary to secure a pass to enter the Kremlin, and the Kremlin, as is known, is the headquarters of our government. When I asked him whether I could enter Buckingham Palace or Downing street straight from the street without permission, he looked at me in astonishment as if to say, how can one compare the formalities that are required to enter a royal palace in England or the premises of the British government with what is required for the Kremlin? For an Englishman there are two categories of facts, those that exist in England and those which are known to exist somewhere in other countries. Before British facts, even if it is the stupid wig of the speaker of the house of commons, one must bow, all the rest can be regarded as none exist-

ing; if they desire to be recognized, let them go down on their knees before the highly respected British facts, and then perhaps, they may be favored with the latter's gracious observation.

All his life Bernard Shaw has been scourging and ridiculing his slave-owners' outlook of the British, inculcated into them by centuries of training. In his letter in "Izvestia", he desired to show that even the so-called socialist intelligentsia, as well as the entire British bourgeoisie, were imbued with this imperialist arrogance and conceit. And how charmingly he exposes them.

On behalf of this intelligentsia, Shaw says to the Soviet Union and to the Comintern: Messrs. Russian Communists, chuck this Comintern, really it is just a cinema farce. The idea of a world revolution is all nonsense. You have made a revolution in an enormous country, but that fact is of much less importance than the displeasure which your revolution has caused to the British lords. How do you expect to live if our lords do not please to consent to this? The intervention did not work out, they failed to crush you. But if they did not kill you with bullets—they will kill you with pounds. Stop agitating, calm down, submit. Mr. Rakovsky has remembered that at one time he could wear a dress coat. He eats and handles a knife and fork quite like a respectable person. Make this general. Stop messing about with Cominterns and such like, and behave like respectable people. What? You say that the Comintern has nothing to do with the Soviet government? Well, perhaps someone will believe it. But why should you have anything to do with this Comintern even privately? Remember revolution is a serious business. Chuck these stories out of old romantic pamphlets and sensational cinema films. You talk about revolution in China, about 400,000,000 human beings taking the broad historical path and shaking the whole world. Yes, our learned Bertrand Russell and our clever Wells have also chattered about this; a writer writes and a reader reads. But our lords, except for a few freaks, do not read anything, and consequently world revolution doesn't concern them. Do we not keep 300,000,000 Indians in subjection? When the time comes, we will prohibit the Chinese revolution. Look at these Egyptians; they too attempted to show British imperialism that there was an Egyptian revolution. Well, how did their little game end? For one British officer they had to pay 500,000 pounds, although that officer was not even a lord. Moreover, they lost the Sudan, and that's what they got out of revolution. Only British facts exists, the facts of British might—all the rest is just nonsense, romance and cinema acting. Real politics takes no notice of romantic raving, but crawls on its belly before British imperialism.

Perhaps the reader will think that this, Bernard Shaw's satire is overdrawn. Nothing of the kind. The entire so-called "socialist" intelligentsia has been trained to worship British imperialism. It worships it even when it thinks it is fighting it. At a certain conference of three internationals, I had occasion to take up the cudgels against a friend of Bernard Shaw, Ramsay MacDonald. When the latter at this conference brought forward the program of liberating the Russian border countries as a socialist program, I asked him why he had forgotten Egypt and India. Publicly he made no reply, but at dinner, he confessed that it was very difficult for an Englishman to abandon the idea that all that lies in the English belly, is all right. When Mr. MacDonald came to power, he hastened to prepare more food for the British stomach; he spread his nets in South Persia and made preparations for intervention in China. No, Bernard Shaw is not exaggerating in the least. His satire hits straight at the mark, right in the very midst of the British socialist intelligentsia which is imbued

(Continued on page 6)

# Present Political Life in China

THE political life in China is being shaken by two events, the effects of which will be felt not only in China but also in the imperialist states.

These are firstly the counter-revolutionary movement of the merchants and the rich farmers of the south of China, where at the present moment the leader of the national-revolutionary party, the Kuomintang, the famous Sun-Yat-Sen, is in power; and secondly, the conflict between the military governors of the provinces of central China, Chekyang and Kyansu. The Imperialist War Against the National Revolutionary Movement in the South of China.

In order to understand these events it is necessary to throw light on the facts which preceded them. At the end of August last, telegraphic communication was received from China to the effect that the government of Sun-Yat-Sen had captured a vessel with a cargo of arms, traveling from a British port in the principal city of the Kwantung province for a British commercial agent in China named Lin-Puck. This merchant is the head of a merchants' militia, established to protect the property of the Chinese merchants in the Kwantung province.

At a conference of this militia held in May, it was resolved to centralize all the detachments. This was a symptom of the preparations being made by the Chinese merchants jointly with the rich farmers and with the support of the British imperialists for a rising against the national revolutionary party and against Sun-Yat-Sen.

The relative strength of the Kuomintang government party and the merchant forces was such that Sun-Yat-Sen did not dare disarm these counter-revolutionary detachments. Moreover, both the Kuomintang party and Sun-Yat-Sen himself, owing to their failure to understand the process of class differentiation taking place in the social basis of the national movement, did not observe the serious danger this merchants' militia represented. Sun-Yat-Sen even believed that he could gradually subordinate these detachments to himself without having to resort to violence. He thought he would be able to use them in his fight against the reactionary general who was being supported by the British imperialists.

Sun-Yat-Sen did not see the intellectual connection between the reactionary movements of this general and the preparation being made for the rising of the merchants, and for that reason he failed to see the organizational connection between General Chin-Chun-Ming's staff and the staff of the merchant's militia.

He failed to take into account the fact that behind the whole of this counter-revolutionary movement in south China stood the government of J. Ramsay MacDonald; but the seizure of the cargo of arms, the boycott organized by the merchants in Canton, the note despatched by the British consul to Sun-Yat-Sen's civil governor, and finally the arrival of British cruisers and gun-boats in Canton waters, revealed to Dr. Sun the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the Chinese merchants and British imperialists.

In a telegram addressed to J. Ramsay MacDonald on Sept. 5, Sun-Yat-Sen says the following:

"Dear Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the chief of the Hong Kong-Shanghai Banking corporation has organized a detachment of so-called fascists, the object of which is to overthrow my government. This aim is to be achieved after these rebels have been well armed and with the aid of arms and munitions imported from Europe on board the steamship Gaff. This steamer arrived in Canton on 10th August, and was immediately arrested by my government. Since then a state of rebellion has arisen in Canton under the guise of a strike organized by rebels and other counter-revolutionaries. When I decided to take measures against the rebels, the British consul-general sent to my government the following letter: "I have received a communication

from the commander of the British naval forces in which he informs me that he has orders from Hong Kong to the effect that in the event of the Chinese authorities bombarding Canton, he was to take measures against them."

"In view of the diplomatic and financial support which the British government has constantly rendered to the Chinese counter-revolution, and in view also of the fact that my government at the present time is the only centre of resistance to this counter-revolution, I am compelled to conclude that the aim of this ultimatum is to overthrow my government. I most strongly protest against this latest act of imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of China.

## "SUN-YAT-SEN."

What principally caused the British imperialists to reveal their role as initiators of counter-revolution in China, was the consolidation of the Chinese bourgeoisie side by side with the growing revolutionary temper of the masses of the poor in the towns and the countryside of southern China.

The congress of workers and artisans of Canton, with its two million population, which has held almost simultaneously with the congress of Chinese militia shows that the Chinese masses are rapidly acquiring class consciousness and will force the democratic Kuomintang towards the left.

The Kwantung province is important as a revolutionary place d'armes not only for China but also for the islands on the coast of the Pacific, as was shown by the conference of Transport Workers of the Pacific, held in Canton last June. This could not but be taken account of by the imperialists and particularly by the British imperialists who are most interested in this part of China, and who have the most "sensitive" colonizing apparatus.

On the other hand the recognition by the central government of China in Peking (which has an Anglo-American orientation) of the Soviet government in spite of the efforts of the imperialists to prevent it was beginning to have its effects thruout the whole of China in increasing the anti-imperialist movement in literally every province. The league to combat imperialism recently organized caused a rushing tide of sympathy in favor of the national-liberation movement in the south of China, and a similar tide of hatred was set in motion against all the enslaving treaties of the imperialists which degraded and savagely exploited the Chinese people.

Apparently, the British government decided by armed force to break the movement for emancipation in China. It had nothing good for itself to expect in China in the near future, and therefore hastened to apply force, not caring what methods were applied in its haste.

What has been said represents only one aspect of the question and refers to south China, principally the Kwantung province, with its population of 30,000,000.

## Events in Central and North China

Simultaneously with the events in south China a sanguinary struggle is being fought out in central China, and as is evident from latest telegraphic communications, the principal forces of China are being drawn into it; from the south central China and northern China, including also the three northern provinces of Manchuria. The immediate cause for the quarrel between the military governors of Kyangsu, Marshal Chi-Sun-Yang and the governor-general of the province of Chekyan, Lu-Yung-Siang, is the dispute over the administration of Shanghai, the most important commercial centre in China, having a population of one and a half millions, and is the most important strategic center in the China Sea.

Shanghai is in the province of Kyangsu, but when the former military governor of this province became the governor of the neighboring province of Chekyan, he retained the administrative control of Shanghai in his own hands, and appointed one of his adherents to the position of chief of police. The controversy between the governors of these two provinces over

the administration of Shanghai is of long standing, but until this moment it has never led to armed conflict. This is partly due to the fact that both Kyangsu and Chekyan are the two richest provinces in the country, having an enormous commerce, and providing large revenues not only for the imperialist but also for the Chinese merchants. The most important commercial towns in modern China are also included in these provinces, such as Shanghai, Nanking, Chang-Chow and Hank-Chow. Consequently the outbreak of civil war in these provinces would mean the severance of one of the most important nerves of the commerce and industry of the country. To the extent that the fight between the Chinese generals depended upon the influence of the various imperialist groups, and to the extent also that the Chinese commercial bourgeoisie could bring financial pressure on these generals, they strove to remove the field of conflict from these provinces.

Sufficiently strong causes must be in operation, from the point of view of the imperialists, for them to permit the fight to open directly on these territories.

It should be observed that the idea that it is as easy for the imperialists at the present day to set the various Chinese generals against each other, as it was soon after the revolution in 1911, is an erroneous one. Undoubtedly, the partition of China into spheres of economic influence by the imperialists facilitates the wars between the Chinese military governors. But on the other hand, the imperialists back one or other of the warlords of China in accordance with the real strength he commands, and that is not always determined by the amount of support given by the imperialists.

Civil war in China depends now not only on imperialist intervention but also on internal economic processes. Thus for instance, Sun-Yat-Sen's base in southern China is consolidating more and more, while the base of the militarist, Chan-Tso-Ling in the three northern corn provinces, is also becoming more firmly established, thus establishing him as a military factor in the Chinese civil war.

From the viewpoint of the national factors of China, the conflict between the two military governors of the provinces of Yyansu and Chekyan may be looked upon as a conflict between the militarist Cihili clique on the one hand, and the Fyntiang clique together with the adherents of the Anhui club on the other hand. Marshal Wu-Pei-Fu is at the head of the former. He was formerly its military commander and is at present the official president of the Chinese republic of Tsao-Kung. The latter is headed by Marshal Chang-Tso-Ling and by the oldest politician of China—the reactionary Tuan-Tsi-Chui. Both these cliques have their supporters, the governors of the provinces of central and southern China. In the present conflict the Ksiang-Si, Anhui and Fukiang will evidently support the Chili party, while Chan-Tso-Ling has already had negotiations with the representative of Sun-Yat-Sen who has supporters in some parts of the Yunang, Gutch-housk and Ruah provinces. Thus, there is every prospect that the conflict will develop into a general civil national war. The reasons which might draw Sun-Yat-Sen into this conflict consist in the fact that the Chili clique is a direct menace to him, while the sphere of influence of the Fyntiang groups and of the adherents of the former Anhui club is geographically remote from the Kwantung province. Both Sun-Yat-Sen and Chang-Tso-Ling are fully aware that in the event of their victory over the Chili party, a conflict between them is inevitable.

## Sun-Yat-Sen and the Fight of the Generals

The question arises what caused this fight between the militarist cliques and in how far the leader of the national-revolutionary party can be interested in the support of one clique against the other. The answer to the first question is the whole history of civil war in China, from the time of the revolution of 1911, when China, after its dismemberment by the imperialists, began to be governed by

the so-called Tuchun system, namely by military governors general. Since then China practically ceased to exist as a united empire and became divided into a number of subsidiary principalities. As to the second question, it can be answered by the fact that the movement headed by Sun-Yat-Sen and directed towards the abolition of this Tuchun system is drawing him inevitably into a conflict with this or that military clique, sometimes joining forces with one of them against the other, as strategic considerations require. But the fundamental difference between Sun-Yat-Sen's fight and the fight of the militarists consists in the fact that, in the process of this fight, he is emancipating the Chinese masses within the sphere of his influence.

We cannot study the civil war in China only from the point of view of national factors, for it is intertwined with the fight for power between the imperialists who are using the Chinese imperialists as their medium.

In the present case the fight of the Chili clique against other militarist cliques is tantamount to a fight of the Anglo-American capitalists against the relics of the influence of Japanese imperialists, who in 1915 obtained enormous advantages in the matter of the exploitation of China. It is also tantamount to the transformation of the anti-imperialist movement into national civil war. On the other hand, a victory of the Chili clique at the head of which are the agents of Anglo-American capitalism—Tsau-Kung and Wu-Pei-Fu will make imperialist economic penetration and political control over China easier. At the same time the victory of the Chili clique would strengthen militarist reaction within the country. The brutal suppression of the labor movement, the shooting of workers during the Peking-Hankow railwaymen's strike in 1923, the execution of labor leaders, the shooting of revolutionary students—all this will be magnified tenfold in the event of a victory by the Chili party.

At present when revolutionary students' and workers' organizations are the center of the anti-imperialist movement, MacDonald, Herriot, Coolidge and the Japanese imperialist governments would like to see the full weight of reaction directed against them.

Hence, in spite of the clash of the economic interests of the imperialists of China, there is complete agreement on the question of intervention, which is evidently being prepared by negotiations; the soul and initiator of this imperialist attack on China is at this present juncture British imperialism.

## PREPARATIONS FOR JOINT BAZAAR GO ON ENERGETICALLY

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—A whole force of comrades is at work making the last preparations for the joint bazaar, which takes place at the Lyceum, 86th St. and Third Ave. Feb. 11, 12, 13 and 14 will be red-letter days in the history of the revolutionary movement of New York.

The membership of the Workers Party is working to make the bazaar a success. Branches are taking booths and are collecting material for sale. They have gathered everything from a belt to a phonograph. Kitchen utensils, clothes, shoes, hats, books, works of art—in short, everything useful that can be converted into cash.

The present outlook is that there will be at least 25 booths. The Indian trick maker will be on hand every day—and his tricks will be interesting for many reasons—but chiefly because they are novel in this part of the world. There will be a printing press at the bazaar, so that every visitor may procure visiting cards and other printed matter.

# Exploiters' Paradise Is Aim Of Alien Registration

By MAX BEDACHT.

DEMOCRACY is revealing more clearly every day the mephistophelian hoof of its real character as a capitalist dictatorship. The greater the importance and powers of the workers grows in the economic machinery of society the more open must capitalism maneuver with its political power to retain its ruling position, the more open must it use its instrument of rule, the government. This government develops gradually into an undisguised agent of capital in foreign lands. And at home it becomes an agency for strikebreaking and an instrument for labor persecution.

In late years these strikebreaking activities of the government of the American capitalists have revealed themselves in activities against labor struggles and against labor unions in general, and also in the attempts to adapt the immigration policy to the task of importation of prospective strikebreakers.

Selective immigration is nothing but an attempt to sift prospective immigrants and assure a steady stream of meek "hands" into the United States.

But although those workers admitted into the United States may have a politically spotless, a strikeless and a unionless past so that they can pass the closest scrutiny of American consular agents, yet, the bitter experience of these workers in the profit-mills of American capital may drive them into labor organizations, into strikes, and eventually even into the revolutionary party of the workers, the Communists Party. So our steel and other industrial barons of the United States find selective immigration insufficient. It does not guarantee absolute and definite submissiveness of all the "hands" finally admitted into the country.

To remedy this and incidentally to give another proof of the character of gloried "democracy" in the United States, attempts are made to tie a string to all immigrants. The department of labor is to be made a real and unmistakable agency for the supply of strikebreakers to open-shop American capital. To assure a supply of strikebreakers for the department of labor that body is to be given powers which would automatically make it the slave driver with the immigrant workers as the slaves.

A number of bills have been drafted in late years to accomplish this end. There is at this moment a bill before the house of representatives in Washington introduced by Congressman Aswell.

Mr. Aswell is a professor. He advanced rapidly in his chosen field of activity because he quickly caught on to the educational needs of capitalism. To drive meekness into and to drive tendencies to think out of the heads of the pupils—that is the essence of the science of goosestepping education. Mr. Aswell proves in his serves his capitalist masters as efficiently in the field of legislation as he did in the field of education.

The bill provides the registration of all aliens and the payment of a yearly registration fee of from \$3 to \$10.

The bill practically regulates the immigrant worker to an existence of a peon. It puts him under police regulation and police supervision. The immigrant worker will have the hand of the police suspended over his head like a Damocles sword. Any participation in a strike is bound to bring the alien worker into conflict with the police, since the main task of the police is to prevent the wage slave from leaving the tread mills of profit-hungry American capital. To strike, to picket, or to do anything in conjunction with the other workers of an establishment that would force the capitalist to pay decent wages or establish acceptable conditions of labor is a major crime in our "democracy". Participation in such "criminal" activities would be bound to bring the alien under the clutches of the police. Any such conflict with the police will be checked up against the alien. Na-

turalization will be made impossible for these aliens and thus police supervision over them will be prolonged indefinitely. Repeated conflicts of that sort will definitely establish the undesirability of such aliens and deportation will result.

But that is not the final aim of this bill. The big object is intimidation. The immigrant worker is to be delivered into the hands of the official strikebreaking agency of American capital, the department of labor. With the threat of deportation hanging over them these alien workers are to be kept out of labor unions. Fear is to

keep them in the factory when unbearable conditions of labor drive the workers out on strike. And this fear is to be kept alive by the deportation of those few courageous aliens who will not submit.

The Aswell bill is an attempt to make the United States one great prison camp for alien workers.

The bill falls little short of establishing actual peonage for the alien. It provides that the department of labor furnish the American consulates in Europe with information as to open labor markets; that is, information about states, territories, or cities

where "hands" are needed. The visas are to be given to the prospective immigrants only for the states or cities specified in the visa. The visa is to be recognized only if the alien actually settles in the territory or city specified.

All that is needed, to make a real slave out of the immigrant is a police regulation that forbids the alien to leave the place specified in his visa. This would make a more perfect slave out of the alien worker than the southern cotton planters ever had.

But the bill is not only directed against the alien workers. By organizing the immigrant worker thru police regulations into an army of open shop and strikebreaking hands the bill is also directed against the native and naturalized workers. With such a law as a weapon the official strikebreaking agency of American capital, the department of labor, will strengthen the open shop campaign of the capitalists. It will marshal unorganized immigrants with the help of the police power of the department against the existing labor unions. It will try to fill the places of strikers by a terrified army of unorganized alien workers.

Thus American capital will succeed, on the one hand, to defeat the workers in strikes and to break up their unions; on the other hand it will create an antagonism with the native workers against the immigrants. This antagonism will make still more difficult united and solidary action of all the workers against their capitalist exploiters. It will make one-half of the American workers look upon the other half as enemies instead of having both halves unitedly fight the common enemy: capitalism.

The Aswell bill is only one of many such ingenious attempts to enslave the American workers more and more. The very fact that such bills are introduced is sufficient proof that the desire for such regulations exists among the American capitalist masters. Final passage of such a bill, therefore, is only a question of time! No momentary pause in the attempts to pass such slave acts by congress must lull the American workers into a feeling of security. The protection of the foreign-born workers is one of the tasks of the hour for the American workers. Protection of the foreign born is an act of protection of the whole working class of America. Therefore workers, be on your guard!

## The Role of Workers' Correspondents

The worker correspondents of the Soviet press recently held an all-Russian conference in Moscow. At this conference Comrade Zinoviev made an important speech the most vital passage of which we give herewith:

You know, comrades, the slogan originated by Vladimir Ilyitch, and which became the slogan of our party at the dawn of the first revolution, before 1905, "Every shop must become a fortress of our party." The meaning is that our party must know how to conquer the majority of the workers (in the shops), how to bring them under their leadership, dominate the thought of the workers there, and implant their influence by organization measures. This aim has not yet been attained, although we are approaching it. It is up to the workers' correspondents of our press to help us to reach it.

The worker correspondents form, in a way, the guard of our fortresses, the shops. Wherever they work, their task is to describe conditions of work and the life of the workers as it really is. Its a big job!

In our peasant country it is necessary in addition that each village become if not a fortress of our party, at least one of its front trenches. And again the most responsible, the most difficult, but also the finest task falls upon our peasant correspondents.

I am of the same opinion as Pravda, which thinks that the recruiting of worker and peasant correspondents must be entirely free, and based upon volunteers. The most important consideration to us at this moment is the number. Our country is so large, it still contains so many ignorant people, that the 50,000 volunteer collaborators of press form no more than an advance contingent.

The institution of worker and peasant correspondents is now acquiring an international character. In western countries, by contagion, the labor press is beginning really to "workerize" itself. Wall papers have made their appearance in shops in Berlin and Paris. In Berlin, their authors are tracked down. German social democracy realizes what a new weapon we have in them.

The chief thing is that we have demonstrated that we know how to initiate important new steps in order to put into motion the life of advanced workers and peasants. In this sense, the institution of press correspondents deserves to be called a practical realization of Leninism.

The Bolshevik is above all a man of the masses. The Leninist knows how to speak to the masses.

The worker correspondent must become the elder brother, the guide of the peasant correspondent.

## MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

### Our Solicitor General Is Frank

By ART SHIELDS

Review of the Constitution by James M. Beck (Duan), \$3.00.

Solicitor General James M. Beck reverences the constitution but he approaches the time worn sacred theme with more frankness than is common in this age of exploitation and bunk. Beck readily admits that the venerable document was drawn up by men of property in defense of their property against what he terms the excesses of democracy.

Our elderly solicitor general is a tory of the tories, but he has a measure of bold-facedness about his policy. He does not ooze with words of love for the masses. The place of the masses, he makes plain, is at work, and he is much disturbed by the tendency of the masses to take things easier than they used to. In fact he fears that the moral foundations of the republic the founding fathers founded are badly shaken.

Beck mourns the decay of leadership in politics today. He finds few giants in these days as when George Washington, Ben Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison sat through the secret sessions of the constitutional convention. Ah! those days. Yet all is not lost. Beck finds two moderns who are worthy to sit with the ancients of the eighteenth century. Guess who they are? One

was Warren G. Harding and the other his present chief, Cal. Coolidge.

For the most part the tone of the volume is gloomy. Yet a not unmerry clink comes in the chapter on Ben Franklin's dinner to the constitution founders—a dinner featured by a huge cask. They could drink in those times. Beck says if the eighteenth amendment had been in effect, Franklin's guests would, undoubtedly have left. He tells of another dinner, one given by Governor Clinton to Washington and LaFayette, with 120 guests present when the bill cited the consumption of 36 bottles of Madeira, 36 of port, 60 of English beer and 30 bowls of flowing punch, and the wreckage of 60 glasses and 8 broken decanters.

As a matter of interest we may note—though not mentioned in this book—the author served for years as a leading counselor for the oil trust and the sugar trust.

Our Kids Are Having ONE BIG JOB Carrying Their Communist Message To the Children of THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT THEIR MOVEMENT Come to the JUNIORS' DANCE SAT., FEB. 14, 1925 Workers' Lyceum

### Poems for the New Age.

A book of poems which must prove of interest to readers of the DAILY WORKER is "Poems for the New Age," by Simon Felshin, recently published by Thomas Seltzer, New York. Many of Simon Felshin's poems have already appeared in the Communist press and this is an opportunity for comrades to possess a collection of the poems by the Communist poet, a member of the Workers Party.

The first section of the book contains revolutionary poems. The book as a whole is a work of art, and, we are proud to say, a distinct contribution to literature. The revolutionary poems are straightout revolutionary, they do not equivocate, as so much poetry of protest does. There is no ambiguity here, no possibility of a double interpretation, for the poems are written by a Communist, and that makes a difference. And yet they are not poems of propaganda purely and simply. Art is not shoved into the background. The book, from cover to cover is replete with beauty, is a rare treat.

Those who desire to have the book can buy it from the Literature Department of the Workers Party at the price of one dollar.

When you buy, get an "Ad" for the DAILY WORKER.

# Railwaymen's Educational Work in Russia

HOW THE MOSCOW-KALUGA RAILWAY CLUB WAS FORMED.

By VLADIMIR GAVRILOV

THERE were near the station Moscow 1 two sections of a munition factory badly damaged by fire in 1919. They were mere ruins without windows and doors and the roof was badly damaged. In fact they were an eye sore to the railwaymen who had to pass these dilapidated buildings. For several years the local organizations of the railwaymen's union kept watch on these forsaken buildings, and they had a vision of a well-equipped club on this very place, which would satisfy the needs of their large organization with its 8,000 members. At that time their union had to be satisfied with very small club premises, equipped during the first years of the revolution where it was impossible to carry on regular educational work of which the masses stood in such need.

THEN came 1923, and what was impossible before, became possible then. They began their work by visiting all the big economic and financial departments of the railway obtaining promises of material support from these departments and of physical support from the workers themselves. They planned out the repairs, made an estimate of their resources, brought pressure to bear on those at the head of economic departments, and once more decided that it was high time to make a beginning. The actual building operations had to be handed over to a building artel after all, for although the workers were willing to give their labor power for the erection of that club, it would have taken too long as they could only give the time after their regular working hours. So the railwaymen decided that this would delay the necessary repairs, while the need for the club was growing day by day. But all the work connected with the equipment and furnishing of the club the workers took upon themselves.

THEY collected furniture wherever it was possible, repaired it themselves, prepared appliances for study circles, etc. At last the happy and longed for day arrived (February 22, 1923)—the opening of the club which was called the Kukhmestoroff club in honor of a locksmith of that name who had been the first educational worker on the Moscow-Kursk Railway Junction, and who had recently died. The opening session of the club members took place in the still damp hall the walls of which were decorated

with the portraits of the leaders of the revolution. This is how one more live organization came into being, created out of the ruins of the old world and by the will and efforts of those who had been nothing but had become everything.

AS soon as the RED STAR began to throw its light from the entrance of the Kukhmestoroff club many workers went out of their way on their journey home in order to drop in at the club and to have a look at the newspapers and periodicals. The young workers joined study and other circles in very large numbers: physical culture, Marxist, dramatic, choral classes and others. Fathers of families began to follow their example. They were attracted by the technical study circles where they could learn their particular work and could receive information about the economic situation and the technical improvements in connection with production.

GRADUALLY, women were also drawn into the club, at least those who were not tied to their homes by the care of children and household duties. A sewing and cutting out circle was opened for them, and lectures were given on hygiene the care of children and improvement of domestic conditions. The study circle work took possession of all the members of the club, and there were so many candidates for these circles that the workers decided to ask the administration of the railway to allow them to use another building in the vicinity for the extension of club work.

AT present the Kukhmestoroff club, has, in addition to the above-mentioned circles, ten more smaller circles, such as: a scientific organization of labor circle, an art circle, a radio circle and others, including a legal advice circle.

THE club occupies three buildings, two of which are two storied buildings connected with a covered passage. One of the buildings was a hall with accommodation for 750 people, fully furnished with arm chairs, chairs and benches. It has also a stage large enough to answer all requirements. The rooms where the study circles are held are on the second floor, and every circle has its permanent room equipped with the necessary appliances. On the same floor there is a creche for the children which is under the supervision of a medical specialist. This enables working women visiting the club to devote themselves to their studies leaving their children

at this creche. In the second building one floor is occupied by a foyer which has upholstered furniture. A chess room, a reading room, a Lenin corner, a bezbozhnik (atheist) corner, etc. are attached to the foyer.

HERE various exhibitions are held. Children have also their place in the club, there is a Young Pioneer corps with about 250 members which has been allotted separate premises.

IN order to satisfy the needs of the masses, the administration of the club has made a contract with the "Narpit" (Peoples's Food Supply), on the strength of which a dining hall has been opened on the second floor of the second building capable of catering for 2,500 people. Good nourishing dinners are served for a very small sum. A barber shop is attached to the dining hall, and the charges there are 65 per cent lower than the town charges.

THE club has a library which has reference books on a variety of questions. It has over 8,000 volumes. In the adjoining building which has also a mere ruin not so long ago, a physical culture hall has been equip-

ped with all the necessary appliances for gymnastics, such as vaulting horses, tourniquets, etc. Behind the stage there is a box for a cinema apparatus, and lectures are frequently given with a cinema illustration.

THE Kukhmestoroff club has also a summer theatre with a garden, an open stage, a reading room and an open-air cinema. In summer there are always many people in the garden and one hears joyous and healthy laughter. A brass band from the ranks of the workers themselves performs on the open stage.

THUS the small club, which consisted of a few little rooms has been converted into a very big club covering an area of about 500 square sazhen (1 sazhen—7 feet). On the strength of its equipment and the work carried on by it this club holds first place in the neighborhood of Moscow. It is called, the "model" club and we hope that it will serve as an example to the cultural and educational work of the workers of the West when they will have thrown off their political slavery and will march side by side with their Russian brothers towards Communism.

## MR. PICKWICK ON COMMUNISM

(Continued from page 3)

ing the British proletariat with profound respect for British imperialism.

### Communism for Millionaires

ONCE upon a time, Bernard Shaw wrote a pamphlet entitled: "Socialism for Millionaires". In his witty reply to the *Isvestia* he practically repeats this pamphlet. Speaking in the name of the British socialist intelligentsia, he says: "Unless the Russian revolution bows to British imperialism and repudiates world revolution, the Russian revolution will have as much influence on its 'Western European' friends as Madagascar has on the Russian revolution." Let the reader observe how well Bernard Shaw mimics the hypocrisy of the British bourgeoisie. When in the British house of commons one member wishes to charge another with having stolen a silver spoon, or allowing himself to be bribed, he always addresses him as "my honorable friend". Mr. Bernard Shaw commands his friends, the MacDonalds and Snowdens to come out as friends of Soviet Russia, although he knows perfectly well that these gentlemen hate Soviet Russia more than they hate capitalism. His satirical notion of a Communism for millionaires, that it is possible to create a Communism and a Soviet Russia that will please Lord Curzon, is priceless. In this, Bernard Shaw rises to the great heights of Swift. Recall the latter's pamphlet on trading in the flesh of Irish children. There was a devastating famine in Ireland in Swift's time and millions of children were dying of starvation. Swift was eager to help them, but how. If he simply cried, "Save Ireland's children", his appeal would probably be read only by a few sentimental English ladies. But the brilliant satirist Swift, wrote a pamphlet in which he showed that it was very unprofitable to allow millions of children to die. He calculated how much it would cost to keep them until the age of twelve months and then to cut them up and sell their flesh. Even today when one reads this pamphlet, a cold shiver runs down one's back.

Bernard Shaw could not say to his dull-witted petty bourgeois countrymen: "The Russian workers and peasants have taken the first step towards the reign of labor, towards the great new historical epoch. They are being hard pressed by British imperialism, but surely growing throughout the world. The progressive workers, in their awkward way, are learning in Russian the A B C of their emancipation. It does not matter for, first of all, they will copy the Russian revolution and then they will learn to make their own. British imperialism, the bulwark of world capitalism, is cracking in every

joint, even the peoples of Asia and Africa are affected by the movement. Let the Russian Communists bear in mind the realities of today, but let them hope for the realities of the morrow. British imperialism wishes to crush them. We will come to their aid. We can aid them by combating the treachery, the stupidity and the servitude of the MacDonalds, the Snowdens and the Wellses."

But Shaw could not use such language. If he did the *Daily Herald* would not publish his letter. Therefore, he, like Swift, resorts to satire, and in his own person, he reflected dull-witted British intellectual socialism, in order to say: "See! This is what those who wish to act as the leaders of the British proletariat, look like."

P. S.—The social democratic press of all countries, forgetting the satirical genius of Bernard Shaw, seriously believes that he was speaking in his own name. I do not believe this for a single moment. But if this were true, it would merely increase the artistic value of Bernard Shaw's production. The best humorists are the unconscious humorists. The height of satire is self-satire, when the author does not perceive that he is writing the most biting satire. Such cases are rare in literature, but they are the most valuable reflections of their epoch. It would be a pity if the assertions of the social democratic press regarding Shaw's politics, proved to be correct, but the value of his letter as a satirical document would be thereby increased.

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what the Russian Trade Unions are doing—and how? Be sure to read in the February issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY:

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## Enlarged Executive Committee of Czech Communist Party Against Trotskyism

The enlarged executive committee of the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia adopted the following resolution with regard to the question of comrade Trotsky at its session of December 13th.

The Russian opposition has caused considerable damage to the C. P. of Russia and the Comintern in that it sought to shake the confidence of the masses in the leadership of the C. P. of Russia and also in the leadership of the Comintern. The Russian party congress and the E. C. C. I. and the V. World congress have completely refuted the reproaches and complaints of the opposition, and proved that the action of the opposition was chiefly attributable to petty-bourgeois deviations.

Comrade Trotsky, as his present attitude shows, has only formally submitted to the decision of the Russian party conference and of the Comintern. His struggle against the leadership of the C. P. of Russia and the leadership of the Comintern is continued with other means than in 1923, in the attempts by his incorrect presentation of the history of the October revolution again to shake the confidence of the workers in the leadership of the C. P. of Russia. The Executive of the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia must decidedly protest against these attempts to revive the discussion which was concluded by the decisions

of the party conference of the Russian C. P. and to create new differences in the sections of the Comintern. Many members of the Russian opposition and their followers abroad have, after the decision of the party conference of the C. P. of Russia, reckoned on the so-called autumn crisis in Russia, which was to prove the correctness of the economic principles of the opposition and of the political tactics advocated by them. As a matter of fact, these predictions have proved to be entirely incorrect, and the policy of the C. C. of the Russian C. P. has proved to be quite correct. It was to be hoped that these facts would have a sobering effect upon the obstinate leaders of the Russian opposition and upon their followers in the other sections of the Comintern. The attack of Comrade Trotsky, his presentation of the October events, have, however, the character of an appeal, or at least of an encouragement, to all oppositional elements to fresh "actions" against the leadership of the C. P. of Russia and of the Comintern.

For these reasons the executive committee of the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia expressly declares itself to be in agreement with the condemnation which this new challenge has now received from the comrades of the most prominent party centrals of the C. P. of Russia.

# Lord Reading on Labor in India

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH  
(Special to The Daily Worker)

ON January 20th, Lord Reading made the official viceregal speech at the opening of the Indian legislature.

With regard to the question of trade unions, Lord Reading remarked; "I believe the opinion has been expressed in some quarters that we are moving too fast along the lines of labor legislation." Lord Reading carefully refrained from stating what quarters these were. He did not mention the fact that the "quarters" which had expressed these opinions into the ever-ready ear of the Viceroy, were representing about one-millionth of the population of India. He did not mention the fact that hundreds of thousands of the Indian workers think that the projected trade union legislation is a mockery, and that only by the complete legitimization of trade unions, and all forms of their activities, can they be satisfied. "Moving too fast!" That is callously cynical comment on the slow starvation of the Indian masses.

STILL on the subject of trade unions, the Viceroy proceeded: "The future of trade unions in India will, I believe, largely depend, not on enactments, but on the spirit shown by employers and workers and in the attitude of the public." So far, the spirit shown by the Indian employers has been a particularly martial one. Their spirit has expressed itself in the summoning of troops, in order to protect their profits by cold steel and by the bullet, whenever the workers, goaded into protest, have struck a blow in their own defense. The spirit shown by the workers, of course, must be of the correctly servile kind, in order to secure the benevolent patronage of the Viceroy for "trade union legislation."

#### In Support of the Terror

DEALING with the subject of the Bengal situation, the Viceroy stated: "It may also become necessary for my government to introduce to the legislature a measure to define the powers of the high court in relation to the tribunals, and proceedings held under the special Bengal criminal legislation. You are aware the governor of Bengal has exercised the powers conferred upon him under the government of India act, and has certified and signed the bill. I take this opportunity of stating that His Excellency's action in this respect has my full approval and I shall support both him and his government to the extent of my powers in meeting what I regard as a serious emergency."

THE above refers to the legislation which was introduced in order to legalize the arrests made under the special ordinance in Bengal. This, it will be remembered, was voted down by the nationalist majority in the Bengal council. Then, under special powers, the governor of Bengal certified and signed the bill, despite the contrary vote. Lord Reading here declares his approval of this flouting of the minute parliamentary democracy which the Indians are permitted to enjoy. So now, the imprisoned Bengalee Swarajists may have the comfort of knowing that they are lying in gaol, not under an emergency ordinance, but in accordance with a real act of parliament—even though this act was disapproved by a majority of legislators. We do not believe, however, that the imprisoned nationalists will much relish this very shadowy mitigation of their lot. A gaol's a gaol, for a' that.

"It is now admitted on all sides," continued Lord Reading, "even by the most convinced opponents of special legislation, that a terrorist movement exists in Bengal and that wide spread conspiracies for violent crimes have been established." We, in Britain, at any rate, have still to see a convincing piece of evidence of these conspiracies. In the reactionary press, we have had it reiterated, with monotonous frequency, that such conspiracies exist, but these same papers have failed to give their details.

WE are, however, convinced that a conspiracy does exist, nevertheless. But it is not a conspiracy of tremendous and subtle secret societies, which constitute the nightmare picture presented to us by Lord Reading and his bureaucrats. It is a gigantic conspiracy, by the imperialistic rulers of India, to check the movement of the Indian people towards national freedom. It is a conspiracy to hamper the expression of India's oppressed millions, to stifle their demand for liberation from the galling shackles of British imperialist capitalism, by flinging their best leaders into prison, forbidding the free publication of their organs, and the free assemblage of their societies. It is a conspiracy to intensify the heavy repression, under the weight of which the Indian masses are bowed.

#### The Labor Government Approved.

IN dealing with the special ordinance, the instrument used in the wholesale arrests of Bengal nationalists, Lord Reading took his hearers into his confidence. He gave them the details of the genesis of this ordinance, of this imperial edict which filched from the Indians the scanty rights they possessed. The Viceroy states that in this revelation, he is departing from the usual course. "I am well aware that I am taking an exceptional course in giving you this information, but I do it advisedly after careful thought." After careful thought, Lord Reading considers that it is just as well to give credit where credit is due—and, in this case, it is due to—the labor government!

LET us see what the Viceroy says. Referring to the promulgation of the special ordinance, he remarks:

"The whole matter was submitted to careful examination by Lord Oliver and his majesty's government as then constituted. They agreed with the course suggested as the only possible method of dealing with the dangers facing peace in Bengal."

Thus, you will see that the special ordinance, the wholesale arrests—the "course suggested"—were submitted to that sterling proletarian member of the labor party, Lord Oliver, and to the labor government, before this course was adopted, AND THAT THE LABOR GOVERNMENT APPROVED OF IT!

IT was the labor government, then, according to Lord Reading, which unleashed the police hounds, and set them at the throats of the Indian nationalist leaders. It was the labor government, that mixed hodge-podge of pacifists, sentimentalists, bureaucrats, trade union officials and intellectuals, which approved of this final and heaviest burden being laid upon the bowed shoulders of the Indian masses. It was the labor government which cheered Lord Reading on, when he was still in doubt, and consulted them as to whether he should take this extreme step. Lord Reading says so; will they deny it?

AND, actually, when the labor government came in, there were Indians who greeted it with faith and hope. Now was a new era about to dawn for India, thought they. For

they were simple souls, and they had given credulous ear to the mealy-mouthed chattering of "brotherhood," issuing from the various P. S. A. halls where our I. L. P. leaders were performing. They had believed the fine, idealistic declarations, proceeding from these labour "leaders,"—before they took office.

NOW they will no longer believe. This admission of the Viceroy will destroy for ever any lingering hope the people of India may have in the labor party politicians, in the I. L. P. "socialists." Now that they are out of office, the cat is let out of the bag. They stand revealed as the infamous oppressors of the Indian people, as the politicians who gave the word which set all the powers of repression upon the Indian nationalist movement. Thank you, Lord Reading! We always knew it, but it is well you should confirm it.

THE toilers of India are slowly learning. Now, they are learning who are their enemies. Now, they are discovering their false friends. Let them go further; let them know what the Communists say, regarding imperialism, and its overthrow. Let them know that the Communists have always foretold the actions of the pretended friends of India—these white terrorists who impudently adopt the title of "labor." Let them hear and read the Communist message to the colonial peoples; and then they will have started, at last, upon the road which, after strong determined struggle, shall lead to freedom.



#### Lenin is Our Darling

(To the air of "Charley is My Darling," Scotch folk song.)

'Twas one November morning,  
In '17, my dear,  
When Lenin threw Kerensky out—  
The Yellow Chevalier!

#### REFRAIN:

O, Lenin is our darling,  
Our darling, our darling,  
Lenin is our darling,  
The Red Chevalier!

As Nick went marching thru the world  
The rich grew white with fear,  
But common folk came runnin' out  
To meet our Chevalier!  
O, etc.

With scarlet banners o'er his head  
He called in accents clear:  
'Now come and fight for workers'  
might!  
Our Red Chevalier!  
O, etc.

They've left their mines and mills and  
shops,  
They've left their children dear,  
To draw the sword at Lenin's word—  
Our Red Chevalier!  
O, etc.

The workers' hearts beat high with  
hope,  
The rich men's low with fear,  
And everywhere the workers dare  
To follow Lenin dear.

O, Lenin is our darling,  
Our darling, our darling,  
Lenin is our darling,  
The clearest of the clear!

HAVE A HEART!  
Put Your Interest For Our  
COMMUNIST CHILDREN  
INTO ACTION

Come to The  
JUNIORS' DANCE  
FEB. 14, 1925  
Workers' Lyceum

ACT NOW AT ONCE

Get your tickets for Red Revel Ball,  
February 28.

#### A Mother and Her Son.

Dear Juniors:—It is late at night, but I can't deny myself the luxury of a chat with you. I'm so happy tonight! For my oldest son, my twelve-year-old baby, my twelve-year-old little man has joined the young Leninists.

A week ago tonight he came from a meeting very enthusiastic about the memorial meeting that is to take place in this city. He brought me a DAILY WORKER.

While I did my work he read for me the whole paper and in his voice I detected the revolutionary spirit. I put the younger children to bed and we two discussed every article. I told him how many comrades have dedicated their lives to the cause of the working class. He listened attentively to everything I told him, then he said: "Maybe I'll be one of them some day. I think it is wonderful to work for such an ideal. No sacrifice is too great." There was a serious expression of determination and decision in his little face.

And now he has joined the Junior groups. He is a Leninist! And I am the proudest of Communist mothers!

With affectionate greetings,

M. H.

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#### Our Readers Views

Life Would be Miserable Without The DAILY WORKER.

To The DAILY WORKER:—I would rather go without a meal than The DAILY WORKER. It is the power that inspires hope, without which life would be indeed miserable. I had great hope in the S. L. P. (but like that bitter fake, the S. P. or S. D. or "whatever you may call it,") it proposed to practice the pure "non-resistance," and any one who thinks the capitalist dog will give up the fat bone, without a fight, is a fool, and he who thinks that votes are counted right, when private interests are in danger, is a worse idiot, and he who thinks that the workers can "over-take" the establishments and machinery of industry, like the I. W. W., without resorting to force, is a hopeless fool.

#### Communists Are Not Dreamers.

The Communists are the only ones who seem to be free from the political somnambulism affecting all the others. As a poet says:

"'Tis said the gods produced this precious crew,

In a time when they had nothing else to do;

And when they are ensued with state affairs,

To make them merry they will look downstairs;

And see the tom-fools' action here on earth,

Will cause their godships everlasting mirth."

We have in this state a progressive, Hiram Johnson by name. Before he became governor, we could file on our water, needed for irrigation and domestic purposes, for only ninety cents. Now we are compelled to get a surveyor and have a map made; made to suit the water commissioner.

Well, by the time we are thru, \$90 will not cover the costs and it only gives us a fighting chance in court. When Johnson stepped down from the governor's chair, there was nothing left to graft on, according to the L. A. Times, he had one of his friends appointed "Commissioner of Parasits," reason given, "wild parasites are poisonous!" He says he favors labor, there is no doubt about it, if labor will submit peacefully to the yoke. I could give a long list of Johnson's wonderful reforms, but he is a cat—not worth the powder.

Greetings to all the comrades,  
Fraternally, Thor.

# Leninism or Trotskyism

L. Kamenev

(Continued from last issue).

The forms in which the bourgeoisie has exercised its influence over the proletariat have changed with the changes of the historical epoch. And the forms and methods of menshevism have changed accordingly. What has remained unchanged is the "wild" Leninist struggle against menshevism. Lenin's ability to distinguish the true character of menshevism in very changing form, and to recognize the essential hostility of menshevism against the Bolshevik ideology and the development of the Bolshevik Party. Everyone knows this, or at least it may be assumed that everyone ought to know it. Everyone comprehends that those who are not fully conscious that Bolshevism signifies a systematic struggle against menshevism, understands nothing whatever of Bolshevism, nothing of the history of Bolshevism, and nothing of the reasons why Bolshevism has been victorious. But everyone does not know, though it has been assumed till recently that everyone was bound to know it, that precisely as Leninism originated, grew, and conquered in a constant and systematic struggle against menshevism; it originated, grew, and conquered in a constant and systematic struggle against Trotskyism.

Why? Because Trotskyism, during the whole of the period in which our party was preparing for the decisive class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and in which Leninism was the source of the teaching of the proletarian revolution and welded the party together as leader of the revolution—during the whole of this time Trotskyism played no other role than that of an agent of menshevism, a glossing over of menshevism, a masking of menshevism.

Everyone who studies the history of the party in the works of Lenin—and we have not, nor shall we ever have, a better and profounder textbook on the history of the party and the revolution, or one richer in matter and the conclusions to be drawn from it—will be inevitably convinced that during the whole of his struggle for the party and for the revolution, and during the whole of his struggle against the mensheviks, Lenin regarded Trotsky (taking the line followed by him for decades in its totality, and his separate actions) exclusively as an agent of menshevism, as a servant of menshevism, as a tool employed by menshevism for the purpose of gaining influence in this or that section of the working class. To Lenin, Trotsky and Trotskyism were characteristic and not accidental phenomena, caused by the pressure exercised by the bourgeoisie, in precisely the same manner as the other phenomena hostile to the really proletarian party, the many other groups and sub-groups, factions and sub-factions, whole and semi-tendencies, which the working class have had to combat when creating their own party.

To Lenin, Trotsky was entirely uninteresting as a personality after the year 1903. For Lenin and for the party he has been the typical embodiment of one of those historical currents which have run counter to the creation of the Bolshevik Party, and to the development of Bolshevik ideology, the ideology of proletarian revolution and Bolshevik proletarian organization. To Lenin, Trotsky was the wordy embodiment of an element hostile to the proletariat, an element showing talent at times and at other times entirely superfluous and extravagant; he regarded Trotsky as little as a personality as he regarded Martov, Tschernov, and Axelrod as personalities. To him these were again simply the embodiment of certain social phenomena. This systematic struggle against Trotskyism and anti-Bolshevik current is to be found in every volume of Lenin's works up to the time when Trotsky joined our party. At this point there is an interruption, followed by the resumption of this struggle—in another form.

## The Period of the First Revolution (1905).

Up to the time of the 2nd Party Congress, up to the split between Bolsheviks and mensheviks, Comrade Trotsky worked for the Leninist Iskra, like Martov, Potressov and other mensheviks. Comrade Trotsky's zeal for the execution of Lenin's plans even led to his receiving the nickname of "Lenin's cudgel," at the first meetings of the party congress. An

honorable role! But for Comrade Trotsky's political history this role is less characteristic than the fact that he immediately changed roles as soon as the mensheviks appeared on the scene at the later sessions of this same congress.

The organizational rupture between the mensheviks and the Bolsheviks took place at the Party Congress on the question of the election of the Central Committee of the party.

Three members had to be elected to the C. C. With respect to two members the mensheviks and the Bolsheviks were in agreement. As third member the mensheviks wanted the "Lenin's cudgel" of yesterday, but Lenin would not agree at any price. The mensheviks would not give way at any price. It is probable that Lenin and Martov had both formed a correct estimate of the degree in which the "cudgel" was "Lenin's." Lenin had the majority at the congress and Trotsky was not elected. Upon this, Comrade Trotsky, in collaboration with Martov, Axelrod, and others, formed the fraction of the mensheviks, broke the decisions of the party congress, headed the boycott against the central authorities of the party under Lenin's leadership, and wrote a political pamphlet against Lenin—one of the most arrogant and offensive productions in menshevik literature, in which Lenin's whole policy is explained as mere greed of power on the part of a "candidate for the post of dictator." The whole set of mensheviks, headed by Martov, Dan, and others, recommended the press to propagate this pamphlet as far as possible. This was the beginning of the history of menshevism, and of the history of Comrade Trotsky in the party.

Trotsky, now become sword-bearer to Martov and Axelrod, lost all interest as a political figure in the eyes of Lenin. Lenin entered into lengthy and systematic conflicts with the mensheviks, with Plechanov, Martov, Axelrod, Martinov; he explained and revealed their standpoint to the workers; but he held it to be superfluous to lose time in contentions with their co-worker, Trotsky.

"Plechanov must be combatted, Martov's arguments must be refuted, and we can contend against the extreme opportunist, Marfinov, but it is not worth while to lose time in contending against Trotsky"—so said Lenin at that time to his fellow workers. But when, in the summer of 1905, Comrade Trotsky tried to draw himself out of the menshevik bog by presenting the ideas of Parvus on "permanent revolution" in his own wording, then Lenin entered into a detailed discussion on the ideas and slogans brought out by Parvus, and rejected them. With reference to Trotsky's pamphlet he merely expressed his regret that the "revolutionary social democrat," Parvus should deem it possible to concur "with Trotsky" and his "revolutionary phrases." Lenin had not another word to say about Comrade Trotsky and his "original" theory. (See Lenin, complete works, Russian edition, Vol. 7, page 130.)

And now Comrade Trotsky is endeavoring to lay precisely this pamphlet before the party as certificate of his revolutionary past, and is trying to prove that Lenin was only right in so far as he shared the standpoint of Trotsky's pamphlet. We shall deal with this in detail later on.

During the whole period of the first revolution, when the working masses had for the first time the opportunity of testing in action the various theories of the Russian revolution and their resultant tactical methods, and when Lenin defended the Bolshevik scheme of revolution in desperate battle, he did not think it once necessary to add anything to his characterization of Trotsky's principles, or to the designation of "revolutionary phrases."

Lenin knew that Trotsky's "left phrases" on the "permanent revolution" would certainly have no effect upon the actual course taken by the labor movement revolution, and would not in the least prevent Comrade Trotsky from remaining in the menshevik organization, co-operating in the menshevik central organ, and collaborating politically with the mensheviks. Lenin had the Marxist habit of judging people, parties and factions according to their deeds, and not according to their words.

During the whole epoch of the first revolution (1905 till 1907), which gave the proletariat its first opportunity of appearing in the arena as mass force and of expressing its class policy

and relations to other classes by actual action, there was a bitter struggle between two tactics only, between two political trends only, between two schemes of Russian revolution only, between menshevism, which underestimated or neglected the peasantry and aimed at an understanding between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and Bolshevism, which called upon the peasantry to support the working class, both in its struggle against czarism, and in its struggle against the bourgeoisie on behalf of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. This struggle between Bolsheviks and mensheviks during the first revolution, essentially a struggle for the direction to be assumed by the revolution, as also the whole of the first revolution itself, contained all the elements of the struggle ended in the second revolution in 1917. The Parvus-Trotsky theory played no part whatever in either the first or the second revolution. It remained the empty phrase foreseen by Lenin, and had nothing to do with the actual course taken by the class struggle. It has not been preserved in the living events of the actual struggle, but solely in the dusty files of old menshevik newspapers. Therefore Lenin never lost a word, during the revolution, in the refutation of this theory.

## The Period of Counter-Revolution.

The tide of revolution ebbed. The party reorganized for difficult and tedious work in the atmosphere of counter-revolution. The "left phrases" entirely lost effect. The foundations for new tactics had to be saved—the banner of the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat and the principles of their inter-revolutionary pogroms, the destructive organization—from the counsels of proletarian organizations, the orgies of apostasy, the atmosphere of exhaustion in the working class, and the treachery and malicious joy at the failure of the revolution. The banner of the revolutionary policy of the working class, derided and trodden in the dust by all the mensheviks, had to be defended. At this moment, the most difficult of all for the Bolshevik Party, since the whole atmosphere engendered by the crushing of the revolution took effect against the Bolsheviks, and aid was given an all sides to menshevik and liquidatory tendencies (liquidatory both with regard to party and the revolution)—at this moment Comrade Trotsky, who at the time of the rising revolution combined with Parvus in wanting "to be absolutely more revolutionary than the others," should obviously have rushed to the help of the Bolsheviks. At least this was the course taken by Plechanov, who had been our opponent in principle from 1905 till 1907; the old revolutionist could not bear to stand aside, and in the face of general apostasy he rushed into the fight side by side with the Bolsheviks, under the slogan of "General Differentiation," that is, a general separation of proletarian revolutionists from the menshevik liquidators.\* Trotsky acted differently.

During this period of beginning counter-revolution, Comrade Trotsky stepped forward for the first time at the London party Congress. At this congress the Bolsheviks were fighting against the menshevik liquidators, especially against the fraction of the second Duma, headed by men now well known to us, Dan and Zeretski. The Bolsheviks criticized this Duma fraction as a fraction which, representing the menshevik standpoint, was attempting to tread the path of West European social democratic parliamentarism. We are only too well aware that this is a hothouse in which the most poisonous fruits of treachery against the working class find the most fertile soil. The Bolsheviks criticized severely the very first step being taken in this direction.

Comrade Trotsky of course defended the menshevik fraction against the attacks of the Bolsheviks. Lenin characterized his standpoint as follows:

"Trotsky spoke on behalf of the Center; he expressed the views of the 'federation.' (The federation is the most opportunist and unprincipled organization which ever existed in the party; lack of principle is even more characteristic of it than opportunism. It was the organization of the artisans, and reflected their unproletarian spirit.) He attacked us for submitting the draft of an 'unacceptable'

\* Plechanov's revolutionary enthusiasm was however not maintained for very long. L. K.

resolution. He threatened with an actual split. Is this not monstrous? . . . The fact that it is possible for a question to be put in such a manner shows in itself that our party contains something foreign in it. . . This is not a standpoint based on principles, it is the lack of principle characteristic of the 'Center'—and at the same time, naturally, of its defender, Trotsky." (See Lenin, complete works, vol. 8, pages 387 to 388.)

Comrade Lenin found equally trenchant terms in which to characterize Comrade Trotsky's standpoint at the time when our party summed up its experiences won in 1905, and established on this basis the foundation for the whole future of the party. The words uttered by Lenin at this time reached into the future, and foresaw the role which Comrade Trotsky was destined to play in our party during the next decade.

This was Comrade Trotsky's first deed after the revolution of 1905. From this time onwards until the year 1917 Comrade Trotsky acted unceasingly as defender of the mensheviks against the Bolsheviks, as adversary of the Bolshevik Party steeling itself in the struggle of that time; and he was invariably regarded by the party as an adversary.

Let us follow Lenin still further, and see how he characterized the role played by Comrade Trotsky during the difficult process of creating a Bolshevik Party, that is, during the process of creating the theory and organization for the leadership of the proletarian revolution.

(To be continued)

## Physical Culture In Soviet Russia

(Continued from page 1)

Councils for Physical Development, which was held in the spring of last year, recorded the fact that a tremendous success has already been attained in this domain, but it is also emphasized that much still remains to be accomplished, both in the field of ideological elaboration of the principles of physical culture and in the field of the methodology and organization of this work. Soviet practice shows, however, that once the mass of the people has made up its mind to accomplish a given task, their aim will be attained.

The Supreme Council for Physical Culture is firmly convinced that it will succeed in its aim of turning Russia, from a land of capitalist slavery, of semi-serfdom and backwardness in the domain of health, into a land of free, happy, healthy labor.

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