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Buried Alive



John L. Lewis, betrayer of the United Mine Workers of America, has led the anthracite miners into a trap for the mine owners. Fred Ellis, the cartoonist, here shows the anthracite miner "buried alive" for five years by the contract which Lewis made with the bosses. But a militant struggle of the coal diggers against the treacherous Lewis and his allies, the mine owners, will win control of the United Mine Workers' Union for the mine workers—and the mine workers can escape from the trap.

What Price Does Judas Get?

The five-month anthracite strike has ended in a victory for the operators. They have secured all that they went after at the beginning of the negotiations, that is, no wage increase, no check-off, arbitration and a five-year contract.

This victory for the operators and defeat for the miners was possible because John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, used his position in the union and his control of the entire union apparatus to prevent the miners throwing their full force into the struggle. Lewis has earned whatever reward the operators will give him including the post of secretary of labor in the Coolidge cabinet in connection with which he has been mentioned so frequently.

The miners thruout the struggle never wavered. The 158,000 strikers showed the same willingness to fight as they have for twenty-five years. At the beginning of the strike the fact that the maintenance men were at work safeguarding the property of the operators did not worry the miners. They believed their officials when they said that the strike was going to be "just a holiday." But as the months dragged on the strikers began demanding that the maintenance men be withdrawn. The same thing with the washeries that the officialdom allowed to work. And toward the end of the strike the general grievance committee of District 1 opposed the Lewis policy.

The miners showed that they were willing to fight had they been given a strong lead. But the entire apparatus of the union was in the hands of the agents of the operators and they used it to suppress all steps toward militant action on the part of the rank and file.

Instead of a 100 per cent militant strike Lewis conducted

negotiations. From the beginning he was in favor of the operators' terms. The man who signed the Jacksonville agreement which hogtied the bituminous miners would not be against a similar agreement for the hard coal diggers. The months of negotiations were carried on by Lewis with one purpose: To secure an agreement which would give the operators what they wanted, framed in such a manner that he could claim it as a victory before the miners. The various plans, and the maneuvers of the Coolidge politicians, were all bent in this direction.

The steps thru which Lewis went in the negotiations show this. The Scranton Tri-District wage scale convention demanded a ten per cent wage raise, the checkoff, no arbitration and a short term agreement. Lewis first shunted the wage raise into the background and played up the check-off. Then the checkoff was forgotten and he bluffed that he was absolutely opposed to arbitration when he said that he would never agree to the arbitration of the very lives of the miners. Finally the agreement was signed and the operators have gotten what they went after: No wage increase, no checkoff, arbitration and a long-term agreement.

As soon as the agreement was signed the capitalist press reported that stocks shot up in Wall Street. Editorial writers dilated on the long period of peace ahead in the anthracite. The entire ruling class of the country heaved a great sigh of relief. The 158,000 workers had been defeated—profits were safe and greater profits were to come.

The miners return to the mines to work under this agreement. The operators will take full advantage of it to reduce

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Labor in Ireland

By G. McLay.

At present there is not a Communist Party in Ireland.

Formed in November, 1921, shortly before the signing of the treaty, the Communist Party of Ireland was only about eight months in existence when the civil war broke out. Born in the lull of the truce, the party was very soon cradled in the lap of the armed revolt by its immediate decision to take up arms with those remaining true to the republican cause, thus fulfilling the revolutionary need of helping on the struggle for national freedom in order to weaken the forces of imperialism—Great Britain.

The stress of the struggle proved a great strain on the resources of such a young organization. Imprisonments, raids, made it very difficult to carry on. Despite the difficulties of illegality, the Worker's Republic, the party organ, was published every week except for the first two weeks of the fighting, and very considerable propaganda carried on among the republican forces urging the adoption of an economic program suited to the needs of the town workers and peasants of Ireland. The efforts in this direction failed with the leaders, but had good results among the rank and file of the republicans.

The defeat of the republicans and the cessation of the fighting, found the party sharing in the aftermath of the struggle—quarrels about policy and conduct of party affairs. Before the end of 1923, it was found impossible to continue publishing the Worker's Republic, and shortly after this the party was disbanded.

Thus ended the first attempt, since the shooting of James Connolly, to form the mass party of Irish workers, and though only a little over two years in existence, the revolutionary activities of the party gained for it a tremendous amount of latent adherence that is now part of the forces shaping toward the forming of a workers' party on a larger and wider basis.

The dissension and chaos that led to the break up of the Communist Party of Ireland has been general, both politically and industrially, in the labor movement in Ireland for the last three years. This is the natural outcome of the national split and struggle. Consider that the workers who formed the bulk of the free state forces on one side in the armed struggle and of the republicans on the other, are the same workers who make up the trade unions—and at

once the fundamental reason for the divisions in the ranks of the labor movement is apparent. This is the real cause of the break away from the Irish Transport & General Workers Union to set up the workers' union of Ireland. This has greatly aggravated the discord but is not the first cause of it, as so often asserted. How the employers have benefited by the disunity in general and the splitting of the largest trade union in Ireland in particular, will be seen later.

In Irish revolutionary history, the setting up of the free state will be recorded as the betrayal of the national struggle by the employers' obtaining a certain amount of economic freedom. Immediately this had been done by force of arms, the great demand of the employers was cheaper production, and economy in the affairs of the state, including the municipal and other local bodies. Economic pressure had forced many workers into the free state army. Soon the most of them were demobilized, thus adding to the already large numbers of the unemployed. Systematic onslaughts on wages have been the order, taking the workers section by section. Municipal councils, such as Dublin and Cork, that refused to use their powers to reduce the wages of their employes and to bludgeon down the standard of living generally, have been dissolved and commissioners appointed to do the dirty work. Tariffs have been placed on clothes, boots, furniture, confections, tobacco, soaps and other goods coming into the country. These are the methods of the capitalists to enable the small and badly equipped Irish industries to compete against the highly organized industries of Great Britain, Germany and other countries.

Very few of unemployed in the free state get any unemployment benefit or the "dole" as it is called. The exact numbers of the unemployed is not known. They have little or no organization, and what they have are on the charity-collecting basis. Attempts at organizing them have been on wrong lines, and so the government does as it likes because there is no organization to take up the cudgels on their behalf. There must be at least 60,000 to 70,000 unemployed in the free state of whom only about one in every twelve gets the "dole." They have to depend on charitable organizations and their friends and relatives. Under guise of doing something for the unemployed the government has set up relief works on a small

scale. This has mostly meant getting necessary work done, such as road making, at wages much lower than the trade union rates. The latest instance of this is the Shannon scheme, which is to provide electric power for the whole of the free state. Because of the low wages offered, the scheme has been boycotted. Here also the resistance of the workers has broken down, principally because the unemployed ex-soldiers (national army) have been used by the government contractors as scabs for the unloading of ships with material for the scheme in Limerick harbor and on the job itself. One more in the long sequence of defeats for the Irish workers during the last three years.

Increased competition from Denmark and Sweden and the raising of the ban on Canadian cattle has greatly reduced agricultural exports to the impoverished British market, and so the agricultural workers share in the unemployment and onslaughts on wages and the general miserable conditions of life now the lot of the workers.

Such is the condition of affairs, and never were the Irish workers worse prepared to meet the combined attacks and systematic reduction of their standard of living.

If ever the fallacy of splitting the existing union, rather than carrying on the first against the reactionaries within has been in doubt, the lesson of Ireland should once and for all prove that the place to fight reaction is inside the existing unions. No one doubts the earnestness and good intentions of those responsible for the break away from the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. When the split took place the great need was to reunite the politically divided workers by forcing the issue of a united front on the industrial field to meet the attacks of the bosses.

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union had a membership of about 100,000, roughly one-third of the organized workers of Ireland. A fraction of the energy spent on the setting up of the Workers' Union of Ireland and its activities since, if concentrated within the I. T. and G. W. U., would have once again made that union the driving force of the Irish labor movement and have prevented at least some of the defeats that the workers have suffered.

Instead, false issues have been raised and workers, instead of fighting the employers, have been splitting each other's heads and sowing seeds of rank-and-file hatred that will take years to get over. From being a powerful weapon in the working class struggle, the I. T. and G. W. U. has become a scab-providing organization, used by the bosses to beat the new union—the Workers' Union of Ireland. In the latest instance, the coal workers' lockout, the I. T. and G. W. U. provided scabs working under police protection. As soon as the resistance of the men's union, the W. U. I., had been broken, the employers began sacking some of the scabs and taking back the old workers at reduced wages. Beaten and without lockout pay, these had little or no option but to accept.

On the political side, the only apology for the labor movement is the Irish labor party. But for an occasion-

al feeble protest by the fourteen or so members in An Dail its existence would scarcely be known. Enmeshed by supporting the Free State to be set up, it has ever since played the part of the mongrel cur, kicked for its pains and unable to do more than give a feeble yelp, or rather lacking courage to do more.

The republican party, altho having forty-seven members of An Dail (who have never taken their seats is fast losing ground. The economic needs of the Irish workers are great, and because of the strong capitalist section of the membership of the Irish labor party, the party has never been able to formulate an economic program to hold its supporters among the town and country workers and attract the now disillusioned workers that had supported the Free State because of specious promises regarding "plenty of employment," "better houses," etc. Further, the abstentionist policy of the republican T. D's. has proved a failure, and soon a further split in the ranks of the republicans will take place, ostensibly around this question of going into An Dail. As there are quite a number of the T. D's. who are left wing republicans, standing for the setting up of a workers' republic, the split, if it comes, altho nominally around the question of going into An Dail, is more likely to be in reality for and against adopting a program for rallying the movement on a workers' republic basis. Anyhow, to settle questions of policy, a special Ard Feis has been arranged for March.

Before he was shot by the Free Staters in 1922, Liam Mellows had smuggled out of prison documents advising the republicans (then in full military possession of Cork and the South) to adopt the economic program put forward by the Communist Party of Ireland in the "workers' republic." As the Free State captured the documents and gave them great publicity, this has since been known as the "Liam Mellows' Economic Policy." The James Connolly Workers' Educational Club has continued the policy of the Communist Party of Ireland, of assiduously propagating this program, particularly among the rank and file of the republicans, until today the workers' republican elements in their ranks are very considerable.

The failure of the ultra-leftist policy on the industrial field, the extreme weakness of the official labor party and lack of failure to adopt an economic program, all tend to make the time opportune for the formation of the mass workers' party of Ireland. The time of waiting for the effects of hard economic pressure has been a trying one for Communists. To assist in the process the James Connolly Workers' Educational Club has carried on for two years regular weekly indoor lectures in Dublin and also regular classes in economics, industrial history, speaking, etc. Criticisms levelled at the foolish tactics adopted by the ultra-left were much resented, but are now admitted as correct, and such tactics are admitted to be wrong.

In short, the time for action is now here, and soon it is expected to have a strong virile section of the Communist International in Ireland.

WHAT PRICE DOES JUDAS GET?

(Continued from page one)

wages, speed up the miners and in many other ways seek to increase their profits. Every miner will feel the brunt of this agreement. The operators will feel safe in taking advantage of them relying on Lewis and Co. to keep the miners at work—to "preserve the sacred contract."

This is exactly where the calculations of the operators go astray. The miners will struggle against having their standard of living reduced because of any "sacred contract." Lewis in lining up with the operators to force the miners to accept the provisions of the agreement will increase the opposition to him among the rank and file. Lewis today cannot boast as he did at the last Indianapolis convention that "I always bring home the bacon." This time he brought the miners nothing at all. The opposition to Lewis and his machine is bound to grow rapidly because of this "settlement."

In face of this the task of the progressive elements in the miners' union, both bituminous and anthracite miners, is to organize to break the Lewis machine and win the union for the rank and file—to turn the union into an instrument for the protection of the interests of the membership. The International Progressive Miners' Committee has a splendid field for work.

Sentiment against Lewis and his whole machine is widespread in the union. The sixty-six thousand opposition votes cast in the last international election shows that. But this sentiment must be organized, hardened into a determined movement to oust Lewis and dismantle his machine.

All the vote stealing, slugging, Zeigler frame-ups and expulsions that Lewis can commit cannot prevent his defeat. The fate of other bureaucrats shows this to be so. The only thing that will assure Lewis a long term in office, and enable this agreement to last five years, is if the progressive elements in the union fail in their task of winning the membership to their program and organization. Patient work and correct tactics will build such an opposition movement in the miners' union that both Lewis and his scab agreement will be smashed before very long.

TOM BELL.

The New Saturday Magazine Supplement of The Daily Worker

Wants

ARTICLES AND STORIES

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Write on only one side of the paper, put your full name and address on the manuscript, and state whether or not you want your name used. Don't roll the manuscript. Fold it. Send it to Robert Minor, editor Magazine Section of The Daily Worker, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

The Gold in Aluminum

By Harry Gannes.

THAT the shiny, white, tin-like aluminum should be the means of Andrew Mellon's tremendous power and influence in Coolidge's imperialist executive committee sounds almost like the plot of one of the tales of the Arabian Nights. Yet the story of Andy's rise thru trustification is a story of the invention, development and manufacture of aluminum and aluminum ware.

The octopus corporations built up around the treasurer's interests is the center of attack at the present time by the representatives of small capital and the large farming interests in congress. Especially are the representatives of the middle west capitalists making a pretense at wielding a verbal big stick against Andy's aluminum interests.

What particularly peeves the political spokesmen of the less fortunate capitalists is the fact that Andrew Mellon, in his position as secretary of the treasury, and as the most influential mind in the Coolidge machine, has been active in getting special advantages for his aluminum industries all over the world to such an extent that he has an absolute monopoly on sheet and manufactured aluminum.

Representative Hull of Tennessee, has centered the fight against Mellon's trust around the attempt to reduce the tariff rate on aluminum so that foreign companies might be enabled to compete with Andy's combine and smash his monopoly.

How can Mellon manipulate his job so that he can directly benefit his interests? The treasury department, as a well-known liberal has pointed out, is the chief point of contact between machine politics and modern industrialism; the converging currents of politics and industry flow first thru the treasury, then the white house, and finally into congress.

Mellon is the foremost representative of finance capital in public life in the United States today. In attacking the Mellon interests, the representatives of small capital and the large farming interests revert to the old futile Rooseveltian tactics of smashing the trusts, a dream and delusion at the present stage of world imperialist development.

Arthur V. Davis, president of the Aluminum company of America, in testifying before the federal trade commission said:

"This company really consists of A. D. Mellon and R. B. Mellon. Of course, A. W. Mellon resigned as a member of the board of directors when he went into the government, and we now have six directors instead of seven. When he has finished his work in Washington, he will again become a member of the board of directors."

But Andrew has not relinquished his 80 per cent of the \$20,000,000 stock in this company. Moody's Manual quotes the capital stock of the Aluminum company of America at \$18,829,600 with a surplus of \$92,153,861.

The growth of the Aluminum company of America and Andy's millions is a romance of imperialism. The company originally was organized in 1882, to exploit the invention of Charles M. Hall. Only \$20,000 was ever invested by anybody, and in a very short time by monopolist methods the company grew into a \$20,000,000 corporation. The profits of the company have at all times been tremendous. In 1912-13 it was paying 15 per cent on a capitalization of \$20,000,000, which is a return of 180 to 235 per cent on the money actually invested.

The company has an absolute monopoly of aluminum mining, manufacturing, production and sales in the United States. Not only that, but ever since the Harding regime it has used every instrument of government available to secure its monopoly and establish a like control in every other part of the world.

Not content with its gigantic holdings in this country, and acting as a true combination, the Aluminum company of America began to spread its

tentacles to other parts of the globe. The actual list of the number of similar properties this trust owns and controls outside of the United States would be interesting but is too long to include here. Of the corporations controlled by Mellon, seven are mining properties in various parts of the world; six, aluminum manufacturing establishments; seven, sales organizations; four, railroads, and eleven, power and public utility companies. The entire organization is now capitalized at \$111,500,000.

President Davis, of the Aluminum company of America has stated that at no time since 1915 has the earnings of this perfect example of monopoly capital been less than \$10,000,000 a year, and this after payment of all expenses, taxes, interest, salaries, and such graft as naturally goes with so huge an organization.

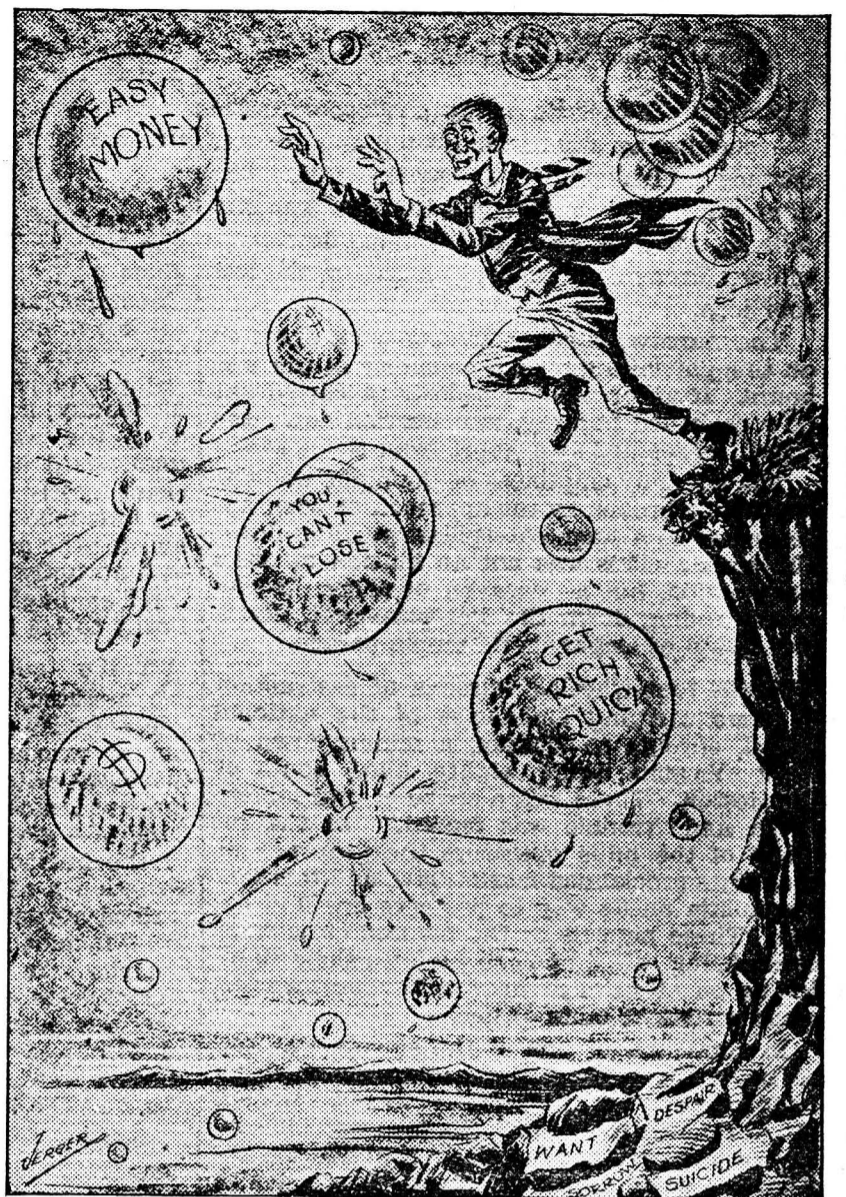
In the debate on the tariff on aluminum which involves solely the interests of Mellon's industrial child, representative Oldfield of Arkansas said regarding the workers of the Aluminum company of America:

"It cannot be truthfully asserted that labor has been benefited by the increased tariff rates on aluminum. The bureau of census tells us that in 1923 the total value of the production of the aluminum industry was about \$107,000,000. The manufacturers got \$40,000,000 of the \$107,000,000, and labor got \$19,843,000, about \$25 per wage-earner per week in the industry."

But the ambitious congressman, not understanding Marxian economics, cannot arrive at a true estimate of the situation. What he means to get at is that the worker is exploited bitterly by so gigantic an aggregation of capital. But the figure of \$25 per week is by no means accurate. It is an average that includes the wages paid to the higher flunkies, the whole network of managers and superintendents. The wage of the real worker, the proletarian in this industry is much nearer \$18.00 to \$20.00 per week.

What is Mellon's contribution to this tremendous industry? His original investment was \$20,000. Now thousands of wage slaves grind out \$10,000,000 a year for him.

The Petty Bourgeois "Gets Rich"



The cartoonist, Jerger, says this is the time when the big sharks are luring the petty business men with "Florida land" and other get-rich-quick schemes.

His well oiled congressional machine aids him in international competition against the few foreign corporations he does not control, and he stands secure in a continuation of his blessings because his attackers, like Don Quixote, fight with the weapons

and ideas of a capitalism whose tombstone bears the date of 1898. They are certain to meet the same fate as Cervantes' hero, to be wafted into the air by the windmill of imperialism and not too gently buffeted against the realities of the earth.

Jewish Rights in the Soviet Union

Special Moscow Correspondence.

By William F. Kruse.

WHEN, after my last visit to Soviet Russia, I returned to the States many questions were asked about the treatment meted out to the Jews in Soviet Russia. Whether these questions were inspired by genuine sympathetic interest or by hostile anti-Semitism the answer had to be the same—so far as the larger cities at least are concerned this problem has been so far solved as to fade utterly from notice. But this by no means signifies that nothing has been done on behalf of the vast Jewish population.

Under the czarist government the restrictions against the Jews are well known. Their position was very similar to that in which the Negroes suffer so terribly in the southern states, they were "jim-crowed" or "ghettoed," forbidden to own land, had laws against inter-marriage, had many industrial pursuits closed to them, were subject to pogroms and super-exploitation, and were permitted to take up only five percent of the attendance in higher schools.

In Soviet Russia the Jewish problem is treated as one aspect of the problem of the national minorities. Their languages is taught, their racial lore and custom are preserved in state, endowed theatres, libraries, museums, etc., so that the intense race pride, common to all oppressed peoples, is transformed into an instrument of socialist construction.

There are official schools in which the Jewish language is taught—530 of them at present, teaching 100,000 children. In the Ukraine over seventeen percent of all Jewish children between the ages of eight and fifteen years receive all their schooling in

these Jewish school. Thruout the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the ratio amounts to eight percent, while in White Russia forty percent of the Jewish children of school age are so cared for.

The teaching staff of these schools is of good standard and is constantly being improved. In various parts of Russian colleges have been established in connection with the state universities for the training of teachers of the languages of the minority groups. Thus in Moscow such training is given in Yiddish, at Kazan in Tartar and Chuvash, at Kuban in Ukrainian, at Leningrad in Esthonian, at Smolensk in White Russian. Furthermore thruout the Soviet Union there are thirty technical and professional schools in which instruction is conducted in the Jewish language.

The following figures, given as for Nov. 1, 1925, may be of interest in showing some measure of the intellectual life of the Jewish-speaking population of the Soviet Union: Miscellaneous educational circles 648, night schools 80, Jewish clubs or Jewish departments of general clubs 180, Jewish libraries or Jewish sections of general libraries 150, reading huts, 57, stations for liquidating illiteracy 391, travelling outfits for political education 9, pedagogical technicums 8, agricultural technicums 1, popular universities 2, labor college 1, Jewish departments in higher institutions of learning 6.

There are state-endowed Jewish theatres in Moscow and Kharkov. Recently an interesting experiment has been conducted in giving plays in old Hebrew; an excellent company originating in Kharkov is now playing in Moscow and intends to tour Europe and eventually America. There is some hostility among the left

theatrical circles in Moscow and the patronage of the theatre is largely drawn from the less radical circles. The repertoire is made up mainly of religious themes, "Jacob's dream" and "The Golem" being their two favorites. Nickel plated angels and religious mysticism have little appeal here. An American play, "De Deluge," in which a heterogenous cast awaits death by drowning and becomes exceedingly noble under the influence of the fear of death, only to slump back into the old attitude when this menace is found imaginary, is the only modern note, and hardly a revolutionary one. The setting of this modern play in a semi-impressionistic frame lends some additional interest to it. In the main its appeal in America will be rather to the more conservative Jewish circles, where it may contribute to breaking down prejudice against Soviet Russia. The Moscow Jewish theatre on the other hand strikes a distinctly modern, left note of highest artistic level.

The Jewish press comprises five daily papers, and many weeklies and other periodicals. During the last year 136 titles were published in the Jewish languages with a total circulation of 500,000 copies.

Considerable progress is being made in Jewish colonisation of more favorable districts. Thus in the last three years forty Jewish agricultural communes, mainly devoted to large scale grain farming with tractors and other modern machinery, have been established in Crimea alone. They embrace about 950 families, in the main from Smolensk and Gomel.

Thus culturally and economically the Soviet government solves the age-old national problem also of the Jews in the only rational and effective manner.

PORKY

(The writer of this story is a fur worker, member of Local 1, Joint Board of Furriers' Union of New York.)

DARKNESS cast its ebony shadow over the slumbering city of Charleston as a mother spreads a blanket over a sleeping child. The hour was past midnight and the rain was still falling. After six hours of continual downpour the wet drops continued to pit-pat on the low roof tops.

The narrow, winding streets were deserted on this pluvial night as a cemetery in the wee hours. An occasional pedestrian darted out of a darkened hallway, and hurried down the street, he seemed as a ghost from the grave.

The uncanny emptiness of the night was unexpectedly broken by the approach of what appeared to be a huge caterpillar crawling down the street. This was not an illusion of one's imagination, but a caravan of army trucks slowly rolling down the wet pavement, like a procession of elephants on circus parade.

THESE four-wheeled caissons of destruction were carrying emissaries of the national guard, enroute to Malden, a mining town of West Virginia, some eighty miles south of Charleston. There was a strike of coal miners there, and "trouble was feared." At the request of the mine operators the governor of that state proclaimed martial law, and this was the militia on its way to preserve law and order. These puppets of the favored class were again being called upon to perform their "burlesque on efficiency" for the advancement of some corpulent mine owner.

In command of one of the squads was top sergeant Jim Kelly, better known amongst his buddies as "Porky." Porky was a strong, broad shouldered fellow. His face was blowzy, savagely rugged and in color not unlike the appearance of an unpeeled carrot. A broad, flat nose and squared-off jaw rhymed symmetrically with his bull-like neck, which exposed a long, vivid scar under his right ear. Porky was a soldier, and as true a son of war as ever slung a musket under his right arm. Three citations and a year in the hospital were his spoils of the world war. Never would he forget the battle of St. Mihiel, when Porky (so they say), alone and armed with only two hand grenades, invaded and captured by sheer force of fury an entire nest of "Huns." That was a day's work to be proud of. Porky walked with a slight limp. Alas, it takes two to make a fight, and the enemy is also armed. A piece of shrapnel from an exploding bomb had pierced his left leg. For two hours he had lain unattended in "No Man's Land," bleeding and unable to move. But Porky had never winced, not even when the doctors thought they would have to amputate his foot. To him that was all a part of the game.

ON being sent to Malden, Porky was as jubilant as a child who visits a circus for the first time. Here fate presented him with a long awaited opportunity to call on his sister Ann, whom he hadn't seen since she married and settled somewhere in that town. Lordy, he thought, but won't she be glad to see me—"Big Jim," Ann always called him. No, he won't telegraph; a surprise would be better; besides, Ann always did sort of like surprises. Memories began running thru Porky's mind as an express train runs past a local station without stopping. That is how reminiscences of other days flickered thru his head. Just a peep into some forgotten episode, and on with the game. Porky never was strong on thinkin' "fancy stuff" as he called it; he left that for others. His profession was protecting his country. To see that the fair fragrance of democracy was safely preserved in five and ten-cent vials.

HIDDEN safely away in his kit, Porky carried a gift. A gold watch and chain. This was a present for Jeff, Ann's husband, whom Porky had never met. The gift set him back more than two months' wages, but it was worth it. Porky was under an obligation to Ann's husband. Never would he forget the time Jeff sent him a loan of forty dollars to cover a gambling debt. That was one favor in Porky's life he would never forget, and sergeant Jim Kelly knew how to appreciate favors. As the caravan rolled on, Porky became drowsy, and knowing he still had about seven hours of journey, he arose from a stool, stretched his clenched fists sideways, yawned wearily and threw himself heavily to the floor.

By Alex Jackson

Propped halfway between the back of a buddy and feet of another, he dozed off.

It wasn't long before Porky completely lost his way in the wilderness of dreams. What an easy road to forgetfulness. At first a distant vision of a little garden seemed to rotate about his subdued senses. It appeared so far away, and always turning—turning as tho it were glued on to a fastly spinning merry-go-round. The hallucination soon faded away, and a mental image of a little cottage entered upon the stage. The picture was indistinctly blurred, it seemed to him as tho the tiny house rocked unsteadily; as a rowboat lost in a storm. Suddenly the walls disappeared, and entering the unenclosed house, he dreamt of clasping his sister tightly in his arms. A cold smile crossed his immobile lips as he imagined Jeff thanking him for the gift. This irregular chain of scenes was abruptly broken by the shrill clarion of a familiar bugle call, which instantly brought Porky to his feet.

AT the outskirts of Malden the soldiers alighted, formed ranks and another parade unfolded itself into the city. Upon crossing a wooden bridge the footsteps of the marchers echoed in the distance like the simultaneous cracking of a thousand whips in the hand of a giant Goliath. Arriving at the heart of the business district these apostles of destruction broke ranks, and like so many well-trained automatons, began their performance. In an instant a rigid cordon was thrown about the city. In pairs they began patrolling the almost deserted streets. On each corner a sentinel was posted, and machine guns were placed within easy reach. Every available sharpshooter was assigned a roof top with orders to shoot at the least semblance of a crowd.

Porky was detailed a picked squad and ordered to guard the property of the United Mine Company, where a demonstration of striking miners was expected.

In normal times the population of Malden was about twenty thousand, but now after months of bitter industrial strife many families had migrated to neighboring cities. Almost daily one could see along the state road a never ending exodus of vehicles carrying what little furnishings the fugitives possessed. Leading stores were closed because of a lack of business. Most of the natives kept indoors; what few people sauntered about the streets did so aimlessly, just shuffling along from nowhere to nowhere. At home the kids kept lookin' at you with their hungry little eyes protruding inquisitively; but quiet, never saying a word. A precocious intuition seemed to inform them that something was wrong. And in the streets the stench of uncleaned gutters was unbearable. The very rows of the two-story dwellings seemed to sag under the weight of black fumes emanating from their chimneys. To a stranger it would seem as tho a plague had struck the town—and one did; an industrial plague.

ARRIVING at the pit-head of the mine, Porky scattered his men about the premises. Propped his gun against a fence, rolled a cigarette and began perambulating leisurely up and down the wet grounds. What fools these people were, he thought; always striking, always kicking. "What in hell did they want, anyhow?"

Porky's cogitations were abruptly arrested by the approach of a crowd of miners from the west side. Face after face appeared in an irregular procession. Lean, hungry looking men, they were, for the most part. Ill-fitting clothes hung loosely on their shrunken frames. Their faces bore a grim determination—the determination of hunger was indelibly stamped upon their foreheads.

Spying the soldiers around the pit, the miners stopped and instantly one of the crowd arose upon a box and began addressing them. He hadn't spoken long when Porky approached with drawn revolver and commanded cockily: "Go'wan, get along. This ain't no place to park."

The speaker alighted from the box and without appearing to notice the intruder, said to his comrades, "Come along, boys, we're going on."

Seeing them about to move ahead Porky's arm reached out and with the butt of his revolver struck the leader a glancing blow on the head.

At the compact of the blow the man sagged groggily to his knees.

In an instant the rest of the soldiers like a pack of wolves rushed up and with the points of their bayonets corraled the miners into a circle. The flesh could almost feel the cold of the steel.

The fallen leader now arose. Blood was streaming from his head, to the delight of Porky who yelled wildly, "You muck eatin' bum, walk quick, or I'll plug you full of holes."

Paying no heed to Porky, the spokesman of the miners, his head in a daze, raised his right arm in a beckoning gesture and cried to his comrades, "Come on boys, don't let 'em stop us," and once more he attempted to step forward.

Porky, completely enraged, his red face now redder than ever, with jaw thrust forward and eyes leering, once more struck the speaker with the butt of his revolver. The miner's knees again sagged, unsteadily he reeled and fell to the ground; but he arose immediately. How willfully people underestimate the spirit of rebellion!

By this time Porky's pent up rage let itself loose in a paroxysm of fury. Foam was streaming from his open mouth. A myriad of flames danced madly in front of his eyes. The smile of the helpless, beaten leader served as so much fuel to the conflagration raging in Porky's head. This time Porky's left arm reached out savagely and, seizing his prey by the throat, he dragged the man close to him while with his right arm he clubbed the head now bobbing up

THE SLAVE DRIVER



By A. L. Pollock

Pay the Costs of the Bosses' War, the Wage Slaves Must Speed Up.

and down in his grasp like a loose piston rod. The rest of the miners turned their heads. The steel of bayonets is a hard wall to scale.

The gore on Porky's hands brought back to him memories of France—France, that fertile land of the poppies, which posterity will always remember as the great school-room where millions of youths received their first lessons in blood.

The flesh in Porky's hand grew rigid, and then limp. Porky dropped it as one drops a hot iron accidentally picked up. It still wriggled, and to complete the task he emptied a chamber of lead into the corpse at his feet.

THE tempest of the strike episode blew over before the day was done, and the stillness of the October afternoon settled peacefully

Socialism and Religion

(Written in December, 1925)

MODERN society is entirely built upon the exploitation of the immense masses of the working class by the trifling minority of the population, belonging to the classes of landlords and capitalists. This society is a slave-owners' society, because "free" workers, working all their lives for capital, "have the right" only to such means of subsistence as are indispensable for keeping alive slaves, who produce profit in order to assure and perpetuate capitalist slavery.

The economic oppression of the workers inevitably calls forth and creates all kinds of political oppression, social degradation, coarsening and obscuring of the spiritual and moral life of the masses. The workers can obtain more or less political liberties as means toward their economic liberation, but no freedom can liberate them from poverty, unemployment and oppression as long as the power of capitalists is not overthrown. Religion is one kind of spiritual oppression. It rests heavily upon the masses, suppressed by eternal toil for others, by poverty and neglect. The helplessness of the exploited classes in their fight against their exploiters creates the belief of a better life after death as inevitably as the helplessness of savages in their fight against nature creates a belief in gods, devils, miracles and so on. To those who toil all of their lives and are in need, religion teaches humility and forbearance in earthly life, hoodwinking them with the hope

of reward in heaven. But to those who live on the work of others, religion teaches charity in earthly life, offering them a very cheap justification for all their exploiting existence, and selling at current price the tickets to heavenly blessedness. Religion is the opium of the people. Religion is a kind of spiritual drug, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demands for even a little of a life worthy a human being.

But a slave, conscious of his slavery and rousing himself to fight for his liberation already partly ceases to be a slave. The contemporary conscious worker, who is educated by the great machine industry, enlightened by city life, contemptuously throws away religious superstition, leaves heaven to the priests and bourgeois hypocrites and conquers for himself a better life here on earth. The contemporary proletariat is on the side of socialism, which adopts science in the struggle with the religious fog and frees the worker from the belief in a life beyond, and makes him more fit for the real fight for a better life on earth.

"Religion must be declared a private matter"—with these words the attitude of socialists towards religion is commonly expressed. But the meaning of these words must be defined exactly in order to avoid any misconception. We demand that religion be a private matter in relation to the state, but we cannot by any means regard religion as a private matter in respect to our own party. The government should have no say in matters of religion, religious societies should not be bound up with state power. Everybody should be given full liberty to preach whatever religion he wishes or not to recognize any religion, that is, to be an atheist, as every socialist commonly is. Any differences between citizens who claim certain rights because of their religious beliefs, is impermissible and should not be allowed. All mention of a citizen's creed must be wiped off from official documents. There should be no taxes for the state church, no government appropriation to church and religious societies, which must be entirely free, independent of the state power, and free to create religious congregations with their fellow believers. Only the complete fulfillment of these demands can end the infamous and cursed past, when the church was in feudal dependence upon the government, and the Russian citizens were in serfdom to the state church, when there were mediaeval laws of inquisition (which up to this date are in our criminal laws and regulations), which persecuted for belief or disbelief, violated the conscience of the man, and levied taxes and tithes for several clerical fakes. The complete separation of the church from the state—that is the demand the socialists, the proletariat, presents to the present state and the present church.

The Russian revolution must realize this demand as a necessary and essential part of political freedom. The Russian revolution is in this respect placed in a very favorable position, because the loathsome slavery of absolutism has provoked dissatisfaction, resentment and indignation even among the clergy. However degraded, however ignorant the Russian orthodox clergy is, even they are aroused by the thunder of the fall of the old, medieval order in Russia. Even the clergy leans towards the demand for liberty, protests against the bureaucratic license, against police outrages, connected with the "serving of god."

We, the socialists, must support this movement, developing the demands of the sincere and honest elements among the clergy to their logical conclusions, seizing upon their words about liberty, demanding that they decisively cut the bonds between religion and police. Either you are sincere, and then you must stand for the complete separation of the church and state, and the school and church, for the absolute and unconditional declaration of religion as a private matter. Or, you do not accept these consistent demands of liberty—and then you are still in the prison of the traditions of the inquisition, then you are still cringing before the governmental officers and begging for governmental allowances, then you do not believe in the spiritual power of your weapon, you still take bribes of absolutism—and then the conscious workers of all Russia declare merciless war against you.

In regard to the party of the socialist proletariat, religion is not a private matter. Our party is an alliance of conscious, foremost

By Lenin

fighters for the liberation of the working class. This alliance cannot and must not be indifferent in regard to the unconsciousness and ignorance of the religious masses. We demand the complete separation of the church from the state in order to fight the religious mists with purely ideological and only ideological weapons—our press, our word. We have created our alliance, among other things, just for this fight against all kinds of religious confusion.

For us the ideological fight is not a private, but a general party, a general proletarian matter.

If so, why do we not declare in our program that we are atheists? That we forbid Christians and believers in god to enter our party?

The answer to this question must explain a very important difference between the bourgeois-democratic and social-democratic (read Communist) method of putting the question of religion.

Our program is entirely built up on scientific, materialist philosophy. The explanation of our program inevitably includes, therefore, also the explanation of the true historical and economic roots of religious darkness.

Our propaganda necessarily includes even the propaganda of atheism, publishing the proper scientific literature, which was strictly forbidden and suppressed up to this day by mediaeval absolutist government, and must now become one of the branches of our party work. Perhaps we must now follow the counsel sometimes given by Engels to the German socialists: Translate and give mass circulation to the French enlightened and atheist literature of the eighteenth century.

But we should not under any circumstances fall into an abstract, idealistic method of consideration of the question of religion, look at it from the standpoint of "reason," a fight above classes—the standpoint often taken by the radical bourgeois democrats. It would be silly to think that in a society based upon the endless suppression and coarsening of the toiling masses, you could dissolve religious prejudices merely with propaganda weapons.

It would be a bourgeois narrowness to forget that religious tyranny upon humanity is only a product and a reflection of the economic tyranny within society. You can enlighten a proletariat with no books and no preaching if it will not be enlightened by its own fight against the dark powers of capitalism. Unity in this real revolutionary struggle of the suppressed classes for the creation of the paradise on earth is more important for us than the unity of opinion of the proletariat about the paradise in heaven.

It is for this reason that we do not declare and are not declaring our atheism in our program; it is for this reason that we do not hinder and must not hinder proletarians, who still have remnants of old superstitions, from approaching our party. We will always preach a scientific outlook. We must always fight against the inconsistency of all kinds of "Christians." But this does not mean in any way that we must push religious questions to the foreground, in which they do not belong. We do not allow the splitting up of the forces of the real revolutionary, economic and political struggle for the sake of opinions on third-grade questions or obstacles which are fast losing all political significance, which will soon be thrown on the garbage-heap by the very process of economic development.

The revolutionary bourgeoisie is everywhere busy—and will soon be busy in our country—instigating religious hatred, to direct the attention of the masses from their really important and basic economic and political questions, which the Russian proletariat is now going to decide, having been unified by its revolutionary struggle. This reactionary policy of dispersing the proletariat makes its appearance today, mainly in the pogroms of the Black Hundreds, but tomorrow they will perhaps think out some more subtle means. But we will in any case match against it the calm, persistent and patient propaganda of proletarian solidarity and scientific viewpoint and avoid all disturbances of secondary differences of opinion.

The revolutionary proletariat aims to make religion a personal matter as concerns the state. And in the new political system from which all mediaeval slag has been removed, the proletariat will conduct a broad, open fight for the abolition of economic slavery, the real source of religious dulling of mankind.

How Alive is the Party?

By JAY LOVESTONE.

"Those to whom the work is 'dull,' 'uninteresting,' 'incomprehensible,' who turn up their noses and are liable to panic, or who intoxicate themselves with declarations regarding the absence of the 'old spirit,' the 'former enthusiasms' had better be released from work and retire so that they may not harm the cause, for they do not want to understand or are incapable of understanding the peculiarities of the present stage of the struggle."—From Lenin: The New Times and Old Errors in New Form.

THE party is now finishing the reorganization campaign. Except for certain isolated sections, the whole party has been reorganized on the basis of shop and street nuclei. Of course, it would be foolhardy for any one to claim that every one of these nuclei is already functioning well. It would be ridiculous for any one to contend that each one of these new units is a vigorous, energetic and active, living unit of the party. Nor would any one honestly dare make such a claim for the old territorial language units of our party.

Our Party Healthier.

NO doubt much effort and considerable energy will have to be expended to make of these units living units of the party. But we already see many increasing signs that the reorganized party is much more virile and much more healthy at bottom. This is true, not only organizationally, but also politically. We now have not only a more effective apparatus in the class struggle, but we have sloughed off many dead elements which weighed down the whole party life, not only the membership books of the past.

Unquestionably we have lost some of the old members. We may have lost some members because of the fact that we have made errors in our reorganization campaign. Our campaign was far from perfect. We were confronted with the most difficult task of any section in the Comintern insofar as party reorganization is concerned. Comrades speaking eighteen languages were to be welded into one party. Previously we, in reality, tho not in form, actually had eighteen parties. Every federation was a party unto itself in many respects.

The Communist International is quite satisfied with the progress of reorganization made by the Workers (Communist) Party of America. It is particularly satisfied with the energy and system with which we went about the whole campaign. This is true despite the fact that we have unquestionably made numerous errors in our reorganization efforts.

It will take a little while yet until the party liquidates the reorganization crisis and other difficulties in which we have found ourselves for the last months. Still it is only the petty bourgeois skeptics and opportunist pessimists who fail to see the upward trend in the development of the party, who fail to see that despite all its difficulties the party has been moving forward and is now on a much more sound, a much firmer basis politically and organizationally than it has been before.

Pessimism—An Opportunist Malady

COMRADE Lenin's quotation mentioned above certainly characterizes the attitude of these pessimists and cynics, most of them fortunately out of the party by this time. Instead of participating actively in party work when they were in the party, these opportunists, these skeptics who have no faith in the virility of the International Communist movement have always been spending their time saying: "What shall we do? What is the party doing? The party is not sufficiently alive."

Being dead themselves in the party work, they have never seen the party in any other condition but that of death. Being paralyzed themselves insofar as their participation in party campaigns and activities is concerned, they never saw the party in action, the party in motion, the party in contact with the non-Communist masses.

It is not my purpose to hide our weakness or our errors. The best way to overcome mistakes is to take energetic steps, honestly and openly, to correct these mistakes. The plain, objective facts speak much more forcibly than do illusions born out of disappointments or unwarranted optimism. I have asked myself recently, "How alive is the party now? How alive is the party in this critical period of the completion of the reorganization and the liquidation of factionalism?"

This is not the occasion to consult the official proceedings or party minutes in order to answer these questions. Let us examine the files of The DAILY WORKER. I have before me the issue of February 5. A perusal of the columns of the front page of this paper will give an adequate answer to all the skeptics and doubters now outside of our ranks and to the few still remaining in our ranks as to how alive the party is after reorganization. We will consider The DAILY WORKER columns and then explain the party's relations to each particular movement of the working class or oppressed peoples.

"Gera Workers Join Passaic Textile Strike."

FOR some time the party has been talking about taking steps to organize the unorganized. The thousands of workers employed in the textile industry are ruthlessly exploited and brutally oppressed because of their lack of organization. Despite numerous difficulties in the path of organizing the textile workers, the party has thrown all of its energies into arousing the textile workers in Passaic to the need of unionizing their ranks. The New York district is giving a good demonstration of how the party can function so as to become the leader of the non-Communist workers. The party is the very steel rod in the strike in Passaic involving more than 8,000 workers.

Little would be gained from advertising the role of the Communists in this spontaneous mass revolt against the textile barons. Here, as in every other case, the road to Communist success and to party leadership of great masses of workers is to be found in the slow, careful, daily work, in the energetic struggle of the Communists for the immediate and most elementary needs of the workers. The Communists participating in the Passaic textile strike have convinced hundreds of workers that the Communists are today the only ones fighting not only for the overthrow of capitalist society, but for even the most basic, everyday needs of the working class. This method is the best method for establishing the Communist Party as the real vanguard of the American proletariat.

"North Dakota Farmers for Class Party."

IN the growing left wing movement among the poor farmers in the Northwest, centering in the states of North Dakota, Montana and South Dakota, it has been the Communist fraction that has been furnishing the vitality and the drive for the clear political line. It has been the Communists who have been doing everything to unify the ranks of the discontented farmers and to organize them for effective struggle. Here the party has contact with and influence over considerable numbers of exploited farmers.

"Trade Union Educational League Plans Fight Against New Company Unions and Class Collaboration."

THE rapid growth of American imperialist development has hastened the pace at which the American trade union bureaucracy has been developing into an integral part of the apparatus used by the bourgeoisie to exploit and oppress the great masses of unskilled workers in the basic industries. Hundreds of thousands of workers have been forced to join company unions and have been prevented from becoming bona fide trade unionists. The trade union bureaucracy in many instances not only does not fight against these moves of the bosses, but

actually joins hands with them in order to destroy genuine trade unionism and thus cripple the chances of developing a revolutionary spirit in the ranks of the working masses. It has been our party which for some time has been the best organized expression of opposition to this movement towards company unionism and the other frauds of class collaboration sanctioned by the officialdom of our trade union movement. The party has been investing considerable energy, and very properly so, in helping the T. U. E. L. to mobilize the maximum number of workers possible against these schemes of class betrayal by the high-priced leaders of our organized labor movement.

"Miners' Grievance Committee Demand John L. Lewis Stand by Tri-District Meet Decision."

THE only semblance of opposition organized in the anthracite field against the black sell-out in the last strike is that of the growing left wing movement in this section of the coal fields. The Communists have been the most energetic force in the front ranks of this growing progressive movement amongst the anthracite miners. It is true we have not been able to prevent Lewis from putting over his five years' enslavement contract. We have, however, laid a basis for developing a strong Communist organization in this territory which has been one of the almost impregnable strongholds of John L. Lewis in the United Mine Workers of America.

"Lecture on China by Anna Louise Strong Sunday Night."

CHINA may be far away from the United States, but the Chinese problem is an ever-pressing problem of major importance growing nearer and nearer to the interests of the American workers. There are now American gun-boats and destroyers in Chinese waters. The American imperialists have been trying to undermine the rising influence of the Soviet Union in the Far East. Camouflage, hypocrisy and money have been the main weapons of the Yankee imperialist agents. The party has made considerable propaganda to expose the true character of America's role in the Far East, particularly in China, and has done a good deal to make clear to the American workers the fact that the hopes, not only of the Chinese, but of every other oppressed people lies in the growing strength of the Soviet Union.

"New Filipino Mission is On Way to America."

WITHIN the last year the party has intensified its anti-imperialist activity. Nearly two years ago, the Filipino labor unions, in their annual congress, sent a message of greetings to our party in recognition of the campaigns waged by the Communists for complete Filipino independence from the clutches of American imperialism. Since then we have established firmer contact with the Filipinos. Our start in this respect has been small so far, but the direction in which we are travelling and the results which we have already attained are correct and encouraging.

"Lewis Officials and Prosecutor Confer on Jury."

SOME of the most valuable work of the party in recent months is to be found in the activities of our comrades in the Zeigler trial. Here we have a case where the trade union bureaucracy functions openly and brutally as part and parcel of the strike-breaking state machinery. The party has won many new friends amongst the miners thru its activities in showing clearly how the trade union bureaucracy, the Lewis machine, the operators and the government have formed an unholy alliance, an unholy trinity against every progressive worker in the Southern Illinois coal fields. Such party activities are not purely propaganda activities. They are bound to translate themselves with little delay into concrete organizational advantages for the American section of the Communist International.

"Zeigler Miners' Trial is Attempt of Farrington Machine to Crush Opposition to Class Collaboration."

THE fruits of class collaboration are to be found in the recent conviction of eight progressive miners in the trial at Zeigler in Southern Illinois. The party members have distinguished themselves in arousing large numbers of non-Communist masses working in the coal fields to the great danger that confronts them in these convictions.

We have a long road to travel yet in order to achieve our goal of convincing these miners that it is high time that they kick out the Farrington machine which is as much responsible as the coal operators or the government of the county for the conviction of these progressive workers. But the fact that our party was at the very center of these activities is the best guarantee that increasing support will be developed to secure adequate defense for these miners who have been sentenced to serve in the state penitentiary from one to fourteen years on the charge of assault with intent to kill.

It must be remembered that the Zeigler trial is one of the most significant events in the recent developments in the American labor movement.

"Forty Miners Entrapped in Burning Mine."

THE party has been strengthening its influence among the coal miners in Western Pennsylvania. Recently when certain non-union miners went out on strike, it was only party speakers who could appeal to these workers and succeed in getting these workers to join the United Mine Workers of America.

On one occasion, when the miners were burying one of their brothers who was a victim of the coal operators' greed for profits in the mine explosion, the local union in this section of Pennsylvania called upon the party office to arrange to deliver the address at the funeral in behalf of the organized miners. These incidents in themselves may appear small, but in reality they are straws indicating which way the wind is blowing for our party in this very important industrial section of the country. It is precisely thru active participation in the every-day so-called "small" struggles of the workers that the party can sink deeply its roots into the masses and thus establish its influence over increasing numbers of the American proletariat.

"Cleveland Forms Committee to Aid Striking Anthracite and West Virginia Coal Miners."

THE movement to secure relief for the anthracite miners who were in the struggle against their exploiters for nearly six months has taken on considerable proportions in the last few weeks. In New York, Detroit and Cleveland, our party members have engaged with special vigor in mobilizing labor organizations to come to the aid of the heroic anthracite miners. Realizing that the miners will be in dire straits for a few weeks yet despite the settlement, our membership is continuing the miners' relief campaign with renewed vigor. These efforts are winning new friends for the party not only in the anthracite field, but in other labor centers.

From the above it is clear that the party is very much alive today. Of course, there is considerable room for improvement. The party must be still more alive. Our party can never be too active.

We are on the right road. Let us continue to smash to smithereens the hopes of the black seers who have turned their backs on our movement. Slowly but surely the reorganized party, the party based on the shop nuclei and street nuclei is moving forward towards becoming indeed the vanguard of the American proletariat.

We are moving forward in the spirit of Lenin. What better guarantee can we ask for our success in hurdling the numerous obstacles and the countless difficulties still in our way?

Forty-Six Cents for Jesus

By Henry.

DOWN on Madison street, in that part of Chicago where the employment sharks have their offices for the catching of itinerant laborers, there is a popular rendezvous called the "Hobo College."

In the language of Madison street and of all the world of itinerant labor, a "hobo" is not a "bum," not one of those wrecks who can no longer work and who drift from bootleg joint to bootleg joint until drugstore booze and the city dead wagon gets them. "Hobo" in the sense in which I use it means a working stiff. That is a harvest hand, a railroad construction laborer, or any kind of seasonal worker. And so it is to be expected that anyone claiming to establish an institution of higher learning on Madison street should call it a "Hobo College."

The "Hobo College" is under the supervision of Ben Reitman, who passes as a doctor, and is known as an ex-bum, one-time balihoo man to Emma Goldman, now a reformed christian. When the war started and his associates began going to jail. Ben Reitman hastened to Jesus. And now we find him and Jesus running the "Hobo College."

Preachers of all churches and denominations, sects and creeds, come to the college to display their wares to hoboes. It is very interesting to observe how all attempts on the part of Reitman and the rest of the fakers that come to Hobo College, to force religion upon the hoboes, is spent in vain.

For instance Reitman invited groups of students from the Moody Bible Institute to deliver talks in the college, Sunday afternoon, February 7. The whole soul saving expedition came with bibles, singing sister and brethrens, ex-convicts, ex-sinners, the official testimony-givers who were saved from sin and now repose safe in the arms of Jesus.

At 4 p. m. the show began with the gospel jockeys singing to the tune of jazz music, "Jesus Satisfies Me." Then the usual testimony givers came forth and told the 'boes how they were saved, while Reitman walked up and down the isle and repeatedly warned the 'boes that any attempt to disrupt the meeting would be quickly dealt with. "Keep quiet." "Keep quiet!" thundered Reitman time and again, in the stentorian voice that once peddled books for Emma.

The official bible-pounder mounted the platform. The audience sat silent expecting to hear something new from the speaker. For fully two hours the evangelist tore the hair off his head, trying to convince the three hundred men who crowded the hall that the bible is the most wonderful book of all books in the world. It was a very interesting experience to observe how the men behaved during the evangelist's talk. They sat motionless and expressionless all the while the evangelist raved about his wonderful book. Not even one man applauded when the raving evangelist gave away the platform to Reitman.

On mounting the platform, Reitman expressed his great joy and satisfaction at having the students from the Moody Bible Institute come to the Hobo College, inviting them to come again.

Next on the program was taking the collection to defray the expenses of maintaining this college. Reitman appealed to the three hundred men that they should assume the responsibility of financing this "educational institution"; that they should pay for their education, etc. The men remained as silent as during the first part of the meeting.

The official pan-handler went thru the crowd with "the pan," while Reitman urged "Kick in boys, kick in." "Learn to pay for your education."

The pan-handler came back when the "pan" collection was taken.

Three hundred men had given forty-six cents to maintain the "educational institution."

Reitman became indignant, once more the "pan" was shoved under the

noses of the silent 'boes; a few nickels dropped in the "pan." "Six dollars we want from this crowd," bewailed Reitman, "Come on boys, pay for your education!" The "pan" came back bearing a few nickels.

The Moody Bible students who had come with Reitman had to contribute to make up the six dollars.

The same Sunday, two hours later, after the students from the Moody Bible Institute departed, another lecturer, who delivers lectures in the Hobo College every Sunday evening, delivered a scientific talk on the relation of man to the universe. Practically the same crowd attended the evening lecture. The usual collection was taken; once more the pan went thru the crowd; the collection amounted to \$10.56.

What does the hobo want—religion or scientific knowledge? Will he succumb to the age-worn philosophy of the meek and lowly Nazarene? Slowly but surely the mass is awakening from the traditional delusions and superstitions; slowly emerging into the light of coming day from the mud and slush of the opinions and prejudices that the capitalist bosses hire the Jesus-peddlers to stuff into them. It is a hopeful sign.

A Letter From Soviet Land

California Commune,
Don District,
Union of Socialist
Soviet Republics.

Editor New Magazine Section,
Daily Worker:

NOT far from Rostov-on-the-Don, on the estate of a one-time nobleman and general, is now located an agricultural commune known as the "California Commune." Here we cultivate the rich loamy soil in accordance with a scientific plan, with the aid of high-powered tractors and the latest farming equipment. This is the third year of our existence and our first bumper crop, and already, in spite of many obstacles, we are on a sound economic basis. There are 140 people in our organization and our problems do not end with the proper cultivation of the soil. There is the task of educating our membership and drawing them more fully into the activities of socialist construction. Our newly formed Communist nucleus is on the job and hopes in record time to liquidate all traces of illiteracy both political and ordinary.

When we consider the moral and material aid given us by the Soviet government and the glorious Communist Party in the form of land, seed loans, exemption from taxation, long time credits, exemption from duties, and all kinds of technical advice and assistance, we realize its incomparable superiority over the so-called American democracy, where our brother farmers are not only impoverished but actually driven off the land at the behest of the greedy bankers. Our commune is composed of American workers and farmers, some of whom do not as yet speak the Russian language, but we want to tell our American comrades that we are 100 percent for the Soviet system and look forward to the future with the greatest hope. We do not doubt that we will accomplish our great aim, which is to organize a model farm which will serve as an example and school for the peasants of the northern Caucasus.

We are glad of the opportunity of sending our greetings to the workers and poor farmers of America through their paper, THE DAILY WORKER, and we hope that they will more seriously study the lessons of our great October revolution and of our immortal teacher Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, so that the time may soon come when they too will be building a beautiful socialist future, like the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia are doing.

With comradely greetings,
H. D. Greenberg.

"We Go Up, You Go Down!"



Capitalism, trying to rise from the ruins of war, wants to get rid of ballast, and tries to cast the worker down to a lower standard of living—says "Hay" Bales, the cartoonist.

Child Life in America Today

By Jimmy Clifford.

THINKING of child life as conditions exist in America today under the capitalistic system, which has control of all the means of life, I see a most deplorable state of affairs, with no opportunity for the physical or mental development of the coming generation. We must consider the future welfare of the Youth. Food, clothing and shelter are necessary for their physical growth.

First—Food. Do the worker's children have the proper necessities of life? We read in the daily newspaper where they have installed public soup kitchens (Scranton, Pa.) to feed the striking miner's children. What a shame and disgrace in this day and age for us to undermine the spirit of little innocent children: To give charity whereas there is plenty of food that the workers' have produced and approximately two hundred fifty thousand (250,000) little children slaving in the mines, mills and fields. Is it not calamitous? What are we going to do about it? Are we forever going to perpetuate this damnable system that is responsible for creating such putrid condition? I say no. The only hope that the writer sees is

that we must make a special effort to organize the youth and teach him the truth of the principles of Communism, the theory that will enable the child to grow physically and mentally and to live a free and beneficial and wholesome life which is and should be their birthright.

Second—Clothing. What do we see? The worker's children wearing clothes that are cheap and shoddy, not fit for anything only the rag bag—although the stores and warehouses are full of clothes that the workers have made.

Third—Shelter. The workers' children live in shacks that the capitalist class would not consider good enough for their dogs to live in. But the workers are busy building fine homes for the shirkers.

What are the chances of the workers' children for mental development? Their standard of education is poor, limited and wrong. But they, the capitalist class, have control of the child's mind long enough to poison it with lies and prejudices.

With the squalid homes, underfed children, and with no opportunity for a cultural or educational training, is it not calamitous?

Communist Men

WE are men standing defiant
Armed to the teeth with Marx
gunpowder.
Men, courageous, fearless and pliant,
Not afraid of the rumble growing
ever louder.
—Worker Correspondent.

Freedom's Call

ARRAY yourselves in armor
Of courage and ideals
To free yourselves forever
From wage slavery and its ills.
Workers and farmers get ready
As your brothers in Russia have
done.
Let all in the work be united
For the final battle will soon be on.
—Worker Correspondent.

The Soviet Union is Catching Up With the West

The inevitable rapid cultural growth of the Soviet Union and the urgency of increased work in the fields of science and fine arts in order to vanquish capitalism.

By **M. J. KALININ**, President of the Central Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

(Translated by M. Mishkis.)

WE of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are behind Western Europe in science, in production and in everyday life.

In their ordinary life the workers of Western Europe are better off than the Russian workers. The western workers have better houses, better furniture, better clothing and, besides that, their everyday cultural life is higher than that of the Russian workers.

Only in the field of fine arts Russia has always been to a certain degree ahead of Western Europe.

In the past the fine arts were separated from the masses and served the interests of the ruling class. The nobles and the capitalists had their requirements, their modes,—and things have been arranged in accordance with these modes.

Russian art has now a harder time. Before this the art had to satisfy the requirements of a thin stratum of the population only. The cultural life of the old Russia was quite primitive and easily satisfied.

The present Russian art has to reflect the spirit of the people and to express its creative genius. This is much harder.

It is not enough now to adapt art to the more or less primitive requirements of the "upper class." It has to reflect the basic characters of the Russian people.

Quantity Changes Into Quality.

The Russian people is numerous and, according to the teaching of Karl Marx, the quantity determines the quality. Let us take for an example a small brook and a large river. The difference between them is only in quantity,—the brook has little water and the large river plenty of it. However, no brook impresses us so forcefully as a large river.

The sea makes a still stronger impression than the large river. So we see that the quantity determines the quality.

The same thing is noticeable also in the everyday life.

The cultural needs, the cultural requirements of a great people are great.

And no matter how the Russian people were enslaved in the past by the chains of czarism, it still counted in its ranks a considerably greater number of artists than some cultural western country.

Let us take for an example Sweden. In the past, as well as at present, Sweden is culturally much higher than Russia. But Sweden had proportionately much less of talent than Russia had.

I am saying this, not in order to boast the talents of the Russian people, but to show that the Russian art must be a model for others.

The Artist's Task.

In art must pulsate the life of the masses, the artist is the pulse of life. In accordance with this the work of the Russian artist must reflect the will and the aspirations of a great multi-millioned country.

The fine arts of painting, of modeling and of music reflect particularly the spirit of the people.

We aspire to teach others, we aspire to produce works of art, and if that is the case, we have to produce them so that they should correspond to the state of mind and the spirit of our people. This is a very difficult task.

Many of us think that the "toys" patronized by the czarist absolutism have to be broken up now, and that instead of them we have to produce surgical instruments and equipment for hospitals. But this is a wrong idea. The object of taking over the gov-

ernmental power into the hands of the workers and farmers was not the converting of the people into stupid machinery. The workers' and farmers' government was formed in order to convert the downtrodden and ignorant masses into a cultural people.

Of course, a corresponding education (not only a school education, as this alone will not accomplish much), and a corresponding way of life, are required.

When the worker's economic condition will be more or less secure he will buy beautiful cups, a demand will arise for beautiful articles.

I think that economic security will be reached in about two or three years. Obviously, then will also arise the demand for fine arts.

The people will demand: "You, art and science! You beautified the life of the ruling classes for two hundred years. Try now to satisfy the artistic taste of us, the Russian people."

These are demands we'll make upon art.

Let us pass now to science. In Russia science is undoubtedly behind. Surely Russia is not ahead of Western Europe.

But I think that within five or ten years Russia must be, if not ahead, then at least on the same line with Western Europe.

Russia must advance in science, otherwise she'll be strangled.

As a matter of fact the capitalist countries are culturally worn out. The capitalist world cannot give anything new.

But we are the new society, maybe only primitive at present as compared with the capitalist society, but still ours is the new one.

Lessons of History.

In history it often happened that the old culture was destroyed by new, often a barbarian, culture. Let us take the Roman empire: It was vanquished by the Germans. The latter were in a lower cultural state than the Romans. But the Germans were the bearers of a new social order, of a new historical revival, and Rome was disintegrating.

The old capitalistic society is at present disintegrating and we are growing. But in order to grow we have to be strong also in science.

This is our task at the present moment.

I am of the opinion that there is no disgrace for us in accepting the help of another country. We have to get the initial help of the western scientists, but we have to advance farther independently.

The foreign countries helped us out for two hundred years, since the time of Peter the Great, but still we are behind.

We have reached a moment when the revolution is pushing us to catch up with western scientists.

It seems to me that everyone of us must make it his task, must determine for himself: "I must improve to such a degree as to be on an equal level with the best European workmen."

A clash between the capitalistic society and the new society is possible in the near future.

But Russia cannot win if it remains behind in technique.

If the Russian binoculars are to be inferior to the German binoculars, if the Russian aeroplane is to be inferior to the French one—then Russia cannot win.

Russia must be ahead of other countries in science.

Russia must be ahead of everybody, not in words but in reality. We must show that the Russian farmer and the Russian worker took the government power in their hands not for the fun of it.

We destroyed absolutism and the class of nobility and now we must justify ourselves historically and must fulfill our obligations to mankind. We actually want to build up a new society and to liberate the workers and farmers from slavery.

Now every worker must not only do the work, must not do it mechanically, but must put into it all of his intelligence, his feelings, and all his energy.

We are builders of the new society.

Wake Up!



Get the victims of the class struggle out of prison. A working class that willingly permits its fighters to be picked off and imprisoned by the enemy, cannot emancipate itself.

New Slant on the Rubber Controversy

By **Sylvan A. Pollack.**

GIVING a new slant to the question of rubber, which at the present time is the basis for a great deal of discussion, Congressman Ashton C. Schallenberger, democrat, from Nebraska, denies the theory advanced by the secretary of commerce, Herbert Hoover, that it is due to a monopoly on that product by British interests that the price has been advanced. According to his opinion, which will be the basis of a congressional investigation to be pressed by him, the high prices demanded for rubber products in this country are not due to the British rubber growers raising the prices, but are a result of exorbitant prices charged by American manufacturers who purchase the raw material from Britain.

Apparently the democrats are afraid that the political prestige of Hoover will be too much advanced as a result of the rubber controversy, and as a result we have an opportunity of hearing some very interesting figures, which Congressman Schallenberger puts before us.

Posing as the defender and protector of the "people," Schallenberger says:

"Why should we not investigate the real profiteers to protect the American consumer? We have had a million yells about foreign controls but not one word against American profiteers and manufacturers of adulterated tires."

"I wonder if the secretary of commerce reads his own publication," he said. "The monthly summary of foreign commerce for November last gives the actual figures of the amount of rubber imported into this country in 1925 and the price for the eleven months of 1925, and the entire amount of rubber imported was 798,000,000 pounds, the entire cost \$364,649,144 and not \$700,000,000. The remarks of Secretary Hoover to our committee were based upon the idea that the cost of rubber to the American people amounted to the enormous sum of \$700,000,000 last year. Mr. Hoover said the public had been saved \$250,000,000 by a drop in the price of rubber from \$1.10 to 85 cents because of his efforts to lower it."

Congressman Schallenberger denies that the price ever went to a dollar.

"An investigation by our commit-

tee," he asserts, "has brought out the fact that the Englishmen are not the only pirates in the rubber field. It has been developed that the great rubber manufacturers here buy their rubber in London, New York, or the East Indies on contract for long periods in advance of actual use, so that the average contract cost of rubber used by the great tire makers in America has been below fifty cents instead of the high price quoted by Secretary Hoover in the public press.

"There is no doubt that rubber is selling at a high price—a price controlled by a foreign monopoly—but the investigation has already brought out that it is the American public and not the tire manufacturers that have been given the hot end of the poker.

"The big tire companies all show the greatest net profits for 1925 of any years in their history," Schallenberger added. "The Fisk company in 1925 more than doubled their previous profits; Goodrich netted fifteen million, Firestone reported earnings of \$13,000,000 or net earnings of 26 per cent on fifty millions of stock. United Rubber, the biggest of them all, shows earnings of 25 per cent.

"There is about ten pounds of crude rubber in the average standard tire, according to testimony before the committee. The British control has advanced the average price of that rubber fifty cents a pound for this date. That accounts for five dollars of the advance in the cost of making the tire, but a 33 by 6 Goodrich balloon tire and tube that cost \$30 before the rubber advance now costs \$54 in the Washington market, or an advance to the American buyer of \$24.

"We have found out that the Englishman got the \$5, but who got the rest of the \$24? It seems to me that instead of investigating English rubber we had better get after the American rubber."

Thus we see the beginning of a merry little war starting in Washington. The democratic party will not allow the Coolidge administration to pose as the only friends of the automobile owners, for that would react on their political ambitions, so we see them (the democrats) advancing the ideas quoted above from Congressman Schallenberger's interview.

It will be worth while to watch for the next developments in this interesting controversy.