

The New Magazine

Supplement of

THE DAILY WORKER

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Second Section: This Magazine Section Appears Every Saturday in The DAILY WORKER.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1926

290



THE BIRTHDAYS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN—THE TWO GREAT HEROES OF THE CAPITALIST REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES—ARE CELEBRATED THIS MONTH. THESE TWO REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS OF CAPITALISM'S YOUNGER DAYS ARE ENVELOPED IN A SEMI-RELIGIOUS MIST AND USED AS SYMBOLS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WHICH IS NOW OLD AND DECAYING, AND BRUTALLY, POWERFULLY, MURDEROUSLY REACTIONARY. REVOLUTION NO LONGER BELONGS TO CAPITALISM, BUT TO THE PROLETARIAT WHICH WILL DESTROY CAPITALISM.

George Washington the "Father"

By ROBERT MINOR.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was the "Father of our Country." Abraham Lincoln was the Savior of the Union."

The birthdays of these two great figures of American history are about to be celebrated. All of the banks and stores and some of the factories close on these days, and the industrial workers and white collar slaves are turned loose to celebrate. Big politicians talk and a great deal of propaganda is made for this most powerful of all bourgeois republics on these birthdays of its "Father" and its "Savior."

Do you ever stop to think what is behind these words "Father" and "Savior"? Immediately we recall of the old religious jargon of "God the Father" and "Jesus Christ the Savior." Is there any connection, or is it only an accident that Washington was called the "Father" (of our country) and that Lincoln is called the "Savior" (of the union)? Yes, there is at least a shadowy connection. All concepts of religious systems—all images of heavenly government with god on his throne and Jesus and the angels grouped about—all images of heavenly dynasties that have ever existed—are merely imaginary reproduction of

the social systems on earth among real men, with the king or master and the privileged ruling class.

And this image seems to be reflected back from the clouds to the earth again, to envelope in semi-mystic glory the "Father" and the "Savior" of this capitalistic republic.

But why were these particular men, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, chosen to be the national demigods?

Who was George Washington?

There have been many efforts by critical writers to show that Washington was merely an ordinary land-thief and speculator—a sharp, greedy, landed aristocrat and owner of many black slaves who never closed his eye to the chance to make a few dollars. In recent times, many efforts among the petty-bourgeois iconoclasts to show in a timid way that Washington "danced all night, flirted with women and liked to drink wine," have caused little tempests of scandal.

For the intelligent American working class all of this is self-evident, and unimportant. Of course Washington was a land speculator, a slave driver, a money grabber, a drinker of wine and a chaser of women. We know that simply because we know that George Washington was the best possible ex-

pression of the dominant classes which made the American revolution of which he was the chief. All the business of life out of which wealth was accumulated consisted of land speculation, trading in general, slave driving on southern plantations, and the earlier beginnings of wage slave driving in manufacturing, out of these sources, and nowhere else, came the greatness of that time, and George Washington was great among his kind.

But the explanation of George Washington is much more important than that.

There had come a time when the contradictions in the colonial system of Great Britain could no longer be held in check. Every where in the most advanced portions of continental Europe the fast growing bourgeois class was fermenting and creating a revolutionary opposition to the old absolute monarchies.

In the thirteen little colonies of Great Britain clinging to the eastern coast of the American continent, these contradictions developed to an extreme degree. In a certain sense, this colonial system on the American continent was the "weakest link" in the system of world economy at the time.

The American colonial trading bourgeoisie and slave owning aristo-

crats had grown so powerful as to already feel that they no longer required the military protection of England. The war between England and France in which took the American form of the so-called "French and Indian war" had developed the military capacity and the confidence of the American colonial wealthy classes.

In this war George Washington was developed into a man of military experience. Washington was far from being a weak figure. Appointed a colonel when a mere boy of 23, George showed qualities that were to be useful in his revolutionary part later on. He was with General Braddock when the British forces were disastrously defeated by the French and Indians. In this defeat George, as commander of the colonial irregular troops, is said to have done fairly well in saving the regulars from annihilation. But in doing so he learned a great lesson in the weakness of the methods of the classic military school of Europe for application under the conditions of fighting in the backwoods. This lesson Washington was able later to extend into a greater lesson—one that is good even to this day—that the military science undergoes a deep change in the conditions of revolutionary civil warfare.

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued from page 1).

The clashes between the legitimate government and the dissatisfied propertied classes had come to the point of violent skirmishes. To meet the needs of the situation, and to protect their efforts to evade the custom laws of the government—evasions which are correctly called smuggling—the mercantile classes of the American government formed a secret, underground, armed organization under the name of the minute men.

Many conferences of the wealthy colonials took place, either secretly or in places out of reach of the government. These conferences became more and more open. The general opinion was not in favor of secession from Great Britain, but for organized resistance against the enforcement of the laws which touched the pocket-books of the colonials.

But the isolated complaints against the government's actions inevitably flowed together and took an ideological form. In France the bourgeois thinkers were putting the complaints of the bourgeoisie against the monarchy into ideological form with a philosophy of republicanism. Freedom of trade was needed, equality of merchants and manufacturers with the decadent nobles, fraternal solidarity of the bourgeois for the shaping of national institutions—and these material needs were translated into the political slogans, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!"

The French bourgeois revolutionary ideology seeped into all corners of the world and helped to crystallize and clarify the purposes of the bourgeoisie everywhere. French thought became an inspiration to the comparatively meagre intellectual circles of the British colonies in America. Elegant masters of great slave estates, such as Thomas Jefferson, sat and enthused over (and plagiarized) French pamph-

lets on "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."

George Washington seemed rather immune to the philosophical side of it, perhaps partly because he had very little education, reading was hard work for him, and for any finished writing he had to have assistance. Nevertheless he was a good revolutionist in his way and caught some of the spirit of his time.

Washington attended as a delegate to the first Continental Congress in 1774, where he made no speeches and generally gave the impression of being rather "dumb"—but he showed some understanding of coming events, for when he did open his mouth it was to say that "blood will be spilled."

As events moved forward more to action and less to oratory, Washington played a more distinct part. The second continental congress came together in March 1775, and here George served very capably on committees for fortifying New York, for collecting ammunition, raising money, and for working out rules for a revolutionary army. Otherwise he did little but to strut about in the only military uniform at the congress. This is more significant than it sounds. Under the conditions of the time, it was by no means certain whether the wealthy leaders of the different colonies were really going to hang together in the fight resistance to the government. It was not yet decided that a revolutionary war for independence would be undertaken. The fighting was going on in Massachusetts, and the commercial bourgeoisie of that colony was not sure that the slave colonies would come into the fight and stand together with them. John Adams, the leader of the Massachusetts delegation to the congress, wanting to ensure the agreement of the leading southern colony with the northern merchants, made the shrewd motion that the appointment as military commander be given

to the Virginia leader, George Washington.

The appointment of Washington was agreed upon. George Washington was well started to become the "Father of the Country."

He was a capable insurrectionary leader, driving the British army out of Boston for John Adams' merchant clique, and then plunged into preparations for further fighting.

On July 4, 1776, came the famous meeting at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence was signed. The revolution from then on took the form of open, armed insurrection, a civil war for the complete overthrow of the government on American soil.

A combination of circumstances were favorable to the revolution. England was involved in a much bigger war with the French empire and communication with the scene of the colonial war was slow and difficult. England gave up the struggle—the revolution had won.

The American revolutionary war shot a great flame into the sky—a flame of revolutionary reality, which was seen in all countries where the bourgeoisie groaned under feudal restrictions. It gave acceleration to the fast development of the great French revolution which broke out within a decade, the successful slave revolution in Haiti, and the Napoleonic wars which opened the continent of Europe to modern bourgeois production. It is little to be wondered that its ablest leader in action should stand out big in history.

But Washington hadn't yet finished his job of becoming the "Father of his Country."

Within a few months after signing the peace with England the American big landlords and merchants turned about and with brutal force suppressed the small farmers who looked for something for themselves out of the revolution as against the exploitation by the big land lords and city mer-

chants. The class struggle of the small farmers showed frightening possibilities to the wealthy classes, and the chaos of economic breakdown throughout the colonies seemed hopeless.

At the same time in the state of Georgia where the slave population vastly outnumbered the white ruling class, an insipient slave revolution was considered to be at the point of outbreak.

The revolutionary ferment had gone further than the "revolutionary fathers" wanted it to.

A unifying force and symbol had to be found. There was a serious movement, more or less secret, for the unification of the thirteen colonies under a king. A German prince was to be imported as the founder of an American dynasty. Many of the American "revolutionary fathers" were involved in this movement. If this movement had succeeded, George Washington would never have been known as the "Father of the Country," but some German prince would have become the "Father of the Country."

The common danger drove together the leading figures of the propertied classes of the thirteen states. Again they assembled in 1787 at Philadelphia in a long secret conference which had for its purpose the solution of the crisis. This conference resulted in the adoption of the constitution of United States which for its first time declared an end to the separate national existence of the thirteen states and declared all to constitute a single nation united under the name of the United States of America.

The final solution of the question of civil government had been reached. The idea of the German prince was laid aside and George Washington was selected as the best unifying figure to hold the torn little country together. Washington was elected president.

George Washington became the "Father of the Country."

LINCOLN THE "SAVIOR" OF THE UNION - By Robert Minor

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, born on a Kentucky farm in 1809 of "poor white" parents of the wandering half-farmer, half-laborer class, spent his early years in small towns of Illinois. In his entire life he had altogether about twelve months of schooling, and at the age of twenty-one he could barely read, write and do simple arithmetic.

Abe worked as a flat-boat laborer on the Mississippi river and later as a village store clerk at New Salem, Illinois, where he soon acquired a reputation as a wrestler and all-around village athlete, as well as a teller of what are called "smutty stories" and a writer of anti-religious satires to be read for amusement to the gaping circle around the stove of the country store. The store failed and Abe, very hard up for a job, decided to use his village reputation as a candidate for the Illinois house of representatives. He was then 23 years old. Failing to be elected, Abe joined a military company to fight Indians, was promoted to be a captain, got into trouble and resigned without having been in any fight.

Lincoln then tried his hand as a storekeeper, but soon failed because of his partner's drunken habits. Abe drifted from job to job as country postmaster, deputy surveyor, etc.

But the clouds of the coming big social clash were already gathering in 1834, and Abe, by the very fact of his wandering, shifting habits of life, had acquired a sensitive mind for social currents. He was elected to the Illinois house of representatives in 1834.

While in the legislature, Lincoln studied law with borrowed books, and two years later was a practicing attorney. He soon made himself a reputation as a railroad lawyer in the struggle that was going on for the breaking down the old legal forms which obstructed the advance of railroad building. Lincoln was fitting himself into the currents of history that led forward in the development of American capitalism.

In the Illinois legislature he quickly learned to enlarge his village social instincts into instincts for national

politics. His early taste for writing crude anti-religious satires was curbed. The slavery question was slowly unfolding as the question on which the politicians of the day would make or break themselves. Lincoln took his position: Slavery was wrong and bad policy, but congress had no power to abolish it, and abolition agitation did more harm than good. On this platform Lincoln caught many political winds and soared upward and onward in his career.

In 1846 he made the race as the candidate of the Whig party against a preacher on the democratic ticket, and was elected to the national house of representatives. At Washington Lincoln's political abilities were soon put to the test. Under the domination of the southern cotton oligarchy, the United States entered into a war of conquest against Mexico—basically a war for more slave territory. Lincoln opposed the war, an act which for the time being severely retarded his political career.

Abe's understanding of the part the slavery question was to play in coming history was rapidly developed and he took a more and more definite position. His powers of oratory had developed to great proportions, bringing him the opportunity of his lifetime when he was chosen to oppose the powerful democratic leader, Stephen A. Douglas, in public debates.

The Mexican war over, the cotton oligarchy, having conquered Mexico and taken the vast territory of the west thru its control of the United States government and army, was now determined to profit by its gains by extending the slave plantation system throughout the west to California.

Northern capitalist economy also lusted for the extension of its own system into the great empire of the west, and the two ambitions could not both be realized.

In 1849 discovery of immense gold deposits in California carried a great rush of settlers from the northern states to the coast, stimulating the northern capitalist class' yearning to take the great golden west for its own. Railroads must pierce the Rocky Mountains and claim that priceless empire as an outlet for the eastern factory system.

So the southern slave oligarchy in 1854, thru its domination of congress, took the fatal step of repealing the Missouri compromise and opening the west to become either slave or free according to the vote of the settlers. Immediately began the rush of slave owners and of free farmers, and between these opened up a bloody civil war in the territory of Kansas.

The completion of the American capitalist class revolution had now to be fulfilled.

To obtain this political power—in its own hands alone, without sharing it with another power with which some more compromises would have to be made—it became historically necessary for the industrial capitalist class to have the absolute possession and direction of a mass political party. The two existing large political parties were the Whig party and the democratic party. But both were products of the past, of the compromises of a time when compromise was still possible.

It was necessary to create a new party, owned and controlled completely by the class that was struggling toward political power. It became necessary for the capitalist class to organize its most conscious elements into a new political party to lead the struggle.

In 1854 this political party was formed—the republican party.

At the first state convention of the new party in Illinois in 1856 the long, lean, backwoods lawyer, Abraham Lincoln, came in to participate and to play a leading part. His abilities quickly dominated the convention and precipitated him into national politics. As the democratic leader, Stephen A. Douglas, was a U. S. senator from Illinois, Lincoln became an "expedient" national leader against Douglas.

As the fatal year 1860 approached the political crisis grew in proportions. The industrial stagnation continued, and thereby fed the flames of politics and swelled the ranks of the new party. Defeated in 1856, the republican party was stronger in 1860, and the leadership of the democrat Douglas increased the importance of the rival Illinois leader, Lincoln.

At the beginning of the presidential election of 1860, the gaunt and

slouchy western railroad lawyer and politician, Abraham Lincoln, went to New York. All that he did there is not on record, but from that time on he was known to be acceptable to the big business interests of New York—a fact publicly attributed to an able piece of oratory at Cooper Union.

At the republican national convention at Chicago in May, 1860, Lincoln appeared as a presidential candidate, with a large crowd of hired "clackers" employed to make wild outbursts of applause at every mention of his name. When the voting was in doubt the delegates controlled by another candidate, Simon Cameron, were swung to Lincoln, and Lincoln was nominated. (Later, after his election, Lincoln appointed Simon Cameron as secretary of war.)

As the republican platform called for the shutting off of all extension of slavery into the west, the shrewdest men of the day knew that this was an election which would be followed by civil war. After a flaming campaign in which Lincoln himself stayed at home and shrewdly kept his mouth shut most of the time, Lincoln was elected on a minority of the popular votes because of the split in the democratic party.

Before the inauguration of Lincoln the southern states began to secede from the Union. Lincoln came into Washington under conditions which made many believe that he would be killed on the streets.

Lincoln seems to have understood better than most of his colleagues that he was taking a post as leader of a civil war. There can be no denial of his greatness. Ethical questions of his "moral" character are meaningless. He understood fairly well how to play a part in a struggle that was in a definite way a revolutionary part. The bourgeoisie has need of ethics; the proletariat has not. Altho Lincoln was not a proletarian revolutionist, he was a leader of the bourgeoisie at a time when the bourgeoisie still had to complete its revolution.

The government of the "Confederate States of America" was formed by the slave oligarchy at Richmond, basing its action upon a legal claim (widely credited at the time) that the U. S.

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 2.)

constitution was an agreement between sovereign states and that any state had a right to secede when the union no longer accorded with their interests.

There were many who thought that the secession of the south settled the matter. If we might imagine life to be a different thing from what it is, and to be what the professors and the social-democrats think it to be, we could imagine Lincoln consulting some law books and deciding to "let them go their way" as so many petty-bourgeois pacifists in the north screamed that he should.

But life is not that way. The manufacturing north needed the agricultural, cotton growing south as a part of the national unit, and any questions of legality are the most peurile play upon words; the north under Lincoln's leadership beat the south into submission and in doing so fulfilled its role in history.

Lincoln cleverly managed the question of the relief of Fort Sumter in such a way that the south became the aggressor, and thereby Lincoln's task of getting the warring elements of the north to support him was lightened.

With a large proportion of the professional military elements deserting to the south, and with a long series of defeats for his raw armies, Lincoln persisted thru four years of the bloodiest warfare that had been known in modern times.

Only after two years of war and while facing what seemed to be danger of complete defeat, did Lincoln approach the question of abolition of

slavery. The first proclamation on the subject was merely a threat declaring that if, after January 1, 1863, the south had not laid down its arms, any territory still in arms against the Union would be declared free territory. In other words, it was not to be essentially an emancipation but a confiscation of slaves as a means of punishment to the masters. The final "Emancipation Proclamation" on January 1, 1863, however, carried the matter beyond any possibility of returning.

Lincoln's whole course in regard to slavery, if measured by the standards of proletarian revolutionary leaders, was weak and mean. But Lincoln was not a proletarian revolutionary leader, and for his bourgeois purposes he followed a consistent course in a strong, forceful manner. When he needed the emancipation of Negroes, not for the Negroes' sake, but for the bourgeois' sake, he moved with an iron hand. He acted always for his own class, bearing in mind the danger of going too far with a toiling class which would ultimately be an inherent enemy. He went only so far as necessary, and only when no other course was open, in loosening the chains of toilers.

A dramatic incident of the war time is a singular illustration of the bourgeois-revolutionary character of Lincoln's role. A very powerful and truly magnificent figure of the time was Frederick Douglass, a runaway Negro slave laborer whose able leadership dominated the militant wing of the abolition movement and split it away from a pacifist William Lloyd Garrison. Fred Douglass visited Lin-

coln to demand that the Negroes be recruited in the army to fight for their own liberation. The shrewd Negro leader seemed to sense the inherent revolutionary quality of the war (as Karl Marx did in a greater degree as shown by his letter to Lincoln), and to understand that an armed Negro population would carry his people farther than they were likely otherwise to go. But Lincoln also understood, from his own class viewpoint, and did not consent to recruit Negro soldiers until much later and then only to a severely restricted degree.

Lincoln led the last stage of the American bourgeois revolution to its successful completion, and more could not be expected of Lincoln.

Lincoln symbolizes for the American capitalist class the completion of its conquest of power. But he is conceived in a static sort of a way. Lincoln is semi-defied as the symbol of things as they are—a symbol opposed to change. His dynamic role as revolutionist is not clarified, for his shadowy image, surrounded with a haze of almost religious mysticism, becomes one of the weapons for the support of a decaying, doubly brutal, murderous capitalist system which he served in its younger days when it was brutal, it is true, but still revolutionary and therefore still leading forward.

What does Abraham Lincoln mean to the WORKING CLASS?

This matter must not be confused, as so many flabby "socialists" attempt to confuse it, by quoting certain passages of speeches which throw a little sop in a crafty way to working class psychology.

Lincoln cannot be the hero of the proletariat of today. But, while repelling all the peurile worship of Lincoln as a symbol of the capitalist wage slave system of today—the proletariat can learn a great deal from Lincoln and his part in history.

First, let us learn from Lincoln as we learn from the better revolutionists, Marx and Lenin, that no ruling, propertied class (whether it be a chattel slave oligarchy or a capitalist oligarchy) ever did or ever will give up the basis of its power and its wealth without resorting to every means of force and violence, civil war and murder, even to the point of extinction of civilization, so far as such means may be in its power.

Second, let us learn from the same sources what a class political party is: that in its full development a class political party, whether it be the republican party of a young revolutionary capitalist class, or whether it be a Communist Party of the working class—is a mass organization of the most conscious members of its class, becoming its class' organ of leadership, not merely to put ballots in boxes, but to put its class in power as the ruling class, going thru whatever actions are required by history, including parliamentary elections, maneuvers, civil war and iron dictatorship (as the republican party did), for the one purpose of placing its class in power as the ruling class and thus becoming able to shape society to its mold.

Of course, there are differences between the working class party and the capitalist class party—but of those we can learn from Lenin.

Whither American Federation of Labor

By "MORR," A Plumber

OUR great chief, the president of the American Federation of Labor, has found the labor movement too narrow and limited for him. He has already organized the American workers and accomplished for them the millenium. Now, out of his abundancy and leisure, he is entertaining our enemies with sweet songs of the common aims and identity of interests between capital and labor.

Last month President Green spoke before the Taylor Society for elimination of waste and speeding up of production. There is a comment on this speech in "Babson's Reports" of Jan., 1926 (a bulletin issued by the Babson statistical agency for business men and manufacturers) Babson says:

"All this indicates that slowly but surely a new spirit of co-operation between capital and labor is expressing itself. We (the capitalist interests, M.) consider this attitude of labor one of the most helpful signs in the present industrial situation."

It is interesting to note that while Green spoke on labor being interested in speeding up production, the "Manufacturers News" of Jan. 23 (official organ of the manufacturers' association) features two calls to the manufacturers to slow down production in view of a possible crisis due to over production. It shows the consistency of the policy of President Green and his like.

But the climax of class treachery has been reached by President Green in a speech before the Newark, Ohio, chamber of commerce, last month. ((Printed in the American Labor World of Jan., 1926). This is what he said:

"Such meetings as these are not held in many other countries or in many other lands. At an industrial round table conference held in New York recently, the Honorable Alton B. Parker, chairman of the conference, made the following amazing statement:

"I wonder how many of us appreciate the fact that ours is the only country in the world today where such a conference as this could be held!

"The conferees were representatives of capital, industry, and labor. They were assembled for the express purpose of discussing two topics of profound interest, 'Eliminate Industrial Waste,—Minimize Industrial Controversy!'"

Then President Green went on telling the chamber of commerce about Judge Parker's description of class struggle and hatred in all the countries of Europe, and Green concluded:

"If we, as American citizens properly appreciate the significance of this statement, we must feel deeply gratified when we comprehend the fact that the American labor movement is sound and constructive and that we live in a country where class distinction and class hatred can have no place in the industrial and social life."

These words were spoken by Mr. Green at the same time when the anthracite strike was in its fifth month with the operators determined to starve the 158,000 miners in order to break their ranks. President Green spoke thus to the chamber of Commerce, the bitterest enemies of labor, at the end of a year when 370 wage reductions took place. The past year was the worst one in wage reductions since 1922, when the textile and railway shopmen strikes were broken by the government injunctions. President Green is optimistic; but let us look at the following statistics in the "Babson's Reports":

Year	Wage increases	Wage reductions
1923.....	1,470	31
1924.....	494	239
1925.....	305	370

And remarkable, the reductions have taken place in the more basic industries where great numbers of workers are employed. If Green would have had the labor movement at heart he would not rejoice in looking at the trend of wages.

"... We live in a country where class distinction and class hatred can have no place in the industrial and social life." If we have actually reached the millenium, then why keep up the trade union movement? The answer to that we find in the same speech of Mr. Green:

"... Suppose it were possible to destroy the bonafide labor movement of America. Who would suffer most? Would working men and women remain passive and unorganized? What would be their state of mind as a result of the destruction of the labor organizations which they have worked so hard to create and build? What do you think would be their reaction when the economic pressure became so intolerable and unbearable, following the destruction of their economic defense? I ask in all seriousness

would you, if you could, destroy a rational constructive, patriotic businesslike organization of labor and thereby risk the formation of and organization of a destructive force which would manifest the same spirit in America as shown in Europe—the spirit of revenue, of hate and destruction?"

This is a frank expression on the part of President Green, as to the function of the A. F. of L. "Who would suffer most?" Green's answer is clear. The ruling class of America. In either words the present clique dominating the A. F. of L. is a tool in the hands of the capitalists to keep in check the rebellious and militant forces of the workers.

Mr. Green, if the business men whom you were addressing are wise enough, your plea will have its effect

They will not crush you. You are saving them the trouble of building up company unions. The B. & O. plan has proven that, the railway labor act before congress, which has the mutual consent of the railway companies and railway unions, is another proof of that.

It will remain for the militant left wing workers within the unions to bring the American Federation of Labor to life again. Beware that day, Mr. Green, when the militant current shall sweep thru the unions! The workers will not remain long without organizations of economic defense. Quite right. They must have organizations not only for economic defense, but also for economic attack. This we shall have! The workers are awakening towards the need of ridding themselves of their present

Hail Plutocrat

By Henry Roenne.

YOU are the salt of the earth indeed,
The sour salt of the earth,
You have one god, the god of speed,
The dizzy dance of your boundless greed,
The substitute for the dreams you need
To bring your heart rebirth.

What of the men you have ground to dust—
Ground on your whirling wheel. . .
What of your empty nights of lust,
What of your women you cannot trust,
The women you cannot love yet must
Before you perish by steel.

You are the king of the world, ah yes,
The king of the world gone mad. . .
You grovel supreme in your loneliness,
And what you envy you must oppress
For you have none of that happiness
Which makes us humans sad.

Go strut about in your pompous pride,
And mock with your lip upcurled—
We see the rot of your brain inside,
The awful fate that your sneers deride,
The monstrous fear that you cannot hide—
You—the king of the world!

:-:

The Spy

:-:

By Henry George Weiss.

MILES and miles of muddy ditches, tangled wire, shell-torn earth, and suffering humanity stretched out into a drizzly night. Think of a railroad wreck, the wake of a Kansas cyclone, the back-roads of a rural county after a heavy down-pour of rain, the infernal din of pneumatic rivetting machines in a ship-building yard. Think of the feel of wet clothes, oozy slime, numb fingers, chattering teeth, swollen feet. And then distribute all these things along three hundred miles of rotting garbage; multiply them by a million, and the more cheerful details of the picture I am trying to present are yours.

Just back from forty days straight in the trenches, Lieutenant Armont lounged in his squalid quarters and dreamed of Hilda—Hilda the little German maid, blue-eyed and rosy-haired; Hilda, as straight and as fearless as a boy; Hilda, who had kissed him one night in the shade of a linden tree and pledged him her troth.

He closed his eyes and saw the crooked streets of the quaint Lorraine town; the low stoop where he had so often sat with her; the feeble old watchmaker, her father, who had served with the Prussian army in '71, and gurgulously told of licking the French, until his—Armont's—nerves were on edge.

The cigarette burned unheeded until it scorched his lips, and he threw it away with a curse.

God! how happy he had been the day he left for Paris. She had seen him off at the station and kissed him au revoir. Not goodbye, only au revoir. They were to be married on his return. His return! He groaned aloud. He had never returned. An archduke had died in Serbia; a sword had rattled in Prussia; a bear had growled in the domain of the czar, and the day that was to grace his nuptials found him entrenched in front of Paris with a million other men, his immediate world blotted out with the hideous figure of war.

A year had passed since then; a year in which he had gone thru a thousand hells; a year that had brought in his flight not one word of his sweetheart.

O damn war! damn war! How many times had he damned war? And wept and raved. But that was at first. Now he had schooled himself to endure. Only an undercurrent of dragging hopelessness sucked ever at his feet and made the coarse pleasures obtainable even within this shadow of death and madness powerless to lift him out of its grip.

He laughed at a fellow officer's crude jest and lit another cigarette. The rain was seeping thru the sagging roof and a pool of water lay underfoot. Inwardly he was crying Hilda Hilda.

The crazy door swung open with a bang and an orderly entered. Stiff as a ramrod he saluted.

"Colonel M.'s compliments, and would Lieutenant Armont report at headquarters at once?"

Lieutenant Armont would, and did. Wrapped in his greatcoat he plowed thru the rain and muck, cursing at every step. The colonel greeted him formally.

"Lieutenant, you will arrange to have a squad of your men prepare a grave in the waste to the south of the main billets, and there await the arrival of Captain X, with a prisoner, a spy, who will be executed in the usual manner."

Lieutenant Armont saluted and retired.

A spy. . . to be shot. Poor devil! He ordered out his squad and gloomily smoked a cigarette as the wet sod was turned. God! he hated the job. Ten, fifteen minutes passed. The men finished the grave. He glanced at his wrist watch. Three fifty-five. Dark as hades. Slowly, persistently the drizzle fell. There was the rattle of accoutrement, a sharp challenge, then the captain and his party loomed ghostly in the mist.

The captain mumbled thru the reading of the charge. The prisoner said never a word. His head was bowed, and the greatcoat swathing him trailed the ground. Against the stonewall of a basement ruin they stood him. A lighted flare struggled to throw his figure into relief. At the word of command the men fell in.

"Ready!"
"God, it was cold!"
"Aim!"



LENIN AND THE CO-OPERATIVES

DURING the pre-revolutionary period, the idea that the cooperative movement is the best dumping-ground for the most opportunist elements was commonly prevalent among the social democratic parties. The left wing in these parties was satisfied to get rid of the ultra-reformists by this means. Undoubtedly the reformist political conception of cooperation indirectly strengthened this practice. The reformist tenet about cooperation proclaimed that cooperation is something complete by itself, independent from social conditions and the class struggle.

Lenin as a Marxian and revolutionist, analyzed cooperation from the standpoint of the class struggle. He understood that the cooperative movement is a mass movement of the proletariat and petty-bourgeoisie against capitalist exploitation, and therefore a phase of the class struggle.

The lieutenant shivered.

"Fire!"

The rattle of musketry fell on the air like the dirge of doom.

The prisoner buckled at the knees, hung irresolutely a moment then sprawled forward in a ghastly heap. The cap fell from the head and a wealth of hair surged out and showed yellow under the light of the flare.

With an oath of surprise the lieutenant leaped forward.

"My God, it's a woman!"
He gently turned the body over and looked

at the face. The light played on it weirdly. Mother of Christ, was he mad, dreaming! That face with the bloody froth on the lips and the glazing blue eyes. That face! Whose was it? No, no, it couldn't be! With a cry of unutterable horror he seized the boy by the shoulders and lifted the head to the height of his own. The captain stepped forward.

"Lieutenant, what does this mean?" he began, then stopped, for Lieutenant Armont's look was a thing to appall. He was staring into the face of the dead woman and sobbing like a madman, "Hilda! Hilda!"

Producers' and Credit Cooperatives.

Already as early as is his polemics against the populists, Lenin dealt with the cooperative question. During this early period, a wave of enthusiasm for agricultural (producers') and credit cooperatives was aroused in Russia. These cooperatives were to be the means for peaceful evolution into socialism without a revolution. First the populists fought this conception, but later, with the waning of

their revolutionary character, they joined with the liberal estate owners, intellectuals and Zemstvo-politicians in propaganda for credit cooperatives, deserting their revolutionary work.

Lenin fought bitterly against the cooperative ideas of the populists. He pointed out that the credit cooperatives would serve only the well-to-do peasants and the poorer peasants would be left outside. To help the development of big estates is not the business of revolutionists. The revolutionists must help only that which will strengthen the struggle against the exploiters. The producers and credit cooperatives as advanced by the populists and company will not help the cause of revolution. Lenin pointed out how ridiculous it was to think that the small producers' cooperatives (artels) would be the means of peaceful evolution into socialism without revolution. The socialization of production could not be

realized in the small villages, but instead it required the expropriation of the bloodsuckers who have monopolized the means of production, "and this requires fight, fight and fight and not meaningless, narrowed bourgeois morals."

Reactionaries in the Labor Movement--By Lenin

LENIN'S article "On the Tasks of the Third International," an excerpt from which we are offering our readers today, is one of the most brilliant writings that came from his pen.

On April 14, 1919, in the French social-patriotic paper, L'Humanite (which has since then been taken away from the social-patriots and become a good Communist Party organ), there appeared an editorial under the title, "The Third International." The editorial was signed by Ramsay MacDonald, the well known leader of the English labor party. Ramsay MacDonald in this editorial deplored the formation of the Communist International and attempted to show that the split caused in the socialist movement thru the organization of this Third (the Communist) International was not justifiable. It was in reply to this editorial, in which, in the words of Lenin, "There are more falsehoods than words," that Lenin wrote the following words. The article was completed on the 14th of July and printed in the fourth issue of the "Communist International" on August 1, 1919.

By Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin.

RAMSDAY MACDONALD knows very well that we built the Third International and broke off unreservedly with the Second International because we became convinced in its hopelessness, its incorrigibility in its role as the servant of imperialism, as a transmitter of the bourgeois influence, bourgeois falsehood and bourgeois corruption within the labor movement. If Ramsay MacDonald, wishing to discuss the Third International, evades the essence of the matter, goes round and about, does not speak of the thing that ought to be spoken of—this is his fault and his crime. For the proletariat is in need of the truth and there is nothing more harmful to its cause than a plausible, decorous, provincial falsehood.

THE question of imperialism and its connection with opportunism in the labor movement—with the betrayal of the workers' cause by the labor leaders—was formulated long, long ago.

Marx and Engels in the course of forty years, from 1852 to 1892, constantly pointed to the bourgeois transformation (bourgeoisization) of the top layers of the working class of England as a consequence of its economic peculiarities (colonies, monopoly in the world market, etc.). Marx conquered for himself in the seventies of the past century the honor of being hated by the base heroes of the "Bern" international tendency of his day, of the opportunists and of the reformists, because he branded many of the leaders of the English trade unions as men who sold themselves out to the bourgeoisie or who were paid by the bourgeoisie for services rendered to its class, services rendered inside of the labor movement.

At the time of the Anglo-Boer war, the Anglo-Saxon press stated the question of imperialism quite clearly as the latest (and the last) stage of capitalism. If my memory does not fail me, it was none other than Ramsay MacDonald himself who then left the "Fabian Society,"—that prototype of the Bern "International," that hot-house and pattern of opportunism which was characterized with ingenious force, clarity and truth by Engels in his correspondence with Sorge. "Fabian imperialism"—such was then the current expression in English socialist literature. If Ramsay MacDonald has forgotten this—then so much the worse for him.

"Fabian imperialism" and "social imperialism" are one and the same: socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growing of

opportunism into imperialism. This phenomenon has now become, during the war of 1914-1918 and after the war, a universal fact. The lack of understanding of this fact is the greatest blindness of the yellow Bern "international," and its greatest crime. Opportunism or reformism inevitably had to grow into socialist imperialism or social Chauvinism of universal-historic significance; for imperialism has produced a handful of most wealthy advanced nations, robbing the entire world and by this very fact has allowed the bourgeoisie of these countries to bribe the upper strata of the working class of these countries at an expense charged to their monopolist super-profit (imperialism is monopolist capitalism).

Not to see the economic inevitability of this fact under imperialism, is possible only to those who are either all-around ignoramuses or else hypocrites who deceive the workers, repeating generalities concerning capitalism and thus screening the bitter truth of the passage of an entire current in socialism over to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

And out of this fact spring two undisputable conclusions:

The first conclusion: The Bern "international," in its real historical and political role, regardless of the good will and innocent wishes of any of its members, is in fact an organization of the agents of international imperialism, acting inside of the labor movement, conducting within the labor movement the bourgeois influence, bourgeois ideas, bourgeois falsehood and bourgeois corruption.

In countries of long-standing democratic parliamentary culture, the bourgeoisie has learned splendidly how to act, not alone by means of violence, but also by deceit, bribery and flattery—using the most subtle forms of these methods. It is not for nothing that the "breakfasts" of the English "labor leaders" (that is of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie in the job of duping the workers) have acquired notoriety—and Engels has even spoken of them. Of the same order of things is the "charming" reception of the social-traitor Merheim by Monsieur Clemenceau, the kind receptions of the leaders of the Bern "international" by the ministers of the entente, etc., etc. "You will train them and we shall buy them," said one clever English capitalist woman to Mr. Social-imperialist Hyndman, who told in his memoirs how this madam—more sagacious than all the leaders of the Bern "international" put together—evaluated the "labors" of the socialist-intellectuals in the training of the socialist leaders from the ranks of the workers.

During the war, when the Vanderveldes, the Brantings and all this band of traitors, arranged "international" conferences, the French bourgeois newspapers very venomously and very truthfully jeered: "These Vanderveldes suffer from a kind of St. Vitus dance. As men suffering with this sickness are unable to say two phrases without a strange contraction of the muscles of the face, so the Vanderveldes are unable to make a political move without repeating like a parrot the words: Internationalism, socialism, international solidarity of the workers, revolution of the proletariat, etc. Let them repeat no matter what sacramental formulae, if only they help to lead the workers by the noses and render service to us, the capitalists, in conducting the imperialist war and the enslavement of the workers."

The English and the French bourgeois are at times very clever and splendidly appreciate the lackeys' role of the Bern "international."

By George Halonen

realized in the small villages, but instead it required the expropriation of the bloodsuckers who have monopolized the means of production, "and this requires fight, fight and fight and not meaningless, narrowed bourgeois morals."

Consumers Cooperation.

The consumers cooperative movement Lenin regarded of great importance for the revolutionary movement. One has only to recall the Copenhagen congress of the socialist international (1910) to see Lenin's position on this question. It is very significant that Lenin, the great revolutionist, considered the cooperative question so important that he was one of the Russian delegates to the subcommittee of the congress which considered this question. The cooperative movement at that time was already a big movement and thruout a reformist movement. Lenin, however, did not abandon this movement because it was reformist, but on the contrary fought bitterly to win it over for revolutionary purposes. The reformists understood better than many revolutionists the importance of controlling this big mass movement. No wonder that the cooperative question was one in which the reformists fought the Marxian revolutionists most bitterly. Lenin not only debated with the opportunists in the sessions of the commission, but he also submitted his own thesis: As this thesis very clearly pointed out Lenin's con-

ception of cooperation, we give it here:

Thesis Proposed by Lenin.

"The congress declares:

"1. That the proletarian consumers' cooperatives improve the conditions of the working class by reducing the exploitation of all kinds of middlemen, by exerting an influence in the working conditions of the workers in the distribution of products, and by giving them better conditions for its own employes.

"On the other hand, the congress declares:

"1. That the betterment achieved thru the help of the cooperatives is insignificant so long as the means of production are in the hands of that class whose overthrow is essential for the realization of socialism.

"2. That the cooperatives are not organs of the immediate struggle against capitalism, and that they with other similar organizations of the other classes, may develop the illusion that they (these organizations) are means by which the social question can be solved without a class struggle and overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

"The congress demands the workers of all countries:

"a. To join as members in the proletarian cooperatives, help their development and thereby to defend the democratic character of these organizations.

"b. Thru indefatigable socialist propaganda in the cooperatives to help the workers better understand the idea of the class struggle and socialism.

"c. At the same time to endeavor to bring all the different forms of the labor movement to as complete unity as possible.

"The congress also declares, that the producers cooperatives benefit the fight of the working class only when they are integral part of the consumers' cooperatives."

Lenin's thesis was not adopted. However, the fighting attitude of Lenin and the other revolutionist members in the subcommittee compelled the reformists to present to the congress a resolution in which the main principles about cooperation as advocated by Lenin were adopted.

Lenin considered the cooperative question as discussed in the Copenhagen congress so important that he wrote in the bolshevik newspaper Social Democrat a special article, "The Cooperative Question in the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen." In this he points out that in the main the cooperative resolution adopted contains right interpretations of the principles, but that it is not clear enough because it was a compromise resolution. The article concludes with: "The fight against the reformists is only postponed, and will inevitably be resumed."

After the Revolution.

The revolution changed the social conditions in Russia. The exploiters were overthrown and workers captured political power. Therefore, the purpose of cooperation changed accordingly. Lenin's last article which was published after his death was about cooperation. In this he emphasized the importance of cooperation. Now the producers' cooperatives and credit unions in villages are of great importance. The consumers cooperatives have also different purposes than before the revolution. The class struggle has attained its highest outcome, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now is the time to build the new society. In this work the cooperative organizations of the peasants and workers must be brought nearer to each other.

The gist of Lenin's teachings about cooperatives is that before the revolution the cooperative movement must help the workers to attain state power, and after the revolution the cooperatives must help the workers to build the new society.

"It appears to me that we pay too little attention to the cooperatives!" said Lenin. This is true even in America. The cooperative movement, although at present comparatively weak, is a movement which we must not ignore, but on the contrary try to solve in the light of "how can the cooperative movement best serve the class struggle?" To solve this problem, we must take part in the practical work of the cooperatives.

Chinese Eastern Railway - By James H. Dolsen

By James H. Dolsen.

THE struggle between England and Germany for control of the Baghdad railway was one of the most important of those clashes in imperialist policy which led to the world war. Is the struggle for control of the Chinese Eastern railway to play a corresponding role—not as between two imperialist systems, this time, but as between imperialism on one hand and the anti-imperialist Soviet Union—as suggested by the drama of events which in the Far East are so rapidly leading to a new world conflict? The arbitrary arrest of Ivanov, the Russian general manager of that road, by Chang Tso Lin, the Chinese military dictator of Manchuria, in utter violation of treaties signed by Chang himself, the despatch of an ultimatum of this subject by the Soviet government, and the subsequent release of Ivanov, reveal the existence of such a struggle, and its close connection with the effort of the great imperialist powers to obtain an advantageous position in China from which to launch another attack upon the workers republic. It is well known that the Japanese government owns Chang Tso Lin, and that in recent months he has received financial assistance from the British also. The former bandit chief would hardly have dared defy the Soviet government unless assured the backing of outside powers. His hasty release of Ivanov does not at all contradict this inference. It merely indicates that the situation from an imperialist standpoint, did not momentarily present favorable conditions for a war against the Soviet Union. The crisis, therefore, is only temporarily overcome.

The importance of the Chinese Eastern railway in the struggle over China is evident from a reference to the map. This line was originally planned as a division of the Trans-Siberian system. In 1896 a concession for its construction was secured from the Chinese government by the Russo-Chinese bank, which then represented the interests of Russian and French finance capital in the orient. The first plans for the Trans-Siberian railway provided that it should pass thru Russian territory only. A section of nearly 500 miles had been constructed from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk thru the valley of the Ussuri river, which is the eastern boundary of Manchuria. It was discovered then that the completion of the line to Chita, the terminus of the Trans-Siberian road at that time, would entail enormous expense and most difficult engineering because of the wild mountainous character of part of the route and the stretches of marsh land in other portions. This section of Siberia, moreover, was sparsely populated, with little prospect of its ever being thickly settled. So having secured the concession for a line direct to Vladivostok thru the Chinese province of Manchuria, work was rushed on this project instead. It was completed in 1902 as the Chinese eastern railway. It runs for 222 miles thru Siberian territory and for 1080 miles, thru Chinese.

Between the years 1908 and 1916 the Ussuri railway from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk was extended, roughly paralleling the Amur and Shilka rivers, and joining the Trans-Siberian line at Chita. A glance at the map will show the superiority of the Chinese Eastern railway for all traffic bound for Vladivostok, the great Russian seaport on the Pacific. Less than one-half as long as its rival to the north, it affords an immense saving both in time and expense. It traverses, besides, a country of infinitely greater natural resources with a fast-growing population.

If the reader will again look at the map he will see that a railroad runs from Harbin, a junction point on the main line of the Chinese Eastern, southwest thru Mukden to Port Arthur. This was originally a branch of the Chinese Eastern but, as a result of Russia's defeat in 1905, Japan was given a lease of that part of this line which runs from Changchun to Port Arthur. The Japanese renamed their portion, which then totaled 514 miles, "The South Man-

churian Railway." The section north from Changchun to Harbin remained part of Chinese Eastern railway system.

Certain facts must be kept in mind in considering the role which railways, such as the Chinese Eastern, play in undeveloped countries like China. Domination of railroads in these lands carries with it control of the economic development of the country traversed. This includes the exploitation of mineral wealth, the erection and maintenance of factories, and the extension of commerce. It necessarily establishes a semi-political regime over the inhabitants by the concessionaires, thus setting up a "state within a state." It was this kind of "penetration" which marked in particular the relationships of the foreign powers to China during the first decade of this century. A natural consequence then of the transfer to Japan in 1905 of Russia's concessions in Manchuria, including the control of the railway (South Manchurian), has been to make the Japanese the real masters of that province. Japan has the right of policing the railway. It has been easy for the imperialist government of that country to use this privilege as a cloak for the permanent stationing of thousands of regular soldiers at the strategic points along the line. This constitutes a formidable army of occupation, tho the sovereignty of China is still nominally recognized.

Manchuria has thus come to be virtually a province of Japan. In fact, the Japanese have gone so far as to incorporate the South Manchurian railway into the Korean railway system, putting the line under direct Japanese government control, for Korea is now an integral part of the Japanese empire. Chang Tso Lin, the Chinese military governor, is, as we have stated before, a tool of Japan, and for that reason and because of his extreme cruelty to the workers and the nationalist adherents, is bitterly hated by the masses of the Chinese.

It thus happens that a number of the imperialist powers have "claims" effecting the Chinese Eastern railway or have concessions in that part of China adjacent to the country it traverses. For these reasons the treaty between China and Soviet Russia negotiated by Karakhan in 1924, which specifically excluded all other nations from any voice in the administration of the railway, met with the bitter opposition of the European powers, Japan, and the United States.

France objected on the ground that because her financiers owned a majority of the shares of the Russo-Asiatic Bank, the successor of the Russo-Chinese Bank, which had originally secured the concession, they should dictate the policy of the railway. The shares on which the French claim was based had been stolen, however, by the former chief of a department of the Russian State Bank and handed over by the latter to the administration of the Russo-Asiatic Bank in Paris. During the period when Soviet Russia was carrying on the struggle against foreign intervention, this bank as the owner of the railroad concluded in 1920 an agreement with China by the terms of which it appointed five members of the administrative staff and the bank jointly with the Chinese government managed the line.

M. Mikhaylov, writing in the International Press Correspondence (Oct. 16, 1924) thus characterizes the period from 1920 to 1924 when the railroad was under this French control:

"The whole activity of the Russo-Asiatic Bank with regard to the railway was carried on in opposition to the interests of the Soviet Union and China. In 1922 the administration of the Chinese-Eastern railway concluded an agreement with the (Japanese) South Manchurian railway, according to which all goods traffic was to be sent via Dairen and not via Vladivostok, although the Vladivostok route is considerably shorter (180 kilometres) than the Dairen route. The hostility of the administration of the eastern Chinese Eastern rail-

way towards the Soviet Union found expression in the fact that the administration took into its service white-guardists such as General Gondatti, the former czarist governor of the Amur district; Mikhaylov, the former finance minister to Kolchak; General Aphanassyev etc., while it supported the white guardist press and incited Chinese authorities against the citizens and institutions of the Soviet Union. But at the same time the activity of the old administration of the railway was directed against the interests of China. General Gondatti, who was the head of the land department of the railway, conceded, under very easy terms, to Japanese concessionaires plots of land situated at various strategical points of northern China."

In 1924 this administration prepared an agreement with the Kokusy-Unso, a Japanese transportation company. If this agreement had been carried out it would have handed all the transportation facilities in Manchuria over to Japan, and linked them up as integral parts of the great steamship lines of that country. Combined with the fact that Japan in recent years has made enormous investments in Manchuria it is evident that the proposed arrangement would have made the Japanese the complete masters of northern China.

"Simultaneously with these negotiations," says Mikhaylov, "a large delegation of representatives from the Japanese state railways, from the ministry of transport and the war office, in the course of two weeks made a tour of the whole line, making itself acquainted with the workshops, rolling stock and the work of the administration etc."

Thus were the French and Japanese imperialists working together to defraud the Chinese of their rights in the railroad and to alienate from China its northern provinces.

The Washington conference in 1922 had, against China's protests, held her responsible to the foreign bondholders, stockholders, and creditors of the railway in the event of defaults. This resolution was passed by the representatives of the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, none of which had any real rights in the line. The United States and Japan had each advanced the Chinese Eastern railway \$5,000,000 during the time their drive to overthrow the Soviets in Siberia. In addition, the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian railway (formerly a part of the Chinese Eastern railway) claims a debt of several millions. In 1924 the American military attache at Peking, accompanied by officers of the United States general staff, inspected the Chinese Eastern railway which, it will be recalled, had been placed in 1919, during the Siberian, intervention under the administrative direction of the inter-allied technical commission headed by the American engineer, John W. Stevens. It is no wonder that under these circumstances the imperialist powers put every possible obstacle in the way of carrying out the provisions of the Chinese treaty with the Soviet Union. The subsequent success of Comrade Karakhan in negotiating an additional treaty covering the same

points with Chang Tso Lin, whose position as director of Manchuria made him practically independent of the central government, and thru whose territory most of the road passed, was one of the most notable achievements of Soviet diplomacy, gained as it was in the face of the most unscrupulous opposition from the other powers.

The Russo-Chinese treaty provided not only for the exclusion of the representatives of other nations from a voice in the management of the railroad but also made specific arrangements for its executive staff. These were included in a supplemental agreement which provided that until China should exercise its right to buy back the line with its own money, a stipulation designed to guard against the road's passing under the control of a hostile country thru its becoming security for a loan to China, the operation of the railroad was to be vested in an executive department composed of three Russians and two Chinese, appointed by their respective governments. This committee has charge of the maintenance of peace and order in the territory traversed; in other words, it has control of the policing of the line. An operating department comprising a Russian director, with a Chinese and a Russian assistant, superintends the operation of the line.

As a matter of fact, the new provisions for the management of the road practically confirmed the existing status with the significant exception that the Soviet government's appointees were to replace those Russians who had been originally put in charge by the Russo-Asiatic bank. Ostroumov, Gondatti, and Mikhaylov, leading members of the former administration, were at once removed, together with more than 500 other reactionary refugees who had been placed on the railroad's payroll. These three men, Ostroumov, Gondatti and Mikhaylov, were also arrested for mismanagement and their many crimes against the workers. Clauses in the treaty, together with this deciding voice given the Soviet government in the administration of the railway, deprived the extensive "white" Russian bands, composed of refugee aristocrats and bourgeois who had fled from Russia after the Bolshevik revolution, of a base of operations and thus led to the breakup and dispersal of these gangs of cutthroats and murderers.

The conflict for control of the Chinese Eastern railway is by no means over. Soviet Russia, by her prompt and decisive action, has won a preliminary skirmish. She won it, however, only for three reasons: The first, because the red army is ready for action and Chang Tso Lin and his allies know it; the second, because the imperialist powers, and particularly Japan, are not yet ready and thoroly enough united to risk a conflict of such proportions; and the third, because of the danger of a vast Chinese uprising in support of the Soviet Union and with the object of freeing China completely from its foreign shackles. There is perhaps a fourth reason—the danger of precipitating another world-war under conditions unfavorable to the capitalist nations.

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The Use Value of God

Second Part: Continued from last Saturday.

By Harry Gannes.

Catholic Church Wants Smooth Methods.

THE catholic church, with its less firmly rooted rivals, has been obliged to turn its attention a little away from theology, in the direction of sociology. Conditions of the working class have forced the church, which exploits millions of workers the world over, to introduce a reformistic labor program. This kind, gentle mother of many oppressed children knows she cannot subdue those children without giving them some sort of soothing syrup.

The rulers of this powerful institution, remembering that the heyday of the church was in the middle ages, constantly plead for a return to the guild system of that time. Their labor program today is laid down by Leo XIII, which boosts this method of class collaboration. But nothing dangerous! Oh, no!

"Our first and most fundamental principle," says the holy father, "when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses must be the inviolability of private property."

Strikes, of course, tamper with this sacred institution, private property. So:

"If by a strike, or other combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace. . . there can be no question that, within certain limits, it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law."

Nor is this the only way in which the modern St. Peter would protect the capitalist from the workers:

"Religion teaches the working man. . . never to injure capital, nor to outrage the person of an employer; never to employ violence in representing his own cause, nor and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles who work upon the people with artful promises. . ."

These "men of evil principles" are those who tell the workers to help themselves, and not to wait for the generous capitalist and their ally god to help them.

Now, where, in all this, is the soothing syrup mother church promises her children? So far it looks like a pretty bitter dose—a stiff physic.

But listen:

There are several ways (to say nothing to church regularly) by which a worker can be made healthy, wealthy and wise. The church urges cooperation with the bosses. She endorses company unions, and all organizations which have a tendency to smother the class struggle. She preaches economy, thrift, and tells the workers "to be content with frugal living." She supports mild reforms, as "living wage" cries. But on one point she is emphatic.

"Whatever may be the industrial and social remedies which will approve themselves to the American people, there is no one that, we feel confident, they will never adopt. That is the method of revolution. For there is neither justification nor excuse. Through the ordinary and orderly processes all social wrongs can be righted."

For Kash and Krime—the Ku Klux Klan.

THE most modern dress of the church militant is the sheet and pillow case of the ku klux klan. These are the "four hundred" of religion; native, white, protestant and gentile, and as is proper to the elite—especially hostile to labor.

The ku klux klan sprang up in the south after the civil war, to terrify the Negroes into submission, and warn them against taking advantage of their newly gained freedom. It has recently revived as a fascist organization.

A small group of men make a comfortable profit from the sale of uniforms and other organizational claptrap. The senate investigation of the

klan (May 16, 1924) disclosed their pay roll to be four million a year.

This organization of native American christians has distinguished itself by lynching, tar-and-feathering, and many pleasant little variations of the innocent game of murder.

By terrorizing progressive unionists, by lynching striking workers, by constant howls for "co-operation between employer and employe" and a thousand other of the favorite slogans of reaction, the K. K. K. has declared itself again and again the enemy of the proletariat. It attacks not only Soviet Russia, Communism and all forms of radicalism or liberalism, but every activity of organized labor.

More than once the K. K. K. has issued proclamations accusing strikers of "interfering with the laws of god," meaning the laws of capitalism. It fights the strikers by propaganda, threats, mob outrages and murder. And it always carries on these activities in the name of "hundred per cent Americanism, and hundred percent christianity."

Protestant Preachers Find New Meal Tickets in K. K. K.

DOES the protestant church, upholder of law, order and the right to exploit, oppose the violent and bloody deeds of the klan? Most of the organizers and speakers are ministers. There are 32,000 protestant ministers in the organization (catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, foreign born sky pilots and black shepherds are not invited to join this exclusive group). These figures we have on the unquestionable authority of a minister, the Reverend Oscar Haywood of South Carolina, in a speech made on the 21st of October, 1923.

These American fascists boast not only holy, but millionaire organizers. David C. Stephenson, a millionaire coal company promoter of Evansville and Indianapolis, took over the organization of the Indiana territory in 1923. He asserts that he increased the membership of the Indiana klan to 380,000, and the Ohio klan to 225,000 members.

Jealous of the part the catholic church has played in promoting ignorance and misery, in defending capitalism from a class conscious proletariat, the K. K. K. has become the protestants' champion in the fight. But where the catholics preach internationalism, under the absolute domination of the pope, the K. K. K. preaches nationalism; and the only alliance possible between the two chief forces of religious reaction is a bitter war on Communism.

Religion Always Enemy's Dope for Workers.

SO religion with its million forms, whether it wears the flowing robes of the papacy, of the ghost clothes of the ku klux klan, is at heart the same. Sometimes it masquerades as liberal, as the Y. W. C. A.; sometimes it proclaims itself reactionary, "fundamentalist," as do the hardshells of the christian creeds. Whatever its costume for the minute, however styles may change outward appearances, it is the legitimate descendant of the spook with which priesthood first frightened the lowly of the savage tribe. Formerly it was the weapon of feudalism. Now it is the tool of capitalism. It is always wielded by the ruling class of the age and country in which it finds itself.

Markets may fluctuate and business face bankruptcy, but there is no change for the capitalists in the use-value of god.

THE END.



A satirical drawing by Abe Stolar.

The Boy's Arm and the Lady's Pearl

By Bertha Shain.

I.

IT happened at eleven o'clock at night in one of the largest printing houses of New York where more than six hundred people are employed and exploited. Most of the skilled workers in that establishment are members of different trade union organizations, such as the Printers', Cutters', Mailers', and Bindery unions. The unskilled are not organized at all, and therefore, are most exploited. Their average wage is sixteen dollars per week. Their work is hard. It consists of pulling trucks filled with magazines or sheets, cleaning the machines, carrying heavy loads of sheets to the gathering machines for the girls to fill in. Some are married men with children. The shop is operated by two shifts; day and night workers. (During the school year, not in the summer.) I shall not cite all the conditions of the factory with its workers, but I shall relate a little story that occurred not long ago.

II.

IT was night. The sky was dotted with bright, gleaming stars. The factory district collapsed into a sea of silence and shadow. The streets grew more and more empty. The rush and bustle of work was over.

Prominent, almost silhouette-like stood the huge, enormous structure that housed the printing plant. Thru all of its window panes electric bulbs dazzled the eye. The whirling of the wheels of the printing presses penetrated the biting air outside. It broke the silence of the street and disturbed the peaceful beauty of the night.

On one of the floors of the building, in the press room, a bright young boy about fifteen years of age was employed in the night shift. The men liked him for his joyous spirits and for his alertness. The boy was eager to learn a trade. At present he only earned \$16 a week, with which he had to support his mother and four little ones besides.

One night, just a week before Christmas, the boy approached one of the pressmen, asking him to let him try to operate a feeding machine. His request was granted. Several minutes later a crash of the machine and a fearful, piercing cry of the youth was heard. All the men ran over to see what occurred. The boy's arm was caught in the machine. The excitement was overwhelming. The sight of the tragedy caused some to faint. Yet the boy's nerves were stunned; he did not even weep. His face expressed great suffering, he stood there with drooping head, biting his lips, his face turned wan, lifeless and livid. He was fearfully crushed at heart. All his dreams and hopes were blighted.

ed. The only words he uttered were: "Don't tell mother."

An ambulance, a doctor. A squad arrived for the purpose of wrecking the machine if necessary. They could not extricate his arm. The managers consulted with the doctor whether it paid to wreck the machine as it would entail a great property loss. The doctor advised not to, as his arm would be lost anyhow, and why not do the job right now?

Meanwhile, the poor boy was struggling heroically in pain and agony for a half hour, until finally they separated him from his right arm up to the elbow, and then he was removed to a hospital.

The following day the news of this event spread like wildfire all over the shop. Some said the boy would die, as he had lost too much blood. However, he survived. When the lad's mother came to visit him in the hospital, he concealed his injured arm under the cover. He felt guilty. With childish, beseeching eyes he looked into her face, but the poor woman knew of this misfortune. Crushed, in great despair, when leaving her son, she said: "That was my Christmas gift."

Several days later a substantial collection was made in the shop for the boy. Each one, practically gave a dollar. Since then we never heard anything more about the unfortunate youth. The incident is almost forgotten. The work goes on as ever before, with more exploitation, if possible.

III.

THE employer's home is rich and gorgeous, resembling a beautiful castle described in fairy tales. His wife is young and pretty. She never visited her husband's factory, she cannot tolerate the offensive odor of fresh print, it makes her dizzy. Besides, she does not like to see dirty people and unpleasant faces, ugly things are not for her. She enjoys wealth, beauty and idleness. Last summer they both spent their vacation in Europe.

Christmas Eve. The employer was in good spirits, full of joy and expectation. Her salon was sumptuously decked out. An enormous Christmas tree with countless colored lights, costumed like a queen, was standing in the middle of the room. They expected guests to their party. "Distinguished" people were invited.

When her husband entered the room early in the evening, she greeted him with a broad smile. He pulled out from his pocket a small box; it contained a string of pearls for his wife. She was so overwhelmed with delight, that she gave a little scream. What beautiful jewels! Their tints sparkled in an ever-changeable iridescence. Both stood in the middle of the room, near the tree, admiring the pearls. These seemed like living creatures. They reflected many countenances, but not those countenances bearing the sweat and blood of ceaseless toil.

To A Fat Bourgeois

By Henry George Weiss.

YOU are hog-fat and your clothing is fine,
So stoke down your fodder and lap up your wine,
Let the paunch of your plenty protrude from your vest,
And the jowls of contentment fold down on your breast,
For we lean and hungry are supple and strong,
With thin lips that murmur, Not long now, now, not long.

While you have been eating the best in the land
Bedewed with our sweat and produced by our hand,
In the snow and the rain, in the heat and the cold,
Now tempered by hardships we patiently wait
Our hate has grown bitter, our hearts have grown bold,
Like lean wolves in winter, outside of your gate.

Eat, drink, and be merry, wax sluggish and proud,
For thus shall you totter, your shoulders be bowed;
When the walls of your mansion fall in on your head
The poor shall be sheltered, the hungry be fed,
And you and your class will go down in the sea
Of surging red flags in the land of the free!

They Want to Jail the Coal Diggers

By Alex Reid,

Secretary Progressive Miners' Committee of the United Mine Workers of America.

THE workers of America will do well to turn their eyes towards Benton, Ill. at this time. Thirteen militant miners are placed on trial charged with conspiracy, and attempt to kill D. B. Cobb, sub-district vice-president of West Frankfort, Ill.

World Labor Protests.

From the labor movement, not only in America but also across the Atlantic and in far off Australia, come resolutions denouncing the dastardly frame-up against the miners. These resolutions show the workers are aroused against the disgraceful frame-up, and the workers stand amazed at the action of the fake labor leaders aiding in the prosecution.

The victims of the frame-up are all miners, formerly employed by the Zoller Coal company in Zeigler, Ill. These miners have been imposed upon for years, and the climax came when the coal company arbitrarily discharged the miners' assistant check-weighman, thereby denying the miners proper weighing service.

Destroy Working Conditions.

The discharge of the assistant check-weighman was the last act of a long series of wanton violations of the contract with the union. The miners have had their working conditions destroyed, one at a time, until they find themselves robbed of the results of many years' of bitter struggle on the industrial battlefield.

All thru the summer of 1925, and the winter preceding that, the miners have had to guard their homes, their wives and families, from attempted outrages hatched by the coal operators, who were ably supported by the ku klux klan and the fake labor leaders.

Aids Coal Company.

It was a usual sight last summer to see these miners sitting in groups ready to protect their homes against the thugs who had threatened to shoot up their homes, because the coal diggers refused to submit meekly to the coal company outrages.

Fox, the sub-district president had been appealed to, many times, from the decision of the coal operators, and this individual sustained the decision of the coal owners in mostly every case.

Lewis Compelled to Check His Farrington Allies.

This is the same Fox that holds his office by the theft of the last ballot in that sub-district. This is the same Fox who has done his damndest to remove all local union officials from their office; this the same Fox who, with the aid of Frank Farrington, did finally succeed in removing from the local unions most of the officers who refused to bow their knee to the Farrington machine, and these are the same Farrington and Fox whom even John L. Lewis was finally compelled to stop in their process of destroying the miners' union in Zeigler, Lewis having been forced to order a new election in Zeigler after Farrington and Fox had firmly planted their tools in these offices in violation of the constitutional law of the miners.

Militants Were Re-elected.

This re-election was held. It was presided over by the representatives of the International Union because John L. Lewis knew that the miners would have no confidence in an election held under the Farrington-Fox machine, the feeling being so bitter against it. Lewis, of course, was trying to curry favor with the outraged miners, but the order that this election be held under the international auspices resulted in the re-election of the former militant group of miners who had been illegally removed.

Expels Militants.

The defeat embittered the Farrington-Fox-Cobb machine so much that

they set out to destroy all the influence of the progressive miners. They expelled miners right and left, upheld the decisions of the operators against the miners, and created a reign of terror in the Zeigler local of the union.

The feeling became so intense against the Fox machine not only in Zeigler, but thruout the sub-district, that the Fox, and the Cobb, saw they were being repudiated to such an extent that re-election was out of the question for them.

The Fox Gang Attends Local.

Many meetings of the miners had been held to discuss the outrages, and the miners at each meeting had unanimously registered themselves against the betrayals. Finally Fox agreed to attend a meeting of the miners to explain his actions in sustaining the decisions of the coal company. Fox came to this meeting with dozens of carloads of men who were reported to be heavily armed, and prepared to bully thru their program in any way necessary.

Brutal Murder of Coal Digger.

After the miners had heckled Fox and had shown his excuses and explanations to be untrue, Fox, in desperation provoked a "rough-house." One of his thug supporters, a Kentucky Coal company scab, drew his gun and shot a militant miner, a member of the Workers (Communist) Party, who was taken to the hospital in Herrin where he died a few days afterwards. This thug has never been tried, and today is at liberty with no charges against him. The lights in the hall were shot out, and chairs were broken over the heads of many of the audience. In the melee, the Fox got his cranium cracked and spent a few days in the hospital.

Provoked Trouble.

All eye-witnesses state that the Fox gang provoked trouble from the moment they entered the hall, and in their desperation was prepared to go to any length to gain their ends.

Immediately after the murderous shooting in the union hall, Fox, with the support of the coal company and the ku klux klan, had the state authorities bring the charges of conspiracy and attempt to murder against the militant miners who had been present at that meeting.

Never since the frame-up against Tom Mooney has the world of labor stood aghast at such a disgraceful spectacle as the one now to be seen in the courts at Benton, Ill.

Militant Labor Shocked.

It is well for the laboring class to stop and ask, what is the significance of this trial. To what extent will the verdict affect the laboring masses. If the frame-up should succeed in railroadng these men to jail it will set back the militant movement for many years, and in many places will practically destroy all organized labor in the United Mine Workers' Union for a long time to come. Not only will it have this effect in the U. M. W. of A., but all organized labor will be subjected to similar processes.

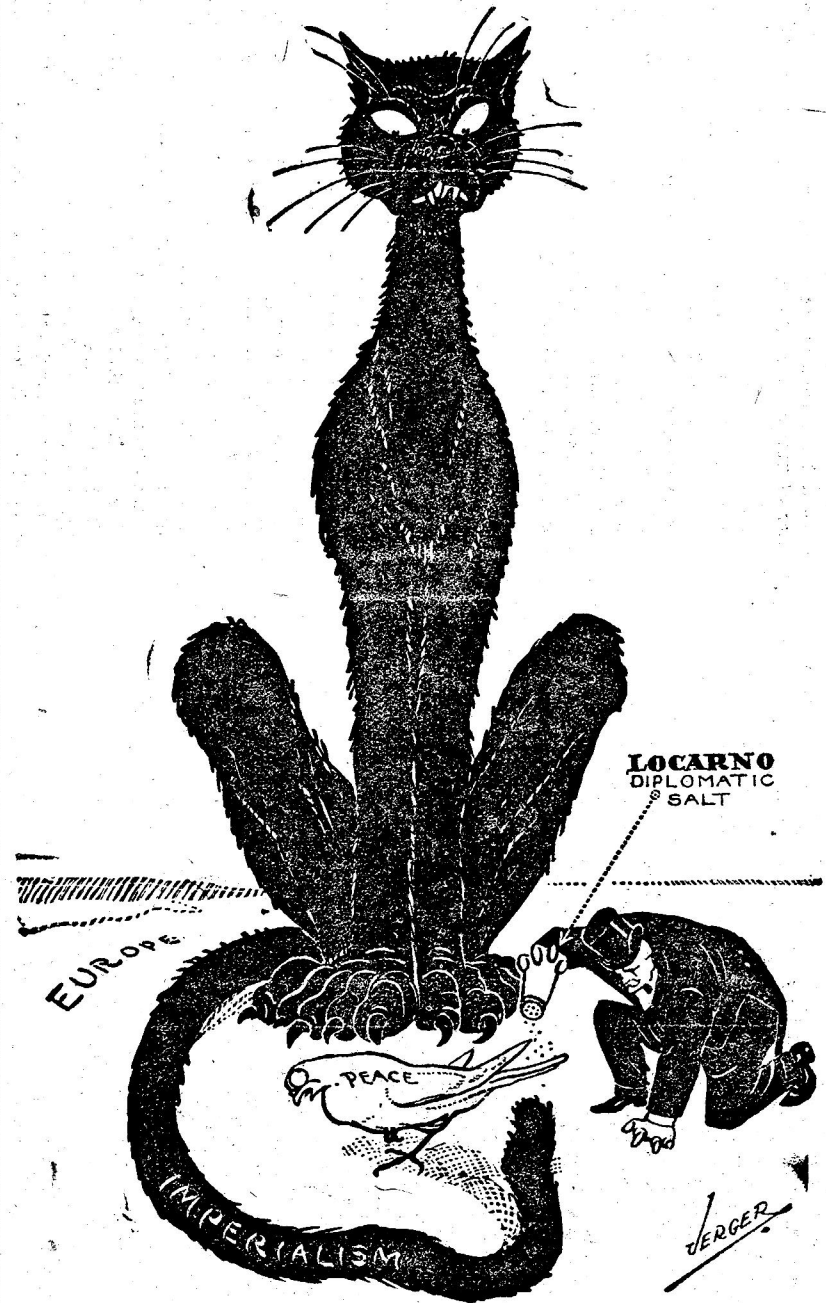
World Labor Rallies to Aid.

This fight is the fight of all organized labor in America. All organized labor must rally to the support of the Zeigler victims of the frame-up. From many trade unions come the report that they have passed resolutions and donated as much money as they can to aid the miners in their noble fight against this crime. From Great Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Australia, and in fact from all over the world the workers are denouncing the outrage. Rally to the miners' defense, and send resolutions to Frank Farrington protesting against his aid to the prosecutors of the miners!

The Workers' Defense.

The International Labor Defense is defending the miners, four of the best lawyers in the state have been engaged to fight the case for the victims. Rally to their support! Smash the frame-up!

And the Cat Sniffs the Bird



Mr. Capitalist has a Cat and a Bird. He likes the Bird—under some circumstances and at some critical times. But he LOVES the Cat and cannot live without her. Unfortunately for Mr. Capitalist, Cats eat Birds—inevitably and always—and the nature of cats cannot be changed. Mr. Capitalist would like to keep the Bird now for a while—but the Cat will and must eat the Bird. Only when the Cat and Mr. Capitalist are dead, can the Bird of Peace live.

Former Political Exiles Meet in Moscow

By WILLIAM F. KRUSE.

THE second federal conference of "Association of Former Political Exiles" has just ended with a big meeting at which speeches were delivered in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Dekabrist Uprising and of the 20th anniversary of the 1905 revolt, the speakers including F. Kon, Vera Figner and Leon Trotsky. The former war commissar especially received an unprecedented ovation and delivered a classic speech.

The society now consists of 1129 who have undergone penal servitude, 129 who were exiled, 435 who were banished, 129 sentenced to death, and 83 who had been sentenced to imprisonment for life. Totalling up their various punishments it was found that they had to their credit 10,086 years of imprisonment, 1,041 years of exile, 1,244 years in emigration, while one had been 29 years in solitary confinement, others 22, 19 and 15 years, and some had spent as much as 15 years in chains.

Considerable interest in the revolutionary past is being stimulated by excellent exhibits in the revolutionary museums in Moscow and Leningrad. The various revolutionary periods are

separated and consist of paintings, original drawings, cartoons, and various documents of the periods in question. More and more material is being unearthed even concerning the Dekabrist revolt of a hundred years back, often coming from simple Siberian peasants among whom the exiles spent many weary years. "The Menagerie" the famous torture cell at Schluesselberg is reproduced, as is the cell in which Vera Figner spent many years. Originals and replicas of the most noted underground printing presses, diagrams of the methods of their concealment, original copies of some of the most important editions, all these contribute greatly to the interest and value of the exhibits. Constant streams of workers, school children, peasant delegations and soldiers stream thru the museums under capable guides to make acquaintance with their illustrious revolutionary past.

The story is also being told in innumerable forms in films and stage plays, and all the thousands of Russian bookstores feature an unlimited library of books and pamphlets, while clubrooms, factories, and store windows put forth no end of inspiring picture of the revolutionary days. Even the new commemorative postage stamps serve the memory of the great past struggles for the emancipation of the workers.