

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

Special Magazine Supplement

THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
February 16, 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

The Sickle, the Hammer--and Gompers

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

WE Communists contend that Samuel Gompers and the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor which he leads are part and parcel of the machinery of American imperialism.

We go farther than this and state that such policy as this officialdom has for its own guidance consists of aiding American imperialism in carrying out its conquests abroad, in adopting the nationalistic viewpoint of American capitalism as its own and in attempting at all times to convince the masses of this country that American capitalism is a different and more altruistic brand than that in operation in other and less fortunate nations.

This means accepting American government as the beginning and end of all working class endeavor and it is on this premise that is based such programs as Samuel Gompers and his henchmen have. The truth of this assertion is altered not at all by the fact that from time to time Gompers refers to the fact that our institutions are not perfect; they are nearer to perfection than the institutions of other countries and that is enough for him. American institutions are the yardstick by which the achievements of the workingclass the world over are measured by American labor's leaders.

Weird Alliances.

This attitude naturally leads the American trade union movement into strange alliances—aliances entered into by its officials with very few sops to democracy thrown to the membership in the shape of information and discussion had thruout the movement itself.

Two events of world-wide importance have taken place recently. In the United States there has been a drive for recognition of Soviet Russia followed by the appointment of a Senate committee to investigate the charges and counter-charges made by friends and enemies of Soviet Russia.

In Great Britain the Labor Party has come to power and its first official act was to extend full recognition to Soviet Russia.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the American Federationist for February, edited by Samuel Gompers, devotes approximately eight pages to these two events.

Let us understand that in its loyalty to American capitalist institutions, the American Federation of Labor, as represented by Gompers, yields to no one. Since the Russian revolution, Gompers has even gone one step farther and now considers himself and the trade union movement the especially appointed guardian of American capitalist government.

The Great Defender.

The reputation for unthinking patriotism which he acquired as an important cog in the House of Morgan war machine has been considerably enhanced by his activities in his new role of defender of our steel, oil, copper, railroad, shipping and banking government against the attacks of the 25,000 Communists in America. This self-appointed savior of America has thus been able to pose before the Civic Federation and other organizations of employers as the knight in white armor repelling the red hordes of Soviet propagandists.

We find on page 45 of the American Federationist the Gompers credo—the ideological base on which has been erected a political structure in which are ensconced the high-salaried misleaders of the trade union movement.

The structure creaks and groans as the winds of capitalist bankruptcy and mass discontent assail it but to Gompers and his kind the storm is purely an artificial creation of a handful of vicious malcontents under the inspiration of Soviet Russia.

The Gompers Creed.

Here is Gompers' confession of faith in American capitalist institutions:

America has established certain standards of life and living. Amer-

ica has established certain institutions and certain guarantees of freedom. America has established, above all, a certain rate of progress and is working out a certain definite philosophy in regard to her industry and the relation of human beings to industry.

It is just as well for Gompers that he does not try to be specific and tell us exactly what standards of living, what guarantees of freedom, what rate of progress and what definite philosophy America has established and is working out. We do not intend to ask him to be specific about these things and expose himself to ridicule but we do ask what and who he means by "America."

The Happy Family.

No other conclusion is possible than by "America" he means the whole social grouping and that he intends to convey the impression that Americans are one large family which collectively and individually is consciously striving to usher in an era of peace and plenty.

In other words, Gompers, as the official spokesman of the trade union movement, rejects entirely the idea that there are two classes in America. He tells us exactly what Elbert H. Gary, John D. Rockefeller, the plunderers of the natural resources and oppressors of the masses and their mouthpiece, like Coolidge and Hughes, tell us, that there is only one class—Americans.

When the admitted leader of the organized workers of this country promulgates this puerile 100 per cent Americanism we can begin to understand that almost anything can be expected when in his official position he comes in contact with a movement that laughs long and loud at a conception of modern society—European or American—that is at such obvious variance with the facts.

A Major Mistake.

Gompers is frightened by the strength of the movement for Soviet recognition in the United States; he has not been re-assured by the recent recognition of Soviet Russia by the Labor Party government now in power in the land of his birth. He has every reason to be alarmed.

Gompers has made a major tactical mistake in taking up the role of Soviet Russia's bitterest enemy, of leading the fight against recognition and of making that fight for the announced reason that recognition would be tantamount to ruin of the American trade union movement.

He has placed himself in a position from which there is no retreat but which is untenable and the recognition of Soviet Russia will in all probability mean the downfall of the Gompers machine.

Strange Bedfellows.

Labor officialdom, led by Gompers, has allied itself with the worst enemies of the labor movement. It is the boast of Gompers and John L. Lewis that their Russian policy is exactly the same as that of the state department; in their propaganda against Russian recognition they have not scrupled to use material furnished them by the worst labor-hating administration in American history.

The Senate has appointed a committee to investigate the whole question of Russian recognition, including the charges of anti-government

propaganda which Gompers claims his efforts alone have made unsuccessful.

Since the investigation began the whole Gompers machine has been set in motion to disseminate the lies, half-truths and innuendos of Chester M. Wright and William English Walling, the anti-Russian experts of the Gompers administration.

Every labor paper in the country has been furnished with yards of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist material and many of them, particularly those that are privately owned and run in the interest of labor politicians, have printed it.

Recognition of First Importance.

Recognition of the workers' and farmers' government of Russia has been made the most important issue before the American trade union movement. Gompers says in the February Federationist:

There is no question in the whole field of international relations of more importance to American labor than the question of relations with the Soviet autocracy.

Because the British Labor Party before it became the government announced that one of its first acts would be the recognition of Russia, the victory that followed brings no joy to Gompers. He speaks sneeringly of the tremendous achievements of the British workers.

He takes the opportunity to show again his belief that his policies need never change tho the world may and does. He says:

So there is in England a situation well worth watching. In what may develop the American Federation of Labor will be deeply interested, but it will find there no reason for abandonment or modification of the political program and political methods which have so long served admirably to cope with the situation in the United States.

The same yesterday, today, and forever and ever, Amen!

It takes more than a Labor Party government in the British Empire or a workers' and farmers' government in one-sixth of the world's surface to convince the cautious Gompers that labor should have a political party of its own.

Not Real Reason.

But is the conservatism of the aged and the hatred of class conscious political action the only reason for the fury which the thought of Russian recognition arouses in the breast of Gompers?

We think not.

Is it a sincere belief that economic action is all-sufficing for the workers that is responsible for the Gompers criticism of the British Labor Party and his campaign against the formation of a Farmer-Labor party in the United States?

Again we think not.

The Communists have a clearly defined program which the experience of the last two years has shown makes a tremendous appeal to the organized workers and which includes amalgamation into industrial unions, a mass farmer-labor party and recognition of Soviet Russia.

Gompers has found it hard to fight against amalgamation and independent class political action by the organized workers; there are no arguments that can be brought successfully against the use of weapons so clearly necessary so the fight against amal-

gamation and a labor party has been carried on under the guise of a fight against the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Evading the Issue.

According to the Gompers propagandists, the Soviet government, the Third International, the Communist Party of Russia and the Workers (Communist) Party of America are striving to enslave the workers of the world and the American workers first of all.

The American Federation of Labor, says Gompers, is the only defense the workers have against the horrible tortures the Communists are preparing to inflict on them.

Amalgamation, class political action, are only devices to distract the attention of the workers until recognition of Soviet Russia is had when the bloody rule of Communism will crush the free-born American wage-earners.

The answer to the demand for amalgamation consists, then, of a recital and denunciation of the alleged atrocities of the Soviet government; the answer to the demand for a class farmer and labor party is the recital of more alleged atrocities—generally furnished by the accommodating department of justice.

The real issue has become the recognition of the Soviet government and upon this issue Gompers stands or falls.

Gompers himself knows this and this is the reason for the deluge of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda that has flooded the editorial desks of every labor paper in the United States reaching flood tide since the Borah committee began its sessions.

Laying the Ghost.

Once the Soviet government is recognized by the United States it emerges from the bloody mist with which it has been shrouded by the Gompers propagandists and becomes, for the organized workers of the United States, a reality which they can investigate at their leisure. It will no longer be a horrid mystery to which the Wollis and Wallings can refer in trembling tones and with which they can cause cold chills to chase one another up and down the back of the dues paying membership.

Amalgamation and the farmer-labor party movement then will have to be fought on their merits and not shoved into the background while the scarlet specter of Communism is paraded in front of the rank and file.

Gompers made one of the great blunders of his career when he carried the Wilson war against the workers' and farmers' government of Russia into the unions; he made another blunder when he used the ignorant fear of Communists and Communism to prevent action for amalgamation and a farmer-labor party and he made the blunder of blunders when he made the non-recognition of Soviet Russia a policy of officialdom of the American Federation of Labor.

Stronger Forces.

Gompers cannot prevent the recognition of Soviet Russia because powerful economic forces are making it inevitable. He has made a major mistake and he is going to suffer all the humiliation of defeat in his policy of enmity to the workers and peasants of Russia.

Recognition means the loss of his leadership and it also means that he will—if recognition does not actually kill him—live to see the American labor movement progressing steadily and rapidly towards industrial unionism and fighting its enemies on the political field with a mass party as its weapon. These are the terrible consequences that will result from Soviet recognition—they will hardly fulfill the Gompers prophecies of disaster.

The barrage of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda that the Wallings and Wrights are laying down at present is all the evidence needed to show that Gompers realizes—too late—the desperate situation in which he has placed himself.

Gompers has been hooked by the point of the Soviet sickle. The hammer is ready if needed.

My People

By CARL SANDBURG

My people are gray, pigeon gray, dawn
gray, storm gray.

I call them beautiful

And I wonder where they are going.

A LENIN LIBRARY IN AMERICA

By JOHN PEPPER

THE Central Executive Committee of our Party made an important decision to publish a Lenin library.

The Lenin library will contain ten volumes, together about 1,600 pages, ten volumes of uniform size. Each volume will have an explanatory preface and notes. Seven of these volumes have never been published before in the English language, and three exist only in incomplete editions.

A Lenin library! Ten volumes of Lenin's writings! One hundred thousand copies of Lenin's works in English! A hundred thousand soldiers of Leninism! A hundred thousand Communist fighters in the United States—not native-born, but English speaking. It is a great, an enormous undertaking. It is the surest sign of the growth and strengthening of our Party, that we can venture it. It is a sign of strength and it will be a source of strength.

The ten volumes of the Lenin library will be the following:

1. Marx and Marxism.
2. Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism.
3. The Agrarian Question in America.
4. State and Revolution.
5. The Shaping of Bolshevism.
6. The Struggle Against the Second International.
7. "Leftism"—An Infantile Malady of Communism.
8. The Organization of the Revolution.
9. The Working Class and the Farmers.
10. The Suppressed Peoples and the Social Revolution.

What was the governing principle in my selection (our Central Executive Committee has honored me with the editorship of the Lenin library) of precisely these writings of Lenin as his representative works?

Lenin's complete writings would make up, not 1,600 pages, but ten times as much. The task in the selection was a double one. On the one hand, to give a good picture of Leninism. On the other hand, to omit everything which would not be understandable to American workers.

The chief aim of the Lenin library is to give a complete picture of Leninism for intelligent workingmen. Lenin was not only the greatest statesman of our period, but at the same time the greatest scholar, in social science. Lenin was the only Marxist who added a new story to the magnificent edifice of Marxism. The guiding spirit of the working class in the Nineteenth Century

was Marxism. In the Twentieth Century, Leninism. Leninism is Marxism applied to the present imperialistic period of capitalist society.

Lenin was an orthodox Marxist. During his whole life he fought against eclecticism which wanted to "complete" Marxism from various philosophical systems, such as Kantism, Machism, Dietzgenism (or in the latest period), Freudism. Lenin considered Marxism as a complete outlook on life. Marxism was for Lenin the method of analysis and interpretation of society. If we want to understand Leninism it is necessary to learn to know Lenin's interpretation of the Marxist method of inquiry. The volume "Marx and Marxism" of our library will complete Lenin's essays and articles on Marx and the Marxist method.

With the weapon of the Marxist method in his hand, Lenin carried out the fundamental task of Marxists, the concrete analysis of the concrete facts. Marx for the first time discovered the essence of capitalism. Lenin for the first time discovered the essence of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism. In "Capital," Marx analyzed for the first time the revolution of agriculture thru the capitalist method of production. Karl Kautsky in his "Agrarian Question" explained the revolutionary effect of American competition on European agriculture. But Lenin was the first who gave a concrete Marxist analysis of Russian and American agriculture in two of his works: "The Agrarian Question in America" and "Agriculture in Russia." Marx and Engels for the first time analyzed the role of state power in a class society, and showed that by the development of capitalist society, inevitable necessity goes thru the dictatorship of the proletariat to a classless and stateless society. The decadents forgot and passed in silence over this basic fact. Lenin's inquiries then again brought the questions of state and dictatorship of the proletariat to the consciousness of the working class. Our Lenin library will have three volumes which give Lenin's concrete analysis of these basic facts of our period. The volume, "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism." This book of Lenin was never printed in English completely. Only the first half has appeared. The volume "The Agrarian Question in America" is especially timely for us today in the midst of the agricultural crisis in the United States. Lenin's analysis is based upon the 1910 census, but we will bring it up to date by using the 1920

census as well as the new congressional investigation and reports of the government. The volume, "State and Revolution," will comprise the most important studies of Lenin on this theme: "The State and Revolution; The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky; and Material on the Question of the Proletarian Dictatorship."

The concrete analysis of our imperialist period led Lenin to the conclusion that the working class must conduct the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But at the same time Lenin recognized that the working class itself is not and cannot be entirely uniform, that imperialism itself has the tendency to divide the working class thru buying one part and suppressing the other. The fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat can be waged by the working class only if it is led by a revolutionary party which, against the sectional, regional, national and temporary interests of the working class represents the common, general, international and permanent interests of the working class as an entity. No one has had a clearer view of the role of the Communist Party in the revolution than Lenin. The book, "Shaping of Bolshevism," will present the writings of Lenin which crystallized and made conscious the Party of the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks.

Lenin from the beginning saw clearly the two dangers which the revolutionary party of the proletarians faces: opportunism and sectarianism. The volume "The Struggle Against the Second International" will present selections from brilliant essays and articles of his which appeared under the title: "Against the Stream." (It is a pity that we cannot print in our Lenin library the masterly articles of Zinoviev which appeared in the same period and in the same book.) The volume of our library entitled "Leftism, An Infantile Malady of Communism" gives Lenin's ruthless struggle against revolutionary phrases and for revolutionary realism.

The party of the proletariat, cleansed of opportunism as well as of revolutionary phrase, must begin its difficult march towards seizure of power. The Party must in the first place win the confidence of the majority of the working class and then it must organize the armed revolution itself. The volume of our library, "The Organization of the Revolution," will give those writings of Lenin which he wrote during the

period of masterly maneuvering from March to November, 1917, and his analysis of the lessons of the armed uprising in 1905.

But Lenin saw clearly that the revolution of the working class does not take place in a vacuum, that the revolution is never the achievement of a single class, but that it is always a mighty mass movement of the various classes of the suppressed and exploited. With wonderful clearness Lenin recognized—and this recognition is one of the chief pillars of Leninism—that the proletarian revolution in our imperialist period is accompanied by the revolt of the ruined lower middle class, the rebellion of exploited farmers as well as by uprisings of suppressed nations and oppressed colonies. Lenin again and again repeated—and that is another principal pillar of Leninism—that the victory of the social revolution is impossible if the proletariat does not form an alliance with all non-capitalist elements, especially farmers and with the masses of the oppressed nations and races. The volume "The Working Class and the Farmers," will give the most important writings of Lenin on this theme, such as; "The Attitude of the Communists to the Middle Farmers," "The Working Class and the Farmers," the "New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia (The Tax in Kind)." The volume "The Suppressed Peoples and the Social Revolution" will contain those pioneer essays of "Against the Stream" in the self-determination of nations, and Lenin's other studies on the question of nationalities.

That will be the contents of the Lenin library. It is only a part of the tremendous riches of Lenin. But we hope it is a picture of Leninism. It mirrors the train of thought of Leninism.

Our Party, the Workers Party, is today in the midst of the political struggle. We are forced to maneuver. We are forced again and again to give concessions to the great masses of workers and exploited farmers who today are not yet Communists. Our Party is facing great dangers in this maneuvering. One danger is that we see only the masses and forget the revolution: the danger of opportunism. The other danger is that we see only the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and dogmatically turn away from the masses: the danger of sectarianism. Only a Communist education can obviate these dangers for our Party. The Lenin library will be a means to this Communist education.

NEGRO WOMEN WORKERS

By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

NEGRO women who entered industry during the war are fast learning that their lot is still "the last to be hired and the first to be fired." According to a report just issued by the Woman's Bureau at Washington on the "Negro Women in Industry," a great number of Negro women are being eliminated from industry and those remaining are most ruthlessly exploited. Their hours of toil range all the way from eight to sixteen hours a day and sometimes longer; their pay is miserably small and the conditions under which they work are most brutal.

The report covers a survey of 150 industries employing 11,860 Negro women. The purpose of the investigation was made in order to create a better understanding and greater sympathy among employers of Negro women with the aim of thereby raising the standard of living. This humanitarian aspiration is strongly coupled with repeated emphasis upon the fact that a higher standard of living will yield increased production.

Negro women found their OPPORTUNITY in industry during the world slaughter when the need for munitions of war created a labor shortage in the labor market. The five chief industries that women entered were textiles, clothing, food, tobacco and hand and footwear. The Negro women in the main filled the gap, caused by the advancement of white women into newer and more skilled occupations.

Thirty-two and five-tenths per cent of the 11,860 Negro women investigated were working ten hours a day and over; 27.4 per cent were working nine hours a day, and 20.2 per cent were working eight hours a day. These figures do not tell all of the story. Overtime can and does follow

the legal work day. Overtime "is permitted as much as desired." The report tells how workers boast of their thriftiness in beginning work, "before hours, after hours, and working during lunch hour." One worker puts it, "You just can't make ends meet unless you do extra work and often you are left in a hole even at that."

A typical case is cited indicating how these Negro women live for the most part. Rise at five, cook breakfast, dress children, prepare food and attend to things about the house, report for work at 7, leave at 5:30, resume housework on returning home, frequently continuing this work until midnight, dead tired as a result.

One woman worker states "I am so tired when I reach home I can scarcely stand up. My nerves are so bad, I jump in my sleep." Another woman complains, "I'd love to go to the Y. W. C. A., but I am so tired at night, I can scarcely go to bed. If I go out at night, I go where there is lots of life and lots of fun; I'd go to sleep at a lecture or club meeting." Another case cited, "I am so worried and worn in my strength that I feel at times as if I can stand it no longer. It is not alone the need of money but the responsibility of being nurse, housekeeper and wage earner at one time."

The average pay of the Negro women in industry is about ten dollars a week. The minimum wage is calculated at \$16.50. When it is taken into consideration that many of these women have dependents and are sometimes the sole supporters of their families, one wonders whether slavery days before the civil war could have been much worse.

The frightful conditions under which most of the Negro women work add to the horror of their wretched

pay. They are often segregated because of race prejudice, given inferior and harder work and because of their "ignorance" they are shamelessly cheated, false computation of wages, scales wrong, count wrong, etc. At the end of the week "you never know what you are going to get; you just take what they give you and go." The report points out that there is a strong feeling among Negro women workers that they are not getting a square deal.

Since the Negro women are unorganized they accept the most outrageous conditions of employment. They are not alone discriminated against because of their color and often segregated, but they are made to work amidst conditions the United States government would not permit its hogs to live under. Herded together in terrible congestion, in filth, fetid dust-laden, poisonous air, poorly ventilated, still more poorly lighted, these women work and often have to eat in the same atmosphere.

The report points out, "Confronted with the need for food, clothing and shelter and placed in an environment which was unhealthful and sometimes even degrading, they were seen to have lost themselves in the struggle for bare existence."

The treatment accorded most of these workers is well expressed in the words of one of the managers, "They are terribly indolent, careless and stubborn, but we know HOW to handle them. We give them rough treatment and that quells them for a while." Yet another manager observes, "You never saw a group of people so responsive to kindness? In the main, these women are conscious of their industrial experience and showed timidity which was a drawback in acquiring assurance and

speed so necessary in factory production. Their patient trust and belief in the better day that should come to them as workers is pathetic."

The report points out that bad working conditions and long hours are a serious menace to the state, that the prosperity of a nation is endangered when its workers are being crippled with exhaustive labor. Loss of human energy, due to excessive working hours becomes a national loss and is bound to lessen the nation's productive yield. The reporter, therefore, recommends legislation for a higher standard of living, inasmuch as a higher standard of living will produce greater efficiency in production and greater profits.

The report would have self-enlightened employers and the State jointly work out an appropriate "award" as compensation for Negro women in the industries. It would be a sort of benevolent industrialism for greater efficiency and greater national progress—for the master class.

To that end is also recommended, "A more conscientious training for efficiency in public schools, thru fostering of pride in achievement, increasing personal and family thrift, and encouraging of constancy toward a given task, would ensure that 'preparation for life' which is the purpose of all education."

Against such "purposes" in education must be posed the Communist method of education, thru labor solidarity making for self-reliance and self-development. Not a "pathetic" longing for a better day, but a resolute expression in action for a better day will result from Communist education.

Hiram Johnson---His Background

By DONALD STUART

HIRAM JOHNSON is interesting and significant as a demonstration of what happens when an expert, noisy, and resourceful politician has his full say and plays his whole string. It is just thirteen years since Hiram Johnson started out slaying dragons in California. He got a big cheer from the people then, and no doubt he could defeat any other man for any California office today, but a census of dragons—a checking up of the quick and the dead—is perhaps more to the point.

Hiram has an oratorical punch—there's no doubt about that. He speaks with a sort of staccato yelp, with a voice yappant, even ululant, and his physical and muscular intensity endows the obvious and superficial with an entirely fictitious importance. Furthermore, he is happily free from any political convictions or moral scruples, and this, with great shrewdness in discovering and echoing the prevailing platitude, gives him a rare equipment for a statesman. Added to all this, he has one all-dominating personal trait. He has a vindictiveness, a capacity for hate, and a range of bitter memory which enable him to nourish more grudges and go to greater extremes in punishing his personal enemies than any other statesman of today. We may suppose that when Hiram Johnson was in the fifth grade at school another boy traded him a glassie which was supposed to be an agate. If this really happened, you may be sure Hiram has this boy somewhere in a card index, and he's going to get him some day. That's Hiram.

Hiram Gets Into Politics

Hiram was dug up, in 1910 by Bill Kent, Meyer Lissner, Marshall Stimson and a few other reformers who wanted someone to smash the Southern Pacific machine. Hiram was a natural-born prosecutor, who had made quite a stir in the San Francisco graft prosecution, after Heney was shot. He was brave, as a lion, so they said, tho it was noticeable that he didn't come in until after the outbreak of public feeling over the shooting of Heney had made the graft prosecution comparatively safe and respectable.

"Kick the Southern Pacific out of politics" was his campaign slogan. California likes the noisy, bellicose, hell-roaring type of politician. It was no trouble for Hiram to show goods. His heat, fervor, vehemence, sweat and black, macerating passion in assailing the railroad infamies were unparalleled and unsurpassed. He went around shadow-boxing with the Southern Pacific dragon all over the state. Whenever he drove his pudgy, clenched fist into the jowl of the monster, he got a cheer which jarred loose all the shingles on the Southern Pacific roadhouse.

When the 1911 legislature convened, our great reform governor offered a prospectus of progressive legislation which actually included certain bills for ameliorating labor conditions—the full crew train bill, employers' liability, the industrial accident commission, etc. Hiram Johnson, during many years as a leading San Francisco attorney, had never shown the slightest interest in such matters. But now, all of a sudden, he was displaying a passionate devotion to them. How come?

Tom Finn can tell you how that came about. Tom is a plain, everyday San Francisco politician, and nothing if not direct. In 1911, he was a senator in the state legislature, with the San Francisco delegation in the hollow of his hand. Also, he was politically a creation of organized labor, which was then "in the ascendant" in the Sam Gompers fashion. Finn wanted a wish-washy "labor program" put thru the legislature; also he wanted the water-front patronage, which was a political dish he had been enjoying for years. And, on the other hand, Hiram Johnson wanted the balance of power in the legislature. If Tom handed over the San Francisco delegation, Hiram would have the balance of power. So they bargained. "Do I get my patronage?" said Tom to Hiram. "You do," said Hiram to Tom. "You get the San Francisco delegation," said Tom to Hiram. And the "labor program" was thrown into the bargain and remains as an asset to the doughty labor-politicians in the land where oranges grow on trees and honest workers go to jail.

Johnson At Work

Johnson's chief preoccupation, after taking office, was lambasting his ene-

mies. He went down the line with one philippic after another. He worked a day and night shift denouncing Mike de Young, editor of the San Francisco Chronicle; William H. Crocker, the San Francisco banker; Harrison Grey Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, and Sam Shortridge, a bombastic and rather ludicrous San Francisco lawyer whom he later helped to make United States Senator. "There isn't room enough in this town for Hiram Johnson and Mike de Young," he would yell, and he always got a big hand from his audience.

The years slipped by and organized labor thruout California was forced into the defensive. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, of Los Angeles, and the allied Chambers of Commerce thruout the state were carrying on a smashing attack, and the game of political trading wasn't working out so well. It was true that there were plenty of labor leaders in the state government; it was true, also, that certain labor bills had been passed—but it was true, nevertheless, that labor was getting the stuffing knocked out of it, and neither Hiram nor the job-holding labor leaders seemed to be worrying any.

William D. Stephens was lieutenant governor. Stephens was a pious stuffed-shirt and a born labor-hater. Johnson went to the United States

torial nomination against Sam Shortridge—Johnson's erstwhile enemy. Kent, you will recall, was one of a few men who started Johnson on his career; incidentally, he furnished the money to start the campaign, and, then and later, gave Johnson many thousands of dollars. But Johnson didn't hesitate a moment when it became advantageous to cut his benefactor's throat. Similarly, he assassinated Frank Heney, whose liberalism, like Bill Kent's, seemed to take on a serious character.

Everybody realizes now that the great Southern Pacific attack was a Weber and Fields performance; the S. P. had a pillow in its pants and it all ended happily. But what about the other big "infamies" which Johnson so gallantly assailed?

There is the whole matter of conservation of natural resources. California has fifteen to twenty million acres of arable land, and it has, flowing to waste, water enough to irrigate it; it has about eight million horse-power of undeveloped hydro-electric energy; it has vast areas of timber, oil and mineral land. As governor of California and as United States senator, Hiram Johnson has not lent the slightest assistance to the effort of the conservationists to save some of this heritage for the people. His acquiescence has allowed the looters to tie these resources up in such a fashion that no political

during his administration. The persecution of liberals, which eventuated in the vicious criminal syndicalism law, was well under way while Johnson was still governor.

What did Johnson ever do about the black tyranny of the Kern County Land Company? There is nowhere in America today any more brutal or savage gang, with more crimes recorded against it, than this Kern County gang. The only lawyer who ever dared attack them was shot, his body lacerated with knives and acid poured in the wounds. He was then turned loose on the desert, covered with a coat of tar-and-feathers. He is in an insane asylum. The Kern County Land Company has gone serenely on its way all thru the years of the Johnson ascendancy. Today, they are more strongly entrenched than ever, maintaining an absolutely lawless, criminal rule over a section as large as an eastern state. And they have never received so much as a word of gentle reproof from the dauntless Hiram.

The Miller and Lux interests, the interests of Harry Chandler, legatee of the ill-famed Los Angeles Times, and son-in-law of the old buccaneer, Otis, the great industrial and financial network of Herbert Fleishacker, Gargantuan banker of San Francisco; the interests of the Hammond Lumber Company, and above all the allied hydro-electric interests, have enmeshed California in a tyranny worse than that found in any other state. And this is the state which has been "liberated" by this implacable foe of privilege, this champion of the common man, this valorous knight of democracy!

Labor crushed; spies, dicks, gumshoers everywhere; newspapers lying and pandering; free speech and free assemblage brutally suppressed; fixers, manipulators, corruptionists, lobbyists and corporation press agents swarming over the state, like an army of snails, leaving a trail of slime—and San Quentin prison crowded with men who have dared assert their constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage!

Liberated—like hell!

The present governor, Friend W. Richardson, provides just a touch of aesthetic completeness to the picture. He is an all but illiterate, untidy old man, with a walrus mustache and a bitter hostility toward education or literacy in any form. Since becoming governor he has maintained a steady drive against higher education and has all but wrecked the public school system. He has relentlessly attacked every left-over vestige of humanitarian legislation, and has made a complete job of it—without a word of protest from Hiram Johnson. He is owned and operated by the corporations.

The farmers are broke; the unions are smashed; the corporations are in absolute, unassailable control; California, today has sunk down more deeply into the mire of hopeless reaction than any other state in America.

That is the outcome of all the vociferations, all the high-keyed and valorous invective, all his dauntless defiance of the great Hiram Johnson, "progressive" candidate for president of these United States.

"My Country" with Many Variations

By ROBBIN DUNBAR.

My country, 'tis of the-e-e,
Sweet Dome of Doheny
And Harry Sinclair!
Land where 3 Prexies died,
Land of Wall Street's pride,
Oil gushing on ev'ry side,
Of thee I swear.

Wood, Warren and Silent Cal,
Got stuck on the same old gal,
Miss Red Light Oil!
They luv her fancy frills,
No accent of her chills,
Her satchel's full of bills,
Let Tea Pot boil.

"Our Father's God,"—is bunk,
"Our country's flag,"—is junk,
Don't givadam!
Let's loot the treasury
We own H. Daugherty,
Our flag floats o'er the free,—
T'ed wid U. Sam!

"We go peacefully towards our aims if possible; with force if necessary."—Karl Radek."

The Chewing Gum Candidate



Hiram Johnson—For President.

Senate and left Stephens to take his place. And, Stephens completed the ruin of "progressivism" in California.

And now, getting around to that census of dragons, we find that there are ten on the job where there was one when Hiram first set his lance against them. The Southern Pacific—which in truth never seemed greatly worried about Hiram's denunciations—is back in power. In Los Angeles, Leo Youngworth and Mott Flint, who used to be castigated by Hiram in the old days as "S. P. hirelings," are stalwarts of the Johnson organization. Eustace Cullinan, Johnson leader in San Francisco, and for years the champion of progressivism in northern California, is frankly and openly the hired man of the public corporations and is now attacking the initiative and referendum. Everywhere, in the villages and in the cities, the corporations are ruthless and rampant. The labor unions are hamstrung and impotent and San Francisco, once the citadel of unionism in California, is an open-shop town.

One can't help getting some cynical amusement out of the fact that these old-time political enemies have in later years become Johnson's friends and political allies and his financial backers. They contributed money to his campaign for the Republican nomination, and in return he sent his entire organization out against Bill Kent in the latter's run for the sena-

action short of revolution can give the slightest hope of blasting them loose, and in all his entire public career he has never had a single word to say on the subject of conservation. He has left all this wealth to be grabbed, and grabbed it has been! The California Water and Power Act, an initiative measure, was the big issue of the California election last fall. It was a fundamental measure, proposing to vest ownership in the water and power resources in the people and to place state credit behind their development. Who was hired by the utility corporations to defeat this measure? Eustace Cullinan, referred to above, who for years has been Johnson's intimate personal friend and who is his leading political representative in San Francisco. How much was he paid for this service? Twenty thousand dollars a year, according to his testimony before the California legislature. Johnson was cynically indifferent to the appeals of Bill Kent, and all the other old time progressives for assistance in the campaign to save the water and power. There's your great liberal statesman.

Johnson's labor record needs but slight comment for DAILY WORKER readers. When an appeal was made to him in Tom Mooney's behalf, he said Mooney ought to be tied up in a sack and dropped in the bay. The infamous frame-up of the strike leaders, Ford and Suhr, was put over

The Situation in Germany and the Communist Party

By AUGUST THALHEIMER (Berlin)

THE Dictatorship of Seeckt is, step by step, capturing new positions with the same bloodless methods with which it succeeded in obtaining power. It still considers it worth while to retain parliament and the remaining democratic lumber as a sort of screen, but only on condition that parliament, as well as the other so-called democratic institutions, shall be submissively subservient to the military Dictatorship. The cabinet of Marx, which has succeeded to that of Stresemann, marks a great step in the degradation of parliament and of parliamentary government. It is not only that Marx before forming his cabinet, sought permission of the white General; the composition of the cabinet itself is in accordance with the considered wishes of the white General. Social Democracy was thrown overboard. Nevertheless, the strivings of the junkers to obtain possession of the Prussian administration, in consequence of the dissolution of the great coalition in Prussia were prevented by the General. The reason for this is obvious. It was not advisable having regard to the government of Poincare, and also the English cabinet to display, as it were, the coat of arms of the feudal junkers on the Reichstag buildings. At the same time the General did not deem it meet to present the bread-profiters junkers openly to the workers. In return for this piece of indulgence the General obtained the appropriate recompense: the Centre, Democrats and Social Democrats, who in Prussia have such and such a number of administrative posts and offices to defend against the Junkers and the old Wilhelm bureaucrats, now prove themselves to be so much the more accommodating flunkies of the military Dictator. Severing and Brauns fall over one another in their eagerness to slander and persecute the Communist Party. In the Centre and with the Democrats, the right wings (large capitalist and large agrarian) have won the upper hand.

The effects of this were to be clearly seen in the discussion of the Special Powers Act. Not only the governing parties, but the Social Democratic so-called opposition hastened to secure the Special Powers Act for the cabinet of Marx. The mere threat of the dissolution of the Reichstag which, according to their own reckoning would cost the Social Democrats about two-thirds of their seats, and which would sweep away the old parliamentary leaders in favor of the so-called "left" leaders—this threat sufficed to bring the Social Democrats to heel and cause them obediently to pass the Special Powers Act, in spite of all the thousand oaths sworn against the state of siege. This means complete submission on the part of Social Democracy to the military Dictatorship. It is submission to victorious Fascism. It is characteristic that the so-called Social Democratic Lefts were, by the threat of expulsion from the party, induced on their part to submit to the right wing faction majority, and thereby also to the military Dictatorship.

Petty bourgeois Fascism is also being rendered incapable of doing any harm by the triumphant great capitalist Fascism of General Seeckt. A portion of this wing has, after the settlement of the Hitler-Ludendorff-Putsch, completely capitulated to the dictatorship of General Seeckt. Another section is being rendered docile by the repressions which are bound up with the prohibition of the German People's Party. Seeckt has attached to himself the organizations grouped around the Bavarian dictator Kahr, by admitting representatives of the Bavarian reaction into the cabinet of Marx.

Meanwhile, General Seeckt is eagerly engaged in extending and completing his own political apparatus. He has brought together the old officers who served in the areas occupied by Germany in Belgium, France, Roumania, etc., in the war, and is using them to control the civil administration and to form the elements of an independent military Dictatorship. The prohibition of the Communist Party is also being taken advantage of by the military Dictatorship in order to still further complete its own political apparatus.

The military Dictatorship, which need no longer expect any resistance on the part of the former bourgeois democracy, is now making it its task to carry out the Fascist program of large capital.

What is this program? Its general features can be inferred from

the situation of the German bourgeoisie. It is necessary to set up, if only for transitory period, an economic equilibrium. In order to attain this end a dictatorship of great capital has to work in two directions. In the first place there has to be a retrenchment in expenditure by the cutting down of all the educational services of the state, and of the social and political services; secondly, there must be a raising of the capitalist profits and of the income of the state by means of increased exploitation of the working class and of the middle classes, by increasing exports—and by increasing the taxation of property owners. So far as the first is concerned, the discharge of officials and the prolongation of the working time is in full swing. These measures are at the same time being made use of in order to weed out the democratic and socialist-inclined younger sections of the officials, and to create places for the old reactionary bureaucracy as well as for the new adherents to Fascism. With regard to the second, the employers have, by means of ruthless lockouts and closing down of factories, practically made an end of the eight hour day and introduced the nine and ten hour day. The Trade Unions have neither the will, nor were they in a position to offer serious resistance. The unemployed maintenance is being cut down; the same is happening to the other social-political services. But all these measures are in vain if the bourgeoisie does not succeed in bringing in a sufficient amount of taxes in order to balance, if only for the time being, the national and state finances. These necessary sums are not to be extracted either from the working class or the middle class sections of the population. The state expenditure is still only covered to the extent of less than 1 per cent by state income. It is, however, improbable that the bourgeoisie will constitute itself as a Fascist Dictatorship in order merely, to compel itself to yield taxes. There still remain foreign credits. But from whence shall these come? The United States is, perhaps, inclined to grant credits for the purpose of obtaining corn, for which it will take a definite portion of the state property (Mines) as security. But these credits can in no wise be granted on such a scale, as will enable an economic equilibrium to be again set up in Germany. England, too, who also might be considered, does not appear to show any inclination to grant large credits. In a negative manner the attitude of the industrialists in the Rhine and Ruhr districts is a proof of how poor the prospects are considered of balancing German economics and finances. The agreement between the heavy industrialists of the Rhine and Ruhr areas and the Micum (the Belgium and French heavy industry), and the veiled constituting of a Rhine-land state dependent upon France—all this proves that heavy industry is submitting to French imperialism and regards the rest of Germany merely as a hinterland.

The Communist Party is forbidden by General Seeckt, its press is suppressed, its printing establishments are confiscated, etc. But it still continues to live. The Party of the Proletariat is showing itself to be the only power which is capable and willing to offer resistance to the white Dictatorship. In Berlin and a number of other towns it has succeeded in holding more or less large demonstrations in the streets. It is beginning to set up a resistance to the armed power of the military dictatorship and to school the proletarian advance guard for the deciding struggle.

The central task of the Communist Party in the present situation follows from the teachings of the October defeat. The October defeat of the German proletariat was not the result of "mistakes" on the part of the Communist Party.

It arose from the relations of power in the working class existing at the given moment. It can finally be traced back to the fact that a great portion of the working class, under the paralyzing influence of the Right and Left Social Democracy, was no longer prepared to defend the November democracy against Fascism, that it is not yet prepared to fight for the proletarian dictatorship. Social Democracy, long since dead as an active force in the cause of the working class, has shown itself to be still an enormous hindering force, in other words, Communism has not yet succeeded in drawing the majority of the working class away from the influence of Social Democracy. If any fault was committed by the Communist Party it was in underestimating Social Democracy as a hindering force.

The central task of the Communist Party is therefore the complete political and organizational liquidation of Social Democracy, and the seizure of the Trade Unions out of the hands of the Social Democratic leaders. Upon these tasks the Communist Party will concentrate its entire force. And only when this task has been solved will the conditions be ripe for enforcing a decision. In this connection, it is quite clear that the chief attack must be directed against the so-called "Left" Social Democrats. With their radical phraseology, with their opposition to Fascism in words, and submission to it in deeds, with their strenuous clinging to the illusions of bourgeois democracy and Parliamentarianism they are helpers of the Fascist Dictatorship.

The struggle against Social Democracy and against Fascism will be conducted by the propaganda of proletarian dictatorship and of Socialism as opposed to the Fascist Dictatorship. The Party will continue to propagate with the greatest tenacity the idea of the armed uprising among the masses and to prepare for it by organization and tactics. The Party now, after the victory of Fascism over the November Republic, has eliminated from its program the propaganda of those demands which are connected with the democratic institutions and which should lead to the proletarian dictatorship, such as the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, the control of production. These demands have become irrelevant for the democratic institutions no longer exist with which they were associated. The actions of the Party must, of course, be connected with the daily needs of the working class. With the present wholesale unemployment and short-time, strikes come little into consideration; so much the greater role therefore will mass demonstrations, party peaceful and party armed, play.

Under the existing strike illegality it is necessary for the Party to base its chief organization work in the workshops. In addition to this it must set up the closest connection between the workers still employed and the unemployed. Under the blows of the white counter-revolution the Party will become the iron cohort of the revolution, which it could not become during the time when it was legal.

The proletarian revolution in Germany has not taken the rapid course which many had expected. Instead of rising out of the ruins of the bourgeois democracy, like the Russian October Revolution, it finds itself in a position when it must organize its victory under the letters of Fascist dictatorship. Its victory, if it comes more slowly, will, therefore, be all the more complete. The great capitalist dictatorship is, so to speak, the last attempt to maintain the capitalist power. In Russia the October victory was, so to speak, the result of a surprise attack. The Russian bourgeoisie only mobilized its reserves after its October defeat. The

German bourgeoisie, which is far better organized, is mobilizing its reserves before the defeat. What is now taking place in Germany, is the last round of that struggle between the bourgeoisie and the Communist Party for the reserves, for the indifferent and Social Democratic workers and for the middle class. This struggle for the reserves is the essential content of the political preparation for the proletarian revolution.

The Foreign Communist Parties must not allow themselves to be discouraged by the October retreat, which was unavoidable, and was grounded in the total situation. The Communist Party of Germany has, after a short pause, undertaken the reordering of its ranks, and is preparing for a fresh struggle. The proletarian revolution in Germany is on the march. None of the fundamental problems of the country can be solved by the military dictatorship. Our foreign brother parties must clearly understand, that if the Russian Revolution in the year 1917 took a quite unexpected course, which differed from all previous bourgeois revolutions, the proletarian revolution in Germany has its own course, its own tempo and its own methods.

Bolshevism

By EDWARD JAMES IRVINE.

The Earth was calmly shimmying on its orbit
When the Bolsheviks came along and pushed it off.
Old God, the most respectable citizen of heaven,
Slept peacefully on a couch of rank alfalfa
Till the Russian revolution killed Him with heart failure.
Then the devil was found to be a good scout after all
And was given a job training white guard armies.

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CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

By EDWARD JAMES IRVINE.

I chant no more of buttercup and daisy,
Or English sparrows twittering on a tree.
I am a bird whom capitalists call crazy,
I sing of war for human liberty.

WHAT ABOUT OBREGON AND THE MEXICAN TEAPOT?

By HARRISON GEORGE

THAT the depredation of petroleum imperialists are not confined to Wyoming and California fields is taken for granted by anyone cognizant with the nature of the animal. But as the U. S. Senate investigating committee has a few more shocks coming its way if it carries out the proposed widening of the investigation to include concessions granted American corporations in foreign countries—according to the resolution passed on February 13th—it may be well to break the news gradually and ease the shock.

With that humane consideration in mind, let us lay aside the current daily capitalist newspaper with its stage-thunderous indignation against the "guilty" as distinguished from the "innocent" plunderers of the national resources and its present efforts to check the oily flood before it seeps into the tombs of two dead presidents. Let us recall that Standard Oil was for many years waging a bitter struggle against British interests led by Lord Cowdray for control of Mexican oil resources.

Then, let us read between the lines of the following article referring to recognitions between Albert Fall, then U. S. Senator from New Mexico, and President Obregon of Mexico, as published in the London Daily Herald on Dec. 13, 1920:

"The plan provides for the prompt recognition of the Obregon regime by the republicans, for a large Mexican loan from American bankers and for the eventual appointment of Senator Fall to supervise the reorganization of the Mexican railways. . . . Passing thru Washington to lay details of the arrangements before Senator Harding at Marion, Senator Fall significantly praised Obregon as a man capable of safeguarding investments in Mexico. A similar unaccustomed admiration of the Mexican regime is being voiced by the oil magnates and the Hearst newspapers, which have hitherto been notoriously belligerent. Mexico has paid the price for peace with

North America.

The confluence of both republican and democratic politics in the great oil stream will be noticed by the inclusion of Hearst with Fall and Harding. Perhaps this is why Hearst recently traveled a long way to have a little talk with Coolidge. Hearst papers have thus far been untouched by Teapot oil, but how about Mexican oil?

Fellow Crooks.

Besides, here is evidence that Fall, intriguer and crook for Standard Oil interests before he was appointed to Harding's cabinet, must have been known as such by Harding—indeed, Fall hurried to Harding as to an accomplice in putting a deal across whereby the Mexican people were ravaged of their oil resources by the same gang that later took the Teapot. Fall, the international shoplifter, seems to have a way with him that presidents cannot resist. . . .

To make it a bit more interesting, let us go back further. Fall, previous to his cabinet position, was U. S. senator from New Mexico. As such he was given the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Public Lands (nice, cushy job!). All this time he had been connected with Do-

heny's Petroleum Producers' Association, which organization was leading a propaganda for armed intervention in Mexico, because the "dirty Greasers" had been inconsiderate to American oil and mining interests by writing in Article 27 of the Mexican constitution that subsoil rights should revert to the Mexican nation.

Wilson, Too.

John Kenneth Turner, in his book "Shal. It Be Again?" states that, "As condition for the recognition of Obregon, Wilson accepted the terms of Albert B. Fall, which were also the terms of the great financial and industrial interests." Again another president succumbed to the wiles of Doheny's Man-Friday, Fall. But Obregon at that time was telling the seducer that he was not that kind of a girl.

The Plot Thickens.

Naturally, something had to be done about it. Fall, as chairman of the committee of the Senate on Public Lands, caused a sub-committee to be appointed with himself as chairman, empowered by some hocus-pocus with the investigation of Mexico. Fall had a girl secretary who seemed to be a pliable lassie. She was sent to Mexico and remain-

ed there for eight months, Doheny paying her salary and expenses! She came back like the dove to the ark, or better, like a stool-pigeon, with voluminous testimony to give before the fancy little sub-committee Fall was carrying around. She said that Mexicans were laying waste their native heath and massacring Americans right and left, that neither property nor life of foreigners was safe. And Fall's sub-committee promptly brought in a recommendation to the Senate demanding armed intervention in Mexico. The Senate rejected war, however, and Fall had to use other means.

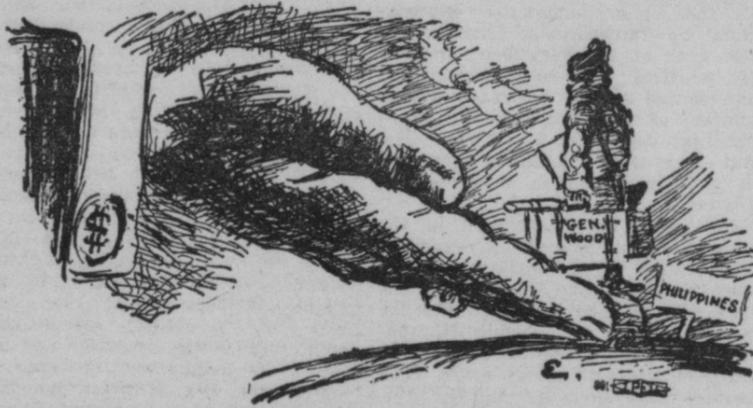
From the above quotation from the Daily Herald it is seen that as quickly as Harding was elected, Fall made his visit to Mexico City, saw Obregon and finally brought him "to reason" with a deal which would swap recognition by the republicans and a large loan by American bankers for "safeguarding investments in Mexico" and "reorganization of the Mexican railways."

Wall Street Gets Railways.

This "safeguarding of investments" was the revocation of the retroactive effect of Article 27—practically nullifying it, and the reorganization of the railways was a turning over of the nationally owned lines of Mexico to private capital—Wall Street. The whole barter and sale of Mexican resources in an itemized way, including this railway reorganization, was finally signed and sealed in New York in the spring of 1923, by Thomas W. Lamont, representing the committee of International Bankers, and Adolpho De La Huerta, then a cabinet officer under Obregon and now leading an abortive revolt.

A resolution was introduced February 13, in the Chamber of Deputies in Rome calling for an investigation of the concessions granted by Italy to Sinclair's oil interests. The Oil Scandal has become international. The American government is uncovered in its nakedness as a prostitute. How about its "sister republic" to the south? How about the Mexican teapot?

Wall Street's Helping Hand to the Philippines



The Strikebreaker-Governor General Wood.

AT TWO AND THREE YEARS

By MYRA MANN.

TRUTH, it is said, is stranger than fiction. Strange as it may sound, infants, at the tender age of two and three years are actually producing marketable commodities. The sceptical attitude of some towards the expositions made by the "New York Welfare Commission" brings back to my mind a recollection of my own childhood; how every naturally children of the working class drift into work; how parents with even the warmest love for their children are forced to send them to work.

As I remember my environment at the age of three or thereabouts I was the eldest of three children. My father tho a barber was forced thru slackness in his trade to work as an unskilled laborer in a railway shop. To add to the meager, insufficient wages he did a little barbering in the evenings.

My nursery, the one room we all lived in, was like a stage. Three times a day the scene changed. In the morning father could be seen disentangling himself slowly, tho not without impatience, from amongst the little arms and legs strewn over and around him in the family bed, swearing because it was cold, yet every now and then throwing out an angry, "Why didn't you wake me earlier, didn't I tell you cold or no cold I'll be sacked if I get to work late. . . . We haven't enough money yet to open up a regular barbershop. The wife, my mother, barefootedly running around preparing his breakfast, would silently gesture to him not to make so much noise lest the children wake up.



"Well, I don't have to worry about reporting my Income Tax anyway!"

An hour or so later the scene would change. This same room would become a dressmaking establishment. Now, instead of the bed there was a huge closet with mirrored doors. In these my mother's customers would view themselves in the full glory of their Sunday best. Much bargaining would take place. Once while my mother was fitting a dress my little brother got his finger caught in the wheel of the sewing machine and it nearly drove my mother into hysterics.

In the evening, right after supper, my father's barbershop would be flashed on the screen. The kitchen table placed before the grand mirrors and the red plush covered barber chair pushed up before it would be the signal for my little brother and sister to creep up to my mother to be lulled to sleep on a couple of chairs until the shop was closed and they could be put into bed.

I being considered "a big girl already" was allowed to come near the barbershop section. I was even given a job cutting up newspaper into squares for the soap of the razor to be wiped off on. In that way I made a number of friends amongst my father's customers. One evening one of them asked me with, as I imagine he must have done, a sly wink at my father, "Hey, there what do you want to sit and cut paper squares for a smart girl like you. Buy yourself a razor and a brush so we won't have to wait around so long. What! You are too small! Oh, we can fix that! You stand on a soap box. Just think, perhaps your mother won't have to sew dresses and your little brother will not get his finger caught in the machine because your mother isn't watching him." "Yes," I thought, taking myself very seriously, "I could too. Papa will you buy me the tools?" I asked. "Buy you the tools! That is no way to do business. Go out and work, save your money and then buy yourself tools. "Right again," I must have thought, because no sooner had he said that than I quietly put the papers down; got into my hat and coat and was on my way. Before any one realized what I was doing I was out on the street. No matter even if it was nine o'clock at night and mid-winter at that; my childish imagination was

filled with the thought that I was old enough to work and I could see myself throwing hand-fuls of pennies into my mother's lap. A few doors down lived a printer, who like my father, was struggling to make ends meet. I had seen his children tying strings onto cardboard tags so I thought I would ask him for a job. Mother, fearful lest I should catch cold, ran after me but, seeing that I had my heart set on getting a job, she asked the printer to "play the game with me" and give me the job.

The first few days my working was taken as a joke but as the week advanced and the sum of my wages grew to almost the size of a fifty cent piece even my mother was forced to take it a little more seriously. By the time that the second week started tho my interest in the game of seeing who could tie the most strings onto tags was giving way to a desire to play with my little brother and sister a fate had taken a hand in my little routine and I continued to work. My father was killed. In his zeal to make a hit with the foreman he worked in the most dangerous places and met his death under the crushing weight of an overturned car.

So my career as a wage worker began. That a child of three can be

taught a few motions necessary for the production of some commodities psychologists will agree. As for conditions making it necessary, one need only go down to the east side of New York City to see that what the New York Welfare Commission has reported is true.

"The defeated of today will be the victors of tomorrow."—Karl Liebknecht.



The Poor Fish says he believes in the enforcement of the prohibition laws if it doesn't make it too hard to get a drink.

The High Cost of Living, 1930.



WHAT IS BOLSHEVISM?

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV.

This is the Preface to the first volume of Comrade Zinoviev's work, "From the History of Bolshevism."

A PART from the history of Bolshevism in its earliest stages—the oldest of Lenin's works (The Task of Russian Social Democracy) some of Plechanov's works, the old "Iskra," and especially the struggle carried on by these against economism—it may be said that Bolshevism as a broad political current was born almost on the eve of the Revolution of 1905.

The 2nd Party Congress, held in the summer of 1903, merged in a mighty storm of revolutionary strike movements, which spread with ever-increasing violence over the whole of Russia. Bolshevism received its first baptism of blood during the first revolution in the year 1905.

But an ever more decisive trial followed. The Revolution of 1905 was suppressed, the working class thrown back. The tempo of political life slowed down. A stillness as of the graveyard reigned. Faint-heartedness and apostasy became everyday occurrences. Even the ranks of the workers were infected with the canker of bourgeois ideology.

The question as to whether Bolshevism would stand this trial, if it would withstand the fire of counter-revolution, was approximately decided during the five years between 1906 and 1912.

What new contribution was made by Bolshevism in the sphere of political ideology? What fresh paths were opened up by Bolshevism for international Socialism? Of what does Comrade Lenin's discovery consist?

If we had to furnish an answer to these questions in a few words, we should reply as follows:

1. Bolshevism, for the first time in the history of international class warfare, has taken the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat seriously, and has done this by leading into practice paths that which Marx and Engels had merely established theoretically.

2. It is precisely because Bolshevism has opened up the question of the proletarian dictatorship as a practical question of the day, that, for the first time in the history of International Socialism, it has sought an ally for the proletariat.

3. And here lies the highest merit of Bolshevism—it found this ally in the farmers.

4. In this sense it may be said, that Bolshevism "discovered" the role of the farmers, for it recognized that the farmers represent that power, the winning of which alone renders it possible for the proletariat to play its great part of emancipator in the world revolution.

Anyone who has followed the most important moments in the history of Bolshevism—from the first important actual political platform of Bolshevism in the year 1904-5 (Comrade Lenin's pamphlet on "Two Kinds of Tactics" dealing lucidly with the question of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry"), to the idea of the "Smytschka," the alliance between workers and farmers, an idea which plays such a leading role at the present time—anyone who has followed all this will have arrived at the conviction that Bolshevism has spoken its decisive word precisely in this sphere.

With regard to the question of the reciprocal relations between the proletariat and the farmers, the contributions of Marx and Engels have only been of the most general nature, and they were not in a position to give more. It has been the task of Bolshevism to impart living flesh and blood to these general formulas furnished by Marx and Engels. The development of the political tactics of the proletariat in such a way as to create the possibility—along with the highest possible formal measures of "equal rights" between proletariat and farmers—of rendering the farmers in actuality the followers of the proletariat, and at the same time "inducing" the farmers to play the part of "reserve" for the proletariat engaged in fulfilling its great historical mission—this has been the great question which Bolshevism has been able to answer successfully. And today it is perfectly clear in all essentials that the most important problems of the proletarian revolution on an international scale tend to follow the same lines—with certain variations—as those which confronted

Russia during the last two decisive decades. The tactics pursued by Bolshevism in this particular question of the reciprocal relations between working class and farmers, constitute a factor especially calculated to enhance the international and universal character of Bolshevik tactics.

The relations of the workers to the farmers—this is the most vital thing in Bolshevism. Those who are desirous of comprehending Bolshevism, and those who sincerely wish to become adherents of Bolshevism, must study this side of Bolshevism above all others, must grasp the fact that this is the factor determining the essential character of Bolshevism.

This is by no means asserting that Bolshevism has created, all at once, a complete and finished tactical formula on the relations between the workers and the farmers. Two decades of profound political significance passed between the issue of the slogan of the "dictatorship of the workers and farmers," formulated for the first time by Lenin in the year 1904-5, and the issue of the slogan of the workers' and farmers' government, realized in Russia, and now proclaimed for the whole Communist International by International Communism. But even at the very beginning of its political existence, Bolshevism represented a real approach to the solution of this problem—the problem that dominates all others. The first sign of life in Bolshevism may be said to have been expressed by this fact.

Bolshevism has developed in the highest organic manner in regard to the question of the estimate of the part played by the farmers. In the year 1905, Bolshevism regarded the farmers solely as possible "temporary allies for the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution. The farmers were anxious to aid the proletariat in making a clean sweep of Czarist despotism, and in solving the agrarian question in a "plebeian fashion." They were anxious to release the productive forces of Russia from their restraining fetters, and to lead the country thru free class struggle to a democratic republic, which was again to serve as the arena in which the working class was to fight for socialism. By the year 1917, Bolshevism was already according a much more important role to the farmers, a role corresponding to the fact that social development as a whole had in the interim attained a much higher stage, and that the main class—the proletariat—was already at work on the immediate socialist revolution.

But if this be the case—many of our readers may retort—were not the adherents of the "permanent revolution" theory right with regard to the Bolsheviks in the year 1905?

By no means. The theory of "permanent revolution" ignored the farmers. It failed to observe the enormous significance—in many respects the decisive significance—of the farmers in a country like Russia, and not only in Russia.

Yes, in the year 1905 the view held by Bolshevism was that the impending revolution would only be a bourgeois democratic revolution. Even as late as 1916 Bolshevism still held to this viewpoint to a great extent (see the well known theses issued by the central organ of our party, published in the collection "Against the Stream,") and in the year 1917, after the February revolution, Bolshevism took an abrupt turn towards the idea of immediate socialist revolution. The difficulties of the transition were exceedingly great. These difficulties caused the committal of many errors, and especially of errors made by the author of these lines in the autumn of 1917. But it is only phrasemongers and superficial observers who can maintain that this change took place "suddenly," and that it supposes a proof that Bolshevism was wrong in 1905. Those who so judge forget one thing: That 1905 and 1917 are divided by an epoch-making decade of decisive significance for the whole politics of the international proletariat—and forget that the two following "small" events took place during these twelve years, first, the first imperialist world war, which lasted four years, shook not only Russia, but the whole of Europe, to its foundations, demanded the sacrifice of 10 million human lives, rushed the world bourgeoisie into historical downfall with the rapidity of an express train;

secondly, February, 1917, saw the overthrow of that Czarism which had been for so many decades the main obstacle in the way of any kind of movement for freedom, not only in Russia, but all over the world. Czarism fell. And the February revolution, closely bound up with the great war, called upon the scene such mighty forces from among the people (above all from among the farmers, as the army was a farmers' army) that the proletariat of the towns was enabled to undertake tasks of a far wider extent.

In the years 1905 and 1917 Bolshevism took the farmers as it found them. Neither in 1905 nor in 1917 did Bolshevism ignore the farmers. And precisely here lay the fundamental power of Bolshevism, imparting it an inexhaustible force. Any one who dreamed, in the year 1905, of setting before the Russian farmers those tasks which they were capable of coping with in the year 1917, after the imperialist world war and after the February revolution, would have been a Don Quixote.

Is it possible, for instance, to draw any comparison between even the French farmers of the pre-war period and the French farmers after the war? Even the French farmer changed entirely in many respects during the war years, 1914 to 1918. Had the slogan of the "workers' and farmers' government," for instance, been proclaimed in France in the year 1910, it would have been nothing but an empty phrase. And in the year 1923 it is an earnest revolutionary deed. And yet the transformation undergone by the French farmers in the period between 1914 and 1918 cannot be compared in the slightest degree with that undergone by the Russian farmers during the same time, for the simple reason that France's agrarian revolution had already taken place several generations before, and the agrarian question could not play such an important role in France, during the period from 1914 to 1918, as it did in Russia.

The farmer question has also been the main bone of contention between Bolshevism and the tendencies hostile to it. This question has been the cause of the profoundest differences of opinion. Bolshevism adopted the line of the so-called "all-national opposition." Bolshevism considered that the low grade of culture possessed by the farmers rendered them incapable of any historical act whatever. The Menshevist estimate of the farmers has in actual fact been highly counter-revolutionary and domineering.

The fights of 1905 suppressed the working class for a long period. The farmers continued their uninterrupted slumbers. The conclusion arrived at by the Mensheviks from these facts led them to a profoundly pessimistic view as to the possibility of any renewed revolution whatever; and having thus renounced all revolutionary prospects, Bolshevism regarded it as its leading task to adapt itself to the limitations of Stolpin's legality, and to create a real "European" Social Democratic Party. This counter-revolutionary estimate of the role of the farmers gave rise to all that followed.

If the working class had been victorious in the year 1905, the Mensheviks would have been able to join forces with it for a time. The proletariat was defeated. And it is not agreeable to unite one's fate with the defeated. So thought and felt many Menshevist social democratic super-party and non-party groups of the intelligenzia.

In the year 1905, at the moment when the success of the revolutionary proletariat had reached its highest point, all of these intellectuals—from Minski to Toffi, from the Kuskova to the rich engineers of the "Union of Unions" attached themselves to the proletariat. But in a trice all these intelligenzia and would-be revolutionists forsook the proletarian emancipation movement.

The intelligenzia began to desert the party and the revolutionary movement wholesale, to boast of non-partisanship. It became the right thing to find fault with the party. The idea of a non-partisan "workers' congress," played off against an illegal revolutionary party, was objectively counter-revolutionary in character.

Disputes began on the fundamentals of the program and tactics, tho at first in the milder form of disagreements on questions of organization. The first contest between Bolshevism and Menshevism, in the year

1903, commenced in mere disputes over organization matters.

In the year 1908 the tendency towards liquidation became very evident. The tendency itself began to be felt in Petrograd as early as the beginning of 1908, if not at the end of 1907. But the expression, "liquidation"—as we clearly remember—first arose in the middle of 1908.

A serious struggle arose within the Bolshevik faction itself. The epoch of counter-revolution gave rise to "Otsovism," and to such excesses as the notorious "God's image" idea. Hatred of the opportunist tactics pursued by the minority of the Duma faction at first induced even a number of revolutionary Bolshevik workers to support Otsovism. Therefore, the first articles which we issued against Otsovism were of an exceedingly cautious didactic character. It was not until later on, when A. Bogdanov and Co. attempted to utilize the trend of feeling among the Bolshevik workers for the purpose of forming an Otsovist faction that we adopted a sharper tone. The victory of Otsovism would have signified in reality the destruction of Bolshevism. The cherished hope of the Mensheviks—that Bolshevism would degenerate into a mere sect, and cease to be a mass party—would have been best fulfilled by the Otsovist "tactics." It was not until Bolshevism had carried thru an additional campaign against the attempts at liquidation from the "left," that is, from Otsovism, rightly termed by us "Menshevism reversed," that Bolshevism was finally steeled and strengthened, and could demonstrate its right to existence.

Why did we devote so much attention, at that time, to fighting against the "conciliation" tendency? Why did we deal our heaviest blows against the "center"? All these tendencies were represented by numerically insignificant groups, incapable of exercising serious influence on the labor movement.

Where we differed in opinion from the "center," these differences of opinion were naturally of a productive character. We were divided from the Menshevist camp by differences of opinion in matters of principle. But the advocates of "conciliation," in supporting liquidatory Menshevism, in repeating its arguments, and even lending it cover by granting it an external appearance of a allegiance to the party, were even more dangerous for a time than the liquidators themselves. I recollect that Rosa Luxemburg, when asked why she and her friends devoted so much attention to the fight against the German social democratic "center," instead of simply routing the revisionists, she replied: "If it is still worth while to rout the revisionists at all, it is only if the centrists are combated at the same time." In Russia the state of affairs was similar. The openly expressed ideas of the adherents of liquidation, smacked so much of betrayal, that they at once aroused the antagonism of the revolutionary workers. But the treacherously veiled ideas of liquidation, improved by the idea of "unity," and associated with "party allegiance," were much more able to lead the workers astray.

The years 1909 to 1911 witnessed a rapprochement between the main core of the Bolsheviks and G. M. Plechanov. The old revisionist re-awakened in Plechanov during these years. He could not reconcile himself to the idea of liquidation.

"Martov proposes that we drop the designation of 'Party'—thus wrote Plechanov to us—and Martov ought to be hanged for making this proposal."

At the same time the orthodox Bolsheviks approached nearer to Plechanov in the course of their struggle against the philosophical revisionism of Bogdanov and Co. Our first attempts at the establishment of a legal Marxist press in Russia (the periodical Misl in Moscow, the newspaper Sviesda in Petrograd, etc.) met with appreciable support from Plechanov. It is much to be regretted that Plechanov took up with Menshevism again later, when a fresh revival in the labor movement took place, and the most important problems of revolution reappeared. And when the war began in 1914, Plechanov went over into the camp of social chauvinism. The main core of the Bolsheviks, headed by Comrade Lenin, gathered around it the whole elite of the Russian workers and piloted the party safely past all rocks and shoals.

THE TRANSITION

By J. T. MURPHY

TRUE to the spirit of make-believe which characterizes parliamentarism the transition from the Baldwin Government to the MacDonald Government had to be carried through with all the formalism and ceremonial associated with the change of Governments. The Baldwin Government made the King's speech as if it were going to carry on for generations. The King and his horses trotted up to the House of Lords to open the proceedings in all majesty as did the kings of old. Standing before his throne he read to his Lords and Commons the strange shopkeeper's document in all seriousness, asked God's blessing upon everybody and departed. The commoners ran back to their own little show where the king is not permitted to attend and began to repeat the performance in their own sweet way.

Two members of the Conservative Party dressed in the Court dress of centuries ago gravely attempted to represent no party, and read the speech to the House of Commons in the language of the age their dress represented thus:

"I beg to move: 'That an humble address be presented to His Majesty as followeth:

Most Gracious Sovereign, We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects in the United Kingdom of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.'

After this most moving resolution the mover proceeded, "Dressed as I must be in the mode of the age of Fontenoy and girt, as I am, with the weapon of that age, it is not my duty to commence the onslaught, but rather, having made a few observations on the Gracious Speech, to make what I believe has been called the gesture of Fontenoy and say to honorable Members opposite: 'Gentlemen of the Guard, fire first.'"

He then made references to the resolutions of the Imperial Conference and considered them binding upon the Parliament. Of course, he got disillusioned on that matter later, but observe the affectionate terms with which he spoke of the Dominions. "Of those Dominions we may well say: 'The lot is fallen unto us in a fair place; we have a goodly heritage.' What, one wonders, would any other nation in Europe, in these times of darkness and distress, give for those vast territories and varied resources which are at our command?"

And so the game went on and concluded with a final prayer that they would be worthy of "the blessing which His Majesty invokes upon them." Then followed another in court dress of the same period who also pleaded, "The main theme which runs thru the Gracious speech from the throne is the plea for stability. Without that neither our Imperial development nor our foreign relations, nor our home reforms can possibly proceed on their steady course of growth and improvement."

Then Mr. MacDonald continued the first act to its conclusion by flattering congratulations to the mover and seconder of the resolution for the admirable performance. He said, "Still, my function, my duty, in congratulating the mover and seconder of the address to his Gracious Majesty is most sincere, after listening to the two honorable members today."

Then the fun began on the twentieth century platform. MacDonald began at once to strip the address of what he called, "the stock in trade of a penny bazaar." This he did as

effectively, say, as Mr. Lloyd George. But the most important statements for the workers are those relating to his new position in the Parliament and his disavowal of the class character of his position.

"No, I am not at all sure that I am sorry no party has a majority, because I think that if this House is to go on for a century or so, and always with a Government in it that has a majority of votes in its pocket, before the end of that century there will be no private members rights left. * * * I was thinking only of Parliament as a great national institution which I wish to leave behind more powerful, more respected, and with more authority than it has even in our own days."

Here at one stroke is the surrender of the Labour Party to Parliament, the affirmation of the individual against the party, and the pledge to the strengthening of the Capitalist institutions which can only be done at the expense of the workers. But if anything more was wanted to complete the picture and to justify every criticism the Communists have made against the Labour Party leaders the following from the same speech fills the bill. When challenged as to his interpretation of "the Nation's Government," he replied, "I do not distinguish between the Nation's Government and the King's Government. The Nation's Government—the King's Government—must be carried on." The determination of MacDonald and his colleagues is thus clear—to demonstrate that they can run capitalism better than the capitalist parties.

of revolution, as he was of the opinion that imprisonment was a more costly and uncertain way of sweeping away the disease. Mr. Churchill got into a panic and the soundly defeated in the elections of 1922 and 1923, he appealed to the Liberal Party to vote against the "Socialist Party" and has thus driven himself into the camp of the conservatives.

The leader of the Liberal Party disposed of the campaign as a whole and emphasised that the Labour Party would not be permitted to introduce any of their socialist nonsense. He said, "I have never come across more virulent manifestations of the epidemic of political hysteria. Notwithstanding my own compromising past—I am supposed to have been the associate of rebels, and worse than rebels, in days gone by—I have been in turn, during these weeks, cajoled, wheedled, almost caressed, taunted, threatened, brow-beaten, and all but blackmailed, to step in as the saviour of society."

"* * * What is the real situation. Nothing can be more absurd than the contention that, because by voting for this amendment, the House of Commons is giving a blank cheque, a free license, to the successors of the Government to do what they like with the interests and institutions of this country. * * * We of the Liberal Party are pledged to give no more countenance to Socialistic experiments than to a Protectionist policy."

There was really no need to be alarmed. The speech of MacDonald had nothing alarming in it, and by

tion were coming to power as the democratic movements in other countries in other days. Then it came to power, perhaps temporarily, thru riot, revolution and bloodshed. Here it is coming to power by the constitutional genius of our people. * * * and so on until one gets tired.

The voting time came. The government fell. Mr. MacDonald was made Prime Minister and he changed his trilby for a top hat fitting "the traditions of his high office." Then came the new government. Of the Cabinet proper only nine are drawn from the trade unions. The remaining 17 are drawn either from the middle class or the aristocracy.

From the standpoint of Parliamentary democracy MacDonald has scored in the direction of blending the classes, the right, the centre and the left. Old Conservatives and Liberals are drawn in, in the persons of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Haldane. The former has been out of politics for twenty years. He was placed in charge of the admiralty and knows as much about ships and naval requirements as he does of the life of the workers. Apparently neither is essential in a Labour Government. But other anomalies are the appointment of F. Hodges to be his under-secretary. Hodges comes from the Miners. But Shinwell who is secretary of the Marine Workers Union is sent to look after the mines.

These are incidentals in the new arrangements. What is more disappointing is the acceptance of office by the leaders of the Clyde socialists whom we had hoped to be the rallying ground in the Labour Party itself, anticipating the maneuvers of MacDonald and drawing to itself, along with the Communist Party, all the results of the resentment which is bound to arise in the process of MacDonald's attempt to stabilize capitalism.

We are in the midst of big industrial disputes which are likely to expand during the coming months. The immediate policy of every member of the Government is in the direction of the strengthening of conciliation boards and compulsory arbitration, etc. The whole Labour Party leadership is now utterly bewitched with the Parliamentary success. Even Lansbury has gone off the handle and appealed to the industrial movement to have "patience," to look to the Labour Government first, etc. If it were not that Lansbury's actions are usually unconstitutional and contrary to his pacifism we should despair of him. And now Wheatley, MacLean, Stewart, practically the leadership of the Left wing in the Labour Party are tied to the wheels of office and debarred from playing their true role as the rallying forces of the discontented in the Labour Party.

But their decision is the Communist Party's opportunity. It is now the only Party of the workers outside the Labour Government, the only centre to which the workers can turn for alternative leadership. For the Communist Party every moment is now rich with opportunity. The big increase in its vote during the elections and the important part we played in returning many Labour men to parliament will make the Labour Party leaders think twice before daring to renew the open attack upon the Party. The last eighteen months have demonstrated the futility of the policy. Hence whether the Labour Party now gives way and permits affiliation of the Party, or whether it continues the campaign against us, the Communist Party is forthwith the new centre of gravity for the discontented and disillusioned of the working class.

A Guardian of Civilization



Reaction's Ambition.

But the Conservatives have a clearer conception of the significance of the advance of the Labour Party than have the Labour leaders themselves. They see beyond the intentions of MacDonald and his colleagues and recognize their leadership as a temporary thing. They see the rise of the working class and their bitterness even at this stage knows no bounds.

Both in the debate in the House of Commons and in the Press, they have bitterly criticised the Liberal Party and appealed to it to make a class alliance against the Labour Party. Sir Frederick Banbury talked about the coming necessity to call in the Horse Guards to do what Cromwell did at an earlier period. The Christian Dean Inge talked of exterminating revolutionaries as the only means of exterminating the disease

the time that Clynes and Thomas had given their quota every property owner in the country could breathe freely at least for a time. Mr. Clynes emphasised that the Empire should be dealt with in a non-Party spirit, as something above Party. Whilst Mr. Thomas amplified the power and dignity of the Empire. But Mr. Hodges, the ambitious young man of the Labour Party put the tin hat on the whole proceedings. After referring to the horror which characterised some of the honourable members speeches at the thought of a Labour Government he went on "What is more extraordinary is that there is a possibility of Labour coming to Government in the easy, quiet, non-revolutionary manner that it is coming to power. There might have been some occasion for horror if the democratic movement of Great Bri-

THE CROW AND THE GREAT MEN - By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

(Written on reading Mrs. Ethel Snowden's Article on Lenin in the London "Daily News," January 21st, 1924.)

ONCE there was a very great man. Like most really great men, he was quite simple in his personal life. He had hearty friendships, and he enjoyed a jest amid the hurry and turmoil of his labors.

A ragged little scavenging crow came flying over the plains to the city where the great man lived. She perched upon the walls, and watched him going about his daily business; and she was angered at the great love and respect shown by the people for this man.

The little carrion bird primped her ragged feathers, stretched her scraggy neck this way and that, and piped with a loud and rather hysterical shrillness.

"I also am great!" she cried. "Look upon me!"

And she began to twitter little songs, little songs about the great man and his comrades, and about the work upon which they were engaged. Rather base and dirty little songs, they were, and also they were not true; but they were of no great import. And the people were too intent on their great tasks to hear the little crow; and the few who did hear just shrugged or smiled as they

passed by. And this made the little crow angrier and angrier, and she twitched and bridled more and more, under her absurd raggedly feathers, with outraged conceit. And she flew away, and no more was heard of her for many a day.

Then, one day, the great man died. He died in the midst of his work, and because of the great burden of his work, which is the noblest and most desirable death for all true men to die.

And, when the little crow heard of this, she came flying back again.

She came back to the place where the body of the man lay in sun. His limbs were at rest, at last. His

strong, steady hand lay still. His face, rugged and powerful, and beautiful because of the love and intelligence of the man, was turned, in death, fearlessly to the sun. His eyes, those eyes in which once played the lights of understanding and of humor, and which had once shamed the little crow, were turned towards the sun. The warrior's battles were over; the worker's task was done.

Then the little scavenger fluttered excitedly down. She perched upon the dead man's white forehead. She began to peck at those fearless eyes. "You see," she cried. "This man is nothing. I always said so. It is I alone who am great!"

Boris Pilniak, the Greatest of Russian Writers

By VICTOR SERGE.

(Note: In a later issue of the Magazine Section of the Daily Worker we will print one of the most remarkable of the short stories by this young Russian whom Trotsky rates as the greatest of the writers produced by the revolution. The story has been translated by Louis Lozowick who is an authority on the latest art and literature of Soviet Russia and who will continue to translate and write for the Daily Worker.)

PILNIAK is decidedly the most characteristic and the most celebrated of the Russian authors. His first work appeared in 1920 in the Moscow state edition. He writes exclusively about the Revolution. He has written a novel, called, "The Bare Year," as well as a couple of volumes of short stories: "Tales from Petrograd," "Ivan and Maria," which embrace the whole of the Revolution.

Pilniak's manner seems strange at first. But it is in absolute harmony with the spirit of the time. He writes rather in the style of futurist painters. It would be utterly impossible to describe the Russian Revolution in the style of a Balzac describing the sordid and monotonous life of a father Grandet, as well as with the utter indifference, the finish and perfection of style, with the absolute harmony of the whole of the detail—which we witness in Anatole France's—"The Gods Athirst." It is only the writers of the time to come that will be able to describe the Revolution. We, as well as Pilniak, are incapable of doing so. The Revolution, which has done away with so many forms of the past, has alike cleared up many a literary prejudice of the past.

It is hopeless to look for a continuity of events in the work of this author. Intrigue (how pitiful this expression) does not exist. No chief and secondary figures either, in his work. The movement of masses in which every single figure is a world for himself, representing in himself completion. Events rushing in and overpowering one, numerous human lives intermingling, each of which always represents in itself an occasion never to be repeated. The whole of them, in the end, of not much importance on the background of "Russia," the snow-drift and Revolution, for the country, the snowdrift, and the masses, are the only things remaining and stable. The exterior aspect of Pilniak's work corresponds to the contents of it. The pages often wear a somewhat strange aspect. One page carries the description of an old priest among his ikons, breaking under the burdens of his sins. Suddenly the narration breaks up and one hears the people in the street passing by, talking; a new interruption, and in comes, tearing along, a hungry, howling wolf with bared teeth. This constant change of description and pictures requires, of course, different aspects of the page. The reading of this book is, in a certain sense, rather bewildering. But the final impression is strong and powerful. Pilniak is under the influence of the masters of later years, such as Andrei Biely and Alexei Remizov, but he resembles them in manner only, and not in contents.

He has such a lot to show and to describe, and to bring out in his book, that every manner and form is oppressive to him. He lets life drift where it will. Classicism is of value, but in shapes long existing. In the "Bare Year" we find eight beautifully treated subjects: the little bourgeois, the dying aristocracy, the sectarians, the anarchists, the monastery, the train number 57, the peasants, the bolsheviks. But the same stern unity reigns over all on account of a totality of the varying dynamics, as in some heroic symphony. In the course of the story "Ivan and Maria," the shouting of a sailor, who has nothing whatever to do with the story is repeated, a black slave of international metallurgy, who quite inert and apathetic from his work seeks his couch for his nightly rest. But what a number of idyllic and psychologically fine novels would require just such a refrain in order to bring them back to the actualities of life!

The LEITMOTIV of the whole of Pilniak's work is the snowdrift, the most Russian of things. Pilniak's style is often extremely musical.

The author leaves nothing unobserved, he is anxious to communicate and give back everything he sees, and everything that impresses him. In a word, dynamism, simultaneousness, absolute rythmical realism, these are the dominant features of his literary form. We must not forget to mention his love of exact detail, of the minutest description of customs, of the sentence caught up in the street, all of which are simply given back without any particular commentary, exactly as some historian would note it.

Pilniak's interest seems to concentrate itself chiefly on the manners and customs of the Revolution, and this chiefly in the country and the provinces. The general play of action of his stories, is the small town (Riasan the Apple, or Ordynin Town) in "The Bare Year," which he really does seem to thoroly know. What is the chief thing that he observes? The swamp of the past. In the small, provincial town the petty bourgeois leads a life not much better than that of a pig, between his counter, the well laid table, and the warm, sweaty, dirty bed under the saints' pictures. He is brutal towards the weak, hard and of unbending will towards the oppressed—servants, women and children; self-satisfied, egotistical, ignorant, heir of a thousand similar years.

War took the the young men out of the swamp of the small towns. "As Donat came back, he had learned nothing new, but the old was not forgotten, and he wanted to destroy the whole of it. He came in order to create." He hated the old. The dread of it occasioned by the mighty shock of Revolution is one of the chief reasons of Revolution.

In this stagnating swamp of the times gone by the former rulers are abandoned to ruin on account of their weakened spirit, and their poor blood. In a word, it is an historical judgment that weighs over them. The princes Ordynin (whose fathers once founded the town of Ordynin) are at present syphilitic and are approaching their end. The old father is waiting for it, surrounded by his ikons, and practicing self-castigation. Egon is a drunkard, stealing and selling his sister's last clothes in order to drink (this is the year 1919).

Chapter VII of the "Bare Year," called, "without a title," consists but of three words: "Russia, Revolution, and snow drift." The beauty of Russia's landscape blends with the drift of Revolution. One never knows how to discern them in Pilniak's stories. I do not think that it is even necessary to do so. Pilniak compares old Asiatic Russia to the Russia of today, which he sees rising out of the drift, and we must admit that he sees it extraordinarily well, and that is his chief merit.

Listen to this conversation taking place in a rolling train . . . "In a hundred years people will speak about the actual times as about the period of life when the human spirit rose to a glorious standard . . . well, but my shoes are very worn, I really would like to go on a trip abroad, to eat in some good restaurant and to drink a decent whisky." These are the terms in which a young engineer is thoughtfully speaking in Pilniak's book, quite like reality in new Russia; it is not the engineers that are life's masters. This leads us to the bolsheviks. Pilniak flatters the Revolution just as little as the revolutionaries. The gloomy pages as well as the nightmare ones are indeed not scarce in the course of his work. You see in his book peasant women paying with their own flesh and blood for a place in a filthy train full of bugs, a typhoid fever transport train, escaping out of the famine region. A little further a hysterical Chekist, shooting down her lover. Peasants are described buying coffins for the whole of their family in advance, as they are quite sure not to be spared either by famine or typhoid fever. The book contains pages full of terror, one is, however, not quite sure whether the accents of it are real or pretended. Western people are yet not fully aware of the martyrdom that Russia underwent. Pilniak seems to be quite well informed, and writes it down accordingly with the blood of his heart. His constant aim is to be as close to exact truth as possible.

In the drift there is but one kind of people that remains upright, and

these are the Bolsheviki. In the morning they used to meet in the convent (strange times indeed!). Men not unlike leather, in leather jackets, almost all of them tall and manly looking, handsome and strong with hair curling out of their caps, pushed deep into their necks. Each of them had an excess of will in his tensed muscles, in the expression about the mouth and forehead, in the soft and decided movements of the lithe bodies, heaps of will and audacity. Here we are before the elite of the Russian people, one of the oldest in existence. And it really was a good thing that they used to wear leather, because thus the sweat lemonade psychology could not soften them. The whole of their bearing said "we know well what we are about, we have made up our minds." Here is one of them described more particularly: "Archip Archipov used to spend his days in the Executive, in writing, and the evenings about town, in the factories, lectures, and meetings. He used to write knitting his brows, holding his pen almost like an axe. In his speech he used to pronounce the foreign words incorrectly. He was an early riser, and in the morning he crammed and crammed as much as he could; algebra, political economy, geography, Russian history, Karl Marx's Capital, he had a German grammar, and a dictionary of Russianized foreign words by Gavkin.

Father Archip, on receiving the information of his having cancer, condemning him to awful sufferings and unavoidable death, goes to his son, and talks to him about it: "do you believe it to be a wise thing to make an end of it?" he asks him. An impressive scene follows. "I believe I'd do it if in your place, father, but of course you must act as you think best." "Live, my son, go on working, marry and bring up children." Not a word more is wasted on this occasion, both remain decided and sure as to the next thing to be done; the one for going on living, the other to blow his brains out.

Everything in Pilniak's works is tense and painful, except a lighter passage following this stark one. A couple appear in it. A Bolsheviki couple, strong and simple, both of them, and of an extreme inner honesty. The man Archipov speaks to the girl called Natalia, whom he wants to have for his wife: "I am always in the factory, in the Executive, quite taken up by the revolution . . . as a young man I have had some love affairs, I have sinned with women. But it did not last. I have never been ill. We shall work together. We shall have handsome children. I want them to be sensible, well, you know, besides you are better educated than I am. But I won't give up studying. We are young and healthy." Archipov hung his head. She consents with no less simplicity. One might be inclined to think that these revolutionaries are afraid of, and trying to avoid the passionate impulses that burn in a couple who are about to mate . . . "Yes, children, that is the chief thing, but I am no longer a young girl. The man shrugs his shoulders. Chief thing is to be human." Cleanliness, reason! "Love or no love," she goes on speaking, "we will have an intimacy of our own and children, and then work, work, my love! There will be no lies between us, no suffering!" Archip turned silently back to his room. The word intimacy was not mentioned in Gavkin's dictionary of the Russianized foreign words. Has the author, perhaps, been trying to idealize the Bolsheviki? It does not seem so. The word intimacy was not the will to establish a new form of life is their dominating trait.

Surely Boris Pilniak has seen other heroes than those during the revolution in Russia. But the Bolsheviki are the most deliberate ones, conquest is in them, simplicity, reason, conscience, will.

In the meantime the Russian anarchists are proclaiming a passionate philosophy of strength, "who are free under a black banner," working in the fields of a confiscated prince's estate, at the same time during which the Revolution was fighting on its whole front. They do not attempt to seize the leadership in Revolution, but they drift along, making use of it wherever they please. "Natalie had again a feeling of the Revolution carrying her off to some region of joy where,

however, sorrow was always following every tempest of joy." They work, work, love, dream and fight. And their adventures end, as has often been the case in the Ukraine. When the old emigree, Harry, asks for his share of money, which was seized in Ekaterinoslav, Youzik refuses to give it. Shots are fired in the night! Free people murder others no less free. They have murdered the handsome young woman because of money, they have murdered the woman who has tasted the violent joys of Revolution. And thus the black banner turns to be the shroud of the young dead thing. The Soviets send a troop of soldiers who occupy the forsaken commune. Somewhere Pilniak writes: "I remained in the free commune Peskis up to the day when the anarchists killed each other."

I wonder whether I have succeeded in pointing out the strong realism of this new author, the strength of which is sometimes so overpowering that the immediate impression of things and particulars stifles the totality of the impression. This realist has a cult of energy and strength of man, beast and even nature. "The strongest among men are the revolutionaries and among beasts of prey." Pilniak likes to introduce the life of wolves into the lives of men who are in a state of mutiny. "Thru wind and snowdrift in the sinking darkness, are the wolves trotting at the heels of each other a grey herd, males and females, the leaders ahead, and soon snow had covered their traces. (Ivan and Maria.)

Some of the stories of Pilniak from the years '18 and '19 are extremely remarkable on account of their being radically different from his new things. The oldest ones are exactly in the grey dull tones of Tshechov's worst period; the drama of the spleen in the utterly uninteresting life of a little bourgeois woman. The other ones, a shade better, describes the same sensations, as was usually done in the pre-revolutionary time. Life which had no issue on account of its utterly incurable mediocrity. Without the mighty uproar of revolution it is not at all unlikely that the author would have remained in the old current, and would not have added much to Russian literature. Boris Pilniak owes everything to the Russian Revolution, up to his style even; it was the revolution which gave him the originality of his talent, the insight in the development of things, the broad view with which he embraces boundless Russia, rich in suffering and struggle, the vision of surging strength, the whole of those things which were quite hidden to the authors of the old regime. That is one of the chief reasons why one is sorry to find in his writings only an intuitive perception and a primitive admiration of the revolution. What does this revolution want? A reader must be quite possessed and overcome by this idea on shutting this book.

What is the whole commotion about? Is the author capable of giving an answer to this? The lack of ideology, one might almost say, of convictions, deprives his work of a foundation. But it is precisely for this reason that it acquires in our eyes a quite particular value; because it is the best proof of his spontaneity, the frankness of his statements. This work shows both in form and subject, how deeply the author, who himself admits to being neither a communist nor a revolutionary, is fully permeated by the spirit of revolution.

After having finished a commercial school, Pilniak left the provincial nest, in which he spent the heroic years of 1917-1921, but to supply his need in potatoes and flour. The whole of Pilniak's interest is sacrificed to the social life interests. But our opinion is that he does not misunderstand the ideas, the influence of which, is but too well known to him. The totality of the ideas of a class of society that is struggling, carrying off victory and power, becomes an enormous factor in the renovating process of customs, this is the idea running thru all of his work. The new author is not yet in full possession of the whole of his strength. He is as yet not entirely clear, he is confused, hasty, bombastic, uneven, but despite all this, his work is today a beautiful grand song on the revolutionary energy of Soviet Russia.

(Translated from the French by H. Goering.)