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Drawing by Fred Ellis

EDITOR'S NOTES

By ALEX BITTELMAN



EVENTS in Vienna, Austria, of last week are instructive in more than one way. They show an accumulation of anger and resentment among the working masses which few had suspected would be in existence. They also indicate a fighting spirit among the workers which under favorable conditions, such as the presence

of a powerful Communist Party, might have led to a revolution and a successful struggle for political power by the workingclass. And last, but not least, they expose the "model" socialist party of the world—the Austrian social-democracy—as no whit better than the hangmen of the German workingclass, the Noskes and the Scheidemanns.

The ordeal and the misery through which the toiling masses of Austria have passed during the post-war period are too well known to require a fresh recital. The present day wages and the general standard of living of the Austrian workers is about the lowest in Europe. The Austrian workingclass is required to produce profits and luxury not only for its own capitalists, the Austrians, but also for the big European and American bankers which are supporting and financing Austrian capitalism. Under this double weight of oppression the Austrian workers have been suffering ever since the conclusion of the late imperialist war. And on top of this, the workers have been subjected to a regime of arrogance and brutality of which the recent acquittal of the fascists guilty in murdering workers is only one of many examples. It was this provocative action of the capitalist court which precipitated the bloody events in Vienna.

And the social-democratic party of Austria, led by the so-called left socialists such as Otto Bauer, Adler, etc., again vindicated itself as the loyal servant of capitalism. While the governmental troops were shooting down the workers, murdering their women and children, the trade union reactionaries and the socialist leaders were demoralizing the ranks of the workers by attacking their militants, dividing their ranks and paralyzing their fighting spirit generally.

Now the socialist leaders are carrying on "peace negotiations" with the Austrian government for the only purpose of completing the suppression of the workers. In this effort Bauer and Co. will most likely succeed for the present, and Austrian capitalism will be saved for another while. But the

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The Danger of War in Permanency

By CARL KREIBICH (Prague)

WHEN the danger of sanguinary conflict in the revolutionary class war is at its highest, social patriotic treachery is nearest. The truth of this adapted proverb has once more been proved in the days of the highest tension between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie, in their pale red liveries, have increased their attacks against the Soviet Union at almost the same rate as have their masters; and whilst, at the beginning of the tension between Great Britain and Russia, even the Berlin "Vorwarts" only wished to remain neutral, when there is a clash between revolution and counter-revolution, even the Prague "Sozialdemokrat," in whose case, in view of its insignificance from the point of view of the international bourgeoisie, it can be nothing but a work of supererogation, has, during the last few days, raved against the Soviet Union with an acrimony and a zeal which betrays that the alliance between the Social Patriots and the bourgeoisie is beginning to turn from an objective community of interests into a sentimental community of souls. For this reason we can sympathize with these noble souls that they remain callous and cool when English warships slaughter 7,000 Chinese in Nanking, but that they foam at the mouth when a few Russian aristocrats are shot in Moscow.

Every day is not Sunday, and the week day comes into its own again. Then it becomes a question of resuming the everyday work for the bourgeoisie. And since today war against the Soviet Union does not yet seem opportune to the bourgeoisie, since

the worker need not yet be stirred up to direct fratricide, the work must be resumed which the bourgeoisie regards as appropriate when it is preparing for war, until the moment when it resolves to strike out—at which moment immediate war propaganda begins—the work of soothing the masses, of hushing up the danger, of representing any resistance to the threatened danger of war as "war clamor," and in this way bringing things to such a path that the bourgeoisie takes the masses by surprise with the war, that it throws over their head the steel net of a state of war before they have resolved on any defensive action.

One of the best tried methods by which the bourgeoisie rules, is that of deceiving the working classes as to the true character of the period of history of the moment. A classical example of this is provided by the policy of the bourgeoisie in the period from the beginning of the imperialist epoch until the great war. That was the first period in world politics in which the governments had to take into consideration the interest taken by the masses in their policy, to consider the moods of the masses and their movements of opposition. The epoch of the bourgeois revolution and of the formation of the National States was closed in Europe by the Peace of Frankfort in 1871; the Balkans alone lagged behind in the rear in 1878, without at that time causing any appreciable unrest in other parts of Europe. If we make the experiment of circulating a questionnaire amongst the workers of Central Europe, we can bet a hundred to one that in the memory of most of those who answer, the period from 1871 to 1914 or, at any rate, from 1878 to 1912 (Balkan wars) remains in their memory as an epoch of peace (from their experience, their reading and lectures they have heard).

But what was in reality the aspect of this period? With Great Britain's campaigns against the Afghans in 1878 and 1879 and against the Zulu Kaffirs, a chain of colonial wars began which was never to be broken, and these were soon followed by the wars of the imperialist powers among themselves for the colonies (1898 the Spanish-American war) and spheres of interest and for the dividing up of the world. If we follow up the history of this epoch from 1878 to 1914, we have a clear picture of how the net of the threatened imperialist world war was being drawn closer and closer; we can, so to speak, see the war in the offing. If, however, we

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The New Conquest

Hail the Conquerors!
Spanning the Atlantic
And the Pacific
On swift wings,
Breaking down the barriers of distance
And of the oceans in warfare,
Sweeping the frontiers of earth,
Making obsolete big navies,
Stretching the long arm of conquest,
Spreading the gospel of empire!
Hail the Conquerors!
Bringers of a new terror,
Delighting the Lord of War!

HENRY REICH, JR.

EDITOR'S NOTES

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workingclass of Vienna will not forget the lesson of last week. The workers will now see more clearly than ever before, that there can be no peace with capitalism, that the policies of the social-democratic party are designed to help the capitalists and not the workers, and that the hope of workingclass liberation lies only in militant revolutionary struggle. The Communist Party of Austria will from now on grow much faster than before and thus build up a power strong enough to lead the workers to struggle and eventual victory.

Peace in Nicaragua reigns supreme. In order to prove this to everybody's satisfaction, the military forces of American imperialism in Nicaragua have staged a little "peace party" which resulted in some two hundred Nicaraguans being wounded, murdered or crippled for life. The American imperialists must be feeling very proud of their accomplishments because these latter show that the "young and inexperienced" imperialism of the United States is fast mastering the arts of colonial oppression and already has nothing to learn from the older colonial robbers such as England, France, Belgium, etc.

Coolidge very likely continues to enjoy his "vacation" without much being disturbed by these happenings. What are several hundred lives of Nicaraguans in the scheme of conquering Latin-America for the big capitalists of the United States? Nothing, of course. And as to the good will of the Latin-American peoples, this again means nothing to the American imperialists. The ruling class of the United States is out to subject the Latin-American countries to its domination and is proceeding to accomplish this end by all means at its disposal. The fact that these developments are leading straight to war is only an additional reason in the eyes of the American imperialists for strengthening its military forces and for suppressing the labor movement at home.

American imperialism is becoming a menacing and cruel reality not only for the peoples of the so-called colonial countries but also for the American masses themselves. Militarism and navalism are beginning to show their teeth. The conception of civil liberties of the old, pre-imperialist days is losing all meaning. Big capital is establishing itself supreme in the economic and political life of the country as against the overwhelming majority of its toiling population. Imperialist war has become a constant everyday danger.

The Nicaraguan developments cannot be ignored as they signalize the approach of serious dangers. The Coolidge administration seems to feel quite safe in proceeding with its present course and will undoubtedly go to the whole length towards large scale imperialist wars of conquest. The anti-imperialist and anti-war elements in the United States must make haste in their preparations for struggle if their efforts are to be in any way effective. But most of all does this condition call for preparation on the part of the American working class and its organized labor movement.

At this writing, the fifth congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor is about to open its proceedings in Washington, D. C. It will be extremely interesting to see what this congress will do—if anything—in the matter of Nicaragua and American imperialism in Latin-America generally.

The real nature of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, as far as its dominating influences are concerned, is by this time well-known. Suffice it to mention the fact that its president and treasurer are William Green and Matthew Woll, respectively of the American Federation of Labor. These two worthies are carrying on the Gompers policy of making the Pan-American Federation of Labor serve the interests of American imperialism in Latin-America. And it is for this reason that the working masses of Latin-America are viewing with the greatest suspicion the activities of the leaders of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The burning need for joint struggle by the workers of all the Americas is beyond question. Never perhaps in the history of this part of the world were the workers of the American countries in greater need of a common organization and common struggle against the native and foreign exploiters, particularly against the imperialist oppression and exploitation of the United States. But the reactionary leadership of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been developing the organization in an entirely different direction. In the hands of these reactionary leaders, particularly those representing the American Federation of Labor and dominating the whole movement, the organization has become an instrument for the subjugation of the Latin-American countries to the rule of American imperialism.

The fifth congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor is meeting at a time when it becomes impossible to ignore the growing aggressions of American imperialism (Mexico, Nicaragua, the Philip-



ines, etc.). Despite this fact, William Green and Matthew Woll will undoubtedly make an attempt to sidetrack the congress from these important mat-

ters or to becloud the real issues with some such proposition as the "red menace." Should they succeed in doing so, they will again have succeeded in exploiting the Pan-American Federation of Labor in the interests of American imperialism. It will be the duty of the delegates from the Latin-American countries to be on their guard against any such maneuvers by Green and Woll.

What will be the attitude of the congress towards the conspiracies of American imperialism in Mexico? What will the congress do to stop the murder of Nicaraguans by American military forces? What policies will the congress formulate for the liberation from under the yoke of American imperialism of Cuba, Santa Domingo, Venezuela, Porto Rico, Haiti, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, Peru, Costa Rica, Salvador, etc.? It is by these things that the workers of Latin-America and of the United States will judge the work of the congress.

It can be stated quite definitely that the present reactionary leadership of the Pan-American Federation of Labor will not permit the congress to do its duty by the workingclass. It is also obvious that as long as the Greens and Wolls dominate the organization, as they do, it will continue in its role of agents of American imperialism in Latin-America. A militant struggle against these reactionary influences and for genuine unity against American imperialism by the workers of the American countries is one of the most essential and urgent tasks of the hour.

Capitalist Justice in Sunny Florida

By JEAN VALLEJO

"STAND up nigger! Stand up damn you, stand up!" blurred out the Burley Cracker cop, a recent recruit to the Jacksonville police force from the sand hills of Georgia. One of the many expropriated cotton farmers who have been pushed off the land and into the city.

"There, stand up now," again urged the cop as he presented his nigger to the chief at police headquarters.

"Boss I can't stand here. I'm shot, Boss—I'm sick—I feel so weak. I can't stand up." "What! You'll try to run from an office again, will you? You, damn black son of a b——! There now stand up, and shut up!"

The poor black-faced victim, with bruised and bloody features—was now forced to stand on one leg, between two white husky cops, who supported him from either side. The Negro's other leg was limp, apparently paralyzed by the bullet that had so recently pierced his body.

The Negro, one of the hundreds of jobless ones in "Wonderful Jacksonville," had been caught standing before a grocery store, his hungry eyes gazing curiously at the "eats" in the show window.

"What're doing here, nigger, Fixing to break in, I guess?" interrogated the cop. The poor hungry Negro was frightened and almost speechless, well knowing that an arrest meant a severe clubbing from the cop. For it's a kind of an unwritten law here in "Wonderful Jax," that the first thing to do on arresting a "dangerous" nigger is to club him into submission.

"No, Sar Boss, I was just———" "Shut up you black skunk, I know what you were getting ready to do," broke in the cop.

The crowd began gathering, brickbats and stones in hand, as the officer further questioned and abused his suspect. The Negro, aware as only a Negro can be, of his precarious position under such circumstances, broke and ran, only to be pelted with brickbats and stones from the white crowd, and finally to be felled by a bullet from the policeman's big automatic.

The officer after signaling for aid and for the patrol, now walked over to his victim.

"You'd run away from an officer, would you? You damn black devil!" As the cop spoke, he began to freely use the butt of his big gun on the face and head of his victim, while the blood spurted forth. The torture continued spasmodically, accompanied by an occasional kick, until the arrival of the patrol wagon announced the approach of the sergeant.

"Get in that wagon, nigger, we'll put you where you belong," said the cop as he gave his victim a final kick.

"What? You ain't going to do it? Very well!" Wheresupon the cops and a couple of white bystanders seized upon their sick and bleeding victim, picked him up as a farmer would a stuck hog, and threw him sprawling into the wagon. And the crowd feeling rather disappointed, slowly dispersed into the night as the sounding gong died away in the distance enroute to the police station.

"Stand up, nigger, stand up!" Thus was the bleeding and bruised victim, held up on one foot between the two cops and presented to the Jacksonville law and order gang, at the headquarters of the white tribunal of capitalist justice.

"Lock him up till morning," was the stern command of the captain. "Come along," said the sergeant, "we'll put you where you won't run from an officer again soon." Thus speaking, the

was dragged over to one of the cells, thrust him in thru the door while the cop turned the key and disappeared.

Thus ended the first act in the tragedy. I do not know what the outcome will be. There are many cases on the police docket, but of course in due time the case of our victim will come up for hearing.

The next morning a good old Negro mother, who had witnessed the affair the night before, and now returned from an early morning visit to the jail was telling the neighbors the story of the brutal arrest, when a colored sky-pilot coming along stopped to join the group.

"What!" he interrupted, "you say he ran from the officer." "Yes," answered the woman, "he saw the mob gathering and he broke and———" "Served him right, served him right," urged the reverend dope dispenser, as he moved on down the street to get away from the remarks of the women.

"It is very strange," said my informant, a young professional man from the north, "our women are brave and are willing to stand up and fight for their rights. But our men-folk are completely cowed, and our churches seek to keep them that way."

"Yes," I added, "and so long as the Negro workers are unorganized and uneducated, the church will probably continue to keep them doped on the opiate of religion, and as meek as a lamb, while their white capitalist masters and their flunkies ruthlessly exploit and fleece them, and at the same time brushily oppress and abuse them in the name of Law and Order."

"Yes, sar, the nigger must be made to know his place and stay in it," says the cracker capitalist in Dixie.

Well some day the Negroes of the southland will know their place in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, and they will stay in it, and fight in it, forgetting the preacher's "pie in the sky" opiate. And then the southern capitalist bastilles will cease to receive victims like the one whose tragic story appears above.



After Seven Years

By M. POKROVSKY

GOOD friends never forget to supply me with interesting reading. I have hardly finished with the amusing conversations between Noi Jordania and the British generals when I have before me again some works by the same author. So far the British generals are not yet on the scene, but they are close behind the scenes as the reader will soon find out. This time, however, it is not a stenographic record, but original letters. True, we must use them in translations but whether a translator "falsifies" more than a stenographer, has not yet been decided by history.

The documents are unusually frank. One of them, signed by "Oliko," says: "While we write this letter the British police are breaking up the safes in the walls of the Soviet Co-operative (Arcos) in order to find stolen documents and other (Bolshevik) shady affairs. This is only an excuse. The police searches are made with an entirely different aim in view" (!)

How well informed! But it must not be forgotten that we are dealing here with representatives of the "Georgian Government." No joke! "The Congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Georgia," we read in the resolution of the recent Congress of the Georgian Mensheviks, "considers the N. Jordania Government exiled abroad as the legitimate government of Georgia; it approves of its activities in general and particularly of the unification of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union with a view to destroying Russian imperialism. The government is authorized to find reliable allies among the states (which will help Georgia with money and goods, etc.) both during the period of the liberation movement and after the occupation of Georgia to support Georgia and render all possible assistance in the struggle against any imperialist steps that might be taken by Russia against Georgia."

TIME in the Soviet Union is fleeting very rapidly, but it is dragging in exile. In my last article I was afraid that everybody has already forgotten here about 1919, and here, you will agree, just as if it had been yesterday, Gegetchkory is negotiating with the British generals. We see people waiting for seven years for goods to arrive from England. It must be admitted that they are a patient lot.

Naturally, the government is well informed as to its "reliable ally," both as to the time when the raid is made on Arcos and as to the real aim of the raid, etc. That its ally is primarily Great Britain is self-evident. Also in this respect no changes have taken place during these 7 years. Jordania writes to his correspondent in Georgia that "the Anglo-Russian antagonism has now reached a phase when it can no longer be settled through peaceful negotiations. Either Russia or England will rule Asia, that is how the question stands today. At the present time Britain is concentrating all anti-Soviet forces. This constitutes the crux of European politics today. In this possible imperialist clash of forces Georgia's position is clear."

But England is no longer the only possible ally. In a letter to the Menshevik C. C.—this letter is somewhat older than the "Oliko" letter, and is therefore more interesting—another member of the "government" and another Noi, this time Ramishvilli, writes: "The anti-Russian bloc is about to realize its aims. Hitherto, England was leading. Now Japan is also in the leadership. A new government has been formed there headed by General Tanaka who wants active interference in China. This signifies the strengthening of Japanese influence in Manchuria and driving the Russians out of there. Thanks to the Chang Tso-lin policy, the whole world found out that Russia cannot fight, and that is why she is pushed up against the wall from all sides, and that is why she is ridiculed."

LET us stop for a while. It is a well-known fact that there are wise people in this very same "Russia" who seriously think that all the hullabaloo about war is nothing but the speculation of the "dominating faction." And here we find secret Georgian documents where it is written in black and white that a war is being prepared against "Russia" and that "Russia" is being provoked; they express great resentment at the fact that we do not succumb to the provocations. Perhaps, after all, this will convince our wisecracks.

It is natural for one in Ramishvilli's place to speculate as to the chances of the different sides in the expected war.

"Russia"—it is characteristic that the state of which Georgia constitutes a component part is persistently designated by Jordania and company as "Russia"—has no chances whatever; it cannot fight and the fracas "must end with its dismemberment." "A highly interesting period is coming which we follow very closely and we will not lose sight of a single favorable instant to re-establish our independence."

This position reminds one of the position of a carcass over a carrion. "Independence" involuntarily reminds one of the British generals in 1919. But this is not so important. There is another more complicated question. The "carrion" is still firmly on its feet and even, according to the views expressed by another, not a Georgian but a Turkish letter, threatens "to bite like a mad dog." So that although "Russia" has no chances whatever it is



Kalenin, President of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

still necessary to see what chances England has. And here is a "proletarian and national organization" as N. Jordania designates the Georgian social-democratic party, laying its greatest hopes on a split of the European proletariat.

"The influence of the avowed opponents of Bolshevism among the workers has been rapidly increasing" is what Ramishvilli joyfully reports to his C. C. "In point of fact half of the labor fraction of the British parliament cherishes an avowed hatred to Bolshevism" (is it only half?). "If as a result of the Chinese events there should be war, the British government will recruit in the course of two weeks a voluntary army of half a million." It would seem that there could be no more optimistic perspective, would it not? But the beginning of the next sentence betrays the "proletarian" author. He says: "It would be much easier to defeat Bolshevism in France. . . ." Aha! In other words a Bolshevik defeat in England is not so easy after all, eh?

ONLY after taking the example of France with its "followers of Renaudel" did Ramishvilli find courage to say the following:

"It may be boldly stated that ONCE RUSSIA WILL BE TRAPPED and she will have recourse to the sword, neither the workingclass of Europe nor that of America particularly will give her any support. . . ."

Thus, outside of Georgia, in Europe, all hopes are based on the "labor fraction," to wit, MacDonald and Co., and on the "followers of Renaudel" and other socialist scoundrels, on the one hand, and on the "trap" which is being laid for the USSR by the shrewd British diplomats on the other. These are the hopes from the "proletarian" side. And what about the hopes on the "national" side, viz., on Georgia?

In this respect, of course, the Georgian bourgeoisie is the first ally. The national democrats must enter the "Committee of Independence." "According to our information the national democratic party is too weak," writes Ramishvilli. "It has no Central Committee. It is necessary to organize such a centre so that the latter would be able to strengthen the amiradjibi and the Gvazava. If it will be impossible to establish such a centre anywhere else, then establish it somewhere in your neighborhood."

IF there is no Miliukov then you must invent one. N. Jordania does not write in vain in his letters that: "OUR AIM TO UTILIZE ALL ANTI-BOLSHEVIK ELEMENTS." The circle of such "elements" is not limited to the bourgeois democrats. Miliukov and the patriarch Tikhon (if he were only alive) could also be utilized. In a questionnaire which Ramishvilli sent to his correspondent there is the following point: "6.—The position of the church: is the church still persecuted, are the clergy being arrested or exiled (give their names)? How many churches have been destroyed? Are religious services interfered with or not? Is there a special church tax to that end? Are there any cases of ridiculing religious people? Are the Armenian and Moslem temples persecuted?"

"Bear in mind that we are connected in England with the Archbishop of Canterbury through our

council and we have a special representative, Ivanitski (R. Ingilo), at the vatican. There are rumors here that the heads of your churches consider the recognition of the Roman pope."

"At any rate. . . you must send us all information concerning the church. This is of great importance in Europe."

We know too well that "it is of great importance in Europe." At the time of the Conrady trial one of the main witnesses for the defense was Madame Kalash who sang in the beautiful French language the song that in Moscow "all churches are closed, the clergy is persecuted, there are no religious services," and similar chants. The bourgeois, who occasionally shut down the factories in order to fence the workers into submission through starvation, but never closes the churches, was overtaken by pious rage. But the list of "anti-Bolshevik elements" is not yet complete and we take the liberty to call the attention of both Nois to another group which is even more reliable than the clergy and even than Mrs. Kalash. This group consists of the former tsarist agent-provocateurs many of whom are undoubtedly still in hiding somewhere beyond the Caucasian borders as also within its borders. They are people who have been tested as to their hatred to the Bolsheviks and they have much experience in conspirative work too. They would be of great use.

Experience in secret work is now more essential than ever before. Perhaps I have emphasized too much in saying that the Georgian Mensheviks have not changed much since 1919, and I can already hear some objections that I have forgotten my dialectics. A few samples of dialectics we have already seen in the fact that they are now clinging to the tails of two imperialist sharks at the same time—one in the Atlantic Ocean and the other in the Pacific, and not as before. But the main dialectic is hidden, of course, in the present tactics of the Mensheviks.

IN the first place, if you think that they are preparing an insurrection, then you are greatly mistaken. "Georgia" (read Jordania and Co.) "as all other Russian nationalists (!!) wants the defeat of Moscow, but IT WILL NOT TAKE DIRECT PART IN THE STRUGGLE but will remain neutral until the perspectives will become clear. This can be made clear by our government in Europe. It will enter into the active struggle only when our independence will be guaranteed. OUR TACTICS DURING THE WAR MUST BE THE CZECH TACTIC, NAMELY, NOT TO RISE!"

On this point Ramishvilli fully supports "the president of the government." "Should war begin (which appears to be inevitable) we must take every measure that the people do not fall victims of the Bolshevik provocation (?) and do not revolt. Noi speaks of Czech tactics during war, and he is quite right. The Georgian fighters must act the same way." But Noi No. 2 makes an interesting addition. He says: "The enthusiasm with which the people greeted the war against Germany must not be repeated during the mobilization. . . ."

That is saying something! Of course what kind of a rising can there be if one must "fear" that the people will go to the defense of their Soviet fatherland with "enthusiasm." In the light of these fears the disclosures scattered in the quotations given above, right at the beginning of this article, from "Oliko's" letter are an ill-omen for the Mensheviks. "I KNOW AND I BEWAIL THE IMPOTENCE AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE PARTY. I WEEP OVER THE WEAKNESS OF MY PARTY, but I do not lose hope. . . ." "The situation of those who lost their country and are now abroad is unbearable. We are always faced with the perspective of being buried in a foreign land."

IT was necessary to give up the idea of an insurrection, as there are no masses who would follow the lead. Apparently, the Georgian fascists think themselves better off. Much is spoken about them in the letters, and from the tone in which reference is made to them it is clear that they are the most serious opponents. Georgian fascism subsidized by Italy is not our subject. We are not going to deal with it now. We should only observe that the "Czech" tactics of the Mensheviks does not at all signify "peaceful" tactics. "From today on, we must establish highly conspirative connections with the staff of the Georgian army," says Ramishvilli



The Position of the Chinese Revolution

EDITOR'S NOTE: Since the following article by Bucharin was written, the Wuhan government has gone over completely to the counter-revolution and is following the anti-labor tactics of Chiang Kai-shek. China is today the greatest laboratory of the class struggle in the world and the developments there cannot be given too much attention. Only by reading analyses such as this can the average worker understand from the disjointed and misleading news—most of it manufactured—that appears in the capitalist press, what is actually taking place in China.

THE Chinese revolution is in the most difficult stage of its development. The armed forces of the national bourgeoisie are combining more and more, are carrying away with them sections of the Wuhan army and are directing their spearhead against the mass movement of the lower social strata, against the workers and peasants, against the "plebeians" who have been roused by the great agrarian revolution and are storming against the "enlightened" intriguing politicians of the possessing classes in town and country. Behind the chequered curtain of political groupings, of personal conflicts, of combinations of generals, behind the screen of military and official diplomacy, behind the confusion of solemn declarations and equally solemn execution parades, of insinuating gossip about the "three principles" and the throttling of revolutionaries, of "Chinese ceremonies" and orders of execution, behind the chequered and manifold mixture it is easy to see how the sword of the wildest class-war is being drawn, behind all this a desperate class struggle can be clearly seen, about the elementary forces of which some are not yet clear.

The block between Feng Yu Hsiang and Chiang Kai-shek is giving expression to a great differentiation of the class forces in the country. The special peculiarity of the situation is that the three social class camps (roughly speaking) have three organized national centres. It is true that rash enquirers of the type of Comrade Radek ("All the worse for the facts!") have denied the existence of feudalism in China. These comrades have indeed built up their conclusions on the basis of this "analysis," and Radek's colleagues in the opposition have not wasted any words on this error. (This is called an "honest Marxist investigation!"). Nevertheless facts remain facts. The camp of the Northern army with Chang Tso-lin at its head is the camp of feudal reaction. This camp is entirely in the service of the imperialists and thinks of no "reforms" but the one, that of founding a new dynasty by crowning the "Marshall." At the present moment this camp is obviously approaching its downfall.

The second camp is the camp of the Liberal bourgeois counter-revolution.

It is characteristic of the present moment that this second camp, at the present stage of development of Chinese events represents for the present a victorious force and holds a very special place in the class-war.

The class foundations of the revolutions of the generals against the people has been sufficiently elucidated; this class foundation is the going over of the Liberal bourgeoisie into the counter-revolutionary camp. Here we must add however that the agrarian revolution of the Chinese peasantry with its tempestuous rise, which dealt a destructive blow at the Liberal bourgeoisie and caused it to fly into a furious rage, must also be apprehended in its specifically Chinese peculiarity. Whereas in Russia the seizure of the land at first united almost all the strata of the peasantry against the landowners and ranged the whole mass of this peasantry against our Russian "landlords," a class between which and the peasantry there is a sharp dividing line, in the Chinese village, where the land is too limited, where also there are but few large landed proprietors and very many small landowners who are interwoven with the Kulak elements, the class-war takes much more desperate forms. The strata against which the agrarian revolution is fighting are very much larger and thus come into contact with the urban Liberal bourgeoisie over a much wider surface.

The class differentiation was responsible for the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang Kai-shek was responsible for the treachery of Feng. Feng, on his part will cause the treachery of other generals. This is a source of very serious danger to Wuhan. Chiang Kai-shek plus Feng, plus other generals, plus (possibly left) "Mukdeners"—this is the military aspect of the bourgeois block. This block is at present the strongest among the camps which are at war. It forces will inevitably continue to grow in the immediate future.

We must weigh the situation quite without prejudice; it would be a short-sighted policy to underestimate the strength of our opponent who is already taking his stand as executioner of the workers and peasants.

The strength of this liberal-counter-revolutionary camp consists firstly in the numerical superiority of its armed forces and secondly in its political position as compared with the political situation of the feudal camp.

We have written several times that the bourgeois camp is already shooting workers and peasants but that it has not yet amalgamated with feudal reac-

By N. BUCHARIN



tion and imperialism. It has a tendency to amalgamate with that camp. The more this camp is threatened by the revolts of the workers and peasants the more clearly will this tendency come to the fore. For the moment however an amalgamation has not taken place. It still possesses a certain independence and a still greater apparent independence, and that ensures it a still greater political force in the country.

This fact is most clearly evidenced by the program announced by the leaders of the bourgeois counter-revolution—as far as its "ideology" is concerned—and by its battles against Mukden as far as the "facts" of the civil war are concerned.

The tenth thesis of Chiang Kai-shek's declaration (of the "Program of Action" of the Nanking government) runs:

"Three paths lie open before China:

- 1—Subjugation to militarism and imperialism.
- 2—To follow the path of Communism.
- 2—To carry out in reality the three principles of the Kuomintang and to create a strong government."

The Liberals are turning this point of view to account most cleverly. They pose as genuine liberators of China and contrast themselves with the Communists, whom they treat as agents of the "Russian state," using for this purpose all the lies of Poincaré, Chamberlain and the "international" social-democrats. A paragraph of the fourth thesis of the declaration referred to formulates the standpoint in a very cunning and perfidious way though at the same time, viewed from the standpoint of stupefying the masses, in an extremely clever way, in the following words:

"The Kuomintang (needless to say the right clique of Chiang Kai-shek. N. B.) holds to the standpoint of the right of self-determination of the peoples and of joining the world revolution (do not make jokes! N. B.) on the basis of equality between the nations, whereas the Communists kow-tow to the manipulations of Russia."

The masses will of course, from day to day, see the mendacity of these statements more clearly. This lie is contradicted and will be contradicted by the language of steel and iron spoken by the executions. This language is being used more and more frequently by the Liberal "liberators" towards the Chinese workers and peasants. This lie will be contradicted by the reprisals employed by these strange adherents of the "world revolution" against the agrarian movement and against the majority of the Chinese nation. In the end moreover this lie will not be helped by the shameful speeches of our opposition which, in a criminal way, calumniate the policy of our Party representing it as a policy

which is "nationally restricted" or as the incorporation of "national conservatism" and which are grist to the mill of the declared enemies of the revolutionary help of the Soviet Union (that is, if the opposition is right in this question, for then Chiang Kai-shek must be right with his clamor about "Russia's manipulations"). Nevertheless we must acknowledge that the combination of a real fight against the North and of the exploitation of the traditions of the national fight for freedom represent definite political capital which for the time being still bears political interest.

For the moment we will not concern ourselves with the other points of the Nanking "program" which are based on a clever exploitation of the unemployment in Wuhan (whence the capitalists have fled, having stopped the work in their factories), on promises with regard to the introduction of the eight hours' day "in the future" etc. We will only for the moment bring into relief another strong point of the Liberal counter-revolution, the fact that it has its agents in the third camp, the Wuhan camp, while the opposite is not possible.

Where then does the weakness of the third camp, the Wuhan camp lie? It lies chiefly in the fact that this camp and this centre of government has not a sufficiently reliable armed force at its disposal. Its army is melting away. Feng's treachery deprived it of its (from the military point of view) best division. The part which has remained, with Tan Shen-shi at its head is equally unreliable. It is not even possible to rely on the personal enmity between Chiang Kai-shek and Tan Shen-shi. The voice of class blood is stronger than personal enmity, and the logic of the class-war is stronger than the logic of personal conflict. The few troops which are to be relied upon are obviously insufficient.

A second weakness of Wuhan is that in that camp (both in the C. C. of the Kuomintang and in the government) there are direct informers of Chiang Kai-shek's and vacillating typical petty-bourgeois politicians of the worst brand who, at a moment of crisis, would be certain to side with the Liberals. Their terrible fear of the agrarian revolution may drive them into the arms of the Liberal adherents of Chiang Kai-shek. When we recall that even leading Communists have made opportunist mistakes, we can easily understand that the extremely weak and variegated political leadership in Wuhan, which is in direct contradiction to the growth of the lower strata, is the most vulnerable spot in the Wuhan camp.

If the instructions of the Kuomintang had been carried out; if the agrarian revolutions had not been checked; if the arming of the workers and peasants had been effected with energy; if the faithful divisions of troops had been brought together; if a clear political line, comprehensible to the masses had been pursued; if the instruction with regard to the democratization of the Kuomintang had been properly executed, etc., then the situation would not be so dangerous for Wuhan. The chief fault of the Wuhan camp is the misunderstanding, nay, even to some extent the existing opposition between the upper stratum of the Kuomintang and the mass of its members, between the lead and the actual movement.

The strength of this third camp is the forceful movement of the workers and peasants. The revolution repels the vacillating gas-bags and the vaillating intimidated "leaders" who sympathize with the enemy. The revolution sifts these leaders through the sieve of heavy trials. The mass movement is so mighty, involves the advance of a so gigantic mass of people, that in the long run it will sweep away all obstacles.

This is the position of the chief strength of the separate classes.

It is not difficult to see that the present situation brings up in all intensity the question of the two paths of development of the Chinese revolution. Theoretically we have faced this question from the beginning. Life has, as it always does, proved richer, more significant, more "cunning" than dull theory. The practical value of this way of putting the question is nevertheless completely confirmed.

The camp of the bourgeois counter-revolution is, for the time being, fighting against the feudalists and partly against the imperialists, contradictory as it may sound. (Even though it consents to compromises, agreements, etc.) On this side of its "work" it still has in tow remnants of the traditions of the fight for freedom. At the same time, however, it is waging a furious fight against the workers and peasants of its own nation and is becoming its

(Continued on page 8)

TO JOHN D. — ON HIS BIRTHDAY

Thy smiling face is made of all the laughter of the sad,
Thy wrinkled brow of all the age of young ones laid below.
All thy poise rests on the crutches made of shattered broken men.
And this day marks but the spending of so many toiling lives
Thy life is but the weaving of the web of slavery for humanity.

—T. HEJURY.

(Continued from page 3)

to "Abessalum," "so that at a favorable moment we may be able to rely on them to arrest the Bolshevik officers and soldiers in the army." The "Czech" tactics are tactics of PLOTS in contradistinction to the tactics of MASS ACTION.

These are tactics of the coup d'état, in contradistinction to revolutionary tactics, they are not at all the tactics of peaceful propaganda and legal protests.

NOT having behind them any masses in Georgia, it is natural for them to seek allies outside of Georgia. On this point we find the most interesting parts of their correspondence. "The Bolshevik order destroyed the Georgian nation, its national system and culture," writes Jordania ("the Bolshevik order" accomplished this in an extraordinarily conspirative manner so that not only outside observers, but even the Georgian people themselves could notice it. What devilish bloody people the Bolsheviks are!), "but it advanced nationally other, non-historical (!) nations and directed them on the path of regeneration. We were for instance the eye-witnesses of the creation of the Ukraine. This 40 million strong nation represents such an enormous power that should it want to separate from Moscow (!!) the latter would have to concede involuntarily. The other nations would follow afterwards. For us this would facilitate methods as the Ukraine would stand between us and Moscow and would liquidate our common borders therewith (Moscow). The dismemberment of the Soviet Union into national units can be accomplished in a better organized form if the Ukrainians would take this task upon themselves. Under such conditions... the Georgian nation would enter the framework of the Ukrainian nationalist movement." (The reader, if he pleases, can put here as many exclamation marks as he likes).

LET me first of all congratulate the Ukraine for being classified among the "non-historical nations." I must say that as a "Russian historian" of the old order I feel greatly offended. The devil take it! The Ukrainians are not a historical nation? Excuse me! And what about the Kamelnitsky episode, is it not history?

Then, I cannot but congratulate also the Georgian nation with Noi Jordania's plan to hide it behind the broad shoulders of the "non-historical" Ukrainian. This is a great honor indeed. I must frankly admit it suits me better than when I see Jordania and Co., sitting not behind, but a bit lower under the British generals. What can I do. I am only an old "Russian historian" after all. As long as I live I will repeat only what I have imbibed with my mother's milk.

Noi No. 2 concretises the general reveries of Noi No. 1. "Our perspective is mostly connected with the second policy outlined by Jordania," says Rame-shvilli to Abessalum (Jordania mapped out three possible ways of the "regeneration of Georgia": 1.—The collapse of Bolshevism from within; 2.—National uprisings in the border lands, and 3.—An Anglo-Russian war, "namely, the consolidation of the nationalities. This is precisely why we organized the 'Committee of Caucasian Independence' and published the 'Prometheus' in the French language. This committee is comprised of our representatives and representatives from Azerbadjan and the mountain republics, two from each republic. The 'Caucasian Committee' is closely connected with the 'Turkestan Independence' and with the 'Ukraine' (Levitsky, Petliura's representative). It is our aim to separate from Russia by common action of these nations and by the establishment of a military alliance both during the war with Russia and after it."

THUS, not only is a mass rising in Georgia impossible and undesirable, but isolated action by Georgia will lead nowhere. "The nations which are in the same position as we have at last realized that in order to destroy the enemy, unity and joint action is necessary," says Oliko, "the Ukraine, Caucasian and Turkestan have united. . . Their joint action is an accomplished fact. The consolidation of a united front is a question of the near future."

We may rest assured that before very long there will be a scrap amongst them. For the Ukraine, the Sochi Denikin episode (see "Georgia Under British Rule") is a guarantee. Father Levitsky surely thinks that Kuban is Ukrainian. And from the point of view of Jordania's political geography this should be so, if one looks at it. But it is unlikely that we shall ever see this "immediate future." The dialectics of history have brought about a situation when the once seemingly powerful national groups have become metamorphosed into weak groups of plotters which have no roots in the masses, as they themselves admit. This is definitely so in Georgia. This is more than probable in the Ukraine and in Turkestan. The dialectics of history was always on the side of the Bolsheviks, and where else could it be?



The Danger of War in Permanency

(Continued from Page One)

trace the mass movement of the working classes in this period, we see how, in spite of all the signals and cries of warning, they did not properly grasp the danger and were not prepared to meet it in the right way until finally, in 1914, in the twinkling of an eye, they were bowled over by the monster of the world war, and we almost feel the dramatic excitement of the spectator in a cinema who, in the most thrilling scene, wants to jump up and warn the unsuspecting hero of the murderer who is approaching by stealth.

The nearer the world war approaches, the more zealously and feverishly the governments prepare for it, the more perfect do the arrangements for the pacifist deception become, from the czarist manifesto to the Hague institutions, from the "guarantee of peace" of the Alliance to the meetings between monarchs. Even at that time, the pacifist humbug penetrated into the Second International. Was not the "long epoch of peace" an important argument of revisionism about the peaceful development into socialism? Was there not Van Kols who saw positive sides in the colonial policy and Karl Leuthners, who saw them in the Triple Alliance? It is also interesting to read today some of the speeches in the Reichstag at the time of the crisis in Morocco. How many forewarnings of the 4th of August did we, as good social democrats, carelessly pass by at that time?

The epoch since the world war exhibits all the phenomena of the pre-war period on an extended scale. The almost uninterrupted chain of wars has grown into a war in permanency. Murder has never ceased at all. We have also entered on a new epoch of colonial wars, the epoch of the defense of colonies and spheres of influence against the revolutionary uprisings of the population of those districts. The armaments for war, preparations, contradictions and dangers of war have become much mightier and more alarming than before the Great War. Consequently, the endeavors of the bourgeoisie to deceive the working masses as to the true character of the present character must be much more strenuous. The League of Nations and the guarantee pacts together with all the rest of the pacific humbug are the result of these endeavors, and moreover, behind these institutions, are hidden the efforts of the great imperialist powers to guard themselves against premature explosions; for the experience of the world war has taught them that not only must every preparation be made for a war, but that the moment of its outbreak must be well chosen and should not come by surprise.

The imperialists can be well satisfied with the result of their endeavors to deceive the masses as to the true character of the present period as one of war in permanency. Million of workers who are under the influence of the social patriotic leaders, believe their assertions that the danger of war is only a Communist clamor and that the League of Nations, the Treaties of Locarno, etc., are actually guarantees of peace. Can there be a greater triumph for the imperialist propaganda than the fact that the leaders of the revived Second International can, without being ignominiously turned out, announce to the masses the exact opposite of the truth and can represent the present period when peace is better ensured than ever, whereas as compared with

the time before the war, the danger of war is far more imminent?

Clausewitz, in his famous saying that war is the continuation of politics with other means (i.e., the means of force), has pointed out the close relationship between politics and war. Today, his saying is out of date. Even the variation that the world world policy of the imperialists since 1918 is nothing but the continuation of the imperialist world war with other means, does not express this enormous change precisely enough. In the present period of imperialism, politics and war have been welded into one, they form one unit. It may almost be regarded as a symbol that the imperialist statesmen, at the very time when they are sitting together in League of Nations conferences or peace conferences, issue orders for the bombardment of Chinese towns and Riff villages in Morocco, and that Geneva and Locarno are at the same time centres for international profiteers who traffic in war material.

Not only the imperialist war, however, but the class war also is in permanency today. The bourgeoisie, from its side only, has declared it in permanency against the revolutionary proletariat which at the same time has prompted it to conceal this war as it did the imperialist war, behind a pacifist delusion, in this case that of democracy and parliamentarism, in order to deceive the masses as to its true attitude towards them.

The parallel forces itself upon us. Neither the Paris Commune nor the murders in Chicago, neither the intensification of the revolutionary fights in Russia, nor the massacres of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie in other states prevented most of the leaders of the Second International from regarding the period of civil war as finally concluded and from considering it out of the question that the proletarian class war should develop into a civil war. The forged preface by Engels to Marx' "Class War in France" has remained for them the most precious jewel of political Marxist literature, and the experiences of the first Russian revolution of 1905 have existed for them only as interesting events in an exotic country which have as much significance for their "own" country, as have the canals on Mars for the actual geography of mother earth. The more the class fights have been intensified the more obstinately have these leaders refused to enter into any definite discussion, not to mention making any practical preparations for more serious methods of fighting. They have not gone beyond the ballot paper.

What are the occasional massacres instituted by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat from May 1871 in Paris to the fights on the Lena in 1912 as compared with the sanguinary war of extermination which the bourgeoisie has been carrying on against the revolutionary Labor movement from October 1917 until the present day? How many thousands of proletarians have been slaughtered by the bourgeoisie and their social patriotic executioners in Russia, Finland, Bavaria and Hungary, in the Ruhr district and in central Germany, (March 1920 and 1921), in Roumania and Poland, in Yugoslavia and Italy? Has this murdering, this blood-thirsty class been stopped for a single year? The bourgeoisie carries it on uninterruptedly, whenever there is a pause, it prepares for the next wholesale slaughter.

The Change of Government in Roumania

King Ferdinand of Roumania died since this article was written. The king was never more than a figurehead, the real rulers being the Bratiano brothers. Ferdinand's wife, Marie, who was in this country on a pan-handling excursion last year has been at loggerheads with the king over family matters. Ferdinand's death does not change things in Roumania as far as the workers and peasants are concerned.



By K. (Bukharest)

THE Avarescu government, which was supported by one party, has been supplanted in an unexpectedly short time by a new government—a coalition government. The head of the new government is Prince Stirbey, the administrator of the crown lands, who "belongs to no party." The following parties are represented in the government: the Liberals (Bratiano's party), the National Peasant Party ("Zaranists"), the Independent Peasant Party with Dr. Lupu at its head, and Argetoianu, a member of the former Avarescu cabinet. The change of cabinet was not preceded by any obvious conflict in parliament or in the senate. It was due to acute differences of opinion between Bratiano and the court clique on the one hand and Avarescu on the other hand, dissensions in questions of economics and home and foreign policy.

The Liberal Party of Bratiano represents the interests of large financial capital in Roumania. The largest undertakings and the largest banks in the country, including the National Bank, are in their hands. They have the soundest financial organization at their disposal and represent the most influential bourgeois political factor in the country.

General Avarescu and his circle entered the arena of political life as creatures of the Liberals. The Liberals made use of General Avarescu as the most pliable and convenient tool in the most difficult political moments. In 1907 they made use of him to suppress the peasant revolt. At that time, Avarescu, at their dictate, had 11,000 poor insurgent peasants shot who were demanding bread, work and land. The Liberals then made use of Avarescu at the time of the war. The defeated army of Roumania was in course of being dispersed. Desertion became a mass phenomenon. In order to arrest the disintegration of the army and reorganize it, the Liberals crowned General Avarescu with the halo of a victorious general.

After the war, the Liberals again aimed a blow at the proletarian mass movement with the help of Avarescu. In 1920, Avarescu, as prime minister, dispersed the socialist party numbering 200,000 members, and the trade union organizations in which 300,000 workers were united. It was a daily occurrence for persons to be arrested, tortured and shot for "attempted flight."

The Liberals regarded Avarescu as an indispensable reserve to whom they have handed over the power when they considered it desirable and from whom they took it again at their own sweet will.

The last Avarescu government was also thrust to the fore by the Liberals. Its government program came into being on the basis of a pact with the Liberals.

Although Avarescu was always dependent on the Liberals, he was ever on the search for an opportunity of freeing himself from the Liberal leading strings. He had pursued this aim with special energy since last year. Supported at home by a section of the circle of officers in high position, by a section of Transylvanian capital (the Goldisch-Goga group), by a section of the village bourgeoisie and, in his foreign policy, by Chamberlain and especially by Mussolini, Avarescu tried to steer a course in direct opposition to Bratiano's policy. Whereas the Liberals are endeavoring to restrict foreign capital which dominates large fields of Roumanian life and to get possession of the wealth of the country itself, Avarescu was perfectly willing to attract foreign capital. From Mussolini he received a loan of 200 million Italian lire in return for large petroleum concessions. The queen was sent to America to tout for money.

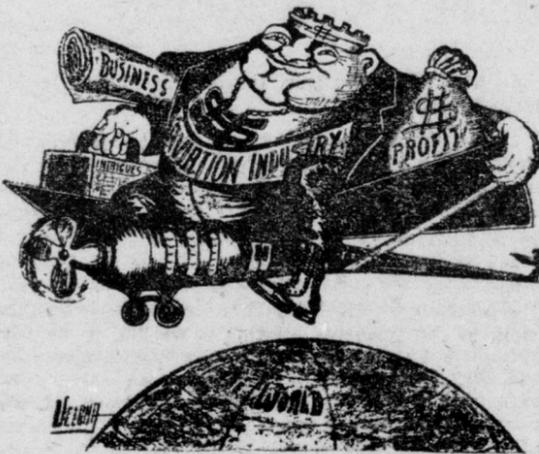
Negotiations were carried on with Germany with regard to a loan to the amount of 200 million marks. Avarescu was prepared to accept extremely unfavorable conditions, i.e., one hundred million marks were to be paid to Roumania in the form of credit in kind (railway material), forty millions were to remain in Germany for the stabilization of the lei; nevertheless Roumania would have had to pay in-

terests at the rate of 8 per cent per annum on the whole sum.

Avarescu granted a concession in respect of an area of 500,000 hectares at the mouth of the Danube for fifty years to German capitalist companies, the foreign capitalists being given the right to exploit this district unrestrictedly in any way they chose.

The differences of opinion with regard to home policy between Avarescu and the Liberals found expression in the question of their attitude towards the peasant movement. The great agrarian reform which was carried out after the war, did not solve the peasant question. A total area of 5,800,000 hectares of land was taken from the landed proprietors, but only a part of it was distributed amongst the peasants. The peasants were given 1,800,000 hectares of it under extremely hard conditions. After the reform, there were still more than two million peasant families left without land. This gave rise to the development of a vast mass movement amongst the peasants, which developed rapidly and inspired the bourgeois rulers of the country with terror. As long as this movement exists, the Roumanian bourgeoisie cannot set itself any great aims in its foreign policy. Having destroyed the labor movement through the White Terror, with the help of the reformists and centrists, the ruling class now regards the destruction of the peasants movement as the chief task before it.

Avarescu and Bratiano are trying to realize this aim by two different methods; Avarescu with the help of the fascist terror and of an open military dictatorship, the Liberals by splitting up the peasant movement through corruption and through infecting a section of it with bourgeois ideas and also by isolating the other section of the movement. The military fascist dictatorship would, for the time



A FUNERAL

The dead man comes, then beat the drums,
Unfurl the tinselled banner.

The bells toll mass, the mourners pass
In slow and stately manner.

He met his death in the hot breath
Of liquid steel near burning—

It swallowed him, his eyes grew dim,
Into an ingot turning.

The foreman said: "This wop is dead,
We can't waste so much steel—
We'll fix this thing, you needn't wring
Your hands that way and squeal.

Pour on the ground two hundred pounds
Of steel to form a cross
That's six feet tall to wear the pall—
The company takes its loss!"

Now, Tony slaved, and he had saved
Enough for prayers and masses,
For hearse of black and flowers no lack—
Then look, the cortege passes!

As black as night the casket bright
And crucifixes gleaming,
With dark festoons and sacred tunes
And tinselled banner streaming.

The church bells peal, the cross of steel
Is jolting as they go.
And now they bear it with great care
And now they lay it low.

"It's pretty tough, this sudden stuff,"
The foreman said that night.
"We did our best, and Tony's blessed
With every holy rite!"

HENRY REICH, JR.

being, arrive at the desired end more rapidly, but it would have a bad effect on the economic situation of the country and would damage the interests of the Liberals, and—the chief point—a military dictatorship in Avarescu's hands can be used against the Liberals.

The first step towards putting the Liberal plans against the peasant movement into effect, was the amalgamation of the Peasant Party and the Transylvanian National Party which was carried out a year ago. The second step was the split in this united party, Dr. Lupu, the well-known "left" peasant leader, seceded from the party and founded a "right" Peasant Party of its own. The third step was the formation of the present Coalition government under the leadership of the Liberals. The crucial point in the anti-peasant strategy of the Liberals is their attempt to put up combined lists with all the government parties at the coming election. But this is also where they meet with the greatest difficulties. The peasant masses are openly opposed to this capitulation to financial capital on the part of their leaders.

In its foreign policy, the Avarescu government was linked with Mussolini. The fact that Avarescu directed his policy along the lines laid down by Mussolini, won for Roumania Italy's recognition of the Bessarabian protocol. At that time, Bratiano approved of the course steered by Avarescu in foreign policy.

Serious differences of opinion between Avarescu and the Liberals have only cropped up since the conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia, and especially since the Treaty of Friendship between Italy and Hungary was concluded. Italy's advance in the Balkans cannot but lead to disturbances, to armed conflicts and finally to war. A war in the Balkans, however, is by no means in accordance with the intentions of the Liberals. The agreement between Mussolini and Bethlen strengthens the political predominance of Hungary and increases the lust for revenge of the Hungarian irredentists. Next to their fear of the Soviet Union, the Liberals are most in terror of Hungary; they are concerned about Transylvania, where Budapest capital is still firmly rooted and where three millions Hungarian still live under the Roumanian rule. It was not without good reason that Bratiano demanded after the treaty of friendship between Hungary and Italy, that:

"in the name of the king and in the interest of the nation, the helm of foreign policy should be steered towards the old allies, Paris, and especially London."

Avarescu agreed nominally, but as a matter of fact he did not carry out this instruction. Prompted by Mussolini, he offered obstinate resistance until the last moment. For a whole week, he kept secret the commission he had received from the king to form a government of the "National Coalition" consisting of all parties; he established a censorship over all newspapers and began to take measures for introducing a military dictatorship. Nevertheless, the powerful Bratiano clique literally drove him out of power. For the time being, Bratiano is carrying on his policy through his brother-in-law, Prince Stirbey, and may take it over personally at any time—a policy which aims at gagging the worker and peasant movement and the movement of the oppressed nationalities more slowly but more systematically and thoroughly than the dictatorship planned by Avarescu could have done, and which is driving Roumania more and more into Chamberlain's wake.

(According to the latest telegrams, Prince Stirbey has resigned, and Bratiano has been entrusted by the king with the task of forming a cabinet of his own.—Ed.)



QUEEN MARIE
OF
ROUMANIA

A recent visitor to the United States, at which time demonstrations of thousands of workers in the cities she visited reminded her of "Cotzofanesti"—debauchery made possible out of the monstrous exploitation of Roumanian workers. A sensation-publicity seeker, she is also in the ruling clique with the infamous Bratiano brothers.

Factory Papers in Germany

By S. PEREVOSNIKOV

IN Germany, besides the so-called "great" daily press and trade union publications with their many million circulations, there are also factory papers of some importance. The present form of these papers is of recent origin. Their circulation increased after the Communist Party of Germany had discarded its former organizational structure. Formerly the Party was based on territorial nuclei (i.e., members were enrolled where they lived, and not at the enterprises), but when the Party transferred its organizational structure to the factory nuclei, which formed also the new basis for the whole of its rank and file work, the circulation of these papers greatly enhanced. This transfer of the organizational centre of revolutionary work into the thick of the working masses—at the factories and plants—strengthened the Party's connections with the masses and drew them into the movement.

One of the forms of this connection and of the increased activities of the masses is the papers published by the factory nuclei of the Communist Party. Although the publication of these papers in Germany is still in embryo we see that during the last two years their role in the general revolutionary work among the masses has grown. Whereas the first factory papers of the Communist nuclei were more satirical than propaganda in character, during recent years they have begun to really express the feelings of the workers. They have now turned into a potent instrument for agitational and propaganda work. These papers drive at demonstrating the system of capital exploitation by using the enterprise as an example. Further, they unmask the abuses of the administration and the baneful policy of their "own" and "local" reformists. And finally they call on the workers to struggle for their immediate every-day needs and to connect the local with the general struggle of the whole workingclass.

Of course, we know how the employers regard these factory papers. Workers known to be engaged in the publication or distribution of revolutionary factory papers are the subject of repressive measures by the employers: they are mercilessly dismissed from the enterprises and blacklisted, with all that this means in getting work elsewhere. Collaboration in the factory paper means taking the risk of protracted unemployment and hunger. Revolutionary factory papers are therefore being published illegally and every conspirative measure is used to spread them among the workers.

In the majority of cases the revolutionary factory papers are written by hand and duplicated on hectographs. They are the fruits of the collective work not only of the Communists but of non-party workers too. Already today we see that the most suc-



THE POOR PACIFIST

He went to pull the teeth out of war—and look what happened to him!

cessful factory papers have become centres of interest for large circles of workers. Since the administration fascists and reformists carefully watch worker-Communists and make use of any pretext to throw them out of the plants, much of the work in publishing these papers is carried out by "unsuspected" non-party workers.

Invariably the papers are written up in the home of a worker, who often sits up all night carefully writing out word by word and making up his "paper." These papers abound with class criticism of the administration's orders and descriptions of the arrogance of foremen, sometimes a pointed and witty cartoon of the hated director or engineer is shown or a photograph of a receipt for a week's wages amounting to 8 or 10 marks (approximately 8-10 shillings). Articles on the current political situation are also to be met with as well as notices on the enormous profits of "their" concerns; notes on rationalization at the enterprises and its consequences for the workers, on factory committee activities; on the inaction of the reformists TU representatives, on disorders at the enterprises and the work of the fascists. All this is written up briefly, full of facts, and with a touch of healthy proletarian

ian humor. Frequently the papers throw light on serious abuses, false balances, embezzlement, and criminal offences.

The most difficult side of the work is to distribute the papers. The hired detectives, the so-called "Pinkertons," carefully keep track of activities of revolutionary workers. The slightest negligence in distributing the papers—and the workers are thrown out of the enterprise. Nevertheless the workers manage to produce the number requisite for their "circulation." Early in the morning when work just commences or during the dinner interval or frequently even during the process of the work itself, factory papers are passed from hand to hand. Lately, at several plants, the workers have even "rationalized" their distribution apparatus: they use the conveyors. The papers are carefully folded and being placed on the conveyor travel throughout the plant the shortest distance to the workers. Workers take special satisfaction in placing a copy of the paper secretly on the tables of the director and administration officials.

The attempts of the administration of various enterprises to discover the "source of the evil"—the editorial group—has very rarely been crowned with success. Of course, from the paper it is impossible to ascertain who is the publisher or the contributors.

Revolutionary factory papers have done their bit during disputes and large political campaigns. During the campaign for the confiscation of the royal properties and when the Toilers' Congress was being prepared, factory papers came out in special numbers and were wholly devoted to these events.

Besides the papers issued by the workers there are also factory papers published by the employers, which struggle for "class collaboration." Clearly, these papers can enjoy no popularity among the wide working masses. Although these papers are technically superior to the illegal papers of the workers their circulation is less. Very interesting is the fact that the employers recruit editors for their factory papers from among the reformists. Thus, the editor of the famous "Borzing" published by the employers of the well-known Borzig concern, is Schrimmer, formerly the editor of the Metal Workers' organ who went over to the fascists.

During the last few weeks factory papers of the social-democrats have also made an appearance at the enterprises. The latter try to imitate the tone and contents of the revolutionary factory papers. This, however, has not been crowned with success. The social-democratic papers enjoy very little popularity even in those enterprises where reformist influence is predominant. Both the employers' and the social-democratic papers have been unable to seriously compete with the revolutionary factory papers which, with enthusiasm and self-sacrifice, are being issued and circulated by the workers in ever-growing numbers.

The
COMRADE
Edited by the Young
A Page for Workers'



Young
SECTION
Pioneers of America
and Farmers' Children

WAR—WHAT FOR?

This very important question every workers' child will want to know the answer to. They will want to know why their fathers and brothers are taken away from them, never to return or to come back a helpless cripple; without an arm, without a leg, or without both. For whom did they sacrifice—their arms, their legs and even their lives? What did they get in return for this sacrifice? The usual answer that they give in school is that they died for their country, that they saved the world, that they fought for democracy. But is all this true? NO, IT IS NOT. The reason you are told these things is to blind you and to keep you from knowing the truth. The truth is that wars are fought between capitalist countries to help the native capitalists beat the foreign capitalists. Workers and poor farmers of both countries are forced to shed their blood by the governments which are controlled by the capitalists. Then along come the schools that are also controlled by the bosses and fill you up with a lot of bunk. Many children believe it too. Are you one of them?

TEACHER TELLS

By CARL BRAHTIN.

My teacher tells us to sing our prayer song every morning.

I don't sing at all.

I say I won't sing a damn note.

My teacher says it'll help us along.

I gave a rich kid a sock in the mouth.

He told his old man.

He and I had sass.

The bosses are fat
The workers aren't fat.
The workers are thin
The bosses are not thin
The bosses don't strike
The workers do strike.

FOREIGNERS DO NOT GET RICH

Dear Comrades: It was after school and I was talking with a girl. She said that the Italians and people from other foreign countries come over here to America, live on a little bread and water, and when they get rich go back with the American money. They get twice the money they had because American money is twice the foreign money in the foreign countries. In this way they take all the money from America. I told her she needn't think the Americans are any better than the foreigners because they aren't. The rich merchants go over in Germany and the other countries to buy three, four and five dollar toys for only a few cents. And if the foreigners do come over here they cannot get rich unless they are already very rich because many a poor family lives on bread and water only.

—PAULINE FISCHER.

THE GREATEST MEN

Dear Comrades: In history the teacher said that we should name the greatest men in the world, such as Washington, Wilson and Coolidge. I put Lenin and Ruthenberg first and Washington last. This got the teacher sore so he gave me a beating and told me to do it over. I said that I would not. This got him more sore so he gave me another beating. I said: "Why do you say Bolsheviks kill babies?" When he heard this he told me to shut up. That's what teachers do.—WILLIAM CHASZAR.

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Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to Puzzle, No. 23 is: FOR A GOOD TIME DURING VACATION GO TO A YOUNG PIONEER CAMP. The following have answered correctly:

Harry Rich, Wilmington, Del.; Jennie Lukashewich, Utica, N. Y.; Adel Lukashewich, Utica, N. Y.

More Answers to Puzzle No. 22

Helen Fazekas, Fairfield, Conn.; Bernice Klastow, Chicago, Ill.; Joe Klickna, Springfield, Ill.; Elianora Ivanoff, Post Falls, Idaho.

THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE No. 24

This week's puzzle is an addition and subtraction one. Do you still remember your arithmetic? Let's go!

REIN—IN+V+MOLAR+K—MARK+IT—I= ?

Send all answers to Daily Worker Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., New York City, giving your name, age, address and number of puzzle.

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The Position of the Chinese Revolution

(Continued from page 4)

worst executioner; in this way it is becoming (and this overbalances everything else), the worst and most murderous counter-revolution.

This however is just the concrete personification of the question as to the two paths open to the class forces and the fight between them. The first path is that of a Liberal compromising solution of the question, a union of China on the basis of a "permanent" bourgeois order of justice under an economic protectorate of imperialism (with corresponding concessions on the part of the latter) and of a compromise with the feudalists within the country. The second way of solving the question is that of a "plebeian" solution of the tasks of the democratic revolution, of a decisive extermination of all remnants of feudality, a decisive fight against imperialism, the dictatorship of the workingclass and the peasantry, the prospect of following a socialist path. Or, in other words, a fight for the hegemony in the bourgeois democratic revolution between the workingclass and the Liberal bourgeoisie. This struggle for the hegemony, or, which amounts to the same thing, the struggle between the liberal and the plebeian line of development of the Chinese revolution, is the very grist of the present class conflicts.

The more dangerous the situation is at present, the more energetically must the third camp be supported, the more completely must the masses of workers, peasants and petty bourgeois be mobilized. The "plebs" must be organized and put on its feet in this great historic battle against the forces of imperialism, of the feudal and bourgeois counter-revolution, who all together, "on parallel lines" are shooting and executing the workers and peasants, setting on fire whole villages and workingclass districts, and who are howling in chorus against the Communist Party of the Chinese proletariat, against the agrarian revolution, against the "terror" of the workingclass.

It is obvious that the policy of the Communist International is to mobilize the masses to let loose the agrarian revolution, to unchain the labor movement, to fight to the death against traitors and renegades. One of the chief slogans must be: "Workers and peasants, trust in your own forces alone! Do not trust the generals and officers! Organize your armed troops!" The fight is developing now along all the lines; very clear thinking is demanded. It is necessary to reject with great tenacity all attempts to come to an understanding on the part of the semi-agents of Chiang Kai-shek and Feng. It is imperative to steer towards purging the leading section of the Kuomintang of these vacillating elements. It is essential to consolidate the real "Jacobin" plebeian cadres which are capable of holding out in the fight, in spite of all dangers and defeats. Feng has gone over to the camp of the opponents of the people's revolution; we must declare merciless war on him.

It would be absurdly naive to imagine that the Communists, the workers and peasants, are now under an obligation to pursue tactics of compromises with Feng & Co. Such tactics could only be based on an attitude of absolute abandonment of the agrarian revolution and of the fight for the plebeian way of Chinese development.

There is however no reason to adopt such an attitude. Even supposing that Wuhan were to be surrounded by the enemy and to fall, the struggle would have to go on in another form. It is by no means an easy task to effect a military occupation of the whole of China, the China of the people of the workers and peasants. The desperate forms



which the fight is taking are proved by the very fact that more than 3,000 peasants were murdered in the province of Hupeh in the months of May and June; the troops of the landowners have murdered about 2,000 functionaries of the Peasant Union in the territory of the National government.

However furiously the rabble of officers and nobles may rage, even large armies cannot occupy vast territories in which the flame of the peasant revolt will inevitably flare up. The objective tasks which the revolution has set itself, will not be promoted an iota by the shooting of hundreds or thousands, nay, of tens of thousands of peasants. The Liberal counter-revolutionaries are not capable of finding even a half-solution to the peasant question, the agrarian question, and this fact leads them on to an inevitable defeat, however great may be the partial victories they carry off against the revolutionary people.

The following fact necessarily belongs to the picture; the more desperate the fight of the bourgeoisie against the masses of the people becomes, the sooner will the bourgeoisie throw itself into the arms of the imperialists and implore them for help. The more rapidly, on the other hand the bourgeoisie squanders the remains of its political capital, the faster it will rush towards its defeat, the more rapidly will it become evident that a consistent national fight for freedom in China can only be waged against the bourgeoisie.

Another question may arise, that of the policy of the Soviet State. The question may be asked: Is it essential that the Soviet State should renounce all connections with the Nanking government?

This question must of course be answered in the negative. None but the poorest politicians and extremely "naive" persons imagine that the nature of the proletarian state is such that it has absolutely no connections with capitalist milieu. Certain relations are indeed desirable. No reasonable person has suggested "abolishing" completely the institutions of Soviet diplomacy and the foreign minister for the sake of the so-called "purity" of our principles. If however this Soviet state has its representatives in the bourgeois countries of the west and east, if it maintains relations with the feudal state of Marshall Chang Tso-lin, if it has its representatives in the fascist "paradise" of Signor Mussolini, there can be no reason why it should forego relations with the Nanking government. These customary forms of connections should be kept up.

Still more! If Soviet diplomacy is obliged to take into account the relative contradiction of interests of the imperialist powers in certain directions, it is all the more bound to take into consideration the antagonism between the Liberal claimants to the unity of China and their imperialist partners, both of whom, it is true, plunder China without regard to the "form of government."

The practical distinction between the Comintern and the Soviet government is so absolutely clear in this respect, and we believe we have explained it in so popular a way, that even Chamberlain could understand it. In its diplomatic and trade relations the proletarian state refuses to be guided in any way by the point of view that it should "approve of" the policy of the capitalists or the feudal exploiters. The Communist International however conducts neither diplomatic nor trade relations with "other powers." It directly organizes the revolution.

Let us return to the question of the policy of the Comintern. Our violent opposition who all the time has been "indignant" and "enraged" and has protested against the slogan of secession from the Kuomintang being unjustly attributed to them, now openly declares that it demands this secession.

The question is why? Is it possibly because those at the head of the Kuomintang vacillate? And the mass of the members of the Kuomintang—is that of no account? Since when has the attitude towards a mass organization been determined by what happens at its very "summit"?

All the forces of the Liberal counter-revolution are at the present moment concentrated on driving the Communists out of the Kuomintang and on surrounding them. All the forces of the counter-revolution are piping to the same tune. It is a well-known fact that the influence of the Communist Party in the Kuomintang is steadily growing. It is a matter of common knowledge that the inferior organizations of the Kuomintang, especially the worker and peasant organizations, are under the leadership of the Communists. It is known that the very reason why Chiang Kai-shek and his clique fight against Wuhan is that they regard the left Kuomintang as an "agency" of the Communists. Finally, it is well-known that the slogan of the arrest and execution of Borodin, the slogan of the removal of the Communists from the Wuhan government and from the C. C. of the Kuomintang are Chiang Kai-shek's slogans. And at a time like this it is suggested that we ourselves fulfil the wishes of these gentlemen from the "revolutionary" standpoint!

We must not let ourselves in for such tactics. We must strengthen still more our work in the Kuomintang, must cleanse it from the bourgeois elements and the renegades of every species. To secede voluntarily, however, just when the bloc of our opponents demands it, would indeed be strange tactics.

At the conference between Chiang Kai-shek and Feng when they met at Sui Chou, a platform about on the following lines was passed:

- 1.—Wuhan shall acknowledge its "mistakes."
- 2.—The Communists shall be excluded from the Kuomintang.
- 3.—Borodin shall be dismissed.
- 4.—The "high contracting parties" shall organize a campaign in common against Peking.

Chiang Kai-shek's "informers" are prepared to accept this plan (Wan Chin-wei is not among them, he takes a firmer stand than the others). Those who are in opposition to us however are steering straight for this "platform."

Instead of dealing in detail with such naivities we must see to it that our position in the Kuomintang is reinforced. We must maintain our position in the national government by throwing overboard and unmasking the "informers." Whilst freeing ourselves from ballast and organizing the "real left" from above we must fight round our banner.

And if we do not succeed? If our opponent gains the upper hand at the present moment? This may happen. It is possible that the central government may, in certain circumstances, be disrupted by its internal dissensions and that it may be impossible to organize a truly Jacobin "left." But we must fight our way along such a path. We must fight still more valiantly for our positions in the Kuomintang, to maintain and consolidate them, when the overwhelming majority of its members are under the influence of the Communists. The Kuomintang will perish unless it follows the path of giving rein to the agrarian revolution. The Communist Party is not interested in that; it is interested in consolidating its influence in these organizations, in developing it rapidly and turning it into a powerful party with workers and peasants as its foundation, into an organ of the democratic plebeian revolution. This possibility exists, and it would be senseless to forego it now.

Let the despairing sceptics croak over the success achieved by the traitors. The Marxists-Leninists know that the elementary forces of the Chinese revolution which have been aroused cannot but break their way through to victory, however imposing be the obstacles placed in their way by the bourgeois counter-revolution, however many revolutionaries feudal reaction may execute, however huge be the guns with which the foreign troops of occupation fire on Chinese towns.

KEVIN O'HIGGINS

Henas wet this hangman's grave
With tears of lamentation,
This grave that was not dug too soon
For one who sold his nation.

They buried him with martial pomp,
His fellows in betrayal,
These servants of the foreign Lord
Whose treason stumps portrayal.

At last the killer has been killed.
Good riddance Irish tory.
To you will go the palm of shame,
But to your victims, glory.

—ADOLF WOLFF.



What the Geneva Conference Is Worried About.