

THE NEW MAGAZINE

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ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor



—Drawing by Fred Ellis.

British Imperialism in China

1.—British Economic Interests in China.

BRITAIN'S early economic interests in China centered about the opium trade. The opium was produced in India and imported into China by the British East India Company, which had secured a monopoly of Chinese trade. The trade was not direct, however. It was carried on through a guild of Chinese merchants at Canton.

Opium imports increased rapidly. They were 200 chests in 1729. Between 1820 and 1828 opium imports doubled. Between 1828 and 1835 they doubled again. Again they doubled between 1835 and 1839. In the latter year British merchants imported 3,323,000 pounds of opium into China—about one hundred times the quantity that had been imported in 1729.

Meanwhile Chinese officials were doing what they could to stop a traffic that threatened to debauch the entire Chinese nation. In 1800 a series of imperial edicts were passed, prohibiting the importation of opium into China and also prohibiting its production in China. Despite these efforts, the trade grew.

In 1839 the Chinese government made a determined effort to stop the opium trade. A large quantity of opium was seized as contraband and destroyed, and British ships were forbidden to enter Cantonese waters. The result was the First Opium War (1840-1842). A good description of these episodes will be found in a book "China and the Nations," by Wong Chin-wai, published in 1927 (Stokes, New York).

By SCOTT NEARING

Another Chinaman, J. C. Yu, writes of the First Opium War: "China refused to allow England's importation of opium. England imposed that importation on China by force. The right and the wrong are clear. No explanation is necessary."

As a result of the First Opium War, China was forced to turn over Hongkong to Britain. This port was then used as a base for opium smuggling until, at the end of the Second Opium War, which began in 1856, the opium trade was legalized at the insistence of the British.

The First Opium War had another result that was of great consequence to the future of British economic relations with China. Four Chinese ports were "opened" to British traders.

The "opening" of Chinese ports meant that the Chinese merchant guilds no longer held the monopoly of trade. Instead they were forced to share the trading business with foreign merchants. The plan gave the British merchants an entrance into the Chinese market. It also laid the basis for an economic conflict that eventually brought on the Chinese Revolution of 1911.

British trade with China grew rapidly through the middle years of the last century. The yearly average was 10.4 million pounds sterling from 1851-1855; 16.8 million pounds from 1861-65, and 22.5 millions from 1871-75. There was a change in the

balance and in the character of the trade, however. In the early years, British exports to China greatly exceeded British imports from China. By the end of the century, the situation had been reversed. The character of the trade had also changed. In the early years, the British merchants sold finished goods, ready for use, to the Chinese market. In the later year, the British manufacturer sold machinery to China, with which the goods for the Chinese market might be produced in China. This point is well made in a recent book "British Imperialism in China," written by Elinor Burns, and published in London by the Labor Research Department. The value of British machinery exports to China was \$235,000 in 1875; \$1,475,000 in 1895, and \$2,630,000 in 1910.

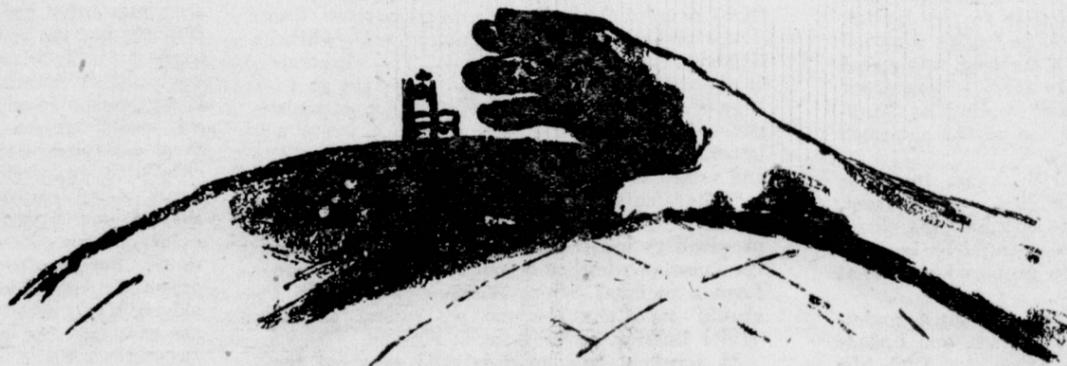
In order to enable the Chinese to pay for these large amounts of capital goods, British bankers loaned money to China. The British share of loans made to the old Chinese governments is placed at \$200,000,000. This, added to the private British capital investments, brings the total of British economic interests in China to about \$1,500 million.

Here, in brief, is the economic basis of British interest in China. It is founded on trade and investments. Its object is economic profit to the British trader and investor.

2.—The Flag Follows the Investor.

Building this vast economic interest in China has been anything but a simple matter. It has taxed

(Continued on Page 4)



RAISE YOUR VOICE IN PROTEST—SAVE THEM FROM THE ELECTRIC CHAIR

The Story of a British Spy in Russia

IN the Autumn of 1926 the G. P. U. learned of the intention of the Russian monarchist organization in Paris to send a group of terrorists to Moscow with a view to carrying out a series of attempts upon the People's Commissars of the Soviet Union.

In the summer of the same year a suspicious looking foreigner had been arrested at a Moscow railway station. He had a Roumanian passport under the name of Pavel and was stated to be a merchant. He was armed with a revolver.

After brief denials the arrested man was compelled under the overwhelming weight of evidence against him, to admit that the passport with which he had entered the Soviet Union was a false one, and that in reality he was the well-known Russian White Guardist Georg Eugenevitch Elvengren, a very well-known member of the leading "White Guardist authorities." At the same time the arrested man admitted that he had come to the Soviet Union with the sole aim of organizing terrorist groups.

At first Elvengren refused to name his accomplices, but later his detailed statements were of considerable assistance to the G. P. U. in its work of exposing and foiling the terrorist machinations of the Russian White Guardist organizations abroad. Elvengren made an exhaustive statement concerning the real instigators of the white terror. In particular he declared that the terrorist group to which he himself belonged was formed with the energetic cooperation of the member of the British Secret Service Sidney George Reilly, and with the assistance of the Commerce and Industry Society in Paris which is formed of emigrants, and of the terrorist group of Aubert, the well-known Swiss White Guardist.

Who Is Elvengren?

Elvengren is one of the most "respected" of the leaders of the bloodiest undertakings of the Russian reaction, counter-revolution and terror.

In the past he was Staff Captain of Horse in a Cuirassier Regiment of Guards. From the first moment of the revolution in 1917 he was in the first ranks of those who waited for an opportunity to revenge and utilized the fury of the obstinate monarchists. He began an active and bloody struggle against everything approaching "revolutionary rebellion."

Immediately after the March revolution Elvengren entered the ranks of the monarchist military organization, which aimed at the overthrow of the Provisional government and the restoration of the Romanoff monarchy. The organization called itself the "War League," and Admiral Koltchak was one of its most prominent leaders.

After the destruction of the "War League" by Kerensky, Elvengren joined the infamous Georgian organization of nobles where he was a particular friend of the chairman.

In the days of the October revolution, Elvengren entered the organization led by Boris Savinkov, Gotz and Avksentiev known as the "Committee for Salvation." The first task which Elvengren received from the committee was to take companies of Cossacks, surround the Smolny and arrest all the Bolshevik members of the Soviets.

After the defeat of the counter-revolution in the Crimea in which Elvengren took a leading part, he left with other well-known White Guardists and participated actively in the crushing of the revolutionary workingclass movement in Finland by General Mannerheim. Upon the conclusion of this "heroism" Elvengren began to participate steadily in a number of adventures and he allied himself with the most various Russian organizations and foreign governments and groups whenever he saw the possibility of a bitter struggle against the revolution.

Elvengren himself, his activity and at the same time all those forces which carry on a life and death struggle with the Soviet Union, are best characterized by the personal written statements of Elvengren. We give him the floor to speak, expose and to accuse:

The Conspirative and Espionage Work of Elvengren in Finland.

Elvengren describes a number of counter-revolutionary and espionage organizations which were formed in Finland in the years 1918-21 and which sent their agents, spies and murderers to the Soviet Union and then mentions the following details:

"Upon the initiative of Count V. Buksgevdyn (at present chairman of the Russian emigrant colony in Finland and delegate to the foreign congress of the monarchists in Paris) who had addressed himself to me, a meeting was called at which it was decided to form a permanent group meeting regularly and sending its representative to the united session of the chairmen of all organizations.

"At this meeting at which, apart from the founders, also Captain Wilken, was present, the chief question discussed was how the struggle against the Soviet Union could be best developed, how it was to be prepared and what should be done.

"I used the opportunity to make the acquaintance of Wilken. He interested me, and I made efforts to become closely acquainted with him and to establish connections with him. . . I was soon able to discover that he was chairman of an active group of English spies, that he was work-

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATEMENT OF THE WHITE TERRORIST ELVENGREN



Sergei Druzelski, forger of false counter-revolutionary documents, on trial before the Russian Supreme Court in June.

ing under the instructions of the group and that he participated in the provocations of the English who were striving to force Finland into a war with the Soviet Union.

"Before the Kronstadt rising, Captain Wilken went to Kronstadt under the instructions of the English receiving papers, obviously under English influence, (the English had great influence in Finland at that time) from Professor Zeidler (Chairman of the Red Cross in Finland) purporting him to be an official of the International Red Cross. He was allegedly to take over the supply of Kronstadt. The one time General Yavid who was a friend of Professor Ziedler received a similar document. They both went to Kronstadt, and when I learned that the Kronstadt rising was dragging itself out and that connection had been established with Vyborg, I determined to take part in the events also and journeyed from Helsingfors to Vyborg. There I approached Zeidler who as intermediary with Kronstadt was best informed about events."

At the same time when Elvengren was participating in the Kronstadt events, he also took up connection with the monarchist organization in Leningrad under the leadership of Tagentzev. This organization, as is known, saw its chief task in the carrying out of terrorism.

"The Russian monarchist groups in Finland knew of my connection with Savinkov, but in this connection I acted completely independently and did not often speak of the matter, for the monarchists rejected all connection with Savinkov, for the most part.

"In Finland I was the representative of the 'Russian Political Committee in Poland' led by Savinkov. When I was once in Warsaw, I participated in the composition of the so-called 'Warsaw Document.' This document contained an appeal for support for the continuation of the struggle. It also contained a point inserted by me attacking the emigration."

The Various "Specialties" of Elvengren.

The reactionary Russian monarchist Elvengren was at the same time a "democrat," almost a social-revolutionary, a supporter of Savinkov and if necessary, a rebellious, anarchist, Kronstadt seaman.

He attempted to use the supporters of Savinkov and also Kronstadt for the monarchist machinations. At the back of all these activities there was the function of Elvengren as "White Russian Ambassador" in Finland and ambassador of the "National White Russian Republic" to the government of Finland.

Such a government at whose head was the Minister Lastovski, existed at that time in various countries, Poland, Esthonia and Latvia. Upon this point Elvengren writes as follows:

"... in the summer of 1920 I arrived in Reval. . . where at that time there was a delegation of White Russians. They were conducting negotiations with the Esthonian government with the authority of the White Russian Rada and their aim was to bring about the formation of a national White Russian Republic. I was acquainted with this delegation and with the history and situation of the national White Russian movement. I can only remember the leader of this delegation Sakharko with whom I mostly conducted negotiations. The members of the delegation proposed that I should go to Riga and make the closer acquaintance of their government. Before I left, Sakharko wrote a letter to the head of his government Lastovski, and armed with this letter I went to Riga.

"After making the acquaintance of Lastovski and a number of other White Russians, they proposed to me that up to the clarification of the question whether or not it were possible to form a national White Russian government, I should undertake the post of consul of the White Russian government in Finland.

"I accepted this proposal and received the necessary papers, a diplomatic passport, seals, etc., and departed for Finland."

The Terrorist Career of Elvengren.

Elvengren writes the following about the commencement of his terrorist activity:

"When I was active in Finland as the representative of Savinkov—I can't remember the exact year, but it must have been about six months before the Genoa Conference—the representative of the Commerce and Industry Society in Paris, Pavel Tixton, arrived one day from Riga. I learned from him that leading circles of the Russian monarchist emigrants in the west were of the opinion that the only possibility for the continuation of the active struggle was a wide-spread and well organized campaign of terrorist acts both inside Russia and abroad. I thought over the matter and came to the conclusion that terrorism was the only salvation of the struggle and agreed with Tixton. Tixton complained that the matter was very difficult chiefly because the affair was very confidential and delicate and one could therefore speak with hardly anyone about it, for there were hardly any people who could be trusted to such an extent. With regard to means, Tixton expressed the opinion that for such undertakings, money would always be available. Tixton left me an address in Paris and we agreed to correspond upon the matter. His object in coming to Finland under the instructions of the Commerce and Industry Society was to examine the possibility for terrorist activity.

"When afterwards I went to Warsaw for the last time and saw that Savinkov's work there was coming to an end, I expressed my opinion for the first time in the presence of Savinkov and Derental, that the only possibility for the continuation of the struggle was terrorism, and I suggested that Savinkov should take the matter up as he had had experience in just such a connection in the past. I also mentioned that if he would decide to organize such an action, money for the purpose could be obtained from the Comrade and Industry Society in Paris.

"I afterwards met Savinkov in Paris and learned that up to then he had been able to do nothing with regard to the organization of terrorism. I also met Tixton who declared that having regard to the coming conference in Genoa it would be particularly interesting to organize acts of terrorism, and he would provide necessary means. Tixton told me that he had made the acquaintance of an inventor who had invented a very interesting little mechanism. By means of this invention, the lighting of a cigarette would release notwithstanding the small size of the apparatus, poison gas sufficient to kill everyone in the room. He said that he was very interested in the invention and intended to be present at an experiment with it on the following day and he invited me to accompany him which I agreed to do."

At this time of active preparation for the carrying out of the terror, in the society of Elvengren, the Englishman Tixton and the honorable Naptha industrialists there was an experienced terrorist who was used in the Lockhart conspiracy and in a series of murders, the member of the British Secret Service, Captain Sidney George Reilly, mentioned in the report of the Soviet government. Reilly, who was informed about the new terrorist organization, did not hesitate to go to Paris and took with him the moral support of the British government and, what was more important still, the financial means from the British treasury.

The Role of the British Spy Reilly.

"I told Reilly that I had a strong organization at my disposal in Finland, that good connections had been established with Petersburg and that the action there was developing well. I reported about the organization of Zeidler in Finland which was prepared if necessary to support St. Petersburg with food and other assistance. I also told Reilly about my participation in the Kronstadt rising. At later meetings with Reilly we discussed the plan for terrorism which Savinkov, Derental and myself had come to Paris to prepare."

In this way the machinery of terrorist conspiracy which was regulated and fed by the British agent Reilly, was put into movement.

"Finally Tixton told me that he had decided to draw Savinkov into the matter, but that there could be no question of the sum which had been mentioned before (one and a half million francs), but that money would be supplied according to the success achieved and as a first trial 100,000 francs to finance the first action. If we were able to do anything with that sum, we would be able to reckon on more. I informed Savinkov of this who became very excited and declared that he was no paid murderer, etc. We also met Nobel. He told us that the action interested him from the commercial point of view. He was not interested, he said, in the development of the political and party organizations. Savinkov answered that he considered the terror to be the only salvation for the struggle, but that the mutual relations between them would have to be based on something other than pure business. He, Savinkov, acted from motives of idealism. Nobel gave us 80,-

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 2)

000 francs. I asked him who then amongst the leading Bolsheviks did he want put out of the way. He then gave us the names of Krassin, Tchicherin, Radek, Rakovski and Bukharin and perhaps still others. He was particularly interested in getting rid of Krassin.

"We commenced with the practical work, and I went to Berlin with Savinkov and Derental. Here we went straight from the station to the house of the monarchist secret agent Orlov who was the chairman of the Wrangel secret service in Berlin. He was closely connected with and completely dependent upon the British secret agent Reilly. Orlov assured us that as far as weapons, passports, photographs and descriptions of the Soviet representatives were concerned, he could do everything necessary. He had in his possession various tins with poison, bombs, etc. Savinkov ordered five revolvers and photographs and descriptions of Krasin, Tchitcherin, Radek and Bukharin.

"We discovered the stopping place of the Soviet delegation to Genoa and made preparations to carry out an attempt upon its members. I learned in Berlin that Tchitcherin would also come. As I had not sufficient time to get into touch with my co-operators. I went alone to the station, but I found so many police there that I left the station. I got in touch with my co-operators with a view to carrying out an attempt upon the members of the delegation which included Litvinov, when it set off. We knew that a special train with a saloon-waggon was waiting at Potsdamer Railway Station, and we succeeded in gaining access to the platform which was closed to the general public. All my companions had false passports and sufficient money in case of flight. It turned out that only less important members of the delegation were in the saloon-waggon of the train and that the chief members of the delegation were attending a dinner at the German Foreign Office, and so the train left without them. But Tchitcherin and the other members of the delegation reached the train by automobile at another station. After the delegation departed for Genoa, I remained with my group in Berlin and we intended to carry out terrorist attempts upon the Bolshevik leaders who had remained in Berlin. It was rumored that Rakovski had remained in Berlin. We intended to carry out an attempt against Litvinov, but we found out only too late the waggon in which he was traveling. With this failure ended this depressing epic."

From the statement of Elvengren it is clear that he did everything he could of a technical nature to kill our delegates to Genoa. At the decisive moment, the real "mastermind" in the affair appeared, Sidney George Reilly. Our delegation only escaped death thanks to our own precautions and to the watchfulness of the Berlin police. Elvengren writes then about his further activity:

"Up till the autumn of 1925 I was in France and met periodically various monarchist personalities, for instance, the Czar Kyril, the Grand Duke Andrei Vladimirovitch, etc. This time was occupied with a search for means to continue the struggle."

In this purely monarchist environment Elvengren directed his attention once again to his chief and favorite weapon against the Soviet Union, i.e., the weapon of terrorism against the Soviet leaders, but Elvengren himself saw the physical impossibility of organizing a wide-spread conspirative activity inside the Soviet Union.

Together with Andrei Vladimirovitch and Aubert, Elvengren organized an attempt upon Comrade Tchitcherin utilizing the circumstance that Tchitcherin was in the south of France for purpose of reconvalence.

The detailed statement of Elvengren in relation to this attempt may be summed up briefly:

"Under the directions of Andrei Vladimirovitch an active terrorist group was organized to act independently and without entering into any connection with the other emigrant organizations. The financial means were to come through Kyril from Americans, and negotiations for this purpose were going on. Through the White Guardist Eadishenski who was a member of the group connection was taken up with Aubert and the group expected to receive money through the mediation of Aubert from Ford.

"When we heard that Tchitcherin was in the south of France, our group decided to carry out an attempt upon him. General Voloshin, Prince Vayasemski, the one-time Chancellor General Kulinev and myself were entrusted with the carrying out of the attempt. However, we were not successful in discovering the exact place where Tchitcherin was staying."

After the failure of this plan Elvengren occupied himself up to the time of his arrest with a plan for a campaign of terror on the territory of the Soviet Union itself.

The statements of Elvengren alone expose sufficiently the work of the White Guardist monarchists and their imperialist masters. The statements of Elvengren are however only a fraction of the whole material in the hands of the Soviet government.

A Lynching Party

By MEYER DWORKIN

(Reminiscence from Russia).



THE orphan Usik was the terror of the village. He was nicknamed "Driftwood," and was given to horse-stealing. The village Krasnoe, of which he considered himself a native, as well as other villages of surrounding territory, was eagerly awaiting the day when "Driftwood" will be apprehended.

I chanced upon "Driftwood" one July afternoon. Krasnoe was quiet, hot, and fragrant with sweet honeyed clover. All men folks were out in the fields busily harvesting their first crops of oats. Only elderly women and very small children could be seen about here and there reposing in a shady birch on the sand near a hut.

Usik appeared from his lair smiling and whistling. He was a boy of about twenty, and wore a home-spun white blouse girdled by a bright red hand-made cotton belt. He was stocky and short, and had watery blue eyes and a shiny oily face, unlike a White Russian at all. He was like a drop of mud in the White Russian human stream. He had a carefree attitude and approached me with jocularly. He patted my chestnut-brown horse, and I foolishly inquired whether he was working. He reached down deep in the bulging bosom of his shirt and handed me a large fragrant red apple. It was fragrant with honey and flowers, and "Driftwood's" strong young boy.

"Here boy," he said smilingly. "Don't listen to anybody. Work chains one for life. When a man starts working he stops smiling. . . ." He gave my horse a juicy blue plum and pointed to his large black tearful eye.

"Once a man gets the bad habit of steady hard work he becomes dangerous and is a beast of other men's burdens, and should be put in jail. . . He is dangerous, I tell you boy."

He bit into a small green very juicy apple and continued:

"I tell you boy, I know. I worked once upon a time myself. . . ."

The sizzling juice ran down his mouth and he went on:

"Work makes a man full of sores and anger, like after a beating. . . ."

He laughed scratching his dishevelled hair:

"And besides there's too much food produced around, that a mortal should have to work on these hot days. Supposing I am a rich man's son? Come lad, there is the cool Dnieper waiting."

He hopped into my cart and roared like a boy with laughter:

"You know it is enough that my three grandfathers were fools and worked themselves to death to provide a fat living for the kulak in yonder estate, and the fat pope who is almost bursting around the belt. . . ."

As it happened in his case "Driftwood" only worked when he thought that the surrounding fruit orchards were overladen with ripe juicy fruit, or whenever he knew it was about time that the kulak's yearling colts were large enough to sell for ten roubles. Work was one thing that life could never convince Usik the necessity of. However, as it happened that "Driftwood" joined a band of roaming gypsies, and not hesitating to practice his art in horse stealing, he was caught. It was winter. At the end of the village, in a tiny hovel-like hut, where the widow Mary lived with her two pale small daughters, Usik was apprehended and dragged out through the window to the snowy street.

A storm was raging furiously, and "Driftwood" was half naked and barefoot. He was dragged about the craggy street and mauled all the while by the enraged mob. Usik was soon beyond recognition. He was one bleeding sore. Soon from somewhere appeared a sled and "Driftwood" was thrown into it. Followed by a cursing mob it disappeared in the distance beyond the village across the snow wastes.

All the while the half dead Usik lie thinking how to escape his captors, and suddenly his chance came. Once at a sharp curve "Driftwood" rolled off of the sled, and as if suddenly awakening from a terrible dream, he took off across a storm-swept snowy

field, and disappeared in a distant black wood.

When the enraged mob reached the wood it found the bare-footed Usik perched high up on a birch, as if enmeshed in a net. His eyes gleamed with sparks of the cornered beast, and he was trembling with fierce cold. Mercy he never expected from man, much less from an enraged peasant who caught a horse-thief.

However. . . when the mob saw him painfully trembling it subsided. . . And kneeling on the snow before him, several men and women, crossing themselves, entreated that he had better come down before he perished of cold. But "Driftwood" refused. Only on certain terms would he come down. They were, a good warm sheep-skin fur coat worn by the leader of the lynching party, several good drinks he knew they brought along, and a good supper on returning to the village. The winter sun was setting frosty-red, illuminating bright and dazzling the firm snow around the forest. It was glistening fiery as far as the eye could see across the desolate snow-wastes, and almost caught fire around the edge of the wood. Everything around was dead-still. A blazing winter sky was threatening with a more severe frost. Night was approaching, and a howling cold wind began harping and swaying the birch where "Driftwood" sat bare-foot and trembling.

The mob, remorse stricken, was now kneeling before Usik as before the crucified christ, and it agreed to his terms. He climbed down rapidly like a squirrel, and was immediately wrapped in a comfortable, soft, sheep-skin coat, held ready for him by two peasants. He smiled. He was given a drink. And everybody followed him closely back to the village that lay in the distance under a starry western horizon.

As the party approached the village, an elderly shaggy peasant, who was all the way watching that "Driftwood" was warm, called out loudly to the rear:

"Run ahead, Antip, ring the church bells, tell all the folks that a man was saved!"

Portrait of a Tired Radical

HE used to be a radical too, 10 or 12 years ago—a radical who sort of specialized in Socialism, the Embattled Farmer, Justice for All, and such semi-bourgeois ideology.

But now he is tired.

Now he says the Movement is dead. He says it takes a very long time to make a radical, which is true. But, in his case, it hasn't taken long to make a reactionary.

A few times he went on the soapbox.

He used to spend night after night arguing Marxian theory—dodging Marxian revolutionary tactics. Now, being tired, he says America is too young, too raw, too prosperous for a social revolution. When you come right down to it, he never was a radical at all, at least in the direct-action, proletarian radical sense, he was never a radical. He always had a pretty easy time of it and never succeeded in knowing what it means to be class-conscious. He probably doesn't know today that the proletariat is born, not made, and that they have to fight to live and not merely to please the intellectuals and irritate the capitalists.

His radicalism was a pale, bloodless creature, but he liked it then. Trouble is, he never could get out of himself. He never succeeded in being detached, objective, with a feeling for the powerful class and social demands on proletarian radical revolutionary tactics.

Now, being older and very tired, he gets his pleasure in romances and good food. He is able to say too damned decisively even for a tired radical grown bourgeois: "The American working man is the happiest and most favored in the world; it has no kick coming. . . Capital has made the lot of the American working man better than any other working man knows and that is why he is satisfied. . . There are no socially oppressed classes in America. . . The farmer, even the 'poor white', is not socially oppressed. He could produce more and more economically if he would buy improved machinery and more land. . . Great art is fostered and nourished by capital. To have a great art, you must have great wealth. . . Marx was one of the profoundest of social economists, but the American working man does not need Marxian doctrine. . . When the majority of American workingclasses want a new deal, then—and only then—will there be a social revolution. And not before. . . There is no serious need for a radical press in America, and I do not believe in supporting and subsidizing publications that have no popular demand."

He confesses that he is making it better now than at any other time in his life. Better pay now. More leisure. A home, wife, and kids. He's satisfied. Smugly content to settle down for his declining years. No kick coming against the fat guys. . . But as I say, he's very tired.

Rimes of Starvation Al

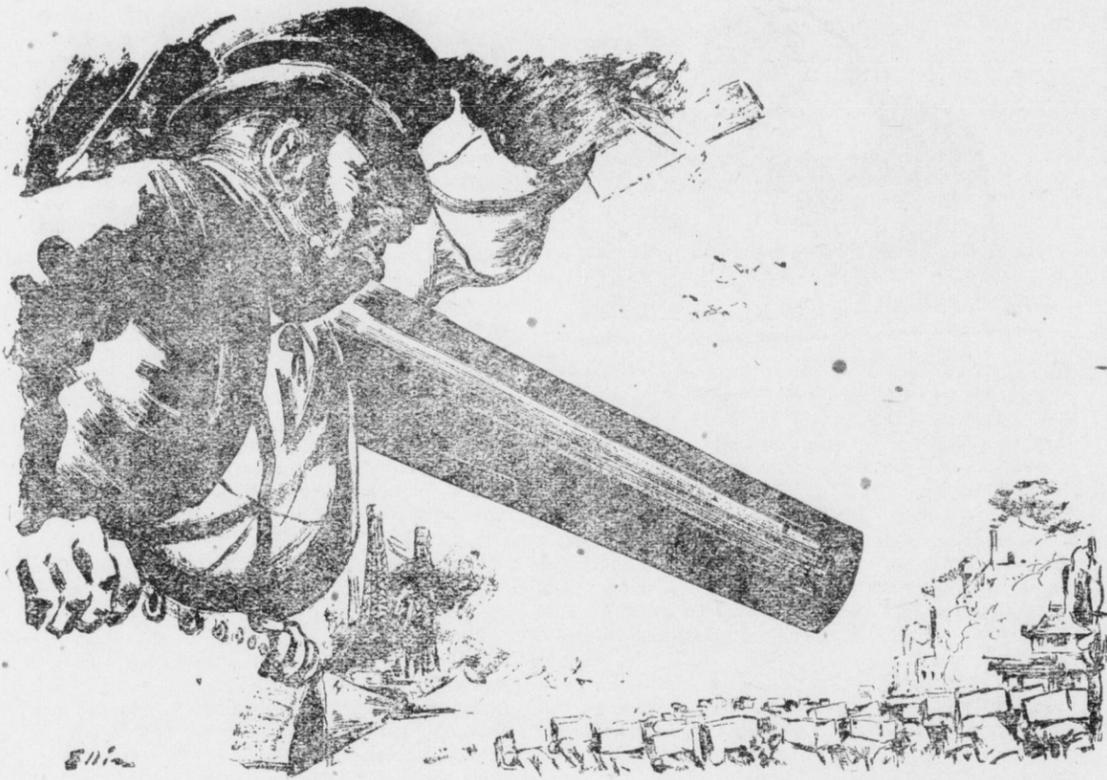
There, little fur picket, don't you cry,
You'll be a jail-bird by and by.

Roses are red, violets are blue,
The Forward loves a furrier as Ford does a Jew.

Ashes to ashes, dust to dust
Save the needle unions from the right wing trust.

British Imperialism in China

By SCOTT NEARING



—Drawing by Fred Ellis.

(Continued from Page 1)

British diplomacy, and on numerous occasions has led to the use of British gun-boats, before solutions could be found for all of the knotty problems that arose out of the exploitation of China by British imperialists.

This intimate connection between the investor and the flag showed itself in:

1840-42—The First Opium War. Britain took Hongkong. Opened five Chinese ports to British trade.

1857-60—Second Opium War. Caused by Chinese seizure of an opium smuggler flying the British flag. Coast cities bombarded. Anglo-French troops took and looted Peking. More open ports and unequal treaties.

1862—Britain annexed lower Burma, a former tributary to China.

1886—Britain annexed upper Burma.

1890—Chefoo Convention. Britain secured control of the Yangtse Valley as a sphere of influence.

1899-1901—Boxer Rebellion. British and other troops pillaged Peking and imposed a heavy indemnity on China.

A very good summary of these historic episodes will be found in "An Outline History of China," by H. H. Gleason and Josef Hall, published by Appleton in 1926. In the aggregate they constitute the political subjugation of China by the imperialists, with the British well in the lead until 1914.

3.—Japanes and American Rivalry.

Previous to the War of 1914, Britain found her economic position in China sharply challenged by the rival empires: Germany, Japan, United States. German hopes were blasted by the outcome of the war, but Japan and the United States remained. In 1913 16.5 per cent of the imports into China came from Britain, 20.3 per cent from Japan, and 6 per cent from the United States. When the war was over, and the costs counted, Britain had 9.6 per cent of the imports (1925); Japan 31 per cent and the United States 14.7 per cent. Meanwhile the Shanghai massacre, the killings by the British at Chameen and the bombardment of Wahnsien had aroused a storm of anti-British sentiment in China that was expressing itself in the Boycott of 1925.

Thus the British imperialists in China found themselves face to face with a Japanese rival that must have the raw materials and markets of China in order to survive economically, and an American rival, with swollen coffers and immense surpluses that were seeking an outlet in China, as in every other available nook and cranny of the world.

British subjects had made extensive investments in China, and the British government had spent blood and treasure to safeguard and further those investments, only to find themselves face to face with the menace of imperial rivals who were just as ready to steal British ships and colonies in 1927 as British interests had been to steal German property in the preceding decade.

This was not the only menace to British imperial interests in China. British imperialism found itself face to face with the Chinese themselves: first, with the Chinese business men and later with the Chinese workers and farmers.

4.—The Chinese Bourgeois Revolution.

Trade monopolies are very old in China. When the British first tries to sell goods in China they found that they must operate through Chinese merchant guilds which held a monopoly of trading. But

this could not last. Beginning with the Treaty of Tientsin (1842) the British opened up one centre after another, set up their own shops and did their own trading in defiance of the Chinese merchants and their traditional monopoly.

The British went further. They not only took control of the Chinese customs, in conjunction with the other "Powers," but they limited the amount of customs duties that the Chinese could charge to 5 per cent. Under these circumstances, the British manufacturer could make and dump goods on the Chinese market below the cost of hand-made native Chinese goods.

This line of action, on the part of British imperialists, placed the Chinese merchants and manufacturers in direct economic competition with the British interests. Add the fact that the British business men refused to pay taxes to the Chinese government, and that the British bankers dominated the world of credit, and a picture is painted of a Chinese business class quite at the mercy of the imperialists.

"But," urges some objector, "did not the other imperialists do the same thing?"

Of course. The British were no more inherently imperialistic than the others. They merely got to the scene earlier and had more at stake. The practices were those of imperialists the world over. The leaders, in this instance, happened to be British.

For years Chinese business men were forced to put up with this position of inferiority. In the meantime, they were adapting themselves to the new business system. Many went to foreign countries, such as Britain and the United States, and established prosperous businesses. The Chinese business men continued to exercise great influence in centres like Singapore, Manila and other Asiatic ports. And in China itself they were accepting the new methods of trade and industry, investing their own capital and competing actively with their western rivals.

The textile industry had been put on a factory basis faster than any other in China. The Chinese control 73 modern cotton mills, with 2,112,154 spindles, as against 5 British mills with 250,516 spindles, and 46 Japanese mills with 1,218,544 spindles. In other industrial lines, the Chinese do not occupy so strong a position, but it is evident enough that the Chinese business classes like those of Japan, can operate under the western methods.

Here is a new rivalry for British imperialism in China. Chinese business men desire to exploit the Chinese workers and the Chinese markets and resources. On every hand, however, they find themselves surrounded by the special privileges and monopolies of the foreign imperialists. It was this group in China that financed and in the main pushed through the Chinese Revolution of 1911.

To be sure, there were other elements in the situation than the opposition to the foreign economic interests. The new Chinese business classes wanted to free themselves from the semi-feudalism of the Manchu dynasty. But the slogan around which they most easily united was a common opposition to foreign domination of economic opportunities in China.

5.—Facing the Chinese Workers.

British imperialism in China had another bill to meet—a bill presented by the workers of China. Chinese coolies had sweated on the docks while Chinese women and children had toiled in the mills, working for less than a bare living, and helping to swell the dividend roll of British investors. The conditions

under which they labored had been intolerable.

Many of the foremen were foreigners. They neither sympathized with the Chinese, nor did they spare them.

Pay was pitifully low. Colonel Malone has recently written a report for the British Independent Labor Party which is published under the title: "The New China." Part II of this study was devoted largely to a very plain statement about wages, hours and working conditions. Here are some typical daily wage rates, expressed in terms of American money:

Cotton industry (men) 15 to 25 cents.

Railway workers, 25 cents.

Coal miners, 12 to 25 cents.

Match factories, (women) 5 to 25 cents; (children) 5 to 10 cents.

Silk factories (women) 20 cents; (children) 10 cts.

Hours are long. The twelve hour day and the seven day week are common. Many strikes have been called to reduce the working day to twelve hours. Sometimes it is as high as 16 hours. Little time is allowed for meals. Men, women and children as young as eight years work these hours.

Working conditions are bad. There is dust. Machinery is unprotected. Sanitation is inadequate. The worst conditions of exploitation in Britain in the early years of the nineteenth century are exceeded in China.

Foreign capital has exploited the workers of China under such conditions. Beginning with the Hongkong Seamen's Strike of 1922 (Hongkong is British), the movement to organize the workers has spread rapidly over China.

Here is another menace facing the British imperialists in China—the mass movement of the Chinese workers. They have been aroused by the terrible conditions of work and life that have been enforced upon them. They have begun to use the strike and the boycott—with deadly effect. These masses have grown anti-foreign through years of suffering and hardship and humiliation suffered at the hands of the British-led imperialists.

6.—The Soviet Menace.

British imperialists face still another menace in China: the menace of Sovietism. Until 1917 this menace was non-existent. Since the Russian Revolution of 1917 it is one of the most serious of the forces that confront British imperialism in China.

There are a number of reasons for this:

1.—The Soviet system presents a view of social life that is very close to the experiences of the Chinese villagers. They understand the meaning of "committee government" because they have practiced something very like it.

2.—Sovietism offers the Chinese masses a possible means of escape from the worst phases of private capitalist exploitation. What they have known of this system has convinced them of undesirability.

3.—Sovietism is an appeal from a system of society that rewarded parasitism, to a system that emphasizes the desirability of productive and useful effort. The great mass of the Chinese are workers, and again this idea comes very close to their experience.

4.—The Soviets have been emphasizing and practicing self-determination. In sharp contrast with the imperialists they have been demanding freedom in the cultural life of dependent peoples. The Chinese Nationalist movement is striving for just that freedom.

Thus the Soviet system, both because of the time when it is offered to the Chinese and because its character, appeals to the experience of the Chinese, has already had a great influence in shaping the thinking of the new Chinese Nationalist movement. The imperialists have been appealing with gun-boats. The Soviets have been appealing with offers of co-operation and suggestions that Russia and China make a common stand against imperial aggression.

7.—China As A Battle Ground.

With the entrance of the Soviet Union on the scene, China become a battle ground across which some of the most important non-military engagements in modern history were fought. Military battles were fought, but they were incidental. The major struggle was waged between different levels of social development.

Three principal interests were contending for supremacy in China:

1.—The imperialists, led by Great Britain. Their watchword was "law and order," which, in this instance, meant the continuance of the unequal treaties, of imperial control of the Chinese customs, of the consular courts, of the exploitation of China by foreign business interests. This era was ushered in officially by the First Opium War of 1840-42. It continued until the beginnings of the modern Chinese Nationalist movement in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

2.—Chinese Nationalism found vigorous expression in 1900. It broke out again in rebellious protest in the Revolution of 1911. It developed its most widespread expression in the mass demonstrations against imperialism that occurred in 1925-27. The rallying cry of the Nation-

(Concluded on Page 7)

The Problem of Organizing the Unorganized

ASIDE from the great attempt in the steel industry led by William Z. Foster very little has been done in the post war years to organize the enormous masses of unorganized workers in the U. S. A. In fact the number of organized workers has considerably decreased since the war and there are now less members within the folds of organized labor than before the war.

The crisis the workers are going thru in the coal and garment industries is likely to reduce the number of organized a good deal more. It is too early to predict the outcome of the renewed open shop onslaught, of which there are many indications of the 1920-1923 type, upon organized labor. We can safely say, however, that considering the present strength of the employers and the character of the A. F. of L. leadership, the effect will be quite disastrous and will cut down considerably even of labor's present strength. All of which forces the question of organizing the unorganized, as the first order of business before the militants throughout the country.

It must be clear to every one that it is not any more a matter of passing resolutions to put labor organizations on record, for there is hardly any organization that has not passed such resolutions, or can be made to do it over again at each convention. Yet we know that during this present prosperity period practically nothing was done. Instead of organizing the unorganized the union treasuries have been invested in labor banking and all sorts of financial ventures in exploitation of industry and financing best described in what is known as labor capitalism and class collaboration.

It would be a mistake to assume that the reason the trade union bureaucracy does not move forward on the organization of the unorganized is simply because they don't want to, or that the union treasuries have been frozen up in investments. The real cause is that the trusts and capitalist combinations have become altogether too strong to be fought by the present type of leadership. They are too capitalistically self-seeking and too cowardly to face the problem and hence all the resolutions remain a dead letter.

The first step in organizing the unorganized in modern American industry would be amalgamation, Labor Party, simultaneous with the building up of big consumers co-operative movements. In brief, utilization of all the forces and methods of modern struggle of labor that go with highly centralized and efficient modern capitalism. The leadership of the American trade unions is as far removed from the above proposed methods as we are from feudalism. It prefers to let the unions drift to disaster on the line of least resistance, self-aggrandisement and personal profit, instead of adopting modern progressive policies.

When we look closely into the matter of the few minor organization campaigns that have been carried on by the bureaucracy we find that in most instances this fitted in with the competition politics of the employers and the class collaboration policy of the bureaucracy. The large bosses with whom the trade union bureaucracy is in many instances associated using the union to drive smaller competitors out of business and sometimes even playing the game of big capitalist politicians to bring pressure against their political adversaries, etc.

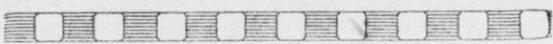
It must be frankly stated that even with modern

By JOSEPH ZACK

methods on the part of the existing labor movement the problem of organizing the unorganized in the U. S. A., the country of the most powerful capitalism, the task would be a very difficult and enormous one. As it stands now it is enough to make one stagger in despair. Yet the left wing inside and outside the A. F. of L. must undertake this task and in doing so be conscious of the fact that it will have to fight not only the powerful capitalist combines, but in addition the trade union bureaucracy itself.

The two outstanding obstacles any campaign of importance will meet with is terrorization and discharge of those workers that show any union activity inside the plants; second, once a strike becomes effective the political interference and terrorization by the local state or federal government, arrests, jail sentences, frame-ups, deportations, etc. Quite often the political suppression manifests itself in the very early stages of the organization campaign, as is quite natural. The capitalists controlling the government, as they do, go on the basis of an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of trouble. The extensive industrial spy system makes the workers suspect the fellow next to him and even if there is some success in one plant there is the whole trust to fight, with sometimes dozens of plants and hundreds of millions of capital behind it. Retail methods will not do in such cases. Attempts to openly enlist the workers into unions at the early stage of the campaign are usually futile. The only ones that do not fear to join them are the stool pigeons, who quite often get control of the local union thus formed.

The organization formed inside the plant, mill or mine, must by the very nature of things function secretly and will usually be very small in number with the leading circle being unknown to most of



The Ballad of the Subway Digger

The day dripped heat and
the earth oozed sweat
and the subway digger
hadn't had his dinner yet
and he wanted it bad.
It was damn hot, too,
but you couldn't stop your diggin'
till the whistle blew.
So he kept on diggin'
and his back got sore,
... "God! I'll rest now if I
don't get any work no more!"
He threw down his shovel
and he lay down to rest ...
... a rotten beam fell down on him
and smashed in his chest.

—EDWIN ROLFE.



the participants; meeting separately in small groups of 3 or 5 and be very careful whom they admit into these groups. An illustration of the effectiveness of such group work can be given from a secret union group in 6 parts of 5 members in each part formed in the various departments in the Durant-Hunt, Hays Radiator plant in New Jersey. This group published a four page plant paper which was distributed in front of the gates by workers not working in the plant. The first distributors were immediately arrested, so were the second, then the company began to discharge wholesale on suspicion, but missed all the group members except two, one of which was rehired. Then the company stool pigeons distributed a circular calling the workers to strike, figuring that the radicals would respond first and thus get discharged. The secret machine inside fooled this maneuver and only a few stool pigeons began to walk out. All the time the factory paper appeared regularly with a circulation of nearly 2,000. The company got panicky and forced a lock-out of all the workers in the plant, then rehiring all over individually. It missed most of the members of the group and the paper kept on appearing with inside information about the happenings in the plant. This time the company called to its assistance, Hilfers, then state secretary of the A. F. of L. in New Jersey to get in touch with the union group, which sent a committee to see him, as they considered the time ripe for a strike move. Immediately after this conference with Hilfers many of the inside group got discharged. Again the A. F. of L. leadership proved its value. It saved the company from the "reds." Had the strike really come, police, injunctions, gangsters with riot guns and tear gas, deputized by the sheriff would have repeated the Passaic stuff.

No matter how difficult this and other instances show the semi-secret or secret work to be there are ways to carry on. The greatest obstacle is really not the terrorism inside the factory, the threat of discharge, etc., but the political interferences of the authorities in behalf of the employers and against the workers. Any attempt at organization of any importance at all meets immediately with the most repressive measures. It becomes at once a political struggle with all the blows aimed at the workers. We need but remind ourselves of the march of the West Virginia miners to organize the open shop mines. Then the federal injunction against the miners under Daugherty, more recently the Passaic police brutalities and the thousands of arrests in the recent garment strikes, down to the injunctions forbidding even any attempt at organization, such as the injunction obtained by the New York traction trusts forbidding the union from doing anything that may even tend towards organization of the subway workers.

Civil liberties established by the constitution, by law and made part of every day life by custom are being ignored by the authorities in innumerable instances when labor's interests are involved. For the past few years laws are being put on the statute books to oppress labor, like the numerous anti-syndicalist laws. There is the Watson-Parker law on the railroads outlawing strikes. There is the U. S. supreme court decision outlawing sympathy strikes like in the Stone Cutters' Union case. The police, judicial, state and federal authorities in actual prac-

(Continued on Page Six)



"Come right in boys, we need you to keep the men from organizing"

Organizing the Unorganized

(Continued from Page 5)

tice however, go much further than any of the laws. Fascist anti-labor methods practiced under cover are becoming the vanguard and are being practiced against militant labor with the collusion and even



open support of the A. F. of L. leadership. Witness Matthew Woll's activities in New York and as acting president of the Civic Federation.

The workers in the big industries are over ripe for organization. This has been shown by the activities of the small number of groups inside the big industries that have been formed thus far. The outstanding examples are the groups in the Detroit automobile plants, which after a few months work now publish plant papers with a total circulation of 35,000. Amongst these workers, who are the most exploited by the over-lords and autocrats of industry is the real volcano of proletarian discontent and struggle that has not been even tapped as yet by our activity.

But the group activities inside the plants as strategic and important as it is can only bring the desired results if a broad political movement can be developed that will bring this tremendous proletarian industrial army striving for better conditions and organization into a broad political stream to restore the rights to organize, strike and picket and to restore civil liberties. Many sections of the petit bourgeoisie, particularly the farmers, could be brought into a united front on such issues. In many of the typical industrial farms of the U. S. there are no labor unions and those that are, in many instances dominated by the stool pigeons and agents of the bosses, will not go into a political movement against the old parties and towards a Labor Party. Yet it is quite clear that the political oppression of labor has made the situation quite ripe for political expression and political organization, based on the present conditions of the workers' economic, political and ideological. In many instances political organization and activity offers greater opportunities of mass organization and open agitation than direct attack on the economic bastions of the trusts, and offers opportunities to draw the intelligentsia of all the various categories of labor, petty bourgeois, etc. into the struggle and leadership against the ever increasing oppression of imperialist capitalism.

There must be political protection in order to enable labor to organize and prevent its organizations once established from being crushed by the police club of capital. The work in the factories must be protected, supplemented and encircled by a whole series of supporting and complimentary organizations of which the political is the most important, also cooperatives, fraternal and sport organizations, that even under the iron heel of imperialist capitalism can still operate with relative freedom. In the establishment of such organizations and in support of our great task amongst the unorganized the work and experience of the left wing in the existing labor unions inside and outside the A. F. of L. will be of great aid. Any effective work amongst the unorganized is sure to still the imagination of labor. This was demonstrated in striking form in the Pas-saic struggle, which was supported by hundreds of A. F. of L. locals despite the denunciation of Green, Woll and Company. Effective work amongst the unorganized is the key to the American labor movement, the road to the defeat of reaction in the labor movement and the road to the victory of the American workingclass. Let all militants get ready for this the greatest of our tasks.

The Actress

A Story.

The name of the revolutionary actress, Anna Reingardt, was popular in the factory districts, her fame arising from her interpretations of anti-religious roles. Her new pantomime, "Insurrection," at each performance aroused the noisy delight of her audience. The people never called this small golden-haired woman other than "our actress." In no one else could they find such truth and sincerity.

Once the mistress of a large estate and a rich mansion, during the years of revolution she had passed through all stages of hardship and now, having once charmed her guests with her voice and grace, she decided to employ her talents to earn bread and avert a death by starvation. The value of money, however, fell before her arrival and for two or three roubles she sang three performances a night in cheap cabarets and, for lack of dressing rooms, awaited her turn in a dirty little corridor behind the stage.

She could not adapt her self-respect to these people who had lost all conscience, who were entirely indifferent as to how they earned their living. Earning sometimes two and a half roubles a week, she reached the stage where she dreaded meeting acquaintances and never went out in the street to avoid passing the bakeries with their bold displays of pastry.

At last she had no powder left. With a feeling of shame she used tooth-powder instead and, unable to send her clothes to a laundress, she carefully locked the door and washed her lingerie in a soup tureen. When she had only one chemise left, she clumsily made herself another from a pillow case. The use of tooth-powder instead of face powder, however, caused her more suffering than hunger and lack of clothes. She did not know why herself. Her chief consolation in this trying time was religion. Such is her recent past.

When told that the old life would never return, that she must somehow adapt herself to the new, she could feel nothing but horror. What would it mean—to adapt oneself to the new life? It would mean not to believe in God, to spit on the floor, to have dirty finger nails and to take other people's mansions away. No, better death than that. What could be attractive in this life, which required neither the tender elegies of Tschaiikowsky, the delicate feminine hands developed by centuries of care, nor that appealing helplessness which had captivated her friends in the old days. She could offer nothing as a substitute for this; she could not, though she might wish it with all her heart, which was a kind and loving one.

Then a sudden change. A black hairy man gave her a pantomime called "Insurrection" and from that time success smiled upon her. She did not know herself why her acting aroused such enthusiasm. She acted as simply and naively as she lived. She did not know any other way. But invariably she felt every person in the hall hold his breath when she appeared. Perhaps it was because she expressed her mood not in words but in movements. Perhaps she made a deep impression because this small woman had a frail tender body and the innocent, truthful eyes of a child. Perhaps, both together. The fact remains that the impression produced by her acting was always ineffaceably deep. Such a transmission of mood to others could be effected only by one who had experienced all she was portraying.

Working people are sensitive to execution. They immediately detect falsity and insincerity when a cultured actor pronounces their ordinary words in his trained, cultivated tones, words which in reality are used by them who have voices not at all cultivated. In such interpretations they sense artificiality. But a working class audience is also condescending. It laughs and applauds generously even when everything is not going well. That's what the stage is for; it isn't really happening so we can't take it seriously. "Still, they try to please us." And so they are generous to the poorest performer.

When, however, someone gives them genuine art, they recognize it at once and there is a different ring to their applause.

In the hall, all who had not yet seen the new play, were wondering how this small woman would, with her dancing, interpret the insurrection. You would think that a whole crowd would be required. How could she do it alone?

The curtain goes up. The program begins.

First came the singers, in peasant costume, with new bast shoes. They sang, swinging their arms, dancing their national dances, during which the dishevelled red wig of the peasant boy in the unnaturally clean shirt and new, unworn shoes, slipped off, showing black hair at the back, and because he did not notice it—it was very funny. His earnest endeavors aroused the pity of the audience.

"It isn't easy for him to earn his living," thought each.

Then came a story-teller, also in a red wig and bast shoes, with stories of the people's lives, the point of which was the wrong pronunciation of words, such mistakes as he supposed would be made by the common people. The audience might have been insulted but applauded goodnaturedly—Bread.

The curtain was lowered. The chairman came out

Translated from the Russian of P. Romanov
by VERA and VIOLET MITKOVSKY

and spoke loudly, as one speaks of what has been long and impatiently awaited.

"Anna Reingardt will perform her new number, 'Insurrection.'"

All sounds were hushed. In a second came the sound of music, faint, half-heard, as though coming through thick gloomy walls. The curtain went up quickly and noiselessly. The scenery represented a prison, the corner of a thick grey stone wall with splashes of whitewash, a heap of straw on the floor and a small square window with thick iron bars. In the other corner stood an altar, covered with red fustian, and on it a wooden cross and the New Testament.

All eyes were fixed on the open prison with stone steps leading upward. What would appear there?

The music sounded an abrupt chord like the breaking string of a violin and at the same time, down the stone steps, as if thrown down by a cruel push from the jailer, rolled a frail body.

A shudder passed through the audience, then all was still.

It is she. Her tiny body, crouched into a ball, lay helplessly on the stone floor. Then she slowly raised her head and, standing on her knees, with an expression of throbbing pain from the blow, gazed with innocent, childish fright at the walls, at the straw on the floor, the barred window. Her eyes showed none of that exaggerated horror and suffering usually affected on the stage. Her face was the face of a child whose tears at some sorrow have not yet dried but whose attention is already distracted by new surroundings. The surroundings are distressing: a heap of straw and a barred window.

She understood. The sudden realization of her position evidently pierces her brain. She jumps up, throws herself against the door, hangs on its heavy knob, beats against it, bites her hands in a frenzy of despair.

For her the audience does not exist. For her there is no crowd of people sitting in the hall at her back. She is alone before that door which has closed forever, which nothing can open, against whose heavy wood she can only beat her head and bite her hands to dull the pain of consciousness of being buried alive.

There is only one thought among those hundreds of people sitting in the hall: to throw themselves against that door. Not only the door but the wall would go down before hundreds of strong workmen's shoulders.

Suddenly something flashed across the face of the small suffering woman, her glance fell on the red altar and the cross. To her that red cloth is the symbol of her blood, which will be spilt perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow. Her wide-open eyes are full of a silent wordless horror, then the horror changes into an intense pious humility. With arms stretched forward, with tears streaming down her pale cheeks, she crawls to the altar on her knees. One feels such horror and pity for her that each member of the audience repeats to himself that all this is not true, it is only a play.

Suddenly she raises her head as though struck by a new thought, looks intently at the altar, at the cross, rises, approaches with the curiosity of a newly-wakened consciousness, examines the things, touches them and passes her hand over her eyes.

In the hall all is still; there is only the hushed breathing of a hundred breasts. Then she listens, her ears have caught some sound outside. She shudders. With the cross in her hand, she goes to the door. The sounds draw nearer, she can clearly hear the revolutionary hymn and the running of many hundred feet.

"Victory!"

Her eyes flash from the door to the window, a change passes over her face. It is lighted by a new hope and the entire audience unconsciously reflects that smile of joy and triumph.

She is no longer a small, miserable slave. She seems to have straightened out, grown, her eyes have become large and radiant. She suddenly breaks the cross in half, spurns it with her feet, tears the red covering off the altar and carrying it like a victorious banner, rushes toward the prison door which swings open to triumphant shouts—

In the hall they shout, rattle their chairs, wave to her, and she, once more the small, helpless woman, comes out on the stage and, stretching out her arms in a child-like manner, bows and smiles a touched and grateful smile.

The performance is over. In the dressing-room she stands before the mirror, rubbing off the make-up with a bit of cotton, closes her little suitcase and, receiving her ten rubles, leaves the hall. Arriving at home, she unlocks her room. In it is a large old-fashioned bed, two portraits of ancestors in generals' uniforms, near the wall a table with a coffee-pot. Now she eats bread with caviar, drinks coffee and milk.

It is late. She undresses and standing on the carpet by her bed, in her nightgown, with little bare feet, she prays long and earnestly to the crucifix over her bed.

She asks god to try to understand and pardon her, as it is necessary to her acting, that she is still faithful to him with all her heart. But tooth-powder instead of face powder! That is too much.

British Imperialism In China

(Continued from Page 4)

alist movement was: "China for the Chinese; abolish inequality and privileges; put China in her rightful place among the nations."

3.—The Soviet Union influence crystallized about the Russo-Chinese Treaty of May 31, 1924. Encouragement, advice and assistance were given by the Soviet Union to aid China in her struggle for independence. Great stress was laid upon the organization of the Chinese labor movement. Hope was held out for the establishment of a Pan-Asiatic bloc with a united front against imperialism. Soviet spokesmen suggested: "China for the masses of Chinese wage-earners and farmers; China as a link in the chain of the new social order."

Summarized in three words, Imperialism, Nationalism and Soietism were struggling for control in China. After the First Opium War, imperialism had things pretty much its own way. Between 1900 and 1920 Chinese nationalism asserted itself more and more positively, with the needs and the demands of the Chiense business class as a basis. After 1920 the workers and farmers of China, organizing under the Three Principles of Sun Yat Sen, and with the help and encouragement of the Soviet Union, made a strong drive for the control of the country.

8.—What Shall the Imperialists Do?

Imperialism came to China armed with machine technology and with a science of economic, social and military organization which far surpassed anything known to the Chinese. The imperialists came with a different culture, and had China been as small and as easily unified as Japan, it is probable that within a generation or two China, like Japan, would have become a modern empire. But China was neither small nor united. Unlike Japan, and like India, and other portions of Asia, China was grabbed piecemeal by the imperialists who, for generations, did with China practically what they pleased.

During the years that followed the Chinese Revolution of 1911, imperialism, which had already made its mark in China, was, in a sense, on trial. Had the imperialists been able to adjust themselves

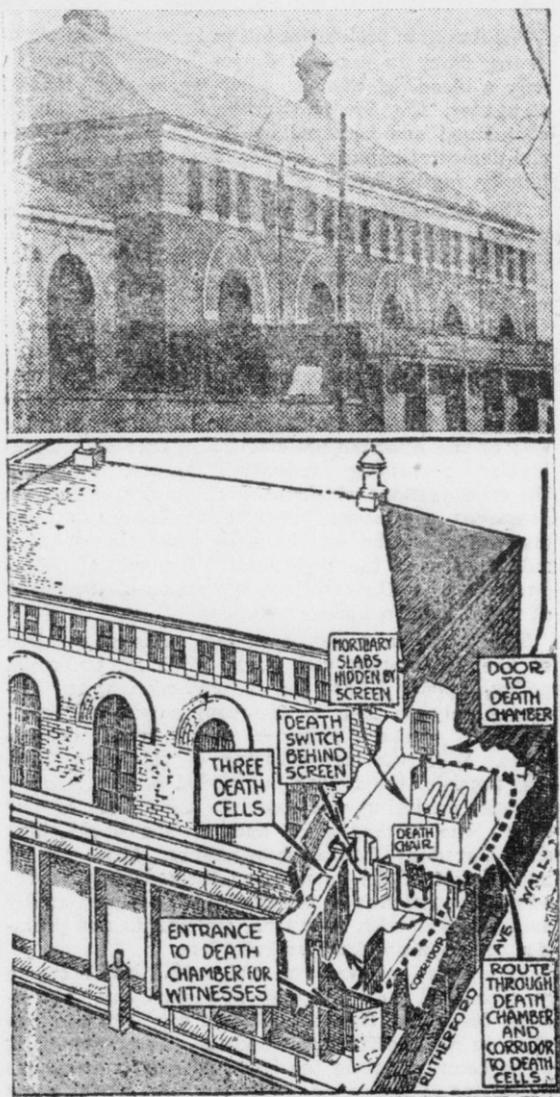


to these trial conditions, they might have still remained for a comparatively long period, because of the weakness of China and the lack of centralization in the Chinese government, but the imperialists were unable to play the role. They were in China to exploit China and the Chinese. They knew no other method of procedure.

The Japanese led off by seizing Shantung. The other empires followed suit by validating the seizure in the Treaty of 1919. Then came the episodes with British imperialism than culminated in the Shanghai massacre and the bombardment of Wahnsien. The British at Hongkong outlawed the labor unions and suppressed meetings among the Chinese. British police arrested active members of the Kuomintang Party and turned them over to the Northerners to be executed. British imperialism became a rallying point for the reactionary forces in China.

That, in essence, is the role that British imperialism is playing in China at the present time. It upholds special privilege and inequality. It opposes the movement for Chinese Nationalism. With all of its energies and resources it is combatting the influence of the Soviets. It is doing its best to prevent the organization of Chinese workers and farmers. The British imperialist in China, like his fellow-imperialist in India, wants to keep China in leading strings in order that she may be more readily exploited by trader, manufacturer, contractor and banker. British imperialism, supported, to a degree by the American and the Japanese empires, is the arch enemy of the Chinese masses in their efforts to establish a free China under the control of an organized workingclass.

DEATH CELL OF SACCO, VANZETTI



The Charleston State Prison and the death chamber from which only the protest of Labor can save Sacco and Vanzetti.

**The
COMRADE**
Edited by the Young
A Page for Workers'



**Young
SECTION**
Pioneers of America
and Farmers' Children

DISARMAMENT

For the last few weeks a conference had been held at Geneva in Switzerland consisting of delegates from several of the most powerful capitalist countries including United States, England and France. This conference is supposed to be called for the purpose of reducing the possibilities of war by the deductions of war machinery. Today this conference has either collapsed or is on the verge of collapsing.

The reason this conference as well as many others called for the same purpose is collapsing is because under the capitalist system there can be no permanent peace. Each capitalist power does not desire peace but advantages over their opponents in case of war. That's the reason the delegates of Great Britain and the United States could not agree and consequently the conference was doomed to failure.

The only way we can have permanent peace is not by calling useless and fake disarmament conferences but by instituting workers' governments in all present capitalist countries. Workers' governments will have NO interest or desire for wars.

RUTHENBERG SUB BLANK

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(Issued Every Month).

STRIKE

Dear Comrades: The morning was dark and rainy, yet the streets were thronged with striking furriers, who were standing on the picket line. I noticed a peculiar fellow who mingled with the crowd. He was shabbily dressed and smoked a cigarette. He was walking to and fro nervously, and trying to avoid other persons' glances. I determined to know his history, but soon found it not an easy matter. For he tried to avoid speaking to other people.

A day later I saw the same individual telling his story to a union official. It was then that I got this man's history. He was a married man, with four children, and his family was starving. Also, the first day I saw him, he attempted to rob a store, but lost his nerve. So now he had planned to turn to the union for help.

After the official had heard his story, the man received the following answer. "The bosses refuse to settle." The man's head drooped and he walked out. The next day my eyes fell upon an article in the newspaper reading as follows: Furrier striker dies a suicide. Wife also dies from shock. Four children are bereaved. Thus another life passed away.
—ISADORE DUBNIN.



THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE NO. 26

This week's puzzle is an addition and subtraction one. Let's see you do it!

WOMEN+SHIRKER+T+R—MEN—SHIRT=

Send all answers to the Daily Workers Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., N. Y. C., giving your name, age, address and number of puzzle.

Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 25 is: SCHOOL IS THE CHILDREN'S SHOP AND THE TEACHER IS THE CHILDREN'S BOSS. The following have answered correctly:

Mae Malyk, New York City.

More Answers to Puzzle No. 24

Mildred Duga, East Chicago, Ind.; Leo Wolin, Chicago, Ill.; Dorothy Rubin, Minneapolis, Minn.; Max Sonnenschein, Chicago, Ill.; Elianora Ivanoff, Post Falls, Idaho.

FUNNY

What does Miss Hubbard say when she opens the doors of her cupboard? She says, "O—I—C—U—R—M—T." Say the letters as they sound, "Oh, I see you are empty."

TEACHER'S TOO DUMB

Dear Comrades: Just a few weeks ago we had a party up at our school celebrating Francis Vallard's death anniversary. They talked about the 18th amendment. It was to abolish whiskey. The first woman said that all the drunkards ought to be sent to Russia. We hollered why are you picking on Russia? Russia don't want any of the drunkards there, she wants good Communists.—ANNA MIS-

The Upheaval in Vienna

THE Austrian proletariat has had a terrible awakening from its peaceful dream. "Red" Vienna is only a blood-red Vienna. After two days of fearful slaughter, the Vienna workingclass — abominably abandoned and betrayed by the leaders of the social-democratic party — has been crushed by the blindly raging forces of "law and order."

The immediate cause of the bloody events was a gigantic and spontaneous demonstration of the workingclass of Vienna against the acquittal of two fascists who, on the 30th of January last, murdered a worker and a workingclass child.

The Austrian bourgeoisie, which, with the help of the League of Nations, had managed to extricate itself from a state of economic collapse, has for some years past been organizing fascism in order to be able to complete the economic and political subjugation of the Austrian proletariat. In face of a workingclass possessing the possibilities, the power and the organizations which the workingclass of Austria possesses, the process of restoring bourgeois economy can only be accomplished after the political subjugation of the proletariat. The second Seipel government is the conscious expression of the policy of the Austrian bourgeoisie.

The Austrian social democracy, this show-piece of the II International, could, with its reformist policy, appear before the masses with sham successes only so long as the bourgeoisie was compelled to pursue a policy of weakness and concessions. With the strengthening of the bourgeoisie and fascism, the flourishing period of the Austro-Marxist conjuring was past. In the course of two years, one worker after another has been vilely slaughtered by fascist provocateurs. The growing indignation of the masses and their desire to take adequate measures of self-defense, were continually damped down with reassuring statements and promises by the social democratic leaders.

This time, however, the indignation broke out in an elemental form and with wonderful and tremendous force. In fact the Vienna workingclass has risen in a powerful revolt and has proved that it is to be counted among the best and most courageous battalions of the world revolution. But at the same time it has proved, at the cost of 1500 wounded, 150 killed and a severe defeat of the proletariat, the baseness and the treachery of the Austrian social democracy.

On Thursday, July 14th, late in the evening, the acquittal of the fascist murderers was made known. The Communist Party summoned the workers to protest and to a mass demonstration to be held on Friday evening.

But early on Friday morning the workers in numerous factories ceased work and proceeded to march to the centre of the city. The police proceeded systematically and attempted to break up the first groups of workers who had arrived, but the tremendous masses of workers which were arriving at every moment soon made this attempt impossible. The police still continued their provocation and at ten o'clock the first shots were fired. In the meantime the masses had completely filled the great Ringstrasse, and although they were quite unarmed, defended themselves against the police and disarmed many of the latter.

One police station from which shots had been fired was cleared out and demolished. In the meantime, huge crowds had assembled before the Courts of Justice, where they were suddenly fired upon from the interior of the building. The demonstrators commenced a fierce attack on the premises, which they finally captured and set on fire. Bright flames are soon shooting up from the hated building. The working people of Vienna has stormed the Bastille of Austrian class justice! The fire-brigade is prevented by the masses from extinguishing the flames.

There now appears upon the scene the political fire-brigade: Herr Seitz, the social democratic mayor of Vienna, and Julius Deutsch, two shining lights among the social democratic leaders, attempting to extinguish the flames. They are received with a storm of indignation and are obliged to retreat for the time being. In the meantime the police have suddenly disappeared. But this is only a stratagem! After a short time the police are to be seen advancing simultaneously from various directions in closed ranks armed with carbines and military rifles. They now commence firing volley after volley into the crowd. But the workers do not draw back.

The workers continue the fight with passionate enthusiasm, while an unending line of automobiles removes the innumerable dead and wounded. It is some hours before the murderous fire disperses the compact masses. Early in the afternoon troops of the republican army with machine guns, march against the workers. (According to the law such a measure requires the express sanction of the mayor, in this case the social democrat Herr Seitz). In the afternoon the armed forces gain control of the inner city. Now they cannot and will not withdraw. Punitive expeditions now proceed against the workingclass districts. During the evening and till late in the night they drive furiously through the workingclass quarters, shooting wildly in every direction. This night takes toll of dozens of dead.

And now it is early Saturday morning. No newspapers have appeared. Only a news-sheet of the social democratic party and the "Rote Fahne" (or-

By WILL SCHLAMM (Vienna)

gan of the Communist Party). It has not allowed itself to be suppressed either by the police or the measures of force of the socialist party leaders. The socialist party executive calls upon the workers to obey in every way the decrees of the police, to stay at home and not allow themselves to be provoked by "Communist hooligans." Not a single demand, not a single fighting slogan! Only the spontaneous general strike is recognized; but only for 24 hours. And the ridiculous farce of a railway and postal strike is proclaimed to be the decisive fighting means of the workingclass.

The Communist Party calls for the arming of the workers, for an indefinite general strike, and summons the workers to come into the streets. Its slogans are:

Down with the government! Fight for the workers' and peasants' government! Disarming of all fascist organizations! Setting up of armed self-defense organization in place of the Schutzbund, which has proved an absolute failure! Release of the proletarian Reichswehr from the barracks and fraternization with them! The Communist slogans are received with unexampled enthusiasm. But the C. P. is too weak in order to give an organizational leadership. The masses are without leaders.

Saturday night. The police are firing in the workingclass district of Hernals; the workers build barricades and hold them. But they have no weapons!

Early Sunday morning. The socialist party leaders, who on the previous day had distributed among the masses a leaflet fiercely attacking the Communists—not a word against the government!—succeed in getting the tramway men to return to work. In the night of Saturday and Sunday the Communist Party issues an illegal leaflet to the masses, calling on them to hold out and to carry on the fight for the well-known demands. General feeling is in favor of the Communists, but it is unorganized.

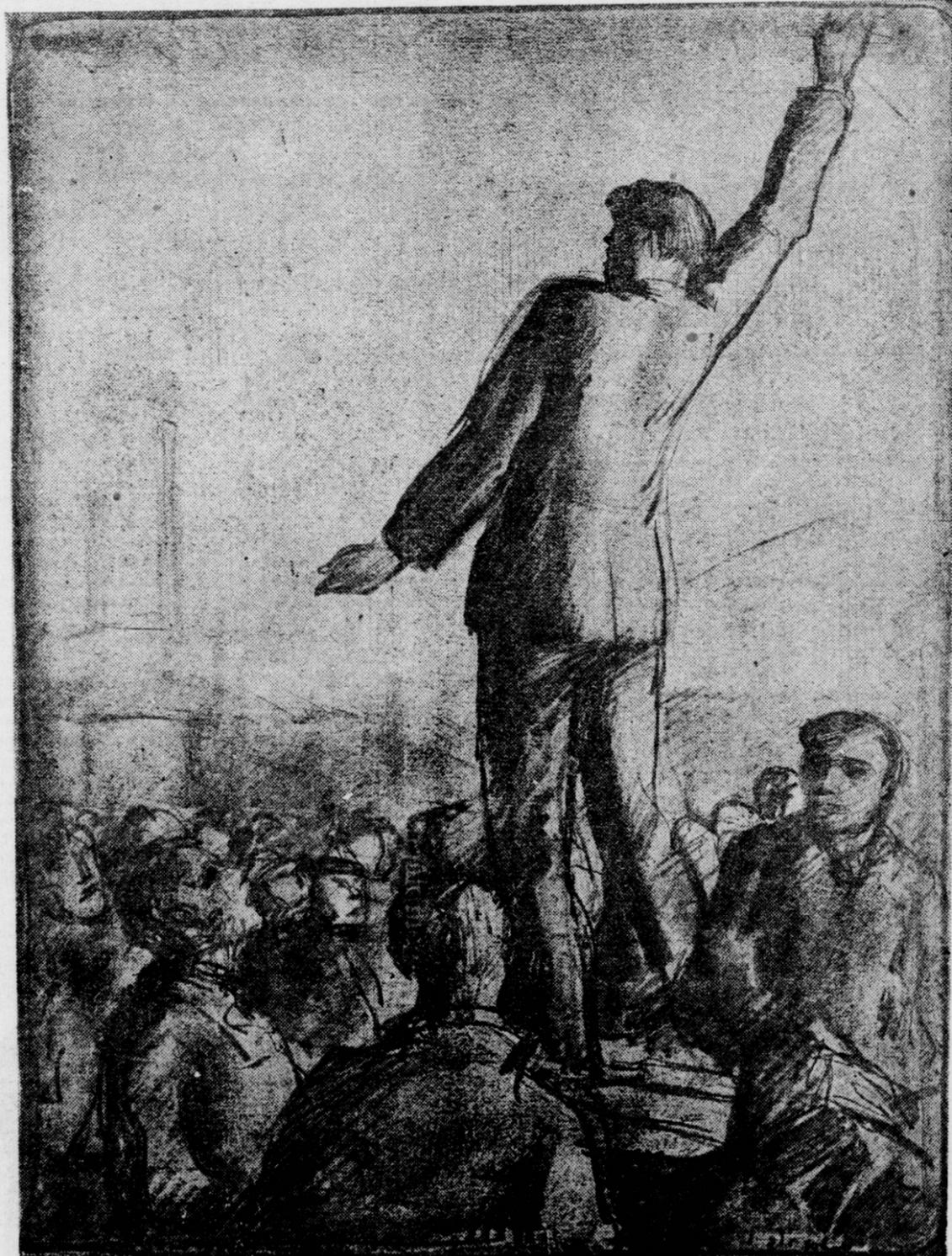
Sunday afternoon. Conference of the carefully selected social democratic functionaries, in which a new act of treachery is sanctioned. The social democratic municipal administration, in order to cut the ground from under the Communists who are demanding the arming of the workingclass, has set up a legal municipal constabulary. It consists of a thousand functionaries whose fidelity to the S. P. is beyond all question. It is armed with pistols and is to work together with the government police. Its task is "restore law and order in our sense."

The conference of functionaries reflects only to the slightest extent the mood of the masses. A disappearing minority demands weapons and opposes the new municipal police. The S. P. leadership has the apparatus sufficiently firmly in hand again to be able to bring about the resumption of work in the factories early on Monday morning.

The C. P. calls upon the workers to continue the strike, and issues the slogan: general strike on Wednesday, 20th of July, the day of the funeral of the fallen. The socialist party leaders want to bury the dead without participation of the workingclass.

The Seipel government has seized the first opportunity in order to crush the workingclass by making use of the S. P. leaders and to break the strength of the proletarian organizations. In doing so the government has deliberately opposed a section of the bourgeoisie which is in favor of a policy of coalition with the socialist party. Seipel does not want any coalition and he prevents it by means of mass murder. The socialist party leaders want a coalition, and therefore left the workingclass without weapons and without leaders, as they wish to prove themselves to be "fit to govern."

The Communist Party placed itself at the head of the struggle, and is now persecuted with boundless hate by the government and the S. P. leaders. At the same time a campaign of incitement, inspired by England, is proceeding against Russia. The Vienna insurrection is crushed for the time being, but the C. P. is seeking to approach the masses and is beginning to organize them for successful counter-attack. It needs the help and support of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world.



—Drawing by Wm. Siegel.