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The Passing of Labor Day

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

OF all the names in which there is no meaning Labor Day stands out as the most prominent.

The real Labor Day is the first of May when the class conscious, militant workers of all lands gather to demonstrate, to take stock of their defeats and victories in the past, and pledge themselves to prosecute the struggle for working class emancipation with greater vigor in the future.

The rallying day of international labor—the first of May—as well as the Labor Day of class collaboration, had its genesis in the United States, but the American labor bureaucracy have spurned the first like an unwanted child and left it on the political doorstep.

The first of May brings out the police with their clubs and their riot guns. The official Labor Day brings out the capitalist politicians, the labor fakers and the capitalists, who enjoy the day scratching each others' backs.

Even a few years back, Labor Day had some proletarian character. It was customary for the union that was engaged in a strike or that was most recently on strike to be given the position of honor in the parade. There are no longer any parades. The labor leaders advise the rank and file to go to some shady glen for the day or take their families to the seaside. It is much easier on the labor fakers and less costly. Bringing great masses of workers together to demonstrate, gives them a consciousness of power. Here is danger for the minority that governs and oppresses the masses by the aid of guns, clubs and reactionary labor bureaucrats.

The idea of Labor Day was first proposed in the New York Central Labor Union, in May 1882. Two years later the first Monday of every September was declared Labor Day by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled. The labor leaders of those days were not yet safely tucked away in the pockets of the capitalists. Those at the top were conservative and many of them reactionary, but they were obliged to fight the capitalists on the industrial field and the latter did not yet know how to pull their fangs. Of course the economic position of the American capitalists was far from being as sound as it is today. They could not afford to bribe the top strata of American labor as they have been in recent years.

In those days even Sam Gompers shook his fists at the capitalists. Indeed, Sam was always able to shake his fists and wag his tongue against the "bad" employers, but that is about as far as he ever went. He was a first-class trained ram of capitalism and nobody was better able to lead the sheep to the industrial shambles than the first president of the American Federation of Labor.

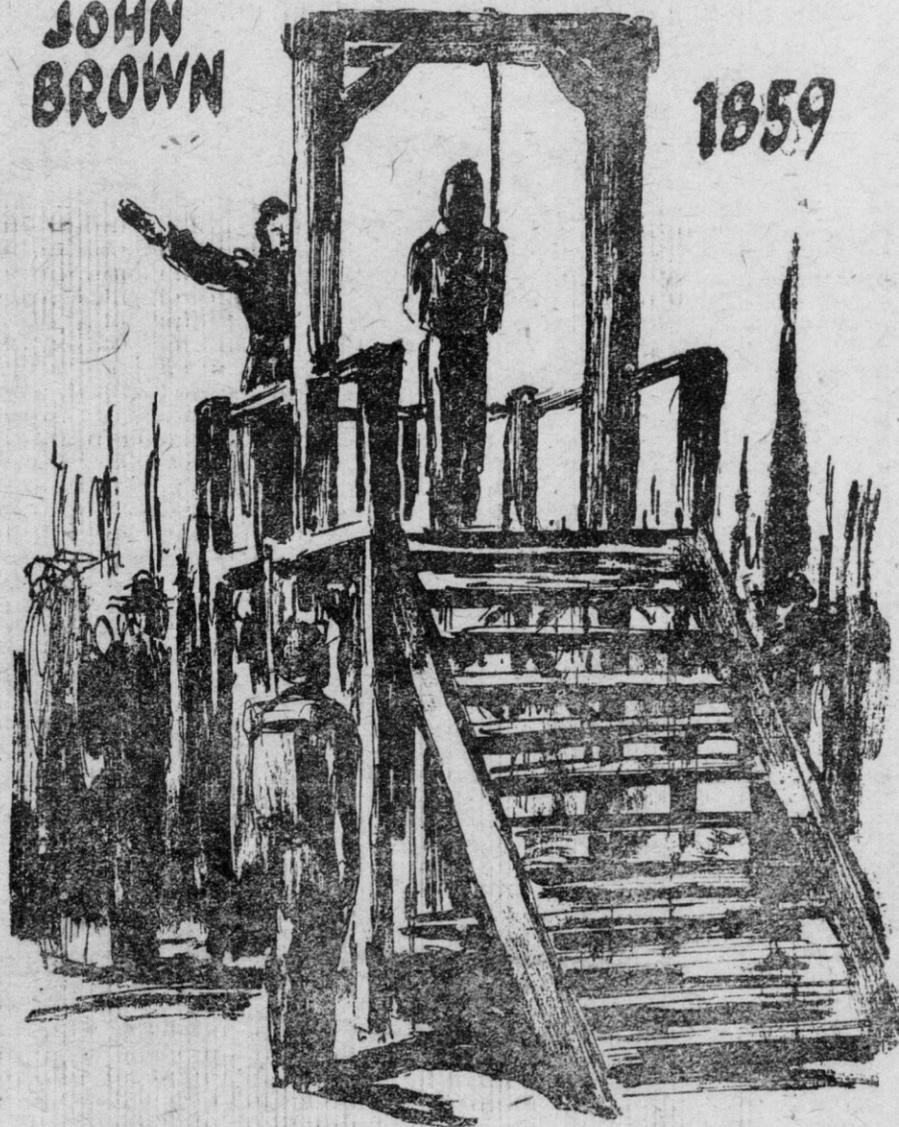
In 1886 we find Gompers speaking from the same platform with Henry George, the great single taxer who was candidate for mayor of New York. The huge parade that was held on Labor Day of that year had vitality in it. There were injunctions then as now and the labor leaders instructed their followers to violate the injunctions.

About this time the great eight-hour-day movement was launched and the A. F. of L. made preparations for the calling of a na-

(Continued on Page Two)

JOHN
BROWN

1859



Drawn by ELLIS.

Negro Looks on in Boston

By WM. L. PATTERSON

BOSTON with its narrow, crooked streets, its low, unpretentious buildings, Boston with its many graveyards, the resting places of its revolutionary dead, the greatest spots of interest for those in whom all revolutionary spirit has long since died; Boston the high temple of culture, the abiding place of wisdom and fountain of knowledge had worked itself into a state of semi-hysteria. Tense and expectant, its people walk their city's pavement willingly, and yet it may be unconsciously, submissive to a dictatorship of the police, their appointed servants—the guardians of law, the controllers of order, who are themselves, however, above the law, and who have never reasoned that their conduct should be most orderly. Boston is waiting for a lynching to take place.

The illustrious Governor of Massachusetts has decreed it. Desperately he has striven to place the stamp of respectability upon this criminal act. Citi-

Just So

Reds are not made by orators on soapboxes,
But by fat sleek gentlemen
Who sit on interlocking directorates
And figure thru the chewed ends
Of many fat sleek cigars
How to wring more honest pennies
From the sweating carcasses
Of lazy, discontented working stiffs.

—H. G. WEISS.

zens even more illustrious than the illustrious Governor—those who can show to you the tombstones marking the resting place of dead forebears who were present on that now famous tea party of 1776, have said, "Yes, Boston has known every event of the social elite, and though in America, we cannot set a precedent in this, we shall no longer hold ourselves above the glorious Southland. We, too, shall have our lynching." They have religiously followed the precedents established by the courageous South. The newspapers have announced it for days ahead. Boston thinks of nothing else, talks of nothing else.

Boston has been preparing seven years for this event. Thousands of people have, during those long years, and years before, come to regard lynching as obsolete, archaic, and the desire to participate in one is evidence of an atavistic psychosis. They have come to believe this so thoroughly, so sincerely, that some have travelled thousands of miles just to make an effort to peaceably persuade Massachusetts to defer this Roman holiday indefinitely, to grand these seven years' dead men a new trial. Some who could not come to Boston, voiced their protest against the promised orgy throughout the available press, and by direct communication with the authorities of Massachusetts. Some of those who have come are satisfied of the futility of their efforts even before the task is essayed. Others hold tenaciously to the last fleeting shreds of a slowly dissolving hope that possibly something may be done. For them, the age of miracles is not dead. These speak in a now half disillusioned way of

(Continued on Page Two)



Negro Looks on in Boston

(Continued from Page One)

something known to them as justice. We cannot understand these. We have never seen a demonstration of justice in our lives, nor have we ever seen any one who ever saw a demonstration of justice. As we listen, we are amazed at their naivete.

For us, it was a little different. Probably we knew more about lynchings. Probably the upwards of three thousand lynchings, legal and illegal, with black men and women as the victims, committed with the sanction of the best families of Georgia and Mississippi, of Alabama and Tennessee, of Texas and Florida, had driven the last vestige of any illusion of the existence of magnanimity in the heart of the dominant class in America out of our minds. We had come to Boston to repay in our small way the Darrows and others, who in Detroit, Michigan, fought so valiantly for Dr. Sweet. That was one reason for our presence. Yet there was another. A much more vital one. We felt the manifestation of it of the utmost importance. We had come to Boston to dispel any illusion which might exist about Negroes being afraid to align themselves with class conscious, militant labor. We had come to give evidence of that new solidarity of labor which knows no racial differences, permits within its ranks of no racial distinctions, and adamantly bans all racial discrimination. We had come to Boston to make manifest the transcendence of class consciousness over race consciousness. We had come to demonstrate as a member of that group, whose suffering in America dates from the founding of this "land of the brave and home of the free" against this ghastly, vicious exhibition of man's inhumanity to man.

Boston was ready to receive us, not as a guest invited to witness the assassination of Sacco and Vanzetti! Oh, no! But Boston had mobilized a reception committee of several thousand armed, harnessed police, innumerable motorcycle squads, mounted cossacks, plain clothes men, and then possibly in order that the reception committee might be truly representative, those thugs out of jail and not actively engaged in carrying through any privately planned project, were armed with rifles and clubs and stationed around the public buildings. Truly, for the dastardly task Boston was about to

perform, she had selected a worthy body to receive her visitors. These were the outward signs of the extent to which she had gone to make our welcome indeed one of lasting memory. Later we were to discover that the reception committee had arranged to have several public buildings, almost in their entirety, turned over to us. And to make certain we would remain to partake of their hospitality to the full, those buildings with iron-barred windows and steel doors were the ones selected.

They made these preparations to prove beyond the shadow of a reasonable doubt that when a sovereign state, through its duly elected servants, has decreed a lynching, the protest of its socially-minded citizens, even though in the majority, and of the civilized members of a so-called civilized world would not be heeded. Steps were taken to prevent all

Intimidation

By H. G. WEISS.

It is not well to dare the wrath
Of them who prize the dollar.
Tread you in your accustomed path
And wear the iron collar.
Not yours to question. Yours to work
And take you meagre dole.
The rack and whip for them who shirk?
Damnation for the soul.
Since when have slaves had any rights?
Be meek and humble, give. . . .
A kindly master will requite . . .
Be thankful that you live!
Is it not just? The rope and stake
Are grim and grewsome things.
The gallows has a lust to slake
And does the will of kings.
Think you this fat, fastidious boss
So arrogant and proud,
Has not some chromosomes whose loss
Has left you maimed and bowed?
Be silent and accept your lot,
Or if to speak you dare,
Take warning from your fellows caught
In an electric chair!

expression of disapproval within the environs of the city.

But we had come to protest, to peaceably seek to dissuade if possible those servants of the citizens of Massachusetts from an act of terrorism, to assert the rights guaranteed us under the constitution of the United States, and of the state of Massachusetts, and though we numbered ourselves among those who realized the futility of the measures to which we resorted, we proposed to utilize those methods as long as we remained free agents.

Since we intended to carry into effect our desire to influence those in power, it was necessary to go before the public, and the public in Boston, on August 21st, 1927, was most of it to be found on Boston Commons.

For generations, Boston Commons has remained inviolate, the place where the voice of the people might be heard. There, one could petition for a redress of any and all grievances; could air any political philosophy, could challenge any form of tyranny. But contrary to the belief of many that this would hold true on all occasions, we were soon to discover that the traditional right of the people did not include the right of criticism of a government bent on murder, a government bent upon the destruction of the morale of its working-class, bent upon sating itself of its bloodlust with the burning of two class-conscious workers who were innocent of all crime, save the crime of exalting class above country, class above race, class above creed.

Determined to proceed, we became one of a small group equally so determined, and armed with placards bearing such inscriptions as "Gov. Fuller is your conscience clear, have you examined the report of your advisory committee?" "Sacco and Vanzetti must not die!" "Is justice dead in Massachusetts?" "Has the cradle of liberty become the ark of tyranny?" and others we proceeded on our mission. The effect of our appearance thus armed was instantaneous. There was little time given us to speculate about our reception. The preparations Boston had been put to, had a use value, and Bostonians were eager to measure its extent. Cheers mingled with boos, curses with words of sympathy, hand claps with cat calls, and then the first delegation of the reception committee, the mounted cossacks, charged down upon our line. One gently ran his fingers down our back, and lifting us off of our feet, tenderly yet in unmistakable terms of welcome, said, "You are the first nigger anarchist I ever saw. Just think of a nigger bastard a Bolshevik!" The placard was torn from our hands and destroyed. By this time others of the reception committee had arrived and between two uniformed officers with several plain clothes men gleefully trotting by their side, we were marched to a patrol wagon which had been kept waiting at the Tremont Street entrance of the Commons for those of Boston's visitors who had the temerity to comment upon her dishonor. There we were greeted by one of our comrades who had also been gathered in by the reception committee. She was assisted into the wagon, then one of our guardians said, "We can't put the nigger in the wagon with a white woman, we will let him ride outside." And there we rode to the building prepared to receive us.

The Passing of Labor Day

(Continued from Page One)

tional strike on the first of May, 1886. The response to the strike was so enthusiastic that the employers decided drastic action must be taken to halt the movement. The Haymarket massacre and the bloody persecution and murder of the most militant of labor's leaders was the answer.

Following the hanging of the Haymarket trade union leaders a period of apathy prevailed until 1889 when the workers again resumed the fight for the eight-hour-day. This time instead of a general strike of all unions, each organization was to strike separately. Some gains were made but after a few years the struggle was abandoned and when the United States congress in 1894 passed a law declaring Labor Day a holiday in the District of Columbia and the Territories, the officials of the A. F. of L. considered the battle won. Since then Labor Day has been gradually losing its labor character.

As the Labor Day blessed by the capitalists is losing its original vitality and has already become a day of mutual back-scratching between the labor fakers and the employers, May Day—the real Labor Day—will gain in strength, prestige and significance to the workers of the United States.

LEARY AND LABOR

By WALTER SNOW

"LEARY of the 'World' is a model reporter," John Sullivan, newly re-elected president of the New York State Federation of Labor, once told the present writer. Leaning forward until his portly stomach wrinkled, the labor leader and Civic Federation member explained, "He gets things right."

Sullivan is not alone in his high opinion of Mr. John J. Leary, Jr., dean of New York labor reporters. The socialist "New Leader" recently referred to him as a newspaperman "who can be classed among the best in town."

Thinking workers, accordingly, will be interested to know what such a highly praised man believes is labor's future and whom are the men he admires. The furriers know that every time those esteemed Civic Federation members, Matthew Woll and Hugh Frayne, wished to justify their strike-breaking activities and efforts to smash the Joint Board, Leary quoted them at length. In fact many times all Leary did for his day's work was to write a "lead" and paste it on top of a Woll or Frayne statement.

Now, it develops, Leary admires another master strike-breaker. In the "World" of August 28th, he sings praises of Premier Baldwin's determination in pushing through that Trades Union Bill which the "World" once editorially said took away with one sweep all the rights British labor had won in fifty years of hard fighting.

Leary, however, speaks for the leaders of the American labor movement.

He tells story after story to the effect that British labor is demoralized because its leaders are "more or less openly" accused of taking graft from the "Arcos House and the Communists of Russia." Where did he get these tales? Proudly he boasts they are "reports from London to leaders of the American movement from sources that are dependable and which have proven to be accurate in the past."

Reading them, one wonders if Leary is still carrying on the Woll-Frayne-McGrady graft-fiction campaign in an attempt to smash the Furriers' Joint Board.

But no, he is not. Leary and the Civic Federation members, whose spokesman he is, hope there will never be a Labor Party in America. To discourage all attempts form one and thus take voters away from Tammany Hall, Leary seeks to discredit the British Labor Party.

Listen: "There is, as I have said, confusion in the movement and distrust of leadership that may in some measure at least explain the determination of Premier Baldwin in pushing through the recent bill that, among other things, ends the collecting, willy nilly, of funds for the Labor Party from members of trade unions. One wonders, in the face of all reports, if in opposing this part of the law the Labor M. P.'s spoke quite as much for the rank and file of English labor as for themselves."

Leary voices the hope that this confusion may end in a "swing back to straight trade unionism" as advocated by William A. Appleton, once secretary of the British Federation.

"It would not be inconsistent if in accepting American production methods our English cousins adopted American trade union methods," he concludes.

The abandonment of the Labor Party in England would mean that the workers could once more vote for Liberals and Tories who, of course, never take any graft. No more than Tammany officials.

Leary strikes us as being almost as profound an optimist as the late Judge Gary. The open shop confederates of Woll, Frayne and Sullivan in the Civic Federation certainly must be chuckling to think that American trade unionism is held up as a model for countries much more widely organized.

But if the masses of organized American workers were not hoodwinked into believing that their unions were the best managed in the world and that voting the democratic ticket was voting for labor, how long would Green, Woll, Frayne, McGrady and Sullivan keep their jobs?

And if the workers supported a Labor Party how could their leaders graduate into fat Tammany jobs as James P. Holland did last year when he resigned as head of the State Federation to accept Mayor Walker's appointment to a six-year term on the Board of Standards and Appeals?

But there won't be a Labor Party if Leary and the "World" can help it. Doubtless he was instrumental in persuading the present weak-kneed socialist leaders to take Woll, Frayne and McGrady close to their bosoms in spite of the vitriolic things Eugene Debs used to say about Civic Federation members. Smart boy, this Leary. He gets things "right." And tens of thousands of workers read the "World"!

While we are talking of the "World," it might be interesting to list a few other things it does nowadays. It features storeis of how the czar died bravely (just think, those damn Communists killed him!); what Marshal Ferdinand Foch thinks of a "doctrine as pernicious as Communism," and how he planned to wipe out "the menace of Communism"; and advertises for the benefit of New York police officials how Chicago and Boston alienists



try to find radicals insane, pointing out the flaws of the two systems.

When Representative Albert Johnson, chairman of the House Immigration Committee, made his wild threats against aliens participating in Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations, the "World" placed the story in a two-column "box," along with a picture of Johnson, directly above a one-column story telling that 500,000 New York workers had been called out for a protest strike that day.

That the "World" later editorially decried Johnson does not alleviate the fact that on the morning of the strike it used the bombastic congressman to intimidate aliens.

And to correct the impression that Sacco and Vanzetti may have been innocent because they proclaimed that fact just before they were killed, the "World" front-pages a story of a hard-boiled reporter who claims to have seen no fewer than eighty doomed men proclaim innocence before they were executed.

Can any woker give a reason why he should read either Leary or the "World"? We resist the temptation to make a pun.

O Chinaman!

O, Chinaman, Chinaman,
with your wise,
diagonal
and quaintly squinting eyes!
Tell me your strange tale
out of the perfumed East—
tell me of junks in purple seas
with bellying sails of gold
covered with fantastic pictures;
tell me the noble legends
of your esteemed forefathers;
recite for me
the gay and glittering maxims
of your wisest philosophers,
and the poems of the greatest of poets
who sang the glories
of vanished dynasties
and of painted girls
who danced before old kings;
reveal to me the mysteries
of your jeweled shrines
and most sacred pagodas
hiding their jade tops
among the stars,
and of the twisted dragons
that guard the tombs
of your reverend ancestors;
tell me of revolution,
of red-bannered armies
and of a mighty giant
lifting his head from slumber
into the sunlight of a new day!

O, Chinaman, Chinaman!
Here are my shirts
and my collars;
Saturday I must have them,
O Chinaman!
These are all I can give you,
some soiled shirts
and collars to wash
and a few pennies in payment
and hell
if they're not finished on time
or if one collar is lost,
O, Chinaman!

Yet you, should I urge you,
might tell me all things
out of the wisdom
of the ages of the East,
gleaming, half-hidden,
in your wise,
diagonal
and quaintly squinting eyes!

—HENRY REICH, JR.

The Farmer and Labor Day

By ALFRED KNUTSON

THE vast masses of farmers in America are still sticking in the old political rut, they are still led to believe that it is advantageous for them to make an alliance with country bankers and the small business interests in general.

Only a small section of the farming masses have today come to the realization of the futility of collaborating with the capitalist forces which are doing their best to rob the farmer of the fruits of his toil. The farmer, however, is disgusted with his own economic condition and becoming more and more disgusted with organizations and movements which are endeavoring to give him "relief." That is, for the first time in many years he is at least beginning to discover that there is something wrong about the methods used by the advocates of farm relief. He is not so easily fooled into believing what the capitalist politicians are telling him. He examines farm relief proposals more critically than before and though he still lingers in the old rut his entire perspective in relation to his own problems is now undergoing big changes.

The opportunities for getting the farmer up on his feet and to fight in his own interests were never better than at the present time. Of course, we must realize that nothing can be done to rouse the farmers into action unless live, energetic driving forces are built up amongst them.

The masses of farmers in this country do not understand the city industrial worker and one of the big reasons for this misunderstanding lies in the clever propaganda of the capitalists which separates them by telling them that they have nothing in common, either politically or economically. The farmer, the capitalists tell the worker, hires laborers and he is, therefore, a capitalist, is interested in having the city worker pay as much as possible for farm products, and consequently is an exploiter with nothing in common with the city worker. And the farmer on his side is being told that the city workers are responsible for the high prices he must pay for the manufactured articles he buys because of the high wages paid to the farmer. The real truth, which is that the capitalists are exploiting both the farmer and the city worker, is never told by the capitalist press because if he did his game of exploitation would come to a sudden end.

A big service can be rendered the revolutionary movement in America by continually enlightening both the worker and the farmer as to their identity of interests, all the time pointing out who the real robber is, and farmers must learn to work together and solve their problems by a united front of both classes with the city workers taking the leadership in the major struggles against the capitalists.

On Labor Day the farmer should demonstrate together with the city worker. I do not now have in mind the September labor day which is not the real labor day but a day set apart by the capitalists to strengthen their hold on the robbery of labor, but the First of May, which is the real workers' and farmers' holiday.

I was in Russia in 1924 on the First of May and saw both the farmers and the workers celebrate this day of days in complete solidarity. After they established a workers' and farmers' government over there they have no trouble at all in getting the farmers and workers to work together harmoniously, on both the political and economic fronts.

We should strive by all our might to do the same thing here. When the First of May, 1927 comes around let as many farmers as possible join the city workers in demonstrations for the unity of the workers of the whole world. Because of its tremendous importance in bringing the farmer and city worker closer together we should strive to organize such joint demonstrations, no matter how small these may be to begin with. This should be one of our special tasks for next May Day in as many sections of the country as possible.

Farmers and city workers, unite!



The Machine Wreckers

THIS, as most of our popular writers led us as though it were a great revelation, is the machine age. After the industrial revolution, ingenious workers and hard-working geniuses perfected the many machines wrought out of crude iron by practical intellects, and better products are now produced at less cost, and with a minimum requisite of labor.

The machine, as we know it today, is a direct and complete product of the workingclass. But instead of emancipating the wage-slave, it has tightened his fetters. Since it reduced the amount of labor required, the laborer should benefit by greater leisure. Instead, he finds his opportunities to earn a living reduced in direct proportion to the reduction in labor made possible by the introduction of the efficient machine.

Comes a reaction. Machine makers become, in philosophic desire at least, machine wreckers. The master class, growing rich beyond dreams through the exploitation of the machine and its slave, is confronted with a problem.

Who is at fault, when the creator turns upon his creation? Certainly not the capitalist, the exploiter of the machine, Mr. Gilbert Seldes attempts to prove in the outstanding organ of bourgeois pseudo-intellectualism, *The Saturday Evening Post*. Capitalism, with its open moneybags for those who will ride on the bandwagon, has more apologies than St. Francis had fleas; yet none has ever made out such a poor case as Mr. Seldes.

The philosophic trend of some disillusioned workers from machine makers to machine wreckers is summarized by the capitalist apologist in a series of items of news which begin by illustrating the effect of the introduction of machinery on our civilization. A wave of materialism, deplored by the dope-peddlers of religion, sets it.

When the slave finds that he can learn to operate most machines in a few days, he utilizes this knowledge by changing masters at will. The capitalists, as Mr. Seldes exultingly tells us, at first alarmed by the labor turnover, "keep their employes in the factory by moving them from one automatic machine which uses one group of muscles to another where new activities are called into play," and thus try to keep the slave in his old set of chains.

That this move is not altogether successful, is recorded with sorrow. The eminent "Satevepost" writer recounts, without the slightest expression of sympathy, the plight of "the craftsman in the workshops of the Adam brothers, who created, in perhaps, unhappy working conditions, an endless succession of sublimely beautiful table legs, (and who) could never dare to change his occupation, because he would have to undergo years of apprenticeship in a new one." This is a situation in which the capitalists would like to keep the workers of the world. But, with the advent of the machine, there comes a change—not of much benefit to the worker, but a problem, at least, to the capitalist. In the words of Mr. Seldes, "it may end by making him (the worker) a slave, but he will have what no other slave has had before—the chance to change his master."

But is this so-called freedom of any value to the enslaved worker? Suppose they can change the workers will flock to those industries that enjoy the best conditions and the highest pay, then there will be more workers than jobs; with the knowledge of this condition, employers in those industries will lower the wages, since they need not fear a strike, and again the worker is caught in the midst of a deadly circle.

Mr. Seldes ascribes the existence of a machine-wrecking philosophy to the lack of culture that is prevalent in the countries which are the most industrialized. I deny this; but granting it for the moment, I ask, is it the fault of the worker? Has he ever had sufficient leisure and sufficient opportunity to improve his mental condition? The lack of culture I admit, for it is an indictment of the super-babbitts who control and exploit modern industry; but there are other causes, to which Mr. Seldes must have closed his eyes, or he would have at first

An examination of the history of mechanics and the blame for the philosophy of machine-wrecking.

The leisure which Mr. Seldes so guilelessly believes is enjoyed by the workingclass, is used by it in "a mass migration of the tin-can tourists." Here his own sources of information give him the lie, for the Chambers of Commerce of almost all the western cities have complained of the migration of families with no means of support, who, after traveling futilely to the west in search of jobs, are forced to throw themselves on the charity of the western municipalities in the face of starvation. All of us are familiar with the Chamber of Commerce circulars and publicity news items, disillusioning the "tin-can tourist" of his belief that there are jobs at the end of the rainbow.

But I have quoted enough of Mr. Seldes metaphysical interpretation of social psychology. To get down to the facts of the case, we must first establish the identity of the creator of the perfected machine, of all varieties.

An examination of the history of mechanics and invention reveals that it is to proletarian members of the workingclass, and in some cases, to the intelligentsia of the workingclass, that we owe all credit for inventorial genius. Machines, for the

By WILL DE KALB



M. Sha

most part, have been invented and developed by workers who sensed their need, and whose ingenuity, sharpened by direct contact with the conditions of their industry, resulted in their creation. Then, as a small minority, we have the scientists, including Edison, Marconi, the Wrights and others, all of them members of the workingclass by birth and most of them by experience.

More amazing, is the fact that the aristocracy, and the bourgeoisie, who from ancient times have had a monopoly on education and culture, and who have never lacked the opportunity to make manifest their genius, have produced hardly a single machine—I use the adverb "hardly" out of generosity. Yet these are the classes that have had the sole opportunities for such creative activity: education, leisure, capital, governmental influence through control, industrial domination, etc., etc. Despite that, these

Beet Worker *A Picture from Life*

By KENNET S. BARNHILL

EMANUEL was thinning beets. With a short-handled hoe grasped in his right hand he hacked at the rows, bending double and moving along with a sidewise shuffle. Toiling in the hot sun over the damp reeking earth had made the veins in his brown neck and hands protrude; swelling his hands and at times causing a little dizziness to flit thru his head. Occasionally he coughed and the effort brought dark spots, rimmed with flashes of painful light, before his eyes. How awkward it seemed with his hands swollen; he could hardly control the hand, which plucked away all but one shoot for each hill, before dizziness swept him.

But he worked on. The field superintendent had been over in the morning and if they didn't have this patch of beets thinned out before long they wouldn't get their pay. That is what he told Emanuel and the four other Mexicans who worked with him. . . . Lazy greasers, he called them, afraid to do a little work, always soldiering on the job. Did they think they had all summer to thin out those beets? The weather wouldn't wait on a "goddam" bunch of lazy spiks, they better get a move on or there wouldn't be any pay for them when Fall came. The men worked on, as they had worked before the field was quite dry enough to get into, chopping out beets with the short hoes and plucking each hill to the single top; then to move on, row after row—bent double all the day.

For two years Emanuel had been in Ohio, away from home and Maria and the three little children. He had left them in their humble abode hut on the outskirts of Guanajuato when he came up to the

are the classes who have profited by the creation of the efficient machine, the first, by clowning for the second, the latter, by exploitation.

It is natural, then, for the machine-makers to transcend into machine-wreckers. They created the machine, they developed it, they produced and reproduced it; and instead of being benefited by all this mental and physical activity, it tightened the bonds that kept them chained in slavery, it even eliminated some of them from their economic positions as slaves, and made more precarious the means by which they eke out an existence.

Consistent with the tendencies of the mob, the machine-makers rebel. Believing their creation, the machine, to be a Machiavellian monster, their parental love turns to hate; at its base they lay the burdens leaped on their shoulders by their exploiters; and lo—they are machine-wreckers!

I must not be misunderstood. I am not attempting, in this thesis apologetica, to intimate that the philosophy of machine-wrecking is to be condoned. That it is as false as stoicism, or transcendentalism, or to be more modern and extreme, Christian Science, I hasten to declare.

It was, however, a natural transition for the machine-makers to become machine-wreckers, having been defrauded, by trickery and force, of the products of their brain and brawn. It remains now for those of their leaders, who have the correct viewpoint on their rights to the machine, to aid them to recapture their products.

It was unavoidable for the machine-makers to become, in philosophy, at least, lacking the opportunity to become in reality, machine-wreckers. But those workingclass leaders who accept as their cardinal dogma that the worker is entitled to the full product of his labor, must educate his followers out of the philosophy of machine wrecking, and into the philosophy of the recapture of the machine for the benefit of society.

Then will genius progress in its natural course. And society will abandon its false god, for the newer and healthier. Ancient mythology teems with tales of artists, who, having been turned against their own creations, shattered into meaningless dust their erstwhile beloved brain-children. But we have abandoned the superstitions of the past, and possessing the mental ability to correct the fallacies in our philosophies, we need not resort to the pseudo-philosophy of compensation. We perceive that when we are defrauded of our creations, we must not strive to wreck them, but to recapture them. Our energies must not be diverted into false channels.

Americano's country to find riches. Four young fellows, friends of his, had left their homes and families too. Promises that the agent made of 500 pesos (\$250) a year and a few months work had decided them. That and the advice of the priest. There's no peonage up there, the agent said, everyone's white and you've got a chance to get ahead. Why, he marvelled, it's only warm enough a few months out of the year to work—the rest of the time you're like the rich Dons and Senors—no worry, no work and lots of money. And hadn't the agent lots of money? Didn't he buy sticks of sugar cane for all the children? That's riches sure enough. Besides the priest thought the plan a splendid one.

The "Padre" told the young men that a wonderful opportunity stretched before them. Five hundred pesos a year, think of that. So the priest blessed them and sent them off. Of course they shouldn't forget their families and if they sent him money once in a while he'd take care of the little ones.

Afraid to rest for a moment Emanuel toiled on, never rising until he finished each long row. The work came without thot now. His mind dwelt on all sorts of ideas while his hands kept up a mechanical hewing and plucking. He was homesick. According to the agents promises he should have gone home last year with much riches but now they said he owed vast sums. When he was in bed, that month of the first winter, it had cost a lot of money, doctors and all, and he hadn't paid back that which was advanced to him then. . . . Emanuel wanted to go home; he wanted to see Maria and the children. He coughed again and it made him dizzy. Kneeling to the ground he steadied himself for a moment. But he must keep on, the weather doesn't wait and the beets would soon be too fat gone for thinning. He must hurry—that was his life, a constant hurrying.

His thoughts changed. He remembered how they had left their homes, in cars used to haul cattle. At the border they had changed to red box cars, fitted out with bunks. Many times during the day he watched, from the siding, fast passenger trains fly by. Quite frequently they were backed in alongside pigs and sheep—the odors sickened him but his hopes were high then, he soon would be a rich

(Continued On Page Six)

EXPOSE

He did not think that coin determined man
In ways he thot or acted, he was sure
There was a something else, a vague elan
Beyond the crass, the stupid immature
Conclusions of a Marx; he swabbed my throat
And coldly speaking sought to make it clear
Of my intent to pay he had a doubt. . . .
His words were little snow-flakes on the air:
'I won't be liking it if you are slow
In paying me the money that you owe.'

—H. G. WEISS.

POISON GAS

By "X-RAY"

(This article was originally written for "The Communist," official organ of the British Communist Party, and, therefore, deals predominantly with Great Britain. But every fact concerning British preparation for use of poison gas in the next war is paralleled by similar American preparation only that American chemical industry is in advance of Great Britain's so that the charges made by "X-Ray" are true in an even greater degree of our government.—Editor).

IN 1914 the workers of Europe had no quarrel with each other, and did not want war. To most of them it came as a surprise, and many were caught working, or on holiday, in countries which suddenly became enemy countries. The German capitalists wanted a place in the sun, by which they meant the natural wealth of the tropics and cheap colored labor to exploit. France wanted Alsace and Lorraine, Russia wanted Constantinople and Britain wanted more colonies, and above all, oil-fields; so the stage was set for a first-class war. A race of armaments has taken place until Europe had become a powder magazine; alliances and secret treaties ensured that when war started, it would blaze up into a world war.

Britain went to the rescue of poor little Belgium and sent an army tramping over poor little Persia and seized the north Persian oil-fields. The North Persian Oils, Ltd., with a capital of 3,000,000 pounds was floated to exploit them. Another British army seized the oil-fields of Palestine and the Sinai Oil Co. appeared to develop them. When the Turkish army collapsed, British troops were rushed to the Caucasus and seized the Baku oil-fields, but were unable to hold them.

Now when the armistice arrived all the slices of other people's countries, which the Allies had promised one another in the secret treaties, had not been conquered; so the great war was followed by several little wars; and in one of these British troops slaughtered over three thousand natives, and captured the Mosul oil-fields. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company's puppet, Feisul, was made king of Iraq, as the new oil state was called; and the oil is to be exploited by the Turkish Petroleum Co. Underdeveloped oil-fields are known to exist in the province of Archangel, and a British Expeditionary Force was sent, even to this frigid zone, but a Red Army got in the way and no Archangel Petroleum Co. appeared.

Probably none of the capitalists even suspected what they were really doing when they loosed the dogs of war. The military machine got out of control, new illegal methods of warfare were introduced, international treaties proved to be worthless, and so far all attempts to abolish the new methods of warfare have proved useless.

FRENCH TURPINIT.

It may not be generally known that the French were first to use poison gas.

In October, 1914, the French chemist, Turpin, had poisonous chemicals put in hand grenades, and these were used by the French under the name of Turpin.

We were told in the British and French press, that when the French advanced into the German trenches after using Turpinit, they found 100,000 German soldiers dead; killed in the exact positions they happened to occupy when petrified by Turpinit. Despite these fantastic tales, Turpinit proved to be a failure and the French soon abandoned its use.

In April, 1915, the Germans made the first successful gas attack of the war. An eye-witness gives the following description:

"The French have broken, we exclaimed. We hardly believed our words. . . The story they told we could not believe, we put it down to their terror-stricken imaginings — a greenish grey cloud had swept down upon them, turning yellow as it travelled over the country, blasting everything it touched, shrivelling up the vegetation. No human courage could face such a peril. Then there staggered into our midst French soldiers, blinded, coughing, chests heaving, and faces an ugly purple color, lips speechless with agony, and behind them in the gas choked trenches we learned that they left hundreds of dead and dying comrades. The impossible was only too true. It was the most fiendish, wicked thing I have ever seen."

A new weapon had been forged, it may have been fiendish and wicked, but it was a military success, the French line had broken; thus despite the Hague Convention which prohibited the use of poison gas this new weapon was destined to revolutionize warfare, and to profoundly influence the future development of the chemical industry. This successful gas attack was a tremendous historical event, which has already influenced the course of history.

During the war, the science and art of poisoning people made very rapid progress, the armies hastily formed chemists' corps and chemical factories

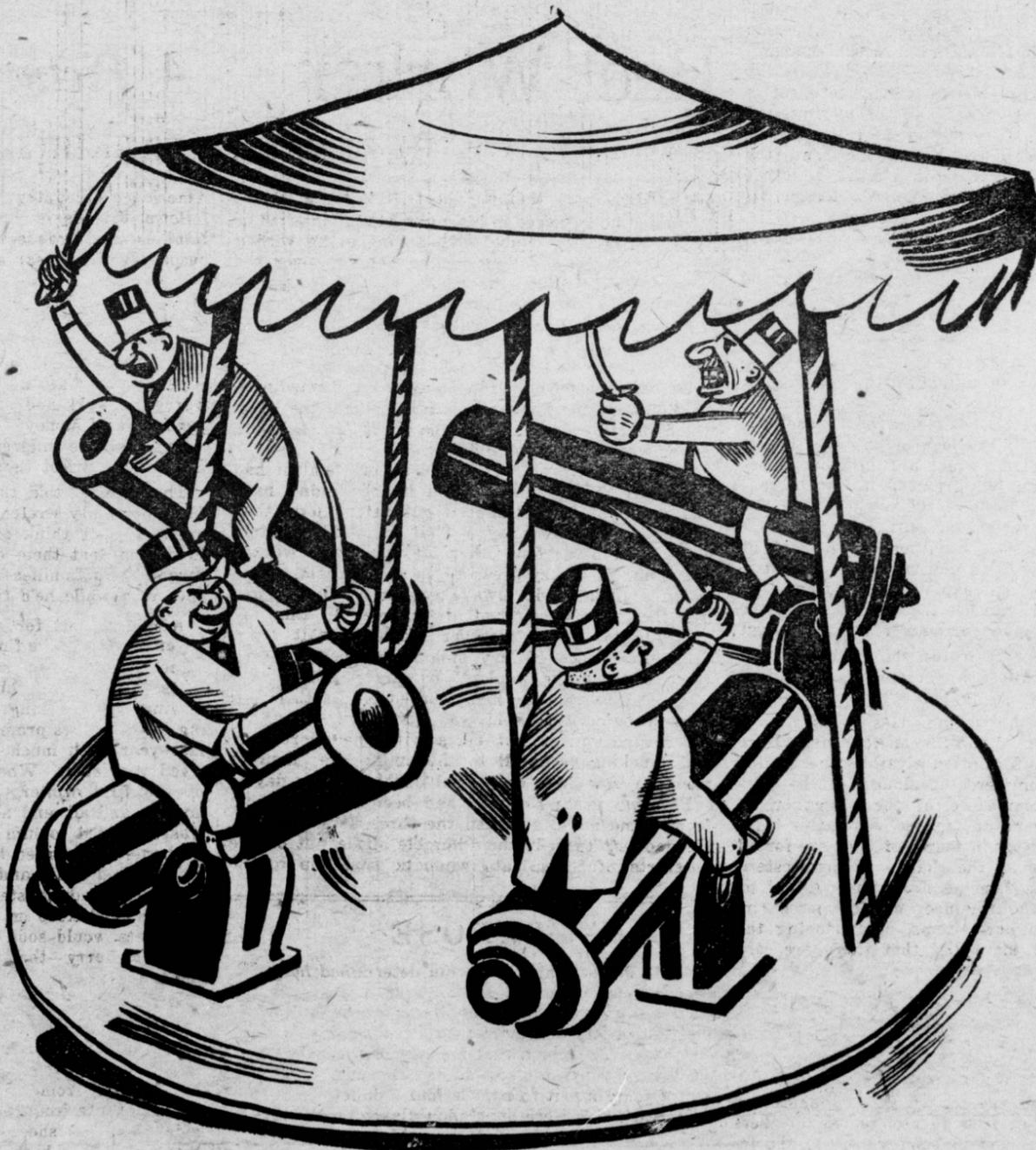
were set to work to produce huge quantities of poisons. Although they were already working overtime on explosives the professors of chemistry were started on intensive poison gas research, and a new type of chemist appeared, in the professional poisoner. At the same time a race took place between the Allies and the Central Powers, in the production of protective appliances, and of new poison gases to penetrate them.

The first gas used successfully was chlorine. This was followed by phosgene, described as "a better killer," which penetrated the respirators used to protect against chlorine. Chloropicrin, diphosgene and other lethal gases followed. Lachrymators were used to attack the eyes, and penetrated the gas masks used against phosgene. Airtight goggles and face masks with box respirators were used as protectors against lachrymators, so sternutators were introduced which penetrated the gas masks then used, made the victims sneeze and vomit in their gas masks, so that they tore them off and inhaled the lethal gases used with the sternutators.

New methods of using poisons were also invented. At first the gas clouds were liberated from cylinders of liquid gas, which were articles of commerce before the war. Then poisons were filled into shells and shot from guns. By an artillery gas bombardment a high concentration of gas could be kept up for a long time. By this method the number of available poisons was greatly increased for it enabled both liquids and solids to be used; as when the shell bursts the poison is blown up into a cloud of fine particles, and poisons the air. The British introduced Liven's bombs. These consist of metal containers holding about 30 lbs. of poison. They were shot from mortars in batches of from 50 to 5,000. Candles which give off a poisonous smoke were also used on a large scale towards the end of the war. The flame throwers were not very successful, but grenades, bombs, and shells filled with phosphorus were very effective, as they not only gave off choking fumes, but splashed the victims with blazing molten phosphorus.

As the war progressed the use of poisons attained huge dimensions, and by the time of the armistice the German army had used over 44,000 tons of various poisons, while the Allies had used an even larger quantity. The French alone made over 18,000,000 poison gas shells. On one occasion the British shot 5,110 Liven's bombs, containing 148 tons of poison gas into the enemy trenches; these were fired simultaneously by electricity. On one day (Aug. 28, 1918)

(Continued On Page Eight).



The Workers Pay the Cost of the Military Merry-Go-Round

By WM. GROPPER.

Sacco and Vanzetti Killed For Being Agitators

The following article, written during the last stages of the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, was distributed to working class publications throught the world by the International Press Correspondence.

BY its latest action regarding the carrying out of the death sentence the American bourgeoisie is continuing its old, cruel game. The tortures of Sacco and Vanzetti are increased. We are familiar with the capitalist justice of all countries, but the case of Sacco and Vanzetti stands apart by itself.

If in the free World Soviet Republic of the future, by some miracle, all memories and records of the vanquished capitalist world were annihilated and there remained over only the records of the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, these would completely suffice in order to reconstruct the true nature of bourgeois society. For in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti there is reflected as in a "dew drop" the world-embracing struggle between labor and capital, the entire lying fraud of bourgeois democracy, all the cruelty of bourgeois class justice and, not the least, the role of the social democracy as confederate and saviour of the bourgeoisie.

In the period of intensified class struggle, in the period of imperialism, the most ruthless means are being employed by the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule in face of the attack of the working class. The thousands and thousands of workers corpses in Hungary, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania, China, Austria etc. are a bloody proof of this. But the case of Sacco and Vanzetti undoubtedly deserves a "place of honor" in the history of bourgeois class terror.

What is the real political import of this Trial? Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned to death not because they "have committed a murder"—the workers of all countries, in fact everybody knows that Sacco and Vanzetti are absolutely innocent,—but because they are revolutionary class fighters, because, during the imperialist war, they agitated against the war-makers, distributed anti-imperialist leaflets; because, after the war, they worked in the American trade union movement as active revolutionaries. They were denounced as "Rédés," and as such are to be got out of the way.

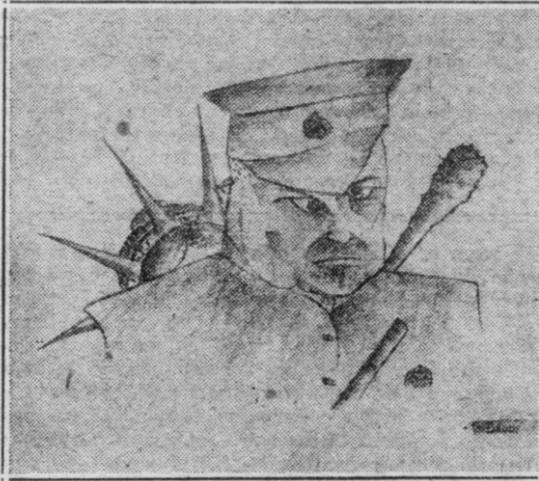
The condemnation of Sacco and Vanzetti did not at the beginning arouse that response among the working class which it ought to have aroused. In the wave of Communist persecutions prevailing in America at that time the case of Sacco and Vanzetti appeared to be of little importance. Gradually, however, broader strata of the workers became alive to the meaning of the trial.

In the whole world there set in a powerful protest movement, the like of which is not to be found in the history of protest movements. The workers protested against the intended judicial murder at thousands of meetings; hundreds of thousands of protest telegrams were sent to the American judicial authorities; even a section of the liberal bourgeoisie joined the protest movement of the workers.

The American bourgeoisie was several times obliged to draw back, to postpone repeatedly the date of the execution; but it did not release its victims. The workers, on their part, recognized more and more that the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti was their own cause, that it was a question of their own vital interests. Thus the fight for the release of the two revolutionary fighters developed into a sort of trial of strength between the working class and the bourgeoisie, which possesses the greatest importance in the present situation of the increased offensive of capital and the threatening war on the Soviet Union. That is the reason why the American bourgeoisie is so obstinately defending its position in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, why it wishes to save at all costs its soiled prestige, why it ignores the new evidence which the Defense Committee have obtained to save Sacco and Vanzetti and which proves beyond all doubt the innocence of the two accused.

The news of the refusal to grant a new trial, which meant the final confirmation of the death sentence, aroused the excitement and indignation of

By PAUL STEIN (Berlin)



the workers of the whole world. Protest demonstrations were held in every country. In Argentina a boycott movement was instituted against American goods. In France the government prohibited protest demonstrations on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, but in spite of this tremendous demonstrations were held which were attended by hundreds of thousands. The reactionary press on its part increased beyond all bounds the incitement against the "Bolsheviki" Sacco and Vanzetti. Thus we see on the one side the rallying of the workers, without distinction of Party, and on the other side the rallying of the whole reactionary bourgeoisie.

How does the Social Democracy behave in this fight? The American reformist leaders sabotage the protest campaign of the working class for Sacco and Vanzetti. Their friends in Europe do the same. The Paris Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, it is true, approved in principle the proposal of Pimmen to carry out a boycott of American goods, but it is clear that this resolution, if it depends for its carrying out upon Jouhaux and Leipart, will merely remain on paper. The German General Federation of Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Party of Germany rejected a proposal for common action of the German proletariat in

WILL THEY BE REMEMBERED?

By HELEN BLACK

How many times during the past seven years have we raised the slogan, "Sacco and Vanzetti Must Not Die"; yet now they are gone. In spite of all the determination of the workers to stop this criminal murder, it was accomplished. The workers were not yet strong enough, not yet organized to make the Fullers, Thayers, Lowells listen to their demands and fear to oppose them.

Today, as we cry "Long Live Sacco and Vanzetti," we are apt to say confidently "They Will Never Be Forgotten"; but if this is to prove true it must be said with grim determination and a bitter hatred of those class forces which defied the workers of the whole world and lightly dismissed their pleas for justice. Sacco and Vanzetti will be forgotten unless their memory serves as an inspiration for greater and greater organization of the workers on every field. It is easy for an emotion even as tremendous and wide-spread as that which has been roused by the death of these two martyrs, to die down. We ourselves will not be here forever, and to those who come after us Sacco and Vanzetti may not be living realities.

Last Monday night, some of us waited for the approach of the death hour, one comrade argued that there was a danger that Sacco and Vanzetti would be forgotten. The rest of us denied this emphatically; but the comrade said:

"Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are still in San Quentin prison. They have been rotting there since 1916 as a result of a frame-up as deliberate and fiendish as the one against Sacco and Vanzetti."

It was true; and just so easily can Sacco and Vanzetti be forgotten and their great martyrdom fade into a dim memory, unless their example inspires organization, and more persistently for a labor party which will be a real menace to the rulers of Massachusetts and the rest of the country. This has been said a hundred times before, but it cannot be said too often. Workers of America unite; join hands with the workers of the world. Then the memory and example of Sacco and Vanzetti will never die.

order to wrest the victims from their murderers at the last moment. That is not all. With the plea "not to injure the whole movement on behalf of the two victims" the reformist C. G. T. in France forbade its members to take part in the 24 hours protest strike which had been called by the revolutionary C. G. T. U.

The result of the life and death struggle for Sacco and Vanzetti depends to a great extent upon how far it will be possible to intensify the struggle in the last hour, to draw the broadest masses of workers into the battle-front and to mobilize them not only in protest demonstrations, but for the application of more effective means, such as the strike, boycott etc. There are signs at hand that the working masses are prepared to respond to the call of the Communists who stand at the head of the fight to rescue Sacco and Vanzetti. This is the only guarantee that the American bourgeoisie will even yet shrink before the powerful and growing protest movement and release Sacco and Vanzetti.

BEET WORKER

(Continued From Page Four).

man. And later, when they went in the stores—they were watched like thieves and people would mutter, behind their hands, and shake their heads. No peonage—equality—how those dreams had died in the years Emanuel had been in the land of the Americano.

Not much work, long winters, and short summers. He knew now that there was something wrong with that. The first year work had started in April and continued thru a cold wet Fall, almost until the Christmas time. Last year it was the same and working in the wet fields pulling beets and knocking them together in an attempt to shake off the heavy sticky dirt had kept them busy for days that again extended into December. And the Winters had left him chilled from the first snowfall to May's warmth. The beet wagons that were their homes had large chinks in the walls and the wintry winds seeped in and came up thru the loosely laid floors. Even the small stove could bring no semblance of warmth, though it smoked a great deal. At night he shivered himself to sleep and in the day he huddled close to the stove.

How he wished he were back home. Back among his own people and with his family once more. These days seemed endless; filled with tired backs that shook one, made one quiver. And insults were hurled by the bosses. Big Americans with profane outbursts and talk of lazy greasers.

Emanuel stopped to clear his eyes—to shake the dizziness from his head. But the field boss was watching and he went to work again. Well, it would only be a few months now—then he would be home again. Home again to start anew—to take up his life where he had left it off those few years before. No better than it had been. He coughed and the sound carried with hollowness over the field, above the swing of the short-handled hoes.



—Drawing by WM. GROPPER

A PORTRAIT

Surer in the singular flower
of his obeisance
to futilities, the hour
of his renaissance
dimmed. And as his timid past
took refuge in grey anonymity
(without the censure of the vast
of his mistakes), sterility
was born. He did not weep
because he did not know:
Because he could not see
that ships, to learn the steep
and battering waves, must go
not once, but many times, to sea.

—LEBARBE.

THE CHAOS IN THE I. F. T. U.

It has for a long time been a well-known fact that the International Federation of Trade Unions is no real international and that it has never had a united and determined leadership. But the picture shown by the congress of the I. F. T. U. on the first day and still more on the second day, of confusion, disruption and mutual intriguing in the inner leadership of the I. F. T. U. beggars description. The first two days of the Congress already proved one thing beyond dispute, and that is that this international is absolutely incapable of leading any real action on behalf of the proletariat. It would fall to pieces at the first step.

Even the way in which the Presidium of the Congress sit together above the Congress illustrates excellently the "unity" of this "international." In the middle is Purcell, showing stoical calm, right next to him is the second British member of the executive committee, J. W. Brown. Then comes a considerable space and further to the left Oudegeest and Sassenbach and then, on his own, looking the personification of misfortune sits Leipart. To the right is also a wide space and then comes the fat Jouhau with his ears lying on the rolls of fat around his neck, together with Mertens. All the national groups keep to themselves and are almost constantly engaged in eager conversation.

Only this form of "unity" made it possible for the chairman to open the Congress with a speech which surprised not only the Congress and the general public, but also the majority of the executive itself, because the speech said something quite different from the policy of the I. F. T. U., or better than the policy of the majority of the executive committee of the I. F. T. U. And only in this International could the incredible happen, that immediately after the speech of the chairman, the vice-chairman got up and declared before the whole world that he disavowed the chairman and that the latter must be held personally responsible for his speech as he, the vice-chairman, and a number of other members of the executive had directly opposite opinions, or as another member of the executive expressed it later in the day, the speech of the

By AUGUST ENDERLE

chairman was an insult to the majority of the executive.

If those not in the know were of the opinion on the first day that the speech of Purcell was the expression of a personal anger and annoyance and represented a personal deviation from the general line, the second day showed them clearly enough that the speech was a deliberate attempt to bring the matters in question out into the open before the general public. For years the chairman and with him the second British member of the executive, the secretary of the I. F. T. U. Brown, have been treated liked puppets by a clique represented by Oudegeest, Jouhau and Sassenbach; they have been shamelessly deceived and kept in the dark. This clique had so estimated the patience and the "simplicity" of the British representatives and of the "pro forma" chairman, that they even had the insolence and hypocrisy to express through the mouths of Jouhau and Mertens, moral indignation at the "Russian" methods of the British representatives before the whole congress. This caused the bomb to burst. With almost incredible calm J. W. Brown, who had been greatly slandered, exposed the bottomless meanness of Oudegeest and his friends. He showed by means of the I. F. T. U. under Oudegeest was completely at the orders of the International Labor Office in Geneva and thus under the thumb of the League of Nations and the international imperialists, but also the treachery of Oudegeest and his friends in sabotaging the unity of the proletariat in order to carry on a campaign against the Soviet Union. With documentary evidence, Brown proved that Oudegeest, Jouhau and their friends have sabotaged international trade union unity at the behest and in agreement with world capitalism, and that they have used all possible means to prevent a union of the western proletariat with the workers of the Soviet Union and of China. "The Russians are honest in their desire for unity, it is time that we should go over to the attack" wrote Oudegeest to his honorable friend Jouhau. The

world has now seen their attack clearly enough, it was a flood of lies and meanness in co-operation with Chamberlain. Now the workers of the world know it, can see it in black and white. That is the only good thing about this stirring up of the stinking Amsterdam morass.

What are the deeper causes and the consequences of this antagonism which has shown itself here between the British and the Amsterdam trade union leaders. Is the policy of these two sections towards capitalism so basically different? Are the present leaders of the British trade unions, the Purcells, the Hicks and the Browns revolutionaries while Oudegeest and his colleagues are reformists? No, Oudegeest and his colleagues are no longer "reformists," they are the conscious agents of capitalism and they act accordingly, just the same as Thomas and Hodges in Great Britain. Purcell, Hicks and Brown are real reformists who have still some connection with the class struggle. They are, and that is probably the decisive factor, under the immediate pressure of the British proletariat which is suffering under a severe offensive of capitalism. The British leaders, Purcell and his colleagues, are therefore not able to take part in this conscious treachery at the behest of capitalism; they need immediate assistance in their struggle against British capitalism and that explains their conditional urge towards unity with the Russian unions and above all with the workers of the Far East. That is the reason for their revolt against the imperialist methods of the Amsterdam bureau.

How will the serious crisis in the I. F. T. U. end? Will Purcell and Brown disappear from the leadership of the I. F. T. U. at the will of the German, French, Belgian and Dutch reactionaries? Everything depends upon the energy and determination of the British delegation. If the British delegation stands firmly behind Purcell then he will probably remain in the leadership, for otherwise his dismissal would cause the acute danger of a break between the British union and the I. F. T. U. Should, however, the British delegation split on the subject, then probably another Britisher will become chairman. In any case, the matter will be pushed into the commissions.

The COMRADE

Edited by the Young
A Page for Workers'



Young SECTION

Pioneers of America
and Farmers' Children

Their Spirits Shall Never Die!

The capitalists of America thought that when they murdered Sacco and Vanzetti, their worries would be over and Sacco and Vanzetti forgotten. But, they reckon without the workers, who never forget their heroes. The fighting spirit of Sacco and Vanzetti could not be killed. It still lives on in the hearts of all true workers and their children. It is the spirit that shall NEVER die, but will continue to grow until we have wiped out of existence the murderers of our comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti, and established Workers' and Poor Farmers' Governments thruout the world.

We, the children of the American working class, must HELP this spirit to grow. We must gather together into a real Workers' Children's organization and fight with the rest of the working class with the spirit of Sacco and Vanzetti. Such an organization already exists. It is called The Young Pioneers of America. All workers' children whose hearts have bled for Sacco and Vanzetti should join this organization of workers' children.

JOIN TODAY, DON'T DELAY.

NOTE:—For information write to Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., N. Y. C.

Have All Men the Same!

I don't think it fair
That men are not the same
A poor man's name isn't known at all
While a rich man's name has much fame.

No man is better
And no man is worse
But we always see the poor men last
And the rich men first.

Have all people alike
Believe in what the Communist says.
Why have one man slave
And the other be idle all days?

Our Letter Box

They Don't Discuss Communism

Dear Comrades: In our school the teachers are very careful on the subject of Communism, Bolshevism and other such beliefs. If a discussion starts on one of them, she or he right away has the class finish writing something or has the discussions stopped, when one who knows starts to talk. Some do not really subdue it but are very careful as to the kind of discussion. If the children are against it, she encourages us, but if for it, then no more discussions. This shows how very narrow minded the teachers are in our school.—WITOLD CHERAS.

Teacher Is Silly

Dear Comrades: I would like to tell you that my teacher sure is silly. Every morning she has us say the prayers. I don't say a word of it. After the children say the prayer we have to pledge allegiance to the flag. Then she will stand in front of the room and tell us that God made everything on earth. One day a little boy in my room asked how could God make the radio and the teacher could not say anything cause God did not make the radio because someone invented it.

—ALMA SAKALOUSKES.

FROM PIONEER TO PIONEERS

By JOSEPH SHEMETH.

Come Pioneers from all the land,
Come on along, and we'll join hands;
We will dance and help the workers all,
Before our hands each boss will fall.

READ THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY

Answer to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 29 is: THE SPIRIT OF SACCO AND VANZETTI LIVES ON IN THE HEARTS OF ALL WORKERS AND THEIR CHILDREN.

More Answers to Puzzle No. 28

Helen Nichiporeuk, Endicott, N. Y.; Alice Marcus, Chicago, Ill.; Leo Wolin, Chicago, Ill.; Sylvia Horinstein, Detroit, Mich.; James Mishkis, Chicago, Ill.; Homer B. Chase, Washington, N. H.; Jennie Lukashewich, Utica, N. Y.; Eugene Dauber, New York City; Elianora Ivanoff, Post Falls, Idaho.

More Answers to Puzzle No. 27

Becky Raport, Petaluma, Cal.; Elianora Ivanoff, Post Falls, Idaho.

THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE NO. 30

Fill in the missing letters and see what you get.

T-e ch-d-en of t-e A-er-can W-rk-ng Cl-ss w-ll n-ver f-rg-t th-ir h-ro-s S-c-o a-d V-nz-t-i.

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

RUTHENBERG SUB BLANK

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½ years 25c. 1 year 50c.

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Address
City
State Age.....

(Issued Every Month).

POISON GAS

(Continued From Page Five).

15,000 poison gas candles were lighted by a single company of the Royal Engineers.

Apart from the millions of gas shells used by the artillery, 768 gas operations (in addition to many smoke) were carried out by the Special (Gas) Companies of the Royal Engineers, 67,968 cylinders of gas were discharged, 196,940 projector drums, and 177,408 Stokes' mortar bombs were fired. The British Offensive (Gas) Companies had 258 officers and 5,832 men, and the Defensive Company 222 officers and 1,020 men. The British troops had 150,000 casualties from mustard gas alone and although America came late into the war, her casualties were 72,056.

BRITAIN'S GAS POLICY.

What is Great Britain's post war policy with regard to poison gas? The Hague Convention which was signed by Britain and other countries before the war expressly prohibited the use of poison gases in warfare. The Allies appeared to have forgotten this when the French attempted to use Turpinit. But when the Germans successfully used chlorine, the Allies suddenly remembered it, and loudly protested against this form of frightfulness—and then promptly proceeded to copy it.

With the collapse of the German army, in November, 1918, the Allies obtained a much more sweeping victory than they had hoped for and found themselves in the position of dictators; with a disarmed Germany and no other country in the world strong enough to attack them. Some people thought this was a grand chance for disarmament, and most people believed that poison gas warfare was a thing of the past, and would remain like some horrible nightmare, a mere memory; now that the "war to end war" has been won. The British government encouraged this view, and at the Versailles Conference the use of poisonous gases was loudly denounced. It was even prohibited by Article 171 of the Peace Treaty.

The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments met in 1921, and here again chemical warfare (as it was called when used by the Allies) was righteously denounced and the signatory powers assented to the prohibition of "the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous and other gases, and of analogous liquids, materials or devices which had been justly condemned throughout the civilized world."

On February 6th, 1922, the Washington Treaty was duly signed by the High Contracting Parties, with great publicity in the press throughout the world. Article 5 of this treaty reads:

"The use in war of asphyxiating poisonous, or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials, or devices, having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world, and a prohibition of such having been declared in the treaties to which a majority of the civilized powers are parties. The signatory powers, to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law, binding alike the conscience and practice of nations, declare their assent to such prohibition, agree to be bound thereby as, between themselves, and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto."

At the League of Nations, the question of the employment of poisonous gases in time of war was first put to the Permanent Advisory Commission by the British delegation in October, 1920. The council also considered the problem at the same date and expressed the opinion "that the League of Nations could not authorize the employment of gases without being untrue to its pacifist and humanitarian aims. In a desire to minimize the havoc of future wars, it decided to propose to the various governments, that they should consider the penalties to be imposed upon any nation first infringing in this way the universal rules of humanity, and to seek with the help of the most competent scientists to discover the means of effectively preventing the manufacture of gases."

But side by side with this public policy for international conferences the British government has a private policy of "the development to its utmost extent of chemical warfare for offensive and defensive purposes." All the righteous talk condemning chemical warfare was only eyewash; in practice the government was making elaborate preparations to use chemical warfare all the time.

The speech of the war secretary (Mr. Churchill) in introducing the army estimates in the house of commons in 1920, contained not the slightest reference to chemical warfare. This, however, did not mean that signing international treaties prohibiting its use had any influence on the government's chemical warfare activities. Shortly after the Washington treaty had been signed, Mr. Morrison asked the secretary of state for war, "whether in view of the signature of the agreement at Washington, in which, under Article 5, the use in war of asphyxiating gas is prohibited, it is proposed to close down the experimental ground at Porton?" Sir R. Sanders, "The answer is in the negative. The government would be failing in its duty, if it failed to take all possible steps which might be necessary to protect the forces

By "X-RAY"

of the crown, and the inhabitants of the country against gas attacks in time of war."

By persistent questions in the house of commons Messrs. Ammon and Dunnico succeeded in extracting a few facts about the government's chemical warfare activities, but the tongues of that great pacifist Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his Labor ex-ministers are tied, for they not only built the five cruisers, but they also had a private policy of "the development to its utmost extent of chemical warfare for offensive and defensive purposes."

LABOR GOVERNMENT ABETS.

The Labor government with its policy of "continuity" did nothing to warn the workers of the international capitalist plot to poison them by the million in the next war, nor did it ratify the Washington treaty prohibiting the use of chemical warfare; what it did was to increase the grant to Porton, and spend more on chemical warfare research than the preceding capitalist government had done. The estimates for Porton show a rapidly increasing expenditure:—1919-20, 90,000 lbs.; 1920-21, 54,000 lbs.; 1921-22, 81,000 lbs.; 1922-23, 87,000 lbs.; 1923-24, 103,000 lbs.; 1924-25; 115,000 lbs.; 1925-26, 132,000 lbs.

The government's secrecy was criticized in the chemical journals; the "Chemical Trade Journal" said: "If the government had openly proclaimed their policy. . . we do not think that any protest would have been raised. The half-hearted and semi-secretive way in which they have commenced to work, in approaching the universities, and suggesting to them that they should undertake research into the development to its utmost extent of chemical warfare for offensive and defensive purposes, under an oath of secrecy, seems to have been designed to invite adverse criticism."

The secrecy was also criticized by the poison gas enthusiasts in the army, Captain S. J. M. Auld said: "Then there has been the secrecy maintained about the whole subject. This secrecy has had unfortunate results. It has caused the subject to be viewed even in the army in the light of the horrors of 1915, the only period at which considerable publicity was given to it in the press. . . it is a bald fact which can scarcely be questioned that the millions we spend annually on our armed forces is money wasted unless ample provision is made for the study and practice of chemical warfare."

In the House of Commons (November, 1920), Lieut.-Com. Hilton Young asked the prime minister (Lloyd George): "Whether a war office committee had been established to promote the development of chemical warfare, and if so whether he will state the reasons for this, in view of the provision of Article 171 of the Treaty of Versailles, by which the use of asphyxiating, poisonous and other gas, and all analogous liquids, materials and devices is prohibited, as well as of materials intended for the manufacture, storage and use of the same?" Mr. Hogge also asked the prime minister "Whether the decision of the war office to set up a committee for the development to the utmost extent of both the offensive and defensive of chemical warfare was approved by the cabinet? And, if so, whether the cabinet decided that the investigations of the committee were to be governed by the declaration of the council of the League of Nations to which the right honorable gentleman, the president of the council assented that the council of the league could not legitimize the use of poison gas, and must seek means to prevent its manufacture?"

The prime minister replied:

"The whole subject of chemical warfare has been under careful consideration by the cabinet during the past year. It was decided on March 4th that the question should be raised at the League of Nations. It is, I am sure, obvious to the house that this is a question in which our action must depend on that of other nations. It was realized, therefore, that as other nations have been continuing to develop this method of warfare, the safety of our fighting services would be jeopardized by lack of similar development in this country, an it was decided on May 12th that pending a pronouncement on the subject by the league, the fighting services should continue their researches and experiments. The War Office Committee referred to has been constituted as part of the organization necessary for the continuation of these studies. The whole subject will, of course, have to be reconsidered when the council of the League of Nations has made its pronouncement."

Now while Lloyd George was trying to excuse the government's duplicity and to shelter behind the League of Nations, the war office had decided its plans, and was pushing ahead with the work. Although Mr. Churchill avoided all reference to chemical warfare, a White paper issued in amplification of his speech, definitely stated that: "So long as there is any danger of other nations continuing these methods of warfare, research in chemical warfare must be pursued, directed not only towards the gases, and apparatus likely to be employed

in the future, but also towards the protection against all possible gases. . . we were, and appear likely to be in future wars, faced with tremendous actualities." The fact is emphasized, that no nation has renounced the use of poison gas as a result of the Peace Conference, and further that, "There are nations whose words we could not respect if they did renounce it."

According to this White paper, Great Britain had to prepare to use chemical warfare because other nations had not renounced it, and if other nations did renounce it, Great Britain would still prepare to use chemical warfare because she could not respect their word. Could other nations respect Great Britain's word when despite the prohibition by the Hague Convention and the Peace Treaty, she had already used poison gas in the war of intervention in Russia, a country upon which she had never declared war!

RACE IN CHEMICAL WARFARE.

With Germany defeated and disarmed, the ex-Allies entered upon a race of armaments not only in the pre-war science, but also in a race in chemical warfare preparedness, and they then proceeded to solemnly sign the Washington treaty, and later the League of Nations Protocol; in both of which they righteously denounce, and prohibit the use of chemical warfare. The Washington Conference set up a sub-committee on poison gas, which delivered a unanimous report to the conference, but this report was instantly suppressed, and it was only after four years of efforts than an American journal succeeded in obtaining a copy from a foreign source. This suppressed report states that, "owing to the enormous use of potential warfare gases in peace, it is impossible to take effective steps to restrict production of such gases by a universal international regulation of chemical industry and commerce; giving to each and all nations the means to provide for its own needs, but no more."

This, however, was the last thing that the High Contracting Parties wanted, for they were all trying to build up large chemical industries as potential poison gas arsenals; so they suppressed the report and signed the treaty. The League of Nations sub-committee on chemical warfare later came to the same conclusion, and in 1926 reported "complete agreement on chemical warfare." "Strict control by the league over the world's chemical industry, and an entente of manufacturers in order to eliminate the possibility of poison gas or bacteriological warfare in the future, are unanimously recommended."

Now, "before the treaties drawn at the Limitation of Armaments Conference in Washington were to become binding, they were to be ratified by the various signatory powers, and certified copies of the ratification deposited in Washington." Four years after the signing of the treaties it was reported that "none of the ratifications had been deposited in Washington, and the treaties respecting submarines and chemical warfare have not been ratified by one of the powers participating in the conference." The same farce was repeated at the League of Nations, here again "the present protocol will come into force for each signatory power as from the date of deposit of its ratification." No nation has ratified the protocol.

A "FARMED-OUT" INDUSTRY.

Today in Great Britain the chemical warfare machine has grown to enormous dimensions. Not only is scientific research being conducted in the universities, etc., for the Chemical Warfare Committee, but the whole output of scientific research is carefully watched for possible applications to chemical warfare. "The policy of the war department is to 'farm out' to civil scientific institutions, such as the universities, the National Physical Laboratory, Imperial College of Science and Technology, etc., all spare research than can profitably be farmed out, and generally speaking to restrict military institutions to applied research, and the preliminary design of apparatus."

The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research is also used, and sends representatives to the Chemical Warfare Committee. After the war scholarships for research were awarded by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, and some of the successful candidates were sent to work under poison gas chemists. How far research is quietly carried out, with money obtained from civil government departments, is illustrated by the following example. A chemist obtained a grant from the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, and went to work at Oxford University. In due course he published a paper entitled "Synthetical Experiments with *bb* Dichloroethylsulphide." Most people even if they read the paper would not see anything sinister in it, until they were told that the common name for *bb* Dichloroethylsulphide is Mustard Gas.

A single post war volume of one chemical journal contains 17 papers on poisons or explosives; the sting of these papers is in the tail, where some authors conclude by thanking the Chemical Warfare Department, others the Director of Artillery for permission to publish, and some acknowledge grants from the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.