

# THE NEW MAGAZINE

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## World Imperialism and the Soviet Union

AS the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Union approaches it is becoming clearer day by day that the imperialist powers are collecting their forces for another attempt to crush the Workers Republic, the fatherland of the workers of the world.

At the head of this conspiracy stands Great Britain, the oldest and most far-flung of modern imperialist powers even the second in power to the new imperialist giant of the western hemisphere, the United States of America.

Since the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party seized power in November, 1917, and toppled the rotten capitalist-feudal regime of Czarism into the dust, the imperialists have never let up for a moment in their efforts to affect the destruction of the Soviet regime.

Since the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany in the early part of 1918, until the defeat of the last formidable Czarist counter-revolution in 1921, there was a world concert of powers engaged in active military campaigns against Russia. But the heroic defense of the workers and peasants of Russia threw back the foreign invader and crushed the counter-revolutionary white guardists who sought to strangle the economic life of the country by sabotage and to rob the government of its best leaders thru assassination.

Left with an inheritance of graft and inefficiency from Czarist days and faced with an economic and financial boycott by the capitalist powers the Soviet administration was faced with a task more difficult than ever confronted a revolutionary government in the known history of man.

Feeble tho the assistance rendered the new Workers' Republic by the working class of other countries was, it nevertheless shackled the efforts of the imperialist conspirators and the sympathy aroused among broad sections of the populations of all countries bolstered up the morale of the hard-pressed revolutionary masses of the Soviet Republic. For several years after the heaviest part of the fighting ended, the new government faced an even more difficult task in the beginning of the construction of socialism from the wreckage caused by the civil war. Expecting that disaster would crown their efforts, the imperialists stacked their guns for a time. They believed it was only a question of time when the Soviet regime would crack and the bourgeoisie would return to power opening up to the financiers and industrial capitalists of the world vistas of profitable exploitation as great as ever brought the dew of greed from the teeth of the profit-mongering class. But the miracle happened, the Soviet regime arose from the ashes of Czarism with the vigor of a young giant until today it is so strong that the imperialists feel another offensive must be started against it if their own ruin is to be averted.

Having failed to smash the Soviet Union by frontal attack, more subtle methods were employed. Several big capitalist powers recognized the new Russia. The war left them shaky in the economic region, unemployment was rife and the possibility of making profit out of trade with the Workers' Republic was too glittering to be resisted by the business men of Great Britain, Italy, Germany, France and other countries whose trade was seriously affected by the ravages of the World War. "When the devil is sick, the devil a saint will be; when the devil is well, the devil a saint is he." When the capitalist powers were on crutches convalescing from the world blood debauch they confined their public manifestations of hostility to the Workers' Republic to the peevish ravings of irritable patients. But when they began to recover and noted the giant strides being made by the young proletarian republic that stretched its giant limbs over one-sixth of the earth's surface, they began to grow fearful lest the young giant might crush them if allowed to develop. They look on the Soviet Union as a poisonous weed in the capitalist garden. To pluck it up by the roots would be the most desirable and effective way to dispose of the peril, but this was a game that two could play at. And it is not a game for the sick.

Tho all the capitalist powers of the world look upon the Soviet Union with a jaundiced eye Great Britain at this moment is the leader in the aggression. Great Britain stands more to lose than any other power from a revolution among Oriental peoples that would snap the imperialist chain, and the sympathy and encouragement given to subject peoples as well as to exploited workers by the Soviet Union has increased the revolutionary ferment among the peoples of China, India and other sec-

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY



tions of the Far East, which are controlled and robbed by Great Britain, directly or indirectly.

The loss in trade suffered by Great Britain during the war was followed by unrest and the spread of revolutionary sentiment among the British masses. The revolutionization of the British workers forced the British ruling classes to go easy and Ramsay MacDonald was allowed to function at the head of a so-called Labor government while the process of bringing about some degree of stabilization was being developed. During this period, closer

trade and diplomatic relations were established between the Soviet Union and Great Britain and credit arrangements were on the point of completion when the Tories returned to power on a wave of hysteria caused by the publication of a fake "Zinoviev letter."

Since then the tory government has been increasing in its provocative acts against the Soviet Union. Its hand was held by the solidarity of the working masses with their comrades in Russia, a feeling to which the official labor leaders were forced to respond. On the continent the leaders of the Socialist and Labor International and its side kick the International Federation of Trade Unions are the closest allies of the imperialists in their anti-Soviet campaign. Hitherto the British trade union leaders outside of a few outspoken monarchists like J. H. Thomas, expressed strong sympathy with the Soviet Union and declared that the workers would not permit a war on the U.S.S.R., that the fruits of the Russian revolution must be conserved. But since the defeat of the General Strike thru the betrayal of the leaders, from the right to the so-called left, the leaders have been growing progressively hostile until today there is a solid reactionary line at the head of the trade union movement in England, at one in their hostility to the Communist movement and to the leaders of the Soviet government, tho they are careful yet to make a distinction between the leaders of the government and the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The passage of the trade Union Disputes Bill without an effective protest on the part of the bureaucrats places the necessary legal instruments in the hands of the government which will enable them to use the forces of the crown against the unions should they strike in protest against a war on Russia. At the Edinburgh conference of the Trade Union Congress held this week, the leaders of the General Council jammed thru a resolution which would disaffiliate any trades council or local union connected with the Minority Movement and

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## RELIEF FOR THE MINERS

By JACK LEE

A SIX months' strike without relief? What insanity is this, you say? Ah, that is because you do not understand the tactics of the official bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America.

International President Lewis, International Vice-President Murray, District President Harry Fishwick, District President Pat Fagin and their sort have many original methods of conducting a strike. Part of their policy is, while negotiating with the bosses, to assure them that they will not strike under any circumstances; part of their policy is not to prepare in the slightest for a strike, either by accumulating a treasury, or organizing among the unorganized; part of their policy is to announce at the beginning of cessation of work that any unit, district, sub-district or local, can go back to work when it wants to without regard to the state of the strike in any other part of the field.

And, of course, no relief. Or a little, perhaps, say \$2 a week for one week to some of the families, for that much money can be spared from the local treasuries, but no nation-wide call to labor everywhere to rally to the aid of over 150,000 coal miners, locked out now for six months—oh, no! Not that! For officialdom has decreed that that would be an admission of weakness! And the miner shall avoid any such admission, even though actually weak with hunger.

### THE SICKLE AND HAMMER

This is the sign of industry set free

To build and reap. A symbol forged in flame

To give the promise of a world to be,

By workers reared in revolution's name.

This is the sign so rugged and so bold

That tells the toilers of a purpose true:

The sickle is to cut away the old,

The mighty hammer is to build the new!

—HENRY REICH, JR.

Let us not enter here into the probable actual motives of the union "leaders" in this peculiar new strike strategy of theirs. That should be discussed. But the question now is relief. Miners are starving. They are leaving the country. They are driven by the hungry cries of children to enter other industries in which they toil as unskilled workers, drawing low wages and glutting a labor market already too full. The whole labor movement is injured by this condition, not just the miners' strike. And the whole labor movement, because of the solidarity of labor, without which nothing can be gained by any section of the working class, and because the magnitude of the strike directly affects other industries, and thus directly affects workers in them, is interested in seeing that the miners get relief and win their strike. Except, apparently, Lewis and company.

The rank and file miners, operating through the lower units of the organization, have practically been driven to seek relief through other channels than the officials. They have realized their relation to other parts of the working class, and have just begun to create machinery for appealing directly to union and fraternal organizations.

The rank and file relief organizations center in Pennsylvania, though some progress has been made in Illinois.

In western and central Pennsylvania, especially, conditions were bad. Not only was there inadequate official relief, the payment being only \$2 per destitute family per week, but this was not always paid in full. Only the amounts of money appropriated for relief work in each locality could be used for that purpose, according to official rulings, and frequently the amount provided was only a half or two-thirds of what had been promised by headquarters.

Not only that, but a part of the destitute families in each local union's territory got money through the local relief committee from each payment, and some other family got the money the next week. Relief was not only inadequate, it was irregular.

Since corruption and machine rule is common

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## Impressions of Magnus Johnson

By PAUL CROUCH

I WAS greatly surprised when informed that I was to be a fellow speaker (at Brush Lake, Mont.) with ex-Senator Magnus Johnson of Minnesota. I could hardly imagine a former United States senator being willing to speak with a Communist sentenced to prison for revolutionary activities in the army.

My surprise was even greater when Magnus Johnson (who was the last speaker) told the audience: "Everything Crouch said is true, there is no question about that." A few minutes before, he had been praising the "personal" qualities of Cal Coolidge—those very qualities which make him the rubber stamp of American imperialism.

Though he possesses a good voice and considerable talent as a humorist, it is only in political life that the famous Minnesota farmer is an unusual character. And in spite of his failure in the milking contest, Magnus Johnson is a real farmer with the typical psychology of most rural people.

The cause of Magnus Johnson's political influence is easy to see only when he is on the platform before an audience of farmers. He told with pride how Coolidge devoted thirty-five minutes to a discussion of his own twelve minute talk, failing to understand the methods of flattery and deception used for political purposes in Washington to bring opponents in line when other methods have failed to prevent their election. But tho he was at sea in the maze of political intrigue and unable to understand the tactics of big business in Washington, he does understand the psychology if not the real problems of the farmers of Minnesota.

The last thing the farmer desires is to hear of matters he cannot immediately understand. But he is able to appreciate a humorous story and often judges the intelligence of the speaker by his talent as a comedian. Magnus Johnson knows this, and carefully avoids offending the farmer by expecting him to think. However, he is unable to see that the only salvation of the farmer is the unpleasant task of learning to think and understand the real cause of present evils and the fact that the only solution is unity in an UNCOMPROMISING fight against capitalism. When Magnus Johnson entertains the farmers with humorous stories and spares them the pain of thought, he is unconsciously aiding big business in keeping them in slavery. He can not see the futility of electing representatives to congress when the farmers themselves remain in ignorance of the real problem.

Magnus Johnson possesses the ability of keeping an audience interested without disturbing them with serious thought, and this quality would lead him to greater success if he were a better politician.

This farmer and former glass blower from Sweden who became a United States senator seems to be honest—according to the conventional standards of bourgeois virtue. Thru subtle flattery and false promises the agents of big business were able to prevent any real efforts in Washington against the forces of capitalism, but it appears that Magnus Johnson did not take part in the undisguised forms of corruption so characteristic of the American government. No one who can be deceived by Cal Coolidge's flattering attentions is really dangerous, but nevertheless he was a nuisance and the greatest thing to his credit was the successful effort made to remove him from the senate so that the conscious tool of big business could take his place.

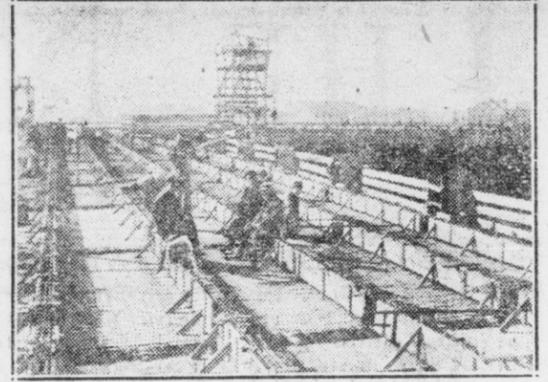
I traveled with Magnus Johnson from Montana to his home in Minnesota, and in personal conversation was able to understand more thoroughly the character of a man who spoke of receiving inspiration from Eugene V. Debs and then praises Governor Lowden of Illinois.

"Everything Crouch said is true, there is no question about that." I had been exposing the true nature of American imperialism and calling on the workers for a united front against the danger of new capitalist wars. And this "approval" was from a man who believes Vice-president Dawes is one of the best leaders of the American people and praises him to me in the highest terms. Magnus Johnson expresses approval of the fight of a Communist against American imperialism and tells of his admiration for one of the leading spokesmen of imperialism—an efficient tool of Morgan and gang.

Magnus Johnson may be an inspiration in comparison with most of the political tools of capitalism, but we cannot expect any effective opposition to the rule of big business from a man who denounces imperialism and supports the imperialists.



Opening of the Moscow summer sports season with an athletic parade led by the women's club.



Finishing the 4th floor of the new Moscow Telegraph Building.

# WORLD IMPERIALISM AND THE SOVIET UNION

(Continued from page 1)

at the time of writing the leaders of the general council are preparing the introduction of a resolution calling for a breaking of relations with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and the dissolution of the Anglo-Russian Committee. All those straws show that the winds of reaction are blowing strongly in Great Britain and constitute the home front preparation of the government for the war that is considered inevitable.

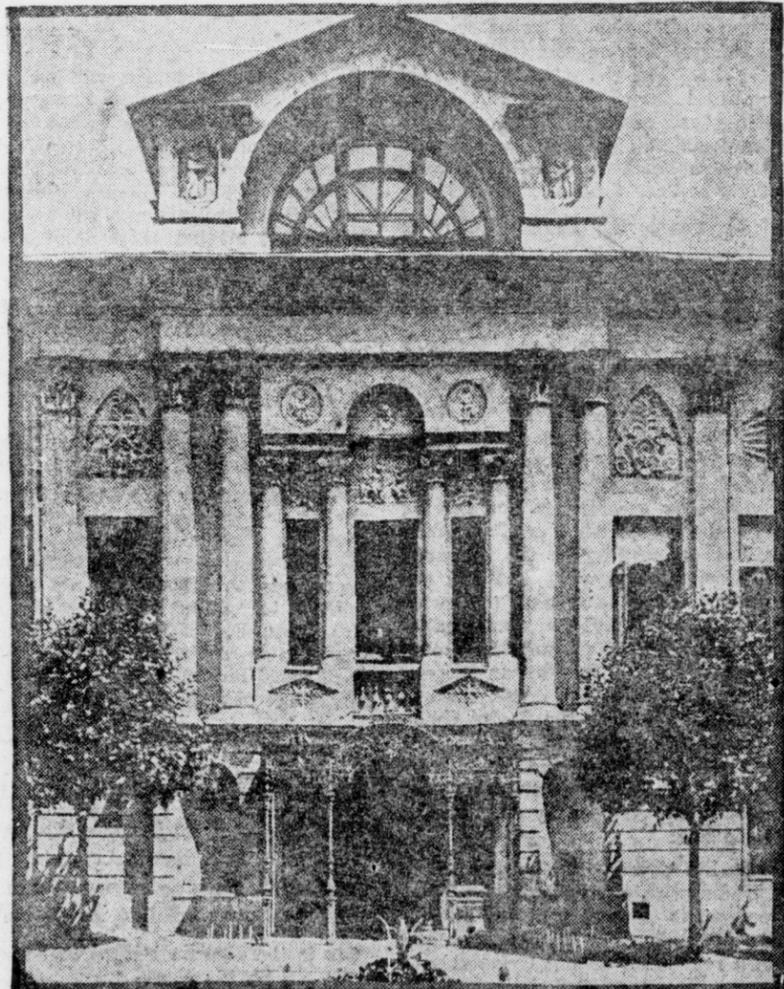
The British ruling classes feel that with the right wing leaders loyal, the latter can control the masses when war breaks out. The Communist Party is weak and has not yet secured a large following among the workers compared to the strength of the reactionaries. With the right wing leaders on the continent carrying on a relentless propaganda against Communism and the Soviet Union, the imperialists, led by Britain feel that they have the trump cards in their hands for the terrible gamble they are about to stake their future on.

When the bugles of war for the new crusade against the Soviet Union ring out on the ears of the world proletariat the Wall Street barons will instruct their government to step into line. The United States government has not recognized the Soviet government and there is little likelihood that it will in the near future. Strong financially and economically and unscathed by the war that brought its chief competitors to the verge of ruin this imperialist octopus did not feel obliged to follow the example of the European powers in recognizing the Moscow government. But because its interests are

not immediately affected in an adverse way by the Russian Revolution, it is still the most dangerous foe of the Soviet power, because of its stability and tremendous resources in every essential factor. The gold of the United States saved Europe from social revolution after the war and this gold will again be thrown into the scales when they are in danger of being tipped in the same direction should the imperialists meet with reverses in the gigantic struggle that darkens the political horizon today.

As the tenth anniversary of the world-shaking Russian Revolution approaches, the workers of all lands and particularly of the United States and Great Britain have a heavy burden placed on them. It is in their power to block the plans of the blood-thirsty imperialists. Here in America the labor bureaucrats are even more brazen in their loyalty to capitalism than their European brothers. William Green is a baptizer of battleships and Matthew Woll is chief stoolpigeon for Wall Street. Those reactionaries are taken into the councils of the ruling classes and are cogs in the government machine. They will lead the anvil chorus for war with the Soviet Union when Great Britain considers the time ripe to send up the warning signal.

The workers of Great Britain and the United States must demand, in one country the resumption of trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and, in the other, immediate recognition. They must serve a warning on the imperialists that a war against the Workers' Republic will not be tolerated, that the young manhood of both countries will not be used to reshackle the limbs of the workers and peasants of Russia with the fetters of a new slavery even more oppressive and degrading than Czarism.



A Russian royal palace now used by the workers.



# The Recent Developments in China

By TANG SHIN SHE

The Flight of Chiang Kai-shek from Nanking to Shanghai.

ALREADY for some time past the news from China pointed to the approaching defeat of Chiang Kai-shek. Up to the last few days "The Times," the official British organ, reported that high officers of Sun Chuan Fang had taken up quarters in the foreign hotels of Shanghai for the purpose of preparing for the entry of Sun Chuan Fang's troops, and there were even reports that Chiang Kai-shek and his staff were removing from Nanking to Shanghai. The flight to Shanghai means, according to all indications, to mean the preparation for the entire retreat of Chiang Kai-shek to his home in Chekiang. According to the opinion of "The Times," the Nanking government has already ceased to exist.

Who has delivered this crushing defeat to the hitherto so victorious Napoleonic war-lord, Chiang Kai-shek? According to the opinion of the press the defeat is due to the ruler of Shantung, Chang Tsung Chang, who had been almost annihilated, and Sun Chuan Fang, who has gone from defeat to defeat, and whom even Chang Tso-lin was prepared only recently to abandon in favor of an alliance with Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu Hsiang. Even at the beginning of July, when Chiang Kai-shek (from the Pukow-Tientsin railway line) and Feng Yu Hsiang (from the Lung hai line) were undertaking an attack on Shantung and an eminent under-general of the remainder of the troops of Sun Chuan Fang, who held possession of the coast district and an important railway line of Shantung, went over to Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Chuan Fang and Chang Tsung Chang were in the last stage of the death struggle.

That these two generals should have recovered, and that so quickly, and are today proceeding aggressively and victoriously against Chiang Kai-shek, is, of course, only to be attributed to the active aid of the imperialists. There are in China at present over 100,000 foreign soldiers. Owing to the tropical heat these foreign troops are almost all concentrated in the northern province of Shantung: the Japanese being in Tsintao and the English in Wei-Hai-Wei. During their summer stay in this province, the foreign troops have been engaged in most active work. Sun Chuan Fang and Chang Tsung Chang's troops who had long been without any pay and who, owing to lack of munitions, were almost incapable of fighting, were suddenly provided with modern weapons and sufficient funds. That is the solution of the riddle of their sudden recovery.

That the English supported their old lackey, Sun Chuan Fang against Chiang Kai-shek, who openly sympathizes with Japan and France, is to be understood. But why Japan, even if it did not openly support, favored Sun Chuan Fang's march on Shantung by agreeing without demur to England aiding Sun Chuan Fang, is not clear at the first moment. A closer view, however, reveals several reasons for this action.

1. On a world-political scale: Japan hoped at the Naval Disarmament Conference in Geneva to have the opportunity of bringing about again the old alliance with England against America in the Pacific Ocean. It was probably for this reason that it suddenly agreed to the division of China: England dominating the South and Japan the North of China.

2. Japan had insisted on the triple alliance: Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Tso-lin and Yen Shi San, but was against an alliance between Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu Hsiang. It therefore endeavored to prevent any common action on the part of Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu Hsiang in Shantung, and sought to prevent, even by an open intervention, the sending of troops to Tsinan.

3. Japan had realized that Chiang Kai-shek was not capable of exercising sufficient power over the people, that he was not even able to suppress the anti-Japanese boycott of goods in Shanghai and South China. That he had the will to do this is to be seen from the official Japanese organ "Shun-tien Shihpao" published in Peking, which wrote at the beginning of July: "Chiang Kai-shek is against the boycott of Japanese goods. He stated in a speech: 'The sending of Japanese troops to North China is not directed against us, but in the first place against the Communists.'"

Chiang Kai-shek was nevertheless still dangerous for Japan; perhaps more dangerous than Chang Tsung Chang and Sun Chuan Fang. For this reason Japan was not sorry to see a reduction of the power of Chiang Kai-shek by the other side.

Already before and immediately after his open treachery in the middle of April last, Chiang Kai-shek declared that it was impossible to achieve the abolition of the unequal treaties by revolutionary methods, by force; one must do this by means of negotiations. Using the same argument that the Communists wished to achieve everything by means of force, he proceeded to disarm the workers' defense and caused the workers to be shot, in order thereby to win the confidence of the great powers.

In order to ameliorate the financial difficulties, to satisfy the native bourgeoisie and to continue the



attempt, commenced by Japan after the Peking Customs Conference, to destroy the British trade monopoly in South China, Chiang Kai-shek has fixed the increased customs duties to come into force on the 1st of September.

In order to obtain most favored nation conditions, Japan immediately sent the Japanese ambassador from Peking to the negotiations at Nanking. England, on its part, immediately held discussions in the diplomatic corps for the purpose of common intervention, and on the other hand took measures for strengthening Sun Chuan Fang's troops, so that the latter could immediately commence the march on Shanghai to annihilate Chiang Kai-shek.

After the bargaining in the diplomatic corps the Japanese adopted a passive attitude and sacrificed their friend Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang Kai-shek has suppressed the "red spectre" in Shanghai, he can go. The situation is similar to what it was 15 years ago. In 1911 Sun Yat Sen was betrayed by the right Kuomintang in order to please the imperialists and General Yuan Shi Kai. In 1913 the traitors were themselves driven bag and baggage out of China by Yuan Shi Kai. The imperialists always have and always will choose the most reactionary of the military rulers as their assistants.

#### The Triple Alliance Against Feng Yu Hsiang.

Acting in accordance with the Japanese policy of dividing up China, Chiang Kai-shek, already at the beginning of the present year and behind the lack of the Kuomintang, entered into negotiations with Chang Tso-lin for the purpose of forming an alliance. Before the treachery of Feng Yu Hsiang against the Kuomintang at the Hsueh Conference with Chiang Kai-shek, the preparations for a triple alliance of Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Tso-lin and Yen Shi San were in full swing. The triple alliance was to be directed chiefly against Feng Yu Hsiang; formally it was directed against Communist Wuhan. Urged by his great longing to recapture Peking, Feng Yu Hsiang came to an understanding with his rival Chiang Kai-shek and committed the blackest treachery to the revolution. From the notorious Conference at Hsueh he called upon the Wuhan government to dissolve and to send Borodin back to the Soviet Union.

Chiang Kai-shek, who wished to become master of the whole of China, considered it better to work for the time being with Chang Tso-lin than with Feng Yu Hsiang; for he believed that it would be

easier to push aside Chang Tso-lin after the capture of Peking than Feng, the "Kuomintang" man. Although it was agreed at the Conference of Hsueh-chow that Feng Yu Hsiang should rule North China and Chiang Kai-shek South China, the latter constantly endeavored to gain a foothold in the North. He nominated Li Djin Lin, the former governor of Chili, who at the end of 1925 fought actively against and vanquished Feng Yu Hsiang, as propagandist commissar for Chili and Shantung. Feng Yu Hsiang was thereby again obviously driven to friendship with Wuhan rather than with Chiang Kai-shek. The front of the two "revolutionary" generals for the purpose of "completing the national revolution" was destroyed.

Before Chang Tso-lin had lost the two important strategic points of Hsueh-chow on the Tientsin-Pukow line and Tchenchow on the Peking-Hankow line, he had, in his negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Shi San, only wished to enter on a common military fight against the reds and would not make any further concessions. After his defeat, however, he declared at the end of June in his message of peace in Peking: "Sun Yat Sen was my old good comrade. My struggle against the reds is quite in accordance with the principles of my old good comrade." This means that he wished now to subordinate himself formally to the Kuomintang. In the middle of July representatives of Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Shi-san arrived at Chang Tso-lin's quarters in Peking for the purpose of negotiating an alliance.

The "Youth Group" of the Chang Tso-lin clique was prepared, for the sake of the alliance, to sacrifice the ruler of Shantung, Chang Tsung Chang, and to enter a coalition government with Yen Shi-san in Peking. It was not only Chang Tso-lin who put forward as the chief condition the annihilation of the power of Feng Yu Hsiang; the representatives of Yen Shi-san did the same. The triple alliance which had been almost concluded, finally, failed to materialize owing to the difficulties raised by the "old group" of the Chang Tso-lin clique and the unexpected rapid restoration of the forces of Chang Tsung Chang and Sun Chuan Fang.

The representatives of Yen Shi San and Chang Tso-lin are still negotiating today regarding an alliance; only Chiang Kai-shek, in order not to rouse the population against him still more, has caused it to be officially declared that he had never sent rep-

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# THE BRITISH MINORITY CONFERENCE

By JAMES MANNING

BATTERSEA Town Hall is ablaze with color today, banners of red and gold, banners marked in strange Chinese characters and red banners of the Russian workers bearing messages of fraternal greeting to their British comrades.

This is the opening of the Fourth Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement of Great Britain.

There are seven hundred and sixty-three delegates seated in the body of the hall and they hail from four hundred and thirty-three different branches of the various unions and cooperative societies. Men and women from the mines and textile industries, delegates from the engineers, agriculture, garment workers, railway men, clerks and teachers; every workers' organization of any importance in Great Britain is represented at the conference. All are obviously on their toes and ready to take an active and constructive part in the proceedings.

On the speakers' platform is seated the Executive Committee, among whom are Harry Pollitt of the boilermakers, W. Hannington of the engineers, Nat Watkins of the miners and Alex Gossip of the furniture workers, and there, modestly in the background, is Rutland Boughton, famous composer and author of the Immortal Hour. The conference is presided over by none other than our old friend and comrade, Tom Mann.

Tom is speaking now, making the address which opens the conference. The words snap from his lips like shots from a machine gun as he outlines to the delegates the tasks that confront them and the workers of Great Britain. Tom catches up his audience and carries them with him, bursts of applause halt the speaker at intervals as the delegates are carried away by the eloquence and virility of this old and loved fighter in the revolution. A capitalist reporter sitting next to me gapes up at the speaker and is carried away with the rest of us, he comes back to himself again in a few minutes with a sudden start that was rather funny, picks up his pencil and turns to his task.

Tom speaks of the intensified exploitation of the workers in every part of the world, he outlines the merciless aggressions of British imperialism and amid the thunders of applause from his hearers he calls attention to the new attitude that is being taken by the workers of Great Britain, an attitude that scorns patronage and charity, demands the ownership and management of industries by and for the workers, a disciplined, fighting attitude that will add a new dignity to the working class cause and leave the forces of reaction floundering in the mire of their own futility. "We must face death rather than fight for the capitalist class!" declares Tom as he concludes his address and the audience rises and cheers him to the echo. Clearly, things are beginning to stir in old England, the attitude of these men and women bodes a very lively time for the bosses in the near future.

A resolution was next offered on the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. The crimes of American capitalists were denounced in no uncertain terms and the various speakers on the resolution drew graphic lessons to be learned by the workers of Great Britain in order to make impossible similar outrages in their own land.

The space available in The DAILY WORKER does not admit of my giving a detailed account of the business taken up by the conference. Resolutions on all the vital subjects that are of interest to a militant working class organization were taken up and discussed with a degree of understanding and business-like ability that I have never seen equalled in any similar gathering. No groping for words or phrases here, these men and women knew the conditions existing in the various industries which they represent down to the smallest detail, situations were explained with a clarity and brevity that delighted me, especially as I had paid a visit to the House of Commons only a few days before and listened to the colorless bleatings of the home secretary and his troupe of performing sheep.

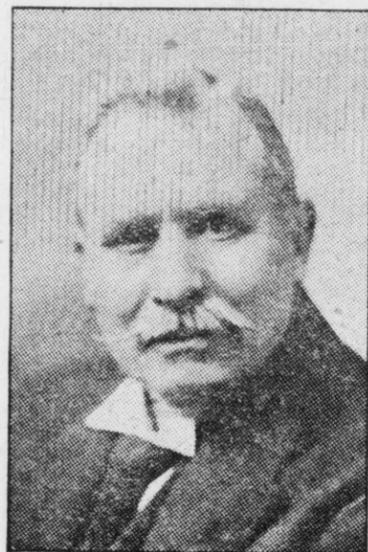
Arthur Horner, of the Miners' Federation executive, made an eloquent speech in which he called attention to the necessity for the formation of a Workers Defence Corps. He reminded the delegates of the tactics of the police during the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations thruout the country; his suggestions were adopted and will be carried into effect. No pacifist tendencies are noticeable in this gathering, these men and women are girding themselves for a struggle that they know will be grim and relentless, and they are constructing a machine that will, I think, eventually drive a goodly number of the exploiters of England to join their friends of the Russian White Guard in the dives of Paris and New York.

The feature that marked the second day of the conference was Tom Mann's report on the situation in China. It will be remembered that he was one of the members of the International Workers Delegation that went to China in January last and returned in July of this year. The following are the

## Message from Tom Mann to American Workers

A few words of greeting to our American comrades. At our Minority Movement Conference last year Comrade Earl Browder was with us, and took part in the conference. Since then I have traveled with Comrade Browder over many miles through Siberia and China. We have had much venomous hostility shown us by the reactionaries in the trade union movement but in spite of all we grow and the effect is showing itself markedly in the movement. We are fully alive to the machinations of the boss class and we are fighting them and will continue to fight them confident in our ability to grapple effectively with the enemy forces. Long live the revolutionary forces of the United States. Long live the revolutionary forces of Britain. Congratulations to all revolutionaries in America, and may capitalism and all its ramifications be speedily and forever overthrown. Good luck to all American reds.

Tom Mann. London. August 28th, 1927.



names of the delegates: Earl R. Browder, America, Tom Mann, England and Jacques Doriot, France. Sydor Stoler was secretary to the delegation.

Tom gave a graphic picture of the six thousand mile journey thru the snow from Poland to Vladivostok. He told of the hopes and struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants and of the betrayal of these same workers and peasants by the passing procession of military overlords. He emphasized the part played by British imperialism in the exploitation of the people of China, and told of the corruption and bribery that is commonly practiced by the representatives of British imperialism in their efforts to strangle the aspirations of the Chinese workers.

It was a tragic story that Tom told, but a note of hope was sounded when he said that the people of Manchuria had begun to take things into their own hands, and were forming workers' and peasants' Soviets there; he further gave it as his opinion that the Chinese workers, to a great extent, are conscious of the class nature of their struggle and are anxious to cooperate with the workers in other lands in the struggle that must, sooner or later, become universal.

A stirring message of greeting was read from the Chinese workers and their revolutionary banners were shown to the delegates. After his address Tom sang the Internationale in Chinese. He does not pretend to be any too familiar with the Chinese language but, he said, continual repetition had impressed this upon his memory.

This conference was a notable one in many ways. The outstanding feature, to me, was the perfect knowledge of their subjects shown by the various speakers, and the ease and perfect tempo with which addresses were delivered. A speech by Hannington of the engineers on imperialism and an analysis of industrial conditions by Harry Pollitt of the boilermakers were worth coming a long way to hear. Charles Ashleigh, a graduate of the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, gave a spirited and instructive address on the Workers' Press. Charles, by the way, wishes me to extend his greetings to all his old time friends of jungle and jail in America.

The conference concluded with the singing of the Red Flag and the Internationale. I really think our voices must have been heard over in Buckingham Palace. I hope so, it might have caused George to do a little heavy thinking, something his job rarely calls for.

These men and women delegates, who represented over one million workers, have returned to their factories and mines with new ideas and determinations. They are alive to the difficulties and dangers of the task ahead of them, nevertheless, they are convinced that their united fighting strength can, eventually, overcome all opposition and make their ideals realities. Having these convictions, who shall say that their battle is not half won?

## DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA

(Continued from page 3)

representatives to Peking to negotiate with Chang Tso-lin. The whole hide-and-seek game with the triple alliance negotiations is in reality a maneuver on the part of the "young group" to deceive the "old group" of the Chang Tso-lin clique (Chang Tsung Chang belongs to the "old group" and the "young group" have long wished to annihilate him) and a deceitful maneuver on the part of Chiang Kai-shek against the revolutionary masses in his territory and his party comrade, Feng Yu Hsiang. If Sun Chuan Fang captures Nanking and Shanghai, Chang Tsung Chang's power in Shantung and Chili will be strengthened; the fight among the northern generals will, as a result, assume more violent forms.

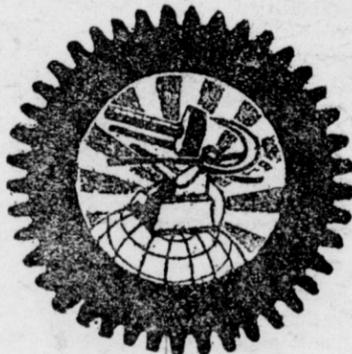
### The Revolutionary Insurrection in Nanchang.

Every revolutionist will be of the opinion that a government consisting of elements treacherous to the revolution and supported by officers and big landowners, must in all circumstances be overthrown. The revolt in Nanchang under the leadership of Generals Yeh Ting and Ho Lung is the beginning of the fight against the Wuhan government. A new revolutionary centre is being formed. Yeh Ting is the most capable general of the former so-called iron revolutionary 4th army corps. He has long been a member of the Communist Party. After the failure of the revolt in Nanchang, the troops of Yeh Ting and Ho Lung numbering 20,000 bayonets proceeded on the way to Kwantung. Perhaps they will succeed in capturing the old revolutionary headquarters.

In spite of the most fearful suppressive measures of the dictator of Kwantung, Li Dji Chin, many villages in the province, even including those quite close to the town of Canton, are occupied by armed peasants. In other provinces also in which powerful peasant risings have taken place, as Hunan, Kiangsi, Hupeh, the peasants, especially in those parts far removed from means of communication, still have the power in their hands. The present time is particularly suitable to a further peasant movement. The harvest has commenced. The landowners are demanding the immediate payment of the high rents. It will of course come to a sharp struggle between the peasants and the big landowners. The armed peasant troops who are in hiding will again appear in order to conduct the fight against the landowners. There are sufficient revolutionary forces available.

The counter-revolutionary Wuhan government and the treacherous Kuomintang leaders are the playing of generals who are greatly divided even among themselves. The group of the Hunan generals are nominally under the leadership of General Tang Sen Dji: as a matter of fact, however, General Ho Tien has a great power. An old Hunan general, Tan Yen Kai, is likewise attempting to overthrow Tang Sen Dji and to go to Wuhan as ruler. The reactionary coup of May 20th in Changcho was organized by Tan Yen Kai and originally directed against Tang Sen Dji.

General Ho Tien, who is in Wuhan, is again sharply menaced by Feng Yu Hsiang. If Feng is unable to capture Peking he will, driven by lack of funds and munitions, of course seek to win Wuhan for himself. The treacherous Kuomintang leaders, as Wang Ching Wei, Kuo Min Yu and Chu Tien, are more inclined to Feng Yu Hsiang than to the Hunan generals. Kuo Min Yu and Chu Tien are acting openly as representatives of Feng Yu Hsiang in Wuhan. As we see, the bloc of these traitors is also crumbling.



# THE WAY THAT LABOR IS GOING

By ROBERT MITCHELL

UNDER the title, "The Way That Labor Is Going," Mr. H. G. Wells of England and the world generally has written a very bad article in particular for the American capitalist class. It is no accident that such an article should appear in the New York Times, the foremost organ of the American bourgeoisie. It would not be too much to say that only in America could such complete comic opera prophesying be passed off as a genuine oracle.

It is hardly necessary to elaborate on Mr. Wells' intelligence. Nor is it important to call attention to the superficiality of his analysis and the numerous contradictions in the main thesis of his argument. We find here the mind of the coupon clipper at its worst!

Because he has written on a subject so important, however, and because there is at present a certain confusion and pessimism as to the way that labor is going, it is of the greatest consequence that every opportunity be taken to help clear up the issue.

To begin with the critical side of the discussion first: Wells begins by denying the existence of the capitalist system as such. It is all a figment of our imagination, a mere word concocted for the fearful. The same is true of "labor." It just doesn't exist! Once it did as matter of fact lead a hard and toil-driven life but it is progressively being abolished from the face of the earth. Hence there is not and in fact there cannot be any conflict between any real forces in the actual world. Like the forces themselves, the conflict is also a figment of our deranged minds.

"I believe this conflict between capital and labor is . . . a struggle about theoretical definitions having only the remotest relationship to any fundamental realities in life."

The whole conflict is but a form of our most recent madness, a sort of "conflict" complex, so to speak; and to be cured of the world-wide disease we need but to disabuse our minds of the passions and frenzies which somehow have taken possession of them.

But lest we mistake him for the latest follower of Berkleyian idealism or Mrs. Eddy's Christian Science, Wells makes haste to provide an objective basis for his charge:

"If we abandon this romantic, this Victor Hugo-esque conception of 'labor' as living in rags and slums and begin to incorporate semi-skilled and skilled workers with savings, insurances and other property and a certain minimum of education, and peasants with leases or owning land, we shall cease to have any definite boundary to stop us; and before we know where we are we shall find ourselves in perplexity, whether in this or in that case we are dealing with a capitalist or a worker, 'exploiter' or 'exploited'."

There you have it! The worker is not really a worker. If you but look at him in the proper way, he will reveal to you his real capitalist nature. But is it not true that Carver, economist of Harvard fame, created a whole American revolution on the strength of his having torn from the capitalist worker his proletarian disguise? And is it not equally true that even the ghost of this dead "revolution" has been discredited in America except perhaps among the leaders in the American labor movement?

But here is the ghost of Carver come back from across the Atlantic to haunt us in the garments of Wells!

Yet this is the main and only support of Wells' argument. That the facts even in the most prosperous of all countries, the United States, show that only a very small percentage of the people have shared in the increasing wealth of the country, is apparently beyond the grasp of these coupon clippers of a decaying capitalism. It is not hard to credit the reported statement of Lenin when in referring to Wells after the latter's visit to the Kremlin, the proletarian leader exclaimed: "That is a little bourgeois! Aye, aye, what a Philistine!"

As for labor's specific direction, we cannot discover any. "Labor" which once was, but which now more and more is not, naturally enough, can hardly be discovered to be going any particular place at all! "We may come to a world of capitalists professing to be a labor community," Wells hazards.

"Or we may follow quite other and more rational lines of development." Just what these may be is known only to Wells and the future. Wells on his part maintains a completely wordy silence! The logical conclusion from his premise, however, is that with the increasing accumulation of wealth and goods there is bound to be an increasing use and a



The hand of friendship the boss extends.

more widespread consumption of this wealth; the multiplying output of the machine will result in the increased sharing of all classes in the outpourings of goods and the now admittedly bad capitalist system will solve its contradictions through the sheer preponderance of accumulation. The mountain of wealth will so increase in height and proportions that at last, toppling over upon the masses, it will load all and sundry with its bounty.

What is wrong with this picture?

It is the world from the eyes of the savings bank president, the insurance salesman, the real estate broker—the world of the coupon clipper. Maintain your gaze only on the stock of consumable goods and you do not need to inquire as to fundamentals of our economic processes. You may with Wells be contented to anticipate a future in which we shall all be "capitalists professing to be a labor community." View only the rising tide of goods and savings and you do not need even to inquire as to who exactly owns these goods and accumulates these savings. For you it will be sufficient evidence of the coming millenium if some 3 per cent of the stock ownership of the country is in the hands of the workers, if about three-quarters of one billion is represented as workers' "savings" in a country whose estimated wealth is some four hundred billions. Separated from the field of production in which almost the whole of modern conflicts arise it becomes natural for the coupon clipper to view a temporary and insignificant phenomena such as the rise in labor banking in the light of a fundamental process.

When we turn to the field of production for the facts of our inquiry, the analysis of the Carvers, the Wellses, the Wolls assumes its proper proportion as the analysis of "absentee" minds. Is there a capitalist system? Yes, it is the system of relationships in which commodity production, monopoly and concentration in the productive processes, plays an ever-increasing role; it is the system in which the machine is playing a more and more important part in that production and in which the ownership of the machine is providing its owner, the capitalist, an ever-increasing power and control over the workers; it is the system in which the wage relationship between two groups in society is throwing these groups even in the United States in an ever increasing opposition to each other, and in which millions of farmers and middle-men are yearly being added to the enlarging masses of the dispossessed.

Are there evidences of these assertions or are they, as Wells maintains, merely our "delusion" having no relationship to any "fundamental realities in life"? Of the fact of commodity production, and the increasing degree of mergers and monopolies, let one but turn any day to the financial section of the New York Times. "Every day is merger day," as Bert Wolfe has aptly put it. Is the machine playing an increasing role in production. Even Wells makes this one of his main arguments but it is the characteristic of the bourgeois mind

that it fails to draw the proper conclusion from this recognition. It speaks of putting the machine "to the services of mankind," and other such drivel, not understanding that under the capitalist system with the ownership of the machine in private hands, the increase in the effectiveness of the machine can only be accompanied by the increase in power of the owner of the machine. And of the third consideration, the increasing conflict arising out of the dynamics of the wage system, one need but cast his view from the miners' struggle and the agricultural problem in the United States to the conflicts in the British working class wage relationship, the crisis caused by the Dawes plan in Germany, etc.

Only the kind of "absentee" mentality possible in our universities alone, would fail here to discover a class of "labor." Only the mind of decaying bourgeoisie such as represented in Wells could be unable to discern here the dynamics of a specific and characteristic form of production, a system. If we add to these considerations such facts as stare us in the face, from the recently "unsuccessful" naval disarmament conference between the United States, Great Britain and Japan, if we consider in its essential significance the world revolutionary movement now arising in the Orient, we will be forced to "accept" the fact, not only of an existing capitalist system, but of a pretty much alive imperialism as well!

Now where is labor going? This question when labor is viewed from the point of view of production, takes on an entirely different meaning. Labor, in the modern sense of the term, is a creation of the existing instruments of production, just as the whole capitalist system is such a creation. We observe that developing capitalism, so far from converting the workers into capitalists, is throwing millions into the ranks of proletariat. Only a kind of vicious metaphysics is capable of distorting this admitted numerical increase of labor into a progressive "elimination" of labor, simply because here and there the amount of consumable goods is increasing.

Secondly, with the increase in the number of the workers we are witnessing an increase in its consciousness of class. In the United States this is true only in the sense that there is an increasing restlessness and even apathy on the part of the workers, by some mistaken as a form of stupidity, but a condition actually arising out of an elementary recognition of the hopelessness of the old methods of struggle. Anyone who has had to deal with numbers of workers during the last year or two has found this prevalent though vague "feeling," which goes far to explain the existing difficulty of organization work in such fields, for instance, as the building trades.

A more careful analysis of this phenomenon will unquestionably lead to the conclusion that labor is on the verge of widespread action, not yet, of course, revolutionary action, but militant movement, very certainly. And in the past few months there have been more than passing indications of this fact.

# OTTO BAUER APOLOGIZES

By G. BEITSCHKEK

THE July rising of the Austrian proletariat has been drowned in blood, Seipel's government is celebrating a victory over the proletariat, the jubilant Austrian fascists are preparing for new ventures, and the working class of Austria has new sufferings in store.

The question is, what are the Austrian social democrats doing amid the stifling atmosphere of the White Terror which has set in after the suppression of the July rising? What new "theories" do they invoke to justify their latest betrayal of the working class? Indeed their treacherous role amid the barricade fights of the Austrian proletariat was so flagrant that the real nature of social-democracy has been revealed to every worker. Nevertheless the Austrian social-democratic press, unperturbed in the least, does not even attempt to justify the conduct of the social democrats before the international proletariat. No, this does not at all enter into the thoughts of the Austrian social democratic "leaders." What is most important to them is to justify their conduct. . . before the bourgeoisie.

What is wrong? the naive reader might ask. Since the Austrian social democrats have so splendidly acquitted themselves of their role as extinguisher of the flare of revolution, why should they want to apologize before the bourgeoisie? The answer is plain. The Austrian bourgeoisie have witnessed in the days of July how the masses, eschewing their obedience to the social democratic leaders, began to talk in the language of Bolshevism. At first blush the social democrats had manifestly lost their bearings, and they did not put in sufficient energy to save the republic. For this reason the victorious bourgeoisie began to accuse the social democrats of weakness and "rashness." This, of course, was galling to the "leaders," as if they were going to say: we have tried our hardest, and yet you are abusing us. This caused Otto Bauer, theorist and leader of the Austrian social democracy, to unburden himself of an "apologetic" speech in parliament. In the interests of the entire worldwide revolutionary movement this speech ought to be published broadcast in millions of copies in all languages, so that every worker might read it and behold the real face of modern social democracy. Owing to the lack of space we must restrict ourselves to quoting a few passages from that speech.

In his opening remarks Otto Bauer observes that the revolutionary demonstration of the Viennese proletariat, in which about 300,000 people took part, had broken out spontaneously, so that the social democrats had been suddenly put in an "awkward" position. Bauer begins to "apologize":

"Today I frankly admit: it was our mistake, our tragic ignorance of the situation. . ."

Then he goes on to conjure up post-dated prospects:

"Had we carried this out in time (the mobilization of the Schutzbund, that is of the social democratic police.—G. B.) the Schutzbund might have easily disposed (!) of the handful (!) of several thousand people which obstructed the firemen who came to put out the flames in the court building. . ."

The word "disposed" (glatt fertig geworden) coming from the lips of Bauer, a well-known opponent of "force," has rather a queer sound.

Otto Bauer goes on to teach the Austrian bourgeoisie that for the suppression of the revolutionary movement there are two ways: firearms and "moral force." He reminds the Austrian speculators and landowners that in 1918-1919 his party had coped with an even greater upheaval of the masses by means of "moral force."

"In those days we were capable of bringing the masses to reason by means of insistent daily appeal to common sense."

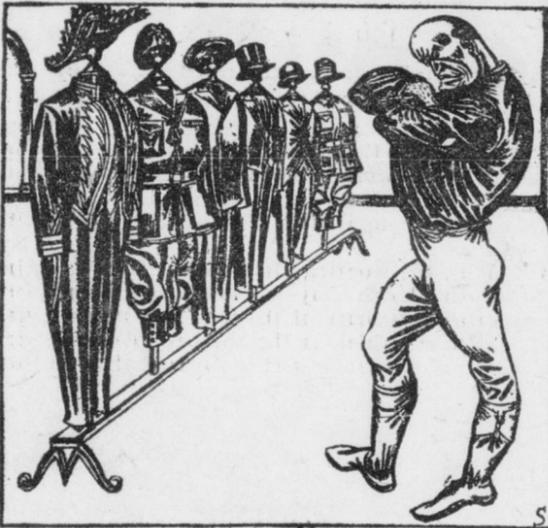
And so Otto Bauer wonders why the bourgeoisie in 1927 had to resort to the firearm method. Why did not the bourgeoisie try the method of "moral suasion" in the masses?

In another passage of Bauer's speech a description is given of the most salient moments of the movement.

"The masses were scattered, the demonstration was over. The police went through the streets, shooting. There were people killed and wounded. When we arrived there to save what could be saved, we were met by the calmest and most reasonable workers, who made but one request: give us arms to defend ourselves! In an instant we sized up the situation: driven by passion, the crowd had gone mad (here is a truly social democratic view of the revolutionary mood of the masses.—G. B.). . . Now the people are going to retaliate. The question is, by what means. . ."

It was then that the social democrats began to save the bourgeoisie:

"We then tried, although it was extremely difficult, to substitute another reply to that of replying by means of firearms, and equally



Mussolini: "What kind of a hero will I pose today?"

firm, yet bloodless reply. Namely, we proposed a strike protest. We endeavored to tame the wild passions of the mob by suggesting the form of fighting which had been accompanied by proletarian discipline of the masses in the course of many decades. We decided to exert every effort to tell the working class, driven by anger to madness: do not expose your breasts to the rifles, for it means death, refrain also from seizing rifles into your hands, for it means civil war. Demonstrate your anger by means of your usual weapon: quit the machines whose wheels are turned by your will. It was thus that we proclaimed then the general strike. . ."

What comment do we need to add to this shameful and arrogant cowardice? I believe, we need none. Otto Bauer not only justifies himself before parliament, zealously testifying his loyalty to the bourgeois republic, but he also openly confesses, with matchless cynicism, for what purpose he and his gang wanted the general strike. He declares quite calmly that the general strike, this "form of fighting," the social democratic adventurers had taken up merely to get hold of the movement and then betray it. But Bauer does not even pause at

that. Not content with transforming the supreme weapon of the proletarian struggle into one of defeat for the proletariat, Bauer goes on with his candid revelations.

When Seipel's clerical government, fully acquainted with the "tactics" of the social democrats and fully appreciating their artful maneuvering, insisted upon the discontinuance of the general strike as a preliminary condition to negotiations, the social democrats seeing that the crest of the struggle had been passed, did not hesitate to call off the strike.

This is what Otto Bauer has to say about it:

"At the hour of supreme danger we called upon our comrades to stop the strike. And if I ever was proud of my being an Austrian social democrat, of the great educational work carried on among the masses by our party and by our trade unions in the course of decades, I was particularly so on the night between Monday and Tuesday. . . when in spite of everything, hundreds and thousands of railwaymen, postmen and telegraph and telephone operators, without asking any questions, returned to work. . ."

Now we shall know what the Austrian social democracy and its leader, Otto Bauer, are proud of. That the social democracy of the post-war period has already stooped to open blacklegging, we knew already for some time; but that it considers blacklegging the supreme manifestation of party ethics, and that it even prides itself on it, we have now learned for the first time from the lips of Otto Bauer.

What should be added to this evil-smelling patch-potch of platitudes? Perhaps the statement made in the Austrian parliament by Renner, the second leader of the Austrian social democracy.

Renner thus "amplified" Bauer's apology:

"It is therefore superficial judgement on the part of the bourgeoisie to place the laurel wreath upon the head of the chancellor, who had entirely lost his bearings at the moment of decision, and to ignore the consistency and wisdom of our trade union leaders who have rendered far greater services to society."

We believe, Renner is right: the social democrats have tried their hardest to crush the rising of the Austrian proletariat, and of this they make no secret at all.

One thing ought to be said: the Austrian social democrats during the barricade fights in July had discovered for themselves their worthy places.



The Bratiano brothers will do the robbing of Roumania until the king grows up.

—By M. Pass.

# The Thirteenth International Youth Day

THE foundation for International Youth Day was laid during the dark days of world slaughter, when the workers of various lands were turning their bayonets against one another, and world social democracy had betrayed the working class and sent it to its death for the bourgeoisie.

All the leaders of the Second International, including Plekhanov, went over to the bourgeoisie, and came out strongly in favor of war. The only ones who took a stand against war and the treacherous activities of the Second International were a group of social democratic youth under the leadership of Lenin and Liebknecht.

"War means the downfall of capitalism and the task of the revolutionary workers is to turn this war into a revolutionary path, the path of transforming it into a civil war."

This was the line of Lenin, and it was followed by the more revolutionary section of the socialist youth. From the very beginning they carried on a struggle against militarism, meeting with a sympathetic response both on the part of these young workers who had been sent to the battle front, and those who were being subjected to such terrible exploitation at the rear.

In 1915 an International Congress of Socialist organizations was called at Berne, Switzerland, at which it was proposed to carry on an energetic struggle against militarism and militaristic ideology; and it was at this congress that International Youth Day was founded.

We shall always be proud of the fact that during these years the working class youth, following the guidance of Karl Liebknecht, refused to be overwhelmed by the general wave of treason and struggled against it courageously.

This then is the history of the origin of International Youth Day, and it constitutes one of the most splendid and militant chapters in the history of revolutionary youth the world over.

This year we celebrate the Thirteenth International Youth Day. On this day, the world over, the proletarian youth are thinking, feeling and demonstrating their class unity to a greater degree than ever before. When we turn to the east we see that tens of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants have raised the banner of struggle against world imperialism. At the critical moment of the revolution, when Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu-hsiang deserted to the bourgeois revolution, the youth, with the exception of a certain section of the liberals, refused to follow in the foot-steps of the traitors, but remained true to their posts, and kept up the struggle for the interests of the workers and peasants under the leadership of 40,000 young Communists who con-

By J. I. RIJAK

sistently followed the line laid down by the Comintern. When we turn toward the west we see the League of the Communist Youth in France carrying on anti-militarist propaganda against the capitalists with most effective results. The same thing is also occurring in the other eastern and western countries.

For us, the working class youth of America, International Youth Day has a special and immense significance, because of the fact that we are living in a country which is the sharpest ideological expression of capitalism and of the capitalist dictatorship in the world today. The American capitalist state needs military forces with which to guard "democracy" within the country, and to aid the American magnates in exploiting and murdering the revolutionary workers of Nicaragua, Mexico, Porto Rico, as well as in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands and other colonial possessions.

And no country is prosecuting the militarization of the youth with such energy as America. Compulsory military training in the high schools, the Boy Scout organizations, the Citizens' Training Camps, the Reserve Officers Training Corps and other organizations; all have the same goal, the preparation of the youth for the coming wars, to turn them aside from their class interests so that in the period of class conflicts the working class youth can be utilized as strike breakers against their own brothers. The reply of the working class youth to these vile attempts of Washington to militarize the youth must be this: we refuse to enter the Citizens' Training Camps because we refuse to go into the coming war. We will not shoot our brother workers, we have given enough blood, enough lives, to the capitalist class. The only war we shall go into will be the war against you—the class war.

The struggle against militarism must only be one part of the whole struggle of the American youth. Although America is today the richest country in the world.

In the last years, in the course of which the rapid development of industrial technique, and new machinery, a mass of skilled workers were eliminated from the factories, forcing them to take their sons and daughters from the schools and send them into the shops. At the present moment out of 35 million workers in the United States, 11 million are young workers, of which 3 millions are children, the most unskilled and exploited section of the American working class.

Therefore, today it is more than ever before necessary to struggle for better working conditions and for drawing the youth into the trade unions. The working class youth must advance hand in hand with the adult workers in their struggles with the bosses.

Although the broad masses of the working youth are still asleep, yet a section of the working class youth is already aroused and following the path of class struggle. The best example is Passaic where the young textile workers not only did not play the role of strike-breakers, but were the most energetic and courageous strikers, on the picket line, in combat with the police, with the bosses, and continued the struggle until the last moment of the strike. The same can also be said of the young workers in the glass industry, the plumbers' helpers, etc. The historic role of the working class youth in America is a tremendous one. Their task must be to unite all races and nationalities among workers in one powerful working class, to function as a bridge between the workers of America and the workers of other lands. And all indications point to the fact that the working class youth in the near future will be not only a part of the labor movement but the most militant section of the working class which not only selects the path of class struggle instead of that of class collaboration but will be the strongest against the present reactionary leadership of the American labor movement. It is for this reason that the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. does want to draw the youth into the trade unions for it is the young workers which will put an end to their influence in the labor movement.

One of the reasons for the bad conditions of the working class, especially of the working class youth is the lack of a strong labor party in the U. S., and it is the duty of the working class youth to develop the maximum activity in this field.

At this moment that we are celebrating the 13th International Youth Day, American reaction has just snatched from our ranks two of the best fighters of the working class (Sacco and Vanzetti). We must look upon the execution of these two workers as a beginning of a new offensive of capitalist reaction against the American working class, and we must answer this offensive with a counter offensive of the working class against reaction. We Young Workers of America must take our place in the front ranks defending the interests of our brother workers. We must have a unified League with greater enthusiasm, greater strength, greater energy, devotion and determination.

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



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

## BACK TO THE SCHOOL STRUGGLE

School has again begun. "Vacation" is over. The workers' children must again go back to their factory, the school, and be poisoned with bosses' dope. Again our teachers will tell us what a wonderful world we live in. They will say, "What a fine vacation you must have had!" But the children of the workers will answer, "We didn't enjoy our vacation because we had to work." Or else, many of us will answer, "We had to suffer in the hot city, we could not go to the country."

Now that school is once more here we must again ENTER INTO THE SCHOOL STRUGGLE. We workers' children must demand better school conditions. No more fire-trap school buildings. A seat for every child. We must demand that hitting as a punishment be abolished. And most important is the demand for the doing away with the teaching of bunk. The children of the working class must not allow the teachers, the tools of the bosses, to make the schools "poison factories" where the workers' children will learn to hate their parents, the workers.

The Young Comrade Corner points out to the workers' children how much bunk there is in such subjects as history, civics, and other things we are taught in school. Comrades, we want to be able to help you in your everyday struggles in the schools against these teachings. In order to do this we must know what is going on in YOUR SCHOOL. Become a reporter for the Young Comrade Corner and write us about conditions in your school. Let all the workers' children know how rotten it is in the schools. Let us learn how to fight against these conditions by getting INTO THE SCHOOL STRUGGLE.

## THE WORKER

By MILDRED MEDELIS

Their home was cold,  
Their stomachs empty  
Waiting, for something to eat,  
Which to them would be very tempting.

The mother sat with a worried face,  
She looked at the children around her chair,  
For they all sat in one corner,  
And the rest of the room was bare.

The father went looking for a job,  
He was shivering from the cold,  
He was very poorly dressed,  
And hungry, that could be told.

## Our Letter Box

### Teacher Didn't Know

Dear Comrades: One day while my sister was having her geography class and I was supposed to be studying my lesson our teacher started knocking Russia. I forgot all about my lesson and when my class came I didn't know my lesson. As soon as I got up I started in telling her about Russia, and all she said was, "Why, I didn't know that." She also forgot to call me down.—ANNIE HEARD.

### More Answers to Puzzle No. 28

Clarence Reaver, Dayton, Ohio; Emma Sechooler, Chicago, Ill.; Mary Brklacich, Superior, Wyo.

## THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE No. 31

This week's puzzle is a number puzzle. 1 stands for A, 2 stands for B, etc.

2 21 9 12 4	1 13 15 14 21 13 5 14 20	20 15
20 8 5	13 5 13 15 18 25	15 6
19 1 3 3 15	1 14 4	22 1 14 26 5 20 20 9
2 25	10 15 9 14 9 14 7	20 8 5 25 15 21 14 7
16 9 15 14 5 5 18 19		

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

## Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 30 is: THE CHILDREN OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS WILL NEVER FORGET THEIR HEROES SACCO AND VANZETTI. The following had the correct answer:

Gladys Kivowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Sylvia Masler, Bronx, N. Y.; Evelyn Cooper, Yonker, N. Y.; Madeline Finkel, New York City; Jack Rosen, New York City.

## More Answers to Puzzle No. 29

Sylvia Rubin, Bronx, N. Y.; Jack Rosen, New York City; Madeline Finkel, New York City; Bernard Rubin, Bronx, N. Y.; Grace Zilnick, Bronx, N. Y.; Veronica Yelich, S. Brownsville, Pa.; Anthony Castagna, Chicago, Ill.

# Relief for the Miners

(Continued from page 1)

among the U. M. W. bureaucrats, underlings in the official hierarchy, graft, too, and even some as far down as the local relief committees have been found out giving money, at least on paper, to men that do not exist outside of their account books, or are scabs in the mines. And such things further reduce the actual relief payments.

So, in western Pennsylvania local relief organizations, committees and conferences, based on the local unions sprang up; their purpose being to make appeals to other bodies or organized labor throughout the country. There has never been any attempt to approach individuals. The district relief conference that resulted from these local conferences, does not do it and the appeals all go out in the name of the District Conference, the Miners' Relief Conference, located in Pittsburgh. The M. R. C. deals with organized bodies of workers only, both as to solicitation of funds and distribution of funds and food and clothing. Only committees authorized by the local unions, and able to use their seal, have a right to ask for relief. This local control of relief distribution, under the supervision of the central district body, seems most suited to the peculiar conditions in the mining field and results in a maximum efficiency.

The Miners' Relief Conference of Pittsburgh was not easy to organize. Most determined and unfair sabotage was committed upon it by the union officialdom. It seems that the latter not only will not provide relief themselves, they have an intense dislike for anybody else who wants to do it.

The first local conference called a sub-district conference, inviting sub-district and district union officials, as well as International Vice-President Murray. Few of them came, but their agents appeared, and by filibuster tactics tried to disrupt the conference, or steer it into a position where it could be declared dualistic, and forbidden by the officials.

The sub-district conference called a district conference, which met in Pittsburgh, during the first of July, and represented 34 local unions, though the underground campaign against it instituted by officialdom kept still more from coming.

The district officials would not come to the conference, though again their absence was made an excuse for disruptive objections by their agents. Some time was taken in putting down the attempts to break up the conference.

The district officials advised that no permanent organization to collect money be formed, but that the conference confine itself to merely requesting the A. F. of L. to give help. The conference construed this to mean that it could appeal to any part of the A. F. of L. and declare itself a permanent organization to approach all groups of organized workers, and other organizations through its executive committee.

That was two months ago. Since then the district executive has decided to maintain neutrality towards the M. R. C., and in a grudging way permits some cooperation. When the local relief committees (official) have not money enough from the union, the M. R. C. is allowed to make up the balance.

The International vice-president in charge of the strike in Pennsylvania, Murray, has not officially ruled on the propriety of being saved from starvation through the M. R. C., but hinders its work, as for instance in the following letter sent to several organizations investigating appeals from the M. R. C. for donations:

"Dear Sir:

"Responding to the inquiry contained in your communication of August 2nd. I will advise you that the so-called Miners' Relief Conference of western Pennsylvania is not a bona fide organization recognized by the United Mine Workers of America. Our union has no relationship whatever with the people who are sponsoring this movement.

"Very truly yours, Philip Murray,  
"Vice-President."

The socialist party hesitated about assisting the M. R. C., as they were invited to do, then saw District President Pat Fagin, and were advised by him to start a dual relief committee. So far they have not done this.

In Illinois the move to organize a similar conference was blasted by a denunciation from the district president, Harry Fishwick, who offered to expel anybody who had anything to do with the affair. Fishwick maintains his power, as did his predecessor, Frank Farrington, the operators' \$25,000 a year man, by terrorism and expulsions, by bullets, not ballots. He was defeated in the last district election, but held official by fraud.

Still, the drive for relief in Illinois was too great to be checked, and Fishwick, after prohibiting the rank and file relief organizations, had to make at least a pretense at relief, and some has been distributed, principally through local and sub-district organizations.

Much as has been done, there is much to be done

still. Unless the strike gets relief, it will be lost. The union officials will not raise money for starving miners, they will even interfere as much as possible with whoever else wants to raise money. But the miners are unanimous for relief, and apparently nothing can now prevent the organization on a wider and wider scale of rank and file relief committees.

As an example of the effect upon the rank and file miners of any scheme to interfere with their first attempts to get relief, may be cited a communication under the seal of Local Union 5071, U. M. W. A., Cokeburg, Pa., and signed by the chairman, secretary and a committee of five miners elected at a meeting of seven local unions. It is addressed to the executive board of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, headquarters in Pittsburgh, and shows the disgust of the miners with their officials who try to declare their relief illegal, and their resentment at the decision of the fraternal order, which accepted International Vice-President Murray's decree of August 2, that the Miners' Relief Conference "is not a bona fide organization."

The letter is as follows:

To the Executive Board of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, 1012 Peralta St., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.:

Dear Sir and Brothers—We read your minutes of the 10th of August and see you rejected the appeal for relief for the striking miners and their families made to you through their representatives elected on the first of July, 1927, at Pittsburgh.

Your refusal to help us at this time means starving for more families, not only of your nationality,

but many of whom are also members of your society.

Our district office does not afford us as much relief as we need, so we get the shortage from the Miners' Relief Conference. For instance, our local got \$279 from the district office, but we needed \$351 to provide all members that are on relief, and in bad circumstances with their small quota so you see that we have to have the shortage. Sometimes we have more shortage, sometimes less, according to how many members are idle. We are just trying to keep our members from going to the non-union fields and especially from scabbing.

As for the statement of Philip Murray regarding the Miners' Relief Conference, we, members of Locals 155, 2278, 1190, 1165, 1197, 5071 and 3422 of the U. M. W. A., at a joint meeting held at Bentleyville, Pa., on Sept. 2, declared that the statement of Murray is more to the detriment of the United Mine Workers of America than to their benefit in the present struggle.

Through the union there are no charges against any of our members who are on the executive committee of the M. R. C., and if the officers of our district and international union does not deem it a breach of the constitution of our union to organize such a conference, and to be on the executive committee of such conferences—if they do not forbid the local union relief committees to receive help from the M. R. C., then we feel that the conference has all the right in the world to speak in the name of the striking miners and their families of western Pennsylvania, despite the denials of Brother Murray, which we don't know officially.

## The Home of the Free



—By Wm. Gropper.