What The World Thought of Lenin

(Continued From Page 1.)

to his sorrow, comply with your request". The "Socialist" Minister Henderson had no opinions on Lenin and his work, since he has never met him As he had never said hello to Marx either, he probably would have nothing to say regarding the founder of scientific Socialism of which he is supposed to be a follower. Henderson's statement is, indeed, the prize statement of all issued by public men regarding Lenin.

Not being a member of the labor government, G. B. Shaw felt more free to express a conviction that "a monument should be erected to Lenin in London as there was to Washington, who Lenin was treated to more calumny than Washington in his time in Great Britain."

The Daily Herald, the official organ of the Labor Party, writes: "Lenin risen in history as a giant compared to all his contemporaries. His greatness consisted in the combination of iron will with deep learning and wonderful sense of reality. Among all historical figures he stands out the greatest leader of the labor movement and generally one of the greatest leaders of peoples in all history. The mourning which has overtaken Russia is not over the Chairman of the Council of Commissars but over Ilyitch, friend of the laboring masses, a mourning over a man who wanted to conquer the world not for himself but for them".

The I. Y. P. "New Leader", MacDonald's party paper, writes about the revolution: "When humanity will quietly review the work of Lenin it will see in the victory of a small group of disciplined enthusiasts in a whole empire a monument to human will, which will tower over all our accomplishments". And about Lenin—"We are pygmies in comparison with him".

The French Socialist organ, "Populaire" wrote on Lenin's death: "We can only bow our heads before the remains of a man who has played the most important role in the history of the revolutionary Socialism since Marx and Jaures. Lenin was a great statesman and theoretician. He will remain in history as the incarnation of the Russian revolution. He will be passionately discussed and interpreted. Lenin leaves this world at a time when the experiment which he began has not yet produced final results". Amidst the reverence which the revolutionary French workers exhibited upon the receipt of news of Lenin's death, the French Socialists had to join the mourning procession.

The Italian Socialist "Avanti", at present controlled by the reformist Socialists, was forced to pay tribute to the memory of the great revolutionary leader knowing the sorrow which the masses of the Italian workers have experienced upon learning of Lenin's death. The "Avanti" writes: "The death of Lenin—a heavy loss for Russia and a heavy loss of the international proletariat. The Russian proletariat lost a great leader who could combine theory and practice and always find a way out in the most adverse conditions and in the interest of the proletariat". The present leaders of the Italian Socialist party, Toratti, and Modigliani are not of that caliber. They have meekly allowed the destruction of the Italian labor movement by the black shirted Fascisti.

The Swedish Socialist leader Hjalmar Branting wrote in the "Social demokraten", "Lenin has accomplished a great historic feat, clearing with a merciless struggle his land from everything old. The developments showed that Lenin understood his people better than anyone else and has evaluated the conditions in Russia better than the Mensheviks." This opinion does not prevent Branting from accepting from his comrade in the Second International, the Menshevik Abramovich, the claim that the Russian revolution was carried out in Russia by the Bolsheviks with little or no understanding of Russian conditions and against the interests of the Russian workers. While praising Lenin's work in behalf of the Russian people, Branting, a leading member of the Council of the League of Nations, has been supporting various counter-revolutionary plots which were engineered by the League of Nations against Russia.

The Old S. P. Muddle.

And the American Socialist Party must not be overlooked in this review. As of old it is in chaotic condition regarding policies and public utterances. One would think since only few people are left in the Socialist Party they would reach a common agreement regarding the place of Lenin in the labor movement. Instead of that we have Eugene Debs issuing a warm statement of condolence, and Julius Gerber, writing in the New York "New Leader" that Lenin was "a most despotic ruler any nation ever had," and that "at his death capitalism was more promising in Russia than even under the Czar." The New York Socialists held a Lenin memorial meeting in the Rand Hotel, while the Pennsylvania State Socialist convention at Harrisburg voted to table a resolution of condolence on Lenin's death.

Leninism—the True Weapon.

Can one really speak of Lenin and the American Socialist Party at the same time Yes, because both are dead. But while Lenin is only dead in body, the Socialist Party is dead both in body and spirit. A visit to 35 Eastern cities during my present lecture trip, brought home to me the fact that the Socialist Party, which had previously had strong organizations in these cities, has absolutely disappeared from the political arena. Here and there a few stray old members still cling to the old firm as a habit. The only functioning proletarian elements working for Socialism in this country are those in the Communist Workers Party. It is these militants in the labor movement who have paid true homage to their great leader and teacher Lenin. Together with the French Communist organ "L'Humanite" the American Communists declare: "Lenin's name, memory, and example will remain as lights burning in the dark which will never go out. With his name on their lips and his image in their hearts, the workers of the world will continue the struggle with the methods which he has pointed out, until the final accomplishment of their ultimate aim the establishment of a free workers society."

Literature--Music--Drama

AMERICAN LABOR'S YEAR BOOK.
(Federated Press Book Review.)

By SCOTT NEARING.

American labor has a good right to be proud of the current issue of the American Labor Year Book, 1923-1924, published by the labor research department of the Rand school. On four previous occasions this publication has appeared, but the fifth volume is larger and far more complete than any of its predecessors.

For one thing, the whole book has been written by the research staff, Solon De Leon, director, and Nathan Fine, associate, who have abandoned the policy of compiling articles by experts in different fields. The present volume contains an extensive chapter of Industrial and Social Conditions, Trade Union Organization, Labor Disputes, Labor Politics, Labor Legislation, Workers' Education, Labor Banking, Co-operation, and similar topics. In addition it has three extensive sections dealing with the International labor movement in 1923, and a very complete International Labor Directory, covering labor unions, labor and socialist political organizations, and the labor and radical press.

Numerous well chosen tables of figures are found throughout the book to illustrate the outstanding events of American labor history during the past two years, while the data concerning the international labor movement is the only available material in convenient book form in America, and is subdivided by country. The appendix contains the constitution and other decisions and activities of the constituent bodies of the A. F. of L., the independent organizations and the Trade Union Educational league. There are the platforms and attitudes of all the radical political parties in the United States, workers' education groups, and a review of the principal strikes that have occurred during the past two years.

The fifth volume of the American Labor Year Book, 1923-24, should find a place on the reference shelf of every editor, librarian, teacher and lecturer who is asked for material regarding the labor movement. It also furnishes a mass of information to the active propagandist for a new social order.

American Labor Year Book, Vol. 5, 1923-24, published by the Labor Research Department, Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York. $3; postage 15c.

CO-OPERATIVE REFERENCE BOOK

The People's Year Book for 1924 contains enormous information in short space on the co-operative movement of the world, with special emphasis on Great Britain, where it is most flourishing. In addition the book is a storehouse of miscellaneous statistics on cost of living, trade, public finance, and reviews of current literature. The British Co-operative Wholesale society is the publisher.

The co-operators who have published the People's Year Book successfully combine a comprehensive review in a compact yet attractive form. The book correlates the co-operative activities in the various countries with those of the trade union and progressive political action. From an American point of view a shortcoming of the book is the brevity of its review of our co-operative movement.

Co-operative society officers will want a copy to keep in touch with what is going on around the world; co-operative store managers will want a copy to compare their achievements with the stores run by other co-operators. Public libraries cannot pass over the only reference book on a world movement that represents more than 30,000,000 organized consumers.

The All-American co-operative commission is distributing the People's Year Book for 1924. Send your order with $1 by check or money order to the commission at 806 B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio, and you will get the Year Book, postpaid.

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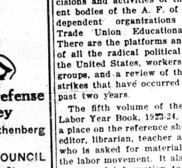

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Studio Players Stage "O'Flaherty, V. C." Famous Shavian Play

"O'Flaherty, V.C.," an anti-military play by George Bernard Shaw will be staged by the Studio players at the Westside Branch Young Workers League affair this coming Sunday. "O'Flaherty V. C. was suppressed during the war in England. Martin Abern, National Executive Secretary of the Young Workers League is also on the program. The Young Workers League orchestra will be there en masse.

The affair is being held at Workers Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., Sunday May 4th, at 2:30. Program starts at 3:00. Dancing from 8:00 to 12:00 a.m. Admission is the best of cats.

SECOND SECTION
May 3rd, 1924
This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

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

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
THE DAILY WORKER

What the World Thought of Lenin -

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

THE way Soviet Russia paid tribute to the memory of Lenin during the week his body lay in the Moscow House of the Unions needs no recapitulation. Even the capitalist press was forced to print column long cables giving accounts of the mourning by the Russian masses over the loss of their great leader. The dumbness which will be paid to his spiritual heritage in the years to come will be just as profound and devoted as was the respect and love shown to the dead teacher during the never to be forgotten last week in January. In reading the news from all parts of Russia, one cannot but feel that tens of millions of workers and peasants have made a place in their hearts for Lenin's memory, which they will carry with them until their dying days.

It is necessary to review the way the world's revolutionary workers organized in or in sympathy with the Communist movement receive the news of the death of their great teacher and leader. The most illustrious pupil of Marx, Lenin by his life and work, has left a heritage which will forever remain a source of enlightment and inspiration to the disinherited thruout the world.

FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ACT.

The governments of the various countries which have diplomatic or trade relations with Russia have all expressed their condolences upon Lenin's death. Premiers or foreign ministers of these governments sent official communications to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. According to reports in the Russian press, 27 different countries have officially expressed their condolences to the Russian government. These countries include England, Germany, Italy, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, China, Mongolia, Japan, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, Mexico and Chile.

The official expressions of grief over Lenin's death by the various governments did not prevent some of these governments from prohibiting memorial meetings for the same death. While President Ebert wrote to Kalin on that "the German people express their sorrow to the Russian people over the loss of their teacher and leader," and that "the significance of Lenin and his influence upon the fortunes of the Russian people and the whole world was so great that a true evaluation could be given only by future generations," meetings where similar sentiments were being expressed were dispersed by the police in Dresden, Hamburg, Bremen, and other German cities. The fate of Lenin memorial meetings in Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania was not better. Notwithstanding the warm sympathy tendered by these countries to the Soviet Government. Proper diplomatic usage required the dispatch to Russia of messages of condolence upon Lenin's death, but his name could not be mentioned sympathetically without invoking the wrath of the governments at home.

The conservative and liberal capitalist press thruout the world gave much space to news from Russia after Lenin's death. It has wasted so much space on rumors about his death during the past six years that it was willing to open its pages wide now that Lenin was really dead. What has occurred in Russia during that memorable week in January was so spontaneous and impressive that it could not be ignored. Besides the avalanche of news from Russia, much space was devoted to editorial comment upon Lenin's life and work as well as upon the way the Russian people were paying tribute to the memory of its dead leader. While disagreement was exhibited regarding Lenin the man and his aims, unanimity was reached upon how well he built, for none ventured to question the strength of the Soviet Government, which he left as a heritage to the Russian people people and the world.

EASTERN PEOPLE MOURN LOSS.

Lenin has given much of his attention to the problems of the East. His work in behalf of the national minorities within the confines of the Soviet Union has become known among the people of Asia. His death was received with genuine sorrow by the millions who considered him the emancipator of subject peoples.

In India the nationalist press called attention to Lenin's services in the interest of the Eastern peoples. The "Bombay Chronicle" remarked that "Lenin's name will live longer than the names of his opponents."

The entire PERSIAN cabinet attended the memorial services held at the Russian embassy in Teheran. There was also present a large delegation representing different Persian organizations. The Mesopotamian leader, Haleel, turning to Lenin's portrait during his address remarked: "The East which you have awakened is ready for the final struggle. It is only waiting for the proper moment to bring about the dream of your life the unification of all Eastern peoples, the establishment of the right of self determination for all peoples, no matter how small they may be."

The Turkish National Assembly at Angora devoted a special session to a review of Lenin's life and work. When a deputy referred to Lenin as the leader of the Russian revolution, other deputies suggested the term of leader of the world revolution" which the speaker accepted as a correction. Lenin's aid and encouragement to the Turkish people in their struggle for national independence was particularly lauded by the different speakers. The Turkish press devoted much space to Lenin. The "Ileni gun" wrote that the death of Lenin was not only a loss to Russia, but also to Turkey. The "Hedam" declared Lenin one of the greatest men of the world. "Many war for Lenin what the Koran is to the orthodox believer," opined this journal.

The KOREAN Assembly of Peoples' Representatives adopted a resolution expressing "its great sorrow on the death of the world leader Lenin. The Korean people, like other subject peoples, lost in him their staunchest defender. We are certain that the work of the emancipation of mankind which Lenin began will be carried to a successful conclusion."

The MONGOLIAN foreign minister who is also Chairman of the Peoples' Party, wrote: "The death of Lenin is not only a heavy loss to the working masses, but also to the small nations of the world".

THE CHINESE DEEPLY MOVED.

Public memorial meetings were held in CHINA. Representatives of the various political parties and public groups visited the Russian plenipotentiary Karachan to express their condolences. The Chinese press commented profusely upon Lenin's life and work. The "Tchen Pao" wrote: "Lenin is dead, but his soul lives in the Soviet order. The whole world is shocked by his death, but none are as grief-stricken as the weak and subject peoples. Our only hope and solace is that the subject peoples will follow in Lenin's footsteps and will continue the struggle for their liberation". The "Tchen-Ben" wrote "Peoples call many heroes, but really, few deserve that appelation. Lenin was the hero who enjoyed universal love. Lenin was the bright star of humanity, and can be compared to Sakia Muni and Christ. The heavens are merciless. He went out from our world, but his ideas will live forever. The "Pekin Evening World" declared that the "news of Lenin's death cannot be read without heartache. Lenin was a genius who knew not only how to destroy, but also how to build. China needs its own Lenin, i. e., a man with an eye for the future, a man with an iron will who could lead his people out of chaos. Lenin is no more, but what he has created will live forever. The "Pekin Leader" considered Lenin as "the most remarkable man of the twentieth century". The "Daily News" said that "under the leadership of Lenin, Russia passed from chaos of destruction to the road of rehabilitation. Lenin will live in the future as a man who has dedicated his genius and his whole life to the work for the good of mankind".

THE SOCIALISTS ALSO LAMENT.

The Social-Democratic leaders who joined the mourning procession of the revolutionary workers remembered only in part the old Roman adage to speak of the dead either nothing, or good. Realizing the esteem and love which Lenin enjoyed even among the Social-Democratic masses, the leaders felt the need of praising his devotion to the cause of the proletariat, not forgetting, however, to refer to "his mistakes" as well.

Friedrich Adler, who once thundered against the Social-Democracy of the Second International and is now doing business under that decrepit firm, sent the following message of condolence to Zinoviev in the name of the Second International: "Deeply shocked by the untimely death of Lenin. We are deeply moved in this grave moment to tell the workers affiliated with the Communist International that, notwithstanding our differences concerning the ways the workers' class revolution traverse, we are certain that Lenin traveled his way out of deep conviction, pure heart, and moved by deep devotion to the great cause of the workers of all countries".

Karl Kautsky thought that Lenin was poor on internationals affairs, but rather well acquainted with Russian conditions. One wonders that Kautsky gave the man who called him renegade, as much credit for knowing the country which he turned into a battle ground for Socialism. Kautsky is forgiving and declares: "Our differences should not blind us to acknowledge the greatness of the dead. He was a colossal figure very few of whom can be found in the world history".

The German Social-Democratic organ the Berlin "Vorwaerts" thought proper, that Lenin was not a Marxist, but believed that he acted "according to his honest convictions and, guided by disinterested motives, has devoted his life to the struggle for Socialism. According to the "Vorwaerts", the "Russian revolution was a peasant revolution, but Lenin covered it with proletarian ideology to secure the support of the proletariat". That the reverse was the case, was Lenin's contention, but, then, he was not a Marxist of the Social-Democratic brand.

The SWISS Social-Democratic organ, The Berne "Tagwacht" does not share the opinion of its Berlin contemporary regarding Lenin's failure". Under the title, "Lenin and Frogs", the "Tagwacht" writes: "The Berlin Vorwaerts believes that Lenin reached other results than what he set out to accomplish. The great work of Lenin is his destruction of the monarchy. If Germany had travelled the same road Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Hasse, Kisner would be alive today and the Russian workers, whom the German proletariat were able to aid only two years ago, would not be helping the starving German workers today. But the Vorwaerts' does not care to discuss the results achieved by Russia. We do not doubt that the Russian revolution lives in the hearts of the workers thruout the world". The declaration of the Executive Committee of the Swiss Social-Democratic party says among other things: "We recognize the historic greatness of Lenin, his character of an unbending revolutionist and his imperishable significance as a fighter against the rule of imperialists. Before his memory we, too, lower our banners".

Neither does Paul Levi, a Social-Democratic member of the recently dissolved Reichstag agree with his official party organ. "The colossal work of Lenin," writes Levi, "will be realized only then when it will show its political and economic influence, not only in Russia, but in Europe and the rest of the world. While there is still a subject and suffering proletariat in the world, the souls of all will be turned with awe to the first great experiment of liberation of the proletariat and the man who gave it his name".

The Austrian Social-Democratic organ, the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", after comparing Lenin with Robespier and Cromwell, writes: "We shall not forget his work in 1917 which gave a great impetus to the labor movement the world over. We cannot overlook the fact that the state, which he has created in the midst of incomparable hardships, remains revolutionary and continues to serve as a revolutionary factor amidst the chaos of the capitalist world".

Otto Bauer, leader of the Austrian Social-Democracy and probably the best post-Kautskian Social-Democratic theoretician, says "me to" in discussing the significance of the Russian revolution and Lenin's role in it. Bauer develops the theory that altho there are differences (sic) between the Communists and the Socialists, the Russian revolution should be looked upon as the common achievement of both sections of the labor movement, just as the French revolution was the work of Danton, Marat, Robespierre, who fought among themselves. "Time will come," Bauer writes, "when our children will look upon the great revolution of our time as the accomplishment of all of us, notwithstanding the differences which divide the Communists and revolutionary (?) Social-Democrats. In the spirit of this community, we too, bow before the memory of the immortal leader". The Austrian Social-Democrats like to distinguish themselves from their German brothers and refer to themselves as revolutionary Social-Democrats. Perhaps, that is why Bauer, in contradistinction to his German comrades in the Second Internationale does not share the latter's opinion about the Russian revolution having been an agrarian revolution with proletarian trimmings. Bauer writes "we, too, were his (Lenin's) pupils. The hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry (as developed in the Russian revolution)—this is the only road to power. This Lenin taught us".

"I NEVER SAW THE GENTLEMAN"

In answer to an invitation of the Moscow "Isvestia" to send a message concerning Lenin, Arthur Henderson secretary of the British Labor Party and member of the MacDonald Cabinet authorized the following reply thru his secretary: "The Minister for Home Affairs asked me to reply to you that since he never came in contact with Lenin, he cannot, much

(Continued on Page 8)

Three Leaders of Men,---Wilson, Gandhi and Lenin

By EVELYN ROY.

Three figures appeared upon the world's stage during the troubled period of the war and after, who will go down in history as three leaders of the greatest mass-movements of our times. They are Woodrow Wilson, the American; Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Indian, and Vladimir Ulianov (Nicolai Lenin), the Russian. The first reached the zenith of his glory in 1918-19; the second caught the public ear as leader of the Indian movement for emancipation that reached its height from 1919-1922; the third retained the center of the world's stage from November, 1917 to the day of his death, January 21st, 1924. Wodrow Wilson died in an obscurity which a semi-state burial and public condolances were ineffectual to remedy. "Mahatma" Gandhi was released from prison by odd coincidence, on the day of his American contemporary's death, a sudden illness and operation which almost resulted in his own demise being responsible for his sudden release. The great Russian breathed his last week before Wilson. Thus the three names that had filled the press of the world in their heyday, again leaped into prominence and contiguity.

A Striking Fact.

It is a striking fact to arrest the attention of the observer, that the three largest countries of the world produced each a leader unique after its own kind, to point a solution to the catastrophic times thru which our generation is pussing. India, the country of an immeasurable past; America, the country of today, and Russia, the land of future promise, sent forth three prophets. Wilson has been most aptly characterized as "the last prophet of the bourgeoisie; Gandhi may be epitomized as the apostle of the petty bourgeoisie, and Lenin will go down in history as the leader of the revolutionary proletariat.

Men of such differing creeds must of necessity differ widely from each other, not in word alone but in deed. Such is the case. Wilson's claim to immortality is based upon his war slogans, his "Fourteen Points," and formulation of the idea of the "League of Nations." Gandhi's cry for "Swaraj," to be achieved by Non-violent Non-cooperation based upon suffering, sacrifice and soul-force, was meant to be applied not alone to India, but on an international scale as well. The goal of Nicolai Lenin was the International Social Revolution, which would overthrow the capitalist system with all its inherent evils, and replace it by a new society founded upon the rights of the working-class to the full product of its labor.

The League.

These three goals are as different as the men who formulated them, and as the means which they proposed to bring them into being. The League of Nations, both in its original idea and in actuality, is grounded on the status quo of industrial civilization. Its modus operandi is arbitration and compromise with the existing order. Nothing to be fundamentally altered; classes and nations, free and subject, to remain in a perpetual state of suspended hospitality, subject to the final arbitrament of the League itself, so constructed as to prohibit any revolutionary change from below. The League of Nations has well been called the "Holy Alliance of the 20th Century." Like its predecessor, it is concerned mainly in perpetuating the existing system under the guise of humanitarianism and Christianism and Christian brotherhood. It is the apotheosis of bourgeois culture and bourgeois liberalism. If it has remained ineffective and deserving only of the epithet "organized impotence," it is because the idea itself is incapable of concrete realization in any better form, founded as it is upon inherent competition, jealousies and rivalries that arise inevitably out of the capitalist order of society. Wilson's Fourteen Points and League of Nations were a bourgeois vision of a bourgeois Utopia which has not and can never materialize, from the very nature of the society and civilization it seeks to perpetuate.

"Swarj."

The "Swarj" of Mr. Gandhi has never been clearly defined, but its implications can be gathered from the writings and speeches of its chief exponent, as well as of his immediate disciples. It rests, not upon the status quo, but upon a reversion to a previous state,—an imaginary "Golden Age", when the horrors of capitalist civilization from which it seeks to escape, had not yet been born. Swaraj or "Self Rule" as applied to India means reversion to the pre-British, even the pre-Musulman era. It aims to go "back to the Vedas", to which history records a respectable age varying from three thousand to fifteen hundred years. Its symbol is the wooden plough and the "Charka," or spinning-Wheel. It denounces modern civilization and industrialism in round terms and prescribes for the entire human family the cure it would apply to India. But this complete reversal of the existing order is not to be achieved by violence. Violence is the very negation of the doctrine of "Satyagraha," (soul-force) which seeks to overcome hate by love, force by non-resistance, and whose only weapon is Non-cooperation with existing institutions until these change themselves.

The the outlines of Swaraj are vague, the implications are very clear. Capitalism would revert to landlordism and handicraft production. The wheels of time will turn not forward, but back. There will be no elimination of classes; Mr. Gandhi believes that "the rich and the poor are always with us." He is positively against class-strife. But he would soften and ameliorate exploitation and injustice by the application of the principles of religion and human brotherhood. Philanthropy would take the place of social justice.

Leninism.

Lenin's goal of the Social Revolution, as its name indicates, implies the complete overthrow of the capitalist society and its substitution by the Communist society, wherein the means of production, distribution and exchange pass to the hands of the producing class, which for the first time in history would be freed from the yoke of exploitation. Social production for use would replace production for exchange and profit. The laborer will receive the full value of his toil. Private ownership in the means of production, including land, will cease to exist. Only he who performs socially useful labor shall be counted as a member of society and entitled to its rights and privileges. "He who would eat, must work." Modern means of production, evolved by the capitalist order—machine production and all the conquests of science over nature—will be preserved and improved upon for the benefit of all mankind, not for a small class, as heretofore.

By the overthrow of capitalism, imperialism, its highest and ultimate expression, will also disappear. Subject races and nationalities will for the first time receive the right to develop unhampered in their own way. The emancipation of the peoples enslaved by imperialism is a necessary corollary of the emancipation of the classes enslaved by capitalism. International rivalries, hatred and competition, leading to war, will disappear, and with them the need for war itself. Science and human life will no longer be prostituted to the service of destruction, but to the evolution of the human race.

With the abolition of private property and the universalizing of the opportunity for education and useful service, classes will cease to exist, and a classless society, or rather a society composed of but one class, that of socially useful workers, will come into being. Humanity will progress and develop, not by competition with and exploitation of its fellow-men, but by emulation in the highest ideals of service to mankind which the society of the future will inculcate.

The Need of Struggle.

Such a goal, natural and inevitable as it seems, taken logically as the outcome of the present breakdown of capitalist civilization, will not come to pass of itself. The working class must acquire the state power and wield it during the transition period in the interests of its own class—that of the overwhelming majority of the population—just as in the past the state power was held and wielded in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and before them, of the feudal nobility. Much as the workers abhor bloodshed, much as they detest the destruction of human life and of the wealth which they have produced by their labor, they cannot expect that the privileged classes now in possession of the state power will yield it without a struggle.

The first attempt to carry out in practice the principles of socialism, such as the nationalization of land and industry, will meet with the immediate opposition of the ruling class, which will call out all the forces of the state to defend its own interests. Therefore the workers must be prepared to meet force by force, and to wrest mastery from the hands of their opponents on the battlefield. During the transition period that must follow, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, now thinly veiled under the mask of bourgeois Democracy.

This dictatorship will continue until society as a whole accepts the new order of affairs, and a new generation is brought up in the ideals of the proletarian Socialist State.

Lenin the Only Realist.

Such is the goal of Lenin. And of the three men who prophesied so differently, his was the only creed which has been carried into living and actual reality. The Fourteen Points have passed into oblivion since the framing of the infamous Treaty of Versailles; the League of Nations remains what it must always be, "organized impotence." Wilson, the last prophet of the bourgeoisie, died in obscurity after enjoying a dizzy adulation accorded by millions of hudan beings whose hearts turned to him in hope at his magnificent promises of "no more war"; "self-determination of small and subject nationalities"; "peace without annexations and indemnities"; "open covenants openly arrived at," and the promise of universal disarmament safeguarded by the League of Nations.

The mockery of those promises need no longer be exposed. It is palpable to the whole world who looked to him for their fulfillment. Had the followers of Woodrow Wilson looked less at the man and more at the system of which he was the spokesman, they would have been spared the great disillusionment and despair that weighs upon them today.

Gandhi's Impotent Programs.

The release of Mr. Gandhi by the British Government which imprisoned him sets the public seal upon the recognition of the utter defeat of his program. He, too, was at one period of his career a leader of millions of men; one-fifth of the human race contained within the confines of India alone looked to him for their redemption, while an ever-growing following of disappointed and disillusioned pacifists outside turned towards this new Messiah arising in the East to seek a solution for their warweariness.

"Swaraj within a year"; "non-co-operation with the existing government until it changes its heart"; "boycott of schools, law courts, government institutions and titles"; "civil disobedience, including non-payment of rent and taxes"; such were the slogans of Gandhism which carried the movement among the masses of the people and swept him to the supreme position of command of three hundred and twenty millions of human beings.

There was a time when his rule was more real than that of the Government of India—when, a leader more realistic than he might have forced that government to its knees and to make concessions, or contested its supremacy in the battle of an entire nation against the bureaucracy. But that moment passed, thanks to the retreat at Bardoli, when the Indian workers and peasants were ordered to pay rent and taxes to the landlords and government, and their attempts at mass action repudiated by the leader of the nation.

Steady Decline.

From that moment to the arrest and imprisonment of Mr Gandhi, his sentence to six years in jail and his release after serving two years, the Indian movement for freedom has suffered a constant decline until today the government is so sure of its strength and power that they can release the Prophet of Non-violent Non-cooperation, based upon Soul-Force, with impunity. No terser commentary is needed upon the collapse of a great movement.

What of Lenin, the Communist?

Meanwhile, what of the Russian Revolution, whose leader lies cold beneath the winter snows of Moscow, mourned by a hundred and sixty millions of his fellow-citizens and by the millions of workers and peasants thruout the world who received, however remotely, his message of emancipation?

Has this revolution, successfully made and maintained against the onslaughts of its countless enemies during the past seven years, proved itself an illusion, a Utopia unrealized in actuality?

Has Russia returned to capitalism, as alleged by its capitalist foes who can make no worse allegation?

Has the Revolution of October, 1917, betrayed its declared ideal of being the precursor of the International Socialist Revolution?

By the answer to these questions must the life and work of Nicolai Lenin and his followers, the Russian Communist Party, be judged, and by the eventual working out of those problems which the Russian Revolution has propounded to the world, will Lenin's true greatness be revealed to posterity. Of Wilson and Gandhi we can say at once that they have failed; history awaits no verdict. But the work of Lenin remains unfinished, in a transition state as he himself predicted.

Russian Revolution a Fact.

Meanwhile we can know this much, that the Revolution is an accomplished fact. The Russian autocracy and corrupt bureaucracy are no more. The old bourgeoisie has been overthrown. War and revolution have given way to peace. Military Communism has made way for the New Economic Policy, which is an expression of what Lenin termed "State Capitalism."

The dictatorship of the proletariat rules in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which is the new name for the group of autonomous and independent federated states that once constituted the Empire of the Czar. Church has been separated from state. Land and great industries have been nationalized. Foreign trade remains in the hands of the state. The old secret treaties have been published and repudiated. Russian imperialism has ceased to exist. Freedom to subject peoples has been granted. The old form of state based upon property and privilege has given way to the new form known as the Soviet, based upon occupation. The Russian Revolution has given birth to a new form of government as well as to a new social system based upon social instead of private ownership in the principal means of production, distribution and exchange.

The slogans of the Bolsheviks in 1917-18: "Peace, land and bread"; "All power to the Soviets"; "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; "Freedom of Subject Nationalities within the Russian Empire"; "Abolition of secret treaties and repudiation of war debts"; "Destruction of capitalism and imperialism, and the freedom of all enslaved peoples"; finally, "International Proletarian Revolution and the foundation of the World Communist State"—these are either realized or in process of realization.

(Continued on Page 7.)

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CONCERNING STATESMEN

(Continued from Page Three)

Marx instead of from works of Marx. Again, Marx, on page 406 of Volume I of the Charles H. Kerr edition of "Capital" refutes the vulgarizers by asserting:

"... as Vico says, human history differs from natural history in this, that we have made the former, but not the latter".

* * *

Mankind lives under an environment that contains both natural and artificial elements. The first exists independently of man. The other is the creation of man. At a low stage of development man responds unconsciously to his environment and the first rudimentary social institutions work like natural forces, blindly and destructively. But, as man advances to higher forms of social organization, he brings both natural and social forces more and more under his domination.

Today we have reached a stage where we understand these social forces. We know their effects, their direction, their action, reaction and interaction, therefore, we are able to a considerable degree to subject them to our will.

This understanding of the social forces at work in the world today is the one thing that distinguishes the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia from all other statesmen. Thru using the Marxian method intelligently they have been able to hold their own against a hostile world, because they have correctly estimated the political and economic power of their enemies.

* * *

Professor Beard asks: "What Is a Statesman?" Then after confusing Marx with the vulgarizers' conception of Marxism, proceeds to further inquiry. He discusses the fact that Bismark, the Iron Chancellor of Germany was a towering figure "in the history books written between 1890 and 1914," but today there are many who seriously doubt the ability of Bismark. In the case of Gladstone, the alleged founder of liberalism in England, Professor Beard questions even one monumental achievement to his credit.

Many statesmen admired by Carlisle are described by Beard as "evanescent windbags." Others, esteemed in one generation are "dismissed from the school books and biographical dictionaries with a scant bow by the next generation."

Quite evidently the Professor considers as statesmen only those individuals who influence the ages.

In conclusion, he hazards a guess as to what constitutes statesmanship. The statesman must be "one who divines the long future, foresees the place of his class and nation in it, labors intelligently to prepare his countrymen for their fate, combines courage with discretion, etc." He must have brains and morals to a degree and must be justified by events.

* * *

With slight modifications no Marxist will quarrel with this definition. But we must emphasize our serious disagreement with the assertion that Bismark and Gladstone cannot qualify as statesmen. In dealing with these historical figures, Professor Beard abandons the method of seeking the economic foundation for men's acts he uses so frequently and so well and falls into the metaphysical method of viewing events and people as separate phenomena.

We will not hazard a guess as to what makes statesmen. But we will give our Communist definition: **Statesmen are those outstanding figures in history that symbolize powerful class interests.**

If Bismark, as a towering figure, passed in 1914, it is only because the junker class, whose power he solidified, entered its decline at that time.

So long as the class he represents or did represent is in the ascendency the statesman is revered. When the power and prestige of that class is shattered before the onward sweep of economic forces, his tradition vanishes. His acts are no longer interpreted in the light of the vanquished class he represented, but from the viewpoint of the class that rose to power upon the ruins of his class.

Professor Beard emphasizes the fact that the liberalism of Gladstone does not influence the British liberals of today. Again he fails to use the dialectical method and falls into a metaphysical swamp. Gladstone cannot be understood separated from the class he served. Smug, complacent spokesman of the "workshop of the world," the so-called Sage of Hawarden was the apostle of textile capital—internationally peaceful, humanitarian in its outward appearance, while viciously exploiting its own wage slaves. Lloyd George represents the heavy industrialists—iron and steel—with their aggressive imperialism. Both here emphasize a party label, "liberalism," without understanding the fundamental economic difference between the old textile liberalism and the new liberalism of iron.

Were he a Marxist, instead of an imaginary opponent of Marx, he would find no difficulty analyzing any statesmen, past and present. He would also be able to predict some of the characteristics of statesmen of the future.

Marxism has a two-fold value for us. If not only enables us to explain history better than before, but it enables us to make history better than it was ever made before.

* * *

All the revolutionary leaders from Marx to Lenin have understood this fact and their followers today, because of their work, understand the dialectic connection between the productive forces in society and those who must make the history of this epoch.

It was not a reversion to sentimentalism that Frederick Engels, the gifted veteran of many battles, at the grave of Marx in Highgate Cemetery, London, and Gregory Zinoviev at the tomb of Lenin, beside the Kremlin Wall, both declared that the movement of the worsing class would not be what it is today had it not been for them. Both Marx and Lenin made history out of conditions they found at hand—but the point is, they made it.

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Three Leaders Of Men

(Continued from page 2.)

and all remain written on the banner of the Russian Revolution and of the Communist International, which was born therefrom.

Revolution Lenin's Monument.

The Revolution marches, and with it the life work of Lenin. His genius, his determination and his courage have done much to bring it into being, but he himself would have been the last to say that any single personality could achieve what mass movements born of social and economic forces alone can generate. His function was to guide that which, new-born into a hostile world, might have perished but for his consummate ability to preserve and strengthen it; he did more. He set the spark to the combustible material that contained all the elements of revolution, and out of the conflagration he was able to discern the elements which, forged together, would shape the new society.

Lenin was greatest of all in his ability to interpret the needs and tendencies of the mass movement of which he felt himself but a part. He was an idealist whose goal was not Utopia, but Reality—he never aimed at the impossible; he never set himself against the inevitable laws of economics. Therefore his work lives and will grow great in the future, while the dreams of his two contemporaries, in their time great leaders of men, are forgotten or recounted as a legend.

The Labor Government in Deep Waters

By T. J. MURPHY

LONDON, March 22, 1924. (By Mail)—Mr. Tom Shaw, the second international leader and minister of Labor in His Britanic Majesty's Government, is having bad luck. It seems to be of no avail that our labor leaders don't want strikes. The workers have apparently made up their minds that whether their leaders like it or not they are going to get a bit of their own back. Ever since 1921 they have had reduction after reduction in wages and have been exceedingly patient about them. They have been told that things are on the mend, and it is true that there are less unemployed than there were a few months ago. So now for getting back some of the goods that have been stolen from them. When the Loco' men challenged reductions with a strike and then the Dockers forced the pace and won concessions, a real tonic was administered to the whole movement and a wages offensive is in full swing. This time the workers are taking the initiative.

Exciting Events.

On Friday at midnight the 21st of March, 40,000 tram and bus men struck work. That is a terrific blow in London where transport is a key industry. The first effects of the strike even at this time of night were exciting. Hundreds of hotel workers and market workers had to walk from the center of the city away into the suburbs. Crowds of people who had counted on a last minute settlement were stranded, and rushed for the tubes. Here the congestion was so great that the police had to be called upon to regulate the traffic. If the tubes join in the strike then London is in a fix with a vengeance. As per usual the officials are trying to confine action to simply a section, but whether the tube workers can stand the extra traffic which will inevitably be thrust upon them and blacklegtraffic at that, remains to be seen. They are not in the Transport and General Workers Union which is conducting the strike under the leadership of Bevin, but are partly in the National Union of Railwaymen and partly in the Locomotive and Firemen. There is a working agreement between the latter union and the Transport Unions and it only requires the word from the officials and the strike can become general thruout London transport.

The Electrical Trades Union also threatened that any attempt to introduce blackleg labor will be met by the cutting off of electric power thruout London.

Labor Government.

The strike arises from the demand of the union for an increase of 8/- per week for tram drivers and conductors, made as far back as six months ago. The demands of the men have never been rejected on their merits. They have always met with postponement and equivocation. Only when the men decide to refer the employers and for arbitration and forget their own refusal to put into operation the findings of a previous court of inquiry in 1921. All the governments from that date have been warned as to what situation was developing, but none took any action until faced with the strike. There are, of course, quite a number of authorities involved, viz: The London Coury Council, a number of Local Councils and private companies. The private companies have refused to concede anything. The London County Council is willing to concede 5/- and some of the other Councils 2/-. The councils are asking for arbitration, but the companies refuse it and the unions don't want it. The government is in a dilemma. It has utterly failed before the strike to achieve anything which would avert a strike, and it certainly doesn't like the idea of the sympathetic strike extending. The bus drivers and conductors are striking with the tram men in sympathetic action as members of the same union and it doesn't take much in the way of incitement to extend that kind of thing once it has begun.

Mr. Shaw knows these things quite well, and has plunged for the Court of Inquiry. The fact that some of the authorities have expressed the willingness to make some concession points the way to the settlement. Shaw will aim to get the other bodies to accept the compromise and then persuade the union to accept less than it set out for.

Difficulties of Metal Workers.

The position of the Engineering and shipbuilding workers is more difficult. Since February 19th, a thousand engineers in Southampton struck work, against official orders, for an advance of wages. Their rate was 47s 6d. per week, one of the lowest amongst engineering workers in any of the leading towns. Their rate before the war was 40/6. If the cost of living determined the wages, they should be receiving today 72/6. On February 25th they were joined by the shipyard workers, raising the number on strike to 6,000. At the same time the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation of Unions has a demand for a 10/- increase before the employers. The employers are trying to use the Southampton strike to stop negotiations on the national 10/- demand. The union appear to protest, but all the leaders in turn have been down to Southampton to persuade the men to return to work and not to "spoil the National negotiations." The men regard the threat of a national lock-out as bluff and refuse to return to work. And so far they have proved quite correct. The employers should have carried out their threat yesterday, but again deferred action. The men want an additional 7s/6d on to the national demand and are intent on getting it from the local employers. And again there is likelihood of the Minister of Labor stepping in with a Court of Inquiry nominee A. J. Cook stands an excel

Government's Troubles.

But the government's difficulties are still greater with the miners. The decision of the miners to reject the offer of the mine owners and call on the government to proceed with the Labor' minimum wage bill placed them in a tight situation. The miners had met in conference on the morning after the defeat of the labor government on parliamentary procedure. Ostensibly this defeat was on the question of appointing time for the clearance of government work. Actually it was the maneuvering of the mine owners to prevent the introduction of the private members bill on the question of the miners' wages. This bill demanded a minimum wage on the 1914 basis plus extra, equal to the rise in the cost of living. But because the private members' time the bill would be defeated. The miners' conference recognized this and turned down the mine owners' offer with a view to forcing the government into a straight fight on the miners' question, with the government adopting the private members' bill as their own.

The labor government does not want to face this issue. It is argued that the miners question is a sectional question and not one which appeals to even all the workers, and therefore it would be fatal for the labor government to face certain defeat and have to appeal to the country. The Minister of Mines, Mr. Shinwell, one of the slipplest opportunists in the government, is accordingly striving for all he is worth to secure a settlement of the dispute by direct negotiation between the miners and the mine owners with the Minister of Labor as mediator. In this policy he is supported by the "New Leader" and Mr. F. Hodges who, now he is employed at the admiralty, feels himself somewhat free to give his advice as an onlooker and appear as a bold partisan on behalf of the miner. It is later casting to find him a sudden convert to settlement outside parliament. It is not so many months ago, when the miners looked like taking to direct action by striking, that he told them to look to parliament. Now they have turned to parliament they have to look to direct negotiation. It is awkard but difficult to resist the idea that he opposes action of any kind which would involve him and his colleagues in any struggle.

Incensed by Delay Danger for Both.

There are big dangers ahead for the miners as well as the labor government. If the latter fails to get concessions, refuses to bring in a bill and fight on it, and brings about a situation where the Miners' Federation is divided and landed into making local settlements, its fate is sealed. Already some of the miners' leaders, Varley for example of Nottingham, of the better paid district, are in favor of accepting any concession however small in the circumstances. The poorly paid districts of course are opposed to such a policy. And the question is whether the miners are going to be led into the trap of local settlements.

Again the government is proposing an inquiry. But if there is an industry wherein there is no need for an inquiry, wherein everything there is to know about it is known publicly, it is certainly the mining industry. The facts briefly are: 1) the miners are badly paid and everybody agrees they ought to have an increase. 2) The coalfields vary in their yielding capacity and in some coalfields the present terms have ceased to be an economic proposition. 3) Only national unification of the mining industry can overcome these difficulties. 4) The mine owners cannot do this voluntarily. To expect the mine owners who are prosperous to come to the rescue of those who are not making big profits and voluntarily hand over the spoils is simply ridiculous. 5) Only Nationalisation or some form of compulsory state unification can overcome these difficulties. 6) The employers have got a case, considered from a national point of view, the production for the last twelve months having been near record breaking and the profits totalling £26,000,000, that is more than double pre-war profit.

The Role of Nationalization.

But the issue of nationalization is being avoided both by the government who doesn't want to make it a "question upon which they would have to face a general election and by the miners who feel that they were misled when this was a burning question in 1921. This is even reflected in the Miners Minority movement which has been thriving on the crisis. Even this omits the question of nationalizing the mines. It demands: 1) That the governing principle of the New Agreement shall be the cost of living. 2) An immediate advance in wages equal to the increase in the cost of living as compared to 1914 (i. e. at present 79 per cent). 3) All increases or reductions in future shall be by the addition or reduction of the flat rate. 4) Six days work or six days pay, i. e. a guaranteed week for all. 5) All work on the night and afternoon shifts shall in future be paid 20 per cent above ordinary day wages for each shift. 6) Membership of the Federation to be a condition of employment in or about the collieries. 7) An instruction to all District conciliation Boards, to arrange a regrading of the workmen with a view to reducing the present number of varying standard rates to a maximum of three scales of payment. 8) This agreement to operate for one year, to be afterwards terminated by 14 days notice on either side.

May Be Political Crisis.

Upon this program the miners' minorities are developing thruout the coalfields and it may be that the salvation of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain depends upon the development of this movement. At the moment its lient chance of securing the post as Secretary in succession to Frank Hodges. (He has since been elected. Ed. note.) But it is impossible to tell yet whether this effort has struck deeper roots than the discontent arising out of the wages agreement. But it was through the actions of its leaders that the first offer of the employers were rejected and the government was challenged to proceed with the wages bill. And now it is a struggle between the politicians of the labor government and these leaders as to whether the miners' crisis will land them into a first class political crisis.

But housing is the one question upon which the government is scheming and hopes to make the big thing of its existence. It is in fact calculated to many that upon this question they will ultimately go to the country with Wheatley and MacDonald united in a campaign of conviction and rousing propaganda. But there is a gap between now and the time when they hope to challenge the parties. This they hope to fill with international negotiations as their contribution to the solution of the unemployed problem and the raising of "British prestige in the Councils of Nations." But evictions are developing on a big scale and making things urgent. Hence facilities have been given for the pushing of the Rents Ar endment Bill which is now before a committee. This is a private bill to which Wheatley gave his blessing but when the government did not adopt its attitude for fear of defeat. This proposed not only the reduction of rent but the continuation of control until 1928, with the provision that anyone wanting their house back or wishing to turn out a tenant must provide alternative accommodation. The Liberals and Tories have combined to defeat this measure in the committee stage of the bill. But the matter is urgent and there are already the threats of Maxton and others to challenge the evictions with mass action. So one more item is going to be watered out of the situation. The government will be compelled to introduce a measure within the next few days to stop evictions, but in order to get it thru quickly the question of rent reductions will be sacrificed.

Rough Seas.

The government is getting into rough waters as well as deep. While the plans for house building are being pushed and negotiations between the unions and the employers are going on, the building workers are pushing in demands for 2d per hour increase in wages. There is a deadlock on this issue already and the building workers are threatening a national strike if something tangible is not forthcoming during next week. They have already had six months of negotiation on the matter and patience doesn't last forever. Then the price of bricks is going up on the prospect of big contracts. In the last few weeks they have risen 5 shillings per thousand. The fifteen to twenty thousand building workers who have been employment for three years on end to the building workers and 9 shillings per week houses is looking a bit sick under these conditions. But then, they will persist in chasing this will of the wisp of "gradualism" and refuse to face the fact that a workers' government can never hope to carry out its programs of reconstruction so long as they leave the boss in possession of the instruments for carrying them out.

It is a rough passage they have entered, and meanwhile it is interesting to observe that the Communist Party has begun to grow and the circulation of its weekly paper has risen from 45,000 to 50,000 during the last six weeks.

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THE NEEDLE TRADES SITUATION

By J. W. JOHNSTONE.

IN this month of May, conventions of three principal unions in the clothing industry will take place. On May 5th, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union opens its biennial convention in Boston; on the 12th, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers meet in Philadelphia; while on the same date the Furriers are called to meet in Chicago. In these three unions, in one of the most advanced sections of the labor movement, will be fought out three phases of the battle for progress in the trade unions.

It is the Furriers' Union that presents the most extreme form of reaction in the needle trades. Altho the rank and file of the union, in large majority, are progressive and revolutionary, yet the administration of Kaufman, supported by the machine of the Jewish Daily Forward still keeps the Union committed to right wing policies and ruled by right wing elements. The methods by which this has been accomplished are well known. Thugs and gunmen have been called in to break up local union meetings to prevent all criticism of the Kaufman and his cohorts. In the elections, all the left wing candidates were arbitrarily ruled off the ballot.

Notwithstanding the fact that, by this arbitrary rule of force, the reactionaries will control all "officially recognized" delegates, they are still so fearful of the militant rank and file that the Convention, instead of being held in New York, center of the union forces, is taken to Chicago, where there is but a small and conservative local. Even the reactionary delegates with the mandate won by exclusion of all rivals from the elections, must be carefully segregated from the influence of the rank and file.

In the Furriers we thus have the most extreme type of reaction in power. It rules by brute force, the exclusion of opposition from the elections, and by alliance with the reactionary forces in the other unions. It is bold and unashamed, and makes no pretenses of working class democracy. Ruling by such methods over a rank and file that is naturally revolutionary, this bureaucracy is headed directly for a smash-up. It is possible that their boasts of complete control of the Chicago Convention may be made good but the downfall of the Kaufman machine in the not distant future is guaranteed by the primitive nature of its methods of rule. It can not last. The progressive forces regain and will organize their rank and file support, which is in a vast majority, and take over the Furriers' Union.

Ladies' Garment Workers and Expulsion.

The I. L. G. W. has been, for the past year, a scene of battle between the left wing elements, led by the Trade Union Educational League and the right wing organization led by the Forward—S. P. alliance. The left wing has been fighting for amalgamation of all needle trades unions, thus paving for class conscious action; the left for an all-inclusive Labor Party, the right for an exclusive S. P.—bureaucratic collaboration; the left for the shop delegate system of union organization, the right for continuation of the present cumbersome local forms; the left for militant struggle against all wage cuts and wages, the right for compromise and collaboration.

When, a year ago, the left wing was sweeping into power in the shops and local unions thruout the country, the reactionary general administration launched a war upon the left, in a desperate effort to stem the tide of progress. Expulsions, disfranchisements, and discriminations, were the principal weapons relied upon, altho even in the I. L. G. W. U. clenched arm men were occasionally brought in and at the famous Chicago protest meeting, shots were fired at Wm. Z. Foster. The I. L. G. W. U. officials became the principal exponents of the tactics of the Amsterdam International, explosions and splits to destroy the left wing, and the Boston Convention on May 5th, will have this expulsion issue as the main question before it.

"Repudiate the expulsion policy" has been the slogan of the elections to this convention. The membership has rallied to this issue very decidedly. In spite of the fact that all members of the Trade Union Educational League have been removed from the ballots, and the most arbitrary obstacles set up against any effective protests being made, still the reports from all the large centers of the trade show that a majority of delegates are pledged to repudiate the expulsion policy, and to restore the right of free propaganda for amalgamation, the Labor Party, the shop delegate system, etc. Altho opposition to the expulsion policy does not mean support of all left wing issues, yet every one recognizes that it is really all the progressive measures that are at stake, and not an abstract question of "rights."

The absurd charge of "dual unionism" against the T. U. E. L. has been completely exploded. How such a charge can still be made at this convention, after the expelled Chicago members have been placed in responsible posts in the strike now going on and again proved that they are among the best fighters even while they are officially "outside" of the union, will be hard for the delegates to under

In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in common with all unions in America, the issues between right and left wings have become more acute. The line up on the basis for class collaboration by the right wing and for class struggle by the left, is becoming clearer all the time. But this ideological struggle has not taken on the same destructive character of open warfare against the left wing and its rights in the A. C. W. such as occurred in other unions. The attitude of the administration has, on the whole, assisted in preserving the A. C. W. from wholesale right wing disintegration.

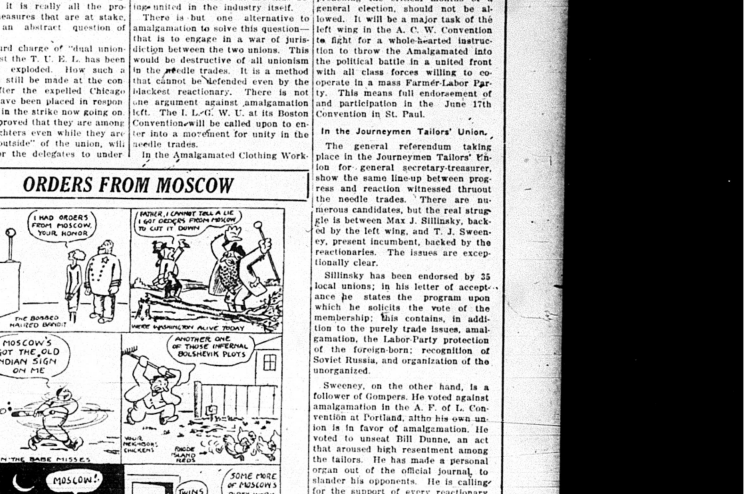
Amalgamation Is Burning Issue.

The question of uniting all needle trades unions into one industrial organization thru amalgamation will be the most vital issue at the Convention. Even tho the avowed amalgamationists have been deprived of their rights as delegates, still the facts of life itself will force amalgamation upon the attention of the delegates.

In Chicago the strike now going on shows again the necessity of amalgamation. The dressmakers are battling bravely with the united forces of branches of the needle industry expressing their sympathy. All recognize that a defeat for the dressmakers is a defeat for the entire industry. But loose alliances do not give the necessary strength to do battle with the well-organized employers. Another fact that forces consideration of the proposal to amalgamate the unions, and forces the I. L. G. W. U. to take a leading part in this amalgamation, is the growing centralization taking place in the industry. The factories hitherto confined to making men's clothing are beginning to take over production of women's garments. The section system is being applied to cloak making. What may be expected soon is indicated by the fact that Hart, Schaffner & Marx, large producers of men's clothing, are now turning out 800 women's cloaks a day in Chicago. If there is to be any effective control of this change that is going in the industry, to protect the interests of the workers involved, it can only be done by uniting the two unions with jurisdiction over the two fields that are thus being united in the industry itself.

There is but one alternative to amalgamation to solve this question—that is to engage in a war of jurisdiction between the two unions. This would be destructive of all unionism in the needle trades. It is a method that cannot be defended even by the blackest reactionary. There is not one argument against amalgamation left. The I. L. G. W. U. at its Boston Convention will be called upon to enter into a movement for unity in the needle trades.

ORDERS FROM MOSCOW



The convention will be called upon to enter into a movement for unity in the needle trades.

Participation in the June 17th Convention for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party on a broad national scale, inclusive of all class elements ready to unite upon a common program—this will be one of the major issues before the A. C. W. of A. Convention in Philadelphia. Notwithstanding the action of the Convention of 1922, which favored an all-inclusive class Farmer-Labor Party, the administration carried out only the letter of the resolution, but not its spirit. It did not play a responsible and active role in the great July 3rd Convention, at which was formed the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Further dallying on the issue, now that the Farmer-Labor movement is approaching the critical months of a general election, should not be allowed. It will be a major task of the left wing in the A. C. W. Convention to fight for a whole-hearted instruction to throw the Amalgamated into the political battle in a united front with all class forces willing to cooperate in a mass Farmer-Labor Party. This means full enforcement of and participation in the June 17th Convention in St. Paul.

In the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

The general referendum taking place in the Journeymen Tailors' Union for general secretary-treasurer, show the same line-up between progress and reaction witnessed thruout the needle trades. There are numerous candidates, but the real struggle is between Max J. Sillinsky, backed by the left wing, and T. J. Sweeney, present incumbent, backed by the reactionaries. The issues are exceptionally clear.

Sillinsky has been endorsed by 35 local unions; in his letter of acceptance he states the program upon which he solicits the vote of the membership: Bill contains, in addition to the purely trade issues, amalgamation, the Labor-Party protection of the foreign-born; recognition of Soviet Russia, and organization of the unorganized.

Sweeney, on the other hand, is a follower of Gompers. He voted against amalgamation in the A. F. of L. Convention at Portland, altho his own union is in favor of amalgamation. He voted to unseat Bill Dunne, an act that aroused high resentment among the tailors. He has made a personal organ out of the official journal, to slander his opponents. He is calling for the support of every reactionary element.

The writer has never met Sillinsky, but has watched his record in a number of conventions and in the movement generally. Sillinsky had made a consistent record of voting and fighting for progressive measures even when they are decidedly unpopular. He was one of the few that voted for all the progressive measures in the Portland A. F. of L. Convention and against the expulsion of Dunne. He has no affiliations with any organization but the Tailors, but by his record he has won support of the left wing and of all progressive tailors. If all the elements actively support him, Sillinsky stands a good chance of election.

The next few weeks will be a period of intense interest in the needle trades. Prospects are good for a decided left wing advance, repudiation of the expulsion policy in the I. L. G. W. U., participation in the June 17th Convention by all the unions, particularly the American Garment Workers, endorsement of amalgamation by the I. L. G. W. U., adoption of the shop delegate principle of organization, election of Sillinsky in the Tailors' Union—all or any one of these will mark a great advance in the labor movement. In all unions the left wing will be fighting militantly for these, and for many other measures, particularly for measures against unemployment. Victory on all of them is quite possible if the whole left wing strength is thrown into a real fight for them, because they represent the pressing life-needs of the needle trades unions today. The left wing is fighting with history on its side. Let every militant needle trades worker do his part.

AT THE DOORS - -

By BORIS PILNIAK

(Concluded From Last Saturday)

The horses sent the silver dust flying; the sledge was creaking, the bells jingling. The house of Veralsky on the Sibirna Mountain looked as dark and gloomy as ever. Fedoroff stayed with the horses. Kamynin and Tanatar went into the house. Tanatar remained in the cold parlor, while Kamynin went into Olga Veralskaya's room. And when Kamynin came out of her room he stumbled upon something in the dark and noticed Tanatar crouching on the floor as if ready to jump like a black cat, and whispering (did Kamynin hear the whisper?):

"Miracles happen; miracles do happen. Don't play with secrets Olga. Don't."

That evening Comrade Tanatar drove madly thru the city, giving everybody a ride in his troika; Irina, the girls, Ippy Kamynin, Ippy Trabetskoy, the various voyenospetzs.

Then came the masquerade ball at the Communist Club.

Olga Andreyevna Veralskaya had sewn up her comb very carefully so that no one might notice it was broken, but Olga Andreyevna did not come to the ball. The military orchestra thundered valses, Hungarian dances, mazurkas. The voyenospetzs, particularly those of the cavalry regiments had come with their spurs and swords and were the heroes of the occasion. The ladies were masked as Nights, Springs (in paper flowers) Birch Trees, Little Russian (with beads from the Christmas trees), Tyrol Peasants, Cucumbers, and Dominos. And because the baths of the city had not been heated and the perfumes had all been shipped to the villages by speculators, the air was thick with the smell of powder, tobacco, and the specific odor of the women's sweat. The voyenospetzs clicked their heels and danced, inclining their heads to one side. Between dances they went to the refreshment room to drink tea. Since no ladies were present there, all sorts of anecdotes were being recounted.

"Maria Ivanovna told me yesterday that she would be dressed as Night and her sister Claudia as Cucumber. Well, I met Maria Ivanovna tonight and noticed beside her a Cupid. I thought this was Claudia and said: 'Why are you not a Cucumber?' The Cupid burst out laughing and called me impertinent."

"That's nothing, but one fairy has a ribbon . . ."

The orchestra struck up—the Hiawatha. A girl dressed in a cheap suit was waiting anxiously for some dancer to come along and invite her. Her little sister was in the war. Small, thin, with red hands, with a pale little face, in a shabby dress and mended stockings, the little girl looked at everybody with a frank and friendly glance of her pure bright eyes, laughed sweetly, and spoke sweetly to her sister. But her sister answered reluctantly in monosyllables and looked back at her with anger. The little girl laughed and was happy. Then a postoffice employe invited the sister and they went to dance. Doctor Fedoroff watched the little girl closely.

She remained alone. She was sad and frightened, and she began to wander over the room, looking anxiously about her. The smile disappeared from her face. She looked fixedly ahead. Doctor Fedoroff probably did not notice that he said aloud:

"There is still time; it will come one day. Later. No. No."

Doctor Fedoroff came towards the little girl and extended his hands.

"Don't be sad, please, don't. Let us go and dance. Let us go and have some tea. Don't be sad. Come."

The little girl ran away from the stranger straight into the crowd of couples dancing the Hiawatha. She burst out crying bitterly, loudly. Doctor Fedoroff threw himself on the table where tickets and home-made candies were being sold, and also began to cry, hiding his wet face in his hands and in the ticket books.

Water was brought to Doctor Fedoroff. People gathered around him. The Hiawatha stopped. Tanatar was most attentive and tender. And as he was putting the doctor into the sledge, the little girl came out with her sister and the post-office employe. Nearly lifting the little girl by her hand, her sister repeated angrily:

"Idiot, idiot, cry baby!"

When she saw Doctor Fedoroff, she whispered angrily to the post-office employe:

"That one, too—impertinent!"

IV.

On New Year's Eve the voyenospetzs of the division arranged a party in Kamynin's former country villa, now become Soviet property. The house, over a century old, had been heated several days in succession, but it was still cold and damp. And as this house had once been plundered no lamps were nowhere to be found, and torches had to be used instead. On the gallery, in the white hall, the orchestra was playing in the dark, without notes and very badly out of tune. Some people came in the morning in order to spend the day in the country, to go out skiing or take a walk. Others arrived direct for supper. There is a special category of girls whose sole occupation is amusement. Plenty of them were present that evening. A company of ski-runners gathered on the edge of the forest, around a little bright fir tree. They lighted two candles on it, danced around it and burned it up. That night came, official category of girls whose sole occupation is amusement. Plenty of them were present that evening. A company of ski-runners gathered on the edge of the forest, around a little bright fir tree. They lighted two candles on it, danced around it and burned it up. That night came, official category of girls bringing a myriad of stars and lighting up a myriad icicles which also shone like stars. Supper was served in the stripped parlor lighted by torches. The company in uniforms, fur coats and hats sang, ate and drank. The orchestra played loudly, but nobody danced. Only supper everybody took to drinking again. A great surprise was then staged. The writer Kamynin, the former owner of the house, opened, with his own key, a secret cupboard with wine. Some of the wine had become sour, some of the cognac and vodka had lost its flavor, but everybody drank, shouting hurrah, sang "You'll be buried when you die" and "Gaudeamus." Tho half evaporated, there was still enough wine, cognac and vodka left to carry on a cavalry attack. Everybody was merry. Some girls got on the fireplace and from there onto the shoulders of the voyenospetzs, who were supposed to represent fiery steeds. This was called a cavalry attack. The cavalcade rushed screaming thru the dark rooms. In the sitting room somebody started the game of Chemin de fer. One could already hear whispers and screams coming from the dark rooms. Far from the sitting room the orchestra went on playing. Tobacco smoke filled the sitting room, where new cavalry detachments were constantly forming. The torches were smoking. Kamynin found a book on the window. It was the New Testament. Standing near a torch, his legs spread wide apart, Kamynin opened it at random and read aloud:

"But as that is an hireling and not the shepherd whose own the sheep are, seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep; the hireling fleeth because he is an hireling and careth not for the sheep."

One of the young girls fell from the fireplace and screamed. Somebody said:

"Va-banque."

Tanatar came near Kamynin and said in a low voice:

"Read something for me."

The telephone rang piercingly in the deserted rooms of Olga Veralskaya (the yellow desert), and the voice of Samuel Tanatar was heard across the wire:

"Forgive me, Olga. Forgive me. I am so sorry, so lonely. Forgive me. Forgive me everything. I shall expiate my sins. We have not long to live. We are doomed. Forgive me. My ugliness here is perhaps but a yearning for other, more beautiful regions. I am speaking with the blood of my heart."

And Olga answered in a low voice:

"Yes, I forgive you. I do. I forgive you everything. Nothing has happened." Just as Tanatar was calling up Olga Veralskaya the whistle of Olga Nicolayevna blew at the foot of the mountain, and at that moment Andrey Andreyevitch Veralsky probably shouted thru the window of the club: "Ilya, fetch the carriage." One of the girls fell from the fireplace and screamed. Somebody said: "Va-banque." Tanatar came near Kamynin and said in a low voice:

"Read something for me."

"All right. Something from Matthew:

"'32. Now learn a parable of the fig tree: when his branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh:

"'33. So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things know that it is near, even at the doors.'"

Kamynin, completely drunk, finished and almost lost his balance. Tanatar looked at him fixedly.

"Shall I read for you now?"

"All right; read for me."

"I do not need the book; I know it by heart. This is also from Matthew: Let the dead bury the dead. Chapter VIII. Let the dead . . ."

Tanatar turned abruptly and left the room. The lavatory was spoiled and the men had to go to the back porch. Tanatar followed them. The moon was hanging low above the horizon. Dogs were barking in the village. Trubetzkoy put two fingers in his mouth and was sticking his head into the snow. Another voyenospetz was lying on the snow to cool off. Two others were still smoking. Tanatar walked down a couple of steps and stopped.

"The imbeciles have dirtied everything."

He took out the Nolan revolver. A low shot rang out, but Tanatar himself probably did not hear it.

The orchestra played funeral marches and the "Internationale." Only one woman followed the red coffin of Comrade Tanatar. It was his sad, thin, pale wife—his wife who knew everything.

Night. Darkness. Snow. Stars. Silence. On the edge of the forest, near the rigid pine trees, little fir trees had wrapped in snow and bent to the ground. One of them had been burned down and was still smoking. Silence. Immobility. The stars shone brightly and there were myriads of them. One star fell down. Silence. The hours passed. Suddenly something began to move in the field, and a lone snowflake came whirling among the fir trees. Another followed, and they both vanished. In the North somebody was pulling a dark mitten over the stars. Snowflakes fell again—one, two, five. Two of them met, got entangled, whispered something to each other, merged into one and died. The forest answered the call of the snowflakes. It sent up a piercing cry, and the fir trees bent their heads in a stately minuet. The trees cracked and began to drop old branches to the ground. And again there was silence. And again the snowflakes came whirling—one, two, a hundred were born and died. The fir trees bent their heads in a new minuet. A shouting, a ringing, a howling was heard. The dark heavenly glove began to scatter grains over the earth. Snowflakes got entangled. They found the space too narrow and dashed across the fields. Myriads of them.

And the storm was on. The dead snowflakes, born by the snowstorm and flying for thousands of miles over field, forest, river and city, moaned, laughed, shouted, wept in their mortal agony.

This snowstorm had not been announced. It came from beyond the Volga and was going in the direction of Yeletz, Kursk, Sumy, Poltava.

Doctor Andrey Andreyevitch did not go to see his patients in the storm, and was reading Mayne Reid all day. Dressed in his fur coat, cap and boots, he came out for lunch at three. He ate shtchee,* made of sour cabbage and mutton. He looked silently at Olga and said gloomily:

"Life is hard nowadays, Olga. You have had a rest. You might be looking for something to do—teaching, perhaps. The holidays are over. You ought to work. You would not feel so lonesome, then. Have some mutton."

A word about Ivan Petrovitch Bokesh.

Ivan Petrovitch came to the writer Kamynin, spoke about the diary, and finished by saying that the price he had asked for it was far too low and ought therefore to be raised or the diary returned to him. Kamynin answered that he had bought the diary not for himself, but for Olga Andreyevna Veralskaya.

Olga Andreyevna Veralskaya met Kamynin on the following morning in the labor bureau. A young girl with sheepish black eyes and hips like the back of a sledge was being registered before them.

"What is your profession?" asked the woman clerk.

"I am a political emigrant," answered the girl. "Before 1917 I lived within the pale.** My name is Sofia Findrik."

"I see."

It was Kamynin's turn.

"Your profession?" asked the clerk.

"A writer."

And the woman clerk wrote down in the corresponding register: "Clerk."

(Translated by Louis Lozowick.)

* A kind of soup.

** Territory Jews are allowed to settle.

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Competent workers of the various trades may join us now, as the first group is expected to leave soon.

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Out of Our Own Strength

By Max Bedacht

May day!

Awakened by the rays of the spring sun nature bursts the bonds of winter and frees itself. This freedom is the fruit of nature's own inherent energy and power.

Man has ever recognized the greatness of that phenomenon. He has ever celebrated this awakening. He did not only welcome the new life that spring brought forth; he especially paid tribute to the forces that dare to break with the old and build the new, he paid tribute to the forces of revolution.

May day was celebrated by the barbarians in the woods of Brittany as well as by those in the valleys of the Danube and the Rhine; it was celebrated by the civilization and culture of ancient Rome.

May day suggested freedom after slavery, it suggested beauty after stark and barren ugliness.

Day of Exploited.

The exploited and oppressed have forever dreamt of freedom. But tho the dreams often made them forget their misery, they could not stop it. Every achievement that made life less of a burden for them had to be gained after hard struggles. The inexorable needs of life forced them into battles again and again. Their very lives they had to defend against the exploiters' oppressors. Often the defeated the exploited gained strength even in defeat. The experience gained in defeat strengthened their sinews for the inevitable new battles.

Experience was the creator of a consciousness that all the exploited and oppressed have something in common; that this community of interest must be defended in a common struggle because in unity there is greatest strength.

With the growth of this consciousness, (class consciousness), there also grew the self-confidence of the exploited masses. The blind struggle for existence of the exploited slowly developed into an organized and conscious struggle of the class of oppressed.

When these conscious warriors for the freedom of their class looked for a symbol of their aims and aspirations, for an expression of their hope and determination, they could do no better than select the celebration of May day as that symbol. May day, the time-gate thru which enshackled nature marches to free itself from the fetters of winter; May day that awakens nature to a consciousness of its own strength; May day that enthuses nature to action to break a dead past and build a beautiful future.

May day thus became the day of labor. Not a day of rest graciously granted to the slaves by the oppressors—no—a day taken by international labor as an expression of its revolt; a day denoting the beginning of a new era; a day denoting that the masses of the exploited and oppressed are slowly becoming dominated by the understanding that this new era must be built by the struggles of the exploited themselves; a day ringing out as a clarion call to the yet dormant forces of the working class the rousing battle cry:

ARISE YE PRISONERS OF STARVATION!

ARISE YE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH!

International Labor Day.

May day is international labor day, in that day the aims of the struggle of the international proletariat emblazon the banners of millions in demonstrations all over the world. On that day international labor demonstrates its determination to battle for those aims.

Not all the workers of the world are within the ranks of volunteers for the battles of labor. But like the spring sun awakens nature, so does the ever increasing experience of the masses of workers strengthen their forces. The latent strength of the working class are freed and the Modern Sampson tears down the pillar upon which rests the temple of capitalist society.

Capitalism has increased its power with its profit. It used this power with ever increasing fury against the organizations of labor. Forced to the wall the workers defend themselves and learn out of the experience of each struggle to perfect the methods of defense. The insufficiency of antiquated weapons bring defeat in the actions of today but also teach methods that will lead to victory tomorrow.

The insatiable hunger for profit drives capitalism to new methods of exploitation and oppression. Finally that hunger dominates every manifestation of life of the capitalist order. Law becomes nothing but, forms under which profit making is permissible and means by which profits are safeguarded. Order means a rule of conduct conducive to profit. Patriotism means a firm and unshakable belief in the sacred mission of the profiteers. And over this mad orgy of profit there is drawn as a convenient cover a political system called democracy, "the rule of the people." After every human being in this order has been made a slave of the god of profit, poisoned by the education of the profiteers, taught to fear the god of the profiteers, shackled by the laws of the profiteers, then the order lets him loose mesmerizing him with the cruel jest of his political sovereignty.

Capitalism Own Grave Digger.

But a system build on the strength of illusions can only last as long as the illusions hold out. And it is the fate of capitalism that its very mission is destined to kill the illusions upon which it has built its power. Democracy contains the poison which will eventually kill the illusions which alone uphold it. The dictatorship of the profiteers can function under the cloak of a democracy because the "sovereign" workers are ideologically the slaves of profiteering. The experience of the struggle for existence will gradually free the workers from these bonds. Political class consciousness will open the eyes of the exploited and oppressed to the laws of profiteering, to the gods of the profiteers, and to the state of the profiteers. Then the workers will begin to apply democracy, make use of their sovereign rights in the interest of their class. Capitalism will then discard the pretense of democracy and will cynically transform it into an out and out dictatorship.

May day 1924.

Once more international proletariat is again reviewing its forces in demonstrations all over the globe. Everywhere they pause long enough on this day to recapitulate the development of the past year to see how far the growth of class consciousness with the workers has advanced, to see how much nearer the grave capitalist order is this year than it was yesterday.

This review in the United States reveals a progress in the struggle for freedom never before witnessed in that short span of time. A political revolt of the workers is brewing. The first signs of it are so powerful that its speedy development is a foregone conclusion. The expectations of that development are not based only on the objective conditions favoring it, but also and mainly on the subjective factors that interfere. May day 1924 can register the activity of organized forces within the labor movement of the United States that are no longer satisfied with interpreting the struggle of the exploited for freedom, but that are bent upon organizing, leading and directing it. These forces create with their energy and activity the brooding heat that will develop the embryo of a political consciousness of the working masses of America into political class and mass action. These forces are the Communists. They are nothing foreign to the country and its political and economical system; they are its product. In the Communists the consciousness of the strength of the working class is developed highest. In the Communists the principle that the freedom of the exploited and oppressed can only be the fruit of their own struggle finds its most conscious expression.

Communists Celebrate.

On May day the Communists in America raise the banner of the conscious struggle for the freedom of the working class, as it is raised by the revolutionary workers everywhere. On May day they call upon the working masses of the land to shake off the dead weight of hopelessness. Does not nature around us burst the bonds of slavery? Does it not triumphantly break the fetters of winter, and bloom into a new beautiful future? It does! But it does it with its own strength. It accomplishes this great task with the forces within itself.

Out of the triumphs of spring the workers drink the new hope: **Self reliance; self confidence.** Strengthened by a belief in ourselves we workers will burst the shackles of an oppressive order and built a new, a beautiful future. We must build it ourselves, with our own energy, with our own strength.

That is what May day signifies to the working class. That is why we celebrate May day as international labor day.

Concerning Statesmen - -

By H. M. Wicks

AMONG the many erroneous conceptions of Marxism, the most that men are the unconscious and helpless pawns of history is perhaps the most persistent. This is due in part to the superficial reading of professed revolutionists, who, especially of late, have distorted historical materialism into a sort of mechanistic conception of history where men are unconscious automatons, instead of the makers of history.

Since the average bourgeois historian obtains his knowledge of Marxism from the so-called popularizers who write in current yellow publications, it is not at all surprising to find Professor Charles A. Beard, unconsciously distorting Marxism in the April number of "The American Mercury."

Mr. Beard propounds the question "What Is a Statesman?" He prefaces his discussion of statesmen by comparing what he considers antithetical historical methods—those of Thomas Carlyle and Karl Marx.

After devoting a few sentences to the great man theory of Carlyle, Mr. Beard asserts: "The Marxians at the other end of the pole dismiss the statesman with a scoff as a mere automaton produced by a complex of economic forces".

* * *

In all the literature of Marxism there is nothing to even faintly suggest such a dogmatic formula. Not one recognized Marxist ever indulged in such fantastic delusions. Those who are responsible for this conception of Marxism are the vulgarizers of Marx who are too mentally lazy to familiarize themselves with the profound works of the greatest thinker of the past century.

Where is the Communist tyro who is not familiar with the famous quotation from Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte":

"Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand."

Surely there is no justification in this quotation for the notion expressed by Professor Beard and the vulgarizers of Marx. But one swallow does not make a summer and one quotation is not sufficient to refute a misconception so widespread as this one.

Again and again, thruout all the writings of both Marx and Engels, we find illuminating passages that disprove the idea that men are automatons and that history is the result of blind, unconscious forces. In his famous introduction to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," Marx sets forth in brilliant strokes the fundamentals of his historical method. Briefly this method declares:

1. In carrying on production in a given stage of society men enter into certain social relations that are independent of their will.

2. These relations correspond to a definite stage of the development of these powers of production—in the ancient world slave owner and slave master; during the middle ages feudal baron and feudal serf with the gradual development of the early capitalist class; today the working class and the capitalist class with its varied divisions based upon the present technique of production.

3. The sum of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation—on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.

4. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

5. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.

6. At a certain stage of their development the productive forces of society come into conflict with the legal and political forces. These political forces then act as a fetter upon further development of productive forces. Then comes a period of revolution when the superstructure gives way to new institutions that correspond to the newly developed economic forces.

7. In considering such transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short ideological— forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.

Thus, according to Marx, while political forces and the statesmen who carry out political policies cannot transcend the natural and artificial environment in which they function, still they are not automatons responding blindly to this environment. Certain problems arising out of changing economic conditions demand solution and men consciously solve these problems as they arise.

In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels declare: "The history of all hitherto existing society is a history of class struggle."

No class struggle can exist without the conscious participation of the individuals who make up the conflicting classes. So even an understanding of this passage from the Manifesto refutes the conception attributed to Marx by the learned professor.

The spectacle of Professor Beard assailing Marx with the vulgarities of the odious crew of Marx perverters whose most prominent members in this country are William English Walling, Frank Bohn, John Spargo and James O'Neal, is indeed, ironic and amusing. One of the very few outstanding American historians who most consistently uses the Marxian method of interpreting history, His "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" in particular contains passages that would be credit to any Marxist. We fear that Professor Beard has obtained his conception of Marxism from these clowns who distort

(Continued on Page Seven)