

COMMUNISTS EXPOSE GERMAN FASCIST PLOT

Why Wall Street Objects to Law in "Mexico's" Oil Industry

A FEW FIGURES

Total estimated investment in industry \$583,159,562

of which

Table showing ownership percentages: U. S. investors own 57.46 Pct., British 26.16, Dutch 11.37, Mexican 3.02, All other (principally German and French) investors own 1.99.

"To Hell with the Mexican Government!" says Wall Street. "We Want the Other 42 1/2 Pct.!"

STATE DEPARTMENT CONTINUES SECRET DIPLOMACY IN MEXICO

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12.—Not only has the state department failed to keep its promise to publish its secret correspondence with Mexico, which was exposed in the senate recently, but it is continuing along the path of secret diplomacy.

Despite the official reports that the government has been trying "to come to an understanding with Mexico," it is understood that to be acceptable to Washington such an "understanding" must involve capitulation of the Mexican government to the American oil, mining and banking interests.

UNITED STATES IS THE DECISIVE CENTER FOR EXPORTS OF CAPITAL, SAYS VARGA, IN WORLD ANALYSIS

(Editor's note.—In the following article, Eugene Varga, the statistician and economist of the Communist International, outlines the trend of capitalist development in the application of the international loan policies of the United States to Europe.)

By EUGENE VARGA.

THE last quarter of 1925 was rich in events. Developments were perhaps even more contradictory than usual.

For the United States a continued improvement of the economic situation is to be recorded, reaching a boom which has gone beyond the highest culmination hitherto attained in some branches of industry: iron and steel production, railway traffic, and building activity.

In England there has been improved business in heavy industry, but this is partially due to the artificial stimulation of the coal subsidies, and partially to the strike now lasting for six months among the anthracite coal miners in the United States.

EXCEPT in the United States and in some districts overseas, the last quarter has brought no advance in the stabilization of capitalism.

From the viewpoint of economic politics the most important event has been the consolidation of the Italian war debt to the United States. The United States have accorded extremely favorable terms to Italy; as soon as the agreement was concluded large quantities of American capital streamed into Italy.

amount of wheat exported all over the world, the prices have not fallen, but have considerably risen. The attempts at forming international coal and iron cartels have not yet led to any result.

UNEMPLOYMENT has increased in almost every country of Europe, in accordance with the general economic conditions and with the season. England forms an exception; here the number of registered unemployed is decreasing.

U. S. BANKERS JAIL WORKERS IN COLOMBIA

Imperialists Terrorize Union Organizers

WASHINGTON, March 12.—Conditions of terrorization of organized labor in Colombia are reported to the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Washington by the Central National Labor Confederation of Colombia, in a memorial sent from the capital, Bogota. Labor leaders are declared to have been imprisoned without cause, following the recent street railway strike, and their houses searched, while all constitutional guarantees of individual rights have been ignored.

MORE MINERS OUT OF WORK AS ANOTHER ILLINOIS MINE CLOSES

WEST FRANKFURT, Ill., March 12.—Mining operations in southern Illinois are gradually being curtailed, the latest closing order, made known today, affecting mine number 20 of the old Ben corporation at Valier. This mine will shut down tomorrow, leaving only two of the old Ben's 12 mines in Franklin and Williamson counties operating.

HALF OF LODI WORKERS DOWN THEIR TOOLS

1,500 Join the Passaic Textile Strike

(Special to The Daily Worker) PASSAIC, N. J., March 12.—Nearly half the plant at Lodi walked out on the first day of their strike. This is the encouraging record of the great concerted attempt to pull out the workers of the United Piece Dye works at Lodi after representative workers had come to the united front committee and asked to be led in a strike.

After a day of demonstrations, a mass meeting for Lodi workers and a meeting of regularly elected delegates from Lodi with the united front, the strikers from the dye works gathered sufficient strength to picket their own mill with a line 500 strong, and every shift of workers brot additions to their ranks.

Already the examining, finishing, drying, shipping, and gray rooms, and the dye house of Mill A, involving 1,500 workers are out and the other unit of the Lodi mill, Mill B, has begun to come out with the finishing room. The workers are clamoring that their 7,000 fellow workers at the United Piece Dye works of Paterson be led in a strike, and the Associated Silk Workers of that city have been invited by Albert Weisbord to join with the united front committee to organize them in a strike.

These momentous events, presaging the deepening and widening of the strike, will mean the extension of relief work within a few weeks. Plans for a Passaic bazaar on March 19 to 21, a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York tag days beginning March 12, and benefit performances in theaters will help to raise money for the immense drain of relief work that has already begun. Articles for the bazaar are the next pressing need of the relief plans, and should be sent to 743 Main avenue, Passaic.

Threats against the life of Organizer Weisbord were made by the ku klux klan. The following letter typed in red letters on plain bond paper was received by Weisbord.

"Bergan and Passaic County Headquarters K. K. K."

"Mr. Albert Weisbord: Resolved at our last meeting that you leave this city at once or drastic action will take place at once."

"This is your first and last warning so take heed."

"Your presence in this state is a menace to mankind and we will not tolerate Communism."

"You are constantly watched together with the rest of your associates."

"Leave your hands off other people's liberties."

"Bear in mind that our methods are relentless for we always succeed in our ventures."

"Your days are numbered so take care and heed this warning."

"Avenging Committee K. K. K."

From Sweden



FRITHJOF EHMEN Chairman of the Swedish Labor Delegation to Soviet Russia.

ELEVEN THOUSAND STRONG!



The New York Striking Furriers Cannot Lose!

By William Groppet.

ANTI-LYNCH BILL NOT ESSENTIAL, SAYS COOLIDGE

Dyer and McKinley Use Measure to Grab Votes

(Special to The Daily Worker) WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12.—The Dyer-McKinley bill that has been introduced in the senate is not on the list of "essential legislation" that Coolidge wants acted upon at this session of congress.

Indications are at the capitol that no attempts will be made to push the bill. Senator William B. McKinley of Illinois introduced the measure with no other intention than to capture the Negro vote in Illinois. His introduction of the Morgan policy of the world court has raised such a resentment against him that he is now posing as a friend of the Negro in a desperate attempt to be re-elected so that he may aid the Coolidge administration in passing repressive measures against workers.

When a vote occurred on the Dyer anti-lynch bill in one of the previous sessions of congress McKinley was "sick" on that day and was not present to cast his vote. When it came near to election time he introduced the Dyer bill all over again.

Congressman Dyer is expected to get a severe jolt in the coming elections as a Negro candidate is running against him. Dyer was elected to Congress by the Negro vote but because of his vacillating policy towards measures that would protect the Negro from lynching mobs, Negro voters are planning to desert him.

President Coolidge is doing all that he can to have congress adjourn in May, a long period before the election so that the administration can repair some broken-down fences and put over some of their henchmen. Coolidge declared the anti-lynch bill was too severe because it provided that three constitute a mob and that the county or city in which a lynching occurs shall be fined \$10,000.

Hotel and Restaurant Workers Start Drive to Unionize Industry

NEW YORK, March 12.—The Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers is carrying on an organization campaign at present and has issued circulars calling on the chefs de parties, commis, blue jackets, captains, waiters, busboys, and all other workers in hotels and restaurants to join the union and fight for better conditions. Those desiring to join should immediately go to 133 West 51st street, the union headquarters.

U. N. I. A. MEETS IN DETROIT ON SUNDAY MORNING

Rank and File Watches Convention Closely

DETROIT, Mich., March 12.—An extraordinary convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is called to meet here from March 14 to 31. This convention is being called for the purpose of electing an assistant president general, secretary general and chancellor. These officers are accused of having tried to "Americanize" the Universal Negro Improvement Association and also of not making any attempt to get Marcus Garvey out of prison. In conjunction with the African section of the Universal Negro Improvement Association the presidents of the Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Detroit divisions are calling this convention.

The convention sessions will be from 9 in the morning until 1 and from 2 p. m. until five. At these (Continued on page 2)

U. S. PREPARES TO INTERVENE WITH WARSHIPS

Long Arm of Morgan Is Back of Move

(Special to The Daily Worker) WASHINGTON, March 12.—American warships have begun to concentrate in North China waters to back up the powers' demands upon the Chinese government for alleged safety measures for foreign residents in the fighting between rival Chinese factions.

The Sacramento has left the headquarters of the Asiatic squadron for Taku, and the Penguin has departed from South China to take up a position north of Tientsin. Other cruisers of the Asiatic squadron are so stationed as to give force to the demands of the powers.

Fire On Forts. LONDON, March 12.—Dispatches from Tientsin state that three Japanese destroyers engaged in an exchange of shots with the Taku batteries, but state it is believed the firing on the Japanese was by mistake.

Present Ultimatum. PEKING, March 12.—An ultimatum by the foreign powers has been served on the Chinese government declaring that all necessary action will be taken to keep the avenues of transportation (Continued on page 2)

T. U. E. L. Concert Tonight! See Ad At Bottom of Page 4

BOSTON COUNCIL FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN-BORN MEETS APRIL 4

BOSTON, Mass., March 12.—The Boston Council for the Protection of the Foreign-born will hold a conference on Sunday afternoon, April 4, at 3 o'clock at the American House, to which unions are called upon to send delegates in a call that is sent to all labor organizations in Boston and its vicinity.

The executive committee of the Council for the Protection of Foreign-born Workers is also sending out resolutions and petition lists to various working class organizations

DOWN REPUBLIC TO RE-ESTABLISH MONARCHY, PLAN

Story Is Told in Report to Reichstag

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BERLIN, March 12.—The assassination of the president of Germany, the chancellor, members of the cabinet and a number of party and working class union leaders was to be a part of the monarchist plot to overthrow the republic and re-establish the monarchy on Sept. 29, 1923, pointed out Communist members of the reichstag in their reports to the reichstag and Prussian diet committees that are now investigating the Feme murders and the connection of the Feme organization with the illegal fascist military organization known as the Black Reichswehr.

Defends Black Reichswehr. Dr. Gessler, minister of defense, in his statement attempting to defend the existence of the Black Reichswehr declared that the Black Reichswehr organization was the result of "critical times." Gessler tries to hide the fact that the Black Reichswehr maintained connections with the regular army which had General Von Seeckt as its commander.

Every attempt was made by the reactionaries to hide their connections with the Black Reichswehr. The Communists in reporting on the connections of the Black Reichswehr with the Reichswehr point out that Schulz, who was the brains of the secret military terrorist group, had his offices in the Berlin Reichswehr and that the reactionaries have not attempted to explain why Schulz had his office in the Berlin Reichswehr.

The following extracts from the reactionaries' plot to overthrow the republic and re-establish a monarchy were read to the committee:

"At 2 in the morning, which is an hour after the assembly of troops, commanders shall depart to carry out their orders. Forthwith President Ebert, Chancellor Stresemann and Minister President Severing shall be shot. All other ministers shall be arrested and if they show the slightest resistance be shot. Party leaders and leaders of labor unions shall be arrested and brot to trial before a special court to answer for their part in the revolution of November, 1918."

These plans were nipped in the bud, it was shown that the Hitler putsch, known as the Munich beer hall revolution, was the aftermath of the reactionaries' plans.

PROGRESSIVE SHOE WORKERS FOR REAL UNION

Demand Fight Against Wage Cuts

(Special to The Daily Worker)

LYNN, Mass., March 12.—The progressive wing of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in an appeal that is being circulated among the members of the union call on the membership to more actively participate in the affairs of the union and make it a real fighting force that can be used against the bosses that are continually cutting the wages of the workers.

The appeal points out that the state board of arbitration has slashed the wages of the shoe workers from 30% to 40%. The average wage made by the shoe workers is about \$15 a week throughout the year. It points out that the cost of living in Lynn is not only as high as in other cities but that it is higher than in cities where workers average much higher wages every week.

In New York City the shoe workers receive on an average of \$50 to \$60 a week. In New York the workers have the 44-hour week while in Lynn the 50-hour week prevails.

The progressives point out that these conditions prevail because the shoe workers in New York are well organized and their leaders do not bow before arbitration boards and take whatever the lickspittles of the bosses feel like dishing out.

The progressives call on the rank and file to attend the union meetings and to demand rank and file control of the organization and to see to it that their officials insist on the 44-hour week and take a militant stand against wage cuts

PRESS LYING ABOUT MEXICO, STATES LEAGUE

U. S. Delegate Broke Up Session, Is Charge

(By Federated Press.)

Charges that the American press is falsifying the issue between the United States and Mexico are made by the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, an organization with branches in Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Porto Rico and Cuba as well as in the United States.

It was the American representative on the Mexican claims commission and not the neutral Brazilian chairman that broke up the negotiations on claims for damages to Americans during the Mexican troubles, the league secretary, Manuel Gomez, asserts. The point at issue was whether damages should be allowed because of the depredations of the late Pancho Villa. The United States claimed that Villa was a de facto revolutionary leader. Mexico claimed he was a bandit. If Villa was a revolutionary of standing the present Mexican government might have to stand responsible for the damage he wrought, but if he was a bandit it would be no more under obligation than the U. S. government, as when an American criminal cuts up.

American Commissioner Balka. The neutral Brazilian decided that Villa was a bandit. The American commissioner refused to accept this decision and the session broke up, the league relates. Now the American press is spreading the propaganda falsehood that the Brazilian refused to proceed and that the claims arising out of the Villa episodes remain unsettled. This is being used to whip up sentiment for intervention in Mexico. But it rests on a lie, the league points out, because the claims have been settled, strictly according to accepted procedure, having been rated as worth nothing under the bandit decision.

The league appeals to American workers to protest to Secretary of States Kellogg against the drift toward war.

Name Dry Committee to Hear Wet Plaintiffs

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—A special senate prohibition committee to consider all pending measures for repeal or modification of the national dry law was named today by Senator Cummins (R.) of Iowa, chairman of the senate judiciary committee, to whom senatorial wets had appealed for public hearings.

The committee named was Senator Means (R.) of Colorado, chairman; Goff (R.) of West Virginia, Harrel (R.) of Oklahoma, Reed (D.) of Missouri, and Walsh (D) of Montana. All but Reed are drys.

The Anniversary of the Commune

THE 55th anniversary of the Paris Commune, March, 1926.

What does it mean for the working class? Why should all workers remember it and join in the mass demonstration on Friday, March 19th, at the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium? Why does the International Labor Defense call on all workers to commemorate the Commune?

First and most important, because the Paris Commune, the suffering a bloody defeat, nevertheless gave the signal for all working class victories that followed. From the mistakes of the French workers in their attempt at self-government were garnered lessons that helped make the Russian Revolution triumph. The necessity of overthrowing the entire bourgeois state, its bureaucracy and its army was made apparent; and, likewise, the need for an alliance between workers and the peasantry. Thus, the Paris Commune raised the stand-

4,000,000 Back Confiscation Move

BERLIN, March 12.—More than 4,000,000 German workers and farmers have signed the demand that the vast estates of the late Kaiser, the counts, archdukes and princes be confiscated and the proceeds of the estates used to care for the widows and orphans of the imperialist war victims, according to statements of various labor bodies thruout Germany. In Berlin alone over 500,000 signed this demand. Now it is up to the reichstag to enact the law and if the reichstag still reverses the rights of the German monarchists to the extent that they refuse to enact the legislation, it will go to another referendum.

U. S. Prepares to Intervene with Ship of War in Orient

(Continued from page 1)

and communication open between this city and Tientsin. It is understood that a similar note has been sent to Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin.

The statement points out that electrically controlled mines have been placed in the Taku channel at its narrowest point, where it is only 500 feet wide. It also complains that artillery duels are going on over the main shipping routes and that the Peking-Tientsin railway has been cut in several places and the international mails delayed. The note calls attention to the provisions of the Boxer protocol guaranteeing the continuity of communication and the safety of the legations.

To Commemorate Massacre.

SHANGHAI, March 12.—The local Chinese plan a monster demonstration here on the anniversary of the May 30 massacre of last year.

Elect Councillors.

The regular slate of candidates for the Municipal Council, which was backed by the foreign financial, commercial and shipping interests, was elected. The silence of the candidates concerning issues vital to the Chinese, such as the abolition of the mixed court, the return of the settlement concessions to China, and the question of admitting Chinese to the council, is considered significant by the local native press.

Seize Anti-Red Newspaper.

The Anti-Bolshevik League, formed by reactionary Chinese, has not had much luck so far. Three weeks ago it started the publication of an anti-Red paper. After ten issues the Chinese who were printing and editing it seized the plant and changed its policy to a pro-Soviet Russian one. The foreign manager had to call in the police to recover possession.

This league has announced its intentions to start an open air campaign against all Bolshevism. Mass meetings will be held in Chinese, French, Japanese and English. If the program is adhered to there will be plenty of excitement, as the seizure of the newspaper showed the strong Bolshevism feelings of the workers.

State Police Terrorize Foreign-Born.

DETROIT, March 10.—State cossacks have been sent into Hamtramck, a suburb, to terrorize the foreign-born workers, following the shooting of Patrolman Charles Budds by Acting Chief William Marquardt. The state forces were called into the city by the mayor. State troopers were called in two years ago and terrorized the foreign-born workers.

Pullman Hears Trumbull.

Walter Trumbull, recently freed from Alcatraz military prison, after having a twenty-six year sentence shortened thru the activity of the International Labor Defense to one year, told the story of his experiences leading up to and during his arrest, conviction and imprisonment, to the workers of Pullman.

L. Engdahl, editor of THE DAILY WORKER acted as chairman of the meeting. Robert Minor, editor of the Saturday Magazine supplement of THE DAILY WORKER, and Corienne O'Brien Robinson also spoke.

The Pullman workers made a good showing by giving several subscriptions to the Labor Defender.

A sub a day will help to drive capital away.

Pullman I. L. D. Will Commemorate Paris Commune

PULLMAN, Ill., March 12.—Workers of Pullman will commemorate the Paris Commune on Saturday night, March 27, at Strumel's Hall, 158 East 107th St., with the production of the "Last Day of the Commune" and with motion pictures of class war prisoners' aid in Europe and Labor Defense work in America.

The demonstration will be in charge of Pullman Branches of the International Labor Defense. Prominent speakers will tell the story of the Commune and explain its role in class war history.

May Include Chicago and Alton in Merger

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BLOOMINGTON, Ill., March 12.—Rumors that the Chicago and Alton Railroad would be included in the proposed merger of the St. Louis and San Francisco and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific railroads gained credence here today when a party started an inspection tour of the Chicago and Alton lines. J. E. Gorman, president of the Rock Island System, and his party, under the direction of Receiver W. G. Beird of the Chicago and Alton, are making the trip.

SPEAKERS:

Bishop Brown J. W. Johnstone Robert Minor

"THE LAST DAY OF THE COMMUNE," One Act Drama Motion Pictures of Class War Prisoners' Aid

Auspices of INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE, 23 South Lincoln Street.

Tickets, 25c in Advance Admission, 50c at Door

REPORT THAT GERMANY WINS COUNCIL SEAT

Reach Compromise to Delay Others

(Special to The Daily Worker)

GENEVA, March 12.—The league of nations conference here is still without decisive result. Six days of uninterrupted talkfests have left all the distinguished visitors in a most irritable mood. But for the overwhelming importance of the gathering and the fact that its breakup means that the famous Locarno agreement is void and would plunge the tangled affairs of the continent into inextricable confusion, no one doubts but that the majority of the delegates would have given up in disgust long ago.

Representatives of the powers which signed the Locarno treaties,—Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany,—met this morning to attempt some compromise regarding the enlargement of the council. The most likely compromise, and the one it is believed has been reached, would give Germany the permanent seat which she has been promised and postpone the claims of all other nations to the September meeting. This solution seemed the only alternative to a complete deadlock.

Under Protests.

Yesterday considerable more irritation was added to that already existing by the charges and denials of pressure being exerted on various delegates. Unden, the Swedish foreign minister, thru his secretary issued a statement denouncing Austen Chamberlain for his violent refusal to budge from his position that according to the instructions of his government he would vote for no admissions to a permanent seat except to Germany.

Socialist do Dirty Work.

The British and French deputed Albert Thomas, French minister of war during the world war, and M. Vandervelde, Belgian prime minister, both socialists, to use their persuasive powers upon Unden, who is also a socialist and get him to change his position. It is a unique feature of the conference that a large proportion of the leading delegates are renegade radicals, now become the most dangerous misleaders and recognized traitors to the working class.

De Valera Announces He Will Keep Up Fight for an Irish Republic

(Special to The Daily Worker)

DUBLIN, March 12.—Eamon De Valera will not cease his battle to make Ireland a republic free from English control even though he has resigned as president of the republican party, he announced today.

"I have not left the republican party," said De Valera.

"I intend to deny the claim of any foreign power to rule in Ireland and will oppose the will of England to rule." He added that he would "make use of every means, rightfully available, towards those ends."

Vrooman Endorses \$300,000,000 Bill for Farmers' Relief

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—The Robinson-Oldfield farm relief bill, providing \$300,000,000 for disposing of surplus crops, was endorsed today before house agriculture committee by Carl Vrooman, Bloomington, Illinois, former assistant secretary of agriculture.

Foreign companies would be loaned \$200,000,000 for American crop purchases and an additional \$100,000,000 would be placed at the disposal of farmers to equalize foreign import duties.

"The only opposition to this measure," said Vrooman, "comes from international bankers who oppose such government loans abroad."

Committee Approves Aeronautics Bureau

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—A bill to establish a bureau of civil aeronautics in the commerce department was approved today by the house interstate commerce committee.

The measure, recommended by the Morrow air board, would give the secretary of commerce powers to encourage and regulate civil aviation.

The more you'll write the better you'll like it.

TRUMBULL WILL SPEAK TO NEGRO WORKERS SUNDAY

Walter Trumbull, young ex-soldier who has just been released from Alcatraz military prison, where he served a year for organizing a Communist League in Hawaii, will speak this Sunday night, at the Metropolitan Community Center, 3118 Giles Ave. The meeting is to be held under the auspices of the Negro Anti-Imperialist Association.

The slogan raised for this meeting is: Free Hawaii, Morocco, Liberia, and all colonies and semi-colonies now exploited by the imperialists!

Trumbull, who was stationed at a post in Hawaii at the time of his arrest, had opportunity to see the effect of American imperialism rule on the working class of the island. Laborers receive only a \$1.05 a day for the hardest kind of labor. Their homes are poor, their working conditions extremely bad. Their strikes are put down ruthlessly.

The segregation of all Negroes who were drafted into the army during the world war was a sore point with the race, and opened the eyes of many colored workers to the real nature of American rule and the real meaning of the war. They were forced to do the dirty and disgusting work in the army and none were allowed in the more skilled arms of the service. Arriving in France, they found that the general of the American army, Pershing, had instructed French officers and troops not to associate much with the American Negro soldiers, on the ground that this would "give them wrong ideas of equality!" Back in the United States, the Negro found himself once more segregated, Jim-crowded and lynched.

Trumbull will tell of his experiences in Hawaii and in the army generally. Negro and Japanese speakers will also address the meeting.

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Mussolini Glorifies the Capitalists to Justify His Fake Labor Unions

By J. LOUIS ENGDALH.

BENITO MUSSOLINI, fascist dictator of Italy, delivered his confession of faith in the capitalist social order before the Italian senate, preliminary to its adoption of the so-called "Fascist capital and labor bill."

Mussolini's declarations are interesting, not only because he heads one of the bloodiest tyrannies in Europe, that is applauded by America's international bankers, but because he was formerly a socialist, member of the Italian socialist party. He displays admirably the type of mind of the renegade.

Mussolini reveals his charlatan role when he makes such silly declarations as the following:

"The modern capitalists are generals of industry, great organizers, men who have and must have a high regard for civil and moral responsibilities, men on whom future health, happiness, and wages for thousands of individuals depend. The success of their industry is the success of the nation."

The other day a professor presiding over a commerce class in a university asked his students whom they considered the greatest industrial leader in the United States today. Invariably the students replied John D. Rockefeller. Yet Rockefeller is a doddering old man, who spends his time playing golf and passing out brand new dimes, as alleged gifts to those with whom he comes in contact. His son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., knows little more about the oil industry than the most isolated worker in the most distant "Standard" oil field. The Rockefeller picture mirrors American capitalism, that now dominates the world, and that Mussolini flamboyantly claims "has several centuries of existence before it."

Outside of Henry Ford, who has already evinced signs of decay by dabbling with fiddlers, old dances and the purchase of decrepit "wayside inns" in Coolidge's New England, there is hardly a widely known capitalist of the organizer or even of the financier type in the whole land.

The railroad world once knew Jim Hill, E. H. Harriman, Gould, Vanderbilt and others who either dabbled in the construction or manipulated the financing of railroads. There isn't today a single railroad capitalist of any consequence in the land. They are directed by managers who are merely the office boys of the great banks. Louis Hill is a waster. Harriman left no progeny. The offspring of the Goulds and Vanderbilts spend most of their time in the probate courts, fighting for the money left behind by their ancestors, or in the divorce courts when they are not planning new marital ties with some bankrupt foreign title.

The "civil and moral responsibilities" of the Hills, Harrimans, Goulds and Vanderbilts, as of all American capitalists, were summed up in Gould's declaration, "Damn the public!" They debauched everything they touched. Every public official had his price. The government was their agency for plundering the people.

In spite of Mussolini's buncombe the active capitalists in Europe have been just as adept in the high art of corruption. Italy is no exception.

The best and one of the most recent examples of the organizing ability of "modern capitalists" in this country was uncovered in the Teapot Dome scandal, where Doherty and Sinclair used the highest officials of the government to help them plunder the oil fields.

It is Mussolini, like the American labor officialdom, who must give the capitalists high qualities they do not possess in order to bolster up their class-collaboration policies and justify the existence and continuance of capitalism.

The fascist industrial unions that have been legalized in Italy have accepted the principle of co-operation between capital and labor and "the recognition of each other's needs." These Mussolini unions have been established upon the ruins of the whole Italian trade union movement built up thru many years of struggle as effective weapons against the capitalist class. Even the catholic unions have been outlawed.

The fascist unions are nothing more than the "company unions" of Italian capitalism. The trade union movement in the United States will become the same prisoner of American capitalism if class-collaboration continues to be the dominant idea to be imposed by the labor officialdom upon the organized workers of this country.



Whiteman Speaks at St. Louis on Monday

(Special to The Daily Worker)

ST. LOUIS, Mo., March 12.—Lovett Fort-Whiteman, national organizer of the American Negro Labor Congress, will speak at the Pythian Hall, 3137 Pine St., Monday evening, March 14 at 8 o'clock. All workers are invited to attend. Theodore Christian will act as chairman.

A special boosters' meeting is planned to take place at the Labor Lyceum, 1243 North Garrison Ave., on Sunday morning, March 14 at 9:30 o'clock to make the final arrangements for the meeting. All militant workers should attend.

Foreign Exchange.

NEW YORK, March 12 — Great Britain pound sterling, demand 4.85 1/4, cable 4.86 1/4; France, franc, demand 3.63 1/4, cable 3.64; Belgium, franc, demand 4.53 1/4, cable 4.54 1/4; Italy, lira, demand 4.01 1/2, cable 4.01 1/2; Sweden, krona, demand 26.79; cable 26.82; Norway, krona, demand 21.71, cable 21.73; Denmark, krone, demand 26.18, cable 26.18; Shanghai, tael, demand 78.50, cable not quoted.

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MARINE CORPS HEAD DICTATES HAITIAN POLICY

Puppet Ignores Demand for New Elections

WASHINGTON, March 12.—In his fourth annual report as American high commissioner in Haiti, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell of the Marine Corps tells Secretary of State Kellogg of the "benefits" of American military domination of that nominal republic.

"A free press," says Russell, "to them apparently means an unlicensed press, and consequently when the Haitian government deems their annoying attacks important enough to take means to curb their verbose slander and malice against governmental and diplomatic officials they vehemently protest that the government is interfering with their liberty of action."

Refuse to Hold Elections.

Borno's refusal to call elections created a tumult in Haiti, the military governor admits. But he defends it elaborately as being necessary in view of the illiteracy of the masses. He says 85 per cent are peasants, who have the mentality of a child of 7 years, and that the literate class in the towns did not vote, in the old days, because their numbers were too small to count.

"The freedom of the press," he says, "is absolute; the law which governs it is made only to suppress abuses, defamation, outrage, provocation to crime, all those intolerable excesses by which the old revolutionary demon, impatient to break his chains, manifests himself from time to time."

Russell predicts that with improved sanitary conditions and higher standards, the population, now 2,000,000, will rapidly increase, and the cost of living will likewise increase. This, he says, will require much greater production from the soil, if the people are not to suffer.

Martial law, he remarks, has been invoked only on "rare occasions" in the past year. American officers and marines have been taught that they must maintain "friendly relations" with the Haitians.

The Last Day of the Paris Commune. See it dramatized at the International Labor Defense commemoration March 19 at Ashland Auditorium.

Worker Correspondence 1000 WORKER CORRESPONDENTS BY JANUARY 13 1927

TID-BITS OF PASSAIC STRIKE

By TED DEAK, Worker Correspondent.

The textile strike in Passaic is at its climax. The town is being placed upon the map; it is a place of interest to some and a place of amusement to others.

The town officials should be well satisfied with the great deal of publicity that they are receiving—their it is questionable whether this publicity will do them any good at the next election.

The "ever-ready" fire department of Passaic is said to be efficient in squirting the liquid. They showed their "prowess" when they turned the hose upon the picket line. But the strikers laughed at them and in a thunderous chorus sang, "Solidarity Forever."

The police force should be arrested for stealing peddlers' heres for the purpose of riding down the strikers. But who should arrest them? We ought to leave that to the strikers' police wearing the orange bands.

It is a comical sight to see the blue-coats running up and down along the endless picket line, waving their clubs and yelling threats into the mass of men, women and children. It reminds one of a pack of little pups scampering about and yapping at a giant.

The authorities ordered the meeting halls of the strikers closed. Perhaps they want open air meetings where a greater crowd can listen in and "get wise."

GAG CHECKER CAB DRIVERS AT ANNUAL MEETING

Well-Oiled Machine Terrorizes Men

By a Worker Correspondent.

After successfully operating thru one year of comparative peace, Chicago Checker Cab driver-owners, at their annual stockholders' meeting, discovered themselves being driven by intimidation into re-electing a board of directors which is liable to deliver them all into the hands of a few owners. The ballots have not yet been counted, but the results are quite evident.

During the past year sufficient progress was made by the machine to assure the drivers of a living. But at the same time measures were put thru the board of directors limiting the management to an executive board of seven, and endorsing the building of a standard cab, which all drivers will be forced to buy. The advantages of standardization were touted while the fact that the actual control of this manufacturing company was already in the hands of the Checker officialdom was not mentioned.

Officials will merely have to condemn the present cab of any driver and then he will either buy the standard car at a fairly stiff price or get out of the company.

Well Oiled Machine.

The meeting was typical of any union where a well organized machine rides over a scattered opposition. Already before the meeting proxies were issued by the thousands, authorizing the present regime to vote a drivers' share. (Shares are owned by each driver in proportion to the value of his car.) Thus, in case a driver did not attend for any reason, his votes were assured the administration. Lists of all drivers were carried by proxy bearers so that in case a man refused to sign he was on the "blacklist." About 600 out of the 1,400 stockholders voted in person.

Unless the others had signed proxies for the opposition also, their votes are valid for the machine.

Several weeks ago Joe Wokral, president, sent a challenge to debate the leader of the opposition, Jim Stirling. Stirling cleverly set the date of the debate for the annual meeting. Great hopes were expressed by most of the drivers that thru this debate Wokral would be overwhelmingly defeated. The fact that the election was to be held under the jurisdiction of Judge Denis E. Sullivan made most of them feel they would have a fair election, despite his infamous record as an injunction judge. But even with a court officer as chairman of the meeting the dirty tactics of Wokral et al. were successful. To one new to machine politics the whole thing was amazing.

Rush Thru Reports.

With every aisle crowded with deputies, police and highway police, the meeting was opened with a sickeningly sweet speech of praise by the "disinterested" counsel for the company. Assuring the drivers that in the eye of the law all men are equal, the officer representing Judge Sullivan was introduced. He took a back seat for the time. The secretary, Bob McLaughlin, received an ovation from one corner of the room by his "laquers" when he rose to whisper thru a reading of the minutes of last year's meeting. Half way thru a motion to adopt them without reading was adopted without taking the trouble to count a nearly even show of hands. Resentment against this type of rulling by Wokral later arose to such a storm that order was only restored by the court officer taking the gavel. This move was made after the treasurer's report was read in a very hasty manner and adopted by an estimate of the volume of noise made by each. On every oral vote the machine was aided by an accordion manned by one enthusiastic job-seeker.

The new chairman started off fairly by awarding the floor to Stirling, who announced himself ready to prove charges he had already made by letter to every driver. Half a dozen officials and job holders shouted countercharges, every one was shouting, and, with the attention of the opposition distracted, a motion was put and carried, by a vote of not more than one-fourth of the men, to proceed with the next order of business, which was the balloting.

Fear Vengeance.

Machine ballots were green, the others white. A gauntlet was formed of the former extending to the ballot box. The ballot in the hand of every man was carefully scanned, the color proclaiming his convictions. Many "whites" wrapped their ballots in green paper, thus protecting themselves from the subtle vengeance sure to follow.

The basis of organization of the company is fundamentally bad. Drivers function as stockholders only once a year, when the directors are elected. As stockholders they are influenced by the treatment they receive as employees. Rules are enforced or not, according to the political stand of the men. Eventually an excuse is found to expel a driver who has opposed them unless he is very careful not to allow himself to be framed. In that case things are made so uncomfortable for him that he usually gets out. It has been less than a year since two directors who opposed Wokral were mysteriously shot and crippled.

The trend is from crude graft to more subtle moves to gain control. The next year will bring new developments, undoubtedly in line with this tendency, and once again the drivers are helpless and without any organization to fight the officials.

Chicago City Council Passes Tile Ordinance

The Chicago city council passed an ordinance allowing the use of hollow tile in building construction in Chicago by a vote of 35 to 12 at a stormy session of the council.

YELLOW CAB CO. ASKS MEN TO SPY ON EACH OTHER

Must Swear They Will Ferret Out Union Men

(By a Worker Correspondent)

Being out of work for the last few months, I follow the want ads in the capitalist newspapers and have made many applications, so far I have been unable to find employment. For every job advertised there are several hundred workers. And the answer they always are greeted with is that the vacancy is already filled.

The other day I answered an ad for a finisher, by the Pullman Coach company, 3739 South Ashland. When I got there there was the usual mob. I was informed that the job was taken. Talking with some of these unemployed we came to the conclusion that most of the ads are fakes. The bosses run them in order to show their slaves how many men are anxious to take their jobs, thus forcing them to accept reductions in wages.

Looking over the ads once more I came across one by the Yellow Cab company advertising for chauffeurs which reads thus: Men get out of the rut. Get an outside job. Our men are earning from \$35 a week to \$4,000 a year. Employment office, 108 LaSalle or 52 E. 21st.

I went to 108 LaSalle. As I entered the office a man approached me asking me what I wanted. When I told him I was looking for employment he handed me a card to fill out. The card read: Name in full. Address. Age. How long in Chicago. Are you a member of a L. O. Inquiring what L. O. stood for I was told by this man that it means labor organization. Knowing the Yellow Cab company for a notorious labor union hating company and since I needed a job very badly I answered: No.

I handed the card back to the man who looked it over and marked it o. k. Then I was given a long yellow sheet to fill out as follows: Name. Address. Is your father, your brother or sisters or any one in your family a member of any L. O.? Have you ever been arrested? Have you served in the army or navy? Filling that one out and turning it in he hands me still another document telling me to sign on the dotted line.

I picked up the sheet and read: I hereby swear that I never was and never will be a member of any labor organization and will have nothing to do with any labor organizer while in the employ of this company and to protect this company from any labor organizers.

I threw the paper into his face and walked out.

Union Men Walk Streets While Business Agents Fatten on Initiations

By a Worker Correspondent

At the Axel Carlson Concrete Construction Company, Cicero, the following incident took place:

Six men were hired on a job located at 54th avenue and 18th street. These men were not asked if they were members of the union.

The following morning four business agents of the Building Laborers' Union, three of them from Local 76 and one from Local 25, appeared on the scene. After checking up the laborers it was found that out of eleven on the job two had paid-up cards and one had a permit issued to him from another job.

The issue arose among the business agents which one should sign up the men on permits, which costs the men five dollars a week (\$54 being the initiation fee). The business agent from Local 25 being outnumbered three to one by Local 76, lost his chances to line up any of the non-union men.

It is worth while to note that while this is going on at most of the jobs in Chicago union men are walking the streets with union cards in good standing, while non-union laborers are given preference to jobs in order that the business agent may collect permit money which amounts to hundreds of dollars a month.

It is these points that the rank and file should raise in the local union and propagate for amalgamation of the laborers' locals into industrial unions and thereby do away with needless expense of paying fat salaries to a bunch of business agents who pay no attention to the working conditions under which we work, but merely appear on the job to collect money from non-union men whom the bosses are allowed to hire.

Florida Workers and Farmers Fight Bills Aimed Against Labor

RUSKIN, Fla., March 12.—Militant farmers and workers at a meeting here adopted a resolution condemning the Coolidge administration and the anti-labor bills that are now before Congress. The resolution adopted by this gathering follows:

"Whereas, President Coolidge's message to Congress calls for anti-strike legislation against the workers on the railroads and in the coal mining districts and approves of registration, fingerprinting and photographing of all foreign-born workers, and

"Whereas, the capitalist program calls for a universal draft law and indorses a fight against the first workers' and peasants' government—the Soviet Union,

"Therefore, be it resolved, that this meeting of militant wage workers and farmers held at Ruskin, Florida, emphatically protest against this reactionary program, and that

"It be further resolved, that we pledge our whole-hearted support to the International Labor Defense in its efforts to defend militants who uphold working-class principles."

Next Week's Prizes

- First Prize—An original DAILY WORKER cartoon by one of the noted American Communist artists, Robert Minor, Fred Ellis or Lydia Gibson.
Second Prize—"Social Forces in American History" by A. M. Simons. New edition just issued by International Publishers. This book gives the best economic interpretation of the origin and growth of the American nation.
Third Prize—"Lincoln, Labor and Slavery," by Herman Schlueter, the only book on Lincoln from a revolutionary standpoint.

RETURN T. U. E. L. CONCERT TICKETS TODAY AT 2 P. M.

All those who have tickets for sale for the T. U. E. L. concert to be held this Saturday at the 8th St. Theater, must return money for same and left over tickets to the office of the T. U. E. L., Room 37, 156 W. Washington St., not later than today at 2 p. m. All seats are reserved and all tickets not returned by the above mentioned time will be considered sold, as the seats cannot be sold when the tickets are out.

Nab American Adventurer. TANGIER, Morocco, March 12.—French authorities who arrested Thomas Williams of San Francisco, after the latter's escape from the Rif flans, have turned him over to the American diplomatic agent here. Williams was an American volunteer in the French foreign legion.

'THE SUFFRAGETTE' WILL BE PRESENTED AT THE WORKERS' HOUSE, SUNDAY

"The Suffragette," a Russian play in 3 acts will be presented this Sunday, March 14, at the Workers' House, 1902 W. Division St. The play is staged under the leadership of the well known Russian actor Anatoly Pokotilov. Begins at 7:30 p. m. Admission 50 cents.

WITH THE YOUNG WORKERS CONDUCTED BY THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

LESSONS FROM CHICAGO ORGANIZATION

By FANNIE PLOTKIN.

WE have now been organized in the Concentration Group and N. Y. basis for about four months. At a meeting of all the Concentration Group secretaries recently many things were discussed which resulted in the following:

1. Composition of Groups.

From the reports given by many of the secretaries it was found that one of the reasons for the lack of real activity in many of the groups was their poor composition. For instance, one group is made up of five students and a comrade who is a worker on and off. The comrades in this section had a wrong conception of the groups, since they gave as a reason for this composition the fact that the factory being concentrated upon was a small order house and they thought that the students could work among these workers better than some of the comrades who work. Of course this was incorrect, and the comrades involved did not realize this till they learned it by experience. Another group was found to be composed of high school students, office workers, and unemployed.

The thing we did find out was that every group which was really functioning had a good, well-balanced composition. Every section should go over their membership and place the comrades so that there are workers in each concentration group. See where this or that comrade can best function and place him accordingly.

2. Lack of Connections.

This is one of our big problems. We are given a factory to concentrate on—how can we get information as to conditions, hours of work, etc.? This getting of inside connections should always be our aim when selling the Young Worker, drawing up and distributing bulletins, arranging meetings, etc. Always try to talk to the worker that is taking your bulletin, buying your Young Worker. Try to get his name and address, draw him into a conversation. One of the suggestions made at our meeting was that a space for name and address be made in the bulletin issued by the concentration group—also that a request for articles to be sent to the D. O. be made in every bulletin. This will bring some good results. Also

any comrade who is fired should be kept in his concentration group and not transferred. His information may not be fresh, but it is the best we can obtain.

Another good suggestion made was that we have a regular system whereby unemployed comrades can be notified of jobs which may be obtained in places which we wish to concentrate on.

Every comrade should realize the seriousness of quitting his job when we are concentrating on his shop. This leaves us without connection. Action will be taken if this happens again.

3. Bulletin.

One of the groups reported at the meeting that a bulletin issued in her factory brot very good results. They are doing this all over the country. The bulletin should be made a live,



interesting organ of the shop, should be issued regularly (once a week, if possible), should be written not by one, but by as many as possible. These bulletins should not be made "theses" or "declarations." A heading of the same size and type should be often used. This is done so that a young worker should always recognize the bulletin as soon as he sees it. First we should have in consideration the writing of articles of the everyday conditions and problems of the shop. Then short articles about word problems and revolutionary events should be used. Every month something or other of the movement can be written up. For instance, January we have Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, March the Paris Commune, May Day, International Youth Day. Do not stuff these articles with theoretical discussions and revolutionary phrases that will go over the head of the young workers, who may never before have heard of the Y. W. L.

'Socialist' Press Not Helping Striking Fur and Textile Workers

NEW YORK CITY.—We are a group of students interested in, because we realize our status as a component part of the working class movement. We feel that we are justified in bringing to the attention of our fellow students, and to those of the working class who do not yet seem aware of it, the fact that there is something rotten with a group of people who claim to be working for the best interests of the laboring class. There is something rotten with the newspapers thru which these people make known their opinions, thru which they attempt to mislead the worker. These are the socialist leaders, and their papers, like the Forward, the American Appeal, etc.

The working class is at present engaged in fighting a tremendous war, and at least two battles in that war stand out today as being important. These are the Passaic textile strike, and the Furriers' strike. The Passaic textile strike is a fight of the laborers for the bread of life, a fight for the right to live as human beings, and not as blind mules in a mine, not as machines grinding out dollars and profits for capitalism. The fur strike, too, is such a fight of the worker for life as a human.

These are important battles, and



they should claim the interest and attention of every worker: every worker should take a direct part in them, since he is directly affected by them. He should be given the truth concerning these matters. And the Socialist papers, like the capitalist, liberal papers, hardly mention these matters. When they do mention them they stir up a "Communist scare."

This is treason to the cause of the worker; it is tantamount to a sly and ugly thrust in the back by those who claim to be in the same ranks, fighting the same enemy. The crime lies in that so many workers are ignorant of this treason, of this dastardly trickiness of their so-called "friends." Their attention must be awakened to this menace of "socialist" party class collaboration, which means only to perpetuate the system of slavery in which we now live.

N. Y. Working Youth Celebrates The 20th of March will be a "Red-Letter Day" for the working class youth of New York. On the eve of the entrance of Spring they will celebrate the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Young Worker as the organ of the Young Workers (Communist) League.

Bring your friends and let us make this dance a roaring success. Place—Harlem Casino, 116th street and Lenox avenue. Time—Saturday evening, March 20. Music—Excellent. Surprises—Many.

N. Y. W. L. Section Executive Committees.

The District Executive Committee is calling a meeting of all section executive committees to be held Sunday, March 14th, at 11 a. m. at 108 East 14th street.

A number of very important questions will be taken up at this meeting, and every member of a section executive committee must be present. No excuses will be accepted.

Young Workers of Other Lands

By JACK KAPLAN.

In Crecho-Slovakia the Young Communist League opened in all its districts schools for the learning of Leninism. The schools were composed of 10 members from the big organizations and 3 members from the small organizations.

The Young Communist League of Holland has in its ranks 43 per cent working youth, 37 per cent peasants, 5 per cent office workers, 2 per cent students, 6 per cent house workers, etc., 3 per cent soldiers and 4 per cent non-workers.

The Young Communist League of Belgium had at the time of the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. L. 40 members and from that period the Y. C. L. did very active work in the unions and among the working youth in Belgium.

As a result it now has 500 members. The Young Communist League of Iceland has 200 members. The League had a big struggle against the reactionaries in the trade unions. There is no Communist Party in this country, but the Y. C. L. work with the left wing of the Workers' Party and helps to struggle against the capitalist class. As a result of its work the League has a great sphere of influence among the working youth.

The fascist in Norway organized a League of Fascist Youth whose main object is to struggle against the Young Communist League.

In Keechenev, Roumania, there was 40 young workers who came together and organized the Young Communist League. The bloody capitalist government, however, intervened and sent these 40 young workers to jail.

IN LOS ANGELES! MASQUERADE BALL given by the FREIHEIT CLUB at TURN VEREIN HALL, 2460 Sutter St. SUNDAY EVE., MARCH 21, 1926 Two Prices for the Two Best Characters Union Music ADMISSION 50 CENTS. Proceeds to the John Reed Industrial School of Orphan Children.

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THE DAILY WORKER

Published by the DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO. 1118 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Phone Monroe 4713

Subscription Rates: By mail (in Chicago only): \$6.00 per year, \$4.50 six months, \$2.50 three months. By mail (outside of Chicago): \$6.00 per year, \$4.50 six months, \$2.50 three months.

Address all mail and make out checks to THE DAILY WORKER, 1118 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois

J. LOUIS ENGDALH, WILLIAM F. DUNNE, MORITZ J. LOEB. Editors and Business Manager

Entered as second-class mail September 21, 1923, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Advertising rates on application.

Britain Moves Against U. S.

At the present time all is grist for England that comes to the mill of the league of nations. The league is being used by the British statesmen in a desperate effort to gain advantages in the world conflict raging between British and American imperialism.

Only this week it came to light that while the heroes of Locarno were waiting on Briand to straighten out the internal political muddle of France so he could attend the extraordinary assembly of the league they made good use of their time by holding secret conference in an effort to organize a conspiracy against the entry of the United States into the world court.

Naturally in the United States the middle west press utilizes the expose to again raise the hue and cry that the league controls the permanent court of international justice, thereby again refuting the Mellon-Coolidge-Wall Street republican-democratic coalition claim that the two institutions are separate and distinct.

Regardless of the outcome of the affair, one thing is certain and that is the fact that Britain does not want the United States to become a member of the world court for the reason that the league and its court are being utilized by Britain in its struggle to overcome the mighty power of Wall Street in Europe.

None but the veriest dolt in politics can fail to perceive that Britain's policy in Europe today is directed toward the creation of a defensive and offensive alliance against the ever-growing power of American bank capital.

To counteract these sinister imperialist intrigues the workers of Britain and America must strive with all their might to bring about world trade union unity, to unite the workers of the two great imperialist countries with the workers of the smaller nations and the great anti-imperialist Soviet Union in order to strive to cripple imperialism in its mad course toward an unprecedented slaughter of the peoples of the world.

A Mutual Admiration Clique

Most amusing was the attempt in New York the other day of the rag-tag and bob-tail elements formerly vitiating the revolutionary movement with their presence to organize an anti-Communist two-and-a-half international group.

Certainly a more grotesque combination of disappointed "saviors" of the workers would be hard to find. Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung, whose shifty opportunism is well known to our readers; Boudin, the anglophile who some years ago wrote a book on Marxism, perverting the theory in a typical left social-democratic fashion; and Harry Watson whose "contribution" to the gaiety of the movement consisted in seriously propounding that unique doctrine that the way to interpret Marx is by utilizing the system of Baruch Spinoza, whereas orthodox Marxists hold that the only explanation of Marx is to be found by applying his own method known as historical materialism.

Watson has never been taken seriously by responsible revolutionists in this country; Boudin is only a feeble echo of Kautsky in the United States. Lore is the only one who has had any standing in the movement within recent years. His incurable opportunism recently placed him outside that movement. Nothing that has happened since his expulsion from the party has so thoroughly vindicated that action as his association with Boudin and Watson in an effort to give birth to a hybrid that turned out to be only a puny abortion.

A millionaire's son found guilty of raping a white girl in Michigan is granted his life by a judge who permits his appeal to a higher court. If he had been a Negro, tho absolutely innocent, the judge would have praised the mob that burned him at the nearest stake.

Varga Shows U. S. Export Center of Capital

(Continued from Page 1) issued. This attack is directed chiefly against a loan to France. The granting of credits is to serve at the same time as a means of exercising pressure upon negligent debtors.

The raising of the embargo is the signal for the fight with the United States, whose bourgeoisie—after long hesitation, and under the compulsion of the powerful development of American capitalism—now finds itself definitely forced into the path of imperialist capital export.

The resolution passed at the annual meeting of the American Manufacturers' Association ("Borsencourier," Nov. 3, 1925) states that the association is fully convinced that the cautious employment of superfluous American capital abroad, in the form of loans for the stabilization of currencies, for the restoration of devastated territories, and for the development of transport service and the revival of industry, can only be of use to America and to the whole world.

The policy of the foreign loan is in America equally completely at the service of imperialist policy. Four principles are proclaimed: 1. Loans are not to be granted to states which have not settled their debts to America.

2. Loans are not to be granted to states which carry on superfluous military armaments. 3. Loans are not to serve the purpose of strengthening the monopoly of any goods imported into America.

4. Loans are to serve the purpose of securing supplies of raw materials or American industry, and of gaining an influence upon the economics of countries to which credits are granted.

Point 1 has been a fixed principle for a long time. It is an actual fact that the consolidation of the Belgian and Italian war debts was immediately followed by the granting of large loans—at high rates of interest, it is true not only to the states, but to the municipalities and joint stock companies. And on the other hand the failure of the French negotiations in the consolidation question resulted in the disappearance of French loans from the American market.

The extent to which the loans are used for purposes of interference in the internal affairs of the debtor states, and the degree to which Europe is becoming dependent on the American bourgeoisie, may be best observed in the case of Belgium.

On Nov. 28 a question was put by Aspard, in the Belgian parliament, in

which he inquired of his successor, Vandervelde, whether the press reports were correct in stating that the English and American banks had demanded considerable reductions in the budget, altho the government when issuing the budget, had declared any further reduction to be impossible.

To this Mr. Vandervelde replied: "The report which has appeared in the newspapers is absolutely correct. The government has the choice between two lines of attitude: Either to obtain the necessary capital by means of loans, or to abandon the plan of stabilizing the franc. The government has been unanimously of the opinion that despite the unpopularity of the proposed measure it is better to submit to the demands of the foreign capitalists, in order that the stability of our currency may be assured."

The English bourgeoisie hastens, through the agency of its Times, at an attempt at justifying the action of the Anglo-American bankers. In its issue of Nov. 28, 1925, it declares it to be unfortunate that Mr. Jaspard should regard the matter in this light. When creditors are being sought for, for the purpose of obtaining capital for a borrower, then these creditors have a right to set the conditions under which they are prepared to lend. These conditions relate solely to the security of their capital and interest. In inducing Belgium to balance its budget, the foreign creditors are not only protecting their own interests; at the same time they are helping Belgium to improve its credit by the adoption of a sound financial attitude. Mr. Vandervelde sees the matter in its right aspect.

We see that not only the defeated Germany, but also the "allied victor country," is being placed under financial control, as Turkey or China was at one time.

The second principle, that the foreign loans are to be made to depend on the armaments of the countries seeking credits, was expressed programatically in Coolidge's speech before the American Chamber of Commerce, in which he declared that if loans are employed for unproductive purposes, such as the maintenance of extensive military equipment, then they serve no useful purpose and should not be granted. The American bankers assume a great responsibility in testing applications for loans which will involve the investment of American savings abroad (see Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," Nov. 20, 1925).

It is obvious that this principle can only be applied to states which possess no political confidence. The very

extensive military armaments of Fascist Italy proved no obstacle to the granting of credits.

The third American principle is new and interesting: no loans serving the interests of goods monopolies directed against the United States. The following extreme cases may serve as examples: a) The German potash syndicate desired to raise a loan of 70 million dollars, in two parts, thru the English banking house of J. Henry Schroder. The first part, \$50,000,000 was to be put up for subscription as follows: ("Frankfurter Zeitung," 3. Dec.): 10 million dollars in England, 8 million dollars in Switzerland, 5 million dollars in Holland, 2 million dollars in Sweden, 26 millions dollars (or one half) in the United States.

Just before the loan was placed for subscription in the United States, the American government refused its permission, on the grounds that the potash syndicate is a monopoly for the purpose of raising the price of the potash imported into America.

Anglo-American rivalry is shown in the fact that the greater part of the sum intended for America was placed for subscription in London, and was over-subscribed several times over within a quarter of an hour.

b) The prohibition of the Brazilian coffee loan. This prohibition was defended by Hoover on the grounds that the government was not of the opinion that the New York banking houses were desirous of raising loans for the support of the coffee speculation being carried on by the coffee speculators in Sao Paulo (Brazil) since last year. Support thus lent would simply mean a further increase of the extravagant prices paid by the American consumers. Hoover stated that banking houses in New York have been applied to for this loan, but have declined to have anything to do with it, and declared that the government is anxious that the Brazilian coffee industry should suffer no wrong, his sources of information showing that whilst the combination (state aided cartel) maintains the price of coffee at about 22 cents a pound, many of the planters do not receive more than 14 cents a pound. Before this speculation, which increased the price of coffee up to 32 cents a pound, the average price was about 12 to 14 cents a pound. The total coffee import of the United States is about 1,400,000 pounds a year.

c) No English rubber company has been able to obtain a loan in America for a long time.

With regard to point 4 the following is of interest:

a) The fact that during the course of last year 500 million dollars were invested in Canada, which already belongs economically to the United States.

b) The fact that the zinc mines formerly belonging to Gleaches Erben in Poland and German Upper Silesia are actually being run by foreign capital, having passed into Harriman's hands.

c) The great loan to the little African negro republic of Liberia, where America capital is preparing for a rubber planting enterprise on a large scale, etc.

The English bourgeoisie is equally anxious to place capital export in the service of industry. Thus the last few weeks witnessed the purchase of two German chemical works: the Harburger Schone and the Coholyt, by English capitalists. And on the other hand the loan to the German Textile Industry Bank was accompanied by the stipulation that the money was not to be passed on to firms actually competing with English textile industry. For instance, not to firms working with looms of certain dimensions, and thus producing cloth in English measurements.

A loan of political significance is that of one million pounds granted in London, during the last few weeks, to the Hungarian big landowners. If the Americans support the Italian fascists, the hypocritical English bourgeoisie is not behindhand in lending money, at good interest and on good security (first mortgages up to 20% of the value of the big landowner's land), to the murderers and money forgers forming Horthy's court.

To sum up, we see that the export of capital is again being employed as a weapon for imperialism. And we see that the economics of the whole of Europe are becoming more and more dependent either on America, or on England, which still endeavors to compete with America.

Episcopal College Students on Strike; Demand Self-Rule

(Special To The Daily Worker) ANNANDALE-ON-HUDSON, March 12.—Eighty-seven students of the St. Stephen's Episcopal College have gone on strike following the refusal of the college president to grant their demands for a student government.

NOTES OF AN INTERNATIONALIST. The Question of a Labor Party in Norway

By JOHN PEPPER.

The Communist Party of Norway is at present initiating a campaign which may attain great significance to the further development of the Norwegian labor movement. Our Party, only two years old, has become the driving force for the formation of a big Labor Party in Norway. In this campaign in conformity with concrete conditions, does it contradict the traditions of the Norwegian labor movement, does it mean the liquidation of the Communist Party?

What are the conditions of the struggle for a Labor Party in Norway?

The chief form of organization of the political labor movement in Norway has been, from the beginning, the Labor Party. The Norwegian Workers' Party, which existed for several decades, was built up on the basis of the collective affiliation of the trade unions. The Social Democratic Party emerged from this Party as the result of a split. It was made up of elements which refused to accept the 21 points at the time of the affiliation of the Norwegian Workers' Party to the Communist International. As a result of a second split in this Party there emerged on the one hand a Communist Party, and on the other the Workers' Party at present under the leadership of Transmael, which even today conforms, not to the Social-Democratic, but to the Labor Party type (organization structure based upon collective membership of entire organizations rather than individual membership).

Hence the Labor Party organization form is the old tradition of the Norwegian labor movement, called forth by social composition of the proletariat similar to that which in Hungary resulted in the Social-Democratic Party, which is also organized in the Labor Party form. Neither the Norwegian Workers' Party nor the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party were produced by the social development which crystallized the labor party form of political organization in the countries of imperialism and the labor aristocracy (Great Britain, Australia, United States, etc.).

A powerful pressure for unity is at present making itself felt within the

Norwegian labor movement. This is shown equally by the pro-unity decisions of the trade union federation and the demagogic propaganda of the Transmael Party for the "gathering" of the working class, for the calling of a "general workers' congress" of all workers' organizations and workers' parties. The workers' delegation to the U. S. S. R., which was made up of representatives of all three workers' parties, was also an expression of this unification trend. The slogan for the founding of a labor party was nothing other than an attempt to give organizational form to the pressure of the working masses for unity.

The analysis of the situation shows that the tactics of the Norwegian Communist Party in seizing the initiative for the formation of a Labor Party was absolutely correct. Of course there are dangers, and even very great dangers, connected with this correct united front tactic.

There are many elements of our Norwegian Party standing too far right, who do not fully comprehend the independent leading role of the Communist Party, so that the possibility might arise of our party's dissolution in the formless porridge of a Labor Party. For this reason it is a vital question that the Communist Party enter the Labor Party as an autonomous party in every respect, under the maintenance of its complete independence, its own organization, its discipline and its ideology.

On the other hand, however, there presents themselves also the dangers of ultra-left sectarianism, which opposes the Labor Party on principle and does not understand that thru the formation of such a Party we create a peerless tribune for Communist propaganda, and that we take into our own hands the mighty slogan of working class unity.

It would, therefore, be absolutely wrong to allow the ideological leadership in the campaign for a Labor Party, as a united front organization, to slip out of the hands of the Communist Party, but it would likewise be a mistake to found a Labor Party in miniature, as a mere cloak for the Communist Party.

Workers (Communist) Party

Cleveland Celebrates Comintern Anniversary

CLEVELAND, March 12.—The demonstration arranged by the District Executive Committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party in Cleveland on the anniversary of the Communist International was a splendid success. More than 1,000 people crowded the Moose Auditorium and from the beginning to the end was enthusiastic. One of the important features of the celebration was the showing of the Lenin Funeral Film.

Comrade Saddle Amter opened the meeting, telling of the meaning of the Seventh Anniversary of the Comintern. The main speaker of the meeting was I. Amter, district secretary of the Workers' (Communist) Party. Comrade Amter traced the history of the Communist International from the beginning of the World War, when revolutionists like Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks recognized that the Socialist International was dead and that a revolutionary international must take its place, to the present day.

The speech of Comrade Amter was punctuated with frequent applause. The Slovak Workers' Chorus and the Ukrainian Workers' Chorus sang some revolutionary songs.

Get your tickets now for the International concert of the T. U. E. L. Sat., March 13, at 8th St. Theater.

New York Workers' School Offers Class in Advanced Communism

NEW YORK, March 12.—A course in Advanced Communism, as a preparation for the taking of the Party Training Course next year and as higher study for those who have already taken the fundamentals of Communism Course or read the "ABC of Communism" is offered by the Workers' School for Thursday nights, with Jack Stachel as the instructor.

CHICAGO MEETING TO PROTECT FOREIGN-BORN WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24

District No. 8. Workers Party, has arranged a mass meeting on the question of protection of foreign-born workers on Wednesday, March 24, at 8 p. m., at Schoenhofen Hall, Milwaukee and Ashland Aves.

The meeting is called to ward off the menace to the foreign-born workers of America which comes from pending legislature in congress. The bills aiming at the foreign-born workers of America are the Aswell bill, McClintic bill, Hayden-Taylor bill, and the Sosnowski bill. Secretary of Labor Davis, President Coolidge, and other representatives of capitalism have brought forward legislation such as this in the past, but the huge pro-

test raised by the workers of America prevented it from being passed.

Last year in Chicago a very helpful movement was organized in a Council for the Protection of Foreign-Born, which rallied behind it thousands of workers. At the present time thruout the country, councils are being organized, and in the near future one will be organized in Chicago.

Among the speakers of this meeting will be Robert Minor, editor of THE DAILY WORKER'S Saturday Magazine, and Arnie Swaback, district organizer of the Workers Party.

This meeting will be the opening gun in Chicago's campaign for the protection of foreign-born.

Cleveland Resumes Courses in English; Open Trade Union Class

PARTY ORGANIZATION

With Introduction by JAY LOVESTONE.

A most valuable pamphlet on the composition of the American Communist movement containing:

The letter of the Communist International on re-organization; the shop nuclei; the constitution—indexed and with charts.

A Communist should not be without it.

15 Cents.

The Daily Worker Pub. Co. 1113 W. Washington Boulevard, CHICAGO, ILL.

CLEVELAND, March 12.—The English classes will be resumed in this city and will be arranged to meet the convenience of the party members and sympathizers.

One class will be held at the South Slavic Hall, 5607 St. Clair Ave., the other at the Hungarian Hall, 4309 Lorain Ave. The sessions will be held on Wednesday nights at 8 and Sunday mornings at 10.

The class in trade unionism will be held at the district office on Sunday mornings. This class is very important for all party members, but particularly the party members who belong to trade unions. John Brahm will conduct the course.

The English classes will begin March 17, the class in trade unionism March 21. Comrades should register at once at the district office or at the hall where the classes will be held.

Get your tickets now for the International concert of the T. U. E. L. Sat., March 13, at 8th St. Theater.

TONIGHT—8 O'CLOCK SHARP—DOORS OPEN AT SEVEN EIGHTH ST. THEATER 8th St. and Wabash Ave. ALL ROADS LEAD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONCERT given by the TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE OF CHICAGO TICKETS 50 CENTS, 83 CENTS AND \$1.10 EIGHTH ST. THEATER 8th St. and Wabash Ave. TONIGHT—8 O'CLOCK SHARP—DOORS OPEN AT SEVEN

Workers' Education at the Turning Point

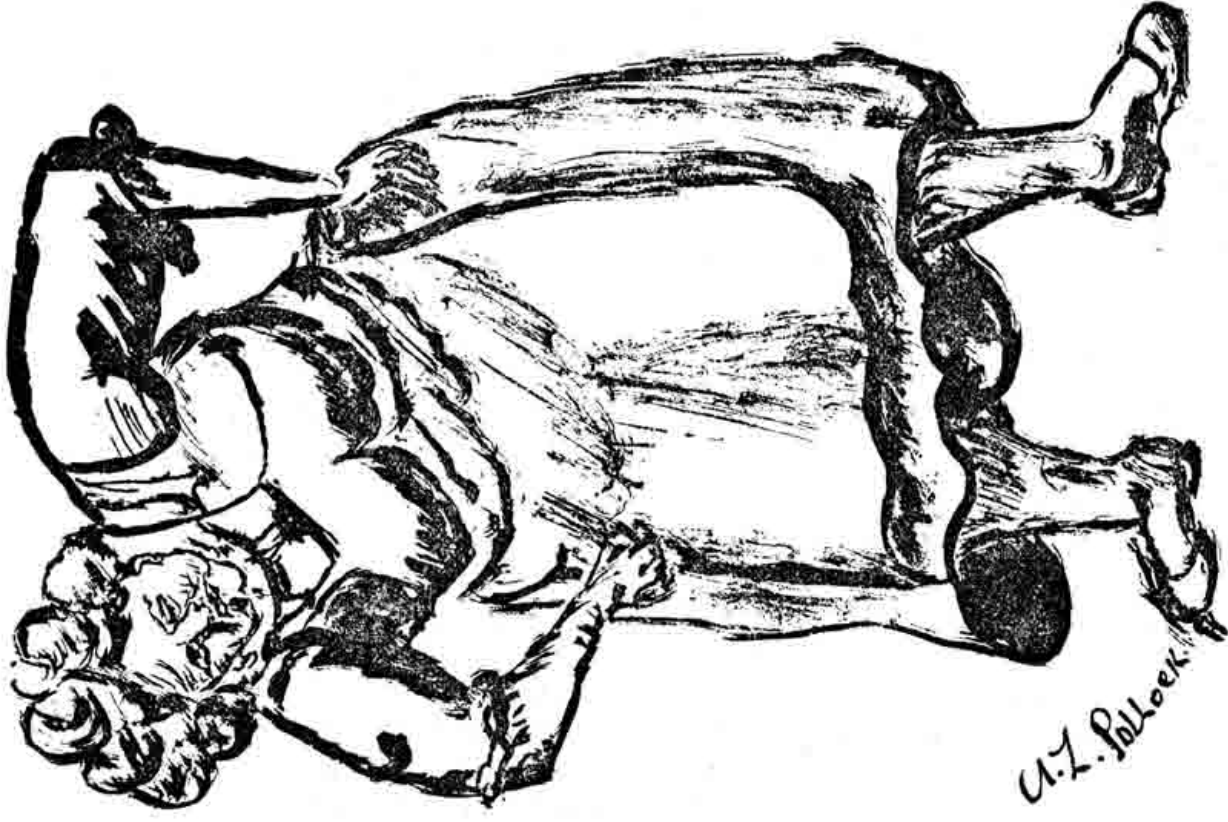
By Bertram D. Wolfe.

Logically in the infant education movement of the American workers. But before the conference was over, there was not the shadow of a doubt but that the majority of those present accepted the view that workers' education must be controlled and financed by the workers and must serve their class interests, although there was wide difference of opinion as to what these class interests really are.

But the question which dominated the conference and gave to the often futile discussions a vague background of historic blueness, was the question of how to defeat workers' education from the enveloping movement which had been begun by the powerful Carnegie Corporation.

Again and again vague references were made to the question of "taking money from the enemies of labor," but always in such a way as to leave the uninitiated in doubt as to whether this was really a vital question that had to be decided then and there, or whether it was an abstract theoretical discussion on the principle of financing workers' education. But, as the conference continued, the increased repetition of these references, in always more and more definite forms, gradually made it clear that the speakers were bothered by a living reality, by a danger which threatened the very life of the labor movement and its educational activity.

At first, in the final day of the conference, the vague doubts took definite form and the names of Rockefeller and Carnegie were brought into the sessions and tied up with the question of financing working class education. Many of the delegates still did not believe that this could really be so. Paul W. Fuller, educational director of Sub District 2, United Mine Workers of America, declared: "If any workers' institution ever got such funds and if it got to District 2, you could preach the funeral of that organization as far as the miners are concerned." A delegate, active in workers' education in Germany, thought the whole thing was a joke and said: "I do not know how it is in America, but in Germany it is hopeless to try to get funds from employers for workers' education. We do not have to worry about that."



A. L. Pollock

A Sketch from Life by a Worker Correspondent, A. L. Pollock.

A SHORT time before closing time of the final scheduled session of the conference a resolution was finally introduced by the secretary of the conference in the name of a group of delegates, reading as follows:

"Resolved, That the members of the American Federation of Teachers, invited to attend the conference on workers' education, in session at Brookwood Feb. 22, 1925, go on record as opposing the acceptance, by agencies for workers' education, of money or other assistance from institutions such as the Carnegie Corporation, or other General Education Board or other organizations fundamentally opposed to the interests of the working class."

This resolution at last convinced every delegate that they were faced, not with an abstract discussion on finance, but a concrete question of the fate of workers' education. A desultory discussion started, but it lacked only a few minutes for the final adjournment of the conference. On my motion, a special session was called for the afternoon of the same day to consider exclusively this resolution.

This special session was carried on under a changed atmosphere. The air seemed charged with intensity as the delegates began their first discussion of vital significance. A. J. Muste and Arthur Calhoun, who had attended the conference called by the Carnegie Corporation, in an unofficial capacity, reported their observations on the plan of the Carnegie Corporation as "a universal and limitless scheme for bringing workers' education under their control." They have, at their disposal, limitless financial means and are ready to subvert any workers' education movement that will accept their support.

THE elementary concept, that all workers must hold, was attacked by people at the conference as "ugly, brutal and damnable." One speaker went so far as to declare, "Education for the workers is not education at all," and another: "I hate the phrase 'the workers.' I hate the phrase 'general education.' They tend to get into our general vocabulary. They always tend to make us feel that the workers are a specialized class, that they are the other fellow."

THIS conflict, thru which British workers' education went a little earlier, is now being fought out ideologically in the infant education movement of the American workers. But before the conference was over, there was not the shadow of a doubt but that the majority of those present accepted the view that workers' education must be controlled and financed by the workers and must serve their class interests, although there was wide difference of opinion as to what these class interests really are.

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The New Magazine

Supplement of THE DAILY WORKER

Robert Minor Editor

Second Section: This Magazine Section Appears Every Saturday in The DAILY WORKER.

SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1926

"Tear Bombs and Gas Masks"



No, this is not a scene from the Paris Commune! Fred Ellis, the talented cartoonist of The DAILY WORKER, shows here a scene from the every-day life of the striking textile workers of Passaic, New Jersey, United States of America. One of the horrible weapons of the World War is being used against the workers—TEAR BOMBS are being thrown at the strikers by the bosses' police on the streets of New Jersey's towns! Some of the pickets, veterans of the "War for Democracy," have put on GAS MASKS to protect themselves from the poisonous fumes. This is an omen of the future.

Lessons of the Paris Commune

By MANUEL GOMEZ.

ON the eighteenth of March of every year, regular as clockwork, the social-democratic parties of the Second International remembered the Paris Commune—much as they might remember a flood, or a festival, or the birthday of one of their leaders. Anniversary mass meetings were held throughout Europe, at which the speaker of the evening repeated the story, especially re-learned for the occasion, of the seizure of the cannon on the heights of Montmartre, the ringing of the church bells, the spontaneous outpouring of the National Guard, the violent death of Thomas and Leccote, the election of the Commune, the delayed sortie against the Versailles, the activity of Thiers' spies, the stealthy entry of his troops into the undefended southwest end of Paris, the barricades, and the terrible butchery at the murdes federes—the "same old story," as it came to be known. With few exceptions, the social-democratic leaders made no serious attempt to analyze the Commune in its relation to the development of the class struggle. They were, in fact, bewildered and embarrassed by the great proletarian tradition of 1871, which did not seem to have a place in their world of parliamentarism; they limited themselves to contrasting the ferocity of the Thiers reaction with the "generosity" and leniency of the Communards. The one lesson they drew was that the principle of "democracy" had been vindicated in the elections to the Commune, held March 26.

Only the anarchists kept alive in some measure the spirit of the Commune, tho of course, they followed Kropotkin in presenting it merely as a step toward the creation of an autonomous system of "free communes." In the United States it is not too much to say that the Commune was ignored except for the purpose of fable and theatrical entertainment. Sometimes the Socialist Party was too busy even to remember the date. "Marx, however," as Lenin pointed out in his work on The State and Revolution, "was not only enthusiastic about the heroism of the Communards—'storming heaven' as he said. In

the mass revolutionary movement, altho it did not attain its objective, he saw a historic experiment of gigantic importance, a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, a practical step more important than hundreds of programs and discussions. To analyze this experiment, to draw its lessons in tactics, to re-examine his theory in the new light it afforded—such was the problem as it presented itself to Marx."

Immediately upon the fall of the Commune Marx presented his Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, now known as The Civil War in France, which is not only a passionate defense of the Commune, but an analysis of its historical significance, its accomplishments and the mistakes that were responsible for its final defeat. Lenin calls attention to the important fact that the only "correction" which Marx thought it necessary to make in the Communist Manifesto was made on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the Paris Communards.

"The last preface to a new German edition of the Communist Manifesto signed by both its authors," Lenin reminds us, "is dated June 24, 1872. In this preface the authors, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels say that the program of the Communist Manifesto is now 'in some places out of date.'"

"Especially," they continue, "did the Commune demonstrate that the 'working class cannot simply seize the available machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends.'"

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first attempt of the workers to break up the bourgeois state and to transform existing society. Despite the element of vague republican sentimentalism, it was essentially proletarian. At the very beginning, on March 20, the Journal Officiel declared:

"The proletarians of the capital, in the midst of the failure and treason of the governing classes, have realized that the hour has arrived for them to save the situation by taking over the direction of public affairs. The proletariat, in the face of

(Continued on next page—page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

the permanent threat to its rights, of the absolute refusal of its legitimate aspirations, and of the ruin of the country and all its hopes understood that it was its imperative duty and absolute right to take its destiny into its own hands and ensure victory by seizing power.

In form the Commune was a dictatorship, notwithstanding its superficial aspect of democracy. True, a general election was held, but this was after the rich bourgeoisie had either fled to Versailles, or gone into hiding and was, for all practical purposes, disfranchised. The Commune showed clearly as much in its failure as in its success, that a dictatorship is necessary to destroy the opposition of the bourgeoisie. How long this transitional period of dictatorship would have to last was not fully appreciated by Marx or Engels, or by Lenin. The experience of 1871 was too limited to indicate. It required the experience of the Russian Revolution to show that the dictatorship of the proletariat is, indeed, an entire epoch.

THE lessons of the Commune of Paris fall naturally into two main categories, the general, the tactical. The most important general lessons have already been referred to. Others that must be mentioned are the following:

a. The Commune, like every great revolutionary upheaval, showed more clearly than before the essentially representative feature of the state, as well as its class basis. It is precisely this that makes it necessary to break up the bourgeois state, to "shatter it" as Marx says, before a proletarian rule can be established.

b. The Commune revealed the inner rottenness of bourgeois nationalism. Prussians and Versailles, who a few weeks before had been facing each other on the battlefield, co-operated freely in the struggle against the Parisian proletariat. The Commune in its turn was international in its outlook. Not only did it admit foreigners to citizenship, some of them (as for instance Leo Frankel) being active Communards, but it proclaimed the universal fraternity of all labor and spoke in the name of the "Universal Republic."

c. The Commune showed that, with the development of an independent working class, every bourgeois revolution places immediately upon the agenda the question of the proletarian revolution. This had already been faintly indicated in the struggles of 1848-50, especially during the February and July days when the independent demands of the working class were really the central point at issue. In 1871 the fall of Napoleon III found the rich bourgeoisie unable to stabilize its own revolution thru fear of the proletariat, which thereupon seized power. In a much more conclusive way this lesson is confirmed by the more recent revolutions in Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary. Who can doubt that the Japanese revolution, when it comes, will reveal the same phenomenon?

d. "The Commune taught the workers to consider concretely the problems of revolution." This is Lenin's phrase, and his own work is sufficient commentary upon it.

In glancing even briefly at some of the tactical lessons of 1871, we get a closer view of the historic uprising of the Communards. Tactics are not something apart from the medium in which they are applied; they are limited by and conditioned upon it. One readily recognizes that the mistakes made by the Commune may be explained by the conditions in which it developed, by the elementary stage of the evolution of productive forces, by the political immaturity of the proletariat as a class, the great lack of separate proletarian traditions, etc. Nevertheless, it would be foolish for a revolutionary party today to refuse to learn from those mistakes. Not to look at the Commune critically to praise indiscriminately the good and the bad after the manner of religious enthusiasts, would be to spurn the greater part of our precious heritage of revolutionary experience.

The accomplishments and failings of the Paris Commune teach us the following:

a. Any "people's" revolution (involving the movement of real masses) places before the proletariat the problem of revolutionary alliance. Only because of the united front between the Parisian workers and a considerable section of the bourgeoisie was the Commune possible. This does not mean that the social composition of the Commune of 1871 was a correct pattern. Far from it. The workers dominated the alliance of all revolutionary elements but they were incapable, under the conditions prevailing of securing unquestioned and complete control. Some of the reasons are given below. However, the Commune did show the importance of allies for the proletariat.

b. A not inconsiderable section of the lower middle class will follow the revolutionary lead of the workers. This was definitely proved by the experience of the Commune. It is scarcely necessary to add that such support will be much smaller under present conditions than in the Paris of 1871.

c. The Commune made the mistake of underestimating the importance of a union with the peasantry, also as Lenin reminds us it was making its way toward such a union. This mistake was fatal in a country with a predominantly peasant population. Ephemeral revolutionary "communes" sprang up in some of the other cities of France but nevertheless Paris remained virtually isolated. The experience of the Hungarian workers' republic, in our own time, also shows us the importance of winning over the peasantry. The Bolshevik Party of Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, avoided the mistake made by the Hungarian comrades. Soviet Russia is a workers' and peasants' republic and the alliance with the peasantry is one of the foundation stones for the success of the first lasting proletarian dictatorship.

d. It is necessary not only to shatter the bourgeois state apparatus but to replace it with the workers' state—the proletarian dictatorship. The Communards did break up the old machinery of bourgeois rule more or less effectively: They abolished the standing army and replaced it by the nation in arms, and they struck powerful blows against the bureaucracy by abolishing parliamentarism (in the sense of the old "talking shops") and by the decree lowering the pay of all state servants to the level of workmen's wages. But they failed to organize in a firm and centralized way the state powers of the workers. The state apparatus was loosely knit, under no uniform control and frequently in chaos. The basis of this defect, which cost the Commune dear, was that although the Commune was in fact a dictatorship it was not a conscious dictatorship. Comrade Trotsky points out in his book on Dictatorship vs Democracy that the central committee of the National Guard which was the sole governor of Paris in the early days, neglected to order an immediate march on Versailles because of the impossibility of holding elections with the flower of the proletariat out of the city.

"The central committee," says Trotsky, "appointed March 22 as the day of elections for the Commune; but, not sure of itself, frightened at its own illegality, striving to act in unison with more 'legal' institutions, entered into ridiculous and needless negotiations with a quite helpless assembly of mayors and deputies of Paris, showing its readiness to divide power with them if only an agreement could be arrived at. Meanwhile preparations were slipping by."

e. The Commune did not show sufficient energy and firmness in dealing with its internal as well as external foes. This mistake, in the failure to organize a satisfactory apparatus, was due to the fact that it was not a conscious dictatorship. The bourgeoisie, meantime was steadily at work preparing the downfall of the Commune. Events themselves finally forced the Commune to take its stand in principle on the path of intimidation. "The creation of the Committee of Public Safety," says Trotsky, "was dictated, in the case of many of its supporters, by the Red Terror. The committee was appointed 'to cut off the heads of traitors' and 'to avenge treachery.' To stop the murder of prisoners by the Versailles, a decree was passed that for every prisoner murdered three hostages would be shot from among the anti-Communards remaining in Paris. The decree was not carried out. No prisoner or unarmed man was killed by the Communards thruout the siege from April 2 to May 23.

f. Most of all the Commune showed the need of a consistent revolutionary theory embodied in a strong, centralized, disciplined leading organization—the party of the proletariat. Insufficiency of leadership and program was the outstanding weakness of the Commune. The virtues and defects of Blanquism were plainly revealed. On the one hand it was shown what an important role can be played by a disciplined militant minority, and on the other hand it was proved that this militant minority must have its roots deep in the masses of the working class, that it must be a party equipped with revolutionary science, that it must know the road along which it is to travel.

III

AT the beginning of the present article I stated that the gentle-
A many leaders of the Second International had devoted very little attention to the Paris Commune of 1871. In English, if we except Marx's Civil War in France, Engels' commentaries and the writings of Lenin and Trotsky, the only works worthy of consideration are Lassagary's History of the Commune of 1871, Belfort Bax's History of the Paris Commune and the interesting but often misleading researches of Postgate. It is interestingly characteristic of Kautsky, who, as Lenin pointed out, had neglected the Paris Commune, did begin to write about it in 1919, not to draw revolutionary lessons from it, but to attack Soviet Russia. In contrasting the Soviet regime with the Commune, Kautsky passes hurriedly over the virtues of the Communards in order to praise them for their shortcomings, which alas, he does not find exemplified in the wickedly successful Bolsheviks.

No! Our Russian comrades learned well the lessons of 1871. They fortified themselves in the revolutionary traditions of the Commune, but they did not repeat its mistakes as Kautsky hints they should have done. And while the Paris of the Commune was overthrown after scarcely two months of life, the Soviet power is already in its ninth year and is more firmly established than ever, which is the whole source of Kautsky's abiding woe.

Despite the defeats that are inevitable along the road, turning the experiences of its defeats into lessons for future victories, the proletariat of all countries advances towards its emancipation. "The Soviet power," said Lenin, "is the second step of the world revolution, the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Paris Commune is the first step."

To France of the Commune

RALPH CHAPLIN.

MOTHER of revolutions, stern and sweet,
Thou of the Red Commune's heroic days;
Unsheathe thy sword, let thy pent lightning blaze,
Until these new battles fall at thy feet.

Once more thy sons march down the ancient street,
Led by pale men from silent Pave Lachaise;
Once more La Carmagnole—La Marseillaise
Blend with the war drum's quick and angry beat.

Ah, France—our France—must they again endure
The crown of thorns upon the cross of gold?
Is morning here...? Then speak that we may know!
The sky seems lighter but we are not sure.
Is shining here...? The whole world holds its breath
To hear the crimson Gallic rooster crow!

The Outside Agitator - By Mary Heaton Vorse

"Let it Rain, Let it Pour!"



Old Andy Melton doesn't have to worry about charges of shady ways of getting money thru his Aluminum Trust. He's protected.

If I Were an Artist - By Pauline Schulman

"If I could draw, the first thing I would portray would be the shop in which I have been working recently. The shop in itself is the very dingy factory with windows that have not been cleaned for the longest time and which in all other respects differs very little from the average shop. But the exception was that here not only was the employer ruling over his workers, but his wife, Mrs. S., was also a very determined 'queen.'"

"This Mrs. S. is the first figure that I'd like to paint if I were an artist. She is one of the very short and stout women who while walking resembles a large barrel rolling about. Her tiny eyes were hidden away in her fleshy cheeks. Her short, thick neck terminates in a sizeable lump of fat in the nape, while her short waist drew the eyes at once to her rounded shoulders. Her lofty bosom formed themselves into little pillows, heavy diamond rings pressed deep into the flesh of almost every finger. On the whole she presents a spectacle fit for an exhibition."

This Mrs. S. criticized severely the girls at the machine for being lazy. The girls, who reminded one of a bouquet of flowers, fading because of lack of sunshine and fresh air. Mrs. S. approached the girls shrieking in a voice as shrill as a policeman's whistle the following sentiments:

"A bunch of good-for-nothings, that is what they are. They don't care to work. Money, money, give them— that is what they want. (Looking at her non-ringing fingers.) If you girls would let down one nickel on the ground, we could take in another order. (Quietly to herself.) One nickel less on each garment would make so much and so much on the whole." With this additional profit she might be able to furnish with jewels the remaining unequipped fingers without encroaching on the usual profits.

Mrs. S. (continuing her calculations.) "If they would work one hour more besides the eight hours per day in the course of a few months I could get that pretty necklace, too, that I saw at A—s. (Looking at another garment.) If I could squeeze down another dime here, why in a very short while I would be able to move to Riverside Drive where all the better class people live and 'kicks' would have to remain among the 'kicks.'"

Mrs. S., in her imagination, saw herself among those people for whom a rank in uniform opens the hall door. "It is true I will have to learn the English language when moving up the Drive, but what of it?"

Then she would get the girls accustomed to work the entire half day. Underly instead of merely half a day. Thus she surely would be soon in a position to buy a "swell" car, not a Ford, but a Studebaker, and have a

chauffeur of her own. BUT the girls could hardly wait that long. Money, money, give them— that is what they want. (Looking at her non-ringing fingers.) If you girls would let down one nickel on the ground, we could take in another order. (Quietly to herself.) One nickel less on each garment would make so much and so much on the whole." With this additional profit she might be able to furnish with jewels the remaining unequipped fingers without encroaching on the usual profits.

"Oh, this ain't nothing," she answered. "This is a fine case. These folks aren't poor. There's nothing the matter here, only there ain't no cars. This here is the best case I got yet. But they're for the same thing. They're striking for their kids. At this rate the strikers' wives appear like what she says. 'I'd want to eat nothing but bread 'I'd get for him an' the relief worker was asked."

"You're hucky to have a house," she answered and she laughed. "What do you think they say when I go to try and hire a place when I say 'I've got eight kids. They say, 'Jesse, beat it.'"

"Do you have many cases like this?" "The relief worker was asked."

Look at all the money you are losing, and what do you say, can we take in another order? You know that we don't care, but it is for your girls, we want you to have steady work and plenty of it."

The girl who was in a hurry to go to the meeting in a stern tone of emphatic determination retorted: "No! Neither will we let down the nickel nor will we work overtime. Eight hours a day are more than sufficient to work."

Mrs. S.'s lofty bosom began to heave in rapid mastery. She was on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Her substantial body plumped down on a chair. With both hands she clutched at her throbbing temples, believing to her husband in a hoarse voice, "We will have to break their looking down at her hands and no lifting those orphaned, diamondless fingers, she began to yell at the top of her voice.

"If you don't like to work get out of here and let others make a living! In her excitement, her miniature eyes burning like fires of hell, her greasy face flashing in flaming crimson red, reminded one of a roasting pig. "Oh! How I hate those 'kicks.' They wouldn't let me live." She cried out aloud. Large tears rolled down her face, the tears of emotional release. Yes, if I were only a painter.

Chang-Tso-Lin, Manchuria and Japan

By KARL RADEK.

IN all probability the rule of Chang Tso-Lin is at an end. His flight from Mukden means the loss of that basis upon which he had set up his power. This is not a defeat like that which he sustained in 1922, when he was beaten by Wu Pei-fu, or like that which he suffered in 1924 when he was beaten by the troops of Chang Tso-Lin. In these two cases, both Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-Lin advanced beyond the borders of the three Manchurian provinces and had attempted to seize possession of the whole of North China. Wu Pei-fu, however, had left the central provinces of China in order to make himself dictator of the entire country. After their defeats they both retreated to their provinces, and there reassembled their forces in order, after a short space of time, to begin the war afresh.

The recent defeat of Chang Tso-Lin commenced in the same manner as that of the year 1922. Driven from Shanghai, he retreated towards the north. Here then commenced the new feature that characterizes his defeat: simultaneously with the collapse of his basis, there occurred the mutiny of Kuo Sun-lin. What does this mutiny mean? It became possible thanks to the regrouping of the material and moral forces among the troops of Chang Tso-Lin. A part of his soldiers had been exposed to the influence of the atmosphere of Shanghai and had become unreliable. The provisions and supplies which were to have been despatched to Manchuria proved to be insufficient. The generals whom Chang Tso-Lin had been able to gather round him during the eight years of his rule in Manchuria became convinced that the policy of Chang Tso-Lin constitutes a danger to the ruling clique in Mukden.

THIS situation rendered possible the mutiny of Kuo Sun-lin. Kuo Sun-lin does not differ from Chang Tso-Lin as regards political opinions. But it is not the opinions of Kuo Sun-lin which are of importance in estimating the situation, but the fact that Kuo Sun-lin, or some other general who succeeds Chang Tso-Lin, can no longer base himself upon the apparatus which Chang Tso-Lin has created by many years of work.

In this sense we are faced with a great change in the situation in Manchuria, which at the same time means a change in the fighting forces of China.

Whence did the rule of Chang Tso-Lin originate, and what does it mean? Chang Tso-Lin is usually represented as being a leader of the robber bands of Manchuria, who, with the assistance of the Japanese, seized possession of the province in order to threaten the interests of Japan. But it does not take into account the far-reaching changes which have taken place in Manchuria during the last twenty years. The construction of the East China Railway and the Russo-Japanese war constituted the reasons why this most backward province of China has become one of the most advanced parts of the Chinese state from the point of view of economics. The influx of Russian money, which was followed by an influx of masses of people who had to be fed, gave a powerful stimulus to the development of agriculture in Manchuria. In 1923 Manchuria produced 534 million pounds of food-stuffs, of which 390 million were consumed in Manchuria. The export from Manchuria amounted to 124 million pounds in 1923.

THIS movement is weakest in Manchuria. The mere fact of the existence of a great number of Russian and Japanese traders in Manchuria prevented the formation of a broad, compact Chinese bourgeois mass. Manchuria was the most backward province of China from a cultural point of view. It therefore lacks a broad mass of intellectuals which is so characteristic of the remaining parts of China. The proximity of Siberia, with its civil war, strengthened the reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie.

As a result of all these conditions the rule of the generals in Manchuria was more obvious than in any other part of China. For the mass of the

people in China, Chang-Tso-Lin became the symbol of the rule of reaction. But Manchuria does not play a separate role in Japanese policy: it is at the same time a bridge to China. His efforts in Manchuria are in order to advance into Central China, to seize possession of Northern China, and to advance into the interior of the country. His enormous possibilities of development are regarded by the mass of the people as an attempt on the part of Japan to obtain possession of China. Thus, Chang-Tso-Lin, in his endeavors to play a role in all China, encountered greater opposition than any body else.

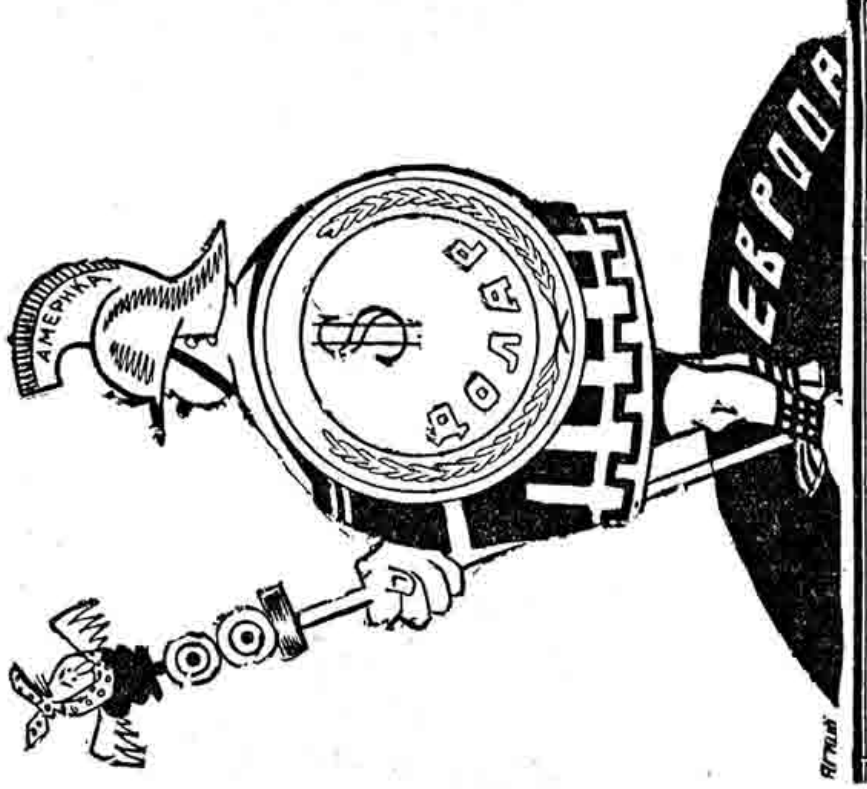
THE defeat of Chang-Tso-Lin renders Manchuria represents a very lasty morsel, very nervous. If Manchuria, with a population of 12,000,000 millions, is able to export more than 100,000,000 pounds of wheat, that is one-fifth of the prewar export of Russia. But in supporting him she attempted to do so at the same time to dictate her will to him. The troops of Chang-Tso-Lin were trained by Japanese instructors. The Japanese attempted to penetrate into all branches of the Manchurian administration, and desired at the same time to seize possession of Mongolia in order to threaten Chang-Tso-Lin's possessions not only from the north, but also from the west.

THE home police of Chang-Tso-Lin and his dependence upon Japanese efforts to play a role throughout the whole of China. The democratic movement is growing in the whole of China. It finds expression not only in the Kuomintang party, but also in a number of independent organizations of intellectuals and of the working class (organizations of teachers, physicians, engineers and workers), in a great movement to improve the elementary schools, to set up a system of people's high schools, and in the women's movement.

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The Watchman of the World.



This cartoon from the "Proletarska Pravda" of Kiev, Ukraine, shows America as the Roman guard, his shield made of the dollar, standing watch over Europe.

view the fear of the Japanese imperialism regarding Manchuria is perfectly intelligible.

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No Bloodshed—No Violence!

By HENRY ROENNE.

ONLY no bloodshed, comrades, no violence please, Better the way our "Christian" masters follow, This is the human way to keep men humble, To stop mere slaves from dying with a song, This is the way to keep their backs bent over, The way to keep the power with the strong.

AND till the crisis comes, remember We have no arms, no sword of any kind— Yet sharp is every bayonet against us, The bullets from each rifle are quite blind, But even should the soldiers join us, comrades, O better far to die obedient bondsmen Than live as bloody freemen unresigned!

FOR if we die as grateful vassals, comrades, We'll enter into heaven all aglow And play nice harps forever with the angels, And never mind the slaves we left below; While if we knock our masters from their perches And when it comes to picketing hell or heaven— It should be heaven every time—you know!

The Boss Class Won at Brockton

Wealth and Want



Ask Death For All Blasphemers

Statute of 1646 Against Blaspheming Ye Name of God

"ALBEIT faith be not wrought by ye sword, but by ye word & therefore such pagan Indians as have submitted themselves to our government, though we would not neglect any dew helps to bring them on to grace, & to ye means of it, yett wee compell them not to ye X'tian faith, nor to ye p'ssion of it, either by force of armes or by poenall lawes, nechelesse, seeing the blaspheming of ye true God cannot be excused by any ignorance or infirmity of humane nature ye aeternal power & God-head being knowne by ye light of nature & ye creation of ye world, & common reason requirerth eury state & society of men to be more carefull of preventing the dishonor & contempt of ye Most High God (in whom we all consist) then of any mortal princess & magistrates, it is therefore ordered & decreed by this Courts, for ye honor of ye aeternal God, whom only we worship and serve, that no p'son within this jurisdiction, whether X'tian or pagan shall wittingly and willingly p'sume to blaspheme his holy name either by wilful obstinate denying ye true God, or re- nate denying ye true God, as ift were but a p'illitike devise to keep ignorant men in awe or deny his creation or government of ye world, or shall curse God, or shall utter any other eminent kind of blasphemy of ye like nature and degree, if any p'son of p'sons wisesower, within our jurisdiction shall break this lawe THEY SHALL BE PUTT TO DEATH. By Both."

not in Massachusetts that had really suffered. The Bay State statute provides against anyone "contumaciously approaching god." There was a court battle over the meaning of the word "contumaciously." The dictionary declares it means the use of contemptuous, abusive, rude and insolent language in an attempt to disgrace, protest or of any other creed came into court to charge that its god had been disgraced. All of the nine witnesses for the prosecution, with two excepted, admitted they did not belong to any church. It was clear that the blasphemy charge had been brought in to bulwark the sedition complaint.

THIS case also brings to light the alacrity with which the local police in the factory cities hastens to the assistance of the reactionary elements in the foreign colonies. The Lithuanian colony in Brockton was clearly split on the conditions in the old country. The white guard Lithuanian government has its supporters in Brockton. It is opposed by the radical elements organized into the Lithuanian Workers' Literary and Educational Society. The Brockton police, prosecutors and courts threw all their support on the side of the white guard Lithuanians doing the work in this country of the terror in the old country. The prosecutor himself is Lithuanian, by descent.

IT was clearly brought out that Bimba, at Brockton, Mass., on Jan. 26, had had no intention of discussing religion and the Communist attitude toward it. He came to Brockton to speak on "the white terror in Lithuania." It was in denouncing the "clerical-national-socialist" government of that country, in exposing the crimes of the priests in imprisoning, torturing and putting to death workers suspected of radicalism or the slightest sympathy toward Communism, that he denounced the church and declared his belief that "there is no god!"

Evidently the court concluded that if god had been outraged by Bimba's remarks, it was god in Lithuania and

They Always Attend the Dance Together.

means that the church is a part of the state and defended by it.

The prosecutor, a renegade Lithuanian Jew turned unitarian, stated the situation clearly when he declared upon which the government rests. "Destroy the belief in god and you destroy the government," he said.

That fight is still on!

THE sedition charge on which Bimba was found guilty grew out of alleged answers that Bimba is supposed to have made to provocative questions asked by interrogators purposely placed in the audience in an attempted frame-up. Every Communist speaker is faced with a similar situation. The foreign-born reactionaries are always on hand to champion the cause of reaction in the old countries and thus divide the workers in the struggle in this country. This endeavor could wish nothing better. The shoe bosses realized this in Brockton and subscribed handsome sums in support of the Lithuanian citizens' club, a nest of Lithuanian reactionaries, organized to fight the Lithuanian Workers' Literary Society, a nation-wide organization with thousands of members and an extensive book publishing business, striving to educate Lithuanian workers in this country.

Bimba's lawyers have taken an appeal. The guilty verdict will be fought out in the higher courts. Labor in Massachusetts and throughout New England can and must be aroused to the danger of this insidious attack against them by their class enemies.

The employers triumphed in the decisions of their capitalist court at Brockton. The workers must struggle, thru unity and intelligent action, to overturn those decisions.

Law Defends God, Christ and Ghost

Under Which Bimba Was Prosecuted

"WHOEVER wilfully blasphemeth the holy name of god by denying, cursing or contumeliously reproaching god, his creation, government or final judging or contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ or the holy ghost, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching or exposing to contempt and ridicule the holy work of god, contained in the holy scriptures, shall be punished by imprisonment in jail for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than \$300 and may also be bound to good behavior."

York, in the Whitney case in California, and in several other instances, while the Ruthenberg case, in Michigan, is now on appeal to the United States supreme court. The Industrial Relations Commission in Massachusetts is glad to use the Bimba case to have its so-called law also declared constitutional.

The guilty decision against Bimba on the sedition charge is another indication showing that the employers do not intend to lessen one bit the effectiveness of this kind of legislation today in the higher courts. The state exists today in 35 states. The state constitution laws, that came into existence immediately following the war, and which even the judge at Brockton, admitted were out of date, will continue to be used in industrial disputes against the spokesmen of labor.

These laws have been declared constitutional in the Gitlow case in New

The Paris Commune and the Problems of the Democratic Dictatorship

By Lenin

This article was written by Comrade Lenin in July, 1905, and published in the "Proletarian," July 4, "Iskra" was in the hands of the Mensheviks, one of whose foremost mouthpieces was Martov (who, some years ago, recognized his mistakes and entered the Communist Party). It is curious to note that the Mensheviks were against participation in the revolutionary government together with the petty bourgeois revolutionists, and Lenin was in favor of it. The irony of history showed in 1917 that the Mensheviks participated in the fake revolutionary government and Lenin showed in practice what he had meant by his slogans.

THE position of "Iskra" on the question of the admissibility of the social-democrats taking part in the provisional government is one of the most curious. In favorable circumstances there will be possible, even in the opinion of the disciples of Martov, such a swing of the revolution, as will serve as an immediate prelude to the great social revolution, but the party itself, its will, its work, its plans, seems to be unprepared. "Have faith in God, but don't, make mistakes yourself," says the prophet which aims to make religious fatalism less harmful. "Have faith in circumstances, in the processes of history," we say, "but don't make mistakes yourself!" Otherwise you will become an economic fatalist, but not a social-democratic revolutionist. In the resolution of the Menshevik conference, I read: "Only in one event should the social-democrats on their own initiative direct their efforts toward seizing power and keeping it in their hands as long as possible—namely, in the event that the revolution spreads to the foremost countries of Western Europe, in which conditions have already reached a degree of ripeness for the realization of socialism."

First of all, you unwittingly ask yourself: Is it possible to "direct your efforts" toward something without your own initiative? And second, suppose we turn this phrase about as follows: "Only in one event will the revolution in Russia spread to the foremost countries of Western Europe, even if the social-democratic labor party of Russia succeeds in seizing power and keeping it in its hands for a long time." If you are making suppositions, why not that? The maximum of energy is never harmful. But, by the way, nobody has spoken of the seizure of power by the party. There has been only the question of participating, if possible, in a leading part in the revolution—at such a moment as the power will be in its hands (if such a moment comes) and when there will be attempts to wrest it away.

In connection with the question of the possibility and the permissibility of such a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, it is interesting to make some historical inquiry into the Paris Commune, which was a revolutionary power and made the revolution not only from below but even from above.

Was the Paris Commune the dictatorship of the proletariat? Engels' introduction to the third edition of Marx's "The Civil War in France," with these words: "In recent times the Philistines again began to display horror at the words, the proletarian dictatorship. Would you know, worthy gentlemen, what this dictatorship is? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the proletarian dictatorship."

But there are dictatorships and dictatorships! Perhaps this was the *real, pure*, proletarian dictatorship in the sense of the pure social-democratic make-up of its membership and the character of its practical tasks? Not at all. The conscious proletariat (and at that only more or less conscious), that is, the members of the International, were in the majority; the majority in the government was composed of representatives of petty bourgeois democrats. One of the latest investigators (Gustav Eck) says it quite unambiguously. In the central committee of the national guard, for instance, there were 25 members and in all two socialists (that is, members of the International), but they (Varlin and Avoin) had great weight among their colleagues in power.

Also, it is altogether unquestionable that Engels, when he called the Commune a proletarian dictatorship, had in mind only the participation, and even the ideological leadership, of the proletariat in the revolutionary government of Paris.

But perhaps the immediate aim of the Commune was complete socialist upheaval? With us supposed, there can be no such illusion.

But in fact, in the famous manifesto which was indirectly written by Marx, is said: "The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economic foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule." But the manifesto continues: "The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par decret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economic agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant."

All measures, the entire social legislation of the Commune, had a practical and not utopian character. The Commune realized what we call "the minimum program of socialism." In order to sum up just what the Commune accomplished, we will quote from Engels' introduction: "On March 26 the Paris Commune was elected, and proclaimed on March 28. The central committee of the national guard, which had hitherto been carried on the hands of the Commune. On March 30 the Commune abolished the conscription and the standing army, and all military forces except of bearing arms were to belong. It renounced all rents from October, 1870, to April, 1871, such rent as had already been paid to be applied to future quarters; and returned grants all pledges of necessitous persons in the public paying establishment (*Mortd'Piete*). The same day the foreigners elected onto the Commune were confirmed in their functions, since it was declared: "The flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic." On April 1 it was decided that the highest salary of a functionary of the Commune, whether a member or otherwise, was not to exceed 6,000 francs (240 pounds) a year. On the following day was declared the separation of church and state, and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes, as also the transformation of all ecclesiastical wealth into national property. As a consequence of this, on April 8 all religious symbols, dogmas, prayers—in short, "all things pertaining to the sphere of the individual conscience," were ordered to be banished from the schools, an order which was carried out as quickly as possible. On April 6 the philistine was fetched out by the 137th battalion and popular applause. On April 12 the Commune ordered the column on the Place Vendôme, which had been constructed by Napoleon after the war of 1809 out of captured cannon, to be overthrown as a monument of national vanity and international feignings. This was accomplished on May 16. On April 16 the Commune made an order for a statistical account of all factories and workshops which were not at work, and for the elaboration of plans for their utilization by and for account of the workmen hitherto engaged in them, who were to be formed into cooperative societies for the purpose, and, further, the Commune also open enemies of it, for instance, Vestier. At the end of the Commune its highly talented members of the International, Jourde and Varlin, Exchange and Labor were supervised by Frankel—post, telegraph and mint and direct taxes were also administered by the important ministries, as Eck remarks, were in the hands of the petty-bourgeois.

THE new type of relations between man and woman that made the woman into a comrade of the man certainly had great effects in the work of the Commune and in the defense of Paris. Women fought for the Commune with the same devotion as the men. The proletarian women entered upon the revolutionary scene from the very beginning—they played an important part in saving the cannon from the Prussians.

On March 18 when the attempt was made to deprive the national guard of its artillery the women were the first to raise the alarm. The determined fight of the women, their attack on the soldiers, helped materially in bringing about an outcome favorable for Paris.

Nor did the proletarian women spare themselves in the bitter struggles of April and May. In the very heart of the battle, amidst the rain of bullets of the Versailles, they would persevere the wounded, they would penetrate the most dangerous places and then their heroic example would give courage to the tired and strength to the weak. In the most difficult moments they never lost their usual cheerfulness and brot many a fighter back to the struggle with a heavy word, with a friendly look, with a merry joke. . . . Many of the women themselves fought on the barricades with guns in their hands or stood by the cannon. Entire battalions of women were organized.

The participation of the proletarian women in the struggle forms one of the most beautiful chapters in the history of the Commune.

In their devotion, in their heroic indifference to danger and death only the youth and the children could rival the women. In the remembrance of those who participated in the Commune are indelibly recorded instances after instances of heroism on the part of the women, the youth, and the children, the like of which has never been seen.

The Versailles realized this. And so in the blood bath they organized in Paris, in the murders that took place with or without "trial," in the deportations and in the imprisonments, no exception was made in the case of the women or the youth.

Would it only have been possible, these bourgeois hangmen would not have hesitated to root out all of proletarian Paris with its men, women and children—the whole of Paris, with its new spirit that was a death-warrant for the entire bourgeois society.

destruction of the chapel erected in explanation of its mistakes and extreme generosity, did not succeed in substituting the reaction. The Communards promised the proletarian cause, as Martov is creating in speaking of the possibilities of the future revolutionary government in Russia? Obviously not. Marx wrote about it:

"Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its external plulory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them."

It seemed to us that our little historical inquiry has not been without its lesson. It teaches us, before all, that the participation of the representatives of the socialist proletariat, together with the petty-bourgeoisie in the revolutionary government, is wholly in principle, and in certain circumstances a direct duty. It shows us further that the real task which had to be fulfilled by the Commune, was above all the realization of the program, not the socialist dictatorship, the carrying out of the "minimum program." And last, this reminds us that in drawing lessons from the Paris Commune, we should not ignore its mistakes (they did not take the Bank of France, did not attack Versailles, did not have a clear program, etc.), but its successful practical steps which hinted at the right way. It is not necessary to take the word "Commune" from the great fighters of 1871, not repeat blindly their every slogan, but carefully select programmatical and practical slogans, which apply to conditions and words, "The revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants."

Women

By I. STEPANOV.

The White Terror

After the Paris Commune

By Lissagaray

OLDIER rules in Paris! Everywhere ruins . . . corpses . . . bitter groans. The clang of the officer's sword rings impudently thru the streets. Everywhere soldiers, some exhausted by the slaughter sleep right out on the sidewalks; others are cooking their dinner and singing songs . . . The Versailles emerges, those shameless mobs, are celebrating their victory. Since Wednesday they have been flooding the boulevards. See how these gentlemen throw themselves upon the breasts of these bloody soldiers! Outside of the coffee houses among thick crowds of women the officers are recounting their deeds and the others follow suit—invent the most wonderful fairy tales. One of them who has never passed beyond the Rue Montmartre tells how he himself shot down twelve of the defenders of Chateaufort! Ladies gaze with contemptuous curiosity at the corpses that litter the streets. They frily they poke them with their parasols. "Liberated Paris" is handed over to the tender mercies of the four generals. The state of siege abolished by the Commune is again established.

The army rules Paris! After the battles of Sunday, May 28, the several thousand people made prisoners were taken to the prison La Roquette. The head of the examined each prisoner from head to foot, and boomed out: "Right! Left! Right—that means the death penalty. No delay; the pockets of the condemned are immediately emptied; they are stood up against the wall and shot! No delay! Somewhere or on the side are two priests murmuring prayers.

In the period from Sunday till Monday morning 1,900 people were slaughtered in La Roquette alone. The same massacre took place at the military school, at the Parc Monseur, at the Luxembourg. . . . At Luxembourg the exhausted soldiers were no longer able to hold up their guns and so they had to fire with their rifles pressed hard against the bodies of their victims! The walls against which the condemned were murdered are covered with thick chunks of human brain! The soldier-hungry rindge deep in blood!

No words are wasted in these massacres! Some of the captured are put before commissars with which Paris has been full since Monday. The members of these commissars are sitting quite at their ease, cigars in their mouths. The examination lasts a quarter of a minute. "You look to arms? You served the Commune? Show your hands?" If the behavior of the accused is

Full of determination, if his face does not please them, the "court" does not even ask his name or profession. His case is not even entered in the records.

"He is dangerous! Now you . . ." That is all! And so on till all of the prisoners are "disposed of." Sometimes then some capricious accident the judgment is, "Oh, he is an ordinary one . . ." and the prisoner is held for trial at Versailles. There are no acquittals! The "dangerous" ones are handed over to the military and taken to the barracks. There the gendarmes lock all gates, divide the masses of prisoners into groups, and the right into them! It often happens that some who were only wounded would begin running about in despair and agony. The gendarmes would then start chasing these miserable ones and beat them down with the butts of their guns. . . .

Scenes of a similar kind were enacted at the Polytechnic School, at the Duplex Barracks, at the railroad stations, at the botanical gardens and elsewhere. In Luxembourg there was a little variation. The victims of the court-martial were first of all thrown into a long cellar resembling a sewer to which air could only enter thru some narrow cracks.

The officers held their court-martial on the third floor in a room full of traitors with the privileged bourgeois. As everywhere, here also there was no investigation. After the sessions the prisoners were either returned to the cellar or they were immediately taken to the garden. There they were shot without the least ceremony. Here also the walls reeked with human brains. Not all, however, had the "good fortune" to be judged by the court-martial. Many were simply killed in courtyards on the thresholds of their houses, in the public squares. . . . Bands of armed murderers roused the streets led by savage traitors with the traitor on their sleeves. The first passer-by who didn't please these bloody murderers was put under "suspicion" and finished up on the spot. Corpses . . . blood . . .

The Organ of the Fat Boys

By John Bernard.

ARE there any workers still so glibly ready to believe that the overgrown tapeworms who pose as American labor leaders, and who have had taken within the body of organized labor, are not the deliberate, conscious agents of Big Business? If there are any such workers, they will do well to spend an evening reading the February issue of the American Federationist. This is the official organ of the American Federation of Labor. President Wm. Green is its editor. Here are a few gems taken from its editorial, "In making investments members of trade unions should be on guard against non-voting classes as well as speculative values." This is probably good advice for fat livers with equally fat salaries, and who will likely be headed by the wisest men who realize that their wearing real works in making their "investments" must consist of either the can devote more strength from means than from meat, because their wages are usually too small to invest in such a high-bush about co-operative organization. Many bus-

ness men and bankers realize the fundamental value of co-operative organization for farmers, and are helping to that end." This will be very comforting to the farmer who has been kicked off his farm by the banker who held the mortgage.

"In speaking of the loyalty of the striking anthracite miners, he says: 'We honor the crusading spirit of the unwavering support.' Since Green wrote the above the strike has come to a close and these creatures of capital ran true to form. Their support was unwavering, but all in the interest of the operators."

FOLLOWING the editorials are various articles by economists, professors, and non-descript stylists in which the workers are given the "low down" on such matters as international debts, insurance, reducing the cost of production by the elimination of waste and various other subjects. UNDER the heading, "The Right Against Monopoly," the following drastic remedy is suggested: "The American people need to evolve a public policy to cope with the unbridled population may have a sense of protection."

OF course the customary smart-aleg in this case it is a silly attempt to