



A New "Open Shop" Drive

Fred Ellis

the struggle of 1848, the first outbursts of the proletarian movement were so completely drowned in the blood of the workers, that a whole generation was required before the revolutionary movement revived. Then came the Paris Commune. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, it was impossible to find a working-class family that was not bereaved. The extent of discouragement of the French proletariat was enormous. Nevertheless, hardly a decade passed before the French workers again rose to the struggle. Ten years after the Paris Commune, the French labor movement had recovered from the blows it had received. Recall the revolution in Russia of 1905. It too, was crushed and drowned in the blood of the workers. A serious crisis arose. The working class of Russia had to meet a stern enemy, but hardly a decade passed and the Russian proletariat was again on its feet and victoriously carrying on the fight.

The Working Class is not Defeated.

Turn now to Germany. Take the years 1918-1923. The German proletariat in that period fought for revolution. The fight went on not in a steady rising line, but with interruptions, severe losses and so on. Taking the European labor movement as a whole, the severest losses were suffered by the German proletariat during this time. But what do we observe today in Germany, a country passing through the zone of a certain stabilization of capitalism. Do we observe in the working class there anything similar to the state of complete discouragement and despair as we observed it in 1848 and 1871? Nothing of the kind. Considerable sections of the working class of Germany have retained their courage, have not lost stamina and under most difficult conditions unhesitatingly are following the Communist Party.

And what of the other countries—France, Czechoslovakia and Poland? Do we see there a defeated and crushed proletariat, which may arise for revolution only after many years? Nothing of the kind, the situation is quite different. The working class has only attempted to bring about revolution, but it has not yet fought the decisive battle. Not in a single country in Europe has the working class been so utterly defeated in battle that we shall have to wait for a new generation to grow up. We see merely that the forces of the working class have not yet matured sufficiently to win a victory over the bourgeoisie, but under no circumstance can it be said that the working class has lost its leaders, has been defeated, crushed and drowned in the wave of White Terror. The situation is altogether different in Hungary or Finland where White Terror reigned. But—and this is worth mentioning—even in countries like Hungary, Finland and Esthonia, in spite of the terror that has raged, only a few years are needed in order that the workers may rise to the battle again.

Comrades, I say all this in order to warn you against an incorrect estimation of the present political situation and the state of the international labor movement. We may admit that in a country where a year ago the revolutionary cauldron was seething, the situation today has ceased to be revolutionary. But this fact must not serve as an excuse for discouragement in our ranks. It should not lead us to believe that the whole of our question of the working class has been crushed as was the case in 1848 and in 1871.

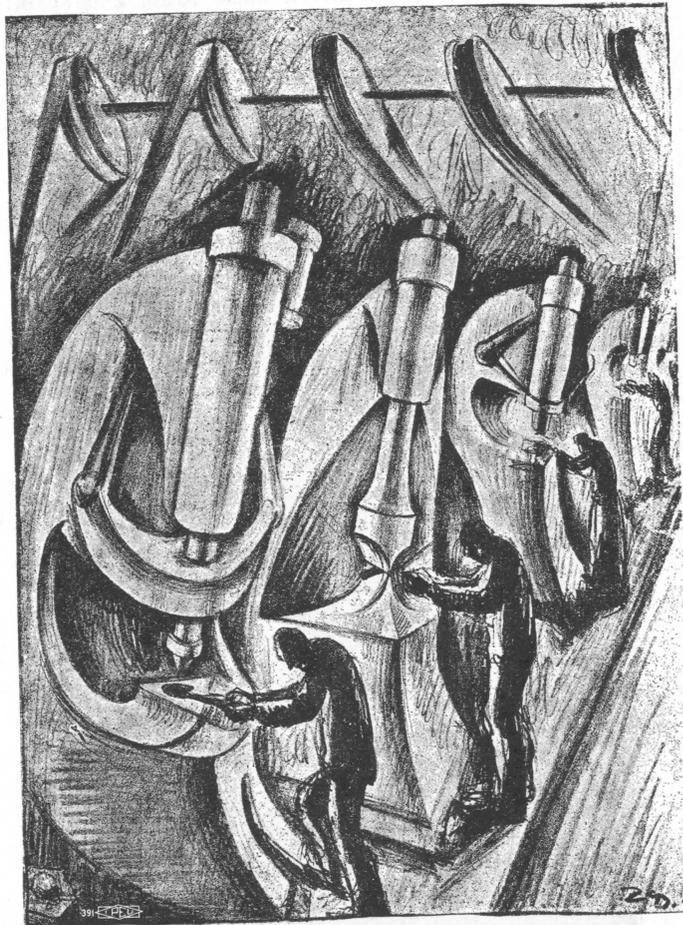
The Working Class has a Strong Revolutionary Base—the U. S. S. R.

I have written down seven points describing the peculiar features of the present moment in relation to the question that interests us.

In the period prior to 1917, the working class in each country fought isolately. Not in a single country during that period was a single more or less decisive victory of the proletariat recorded. What is the position today? Today, the international proletariat has achieved more or less conclusive victory in one country, I mean the U. S. S. R., representing a sixth part of the globe. It is of extreme importance that the international working class, that individual sections of the working class fighting against the world bourgeoisie, have a base, have a sort of revolutionary rear. This fact in itself is of world historical significance, and clearly shows that the present situation cannot be compared to the crises which occurred in 1848 and in 1871. Hence the first fact—victory, even if not final—of the working class in one country, is providing a revolutionary rear for the international proletariat.

The Orient Comes to the Aid of the World Proletariat.

The second factor is the Orient. The Social Democrats tried to be witty at the expense of the allegedly naive people who are now setting out to bring about revo-



MACHINES AND SLAVES

G. Silzer.

lution in China. But the fact is that China has a population of 400,000,000 and this population can and is acquiring world historical importance. World capitalism can no longer hold up this tremendous element which is now setting into motion.

The advanced detachments of the European proletariat who were defeated by General Gallifet in Paris and later by czarism in Russia in 1905 fought alone; they had no direct support from the rest of Europe and the colonies. The awakening of the Orient will put an end to the isolation of the working class. New forces are entering the arena of history and are acquiring enormous significance for the revolutionary movement.

The War has Revolutionized Extremely Wide Sections of the Workers and Peasants.

We have passed through a world war, and are living in a period of preparations for fresh wars. Everywhere in Europe the masses, including the peasantry, have been

roused. The masses after the war are not what they were before the war. The world war has served as a great "political university" for the international proletariat and peasantry. The political experience acquired by the working class in the furnace of suffering through which it passed in the period of the world war, must inevitably serve as an antidote against any ideological crisis that may break out among the proletariat. This striking feature also distinguishes our epoch from past epochs.

The Proletariat is Living in an Atmosphere of Civil War.

As I have already said, the class antagonisms of our epoch are saturated with the elements of civil war. Prior to 1907, the European proletariat only talked about civil war, and then not very frequently and not very clearly. Since 1917 to the present day, almost the whole of the our epoch are saturated with the elements of civil war.

(Continued on page 380)

Germany's "Party of Order"

AND so the rule of the Social Democrats has culminated in . . . the election of Hindenburg!

Social Democratic treachery has cost the German workers dear. This point must be driven home again and again: Field Marshall and Reichspresident Paul von Hindenburg holds his position, in the prevailing situation in Germany, by



grace of the Social Democrats. Power was within the grasp of the German workers in 1918, when they brought about the bourgeois revolution for the overthrow of Kaiserism and pressed forward, raising the leaders of Social Democracy to the highest positions in the land. But instead of continuing the revolution, Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske and the rest turned themselves into a "Party of Order" against the revolution and against the Communists, who were referred to as the "Party of Anarchy." It was but one step from the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to the final liquidation of the Soviets in Germany and only a step or two more to the Dawes' Plan.

One can quote word for word from Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," and show how the so-called Social Democrats "claimed to have 'saved' society against the 'enemies' of society"—how they "gave out the slogans of the old social order"—and how they "cried out to the counter-revolutionary crusaders: 'In this sign wilt thou conquer!'"

The "Party of Order" gradually undergoes changes. Soon the Socialists themselves begin to be looked at askance. First the period of the Social Democratic coalitions; then Wirth-Rathenau, then Cuno, Stressemann, Hindenburg. . .

"Thus it happens that 'society is saved' as often as the circle of its ruling class is narrowed, as often as a more exclusive interest asserts itself over the general. Every demand for the most simple bourgeois financial reform, for the most ordinary liberalism, for the most commonplace republicanism, for the flattest democracy, is forthwith punished as an 'assault upon society' and is branded as 'Socialism.'"

And will we come finally to the time when "the refuse of bourgeois society constitutes the 'holy phalanx of order,' and the hero Crapulinsky makes his entry into the Tuilleries as the 'Savior of Society?'"

We do not believe so. The German working class of 1925 is a far different proposition from the French working class of 1850. The domestic and world situations are far different. Capitalism is in its final stage. Not all the Parties of Order in Europe can keep the old order from falling to pieces.

The Martyrdom Of The Coal Miners

By J. W. Johnstone

SPIRITS were high among the progressive miners when the results of the last miners' national election were made known. John L. Lewis was swamped with 66,000 left wing votes, it was announced. Perhaps our candidates were elected—at least they received many thousands of votes not counted by the Lewis administration.

We are crowding the fakers! A little more energy, more education, intensified activities and organization, and the long battle against reaction will be won.

These were the thoughts expressed on all sides.

That George Voyzey defeated John L. Lewis cannot be proven, at least, not without access to the official records. But this thought, expressed first more or less as a wish, has more merit to it than that of merely propaganda. It finds confirmation in the present tactics of the Lewis-Farrington machine, notably in their refusal for the first time to tabulate the votes cast in the election in accordance with Article 9, Section 36, of the International Constitution, which reads as follows:

Sec. 36.—The votes of each District shall be tabulated separately and consecutively, and the votes of each Local Union within each District shall be tabulated separately and consecutively, the entire total given and the complete report printed and sent out to the Local Unions by the International Teller not later than January 15th of each election year.

It is also shown in the brutally frank manner in which they have now set out to destroy the most militant and progressive sections of the U. M. W. of A., such as Districts 12, 14, 18 and 26.



FREEMAN THOMPSON, ILLEGALLY EXPELLED FROM THE UNION, ADDRESSING A CROWD OF ILLINOIS MINERS

Lewis cannot tabulate the votes, he says, because the finances of the union are low. This work would cost at the utmost \$2,000. Lewis wants the miners to believe that he is altruistic and is worrying very much over the financial condition of the organization, forgetting for the purpose that there is over \$1,000,000 in the treasury. "If you insist on a report on the election returns we shall have to place an assessment on each miner," says Lewis, again forgetting for the occasion that an assessment of \$2 per member was collected during the months of January and February, 1925, yielding nearly \$1,000,000, and that an assessment of one cent per member would more than pay the cost of tabulating the election returns.

"The financial condition of the union is bad," declares Lewis. "The financial situation of the U. M. W. of A. is very satisfactory," said Wm. Green at the convention of District 12. There was no thought of economy when Phil Murray spent \$3,000 of the union's money on a pleasure trip to Europe, but the tabulation of the votes cast in the last election is something very different.

"You stole the election," affirm the progressive miners to Lewis.

The plain truth is that Lewis dare not publish the tabulated election returns. The avalanche of votes cast for the progressive miners' candidates was so great and Lewis' vote-stealing to retain his official position so brazen, that it would be impossible to hide it if the returns were sent to the locals. Impeachment proceedings would immediately be started against his administration.

So, Lewis, who has spent the union's money like a drunken fool in smashing district after district, because they did not bow to his autocratic rule, suddenly becomes economical.

"We have only a million dollars in the treasury, so we can't afford to tabulate the votes."

To say that the 66,000 votes admitted to have been cast for the progressive candidates have thrown the Lewis administration into a panic is wrong. To work from this conception would be ruinous. People who are panic-stricken are easily defeated. The Lewis-Farrington machine is not in that state of mind. That they realize their desperate position is self-evident in the utter abandonment of any pretense of "constitutionality" in their attack upon the progressive miners, and their complete disregard of the welfare of the miners and the union. They realize full well that the only way they can control the coming convention is to remove from office and expel from the union all remaining leading opposition forces and to destroy completely the mining centers that will not submit to their traitorous and terroristic tactics.

The miners in Districts 12, 14, 18 and 26 will not yield to Lewis' collaboration scheme, so they are slated for destruction. The pretense of assisting the Nova Scotia strikers and organizing the West Virginia miners, is merely shadow boxing and camouflage to take attention away from the real

job of destroying the mining centers that are determined to replace the Lewis machine with a militant progressive leadership.

The Regime of John L. Lewis.

Under John L. Lewis' short but disastrous leadership, the miners have been led into one betrayal after another. Few men have been granted the opportunity of John L. Lewis. He was made president of the U. M. W. of A. at a time when objective conditions were ideal for organizing the industry 100 per cent for the enforcing of the 6-hour day, nationalization of the mines, the installation of safety appliances, advancement if not actual enforcement of many other political demands of the miners, and the raising of the political level of the entire working class. With a real militant group of nationally-known fighters—such as Alex Howat, Duncan McDonald, Jim McLachlan—and with district and local leaders of the type of Freeman Thompson, John Watt, Tom Myerscough and many others, the pendulum was swinging in favor of the miners, and a victorious struggle at this period would have strongly entrenched the miners and would have eliminated at least 40 per cent of the present unemployment.

But Lewis failed to produce anything but compromises, defeats, and downright betrayals, until today the miners' organization is in process of disintegration and is in very serious danger of being completely demolished.

In 1919 the situation was exceedingly favorable for the miners. The miners were keyed up to the highest point.

The six-hour day from bank to bank, which would have meant a five-hour workday at the face, with a national agreement covering the entire country—these demands, if not others, at least would have been won. But a word from the late President Wilson gave Lewis the excuse to betray the miners under the cowardly plea that "They could not fight the Government."

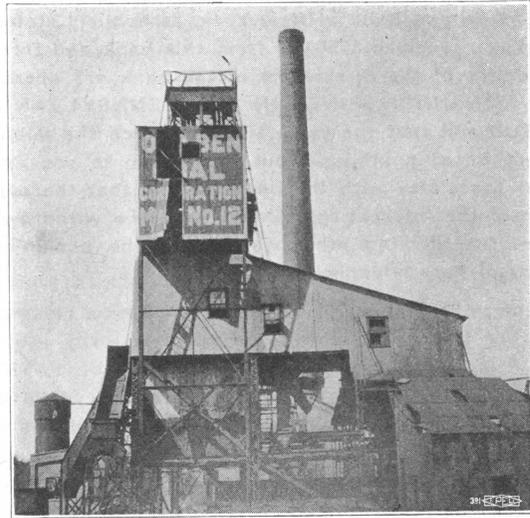
In 1922, although the objective conditions were not as favorable as in 1919, the morale of the miners was splendid. They were ready, yes, eagerly awaiting the strike call. And, much to the surprise of John L. Lewis and the coal operators, the non-union miners struck 100 per cent and stood solidly side by side with the organized miners for five months in the most complete general strike in the history of the American labor movement.

Victory was within the miners' grasp. Defeat seemed impossible. Yet, defeat and not victory was the dose handed out to them. The compromise settlement entered into by Lewis which left the miners stunned, the almost unbelievable betrayal of the Fayette County miners, following upon Lewis' cowardly attitude in failing to go through with the strike in 1919, will go down in American labor history as equalling in disastrous effect the British miners' "Black Friday."

Two Fakers Expose Each Other.

The saying is that "when thieves fall out, honest men get their dues." At least we can say that when labor fakers fall out, the rank and file gets an earful. We will let Lewis and Farrington tell the WORKERS MONTHLY readers some of the things that were happening behind the scenes before and during this strike.

Lewis and Farrington were close friends and associates, but they fell out—over what, is no matter; it is what they



IN THE CENTRAL COMPETITIVE FIELD

This mine has been shut down continuously for the past six months.

said during this period of hostility that gives some idea of why the miners were betrayed and why the organization is in danger of destruction. Lewis and Farrington are now good friends. They have combined their forces in order to save each other from destruction. Their common enemy is not the coal operator, but the 66,000 miners and the militant leaders who challenge their despotic rule. But, let us see what they had to say about each other in 1922 and 1923.

At the meeting of the International Executive Board of the U. M. W. of A., held Oct. 9th to 20th, 1922, inclusive, Lewis accused President Farrington and Vice-President Fishwick, of the Illinois District, of having received money to allow the Lester Strip Mine (Herrin, Ill.), to run during the strike. Executive Board Member Dobbins reported the story to Farrington, who demanded a retraction. Lewis refused to retract.

In a letter to Lewis dated November 22, 1922, among other things, Farrington had this to say:

"An influential operator with whom I happen to know you had dinner during the month of December told me that you had told him during the month of December that you believed the mine workers of the country were going to be obliged to take a reduction of wages after the first of April, and that you implied that in order to enable you to escape responsibility for the reduction a strike was to be called on the first of April and was to continue until the government intervened and settled the strike, even on the basis of reduction of wages, and considering the fact that you were continuing parleying with government authorities during the strike, I have just as much right to believe his statement is true as you have to believe the story about me concerning the Lester mine.

"I heard that you and other officers of our union collected \$100,000 from the operators in Kentucky for allowing them to operate during the strike. . . .

rife among the miners; many having become disgusted with the ruinous tactics of Lewis and his lieutenants, have quit the organization and joined the O. B. U. This is a step in the direction of complete destruction, the thing that Lewis is consciously working for. District 26 is an irreconcilable enemy of the corrupt Lewis administration. Going to the O. B. U. suits Lewis—he does not care whether miners go over to the O. B. U. or form a company union, just as long as they are eliminated as a factor in his struggle to retain autocratic control of the U. M. W. of A.

While other unions are contributing to the relief fund, the Mine Workers' Official Journal, up to the writing of this article, has not even published a single word about the strike in Nova Scotia. Lewis paid a visit to the strike zone but did not have the courage to address a single strike meeting. He felt much safer in the office and more comfortable in the company of the BESCO officials.

\$104,000. This debt Lewis repudiated in the hope that it would break up the district.

The miners, in spite of the fact that their average monthly earnings during the year 1924 averaged only \$37 a month, paid off this huge debt by monthly assessments. Twice, the official organ of the Nova Scotia miners, the Maritime Labor Herald, has been burned to the ground. The last time was just a few days ago, leaving the strikers without a strike organ.

The situation in Nova Scotia is indeed critical. While the R. I. L. U. shows its sympathy and common interest with the Nova Scotia miners by donating \$5,000 from its meager treasury, the Lewis administration which owes this district \$104,000 has just collected a million-dollar assessment, insults the strikers by giving them \$15,000.

Shall District 26 be numbered among Lewis' many victims? Up to date he has failed in this. Will he finally



GROUP OF MINERS IN THE COKE REGION OF PENNSYLVANIA

The financial assistance given the 12,000 strikers by the Lewis administration is \$15,000, in spite of the fact that approximately \$1,000,000 was collected during the month of January and February by a special \$2 assessment. A dollar and a quarter per family for two months, or less than three cents per day per family, is John L. Lewis' idea of strike benefits.

Following the deposal of Jim MacLachlan and the other district officials in District 26 because of their sympathetic strike with the steel workers in 1923, Lewis has paid special attention to the disruption of this fighting district. The commission set up by Lewis, with the approval of Lewis and with his promise of financial support, called a strike in January, 1924, running the district into debt to the tune of

succeed? That will depend upon the support given the strikers by the militants throughout the industry. They must force the Lewis administration to disgorge a goodly part of the million dollars collected for strike purposes.

The strike must be strengthened at all points. The district officials must stiffen up. They must not allow themselves to be influenced by the "liberal" bourgeois atmosphere that surrounds the Relief Committee, or by fake promises of aid by Lewis.

The miners and their families must get sufficient food to keep them on strike.

But this alone will not win the strike. A militant fighting picket-line is needed. Not one stroke of work must be allowed in the mines during the period of the strike.

The Kansas District.

Kansas is another district that incurred the enmity of Lewis. Howat, the fighting president, could not be bought over by the coal operators nor by Lewis. The miners of Kansas supported their fighting leader. It was these miners, under the leadership of Howat, who defeated the Kansas Industrial Court Law. Their going to jail rather than knuckle down to this law was a major political victory, which resulted not only in defeating the industrial court in Kansas, but in preventing the establishment of similar courts throughout the country by federal law.

In 1921, prior to the removal of Howat, the district was 100 per cent organized. There were 10,000 organized miners in Kansas. Today there are not more than 6,000. At the last election Howat was endorsed by 90 per cent of the miners of the district, but was arbitrarily ruled off the ballot. Nevertheless the Lewis lickspittles were completely repudiated. Matt Walters, first president of the Knights of Labor in that district, was elected president by the support of Howat and his followers.

In the past few weeks a number of organizational drives have been conducted under the leadership of Howat and Walters. About six weeks ago, 3,000 men, led by Howat and Walters, marched from mine to mine and succeeded in pulling back into the union many of those who had quit the organization, disgusted by Lewis' disruptive tactics. And the next



MINER'S SON STEALING COAL

convention will see a fighting delegation from this district to help smash the corrupt Lewis administration.

Farrington's Tactics in Illinois.

District 12, Illinois, is the largest district in the U. M. W. of A. It is 100 per cent organized, with approximately 100,000 members. Here we see the Lewis forces, under the leadership of Farrington, making a desperate effort to demoralize if not completely destroy the district. Farrington is now in office by virtue of stealing the election. It is a well-known fact that the miners of Illinois almost solidly supported Voyzey as against Lewis for International President. That is why Lewis dare not tabulate the votes and send them, as per the constitution, to the local unions. His fraud would immediately be discovered if this was done.

Statements such as this might seem extreme, but keep in mind the letters exchanged between Lewis and Farrington from November, 1922, to May, 1923, and you have some

idea of the unscrupulous character of these men who grow rich upon the sufferings of the miners and their families. In the Labor Herald of August, 1924, I showed how Lewis became International President by a circuitous route and by the aid of one Hamilton, a scab coal operator who openly boasted in 1916 that he would make Lewis the next miners' president. This was accomplished by the year 1919. Strange as it may seem, Lewis never was elected to any international official position in the miners' union, including his present position; but with the election machinery in his control he has been able to retain his control over the union.

In Illinois, Farrington is carrying on a reign of terror—expulsions and arbitrary removal from office, the outlawing of meetings held to discuss the unemployed situation and to assist the starving miners' families, mark his course. He has removed from office Freeman Thompson and John Watt, the fighting president and secretary of the Springfield sub-district, expelling Watt from the union as well as removing him from office. Duncan McDonald has been expelled from the union. All of these acts were carried out in violation of the constitution and for the express purpose of crushing the militant miners of Illinois.

The coal operators are attempting to introduce the yellow-dog contract. So far they have failed. Farrington is urging the miners to accept a cut in wages amounting to 12 cents a ton. Several weeks ago the Old Ben Coal Co., the largest coal company in southern Illinois, closed down and refused to open its mines unless the miners would accept a cut in wages and allow them to hire expert shot-firers. This would eventually mean the reducing of the miners to mere coal shovelers, and in time no state examination for miners would be necessary. With the shot-firers as company men, the crushing of any revolt would be that much easier.

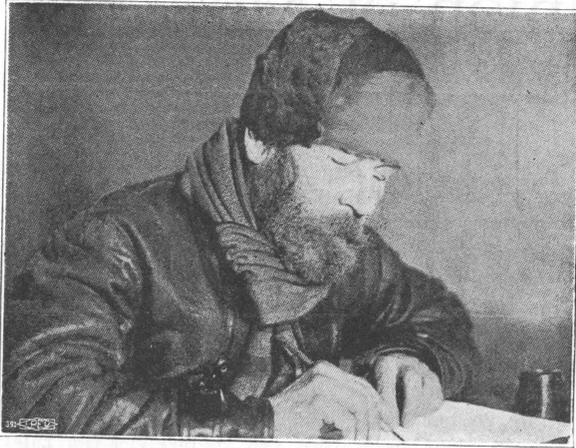
Farrington, at a meeting held in Johnston City, Illinois, urged the miners to accept whatever arrangements he could make with the company for operating the Old Ben Coal Company mines. But the miners refused to give Farrington power to make any settlement.

These four districts have incurred the undying enmity of the Lewis-Farrington machine. They cannot be won over to the class collaboration policy, so their destruction is being systematically carried out. Unemployment, and its attendant starvation on the one hand, and sabotage and betrayal of the miners' interests by their officials on the other, is the method being used to accomplish this end.

Will the miners' union survive this double attack? Through bitter struggle the miners have learned how to fight the coal operators. But they cannot put up a successful battle when their leaders are the tools of the mine owners.

The miners' union will be saved by a mass revolt of the rank and file against their miserable conditions and against betrayal by their officials. In every mining town the progressives must organize mine committees to carry on the struggle.

They must prepare for the coming convention. Impeachment proceedings should be started against the Lewis-Farrington wrecking machine. The miners must take their union out of the control of the coal operators and place at its head officers who will lead the miners into struggle. With a real fighting leader in place of the present wet-rag, the miners can retrieve their lost position, build up and strengthen their union, and go on to new and greater victories.



THE SCHOOLBOY'S FIRST LETTER

Factory worker writing in to "Pravda" about conditions in his shop. He learned to read and write in the union school.

"Does a worker have to join a union?" we ask. He smiles rather queerly. "Certainly not," he says, "but they always want to." Our chief trouble comes in keeping out of the unions the people who have no right there, sons of profiteers who want to be listed as workers because of the privileges this gives to their family."

"Do you mean," I asked, "that if I open a little store and hire clerks, I don't have to hire union men?" "You can hire anyone you please," laughs Melnichanski, "but as soon as you hire them, you will find them running to the union hall to join, if they are not already members. When you give them a job that makes them eligible to membership, and you may be sure they will take advantage of it.

Advantages of Union Membership.

"You do not understand," he added, smiling, "the advantages of union membership. During the past seven years we have actually had two or three cleanings, throwing out people from the unions who tried to get in without being bonafide workers. In the early days of the revolution, we were doing some rather strenuous things. The workers were moving into the fine big houses of the bourgeois; we had a continuous propaganda for doing this. Houses were being searched and invaded.

"Now, a man with a union card was exempt from search or from being moved out of his house; for he was a worker. So naturally, all these bourgeois tried to join unions. They couldn't join the metal workers, for you could tell by their hands that they weren't metal workers. But the clerks' union grew tremendously. And the teachers' and artists' union also. It surprised us. But we also saw that the number of unemployed in these unions was very large; for the new members had no intention of working at the trade; they merely wanted a union card.

No Union-Splitting Tactics.

"Those days are past, but there are still many privileges of union membership. Workers get lower rents and all kinds of rebates. So you see, we have to be careful about taking members into the unions. We only take men who are actually employed or who can prove by their past jobs that they are bona fide workers. Even so, we have to clean the unions out occasionally."

I asked if they threw out workers whose views they disapproved of. "Not at all, said Melnichanski. "We know, of course, that that is done in the capitalist countries. They are throwing Communists out of the American Federation of Labor. As if that whole great body had to be afraid of a handful of Communists. But with us, if a man is an actual worker, he has a right to be in the union, whatever his views."

We started another question. "They tell us that your union elections are bureaucratic and government-controlled," we said.

Close to the Rank and File.

"Come round and see for yourself," said Melnichanski. "Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Workers, and formerly one of the secretaries of the Amsterdam International, has just been here, and he says that in no country are the trade union leaders so close to the rank and file . . . I am not denying that if some group wants to elect a menshevik, we maneuver all we can to prevent it. But if you know the temper of our Moscow workers, you know they are not boss-ridden.

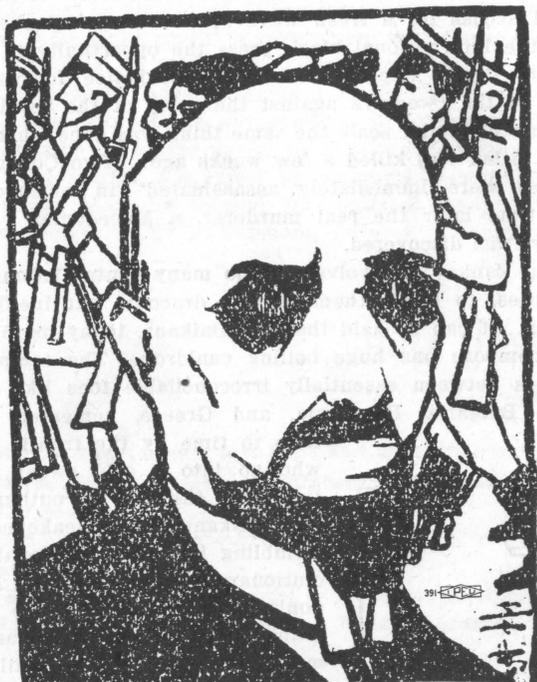
"Why, our very existence depends on keeping close to the rank and file. Not only our existence as labor leaders, but our very lives. We know we would all be in jail or shot by white guards if we couldn't keep the confidence of the rank and file of Russia's workers. Of course, we have our disagreements and our occasional steam-rollers. But we couldn't get away with as much of it as the American Federation of Labor does. We simply wouldn't risk a course that would lead to secession of any group of workers."



IN A TRADE UNION CLUB

The Bulgarian Conflagration

By Max Shachtman



ZANKOV, SUPREME BUTCHER OF BULGARIA

IN a unique fit of truth, a European correspondent of the Chicago Tribune cables on the recent Bulgarian occurrences that "in the outburst of fury that followed the bomb outrage an army of police, militia and reserve officers searched out the most notorious Communists in Sofia and probably killed some 100 in cold blood."

This sadism of black reaction in Bulgaria is a continuation of almost unparalleled terrorism that has characterized the Zankov government since its victorious coup d'etat in June, 1923, when it overthrew the rule of the peasants' party led by Stambuliski. The wild acts of persecution that followed, especially after the failure of the Communist Party to issue the call of action to the workers and peasants, are incredible. Emile Vandervelde, one of the leaders of the Second International, has stated that the Zankov government has murdered 16,000 opponents in the last eighteen months. Every leader of the Communist Party, of the Peasants' Party, of the Macedonian national revolutionary movement, stands in daily danger of his life. Not even the sanctity of parliament has prevented the brutal murder of revolutionary deputies; even liberals, such as the lawyer, Patev, who defended the Communist deputy Dr. Maximov in court, are subjected to the bombs of assassins.

Throne of Reaction Shaky.

And yet not all this desperate terrorism has removed the towering difficulties that confront Zankov. In a country whose population numbers four million, there are over 100,-

000 unemployed. Forty thousand civil servants have been fired; the partial eight-hour day which was won by the workers in the first years after the war has now been practically abolished; the wage of the workers goes swiftly along the decline, having decreased forty per cent in two years; the peasants, a good majority of whom had remained indifferent at the time of the coup against Stambuliski, have experienced

И. К. К. И.



Центральная Секция
ОТДЕЛА
ВНЕШНИХ СНОШЕНИЙ

19.

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МОСКВА.

THIS letterhead was used by the international forgery gang in fabricating the letter which serves Zankov's fiendish government as an excuse for the systematic massacre which it is now carrying on throughout Bulgaria. Purporting to contain "secret instructions" from Moscow to the Bulgarian Communists, it has been exposed by the London Daily Herald as a crude forgery emanating from the same sources which produced the famous "Zinoviev letter" in England. It masquerades as a communication from the Communist International, marked "absolutely secret, destroy after execution," giving elaborate directions for an insurrection on April 15.

Proof that this precious document is a brazen fake is contained in the letterhead itself which, translated from the Russian of the original, reads:

E. C. C. I.
CENTRAL SECTION
Department for Foreign Relations.

"Now such a paper never came out of the Comintern," points out the Daily Herald. "For the Comintern has no 'Department for Foreign Relations,' for the simple reason that it is an international organization, to which no country is more 'foreign' than another."

The document was not drawn up in Moscow but in Berlin. Evidence indicates that it is the handiwork of a former Wrangel officer named Gutschinski, now working as a secret agent and living at 96 Ansbacherstrasse, Berlin.

On the strength of this preposterous forgery two political parties—the Communists and the Peasant Party—are being indicted for murder and their leaders are being hunted down and shot like wild beasts.

a severe decline in agriculture and have had added to their burdens land taxes amounting to 340 million leva as compared to an income of three million leva in taxes from limited liability companies. And fifty foreign corporations are now engaged in exploiting the wealth and labor of the country.

Popular feeling rises daily to overthrow the shaking throne of Zankov. His ambitions to march on Bucharest and Belgrade are constantly balked by the revolutionary situation in his own domain. And so, every opportunity that can be found to wreak mass revenge against the Communists or Macedonian rebels is eagerly seized.

The bomb thrown in the cathedral of Sofia was such an opportunity.

Bulgarian Cauldron Boiling Over.

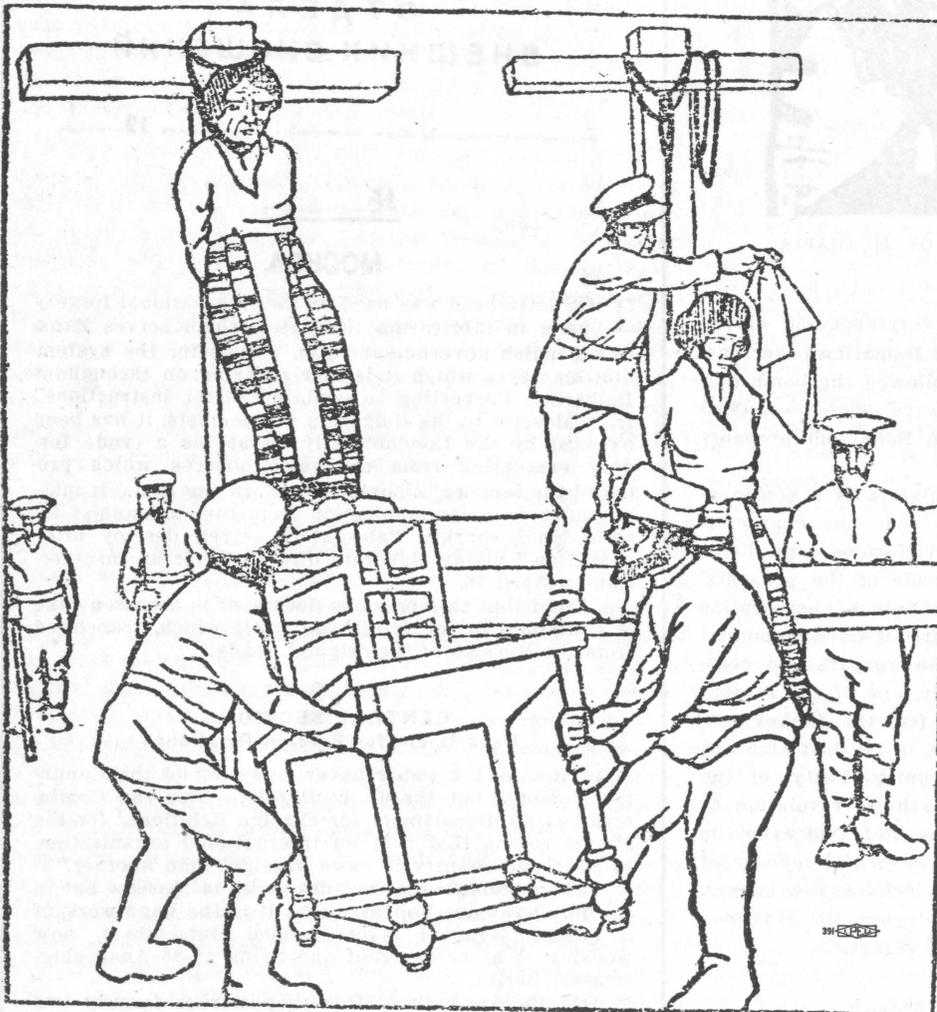
We need waste no tears over the two hundred that were killed there. Rage and horror over the thousands of noblest proletarian fighters murdered by the fascist camorra, and the thousands of others who still fill the dungeons with cries of anguish at the diabolical tortures that they un-

dergo, are a sufficiently strong deterrent. Suffice it to point out that it is ridiculous to ascribe the bomb-throwing to the Communists, one of whose historic struggles against anarchists has been the fight against individual terror. The deed was probably done by a group of Macedonian nationalists. But it is convenient to blame the Communists: it gives a formal excuse for a fresh wave of terror against them; it gives the international black press the opportunity to spew its bile in its hopeless efforts to prejudice forever the minds of the workers against the party of the revolution. On a much smaller scale the same thing was done when Professor Mileff was killed a few weeks ago: Two Communist deputies were immediately assassinated "in revenge"; a short time later the real murderer, a Macedonian revolutionary, was discovered.

But Zankov is involved in too many contradictions and difficulties, to settle them in this draconic but ineffective manner. It can be said that the Balkans, today more than ever, compose one huge boiling cauldron. The temporary alliances between essentially irreconcilable foes like Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Greece, cemented from time to time by the frantic allies who go into a cold sweat every time they think of an outburst in the Balkans, are weakened by trembling links; the national revolutionary aspirations of the Macedonians, Croatians, and the Bessarabians; the rising peasants' movements; and above all the Communist Parties.

Allies Aid Zankov Reaction.

The disintegration of the anti-Bolshevik united front in the Balkans is horror-inspiring to the allied imperialists. In almost every well-informed capitalist sheet it is admitted that a successful revolution in Bulgaria means the likelihood of the realization of the hopes of the Balkan Communist Federation for these many years; the union of Soviet Republics in the Balkans. Not only does this prospect terrify the entente, but it also cuts at the heart of its preparations for a new attack upon Soviet Russia. Not even the fear of playing into the hands of Zankov, whose ambition to overpower his lesser neighbors has been frustrated by lack of sufficient military force, has restrained the allies for a moment in their decision to prevent at all costs a Bolshevik revolt in Bulgaria. The request of Zankov to the Inter-Allied Military Commission that he be permitted to raise 10,000 "conscript volunteers" to suppress the Communist movement has already been granted. A



PEASANT WOMEN HANGED BY ZANKOV'S SOLDIERS

This picture is drawn directly from photographs which have reached this country depicting the reign of terror. The pictures themselves cannot be reproduced for technical reasons.

Our Own Little League of Nations

By Manuel Gomez

WE have our own little League of Nations in the western world, with the Monroe Doctrine as its unratified but effective "protocol" and the U. S. government as supreme council, court of arbitration and police force rolled into one. Membership is obligatory for all Latin-American nations. The requirements are simple: unqualified submission to American imperialism.

It would be superfluous to dilate on the manifest advantages of this cozy little association. The beneficiaries are strictly limited but their gains are all the more abundant. Anybody in Wall Street can talk about them in glowing terms.

Tacna and Arica.

Take the case of Tacna and Arica for instance. For 45 years Chile and Peru have been at loggerheads over these two provinces, which Chile seized from Peru following the war of the 80's. The treaty of 1883 provided for a plebiscite within ten years but the plebiscite was never held: instead, Chile simply moved in, bag and baggage, carrying out a systematic policy of deporting Peruvians and importing Chileans.

What has all this got to do with Wall Street? Very simple. The financiers who control our government followed their time-honored policy of playing one nation off against the other. War preparations were speeded up. Costly armaments were disposed of to both nations by our munitions manufacturers. Military and naval "advisers" were kindly lent by our government, which having dispatched a fulsome corps of officers to Peru could scarcely do less for Chile. Diplomatic "influence" was exerted by our state department, amiably but decisively, in the well-known spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. Finally it appeared that the United States had so successfully insinuated itself into things that the dominant factor in the Tacna-Arica situation was neither Chile nor Peru, but Wall Street.

American Envoys Seized Advantage.

"The idea of arbitration," says Barron's Financial Weekly, "began to be harbored at both Santiago and Lima, where the American ambassadors quickly took advantage of the improved outlook. Secretary Hughes immediately dispatched notes to the two governments, offering to welcome their representatives in Washington to the end that such representatives might settle existing difficulties or arrange for their settlement by arbitration."

The invitation was not an invitation but a command. In due course the representatives arrived in Washington. But they were not prepared to abdicate their author-

ity entirely. The above-quoted financial weekly declares that "the disputants, having at their disposal the great prestige and efficiency of the United States department of state (!) chose to limit its co-operation to an interpretation of one article of the Ancon treaty, signed in 1883." Proving that while Latin-Americans may fail to appreciate the value of Yankee prestige and efficiency, they still have some sense left.

No Appeal from Coolidge!

But what are such diplomatic reservations in Our Own

Little League of Nations? President Coolidge decided that a plebiscite must be held in Tacna and Arica and forthwith appointed General Pershing to take charge of carrying it out. Peru's protests were overruled with the curt reply that there could be no appeal from the decision. The plebiscite committee will meet in Tacna on Sept. 4.

Of course the plebiscite will favor Chile, which has been in possession of the territory for 45 years, has had complete control of press and schools and has to a considerable extent displaced the original Peruvian population by Chileans. But, as usual, the real beneficiary is Wall Street. Just as American policy in relation to Mexico is dominated by the consideration of oil, so American policy in the

south Pacific Coast area is determined by copper and nitrates. Chile is enormously rich in nitrates, her territory yielding \$173,000,000 worth of nitrate of soda yearly, which is 95 per cent of the world's mined supply. And the nitrate properties are controlled by Americans. The existence of this profitable mineral and its control by Americans has been the source of all the trouble between Peru and Bolivia on the one hand, and Chile on the other. American interests actually precipitated the war of 1879-82 which gave the nitrate fields to Chile and which started the feud over Tacna-Arica. The nitrate fields are situated in the north of Chile, in territory which she took outright from Peru and Bolivia in the war. Tacna-Arica lies still further to the north. It contains no nitrate, but it does contain the port of Arica, connected with the nitrate fields by direct railroad line, and a natural shipping center for nitrates.

How the War Started.

War broke out between Bolivia and Chile in 1878 following the refusal of the American-owned Chilean Nitrate Co. to pay the duty levied by the Bolivian government of 10 cents on each hundredweight of nitrate exported from Antofagasta. Peru was drawn in as an ally of Bolivia. In this



MAP SHOWING THE TACNA-ARICA DISTRICT

simple way did the American nitrate magnates solve their "taxation problems."

But American policy is many-sided. Peace has its victories no less than war. The United States now steps forward as the amiable pacifist, earnestly desirous of arbitrating between "the turbulent Latin-American nations." And all because Arica is a most important nitrate port, intimately linked up with the "Chilean" nitrate industry—so intimately that it would be a shame to have to pay an additional export tax, as would perhaps be the case if Arica should belong to Peru! Which explains President Coolidge's decision.

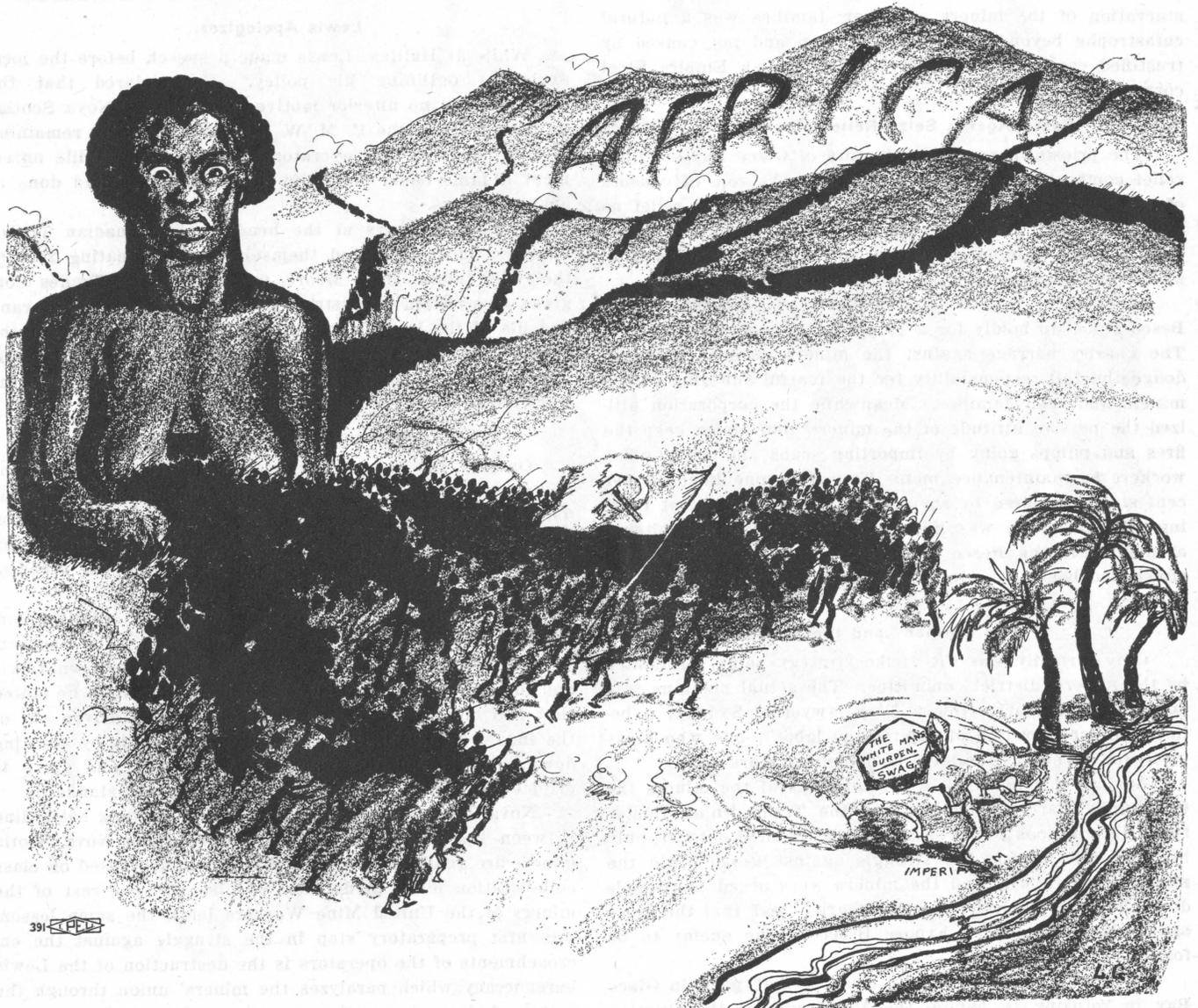
More serious than the decision itself is the implication that goes with it—the assumption of absolute authority over all the nations of the western hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine licenses everything. Only the feeblest pretense is kept

up that this doctrine is now maintained to protect Latin-America against Europe. The Monroe Doctrine is the theoretical cornerstone of American imperialism, and all Latin-America knows it.

United Front Against Wall Street.

In weakly accepting the interference of the United States government in their affairs, the governments of Chile and Peru committed treason to the peoples of their respective countries. What is needed is not the dictates of a supreme arbiter which sets one nation against the other with the ultimate purpose of enslaving them both in its own private little league of subject nations, but an appeal to the solidarity of the Chilean and Peruvian peoples to join hands against the common exploiter.

At Last the Sphinx Speaks!



Lydia Gibson

A Series of War Lithographs

By Maurice Becker



FORT RILEY, AUGUST 25, 1918.

Introduction to Becker's Lithographs

By Roger Baldwin

MAURICE BECKER has drawn on the wealth of his own experience as a prisoner at Leavenworth to picture the drama of the conflict between military authority and the conscientious objectors. That drama was buried under the avalanche of propaganda against slackers. Few know the quiet heroism of the men who withstood the enormous forces arrayed against them. Only the devout faith of the sectarian Christians opposed to war and the revolutionary passion of the "politicals" could sustain them against ridicule, blandishments, torture and the dreary monotony of drab prison days.

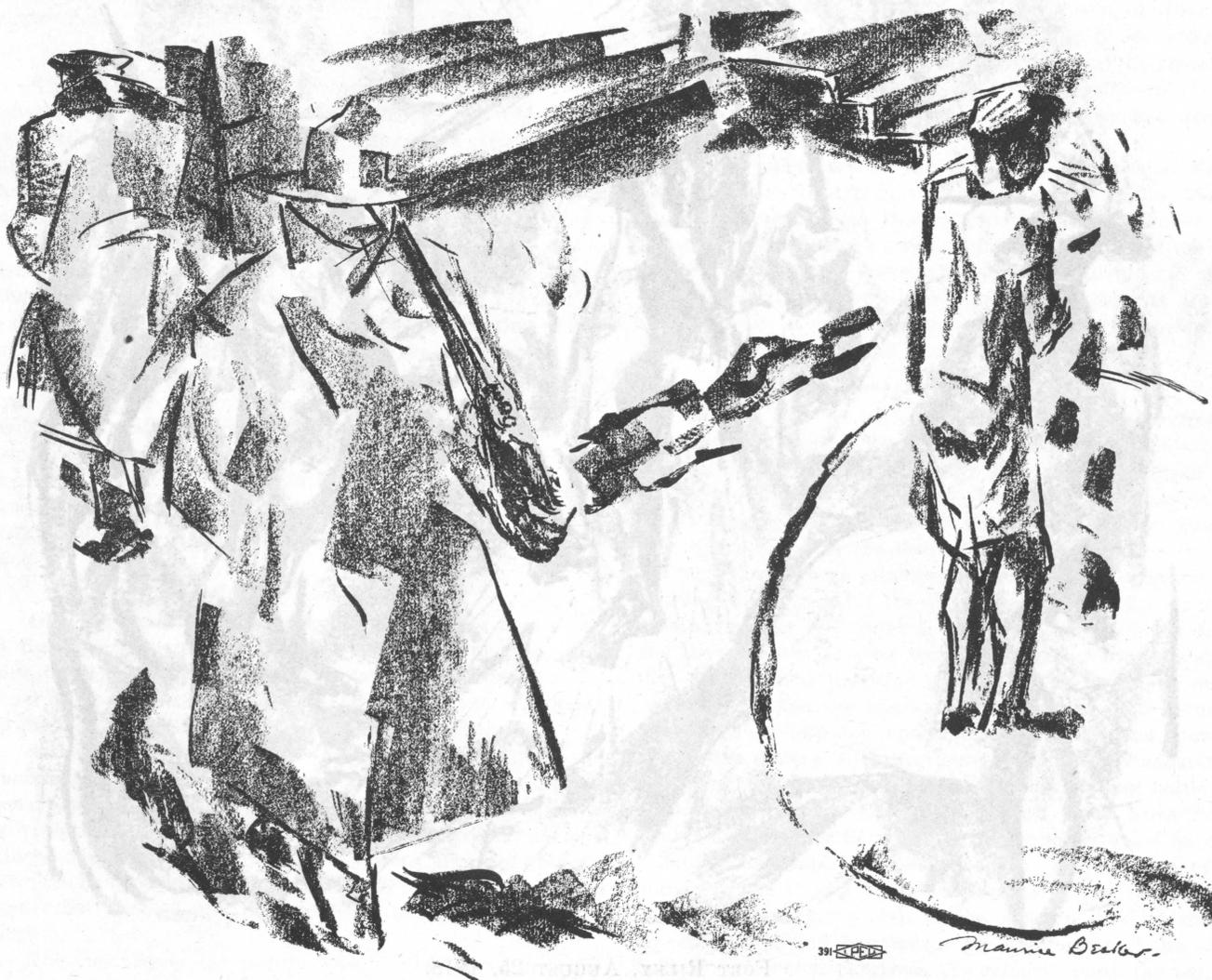
Six conscientious objectors died in military prisons as a direct result of the treatment they got there. At least one, Ernest Gellert, committed suicide in a military camp as a protest against inhuman treatment and the futility of his

resistance. Many others contracted prison diseases. Some four or five men whom I knew personally were wrecked in mind and nerves, two of them permanently. Many more suffered for months after their release from the inevitable effect upon brain and nerve of the racking persecution, the dreary isolation, the weeks spent in dungeons on bread and water shackled to the bars of their doors.

It is this dark side of the objector's life in military camp and prison on which Maurice Becker's drawings throw such sharp light. His lines block out the central drama. He caught the conflict at the points where it was hottest and most brutal.

There is of course, another side to the story. There is the dauntlessness of the human spirits which rose above this brutality; who went through it smiling and serene. There was grim and laughing humor everywhere in the tragedy even in the midst of those tense days at Leavenworth when the objectors led the strike of 3,000 prisoners against intolerable conditions.

The Christian pacifists accepted their lot in befitting meekness. Their suffering and heroism for an old faith with-



FOUR HOURS IN THE SNOW—ERNEST GELLERT BEFORE HIS SUICIDE.

out relation to the modern class struggle was a marvel to the political objectors, who were rebellious and articulate. It was the political objectors who got their protests across the country, who led the hunger strikes in camp and the prisoners' strike at Leavenworth.

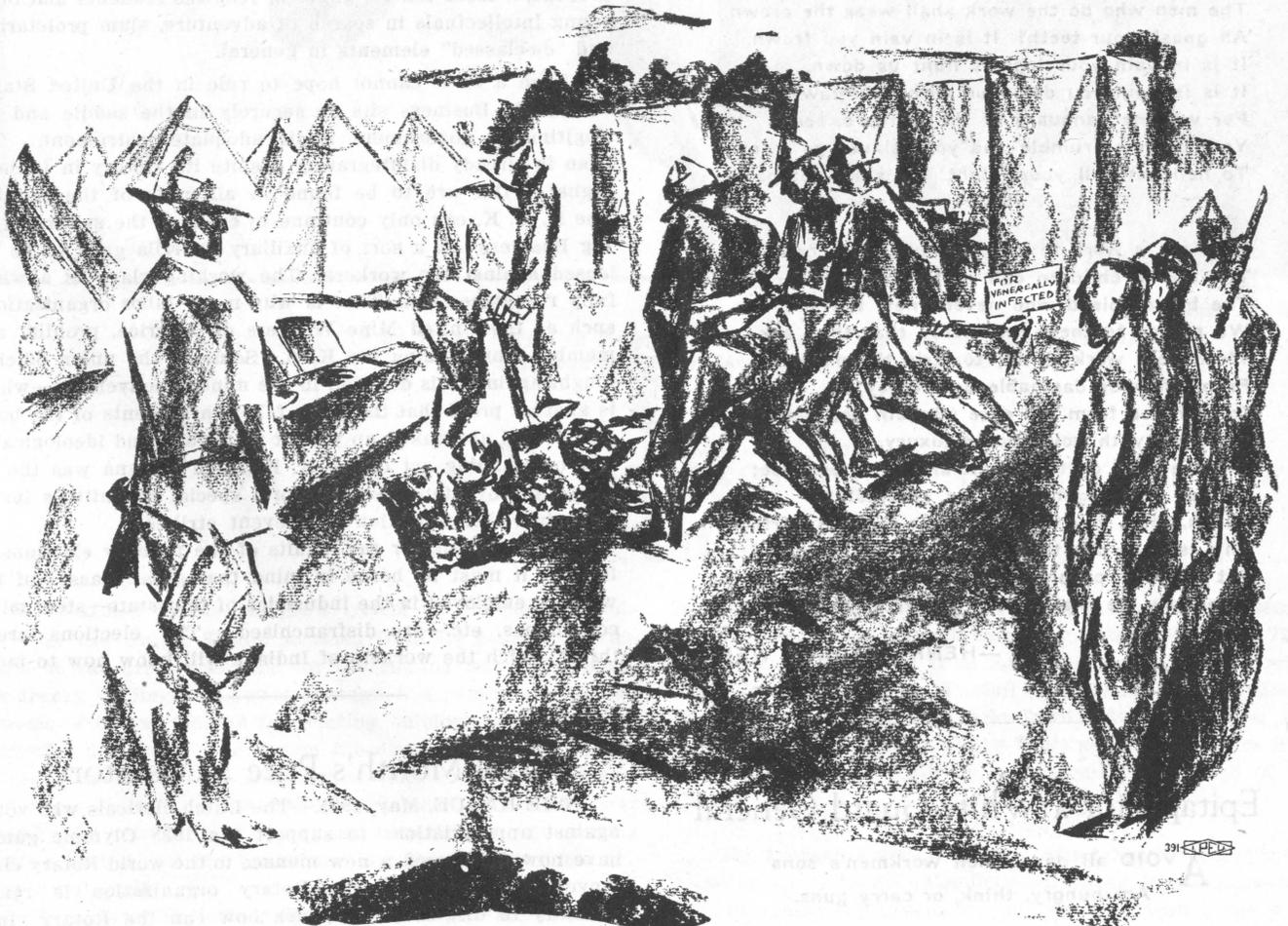
I came to know scores of these rebellious objectors during the two years we fought together for our rights against army tyranny. I visited camps and prisons. I saw the men and conditions first-hand. I had daily detailed reports of every event of importance. I wrestled with army men at Washington and in camps. I got well-rounded experience. My own brief imprisonment of a year as an objector was served in a comparatively comfortable civil prison in New Jersey about which I have no complaint. I speak, therefore, even more objectively of what my friends and comrades in the military prisons underwent.

Here as in other lands, so little seems to have come out of the valiant protest these men made. They testified dramatically to the inhumanity of the army, to the inevitable degradation of prison life, to the heartlessness of a system which will kill men to break their resistance to its authority. But the system goes on unchanged for their protest. Men are still shackled in the same dungeons; conscription is even more secure as a means for raising an army in time of war.

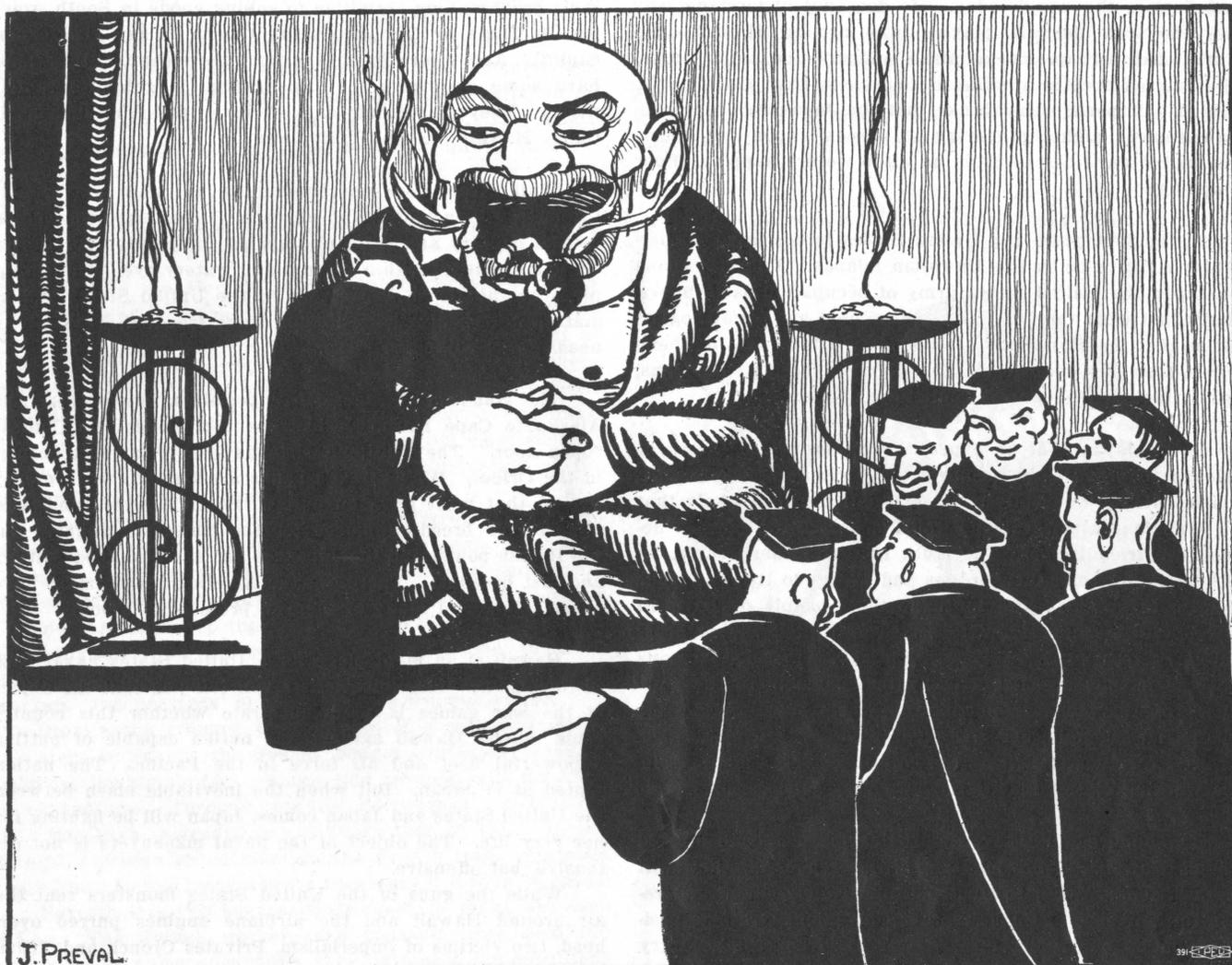
Yet two benefits have come out of the fire of this conflict. First, these few hundred men stood resolute either for



ORAL JAMES STATES THE CASE FOR 2,000 STRIKING PRISONERS—LEAVENWORTH, JAN. 1919.



IMMERSED IN FILTH OF LATRINES



Juanita Preval

“THE SUPREME COURT HAS DONE ITS BEST FOR US IN THE MATTER OF CHILD LABOR”
 (From a circular sent out by Cotton Manufacturers' Association)

A Dress Rehearsal For War

By T. J. O'Flaherty

CAPITALIST journalists grew lyrical as the steel armada of the United States steamed from its base to participate in the dress rehearsal for the coming war with Japan. A frenzy of jingoism swept through the capitalist editorial rooms of the nations as the floating bulldogs of Wall Street growled defiance at the foe on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. As the mighty monsters of steel churned the waters on their journey to the Hawaiian Islands, where the war games were to be held, American imperialism was serving notice that it was out to conquer the Pacific and would tolerate no rivals.

The Hawaiian Islands are situated in the middle of the Pacific. Though useful from a profit-making point of view,

it is because of their strategic value that the United States is so concerned about strengthening the islands' defense. They are distant 2,000 miles from San Francisco and 3,400 miles from Yokohama, Japan. Hawaii is 4,700 miles from Manila Bay and a little over 4,000 miles from Sydney, Australia. It is 3,850 miles from Auckland, New Zealand and 2,780 miles from the nearest point in Siberia. It is called the "Hub of the Pacific."

* * * *

The average American worker who takes the Constitution as seriously as he does the fiction that this is a free country for him, spurns the suggestion that the American government is the directing power of the lustiest and most powerful im-

well address is now as defunct as the declaration of independence and the clause in the Constitution guaranteeing the right of free speech and free assemblage. Finance capitalism claims the world as its country and to make profits its religion. The battleships are following the dollar. The American eagle is indeed the king of all predatory birds. It is out

to conquer the world. But there is a power it cannot conquer and that is the power of the working class which is growing up side by side with imperialism. And the advance guard of this mighty power is Soviet Russia which is girding its loins for the coming struggle between the forces of capitalism and labor for the conquest of the earth.

Herriot and the Heroic French Bourgeoisie

THE fall of the Herriot government in France writes a final chapter on the period of social pacifism symbolized by the Herriot-MacDonald combination in the forefront of European affairs. Herriot and his polite British colleague played the role of shock absorbers in the clash between the workers and their class enemies; they served capitalism well, by smoothing over the roughness of the class struggle and by helping to divert the aroused determination of the workers into illusory channels.

In connection with the switch from Herriot to the Painlevé-Briand-Caillaux ministry, three things come uppermost to mind: (1) the economic and financial breakdown of France; (2) the refusal of the French capitalists to bear any considerable share of the brunt of economic and financial rehabilitation; (3) the refusal of the Socialists to unite with the Communist Party in this situation to create a workers' and peasants' bloc against the bourgeois bloc.

Despite the crooked bookkeeping of a whole series of ministers of finance the French budget cannot be made to balance; the simple fact remains that revenue falls far short of expenditure. Through repeated borrowings, the national debt has been increased to ten times that of 1913. In the face of unprecedented inflation, the French franc continues to decline. Heroic measures are necessary if it is to be saved.

Nevertheless the bourgeoisie refuses to make any sacrifices. The French workers and peasants have seen the cost of living going up steadily, they have seen the conditions of labor reduced to desperate extremes, but capital and the big capitalists have remained untouched. Herriot's proposal for a tax on capital as the only way out met the united opposition of the financial oligarchy in France. That was the rock on which the policy of social pacifism foundered. Francois Marsal, the principal representative of high finance and heavy industry, made the attack which culminated in Herriot's resignation.



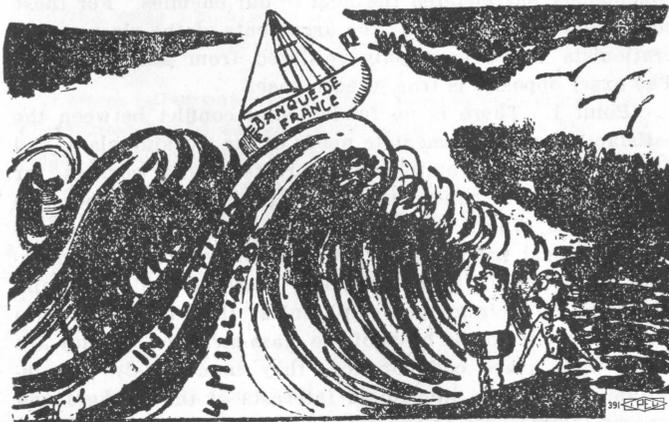
PAINLEVÉ

The situation showed itself in, and was itself in many aspects a reflection of an intensification of the direct clash of class forces in France. With the composition of the French chamber of deputies as it is, a thoroughgoing reversion to the extreme right was not possible. Another "left" cabinet was created, but in it was included no less prominent a figure of reaction than Aristide Briand. And of course Caillaux is included too. The French bourgeoisie saw in Caillaux the financial wizard in whom they were obliged to place their hopes; they were willing to forget all their wartime differences with this condemned "arch traitor" if only he would find some way to save the drowning franc, without interfering with their accumulated capital.

And what do the "Socialists" do when confronted with this new, fake grouping of the "left bloc?" They simply go along with it.

When the Communist Party proposes to make a united front with the Socialists and to create a workers' and peasants' bloc against the bourgeois bloc, the Socialist Party disdained to even send a reply.

—M. G.



ON THE BILLOW

to be practical, we must have labor banks, Hillman policies, etc.

Collaboration of classes is the practice that arises from the theory that the working class and the capitalist class have some common interests that enable them to work peacefully together to the benefit of both. This practice turns out to be, in reality, the surrender of the working class to the capitalist class, and its deliverance to the tender mercies of its enemy. It finds its institutional expression in the B. & O. Plan, labor banks in the present form, the Civic Federation, etc.

Hardman is a former Communist who is turning his talents toward helping confuse the workers as to what is the theory and practice of class collaboration, one who has become the handservant of reaction.

Nearing is a former liberal who is painfully fighting his way toward the position of Communism, of the relentless struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, but who has not worked out as yet all the implications of his position.

Class-conscious workers will know how to refute the sophistries of Hardman, accept the co-operation of Nearing and help to correct his errors, and continue to rally ever larger masses of the American working class for revolutionary struggle and against the vicious practices of class collaboration in the trade unions of this country.

Poems by Jim Waters

"CANNED"

TO hell with you!
You ain't the whole earth,
Not by a damn sight!

You sneak around shaking your fat paunch shouting:
"I'm losing money . . . hurry-up . . . pull-out . . .
"Step-on-it!" . . . and you "can" anybody that talks back.
I've seen your kind before—always losing money—
Riding in limousines, showing off on the golf links,
And talking open shop at the Union Club.
On Sunday you go to church and tell everybody
What a nice employer you are . . .
On Monday you go blue in the face cursing your men.
You can't bull-doze me!

To hell with you!
You ain't the whole earth,
Not by a damn sight!

SPRING POEM

SPRING is here
And the first rays of the sun
Slip fingers of warmth into the fetid slums;
The miasmal ooze of streets and alleys
Fills the nostrils with nauseous odors
That are vibrant with the music
Of thunderous church bells;
The tenements spew forth a flood of humanity,
Awkwardly dressed and solemn, that slips

Through the ducts of palatial churches;
At Fifth and Canal street,
The Rt., Reverend Percy Larder Livewell
Moves his hungry worshippers to tears
By pronouncing benedictions on the worthy,
And distorting his fat face in a caricature
Of the suffering and livid Christ.

O, spring is here,
And the miasmal ooze of streets and alleys
Fills the nostrils with nauseous odors.

PUBLIC SQUARE

(Cleveland, Ohio)

COME sit in my lap, and welcome,
You ragged sons of toil, you vagrant,
You prostitute, you drunk, you beggar;
I see more in you than objects for scorn:
You are red prayers, symbols of a new Dawn.

Come mount this rostrum, you radical;
Hurl your biting words of castigation
Into the sensitive flesh of smug plutocracy;
Fill the souls of these despised shards
With the rhythmic beat of revolt;
Your protesting voice means more to me
Than the labored rhetoric of politicians.

Come, gather here in welcome, my children,
For I am the Mother-heart of this city
Whose breast is aching with expectation.



Sylvester Jerreux

omous language. But the workers will not be driven away from the only Party which fights their battles by the abuse of renegades.

A Novelist Views Russia

The Romance of New Russia, by Magdelaine Marx. Thomas Seltzer, New York, \$2.00.

COINCIDENTLY, the writer happened to read Berkman's book on Russia and Magdelaine Marx's "The Romance of New Russia." The difference in approach of the two authors is remarkably instructive.

The anarchist's conception of the social revolution and the society to be born after it, is much like that of the religious conception of the way to heaven. Capitalism will die, and society will wake up the next morning to find itself in a heaven on earth. There must be no growth of the social paradise, no ruins left from the old order; everything must be swept clean and life automatically become perfect. Because Berkman arrived in Russia in 1920, three years after the Bolshevik revolution, and found that heaven on earth was a comparatively long way off, he threw up his hands and returned to the capitalist world where he would feel more at home. His book is filled with petty complaints, evidence gathered from conversations with speculators, disgruntled petty bourgeois, deposed intellectuals, and the like. He makes no attempts to give a picture of the accomplishments of the proletarian revolution on a large scale.

In strong contrast to this is Mme. Marx's book. Her original intention was to gather facts and figures, weigh advantages against disadvantages, and bring her conclusion to the rest of the world. But, she says in her book:

"I discarded my figures, facts and documents; I let eyes speak, living pulsating youth, toiling hands, crowds, quivering voices—the whole an image of de-

liverance larger than an entire nation and assuming the form of a single being.

"My figures were correct enough, but life blotted them out with its pictures. The pictures alone were true."

And the pictures are not only true but beautiful. They have depth and breadth, life and vigor. Poverty, suffering, pain are all there. But something new is growing up, something young and fresh and sturdy.

Take for instance the picture of Masha, the peasant woman. In the old days there was drunkenness, squalor, beatings, depressing old Slavic prayers, submission to the barin. . . degradation. Today there is poverty also. Oh, yes, there will be poverty for some time to come. But now Masha has books, lectures, reconstructive work in the village . . . self-respect. At the end of her visit with Masha, Mme. Marx presents her with a few articles. For a moment the old slave Masha rises up and she grovels before her benefactress, but the next moment, the new Masha, the Masha that was born since the October days, rises up with a look of shame in her eyes and kicks the old Masha into the dust.

There are many more pictures—of Lenin, Trotsky, Kolontay, Krupskaya and others. Zorin, the worker-propagandist is the subject of a chapter inspiring in its simplicity.

The book ends with a picture of some aristocratic refugees escaping from the little isolated world they had built for themselves in the midst of the seething life of new Russia. Their conversation is a dribble of trifling complaints—three rooms for two women instead of twelve, most of their jewels gone, vulgar workers running the government, table no longer loaded down with delicacies, no rich wines. . . ad infinitum, ad nauseum.

—Ida Dailes.

A Pledge to Free China from Imperialist Rule



VANCOUVER, CANADA—CANADIAN COMMUNISTS AND CHINESE RESIDENTS HOLD CEREMONY FOR SUN YAT SEN



PHILADELPHIA, PA.—WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA UNITES WITH LOCAL BRANCH OF KUOMING-TANG TO HONOR DEAD LEADER OF CHINESE MASSES