In the Flames of Revolt Twenty Years Ago

EDITOR'S NOTE:-In connection with the 20th anniversary of the revolution of 1905 we published this series of word nictures of the revoparticipated in the events of that time. This is the sixth and final

By M. A. SKROMNY. Reminiscences of the Revolutionary Days of 1906, by an old Rebel.)

naught.

The Russian Social-Democratic Labread party remained underground offices for whom it was intended ladd
altho legal newspapers of the party
made their appearance. The dumn made their appearance. The duma printsnops were too big ann had too was called and issolved by order of many windows. It would require too the care. The duma was too revol-many neople to raid any one of them. the car. The duma was too revolves unionary for him altho it was may people to raid any one of them truthed the control of the flower of the ferring the control of the flower of the fl

VI.

We Make * Raid.

THIS pay over the "constitution" was the possible for the constitution of the victory of to Uniform the followed the Raid for the possible for the constitution of the victory of Uniform the Victory of Unifor connuential documents of the second of the s

"What about! There is no other refused to accord anything He variety of the committee of the He was finised a member of the Boyersy Otzial. (military organiza statistics) and the second of a job it was I told him that the was taking about, and he knew to the decided by the lower the first committee of the Party, and that the first committee decided to do it. The organization of the party o

Research Department Book Reviews

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CLASS STRUGGLE. By FARL R BROWDER

way. We made use of everything to show up the care's acknown and the blowew Orthology of the chare's acknown and the blowew Orthology of the combrow of the care. It cannot be the combrow of the care. It cannot be the combrow of the dissolved dum collected at Y-brer. Plands, which at that lim of the raid saw worked out, a chart of the constitutional desired that the constitutional desired the short first the received the Raisian empire. Among them were also the constitutional desired the short first the received the received the constitutional desired the short first the received the received the received the received the short first the received the

Social Classes in Post-War Europe." by Lothrop Stoddard, New
York, Charles Scribner's, Sons. 1925. Strade unnen debetation on Russia

The New Magazine

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1925 -290

Mr. Gompers Turns Over in His Grave



Mr. Compers, dead one year, hears a rumbling noise above.

Who Is Santa Claus?

IN the Middle Ages all "Christendom" had holidays galore. The year boomed by the church and the newspapers. Only Christmas remains customs but tagged with the name of some holy saint of the Roman Jesus' birthday remains. But poor Jesus has been crowded out

done. Protestantism cleared away most of this junk of rejoicing sweat and grinding toil at wage labor.

the birthday of a pagan god, transformed into the birthday of the basiness every year thruout "christendom"; the barjanay or a pagent great spring festival transformed into — Christmas is a holiday with which the capitalist social structure

preserved as a part of the superstructure of capitalist secrety. Not case for its retail merchants on the margin of wages of the working only useful for repairing the morale of capitalism; also directly use class ful to business in certain fives. Laster falls on a Sanday motor day. Who is Santa Claus? Santa Claus is a symbol of retrifiteade is lost from toil, and the spring clothing and milliony trade is

was cut up into innumerable festival days, borrowed from pagan of the "holy days" on which the poor toiler gets a chance to loaf.

by Santa Claus. It wouldn't do for Marshall Field and company to But how could factories run profitably if well nigh half the days here an unemployed worker to parade in front of the store in red of the years were given over to religious festivals? It couldn't be coat and false whiskers as a lure to bargain hunters. The lean and bungry booking, the dolorous Jesus of the church with his crown of and feasting, and made way for a year composed mostly of days of thorns had to give way to the fat and prosperous Jesus of the de-(partment store Santa Claus.

Who is Santa Claus? For surely no one can dispute the reality Very few of the "holy days" were left hardly any more than of a saint who drums up a hundred million or so of dollars worth of

thirty got design and no pagar grow from the dead. Christmas and absorbs some of the shocks incidental to the system of slavery, throws over the mind of the worker a haze of illusion of universal Christmas and Easter are weful to capitalism. They have been good will in a blood thirsty social system, and absorbs a good busi-

(Continued on page 2)

Who Is Santa Claus?

Santa Claus for the workers is a successful cocaine peddler. Santa Claus for the working class child is a mystic symbol of the boss for WHEN Senator Sergio Osmena, whom he is to slave when he is grown up in the years to come—a avmbol of the big. fat, benevolent boss at the apex of society, without commission of Independence to the whose good will it is impossible to be happy, from whom all good United States, visited Chicago, Prof. been done thus far." things flow. For the business man Santa Claus is the second begotten Edwin A. Burtt, professor of philoson, of god, who is crucified, dead and buried, and resurrected each suphy at the University of Chicago. year for the redemption of the retail trade. And for many, on the was on the program and delivered in the continued doclity of the Filledges of all classes - Santa Claus is a bootlegger.

Hooray for Santa Claus!

Foreign I vestments and the Y. M. C. A.

Nailed to the "Y"

of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Will's it that the greater the foreign in the source of many contracts of the contract of the

eign investments of the American A secretary trained in boargeets uni-copitalists is attested to by the conmorphism of the conmorp

HY is it that the greater the for Now that there is over an accountries source of the United in Latin American countries stockholders.

lets they are not so quick to see be-land the lineocent face of the "let" The Y. M. C. A. is apparently har-is secretaries and behind the pale, blond The Y. M. C. A. is apparently har-beard of Jesus the stilne of the cap- ing more success with the colonial for finished products. Such jewels peoples than it has in the United in distant seas are not relinquished ar industry is still in its infancy "Men are coming to realise that is States where its character is more refoundations or examined the church we possess a social asset; as agree precise. Under the gine of agree production, but the church we possess a social asset; as agree precise. Under the gine of agree production of the procession of plunder for predictions, for the procession of the procession of plunder for predictions, for the procession of th

this band of prayerful skypilots who knowing the language of the natives "at the crossroad of the greatest farvet behind the American money is no mean agent for the extension of trade routes of the future." Anyone America gets \$15,000,000 worth of can reach the same conclusion by studying a map of Asia and its ethic uses. \$5.000,000 worth of copra-virons, showing the numerous islands of interesting the community and \$5.000,000 worth of copra-virons, the control of the control ivostok, the Pacific port of Soviet

en fleece any more energetically than American capital hunts new fields for righter growing. Haven, First ubber growing. Harvey Firestone. head of the Firestone Tire and Rub becoming the flunkeys of the profi head of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. of Akron, Ohio, a close friend and collaborator of Henry Ford hoth. Bulber, oil, sucar and other collections. boon comparions of Coolings, has just modifies the trade in which invested \$160,000,000,000 in rabber with profits these are somplantations in Liberia, Africa's Negro Sarous that are helping tight a republic. Governor General Leonard Stip of the United States appear Wood, in his annual report on the Chilippenes. It is not " Philippines, urges the exploration of word used by the Chicag Finingpases, sinces the exploration of work used by the Chicago Laiver-eighter revening in these issuints. His professor, that prevents the Various Vest of the grap that Geral Instant. It is promise of soil reversion to the son world rather production and Fillment. It is the worlds of the issuint midwary for laids, susceptible of an increasing exceptional the processor of the production of the secondary American Indiany for laids, susceptible of an increasing exceptional the great automobile systematics. to specially the great discountries. But there is the additional reason raw material. The United States that the Philippiness constitute an consumes asventy per cent of the Am rican fort in the orient the solly world's production of crade rubber in growth from which to conduct the Seventy jet cent of all crade rubber conquest of oriental nations, the amwoman per can of all center rather conquest of oriental nations, the ambient of Wall Street imperate in its labing Great Britain to limit the one of Wall Street imperate in its labing Great Britain to limit the one of Wall Street imperate in its labing of the control of the Great-Appear annually is exacted from the capital lists of the United States. With the propert of developing rather rather than the Wall States with the Philippines. Leonard Wood will not be commelted to labor the commelted to labor the Comment of the Comm

RUBBER. OIL. SUGAR AND TRADE ROUTES

BY I TOUTE ENGRAHI

himself of this wisdom:

Philippines quite by accident, and it seems that it is only an accident that

Scienter Osmera did not resent tills **\frac{1}{2} guarantees, however, and it does interpretation of the reason why not intend to invest great sums in American imperialism has remained the Philippines without knowing the in the Philippines these past twenty definite status of the islands. Thus seven years, gradually strunthening. Newton W. Gilbert, former vicesposen years, gradually strunthening. ANOTHER ARTICLE ON THE Y. M. C. A. BY HARRY GANNES them more susceptible of exploitation, the Pilipinos unable to govern them-WHY is it that the greater the for Now that there is over \$825,000.000 source of dividends for absentee would be compelled to remain there

islands and failure to appreciate the American capitalism.

American Reasons for Remaining in the Philippines.

importance of giving all possible encouragement to agriculture, fishheading the Sixth Philippine possibilities for the development of

pino worker as follows

"The United States got into the "Labor in the Philippines is ade-

we remain there,"

Senator Osmena did not resent this A guarantees, however, and it does for thirty or forty years. That sounds

00, which isn't large when compared to the huge American purchases in Cuba. But it is growing. The su-

it uses: \$5,000,000 worth of

So 12,000 soldiers stand watch ever Jason did not search for the gold- the Philippines in the interests of Wall Street's business. Five thousand

"There is still a lamentable lack Such aid is part for their own string of interest in the proper development of the natural resources of the trom the same enslaving power.

The Land of Gold and Diamonds

the country in which he had been born and had passed most of his life.

"Yes," he responded. "An interesting country but hell for the native work country, but hell for the native work."

The mine properties are all surrounded by high stockades, a special country but hell for the native work.

The mine properties are all surrounded by high stockades, a special country but hell for the native work. The mine properties are all surrounded by high stockades, a special country but hell for the native work. The mine properties are all surrounded by high stockades, a special country but hell for the native work.

said, have improved on the peonage to sleep. bot is Nucoded, the manager reports the fact either to a government of the workely is from seven in the life life fact either to a government of the manager to a fraction of the chief of each of ea

tive Negro population, refuse to work to shillings for two weeks' work (\$15 in the mines unless forced to. Their to \$25 a month). living. In addition, a tax equivalent to nearly \$10 a family has been laid

The "Superiority" of the White. on the natives. This drives a very large number of them into the mines. So far, indeed, is this "superiority"

Sold Into Slavery.

the part of the dark wing of very content of the co

mile or more in area depending on never partonized by the whites.

He paused a moment and then conthe extensiveness of the workings

The work day is from seven in the ambeis of his tribe.

The Kaffirs, who comprise the naWages for the blacks run from 30 to

anotted them are insunctent for their workers, as might be expected. If the needs. Consequently some of each native remarks about the price, how tribe must seek elsewhere for their ever, he gets a blow in the face and

of the whites enforced that Negroes are not allowed on the streets after The Negroes are delivered over to hine o'clock at night without a ner-The Nextness are delivered over to linic o'clock at night without a per-the managers in loss of one hundred, mit, and on no account after one just like a burie, of cortle or any o'clock in the morning. A native, there are no managers are not to be a set of the cort months are made with each man. The matrixe, henge entirely understand, error you who are above ust." (or, som whatever as placed before them, to they seek in every possible way forced serverility is carried to faminate sign wall-over a possible way to the state in every possible way to except the mines and will work for a more pittanes and will work for a more pittanes at any other time the man were to kill a Neron in the press.

WillO is Mr. Yookum? Well, prin-about a hand-medown national man may be the press. Well a Neron in the a more puttance at any other kind of a job. This makes it position for most of a black policionam, the latter white fellows who fill the positions of posity foremen, e.e. to hite the blacks have to summen the white police for almost nothing and unload all the drys and month tasks upon them silicer even interfere with the black that purpose, nor could the colored drys and month tasks upon them silicer even interfere with the beat constant. The result is the drawing of very ing up of a native if done by an Ea-sharp and distinct lines of separation ropean. The native police are not between the fifty to sixty thousand even allowed to live in the cities but

oming the Out in a little mountain will he similarly of uring the of Furtherwald, two hours, where in thermany

marked man ever after, bed never to war. The low towesternative many than the paper says, takes his life into his band. Yet with its form halfs was constructed into thousands of the very best elements of their horroxics. All Sinday in rims on tike to question but for years (extrainly a policiatistic new and we more and more arrived until when the has been an arterial telement of the paper says. men on equal footing are enrolling parade as milet it numbered more for the open fight. They march along than Sord and took twelve minutes to men on equal norms.

The most habite than Soo and took twelve minutes has recently no most on the trialst commerce commission testing the Receipt many the Rece the count of the country of the coun

By JAMES H. DOLSEN.

And the source of the enurrous supprended from meat lones and the South African labor party prodifficulty of replacing them. Strike the regardles thrown gram, dominated by reactionary offbreakers must be imported principale in. the chancks of beef and the bones late, for the contrasting of the contrasting of the contrasting of the contrasting of the contrasting which he had been selected to the contrast of the contrasting which he had been selected to the contrasting of the contrasting of the contrasting which he had been selected to the contrasting the contrasting of the contrasting of the contrasting the contrasting the contrasting of the contrasting the contrasting of the contrasting of the contrasting the contrasting the contrasting of the contrasting the contrasting the contrasting of the contrasting the no variation in the service. However, their monopoly of skilled labor and should the Negroes get tired of this supervisory jobs drives them to keep

apart. Tactics of "divide and co

in the miner unless forced to. Their inches are few and were explicit and a set of them are but into remode are few and were explicit and a set of them are but into relever, they have been herded into reservations, each or they on its own and company stores within just the properties of them are but into reservations, each or they on its own and the company stores within just the properties of the prope comprehension of the size of the ingold and diamonds is indeed the only watched the smoke rings from his onsiderable industry in South Africa. due in part to the heavy far laid by the British government upon new industrial establishments and in part to workers? I mean both races?" I the fact that practically no labor asked adaptable to factory work is avail-

He passed a moment and there can be street verses of the working through in a verse correct verse of the street verse ve the misescent of South Africa.

The misescent of South Africa and the state improved on the posture of south of the state or. This fact must be learned by the

> Tremendous difficulties attend the organization of the Negro workers. The white miners, who are really Pew of them are at all educated and

> > back his chair and abstractedly cigar disappear in the air.

His eyes gleamed. "Only worldrevolution and the-proletarian dicta-An interesting political reflex of the torship will settle our problems. conomic situation is the demand in That's why I'm a Communist.

MR. YOAKUM'S KIND OF HOAKUM

bone of contention that is liable to split the farmers' co-operative move-

Then do no acree on the proteins that continued for organization of the Continued from page 61 by train from herin, the local police for which they lave to 12-on them had detiminated themselves by crass excess and whose ones they stand bright against the workers. In respective, and whose ones they stand the standard against the workers, in respective, and whose ones they stand to be standard traditions the keep. The strangle in the standard continued to the standard peak situation of the RF if, devided to instruct on the color and believe from the tops continued to the present the strangle of the strangle in the strangle of the st

railroads and their policies. Only

question?"

ment of the great west wide open. On the other hand the Kansas We would not be surprised if he is Union Farmer, which goes to 25,000 not a stalking horse for Herbert Farmer Union readers, speaks very Hoover for president. He of course, differently of Mr. Yoakum. That pa super-trend and drive. The stration of the addition of succe and salt. Sup-justice stream of the strategy of the addition of succe and salt. Sup-just is a registration of breaking that, the mind all farmers orientations. The farms super-so of the farmers of t

friend Hoover and his relief trains class over there into the hands of the present butcher of that nation Birds

which he maintained that it is not. We loope that by the next national rate, but middlements grog, invention they will have seek the first, that is burdening agriculture. If Mr. Yoakum is: whelehearted with the out for a united front and form for the farmer, why does he always assembled in the horizontal them. fly to the rescue of the railroads. I can over have the ware workers of Farmers are suffering from the ex- th mation and the world. The Youk actions of the raifroad as well as ums, we agree with the Nebruakia eff-from the middlemen. Is it possible to, are boakeim, and the sooner the that Mr. Yoakum, with his raifroad farmors find it out the bester.

The "Red Front" of the German C. P.

union, cooperative, sport club, wo as the vanguard of the workers in men's clubs—all these are well night more clubs—all these are well night more considered to the control of cambra-time country and the confidered that the club activity, seems confined thus far the thin activity, seems confined thus far the club values, and recruiting ryround, Dawes plan stabilization resulted in to the kaiser's old recruiting ground, and that is the Red Front Fighters Bund. This organization's activities all columns of space in the Communist Party press, and they send shivers

Red Front Fighters in meetings. parades, demonstrations, litera-The sometimes flippant attitude of some old party leaders toward this movement was one of the major points in their recent indictments by the Comintern. The R. F. B. figure prominently in present party discussions. Good or no good? Permanent or ephemeral? What really is this much-discussed "Rote Front"?

He wears distinctive yet not uncommon garb, a green-gray linen jacket and a peaked can Look close in the darkness and you will see a red arm-band, embroidered in black worn low

with Communist posters. Elsewhere fight. with Community posters. Elsewhere and the community of th

by WILLIAM F. KRUSE. but the sense that our sensities charge to the community papers, like in the sacrifices and struggles of the control of these in America and eleven-R Razslan prolecteriat. This is a speniarous much space to the activities of various vorting class organizations. Party, youth section, trade the control of the workers in the control of the contro partial employment and a subsiding of the revolutionary wave, the various fascist bands became more and more

brazen in their attacks on the workers. The more militant elements were singled out for decrimination-Com-Honaries.

Every day and every night one finds the elements that could fight back. tooth and nail. Right out of the shops and factories thus defensive shock troop of the proletariat sprang forth, ary leaders in the reichstag demand their suppression, even at a time when the party itself enjoys a nominal lemann, Communist Party presidential candidate, became its honorary commauder. From a few handfuls it grew into the thousands and tens of thousands, the cream of the working class and especially of the working youth.

Disarm Fascists The "strong-arm squads" of the fas

cists were disarmed, spanked and sent OME to a Communist municipal home when they came around to ad-Come to a Communist municipal nome when they came around to acevery intersection, one sees an unob-strusive young ider with a bicycle, and martial bearing of these thousands of militant proletarians gave new courage to the workers and threw consternation into the camp of the enemy. And well they might. During the summer groups of from ten to down on the right sleeve. The young-a hundred hiked out into the country aters stand there for hours, motionless distributing literature to the farmers except for their ever-roving eyes—
and villagers. About twenty of our boys came upon as many fascists secretly engaged in army rifle target In front of the hall, the ever pres- practice, made a surprise attack, dis-

into the street, four abreast. Hun- tants and the armed braves of the Into the street, four abreast. Hun-; tanks and the armeet braves of time dreds of bystanders join the process monarchists, two of our boys on point of the process monarchists, two of our boys on point of the process the parade has gone a block or more fascists. The R. F. B. in such cases from the hall the sullen police dis. as this makes tremendous propaganda perse the remainder of the crowd. It by calling for a united front of all the place of the greeting by touch goes unresistingly now that it van-working class elements in shops and ing the hand to the headplece they guard is no longer there. factories to fight back this anti-label substitute the threatening 'projectarviolence, and despite the crawfishing, ian greeting, of the raised clenched HOTLY contested working class of the right wing labor leaders the section. A long fence covered working masses respond to the call to

in the content of the particules of 1918 and process and particular of the particular of 1918 and process and particular of the particular of 1918 and process and particular of the particular munist members constituting less than 40 per cent, bedies a significant protection. The "Roter Jungaturm," in which the Communists constitution from the Rote Jungaturm, in committees, etc. So the Communists constitution for officer Jungaturm, in committees, etc. So the Communists and the second of the R. F. R. It is not after conjulation for struggle, not one case the second of the second of the rote of the second of the rote of the r willing but anxious to fight—no won. Seed international to the condition of the condition o



In local of the half, the ever present half does or more policious marked and marched then black to the state of the state

The masters are very much perturb-

"The whole organization is milltaristically constituted. They have a 'Manual at Arms' with report, execution and saluting regulations. In military pattern. A 'Gau' is equivalent to a division or army corps, a

if the reactionaries are becoming faittee party tangy man maintain a very gradual ranged.

Not "Made in Moscow."

Not "Made in Moscow."

Nill's movement was not built to order. It was not waste out when, in the ourse of a Roll cal epithemy of the Roll cal epithemy with the results of the Roll cal epithemy with the results of the Roll cal epithemy with the results of the Roll call epithemy with the results are resulted to the Roll call epithemy with the resu

Front homeward march, we encount diers," disregarding entirely the ef ered a band of perhaps sixty young fective immediate physical protection republicans under strapping military it affords to Communist Party activious leadership and with silken black-redity, as well as the political value of its gold banners flapping over their united front among the young factory

is a potential troop leader. Just be-fore disbanding a parade a young ed over this situation. The Madge leader wanted to show off his provess by some special fancy marching. His second command was incorrect and a roar of laughter went up from the ranks, and he himself joined in it. admitted his mistake and stepped back into the ranks to make room for private carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack." (But in a different, a very different sense).

Henry's Slave Pen at Hegewish-A Letter from the Slaves

Workers in the Ford Motor cor pany plant at Hegewisch, Ill., a suburb of Chicago.)

THE Ford Motor Co.'s plant is avenue, Hogewisch, Ill. Those who happen to work in it call it the "slave pen." Henry Ford is the exar Russian monarchists. The superintendents and foremen are slave drivers. The workers are the slaves

"Speed. Speed!"

There is a blackboard in each shop Every hour the workers must mark on II the number of parts they have produced during the hour. If any one of the slaves is not fast enough, the slave driver (the foreman) tells him "Hurry up! Show some speed! Don't you know the Ford system:

Speed! Speed! Speed!"
Then there is an order by the su perintendent: The slave must be on the job at 7 39 in the morning. The slave who is late even a few minutes not to be allowed to work. He loses a day.

Joses a day.

Another order: The slaves will have only twenty minutes for lunch. It used to be thirty minutes. Henry hour day in his factories. Let imtit used to be thirty minutes). Henry libur day in his factories. Let the Nord complies with the law so he world know that in September add provides his shoppy with want probable his made us stayer teacher. But there is no time even to want, hours a day and did not pay a femile hands, so the slaves are comen for overrine. Let the world for the lands were stationed some of the world.

to the Dearborn Independent.

Henry Ford is a elever man: The system teaches the workers the impaper does not cost him a cent. In portance and advantage of organizapaper does not cost him a built. In portaine and advantage of organiza-fact, he makes a profit out of their works. The integrity of the two their state of their works and the profit of the state of the state of the workers. The national majority of the state of the workers. The brackers in ladge-deal writes the state of the workers. against the foreign-born. The work want: They burn this paper as soon as they

But, while in the slave pen, the workers are compelled to keep their mouths shut. Henry Ford has his All grievances to spies speaking among the workers, the shop committee. listening in and reporting to the of-free any one who darve speak against the system. Beling unable to speak. To hell with the Dearborn indepentheir thoughts, the workers write. Some one writes on the blackboard: "FORD PLANT-SLAVERY."

One can find things written by the subscribe. workers about Ford and his system |



The Slave to the Slave's Wife: "Mark on the wall how many shirts you wash an hour. The Wife: "Where do you get that stuff?" The Slave: "I learnt'it from Henry Ford."

An eight-hour day: no overtime. Away with the spy system. A workers' shop committee in each

A workers' plant committee. All grievances to be taken up by

provides his shop with wash rooms. But there is no time even into time or too time even to some or too time even to some or too time or too time even to some or too time or too time or too the starteness of the sole of the

Read Henry's Duck.

Not only does Ford enable to the distrety under which they do more being of his workers, but their mixed as well. Heary Ford gives on the workers, but their mixed as well. Heary Ford gives on the workers, but their mixed as well. Heary Ford gives on the workers are sufficiently as a stiff fight to the Save for the delegate representing the workers. Here 35.00 for two sufficients of the Save for the delegate representing the services of the save for the delegate representing the services of the save for the delegate representing the services. Here 35.00 for two sufficients of the Save for the delegate representing the services of the save for the delegate representing the services of the save for the delegate representing the services of the save for the delegate representing the services of the save for the delegate representing the save for the delegate representing the save for th

dent? And the slaves must bring and slaves and other working dent? And the slaves must bring and slaves and other working dent. The slave share the slave must bring the slave must be slave and the slave and the slave must be slave and the s he stried to 340by such methods by Sigman's face turned pate. He was defenie rope beariers, by placing freembling the a cat on less He had been such as the such a

> rountine Sigman reasselessly threaten, demiation of one of my most loyal el that he would by means of the posservants, Yanofsky, who stood side thee, "protect" the convention hall by side with me in the most difficult from any oursish by visitors. No one limes, I'll show you that I am still in believed It, tho for it was that that preserved and what I can do. It I can be seen to be supported to the protection of the state of the s he surely had not as yet forgotten the not act in an organizational manner, lesson he had so bitterly learned in then I will act thru hard police, and New York, when he used the police to this will prove that when the /Ukas' have the membership of the union obey his "ukas."
>
> Again this Mr. Sigman appointed

on art. Signan proved to be us. Immed as president of the Interna-der the impression that people had changed since the New York experi-sione. He scale began to apply his old methods according to which when lone that not be the since the size of the size of the beautiful to the size of the size of the beautiful to the size of the size of the beautiful to the beautiful to the beautiful to the beautiful to b But Mr. Sigman proved to be un-To hell with the Dearbern integer of the North Control of the North Cont

Yound Sigman's power to Keep visiting you are against me, that you despise members of the units out of the ball, me: yet I tolerated your presence. From the very first day of the con-

himself as president of the Interna-

worker shoul be discharged for the walk.

"OBJANDOR AND FOND—BULL"

Many of the workers understand that Ford and Coolings are to the treated with the form and the same capital sit system which engineers and the same capital sit system which engineers the same capital site of the system and the same capital site of the system and the same capital site of the system and the system and the same capital site of the system and the syst

About Co-operative Societies

IT appears to me that we pay all too little atten tion to the co-operative. Not all of us realize that now, since the October revolution-and not at all impaired by the new economic policy con the contrary, we must say just because of the new economic policy) -co-operation has attained dominating importance among i.s. There is much phantasy in the day-dreams of the old co-operators. They are often a ridiculously phantas tie folk. To what is their phantastic nature due? To the circumstance that these people do not understand the fundamental importance of the no litical fight of the working class for the over throw of the exploiters' rule. For us this over dreams of the old co-operators has become the most naked reality.

Among us, where the state power is in the hands of the working class, and where all the means of production belong to this state power. the only problem which remained was the actual formerly were regarded with a justifiable smile of indulgence by those who were-rightly enufpeasant, the merchant, and the principle of pritrary to the usual opinion) the tremendous im-

Precisely this circumstance has been underesti mated by many of our practical officials. Co-operation receives negligent treatment at our hands We do not realize of what extraordinary impor-

other thing to learn how this socialism should be know how to trade as Europeans. They are still the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class. Chinese eyes, "The kid here is treating;" practically so developed that each small peasant an entire epoch from the latter goal. can take part in this development. We have already reached this stage. It is beyond doubt that now, after having reached it, we are making all too little use of it.

free trade too much elbow-room, but that we for- form of "premium" (and the conditions of grantgot to think of co-operation, that we now underling it) with which we can satisfactorily assist the sides of this question.

I now want to discuss with the reader what now can and must be practically done when one starts out from this "co-operative" principle. With what means can and must we set to work to develop this "co operative" principle so that it socialist importance becomes apparent to every

interest rate, etc.) Cooperation must be lent that expected in which the means that funds to an amount that exceeds, even only be little, the funds lent to private enterprivate enterpriva even heavy industry, etc.

throw has taken place and now much of what was
the real sense of the word, i. e., it does not suffice ministral, very ministral, state capitalism of which
phantastic or even impossibly romantic in the
to understand by this the support of all co operat. I spoke as I introduced the reader to the new ive intercourse. As this support we must under economic policy. Secondly, for me the practical stand the support of co-operative intercourse in goal was always important. And the practical intercourse is doubtless correct. But this partici- ever these concessions would represent the pure its quality-and that is the heart of the question, my comment on state capitalism. one perative amalgamation of the population. When the co-operator comes to a village and there Under the premise of the maximal co-operative cones to a village and there organization of the population this socialism has fully speaking, take no part therein. But impedies employ state capitalism or at least come thing an area of course attained its goals which has the cone of the cones attained its goals which has the cone of the cones attained its goals which has the cone of the cone of the cones attained its goals which has the cone of the as a matter of course attained its goals, which by their own profit, they will however hasten to participate in the venture

our comrades do not give themselves account of the literate) European, we need but very little to the illimitable importance which the co-operative move everyone to participation in the co-operatorganization of Russia assumed for us. In the ives, and not only passive but also active partinew economic policy we made concessions to the cipation. In fact, we "only" need to make our population so "civilized" that it realizes all the of the new ecomonic policy, for we have new an entire stage in the cultural development of the then in reality the control by the state of all the age peasant and does not demand from him any society from co-operation, from co-operation this historical epoch, without having everyone alobe, which we formerly considered penantry and to real and which we former years and which we former persons the first as spection, without educating the population to a such now down the new encountie policy as well? That is not yet the building of the sociality of the section created the necessary material fundamental to the property of the pro That is not yet the binding of the section of this section and that is necessary for the building tals, without a certain security against, let us say, crop failure and famine—without all this we cannot attain our goal. Everything now depends elan and enthusiasm we have often enuf displayed with-I would like to say-the ability of judic ious and experienced dealers, which is fully suffi tance co-operation is; firstly, as a principle (the cient for a good co-operator. This should be tak means of production as state property); and see en to heart by those Russians or simple peasants means of production as state property), and even to heart by those Russians or simple peasants ondly, with regard to the transition to a new ore, who think that when they once do some trading, der in the simplest, eastiest, and (for the pease they have proven their ability as merchants. That is entirely wrong. They are doing business And that is the kernel of the matter. It is one but that is very far indeed from being able to thing to romance over the building up of social say that they are cultured merchants. They are ism in all sorts of workers' societies and it is an. now trading in an Asiatic manner; they must

We acted too hastily when we went over to the problem is thus only roughly sketched out, for the of a simple co-operative organization of the pop new economic policy, not in the sense that we whole content of this problem has not been allowed the principle of private industry and of described here in detail; i. c., we must find the estimate co-operation, and that are beginning to co-operatives, the form of premium offer which right, for without the class struggle and the poforget the overwhelming importance of cooperal will aid us to educate civilized cooperative mem litical power in the state socialism can not be from in connection with the above mentioned two bers. And the order of civilized cooperators in realized. connection with the common ownership of the of the proletariat over the bourgeoisic is the order of socialism.

Politically, the question of co-operation must state capitalism written in 1919. This has not working class,

which we must support above the average is a it was important for me to point out the hered. But aside from that, when we limit ourselves to the peasantry as a huge mass) that complete transformation into a cultural country. operative system. But we must support it in itary link between usual state capitalism and the into the peasant who takes part in cooperative ing of concessions. Under our conditions how intercongres is doubtless correct. But this contains that the intercongres is doubtless correct. But this contains that the intercongres is doubtless correct. But this contains that the intercongres is doubtless correct.

eration

No doubt co-operation is in the capitalistic convinced of the necessity of the class struggle and of the fight for political power. And now all of the capitalistic and of the fight for political power. And now all of the capitalistic and one of the capitalistic institution. It is that a color of the capitalistic institution. It is the capitalistic institution in the capitalistic institution in the capitalistic institution. It is the capitalistic institution in the capitalistic institution in the capita nortance of co-operation. At bottom all that we "Only" so much. We need no other sophistry now which the enterprise stands and for that matter of diabolical flame. portance of co-operation. At tentional and the state of the content of the enterprise status and for that matter require is to organize the Russian population co in order to make the transition to socialism. But the enterprise itself belong to the state, that operatively in sufficient degree during the period in order to realize this "only" a complete change, the question of a third form of enterprise arises, of the new economic poncy, for we have the an entire stage in occupant and ecosory. Our rule tance, the question of the co-operative enterprise, reached such a degree of unon of private interest, whose mass of the proper as necessary, our proper terminal interests, and their inspection must therefore be as little philosophizing as for the control of the composition of the control of the c the stumbling block for so many socialists. Is forward as it is adapted to the level of the aver state capitalism, the difference between coop then in reality the control by the state of au the large peasant and does not acmount from min any or more important means of production, the state think piliple. An entire historical epoch is new power in the hands of the proletariat, the allisearch to make the manufacture of the production of the proletariat, the allisearch to make the manufacture of the production of the proletariat, the allisearch to make the manufacture of the production of the pr they are firstly private interprises and in the romance lit in this dark reality of toil. The min worker by the sleeve second place collective. In our present system, terr drew their pay then, and spent some of it on peasants, the assured leadership of the peasants; the department of the peasants of the peas peasants, me assured leaversum of the postants of the proletariat, etc., is this not all that is epoch in one or two decades. But nonetheless there is no difference between them and socialist their human heritage of play. necessary to attain the building of the socialist it will be a special historical epoch, and without enterprises when they stand on the basis of state society from cooperation, from wnership, i. e., the ownership of the working

> We forget that, due to the peculiarity of our state ing happened for an hour or so; then some of the system; co-operation has for us absolutely dom miners came trooping in. inating importance. Aside from the concessions, upon our ability to supplement the revolutionary which, in passing, attained no specially wide spread development, co-operation coincided under our conditions with socialism.

> socialist one, without considering such fundathey were all a little drunk. mental problems as the class struggle, the conquest of political power by the working class, and powerful man with a merry black face and little And we were therefore justified when we found this "co-operative" socialism to be nothing but more than ten years old, and who was dressed I conclude—a number of economic, manucial an insipid, romantic phantasy, day dreams upon in ragged overalls too long for him, and a min and banking privileges for the co-operatives, that how the class enemy could be transformed into er's cap that came over his ears. The boy had must represent the support of the new principle the class collaborator, and the class war into high check bones, and coal dust darkened his of organization by our socialist state. But the class peace (the so called civil peace) by means straight nose and sandy hair of a young Slav.

> > There is no doubt that from the point of view of the basic problem of the present day we were

But let us now consider how the question has means of production based upon the class victory changed since the power of the state is already in the hands of the working class, since the political power of the exploiters has been overthrown, and all the means of production (with the exception of those which the workers' state reckless Irishman, pounding on the counter As long as I wrote upon the new economic pol-voluntarily and conditionally leaves in the hands "He's one of us now, by gory." icy I continually referred to my article on of the exploiters under concession) belong to the

so put that co-operation in general everywhere infrequently given rise to doubt among some of! We now are institled in saying that for us coannot be eather a state capitalistic upon the political struggle, the revolution, the tural work among the peasantry. And this cub threshold of which we nonetheless now stand.

domestic economic affairs, the center of gravity of co-operation is impossible without a cultural revo our work lies in cultural activity.

Intion

Two great, epoch making tasks stand before us.
Firstly, the reorganization of our appearatus, similar country with deficient culture. They which is worth almost nothing, and which we make a mistake however when they think they receives a certain relief, and furthermore that our younger contrades, but their doubts were this relief be a purely financial one. (The bank primarily of an abstract, political nature.) exception) synonymous with the growth of so ling the five years of struggle we did not succeed, work from the point of attack, demanded by

system. They do not notice that I employed the seizure of power, whereas the primary emphasis tural work among the persons as an economic. This cultural revolution will suffice us, in a Each system of society arises thru the final system. They do not notice that I employed the scalar of power, whereas the primary emphasis turial work among the peasurs as an economic, and support of a certain class. It is superfluous, the support of a certain class. It is superfluous, the call to mind the hundreds upon hundreds upon hundreds in the historical connection of our present posts in the historical connection of complete cooperatives, but the table to ask that it is the historical connection of our present posts in the historical millions of roubles which the first of every communities. A communities are considered in the system of section of the system of section of the material materials have been a finished on that state capitalism cost. We must now realize that and in practice keep by in mind that the system of section of the material materials have been a single form of the material materials and regulations. For the material materials are contained, and the material materials are contained as the contained on that state capitalism cost. We must now realize that and in practice keep by induced where their emphasis has upon the duty of ellipse system of section of the parameter of the peasantty capitalism and the material materials have been a material basis is necessary to materials as a section of the peasantty capitalism and the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the control of complete cooperative organization presuppose and the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material basis in necessary to the material materials have been a material material basis in the control of the material materials have been a material basis in the material basis in the material materials

The Coal Breaker

pation must be tested for its consciousness and type of state capitalism. That was the basis of mass of the coal breaker, a tall structure black. They watched the boy take out his pay envelope for yer pay?" with dust and ugly as a giant toad. It dominated and extract a dollar bill which he laid on, the

> There were green trees in that valley, meadows

conditions of our present economic reality, where a shadow. A great sambre coal mine was in that we have private capitalistic enterprises but valley. It had dragged its black, slimy trail ing our for the nearly filled glasses? // only upon publicly owned land and only under larross the clear brightness of nature. A town the control of the state power, which belongs to of dirty, sad houses was heaped about like stacks pride on his young face. But the next moment, the working class—side by side with enterprises of fifth on the grass of the valley level. How rate trade; precisely out of that there arises com-arise trade; precisely out of that there arises com-arise trade; precisely out of that there arises com-arises trade in the control of the third of the precisely out of the third of the precisely out of the mines are the precise are operatives and consummates this participation, means of as well as the land upon mounds of darkness from which sparted over jets; dam and whire the fell like rules of sing workin, drinkin, chewin, and whorin."

emptied dinner pails, their faces black as sinister ach, masks, their bodies dripping sweat and stooped

Saturday nights there was one brief candle of

I was in Miduvski's general store on a night such as this. The place was dimly lit by lamps and Miduvski, a big, bald-headed, shrewd specu We do not attach sufficient importance to this lator stood plotting behind his counter. ircumstance, when we speak of co-operation, were a few old customers lounging about. Noth

There were about eight of them, and a few boys who worked in the coal breaker trailed admir-ingly in the rear. The miners were dressed in overalls and black caps with tiny lamps fastened I will explain that. What is phantastic in the on them, and these lamps seemed like the horns plans of the old co-operators, beginning with of a group of wild faced devils. The men were plans of the old cooperators, beginning with on a group or worthors means a server. Referr Owner? The fact that they dream of a dill faces, most of them short and squarely peaceful transformation of present society into

He dragged forward a vonnester who was no

"The little Hunkie is goin' to treat!" roared the stout miner again. "This is his first week in the breaker, and he's celebratin'. Ainchyer, kid?" "Yeh!" the boy said, laughing mirthlessly and staring at them all with big, dazed eves. "I'm a man now!"

At this there was a general outbreak of laugh ter, and one of the men clapped the boy approv ingly on the shoulder. Midnyski filled the glasses with whiskey, which they gulped down with great smacking of lips and long "Ah h hs! "Give the kid a hooker too," shouted a tall.

"Yes, ves." cried the other men, and the storekeeper poured another glass of the red, hery DAILY WORKER.

counter. "Game to the dore," the Irishman said, slap-

a miner all my life," he announced, with a su staring at all brother

"Hooray for Jansy!" the men shoulded, reach

ing out into the fragrant country night, to fling The boy grinned wearily. Outside in the night The humble men of all the races lived in the shambling houses of the town. They shuffled in of tobacco, and the boy that it necessary to stuff dieree silence ten hours each day, sorting the slag the gray morning thru the muddy streets toward the vile brown plug in his mouth, and to munch it from the coal with raw fingers. The coal breaker the mine pit, and returned in the dusk with their busily. But he was sick to the pit of his stom, dominated the town, it blotted out the night and

was looking at the scene with fear. He came gling about the mine's mouth, and in that valley over finally and timidly plucked the young even childhood was fouled and withered by the

By Michael Gold

"Jansy," he said, "Mammer's lookin' fer ye LWAYS between the sky and their earth the miners saw the unhallowed, grim, irregular idea?"

Yah!" shouted the men admiringly, "that's the everywhere, and she says she'll give ye an awful lickin' if ye don't come right home. She's waitin'

> The breaker boy pushed his young brother away with a silly smile. "Beat it!" he said haughtily. the reeling and sick with the tobacco and rot gut

staring at his brother from the dorway doubt

"Hooray fer Jansy!" the men shouted in glee, lifting the boy on their shoulders. "Game to the

"We'll have to get him a girl tonight?" the

himself down on the col grass somewhere, and to could be seen the monstrous form of the breaker stars from human eyes. Its dust darkened all A small boy had crept shyly into the place, and the houses and rested heavily on the weeds strugblack, black dust of the breaker



A PICTURE BY FRED ELLIS.

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