

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

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THE REVOLT IN SYRIA

By H. M. Wicks

UP from the ashes of Damascus the groans of the victims of French imperialism have become transformed into fierce imprecations that strike responsive chords in every part of the vastness of the Mohammedan world. Tens of thousands have been murdered within a few day's time. The city that thru the ages has stood as the pride and glory of the world of Islam, situated between east and west, whose streets have resounded to the tread of many conquerors and countless generations, lies again at the feet of a conqueror.

In its time Damascus has been under the domination successively of Hebrews, Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens and Turks. But thru all the ages it has never witnessed such fiendish excesses as are practiced by the French of today.

BY virtue of the treaty of Versailles the French vandals roam the highways of Syria. The very presence of French forces in that territory brands the conspiracy at Versailles, where those ancient buzzards of imperialism—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando—intoned sombre sentences about democracy, liberty, self-determination of nations, a ghastly lie. The Syrians believed the soft words of the imperialist nations. When beautiful pictures of self-determination, of freedom for all forever, were presented to them, they believed them. At the close of the war general elections for a congress were held. This congress met in Damascus and proclaimed an independent Syrian government. In spite of this decision, the imperialist designs of Britain and France decreed otherwise. Britain secured mandates over territory rich in oil and of strategic advantages in maintaining her far flung colonial empire. Among other considerations France secured the mandate over Syria.

BETWEEN March, 1921, and August 1925, there were nine uprising in Damascus that had to be put down by force of arms. In September, 1923, the Syrians boycotted the fake elections arranged by the French and insisted that the mandate had no justification under the terms of the treaty of Versailles.

When the French mandate was granted and the military occupation began, the duly elected government of Syria was declared a band of outlaws. A request was then made to permit the forming of a provisional government under supervision of French political officials, and withdrawal of the military power. This was considered a piece of impudence by the French bandits and the entire government was arrested and thrown in jail.

EVERY appeal was held in open contempt and those who dared raise their voices, even to protest violation of the treaty, were accused of treason. Brute force alone prevailed.

Unspeakable indignities were heaped upon the population. General Serrail, the French high commissioner and his underlings, outraged every section of Damascus and preyed upon the whole countryside. Troops of semi-savages from the most backward French colonies were encamped within the city and, in order to keep them peaceful, brothels were established for their amusement and each section of the city was forced to furnish its quota of women for this purpose.

In addition to this frightfulness a number of male relatives of these victims were tortured to death by the soldiery because they were caught endeavoring to impart their knowledge of conditions to travelers. There could be but one answer to this terror—armed revolt.

The revolt came. It originated in an unexpected source. As French rule became more dominant thruout Syria, it extended to the mountain country of the Druses. These tribesmen had never been conquered by any ruler. They proposed to France that they be permitted to share in the government of the territory they inhabited. The Druse tribesmen received the customary French reply—the mailed fist. An army corps was sent against them. They rose and cut it to pieces in the first conflict.

THEN began the series of battles that culminated in the proclamation of the republic on last Wednesday. When the news of the valiant struggle of the Druse tribesmen reached the Arabs the smoldering fires of hatred burst into flame.

Crowds gathered in the villages and discussed the situation. The French

Three large armed forces were operating. One under Hassan el Khar-sat, another under Gamma Sussa, and the third under Rama Danubi Shal-lash. Hasis L. Bakri, former leader of the nationalist "people's party," whose house had been burned by the French in the storming of Damascus, and who was compelled to flee the city to save his life, succeeded in gaining influence among the rebellious tribesmen and bringing many of them under his influence.

After hasty negotiations in the thick of the fighting these forces were unified under the leadership of Bakri. He is now the military leader of the forces operating between Damascus and Homs eighty miles to the north, is gaining adherents daily from large groups between Homs and Aleppo. A republic has been proclaimed with Bakri as provisional president and head-

thing is certain, even if the French are not completely routed, they cannot suppress the rebellion, as the Druses can retire to the mountain country and hold off the French indefinitely.

The conflict arising in Syria is not confined to that land alone, but is a part of the general rise of the oppressed colonies against the rapacious greed of imperialism. Already coordinating influences are at work to influence the colonial world both of Asia and Africa; from the north-western coast of Africa, where the Rifians under Abd-el-Krim are stubbornly resisting the combined forces of France and Spain, thru Egypt and Palestine to Syria, from thence to Arabia and into India. An ambitious campaign, designed to drive European capitalism out of Africa and Asia, is already under way. Homs and Aleppo are centers of propaganda against England, France and Italy. From Cairo another flood of subversive literature is going out. From Morocco goes a steady stream of propaganda.

ABLE men, thoroughly familiar with the colonial and mandate problem, are in charge of this work. The chief agent for Syria is Abd-ul-Rahman Shabander, who as foreign minister in the provisional government of Syria, was arrested by the French military and escaped from the country, and who now directs the propaganda bureau engaged in spreading hatred against France. He, like the new provisional president of Arabia, is a member of the nationalist "people's party."

One document put out by that party signed, "the committee of liberation of Syria," declares the French generals are a group of assassins and says "the hour of liberation of North Africa and Arabia from the yoke of French, English and Italian oppression is near at hand."

The Rifians, from the north of Africa, send the following greeting to the struggling Syrians and Druses:

"We, the central committee for the liberation of North Africa greet with joy the heroic uprising in Damascus. The patience of Araby is exhausted. The fire of the revolution is blazing on. You have acted like brave men. Help your Rifian brethren. Get the Mohammedan soldiers to desert the French."

GENERAL SERRAIL, the leader of the brigands who ravaged Damascus has been removed and another figure head appointed as commissioner of Syria. The removal of one marionette will never change the hatred of the oppressed Syrians into acceptance of French bondage. In passing it is noteworthy that Serrail is a friend and supporter of the party of the socialist ex-premier Herriot, and that the socialists strenuously protested against the removal of Serrail. It is consistent with the heroes of the social-pacifist era, recently closed, that the most outrageous crimes against colonials should be laid at their door.

The fires of Damascus may forge the sword that will drive from two continents the mercenary forces of capitalism, just as the first swords of Damascus beat off the ancient conquerors.

In this struggle for national liberation the oppressed masses of Asia and Africa have with them the class conscious proletariat of the imperialist countries who will use their power to cripple at home the armed forces and the industries that maintain them, until such time as we become strong enough to administer the death blow to all imperialism.

MONDAY—"Mandates in Syria and Irak; A New Threat of World War."

THROTTLE THE ENGINE OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION



"The hour of liberation of North Africa and Arabia from the rule of French, English and Italian imperialism is near at hand."

military machine ordered dispersal of the street crowds. With the most savage fury the troops assailed the Syrians. Twenty-five thousand of them were murdered in two weeks. As a means of intimidating the inhabitants the troops strapped dead bodies of their victims on camels and paraded them thru the streets of Damascus. Instead of inspiring terror, these acts aroused the fury of the masses. Street fighting began. Terrible reprisals ensued. For more than fifty hours the city was a veritable inferno. Machine guns, hand-grenades, poison gas, airplane bombs, armoured cars and tanks; all the equipment of modern warfare was brought into action against the population of the city. Damascus was subdued. In the smoldering ruins the uniformed French soldiers ghoulishly prowled among the dead, stealing jewelry and other valuables, even cutting off the fingers and ears of their victims because it required too much work otherwise to remove the jewels.

LIKE wild-fire the story of the storming of Damascus spread thruout Syria. Messengers were dispatched to every part of the Mohammedan world carrying the news of the ghastly rule of the French. Armed bands spontaneously sprang up and consolidated with others. Armies were improvised, commanders chosen, and the region between Damascus and Homs cleared of French forces in a few days. New recruits were thrown into Syria to aid the French, but the native forces in the towns and villages fought them off.

quarters will be established at Homs. With the authority of the provisional government behind him, Bakri will appeal to the mandates commission of the league of nations. This will do him little good, except inasmuch as it will expose to his followers and the oppressed of the colonial world the fact that the league will not support their cause. Great Britain will hesitate to support a policy of endorsing insurrection in the mandated areas, because it would find its own domination challenged. If Britain should come to the aid of Syria she would be confronted with demands for independence from Palestine. Instead of aid to the struggling Syrians, British forces stand menacingly at the border ready to help stifle the uprisings at the first indication of danger to its own domains.

TO free the soil of Arabia from the despotism of France the imperialist forces will have to be scourged from the land. That can be achieved only by a determined insurrection, under the leadership of men asking no quarter and giving none. At the same time such a terrific campaign of propaganda against Britain must be launched that that government will hesitate to take action for fear of arousing to fury the masses suffering under its own yoke.

That the rebellious armies now forming will be able to wipe out with blood and fire the rapacious army of French imperialism is quite probable. Already vast hordes are sweeping north from the deserts of Arabia in response to the call of Syria. One

Maneuvers of Gompersism Against Unity

Editor's Note.—While this article by Bucharin on the question of world trade union unity was written before Gompers' death, and tells of his activities against the unity of the workers, nevertheless, everything said holds true of the officialdom that now rules after Gompers. It applies very aptly to William Green, who succeeded Gompers as president of the American Federation of Labor. It is therefore, being published at this time while Albert A. Purcell is making his tour of the United States and Canada, urging his plea for the unity of the world's workers. It follows:

By N. BUCHARIN.

THE rapprochement between the trade unions of Great Britain and those of the Soviet Union is arousing the attention of the enemies of the revolutionary movement. This is quite understandable; it is not without reason that we speak not only of the historical, but of the world historical significance of the transformation which is taking place among the English working class.

Hence the excitement prevailing among our enemies; hence the Vorwarts (Germany) this rotten paper of a rotten social-democracy, has twice slandered Arthur A. Purcell in characterizing his speech as a forgery and has thus impudently deceived the German workers. Hence the Russian mensheviks are carrying on in their paper, Socialist News, a campaign



N. BUCHARIN.

against Edo Fimmen on account of his support of the unity of the international trade union movement. Hence the American Federation of Labor is drawn into the struggle. Hence Gompers is also beginning to interfere in "European affairs," this old henchman of American capital, this old servitor and cunning rascal who has grown grey in the service of his masters, this leader of the Federation of Labor to whom even Amsterdam appears as too "socialistic."

MR. GOMPERS is commencing an intervention in Europe similar to that of his American masters, who cross the frontiers of their beloved fatherland and go hawking round with a sack full of dollars and put their feet on the table of European democracy.

Mr. Gompers obviously believes he can rescue the position of the specially obstinate right section of the Amsterdam International. In this respect he is copying the late President Wilson, who for a long time tolerated the "barbarism" of Germany, but at the decisive moment "lost patience" and "intervened" in the European war, thus converting it into the world war and insuring the victory of the entente.

And in the same way Mr. Gompers also believes that the left tendencies in Amsterdam have acquired a dangerous preponderance. Please understand! The English trade unions are negotiating—not in dreams but in broad daylight—with the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union. And old Purcell shakes hands with the ex-convict Tomsy! Is not the end of the world approaching?

AND Mr. Gompers is rallying the forces of the American Federation of Labor and is beginning to speak of returning to the Amsterdam International in order to "rescue" it from the intolerable influence of our trade unions. It is quite obvious that Mr. Gompers will either endeavor to destroy the Anglo-Russian trade union bloc, or to suppress our trade unions within the Amsterdam International by isolating them from the revolutionary trade unions of other countries. It is only for this "noble" aim that the "trade unionist" American agency of capital has stirred itself.

Both English and Russian trade

unions must be on the alert. For the mutual relations between these two strongest branches of the European trade union movement which have been established with such pains, can be exposed to a danger on the part of the American Federation of Labor, which did not break away from the Amsterdam International in order to fight on the side of the revolution, but because it has gone over unconditionally and completely, body and soul, to the side of American capitalism.

EVEN in the sphere of international politics Mr. Gompers adopts a definitely white-guardist line. While the British trade unions fought against the bourgeoisie under the slogan of the Anglo-Russian commercial treaty; whilst even the English labor party went into the election campaign under this banner, Mr. Gompers conducted a bitter fight against the de-jure recognition of the Soviet Union. In other words, he, the alleged "labor leader" proved himself to be more reactionary than the English conservatives. And now, this gentleman, who has helped the conservatives to beat the English labor party and the English trade unions, is prepared to appear in the role of the savior and messiah of the "fallen" Amsterdam International. This truly ridiculous, pompous behavior of this gentleman will, we hope, be repudiated by all sensible workers who understand that the working class must have nothing to do with an immediate confederate of Curzon and Churchill.

The Russian Workers Marching Forward

By M. A. SKROMNY.

Eight years have passed since the October revolution. When we recall how the political "prophets" from the counter-revolutionary camps predicted that the Soviet power will not survive even for eight days, we can afford to smile. At that time there were many who believed these "prophets." Russian and foreign capitalists risked their money and the lives of their slaves to make good this prophecy. But all in vain—in spite of the fact that the country was almost totally destroyed when the Bolsheviks took over the power of the state. In October 1917 there were only about 15% of the railroad engines left and of some industries only 3% remained.

Soviet Copes With Enemies.

The enemies of the Soviets considered that under such circumstances it was impossible for the Communists to keep going. To facilitate the fall of the Soviets plots have been organized from the very first day of the revolution. The Kornilov affair arranged by Kerensky was followed by that of Krasnov, Kolchak, Yedenich, Semenov and many others. To cope with the situation the red guard was organized, and later the red army.

To crush the power of the counter-revolution the Soviets began to confiscate the funds of the rich, to nationalize the big industries, the cheka, the dreaded cheka, was organized. The revolution used the full power of the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush its enemies. The blockade and intervention by the foreign imperialists served only to strengthen the power of the revolution and win more sympathy in the eyes of the workers of the world.

The terrible famine of 1921 did not shake the faith of the masses in their Soviets. On the contrary, it gave them more faith in them as they saw the difference in dealing with the situation by the Soviets from that of the czarist government. There were many famines under the czars, the "civilized" governments never blamed the czars for it, but the Soviet government was blamed when the famine came after seven years of war, revolution and counter-revolution.

Finally, after the famine was conquered the Soviets got their first breathing spell. The work of rebuilding the country began feverishly to make advances. A great revival in industry and agriculture began. Day by day the growth of production and the betterment of the living conditions of



The Emblem of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

the workers and peasants can be noticed. The "Lenin lights"—electricity—is beginning to shine in the dark villages. Tractors are appearing on the land. Illiteracy is being conquered.

But They Like Bolshevik Gold.

The great surplus of grains opened the doors of the capitalist countries to the hated Bolsheviks. They are being recognized officially or unofficially. Bolshevik gold is accepted by the saints of the "last" war in exchange for goods. Soviet Russia is too a great market to be ignored.

It is true that the plots against the Soviet government are still rampant. The notorious fake "Zinoviev letter" in Great Britain, the "Moscow orders" in the United States and Bulgaria, are evidence. But nowadays there aren't very many who believe these fakes. The workers in the capitalist countries do not believe any more their capitalist rulers and their press. The workers want to find out the truth about Soviet Russia for themselves and they are sending delegations to the land of the Soviets in spite of the advice to the contrary by the capitalists and their lackeys, the social-democrats.

The report of the British trade union delegation had the effect of a bombshell in the camp of the professional and counter-revolutionary liars. Suppressed Peoples With U. S. S. R.

The policy of the Soviets in the Near East and Asia Minor is creating more panic for the capitalist governments than the so-called Bolshevik gold, for it is a policy of equality and freedom while the policy of the imperialists is a policy of oppression and robbery. The situation in China is clear evidence. The slaughter that is going on in Morocco is more proof.

All attempts to organize a united front against the Soviet government met with failure so far. The last attempt, the so-called Locarno pact, will meet the same fate as the others. The oppressed and crushed Germany united with its oppressors against the friendly Soviets. It is a clear demonstration that the class interests of the German bourgeoisie were put on a higher level than the interests of the "dear fatherland." This lesson will be understood by the workers of Germany as well as the workers of the world. They will also put the interests of their class above the interests of the country, when the proper time will come for action. The Soviets will find many allies in the midst of their enemies.

Besides that there is another danger growing for the imperialists in the form of a league of oppressed nations which will also help to smash the Locarno plot against the workers and peasants' republic. If the capitalist governments will again dare to attack

Soviet Russia they may in turn be attacked by all the colonial and semi-colonial peoples who are just waiting for an opportunity to get rid of their robbers.

U. S. S. R. Grows Stronger Daily.

The situation in Soviet Russia is growing better and better every day. Production is increasing and proportionally wages are also increasing, and in many industries they are already above the pre-war scale. At the same time the situation in the capitalist countries is growing worse. Production is being speeded up and wages at the same time are being cut, working hours increased, unemployment is rampant. And this in spite of, or more accurately, thanks to the American loans and the Dawes plan.

All this is forcing the laboring masses of all countries to consider the two different systems which they see at work: the system of capitalist democracy and the Bolshevik system of the Soviets. At this the eight anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution this question appears before them in bold relief. Sooner or later they will have to choose between these two systems.

And when they will choose, it will be the Soviet system!

Secretary of Labor Insists on Finger-Printing All Aliens

WASHINGTON—(FP)— Secretary of Labor Davis has again raised a cry of alarm, directed at the house committee on immigration, against the aliens in the United States. He insists that his proposed measure requiring that every alien be finger-printed and photographed and given an official record, to be checked up by personal report by the alien to a federal officer each year, is necessary to induce these foreigners to become Americans.

Davis declares there are between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 un-naturalized aliens in the United States, and that more than 5,000,000 of them have been more than 5 years. This fact, he argues, shows that they do not intend to become American citizens. Many of them are definitely antagonistic, he believes, to American civilization. Hence the government should keep close watch on them through a compulsory registration and annual report.

Worker Correspondence will make The DAILY WORKER a better paper

The Chinese Customs Conference By James H. Dolsen

PART III. THE FRENCH STANDPOINT.

THE direct interests of France in China are very much less than those of England, Japan, or the United States. Her share in Chinese commerce is small. She has two extremely valuable concessions, those at Shanghai and Tientsin. With Czarist Russia she participated in the Sino-Japanese war loan, and her bankers have made other financial advances to the Peking government. British and American residents in the Shanghai foreign settlement have complained that the French failed to do their share in suppressing the "riots."

The importance of France comes rather from her dominant position in Europe, and the fact that she is England's only formidable rival in the old world. Consequently in the commercial and industrial competition for world-power she could, for the sake of the advantages sure to accrue from the friendship of the Chinese, well afford to grant the demands of China. Here again, however, the whole complicated and interdependent character of modern industrial society must be taken into consideration.

FRANCE is in the most difficult financial straits. Unable to reach a settlement of debt to the United States and with the warning of the Coolidge administration that it will frown upon any further bank advances to nations which have not adjust-



Sun Yat Sen, Tchang Tso Lin, and Wu Pei Fu.

ed their debts to this country, the French must rely on the financial assistance of the London financiers. She cannot, therefore, act with a free hand in the Peking conferences.

Interests of the United States.

The richest country in the world today, the United States, is vitally interested in the events in China. It took the lead in suggesting the calling of these conferences, as we have seen.

What does this government want from China? What is it willing to concede, and why? Alone of the powers concerned it has not seized nor is it holding any Chinese territory. It has not so far participated to any appreciable extent in loans to the Chinese government. Its money is not yet heavily invested in Chinese industry.

BUT—our trade with China amounted to nearly a quarter billion dollars last year (1924) and is growing fast. The Pacific is believed by many leading business men as destined to become the most important avenue of commerce in the world, occupying the position held in the last century by the Atlantic. The Panama Canal removed the greatest obstacle to effective American competition for the trade of the Orient. Its completion brot the Pacific coast of the United States closer to China and Japan than are England or Europe. The eastern part of this country, which is its great manufacturing district, became then almost as near to China as the western coast of Europe had been. The instant effect was to boom trade with the Far East. The world war coming on shortly after the canal was in operation also helped. In the four years 1913-1917 American commerce with China doubled, amounting in the

latter year to one-sixth of China's total. In the period from 1904 to 1918 the United States made a gain of 244 per cent in her Chinese trade.

The combined result of the world war and the opening of the Panama Canal is graphically shown in the following figures (in millions only):

	U. S. exports to China	U. S. imports from China
1914	\$ 37,000,000	\$ 43,000,000
1919	117,000,000	154,000,000
1924	124,000,000	158,000,000

Interests Chiefly Commercial.

The interests of the United States in China have thus been predominantly commercial. That the American traders in Shanghai and Hongkong were one with the British in the demand for harsh measures of repression against the Chinese during the recent trouble and determined to retain all their special privileges was evident from the denunciation by the American Association in China, of Senator Wm. E. Borah's advocacy of the renunciation of extra-territoriality. In reply Borah excoriated them as "part of the imperialistic combine which would oppress and exploit the Chinese people and charge the result of their offense to some one else." "These interests, including the American chamber of commerce in China," he continued, "are the real cause of the trouble."

ON the other hand, curiously enough the American missionaries—and missionaries in general have been considered by imperialists like Cecil Rhodes invaluable adjuncts to "civilizing" the backward peoples—seem as a whole to take strong sides with the Chinese for the abolition of foreign privileges. The present anomalous situation, they complain, hinders the work of "converting the heathen" on account of the un-Christ-like attitude of the "superior" white race.

Because of the failure of the last consortium (an agreement to negotiate government loans only thru an association of certain banks representing the great powers except Russia) American finance capital, aside from minor amounts in industry, has invested little in China. Its interests thus lie in the possibilities of the future rather than the protection of the past.

On the whole the financial and commercial interests of the United States, viewed in a large sense, should incline its capitalists to a lenient treatment of the demands of China. The raising of the Chinese tariff would effect its exports to a very limited degree, for they consist chiefly of machinery, oil, wheat, tobacco, lumber, and highly finished steel products, all of which China is unable to supply

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SENDS THIRTEEN BATTLESHIPS TO BULLY CHINA DURING SHANGHAI STRIKE

WASHINGTON, Nov. 6.—That American naval vessels constituted 13 out of the fleet of 20 ships of foreign powers that intimidated the Chinese in Shanghai after the massacre of students by British police there last May, and that American naval enlisted men are still on shore serving as police in Shanghai, is set forth in a letter received by President Coolidge from Dr. Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the American Committee for Justice to China. Dr. Ward has recently returned from a year spent in the Orient, during which he lectured under Y. M. C. A. and other religious auspices in the cities of China. He is a member of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

"Whereas," he says, "the dumping of British owned tea into Boston harbor resulted in the independence of the United States, the dumping of British owned opium into the river at Canton resulted in the subjection of China to western powers, thru a series of treaties forced upon her, taking away major portions of her most vital sovereign rights.

"The United States thru its merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and missionaries has participated in and profited by the special unequal treaties upholding them by guns and bayonets.

"In the Shanghai strike, following the shooting of unarmed students by foreign police, May 30, 1925, we sup-

plied 13 out of 20 warships to maintain the policy of control and taxation of Chinese by foreigners without representation. Our marines were quartered on a Chinese university and high school arbitrarily closed by foreign orders, and our naval forces are still on shore serving as police at Shanghai.

"In the circumstances, we may at any moment by the work of a consul or the act of a naval officer or a marine be engaged in war with China without any authorization by congress. Unless this situation is changed the historic friendship that China has for us because of our past policy is bound to be transformed into enmity."

Ruthless Measures in China.

While these facts would indicate a lenient attitude towards the Chinese demands, it is true, on the other hand, that the United States was the first to land marines in Shanghai and has taken a prominent part in policing the strike areas. American warships patrol the inner waters of China, though no other sovereign nation allows alien men of war on its rivers or other inland waterways.

THE American congress last winter debated for days the question of how large an appropriation should be voted to police the Yangtze Kiang and finally decided that six large river gunboats would be sufficient. It would seem that our lawmakers at Washington are determined to make us the great scab-herding and strikebreaking nation of the world.

The Shanghai China Weekly Review (American owned) boasted last summer of the patrol thus established in these words: "No one outside of the inner councils of the war and state departments at Washington knows just exactly what did happen on the Upper Yangtze about this time (during the general strike, 1925), but the captain of any American ship who desired an armed guard got it." The paper adds significantly, you must read between the lines to get it, "... the commander of the American patrol forces was given instructions not to fire first, but if fired upon, to be a close second."

The Wireless Controversy.

A MATTER certain to come up at these conferences will be the controversy between the United States and Japan over the erection of wireless stations in China. Some years ago the Chinese government granted the Mitsui company a monopoly of erecting wireless stations. Later it also gave the Federal Telegraph company of America a wireless concession. The Japanese government thereupon protested to China. The American government intervened with the charge that the Mitsui grant was void because it violated the open door policy which Japan had accepted many

years previously. The Mitsui company erected its station but it did not fulfill the contract, not being powerful enough to send its messages across the Pacific. Meanwhile American engineers of the Federal company waited for months in China for a decision. Great Britain, France, and Japan proposed to the United States the joint operation of a single system. The suggestion was rejected. Lately China has urged that the United States and Japan jointly loan China the capital for the wireless station, to be operated by the three powers.

This controversy illustrates the many complications which characterize the relationships of foreigners to the Chinese government and the international conflicts which so readily ensue. It also throws light upon the double dealing which goes under the name of statesmanship in the capitalist world.

The Sacred Right of Private Property.

THE note of acceptance of the Chinese government's invitation to the conferences were all alike, stating that the particular nation "is now prepared to consider the Chinese government's proposal for the modification of existing treaties in a measure as the Chinese authorities demonstrate their willingness and ability to fulfill their obligations and assure protection to foreign rights and interests now safeguarded by the exceptional provisions of these treaties." In all the notes and correspondence

SCENE OF PRESENT STRUGGLES IN CHINA



their runs this insistence first of all on the protection of foreign property rights in China.

If the foreign nationals can get the Chinese government to guarantee all their present rights under some other formula equally as binding as the present treaties, Great Britain, France, the United States, and Japan will gladly surrender their special privileges. To the imperialist powers a rose by any other name will smell as sweet."

No Lasting Solution.

Having thus surveyed the factors which determine national policy, it is necessary to understand that the complicated relationships of capitalist industry in national boundaries cause many variations in their particular application. Even the most powerful and strongly centralized autocracy no longer dares to risk a great war without the psychological preparation of its subjects. So the powers must take into consideration at Peking the reaction of their citizens towards the measures taken and the methods proposed.

That a fundamental settlement of the problems involved can be arrived at is not possible. The contradictions developing so swiftly within the world capitalist system, now that it is rotten-ripe, are too great to be solved except by its overthrow. Prophetic of the latter way outstands the ominous figure of the Soviet Union—ominous for the oppressors of the people. The shadows of a giant worker, arm in arm with his peasant brother, fall on the startled faces of the diplomats who plunged the world in one bath of human blood and stand ready to precipitate a second or at least, unable to prevent one.

That worker next door to you may not have anything to do tonight. Hand him this copy of the DAILY WORKER.

The Preface for America

By Leon Trotsky

THE present work is devoted to a consideration of the ultimate destinies of England, a subject that may be of interest to the American reader for two reasons: First, because England occupies a very prominent position in the world; second, because the United States and Great Britain may be regarded as twin stars, one of which grows dim the more rapidly as the brilliancy of the other increases.

The inference to which I am led by my study is that England is heading rapidly toward an era of great revolutionary upheavals. Of course, the English secret service men and their American disciples will declare that I am engaging in propaganda for a proletarian revolution, as if it were possible for an outsider, by means of pamphlets, to alter the course of evolution of a great nation! As a matter of fact, I am simply attempting, by analyzing the most important factors in the historical development of England, to explain the historical path by which that country will be made to encounter obstacles—internal as well as external—to its continued existence. To accuse me of revolutionary meddling in the affairs of foreign countries, on the basis of such statements, would be almost equivalent to accusing the astronomer of bringing about a solar eclipse because he has predicted its occurrence.

BUT do not understand me as saying that astronomical phenomena are parallel to the phenomena of society. The former are accomplished outside of us, the latter thru our agency. Which does not mean, however, that historical events may be achieved by our mere wish or directed with the assistance of pamphlets. Far more books and newspapers have come out and are still coming out with the avowed purpose of defending and maintaining capitalism—including British capitalism—than have ever been published to attack it. Ideas of any kind may be effective only when they are based on the material conditions of social evolution. England is headed for revolution because she has already entered the stage of capitalist disintegration. If the guilty must be found, if we must ask: What accelerates England's progress on the path of revolution, the answer is, not Moscow, but New York.

This answer may appear paradoxical, yet it is the simple truth. The powerful and constantly growing influence of the United States on world affairs is rendering more and more impossible and hopeless the situation of British industry, British trade, British finances, and British diplomacy.

THE United States cannot but tend to expand in the world market, failing which its own industry will be threatened with apoplexy because of the richness of its blood. The United States can only expand at the expense of the other exporting countries, which means, particularly, England. In view of the patented Dawes method of harnessing the economic life of an entire mighty nation in the traces of American supervision, it almost pro-

This article is the special "Preface for America" written in May, 1925, by the brilliant Communist writer to the American edition of his latest book "Whither England?" published by the International Publishers, Inc. of New York, thru whose courtesy this is being reprinted.

The capitalist press of America has become alarmed over the book. Not only has this preface been generously quoted in the leading American journals, but other parts of the book as well, both in America and England, have been pointed out as "open advice to the workers to overthrow their governments."

Many journals in both countries have begged in alarm for the suppression of the book.



LEON TROTSKY

vokes a smile to hear people speak of the revolutionary significance of one "Moscow" pamphlet or another. Under the cover of what is called the pacification and rehabilitation of Europe, immense revolutionary and military conflicts are preparing for the morrow. Mr. Barnes, who enjoys the confidence of the department of com-

merce at Washington, suggests that the European debtors of the United States be assigned to exploit such portions of the world market as will not bring the impoverished and indebted European cousins of the United States into competition with the expansion of their creditor across the seas. In aiding to restore the European mone-

tary system, the United States is simply exploding one inflated illusion after other by giving the Europeans an opportunity to express their poverty and dependence in the language of a firm currency. By exerting pressure on its debtors, or giving them an extension, by granting or refusing credit to European countries, the United States is placing them in a gradually tightening economic dependence, in the last analysis an ineluctable situation, which is the necessary condition for inevitable social and revolutionary disturbances. The Communist International, viewed in this light, may be considered an almost conservative institution as compared with Wall Street, Morgan, Dawes, Julius Barnes—these are among the artificers of the approaching European revolution.

IN its work in Europe and elsewhere, the United States is generally acting in co-operation with England, thru the agency of England. But this collaboration means for England an increasing loss of independence. England is leading the United States to hegemony, as it were. Relinquishing their world rule, the diplomats and magnates of England are recommending their former clients to deal with the new master of the world. The common action of the United States and England is the cloak for a profound world-wide antagonism between these two powers, by which the threatening conflicts of the perhaps not remote future are being prepared.

This brief preface is not the place in which to speak of the fate of America itself. There is no doubt that capital today nowhere feels itself so strong as in America. American capitalism grew marvelously, chiefly at the expense of the European belligerents at first, now by reason of their "return to peace," their "rehabilitation." But in spite of all its huge power, American capitalism is not a self-contained factor, but a part of world economy. Furthermore, the more powerful the industry of the United States becomes, the more intimate and profound becomes its dependence on the world market. Driving the European countries farther and farther down their blind alley, American capitalism is laying the foundation for wars and revolutionary upheavals, which in their frightful rebound will not fail to strike the economic system of the United States also. Such is the prospect for America. In revolutionary development, America does not stand in the front rank; the American bourgeoisie will still enjoy the privilege of witnessing the destruction of its older European sister. But the inevitable hour will strike for American capitalism also: the American oil and steel magnates, trust and export leaders, the multimillionaires of New York, Chicago and San Francisco, are performing—their unconscious—predestined revolutionary function. And the American proletariat will ultimately discharge theirs.

NOTE:—"Whither England," from which this is reprinted, can be secured thru The Daily Worker Publishing Co. Price \$1.75.

HOW WAGES ARE BEING SLASHED

By EARL R. BROWDER

FOR capitalism, the key problem of economics is, how to increase profits. And for this, the principal means is to reduce the proportion that goes to labor as wages, out of the values labor created, and to increase the proportion that goes for interest, rent and profit.

This can be done directly in two ways; by reducing the wage rates, or by increasing the intensity of labor. And there are various indirect ways, one of which is to keep money wages stationary while the cost of living goes up.

All these means are in active operation today.

Government statistics disclose to some small degree the successes of the capitalists in their schemes for increased exploitation. In "Commerce Reports" of November 2nd, for example, the following figures can be

found which are very illuminating:

Cost of living index figure (relative to 1924) Sept. 1924, is 147. For September, 1925, it is 159.

That is an increase of about 8 per cent. If real wages are to remain constant, money wages must be raised 8 per cent also to cover the increased cost of living.

These figures are compiled by the National Industrial Conference Board, a private organization of capitalists, which has certainly no bias in favor of the wage workers.

But what really happened to money wages during the same period? They remained the same or were actually reduced. Which means that real wages have been out to the amount of 10 per cent or more. This gained for the capitalists an extra profit of between one billion and a billion and a half dollars.

Simple figures from a few states

will show how that has gone into effect.

The index figure for number of workers employed in New Jersey (1923-100) was 87 in September last year, and 91 this year, an increase of 4 points.

The total payroll for these same periods was 86 and 89, an increase of but 2 points, and therefore a positive decrease in earnings. The official index for average weekly earnings, relative to 1923, showed September last year 100, while this year it is 98. When compared with the cost of living here is a clear wage slash of 19 per cent.

In Illinois the average weekly earnings, (relative to 1922), dropped from 110.1 in September 1924, to 107.6 in September, 1925.

Delaware weekly earnings averaged 4 per cent less this year than last.

And in the Meantime — Production has been increasing by leaps and bounds. All the indicators of production and trade, point to 1925 as the banner year of capitalist industry in America.

Not only have money wages been reduced. Not only have wages been cut still more thru the higher cost of living. Also the workers have been forced to speed up, and in some cases to work longer hours, so that production has enormously increased.

This year's mass of surplus values expropriated by the capitalist class is doubtless the greatest ever known.

That is why the Wall Street stock market is so joyous, and why the price of stocks has flown skyward. All of this is "cashing in" on the accumulated and perspective "surplus values" squeezed out of labor in such rich abundance during 1925.

Postal Receipts on Up Grade.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5—Postal receipts, regarded as a barometer of business conditions, continue on the upgrade, totalling \$32,489,042 in 50 selected cities during October, as compared with \$29,118,862 in October, 1924, an increase of \$3,370,179, or 11.57 per cent, the post office department announced today.

Wages and Profits in the Railroad Industry

By MORD WILGUS.

PART 1: RAILROAD WAGES

IN the opinion of the public at large, the railroad workers are paid wages far in excess of other wage earners. The question arises how such an opinion, false as it is, has been able to gain wide currency even among workers themselves. It is not denied that there are some groups of workers in this industry who receive wages which permit them to live in decency. But to apply this standard to the railroad workers as a unit is nothing short of deception.

The existence of the labor aristocracy in the form of the Big Four Brotherhoods is unquestionably the chief cause of this prevailing belief taking root among wage earners in general. A contributing cause is the policy of the railroad employers in quietly spreading illusions in the press and otherwise of railroad workers leisurely driving in to work in their privately-owned automobiles, with the consequence that this myth reached fantastic proportions several years ago. The mental picture of a railroad worker driving his "own car" into the yard seduces the critical faculty of the average worker completely. He at once conjures up images in his mind of the ease and plenty enjoyed by certain groups of workers while he must toil on endlessly on wages scarcely permitting the necessities of life.

HOWEVER, let us look at the facts. Let us see just how much wages these "high-paid" men actually receive. In a shop one is often inclined to think: "Well, I don't get much wages, but the others must be getting it." This is but natural in view of the general secrecy about wages prevailing in the shops. In addition to this, the employers for their own interests, never cease spreading false rumors and exaggerations in order to create jealousy amongst the men and thus divide them against each other. Divide and conquer has always been the slogan of the masters. Furthermore, the failure of the employers to make public their payrolls denies the more class conscious worker a source from which to make comparisons and thus effectively expose on the spot the machinations and chicanery of the bosses.

The U. S. department of commerce from which our data is taken divides the railroad workers in seven groups as follows:

- 1—Executives, assistants and staff assistants.
- 2—Professional, clerical and general.
- 3—Maintenance of Way and Structures.
- 4—Maintenance of Equipment and Stores.
- 5—Transportation—other than train, engine or yard.
- 6—Transportation—yard masters, switch tenders and hostlers.
- 7—Transportation—train and engine service.

THIS grouping which corresponds with the forms of labor in the industry gives a distorted picture of the wage scales in force for the workers as a whole. To eliminate this distortion, we have divided the railroad workers in accordance with minimum and maximum wages they receive. To arrive at the actual weekly wages, the monthly stated wages were multiplied by twelve and then divided by fifty-two. The workers on the railroads are generally paid twice a month. Since there are fifty-two weeks in the year, it would be erroneous to divide the monthly wages by four weeks for a man must eat fifty-two weeks in the year and not forty-eight. All data is for the year 1923, but no material changes have taken place since.

GROUP A—Railroad Workers Receiving Less Than \$25 Per Week.

Kind of Work	No. of Workers 1923	Weekly Wages 1923
Mechanical device operators	7,625	\$24.50
Messengers	6,721	13.15
Tel. Switchhd. Op. & Office Assts.	5,219	17.10
Janitors & Cleaners	7,597	18.00
Skilled Trades		
Helpers	11,028	22.45
Pumping Equipment Operators	6,249	18.95
Workers (extra gang & work train)	58,310	18.68

Workers (track & roadway)	210,913	17.10
Maintenance of Way Laborers (other than track & roadway)	8,401	17.10
Signal man and signal maintenance helpers	3,232	22.00
Helper Apprentices	7,619	24.50
Regular Apprentices		
Ticks	13,635	16.25
Coach Cleaners	13,101	20.75
Maintenance of equipment laborers	115,567	20.35
Station agents (small)	4,137	23.10
Baggage, parcel-room and station workers	9,571	22.85
Callers, loaders, scalers, sealers and perishable freight inspectors	16,581	23.80
Truckers	42,066	21.25
Laborers	6,251	22.85
Crossing and bridge flagmen and gatemen	22,813	17.08
Total number of workers receiving less than \$25 per week	574,655	

THE group of workers comprised above number 574,655 men and women or 33 per cent of the grand total or railroad employes on all class 1 roads. Together with their wives and children, they represent a community of over 2,000,000 souls. While this group represents what is generally known as unskilled labor, nevertheless they play a decisive part in maintaining the arteries of the country in running order. The arduous toil of keeping the roadbeds in condition is in their keeping. And yet they are paid wages which will scarcely afford to bare necessities of life. In the face of these facts it is preposterous to prattle about high-paid railroaders, a third of whom receive less than \$25 per week.

Group B—Railroad Workers Receiving Between \$25 and \$33 per Week.

Kind of Work	No. of Workers 1923	Weekly Wages 1923
Clerks	172,306	\$28.85
Stenographers and typists	21,822	26.10
Carpenters (bridge and building)	23,507	27.95
Painters (bride and building)	3,565	27.00
Gang and section foremen (maintenance)	40,080	28.95
Assistant signal men & signal maintainers	2,385	27.45
Carmen	136,707	33.00
Skilled trades helpers	135,236	25.05
Gang foremen, Laborers (shops, engine houses, etc.)	4,240	31.40
Telegraphers and telephoners	19,571	\$32.60
Telegraphers and telephoners' clerks	18,813	31.95
Baggage agents and assistants	846	30.50
Gang Foremen (freight station, warehouse, etc.)	3,774	32.10
Total number of workers receiving between \$25 and \$33 per week	577,853	

Group B whose wages fall between \$25 and \$33 per week consist of skilled workers. Together with Group A they number 1,152,506 wage earners or practically two-thirds of the total number of railroad employes. Compared to organized trades in other industries the scale is low, falling far behind the so-called American standard of living.

Group C—Railroad Workers Receiving Between \$33 and \$40 per Week.

Kind of Work	No. of Workers 1923	Weekly Wages 1923
Bridge & building gang foremen	5,440	\$38.35
Gang foremen (extra gang, work train, etc.)	4,852	33.50
Signalmen & signal maintainers	8,057	36.25
Blacksmiths	10,279	37.50
Boilermakers	22,152	38.25
Electrical workers	9,651	38.00
Machinists	68,140	38.00
Sheet Metal Workers	12,594	37.00
Supervisory station agents	5,469	38.10
Road Passenger bagagemen	5,871	39.75
Road passenger brakemen & flagmen	14,581	36.00
Road freight brakemen & flagmen	65,750	39.00
Yard brakemen & helpers	55,301	38.00
Yard firemen & helpers	22,664	34.65
Total Number of Workers Receiving Between \$33 & \$40 per week	310,421	

THERE are 310,421 workers comprised in Group C receiving wages which assure them the necessities of life but no more. To talk of maintaining a family in health and decency on a weekly average income of \$36 is ridiculous. Of course one must live. But to say that you are living in health and decency is false. You cannot do it.

One cannot obtain a modern three-room apartment today under \$45 per month. But a three-room apartment for a family of five, the average composition of a worker's home, is too small and causes overcrowding. And overcrowding, as every intelligent

worker knows, contributes neither to health nor decency.

Suppose then, the railroad worker in Group C rents a four-room apartment. What is the consequence of that? A four-room modern flat rents at a minimum of \$60 per month or \$14 per week. Subtract this sum from \$36, the approximate average wage of the above group, and you find the high paid railroad man has \$22 left to cover expenditures on food and clothing for a family of five! Not to say a word about unemployment, sickness, etc! If the worker eats, as he should in order to maintain his efficiency as a wage earner, he must live in an overcrowded flat; if, on the other hand, he takes a four-room apartment, to permit himself and his family a minimum amount of breathing space, he is compelled to cut down on his table or eat cheap, undernourishing food. How then, can wages which barely permit the necessities of life allow one to indulge in luxuries or an automobile?

Group D—Railroad Workers Receiving Between \$40 and \$60 per Week.

Kind of Work	No. of Workers 1923	Actual Weekly Wages 1923
Road passenger conductors	10,531	\$54.00
Road freight conductors	26,901	52.65
Yard conductors & yard foremen	22,002	44.10
Road passenger engineers & motormen	13,042	58.65
Road freight engineers & motormen	34,137	59.40
Yard engineers & motormen	22,142	46.45
Road passenger firemen & helpers	12,756	43.45
Road freight firemen & helpers	36,504	41.30
Supervisory clerks	5,309	53.10
Chief clerks	12,879	41.60
Signal & Telegraph gang foremen	1,180	44.10
Assistant General Department foremen	12,112	59.15
Maintenance gang foremen & leaders	12,553	52.50
Train dispatchers & directors	5,645	59.85
Supervisory station agents	2,459	56.60
Yardmasters and assistants	7,111	58.90
Total Number of Workers Receiving Between \$40 and \$60 per week	217,898	

GROUP D—We now come to the group of workers who are generally regarded as the labor aristocracy and justly so. This class of workmen despise the word "worker" and look upon themselves as a category distinct from and independent of common labor. Psychologically corrupted with bourgeois ideas and standards, they have abandoned the militancy which formerly characterized their activities and are now engaged in operating non-union coal mines, "labor" banks and insurance schemes in complete harmony and co-operation with the capitalistic interests.

It is not accidental that these workers known collectively as the Big 4 Brotherhoods have gained their privileged position. Their gains are not the result of a militant struggle or the class conscious solidarity of its members but on the contrary they are the concessions designedly granted by the railroad interests in order to split and divide the workers and render them impotent as a conscious force in the ever-increasing struggle between capital and labor.

Hence one must not be surprised to find this group receiving wages higher than their fellow workers. It is a means of keeping them apart and weakening the tremendous potential power of the railroad workers as a single unit. Of course, superficially it appears that the higher wages of the labor aristocracy come from the skilled work they do—but then one asks how was it possible for certain sections of the working class to obtain this skill to the exclusion of the vast majority of the proletariat? The answer is obvious. It was the employers who provided the means in the form of free vocational schools (nominal fee schools, Y. M. C. A., Baron de Hirche's Cooper Unions) and promotions based on seniority as in the railroads. These are the two chief subjective factors which constitute the basis for the existence of a labor aristocracy. Both these factors, that is the vocational schools and promotions are initiated and controlled by the employers. By means of these they seduce and corrupt the more individualistic and ambitious members

of the proletariat and raise them to a labor aristocracy. It is this opportunity furnished by the capitalist for a small minority of the workers which constitutes the bribery. Hence in reality it is not greater skill which commands higher wages—it is indirect bribery shamelessly accepted by the Brotherhoods of Engineers and Conductors at the expense of their underpaid fellow workers the majority of whom receive wages decidedly below the lowest minimum prescribed by the government itself.

It should be kept in mind that the Big 4 Brotherhoods together with the higher paid technical force comprised in Group D total not more than 20 per cent of the total number of railroad employes.

THE figures furnished by the U. S. department of commerce give the total number of railroad workers for the year 1923 as 1,879,770. This grand total includes the "executives," general officers, lieutenants, and sergeants of police, patrolmen, etc. We fail to see, however, how an executive or general officer can be classified as an "employee" or how a police force organized and paid by the railroads to overawe and terrorize the workers can be called useful or necessary to the efficient running of the roads. The well-paid "executives" are nothing but figureheads holding down sinecures while the riff-raff organized as police bullies receive pariah's wages for their contemptible "labor." These two parasitical groups comprise over 14,000 so-called "employees" who pork-barrelled the stupendous sum of over \$75,000,000 in salaries for the year 1923.

THE total amount paid in wages for the year 1923 was \$3,043,161,000. This sum includes the 75 million dollars expended on sinecures and "law and order." Dividing the \$3,043,161,000 among the 1,879,770 workers, we find the average wage to be \$31 per week, a sum absolutely insufficient to support a family in health and decency according to the U. S. department of labor itself. The "prosperity" of the American worker exists principally in the imaginations of the bourgeoisie, in their press and in their propaganda abroad designed to entice foreign workmen to the hell-breathing ten- and twelve-hour day steel furnaces of Gary & Co.

BEFORE passing to the second part of the article dealing with railroad profits, it would be in place to describe the hours of labor in this industry. Unfortunately we cannot do so as the department of commerce withholds all data on the subject of hours. The "basic" day is supposed to consist of eight hours, but this is a myth. By allowing overtime, extras, exceptions, etc., the railroad managers craftily metamorphose the "basic" eight-hour day into a "baseless" day. Of course overtime may be necessary in emergencies but when the "emergencies" are more or less permanent affairs there is an end of the eight-hour day.

(To Be Continued)

Morgan Out to Grab Great Muscle Shoals Resources of Power

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Once more the Alabama Power Co., which is owned by the General Electric trust, which is Morgan & Co., is reaching out to grab the nation's vast hydroelectric power plant at Muscle Shoals.

Its transmission lines are the only ones in the region. It is now using the power from the Wilson dam under a six months lease which it secured during the summer from the secretary of war. Its scheme is that Congress shall yield to the demand of the Coolidge administration that the government rid itself of its power dams, and that the company shall get Muscle Shoals on a 50-year lease, with the privilege of renewal after that period. This would in effect be a sale of the plant to the power trust. It would remove the last opportunity of six southern states to have their rates for electric power and light cut by federal competition.

Shop Nuclei Help Save The Daily Worker

By Jay LOVESTONE.

The shop nuclei of the party have shown themselves to date to be in the front ranks of the party units in rallying to save The DAILY WORKER.

Amongst the highest contributions given to The DAILY WORKER campaign fund are those made by the various shop nuclei. The proportion of shop nuclei contributing in The DAILY WORKER is greater than the proportion of the other party units; likewise the average collected by the shop nuclei members is higher than the average collected by each member in the various branches.

An examination of the lists prepared to date by The DAILY WORKER indicates the following achievements of various shop nuclei:

New York District.

Shop Nucleus	Amount Contributed to date Ending Oct. 29
Shop Nucleus No. 1.....	\$ 46.00
Shop Nucleus No. 2.....	20.00
Shop Nucleus No. 4.....	15.00
Shop Nucleus No. 5.....	4.00
Shop Nucleus No. 6.....	6.00
Shop Nucleus No. 9.....	12.00
Shop Nucleus No. 11.....	3.00
Shop Nucleus No. 12.....	12.00
Shop Nucleus No. 13.....	1.00
Shop Nucleus No. 16.....	9.00
Shop Nucleus No. 22.....	5.00
Shop Nucleus No. 27.....	5.00
Shop Nucleus No. 30.....	1.00
Shop Nucleus No. 31.....	5.00

Chicago District.

Pullman S. N. No. 1.....	\$ 7.00
Chicago S. N. No. 2.....	4.00
Chicago S. N. No. 5.....	306.34
Chicago S. N. No. 8.....	4.00
eigler S. N.	50.00
Gary, Illinois Steel S. N....	38.60
So. Bend Studebaker S. N.	5.00
Gary Steel Mills S. N.....	11.65
Kenosha, Wis., S. N.....	10.00

Total\$749.59

It must be remembered that at present, the average membership of a shop nucleus is much smaller than that of our branches. Considering this fact, it certainly is creditable to the shop nuclei members that 22 of their units have been able to collect over \$700 of the approximately \$16,000 already collected for The DAILY WORKER.

But we must admit that a number of the shop nuclei have not yet done their share. A number of the shop nuclei have been inexcusably negligent in participating in this important effort to put The DAILY WORKER on its feet.

The fact of the matter is that this campaign affords the comrades an excellent opportunity to bring the party's ideas and purposes before masses of non-Communist workers. We hereby specifically point out the shop nuclei which have so far, according to our records, failed to do their bit for The DAILY WORKER. Perhaps some of the individual members of the shop nuclei in this district list have participated in this drive and have their contributions registered as part of the contribution of party units to which they are not affiliated. This does not remove our criticism. Each shop nucleus, as a party unit, should organize its own little campaign as part of the general party campaign. Each shop nucleus should try to put itself as a basic party unit, in the front ranks of the workers for this party campaign.

The list of shop nuclei which have not yet directly responded, as shop nuclei, to The DAILY WORKER call for help, follows:

New York District (No. 2)

Elizabeth, N. J.: Shop Nucleus No. 1 and No. 2. New York City: Shop Nucleus Nos. 3, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28 and 29.

Pittsburgh (No. 5)

Pittsburgh, Pa., Shop Nucleus No. 1.

Ohio (No. 6)

East Liverpool, Ohio: Shop Nucleus No. 1.

Chester, W. Va.: Shop Nucleus No. 1.
Warren, Ohio: Shop Nucleus, No. 1.
Detroit (No. 7)

Detroit, Mich.: Shop Nucleus No. 2, and 4.

Chicago (No. 8)

Chicago, Ill.: Shop Nucleus No. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 9.

Dowell, Ill.: Shop Nucleus No. 1.

Pullman, Ill.: Shop Nucleus No. 2, and 4.

Frankfort Heights, Ill.: Shop Nucleus No. 1.

West Frankfort, Ill.: Shop Nucleus No. 2.

Connecticut (No. 15)

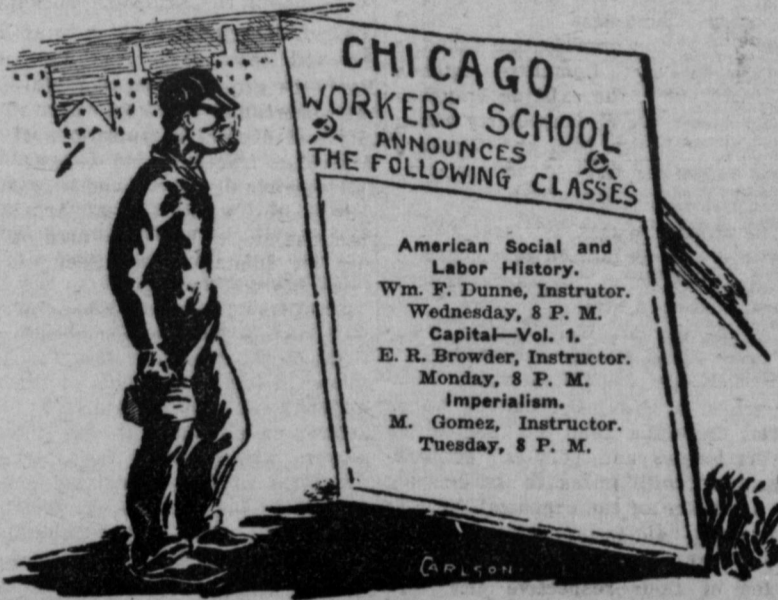
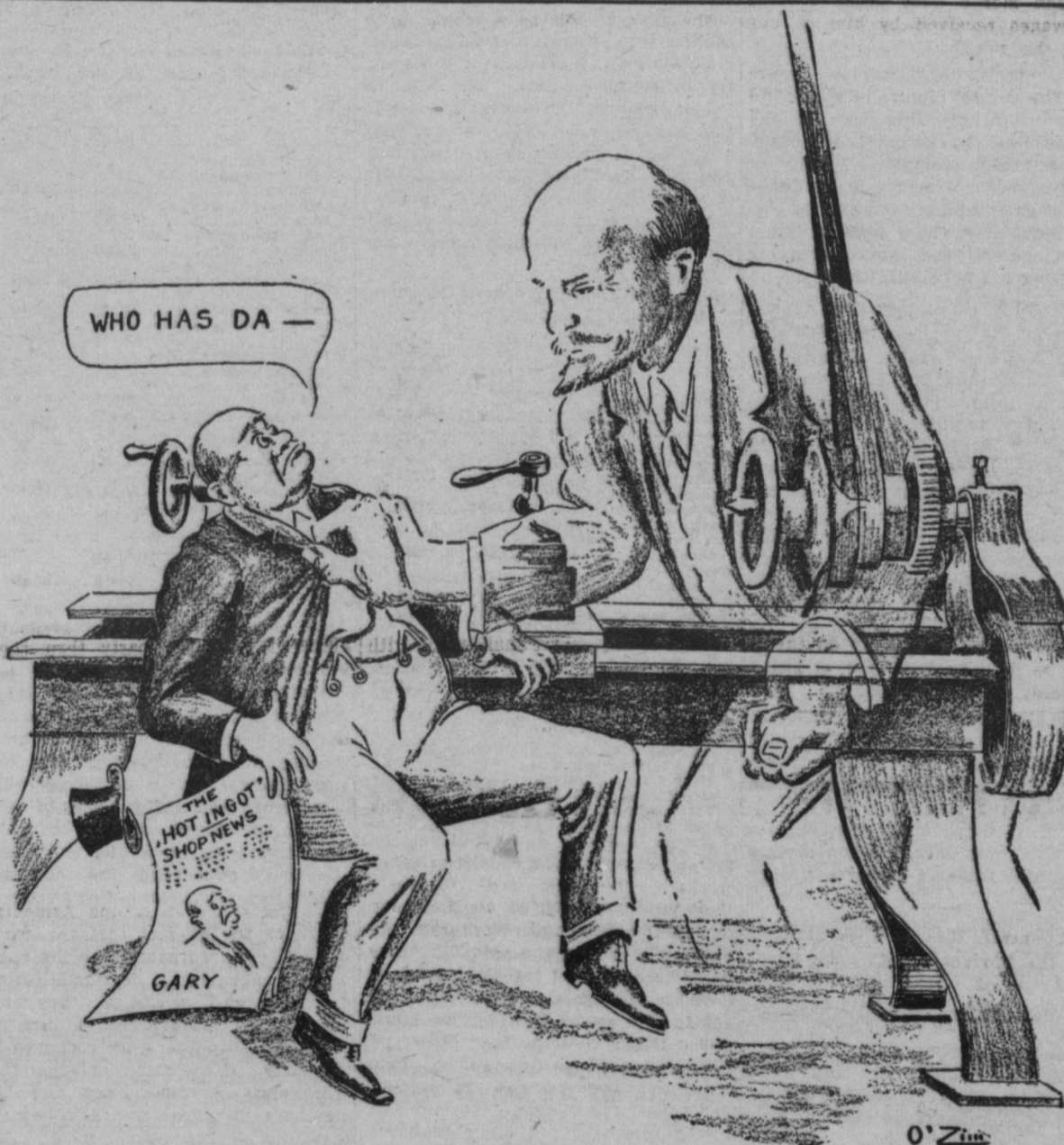
Shelton, Conn.: Shop Nucleus No. 1. The comrades of the shop nuclei should utilize their strategic positions of having direct contact with the non-Communist workers in the factories. These comrades should without fail, redouble their efforts and show that they can deservedly be called the most active members of our party.

The purpose of the publication of these facts is to stir the comrades of the shop nuclei who have already gotten some results to intensify their activities and at least redouble their results in a short while. The comrades in the shop nuclei which have

not yet put themselves on the map in the campaign to Save The DAILY WORKER should at once call meetings of their nuclei and make The DAILY WORKER the first order of business. Each shop nucleus should then, as a party unit, pledge itself a certain quota which it will raise in The DAILY WORKER campaign.

We feel certain that the comrades organized in the existing shop nuclei should be able to gather at least thirty-five hundred of the forty thousand dollars that The DAILY WORKER must have in order to insure its existence.

THE SHOP NUCLEUS AT WORK



Enroll for classes now. Registration fee, \$1.00. For each additional class 5 cents. All classes begin week of November 15. Send enrollments to Earl Browder, director of Workers' School, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., or Oliver Carlson, Secretary, 19 S. Lincoln street.

Youth Club to Hear Max Bedacht Sunday

The West Side Freiheit Jugend Club, will celebrate the eight anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic with a public meeting at which the main speaker will be Max Bedacht on the "Russian Revolution."—On Sunday Nov. 8th.

The organization appeals particularly to the young folks—but to this meeting invites all workers to the Odd Fellows Hall at the corner of Albany and 12th St.

Read—Write—distribute The DAILY WORKER.

The Walden Book Shop

307 Plymouth Court
(Between State and Dearborn
Just South of Jackson)
CHICAGO

The New Party Constitution

By Jay Lovestone

THE organizational department has received a number of questions from various sections of the country regarding the application of certain sections of the party constitution.

Beginning with this article, there will be published a series of articles answering the various questions raised.

Not only will we discuss various provisions of the new constitution, but we will try to explain the concrete application of these provisions in the light of the party reorganization campaign.

Question No. 1. "If a comrade makes \$200 one month, and so on, what will be the dues payment for this comrade?"

Answer: Every party member is to pay each month dues based on the total wages received by him or her during the month. It would be incorrect to have any other system of dues payments, for example — such as an average for six months. The workers do not have sufficient funds to enable them to make payments on such a long time basis. Likewise, if a comrade is out of work during a certain month, he should receive his exempt stamp for that month. If a comrade makes more in one month than in another, then he should pay more dues in the month in which he earns more. This rule should be strictly observed by all district organizers and party members. It is the simplest, most practicable and fairest application of the graduated dues payment scale established in our party.

The old design of dues stamp, that is, the old 50 cent stamp, should serve, until further notice, as the fifty cent regular, standard dues stamp which every party member must buy. The 25 cents, 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1 denomination stamps, with the picture of the worker and a factory on them, should be used until further arrangements only as the extra stamps. That

is, if a party member makes less than \$125 during the month, he will pay that month 50 cents and therefore buy only the regular fifty cent dues stamp. On the other hand, supposing that in the month of November a party member earns \$150-\$175 then, when he pays dues for the month of November, he will pay all in all, a total of \$1.00 for that month. He will buy his regular 50c dues stamp and an extra stamp of 50c.

The question may be raised as to the district organizer knowing definitely how much each member makes during a particular month. We must simply rely on the Communist integrity of the party members to make accurate reports as to the basis of their dues payments.

The D. O.'s will have to see to it that every party unit submits to them a report of the dues payments indicating clearly, first of all, how many of the regular dues stamps have been purchased in every party unit. This will serve as an effective measure to ascertain the number of members found in every shop or street nucleus. Secondly, the amount of extra stamps sold should likewise be indicated.

Question No. 2. "In what category of dues payments are housewives who are earning nothing?"

Answer: Housewives earning no wages will be considered in the same class with those comrades who earn less than \$125 a month. They will be required to pay 50c a month in dues. They will not be exempt. To exempt housewives of this category (that is, those who are not earning anything) would mean to reestablish the dual stamp basis, indirectly, but yet just as firmly, as it ever existed before.

Question No. 3. "The (X) Language Section of our party has 45 members at large to day. What shall we do with these members, after reorganization, and the abolition of the federation

branches? How shall these members at large be connected with the party?"

Answer: After reorganization, the comrades who are now members at large will be connected with the party in the following two ways:

A. They will be connected with the district organization in the territory in which they find themselves today. That is, a party unit in the city which a member at large lives or works will be connected with the shop or street nucleus in this city. If there is no such party unit in this city of residence or employment, he will be connected directly with the district office under whose supervision the territory in which he finds himself is.

B. In those instances where comrades now members at large find themselves living or working in that section of the country in which there is no party district organization yet, and which is today called the National Office Territory, such comrades will be connected with the party directly thru the national office of the party.

We desire to abolish the existence of this category of membership known as members at large. The Communist Party must be based on active members, and not on those whose sole basis of membership is to be found in their dues payments. Of course, we recognize that there may be comrades living or working in sections of the country where no party units are as yet organized. In these instances, these comrades connected with the district or national office of the party serves as special party outposts, so to say, in organized or unorganized territory. In such instances, such comrades will serve the party effectively by striving to win over enough workers to enable them to organize party units as soon as possible.

The members at large presently affiliated with the party thru their dues payments to the various language sections will maintain their

contact with the national language propaganda bureaus only for the purpose of carrying on certain Communist activities among the workers of their particular language fraction bureau. But these members will pay their dues to and maintain their affiliation with the party only thru the party organization as such,—either thru the district office, or the national office, as the conditions dictate.

Question No. 4. "How will the language propaganda bureaus be able to raise funds efficiently among their respective language fractions if they are not permitted to collect dues or any special assessments thru selling or issuing such stamps?"

Answer: The system of dues payment thru the federations is abolished. Dues are to be paid thru the district offices from now on.

Whenever a particular fraction bureau desires to raise funds for a campaign, let us say, for its press, or any other activity, it will secure permission from the C. E. C. of the party, to participate in the raising of such funds.

In the event that a certain propaganda fraction bureau desires to levy any assessment or set up a certain quota of which each member must collect a minimum portion, the C. E. C. will take the following procedure: Special permission will be granted to various fraction bureaus to circulate what we may call special assessment lists, on which the comrades belonging to the various language fractions will sign the names of the contributors and the amount given by each contributor. These lists are to be returned by the various local and district language fractions to the national language fraction bureau which directs the activities of the party members in the numerous language fractions carrying on the party's work among the various national groups of workers.

Armenian Communists---Join the Party!

Statement of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party

THE Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party calls upon those Armenian workers who declare themselves to be Communists but who are still organized separately from the Workers (Communist) Party and its Armenian section, to join the party and to carry on their work in support of Communist principles thru the party organization.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party has for more than three years been carrying on a continuous campaign to unite all of the Armenian Communists in the Workers (Communist) Party and its Armenian section so that the energies of all the convinced Communists could be used for work among the Armenian masses. In spite of the efforts of the Central Executive Committee, there still remain outside of the party and its Armenian section a group of former members of the Armenian Workers Party. It is the view of the Central Executive Committee that these comrades were misled and that it is not their desire to put themselves in opposition to the party. It is therefore that the Central Executive Committee has decided to open the way for these comrades to affiliate with the party and to carry on active Communist work among the Armenian masses as part of the Workers (Communist) Party.

IN making this decision, the Central Executive Committee again emphasizes that no Communist can, under any circumstances withdraw from a Communist Party because he is in disagreement with the Central Executive Committee on some questions of tactics or policy which does not involve the fundamental principles and policies of the party. It was the duty

of Sunarian as well as all the members of the Armenian Workers Party who were of his viewpoint to carry out the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the party in relation to the organization of the Armenian section, even tho they disagreed with this decision. It was because these members did not understand this fundamental Communist duty that they find themselves outside of the organized Communist movement in this country. It is with the understanding that in future the comrades who made this error will carry out all the decisions of the party and its Central Executive Committee as disciplined members of the organization that the Central Executive Committee extends an invitation to the existing branches of the Armenian Workers Party which are not affiliated with the Workers (Communist) Party to immediately become a part of the party.

The procedure should be that wherever there are organized groups of the former Armenian Workers Party which are not affiliated with the Workers (Communist) Party, these organizations should immediately adopt resolutions to apply for a charter as a branch of the Workers Party, declaring their acceptance of the principles and policies of the party and willingness to submit to the discipline of the organization.

Branches which take this action will be affiliated with the city committee of their respective city or direct with the district organization if no city committees exist. They will purchase their dues stamps thru the city committee or district committee as the case may be, as all branches of the party now purchase their stamps.

The Central Executive Committee

calls the attention of the Armenian branches to the fact that the party is now being reorganized on the basis of shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) and that they must be prepared to have their branch reorganized with the other branches of the party. At the same time that this reorganization takes place and the members of these branches become members of the shop nuclei and street nuclei, the members will also be organized as part of the Armenian fraction of the party by becoming incorporated in the organization for work among the Armenian workers.

BY taking prompt action to affiliate with the Workers (Communist) Party the groups in question will have the opportunity to become part of the city and district organizations of the Armenian fractions and to establish full opportunity for them to participate in the work of these Armenian fractions and to be represented on the city and district committees of the Armenian fractions.

So far as certain members of the group in question are concerned who were expelled from the party because of their direct violation of the discipline of the Central Executive Committee of the party, the Central Executive Committee will be glad to consider each such case and the circumstances surrounding same, to do whatever possible to reinstate such members to the right of party membership. This reinstatement, however, will only take place after acknowledgement of the errors for which the member was expelled from the party. The individuals who were thus expelled must apply to the Central Executive Committee in writing for reinstatement in the party.

The Central Executive Committee of

the party is of the opinion that the procedure outlined above offers the opportunity for the unification of all Armenian Communists who have a sincere desire to become part of the organized Communist movement of this country. It is time that the wounds received by the Communist movement among the Armenian masses be healed and all the convinced Communists join together to build the influence of the party among the Armenian masses. It urges all the members of the group of Armenian Communists outside of the party to take immediate advantage of the opportunity to rejoin the party presented to them in this statement and assures them that the Central Executive Committee will do all in its power to permanently heal the breach that has existed among the Armenian Communists.

Central Executive Committee
Workers (Communist) Party.

C. E. Ruthenberg,
General secretary.

**RUSSIAN BRANCH TO
CELEBRATE 8TH YEAR
IN CHICAGO, NOV. 8TH**

A mass meeting and concert in honor of the eighth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution is arranged by the Russian Branch of the Workers Party for Sunday, Nov. 8, at 6 p. m., at the Workers' House, 1902 W. Division St. Admission free. Come and bring your friends. Russian speakers, a musical program.

The Greatest Labor Leader - By Norman H. Tallentire

ON the eve of the third month of the anthracite coal strike, or "suspension of mining" as the strike is dubbed locally, John L. Lewis, International President of the United Mine Workers of America, broke his silence, and after innumerable cabinet conferences with citizens' committees, committees from chamber of commerce, and similar aggregations, condescended to address himself to the members of his own organization, the striking miners, on "Mitchell Day" in the Victoria Theater, at Shamokin, Pennsylvania, in the heart of the hard coal region.

This was an unusual event and on our arrival in town, as we mingled with the crowds, who were assembling by the hundreds from nearby towns, we noted an air of expectancy, and intense interest amongst the miners of the prospect of hearing Lewis speak.

NOT only the miners, but the townspeople were all agog, the advent of this labor leader being signaled by a display of national flags on house and store as requested by District President Golden "In honor of Mr. Lewis."

The interest of the striking miners however, was not confined merely to looking upon their president. Having been on strike for eight weeks their interest was chiefly concerned with the conduct of the strike and with a possible settlement. As the crowd of three thousand miners jammed the theater, comment was heard between groups of strikers from different sections.

"Down at Eagle Hill," says one, "there was a big meeting the other day in respect to strike relief." It was stated that the orders for food supplies, issued by the local union officers, were being drawn on one particular store, where prices were twenty to thirty per cent higher than in nearby stores. In answer to protest by strikers and their wives they were told, "you take the order drawn on the store which we give you or you get no order at all." With this, for the present, the miners had to be satisfied.

"DOWN at Port Carbon," another interjected, "they are checking up on all the girls working in the silk mills, and laying off the daughters of striking miners." Yet another miner spoke up. "I see they have thousands of tons of bituminous coal laying by the Reading tracks outside of Pottsville, and there's a shovel at work on the slack pile over near Gilberton."

These reports from different sections and the comments by the miners, showed clearly that the miners had immediate problems to be solved, in connection with the strike, chief among these being the question of relief for the miners, this question again being intimately bound up with the duration of the strike. Hence the keen interest displayed by all miners on the methods of giving out relief, the firing of strikers' daughters from silk mills, and the substitution of soft for hard coal on local railroads.

THE possible duration of the strike, whether it will last to December first, or until the first of the year, aroused sharp discussion. Says one miner, "I see in the last Journal that locals in soft coal are passing resolutions demanding a general strike." And another, "If this goes on much longer, we will have to call out the maintenance men, and make the bosses come to time."

These are the issues uppermost in the minds of the miners as they assemble for the meeting and promptly at 10 a. m. to the strains of a Sousa march, Mr. Lewis and "his party" appear on the flag-draped stage. "The party" consisted of the mayor of Shamokin, a representative of every church in Shamokin, Mr. Lewis, Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy, President Cappellini of District No. 1, and a number of lesser luminaries with Chris Golden, president of District No. 9, and chairman of the meeting.

THE first speaker is the Rev. Father Boyle, who does a good job for his church, by talking as an ex-miner and a union man, in the language of the miners, about the struggle of the

union in the nineties, and urging all present to stand by their leaders in the present struggle. The Reverend Harvey J. Barney (or some such name) of the United Brethren church next graces the exercises, reading from several closely written pages an effusion of consummate hypocrisy, characteristic of the hidebound puritanical bigots who infest this region.

Speaking in an affected, sonorous, funeral voice, this scintillating genius opines, that religion is a prerequisite to thinking and that accumulation of surplus wealth—a curse of society today—is caused by the unregeneracy of the human heart. Such snivelling balderdash as this brot forth considerable applause from the audience.

Cappellini speaks a few words in fulsome and fawning praise of Lewis, followed by Fahey, who drivels about the early days with Mitchell and other pioneers, about his own present sickness and his many meetings with Mitchell, McBride and others. After a brief speech from Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy, a wire is read from Phil Murray in Pittsburgh apologizing for his absence and then President Mattie of District No. 7 takes the stand, having been brot to the stage from the audience to speak in Murray's place.

THIS speaker proves to be the buffoon of the program, the house being frequently in an uproar during his talk. At every reference to any event in the history of the union since 1886 Mattie assures the audience that "I was there, too, mind you." This speaker does not seem to be in good grace with the official family, especially when his remarks seem to indicate a demand for a full strike program, with all the maintenance men pulled out in the anthracite, and if necessary that a general strike be called.

As Mattie waxes eloquent along these lines, Mr. Lewis and Golden look at their watches and Lewis particularly begins to squirm in his seat. However, after a while Mattie desists from his inopportune remarks and President Golden makes a spread eagle speech introducing Lewis as "the greatest labor leader in the world," a statement Lewis survives without a flicker of an eyelid.

IT is now eleven forty a. m. and the theater (which on this occasion has been donated by the management who refused to permit the miners to hold meetings in any of their chain of theaters during the 1922 strike), must be vacated before the time for the afternoon show. The meeting is well managed so that no rude interruptions may interfere with the well-oiled program. As Lewis advances to the front of the stage the band strikes up the "Star Spangled Banner," the audience rising meanwhile, and after some perfunctory applause for "the greatest labor leader," Lewis speaks.

Dealing entirely with past history, Mr. Lewis omits any reference to the problems suggested by comments of the strikers previous to the meeting. The address is merely a rehash of the speech delivered by Lewis at Hazleton on August 25 before the "suspension" commenced. With meticulous care he relates the progress—or non-progress—of the negotiations with the operators' committee, interspersed with reference to previous struggles of the miners since 1920, and to his interviews with President Harding in respect to "arbitration, etc."

LEWIS charges that the present strike is the result of deliberate planning by the operators in an attempt to break the union and reduce the miners to conditions of serfdom, and to enable the operators to sell their stocks of low grade coal at profiteers' prices. Mr. Lewis asserts "that the plot to force a suspension of mining has been carried out during several months with mathematical precision by the operators."

Speaking particularly for the benefit of the nebulous "public," he states that the demand for arbitration put forward by the operators is at once a bluff and an evidence of weakness. "Only when we are strong are we offered arbitration. When I asked President Harding for arbitration in Mingo county, West Virginia, in 1920, it was

refused. Now they insist on arbitration."

Lewis insists that the miners will never submit the question of their bread and butter and their working conditions to men with little or no knowledge of the industry and its perils (alho he has just related several instances when he himself clamored for arbitration), stating that the cry of businessmen for peace and stability in the industry is the cry of interested parties who desire a termination of the strike in order that their own little profit-making schemes may go on uninterrupted. But the speaker insists that the struggle must go on, that "never in any struggle in history have fighters desisted for the sake of non-combatants."

DEALING with statements of Samuel Warriner, the spokesman of the coal operators, that the miners of the anthracite "must be cured of the strike habit," Lewis reiterates his charge that the bosses and not the miners are responsible for the present strike.

This is the one point in this suave talk of Mr. Lewis where the least suggestion of the struggle between two definite groups in society is indicated. The struggle between exploited and exploiters as expressed in definite class alignments is glossed over by this exponent of "true Americanism" to use his own phrase, but the right of the miners to quit work as free American workmen is put forward in true A. F. of L. language, and at no point in his discourse does Mr. Lewis remotely suggest the role of the bosses' government in the present fight.

This in spite of the fact that already many meetings of striking miners have been broken up by the local and state police, backed up by the officers of the U. M. W. of A., who have endorsed the disbanding of meetings of miners in Scranton, Plymouth, Luzerne, Shenandoah, Exeter and other sections. This breaking up of progressive miners' meetings is reminiscent of incidents related by other speakers, about the early struggles of union organizers in this very region.

After about seventy minutes have

elapsed, during which Lewis has simply reaffirmed his statement of August 25, he looks at his watch and states that "many other matters might be here discussed, but the hour grows unseemingly." Despite the fact that 150,000 miners have been unemployed for eight weeks without any apparent gain being made by the strikers, this "leader" has no suggestions to offer in order to intensify and to end the struggle.

THE calling out of the maintenance men is never even suggested and no reference whatever is made to the possibility of a general strike as indicated in the close of Lewis' speech before the Tri-District convention at Scranton on June 30. In spite of the fact that the bosses' agents refuse even to discuss the possibility of wage increase, demanded by the miners, the miners' leaders still permit members of the union to take very good care of the bosses' property, and so far as we can gather from the speech of President Lewis, no matter how long the struggle in the hard coal fields goes on, the miners in the bituminous fields will continue to mine soft coal to be used as a substitute for anthracite.

In the meantime, as indicated by the talk of the miners before the meeting, the miners and their families are relying on "relief funds" for support in many instances, in others they are running up bills which will take many weary months to pay after work in the mines is resumed, and the possibility of a long drawn struggle with "compromise" at the end looms as a nightmare before the striking workers.

NO proposal has been submitted whereby the forces of this great union (500,000 strong) may be brought to bear on the enemy. No suggestion has been made as to how the miners will exist if the struggle continues "until December or until the first of the year." The decorous meeting is closed as "the hour grows unseemingly," and the miners are hustled out of the theater to the strain of more martial music, having heard no practical suggestion as to the next steps to be taken to win their fight come from "the greatest labor leader in the world."

Research Department Book Reviews

"GETTING READY FOR THE NEXT WAR."

The Great Pacific War. A History of the American-Japanese Campaign of 1931-33, by Hector C. Bywater, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925. \$2.50.

THIS book is worthy of attention, not because there is any probability of the next war following the lines of Bywater's book, but because of the light it throws upon the thoroughness with which the war-makers are charting all the possible problems of all the possible wars, knowing as they do that war is inevitable under capitalism, and unable to foresee where the anarchy of their system will draw the lines between the combatants. Of greater interest would it be to have had Mr. Bywater's views of a struggle in the Pacific based upon a war between the United States and Great Britain. That, too, is doubtless figured out in many details by the military experts of both sides. But they are too discreet to publish imaginative accounts based upon them.

The book under review is obviously the work of a naval specialist. It deals almost entirely with the technical side of modern warfare between imperialist states. Taken for what it is, it is of considerable interest and is well-written. But after the experiences of the world war, even the technicians who try to avoid such matters, must deal with the political and social ponderable factors which play such a decisive role in modern war. Thus Bywater shows Japan initiating the war in order to smash a semi-bolshevist rising at home. He is forced to bring in the growing nationalist movement in China as a factor in the defeat of Japan. But thruout his ac-

count the other imperialist nations are carefully and completely out of the scene, and the "Great Pacific War" does not become a world war.

Curiously enuf, Bywater finds that Russia is still under the Soviets in 1931, alho he ventures little prophecy as to its policies, internal position, and international relations. He would say, doubtless, that here is no significance in this because he is basing his study of a possible war upon the present relation of forces and is not attempting a prophecy of possible world readjustments. It still remains of some importance, that no experts are attempting nowadays to set the date of the fall of Soviet Russia.

The next great war will not be at all so simple as Mr. Bywater makes his imaginary Japanese-American war. Not only will it involve, necessarily, another alignment of the entire capitalist world into two camps, but it will deal from the beginning with a revolutionary labor movement, with revolting colonial peoples, and with Soviet Russia. Any study of war that leaves these things out of account today, or deals with them only incidentally, is of no great importance.

It is rather amusing to see the New Republic, in a review of Bywater's book, consoling its semi-pacifist soul with the reflection that it proves war is "unprofitable." The New Republic seems to think that wars are caused by propaganda, and that enuf counter-propaganda to show that it is "unprofitable" and "unethical" will prevent war. But nothing can prevent the "next war" except a proletarian revolution that removes the root of war—the capitalist system of production.—Earl E. Browder.