

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

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Russian Labor's Tasks in 1906

By V. I. Lenin

The following article by Comrade Lenin appeared for the first time in the Molodaja Rossiya (Young Russia) of 4th January 1906. Ed.

WHEREIN consists the peculiarity of the situation of the great Russian revolution? It consists in the fact that the further events have completely exposed with all its hollow-ness of the Czar's Manifesto of 17th October. The constitutional illusions have been destroyed. Reaction prevails all along the line. Despotism has been completely restored, it has even been "deepened" by the dictatorial rights of Eastern satrapism, beginning with Dubassov* right down to the lower police authorities.

Civil war is raging. The political strike, as such, is beginning to exhaust itself, it is beginning to be left behind as an obsolete form of the movement in the past. In St. Petersburg, for example, the exhausted and enfeebled workers were not able to carry thru the December strike. On the other hand the movement, although it is stifled for the present by the reaction, has doubtless reached a much higher stage.

The heroic Moscow proletariat showed that it is possible to conduct an active struggle, and drew along with it a mass of such sections of the population who have hitherto been politically indifferent, if not reactionary. The Moscow events, however, represent one of the most definite forms of the "tendency" which revealed itself in all the corners of Russia. The new form of action was confronted with tasks of such a gigantic character that they of course could not be solved at one stroke. These tasks are now, however, clearly confronting the entire people, the movement is being raised to a higher level, it is becoming steeled and consolidated. The revolution can no longer be deprived of these achievements.

Dubassov's cannons revolutionized enormous masses of fresh people. The new farce of the Duma encountered far greater hostility in the ranks of the advanced fighters and an incomparably greater scepticism in the ranks of the bourgeoisie than did the old Bulygin Duma. What is the situation now?

We will look the facts straight in the face. A new task now confronts us of assimilating and analysing the lessons of recent forms of struggle, a work of preparing and organizing the forces in the chief centers of the movement.

It would be of great advantage to the government to suppress, as hitherto, the scattered and isolated actions of the proletariat. The government would very much like to provoke the

(*) Admiral Dubassov, general governor of Moscow, who suppressed the Moscow revolt in December 1905.

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

WE are now in the days preceding the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Russian revolution of 1905.

The day set apart by the Communist International is Dec. 20th. On this day great mass meetings and demonstrations will be held in all parts of the world. In the Union of Soviet Republics the anniversary celebrations will be held in the humblest hamlets as well as in the greatest cities.

This anniversary must receive a fitting observance from great masses of American workers and farmers. In order to better acquaint labor in this country with the 1905 Russian revolution, the forerunner of the Bolshevik triumph of November, 1917, THE DAILY WORKER will publish from time to time special articles on the 1905 struggle for power, while in December a special issue will be devoted to this historic event. Read these articles and pass them out among other workers.

workers in St. Petersburg to immediate struggle under most disadvantageous conditions for the latter. The workers, however, will not respond to this provocation and will succeed in pursuing their own course of independent preparation for the further action which will extend over the whole country.

Forces are to hand for such an action: they are growing more quickly than we. Only a limited portion of these forces were drawn into the stream of the December events. The movement has not by a long way revealed its entire breadth and depth.

Let us cast a glance at the moderate bourgeois and ultra-reactionary press. Nobody, not even the Novoye Vremya (The New Times, organ of the re-

actionary nobility. Ed.) places any belief in the boastings of the government that it will immediately nip any new action in the bud. Nobody doubts that the enormous-inflammable material—the peasantry—will really blaze up next spring. Nobody believes that the government will or can honestly convene the Duma under the old system of repressions, of bureaucracy, of deprivation of rights, etc.

Not irresponsible acts of revolutionaries, which in such a situation are a hundred times more dangerous than the decisive action, but obvious facts, which are even recognized by opponents of the revolution, go to prove that the "victory" of the government in Moscow has rendered its position more desperate than it was before Octo-

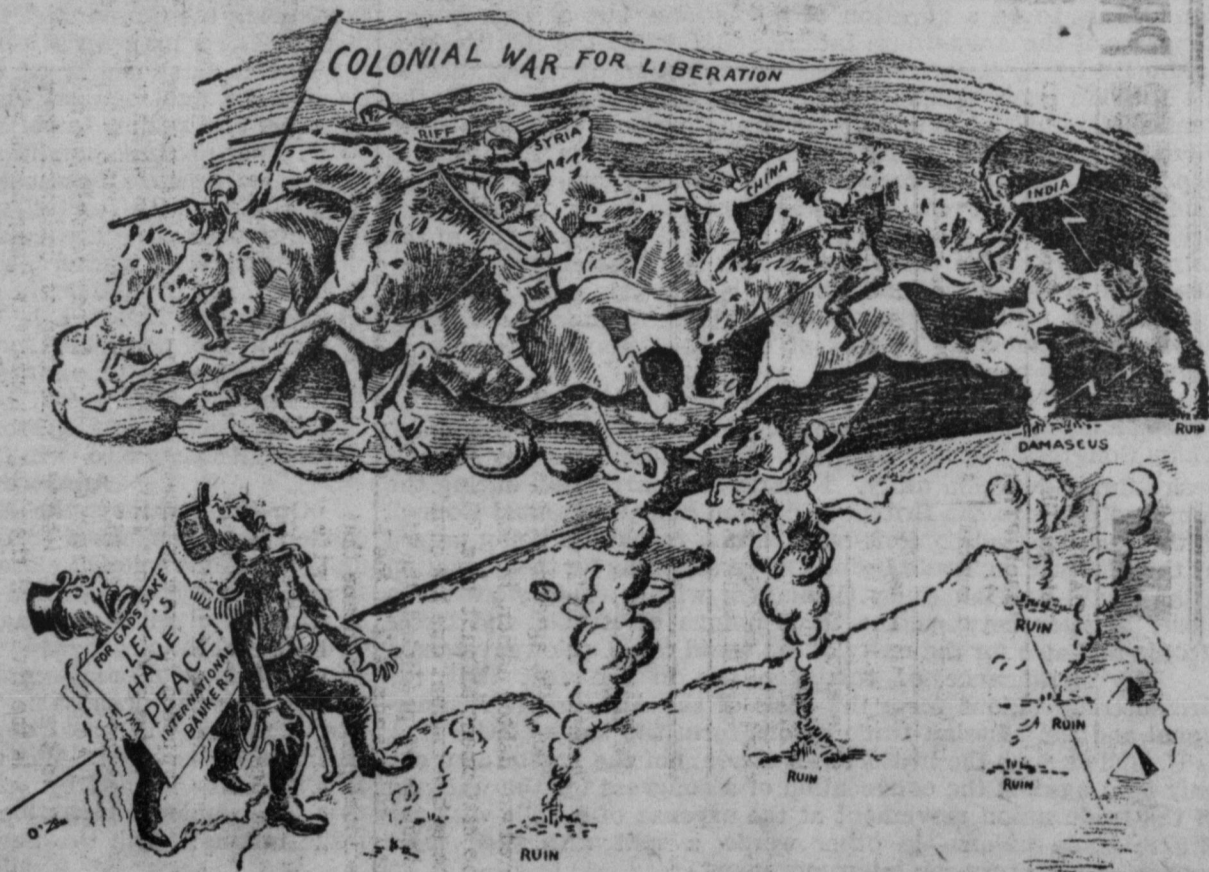
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The peasants' revolt is growing. The financial collapse is approaching. The gold currency is losing its value. The deficit of half a milliard rubles cannot be made good even with all the help of the reactionary bourgeoisie of Europe who are hastening to the aid of despotism. All those troops who are ready to fight against the revolution have been called up, but the "pacification of the Caucasus and Siberia" is farther off than ever. The ferment in the army and in the fleet, which found clear expression after the 17th October, will of course not be stifled by the employment of force against the fighters for freedom throughout all Russia. The return of the war prisoners and the return of the Manchurian army will only increase the ferment. The mobilization of fresh divisions of troops against the enemy at home only entails fresh dangers to despotism. The crisis has not only not been solved, on the contrary, it has only been extended by the Moscow "victory."

The socialist labor party must be clear regarding its tasks. Down with the constitutional illusions! The "lessons" of the two great revolutionary months (November and December) must "be collected." Everywhere where it is necessary we must know how to go over into illegality. The enormous tasks of the new action must be faced more definitely, the preparations for the same must be carried out with more perseverance and more systematically, the forces of the proletariat, exhausted by the strikes, must,

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The Growing March Against Tyranny



The Movement for World Trade Union Unity

By TOM BELL.

This is the fifth instalment of a series of articles dealing with the question of World Trade Union Unity. This instalment deals with the Red International of Labor Unions and International Trade Union Unity. Following instalments will deal with the American Federation of Labor and Unity, the Development of Trade Union Unity, and What to do for Trade Union Unity.

The Red International of Labor Unions and World Trade Union Unity.

Since its formation, the R. I. L. U. has consistently combatted the treacherous reformistic leadership of Amsterdam, because it is this leadership that is responsible for the split in the trade union movement of the world. As long ago as November, 1922, the R. I. L. U., at its Second World Congress, expressed its viewpoint on the necessity of trade union unity in a thesis in which the following paragraph is contained:

"If the workers will not succeed in attacking capitalism by the united front, they will not only suffer new defeats, not only greater misery and slavery will await them, but they will even lose their organizations and remain completely disarmed."

This serves to prove that the slogan of world trade union unity is no mere diabolical plot on the part of the R. I. L. U. or the Communist International, but that this policy and this slogan flow from the fundamental conception of the R. I. L. U. as to the role of the revolutionary trade unions and adherents of the R. I. L. U. in every country.

With the growth of the revolutionary minorities within the trade unions affiliated with Amsterdam, the bureaucracies proved that they were willing even to smash the trade unions rather than allow them to fall into the hands of revolutionary leadership. The splitting of the trade union movement by the reformists has been carried so far in France and Czecho-Slovakia that the trade union movement was cleft in twain in order that the reformists could maintain their positions of leadership. These desperate measures were taken by the social-democratic leadership in order to maintain their position of close alliance with the capitalists that they had maintained thruout the period of the world war. The role of these labor leaders has been correctly stated time and again by the R. I. L. U. as that of the last bulwark of capitalism.

The capitalist offensive upon the standard of living and the organizations of the working class beginning in 1920 found its greatest allies in the leaders of Amsterdam, since they sabotaged every effort of the organized workers to defend themselves against this vicious attack and it was precisely owing to the success of this attack by the international capitalist class upon the working class that the R. I. L. U. issued the slogan of the unity of the world trade union movement in order to successfully combat this attack of the capitalists upon the standard of living and the trade unions of the working class.

At the Third World Congress of the R. I. L. U., July, 1924, the following appears in a resolution regarding the question of international trade union unity:

"Never for a moment stopping its determined fight against all manifestations of reformism within the international labor movement, mercilessly revealing all its treacherous substance, untiringly explaining this to all workers who do not understand yet the role of reformism as a brake to the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation, the Third Congress, in the interests of a united leadership in the struggle of the workers against the economic offensive of capital and fascist reaction, considers it the most pressing task of its activity to develop a widespread campaign among the working masses in favor of the unity of the international labor union movement."

From that time on, the R. I. L. U. has not allowed this question merely to be a question of resolutions, but at the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam International, when the British delegation led by A. A. Purcell raised the question of admittance of the Russian trade unions into the Amsterdam International, the Central Council of the Russian trade unions telegraphed to Vienna an offer of negotiations to heal the split in the international trade union movement. At the Vienna Congress the usual kind of hypocritical resolution was passed in order to soothe the British delegation. This resolution admitted the possibility of the entry of the Russian trade unions into the Amsterdam International, but had reservations which said that this entry would be "on the basis of the existing statutes of the Amsterdam International" and that "the dignity of the Amsterdam International should be observed."

At the Sixth All-Russian Trade Union Congress there was present a delegation representing the Council of the British Trade Union Congress. At this congress, these leaders re-affirmed their desire for trade union unity. Negotiations carried on during the congress between the British delegation and the Central Council of the Russian trade unions resulted in a resolution being passed by the All-Russian Trade Union Congress calling for the formation of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee which would work for a closer alliance between the trade unions of Russia and Great Britain and also for the unity of the world trade union movement.

The significance of this step lies in the fact that the British trade unions form the basis of the Amsterdam International and the Russian trade unions form the basis of the R. I. L. U., and as such the traitorous leadership of the Amsterdam can only fight against the convocation of a congress for the unifying of the trade union movement at the expense of a split with the British trade unions—in other words, a split with their main support in the European labor movement.

Is unity of the trade union movement possible? The two trade union internationals, the Red International of Labor Unions and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions are separated by a deep gulf of principle and practice. On the one hand, the Amsterdammers have proven themselves to be agents of capitalism working within the labor movement, defenders of capitalism who stand for unity with the capitalist class. On the other hand, the R. I. L. U. stands for uncompromising warfare against capitalism. Amsterdam has unity with the capitalists to preserve capitalism, by sabotaging every struggle of the working class against capitalism, while the R. I. L. U. works to destroy capitalism.

In face of these fundamental differences, why is it that the R. I. L. U. issues the slogan of trade union unity? The objective of the Communists is to win the masses from the reformists for revolutionary struggle against capitalism and the unity of the trade unions will create a broader field in which the Communists will work for winning the masses to the revolutionary banner. The menace of the Dawes plan, fascism, imperialist war and the capitalist offensive on the workers' standard of living can only be combatted by a united front of all workers. For these reasons the R. I. L. U. has issued the slogan and taken practical steps towards effecting world trade union unity.

Bolshevism Against Splits in Trade Unions.

The struggle for unity in the trade union movement flows logically from the Bolshevik attitude towards the trade unions during the entire history of the Bolshevik Party. The Bolsheviks fought to preserve trade union unity not only when they were in the majority but also when they were in the minority in the trade unions. Prior to the November revolution, when the mensheviks were in the majority in the trade unions, the Bolsheviks combatted all splitting tendencies, considering it one of their major tasks if the proletarian revolution was to be successful, to win the majority of the organized workers to the support of their policy. When the Bolsheviks won a majority in the trade unions, they likewise fought against all splits.

The Communist International and the R. I. L. U. fought consistently against those misguided Communists who have from time to time raised the slogan of "Split the trade unions." The kernel of Lenin's teaching on Communist work in the trade unions lies precisely in the necessity of preserving unity, fighting all secessionism and dual unionism, and working within the trade unions to win the majority for the revolutionary struggle. Unity of the trade unions is a Bolshevik method of winning the masses.

The passionate earnestness with which Lenin combatted all splitting of the trade unions in his pamphlet, "Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Sickness," shows the importance given to trade union unity by Lenin. Further, his statement that those Communists who leave the trade unions give aid to the reformist bureaucrats by so doing, adds additional emphasis to Lenin's view on the necessity of trade union unity. Lozovsky, in his pamphlet, "The Role of the Trade Unions in the Russian Revolution," states that the revolution is impossible outside of or against the will of the trade unions.

Since its organization the R. I. L. U. has raised the question of trade union unity on an international scale and in various countries has fought the Amsterdammers and their disruption of the trade union movement. An example of this occurred in 1921 when the R. I. L. U. offered as the price of unity of the French trade union movement the liquidation of the revolutionary fractions in the trade unions. This the Amsterdammers rejected, with the result that the trade unions of France were split in two. It is clear, therefore, that to the Communists trade union unity is not only necessary to preserve the standard of living and conditions of work of the working class, but is also a prerequisite for the winning of the masses for the world revolution.

Conditions for Unity.

But, it will be objected, must not the Communists impose conditions upon the Amsterdammers in order to prevent Amsterdam swallowing the Communist trade unions in the event of Amsterdam having a majority if unity is affected? It will be said that the R. I. L. U. should insist that the unified trade union international must fight against the Dawes plan, against the capitalist offensive and against imperialist war.

To put up these conditions is tantamount to rendering unity impossible, because the Amsterdammers will utterly refuse to break their alliance with capitalism. Therefore the R. I. L. U. makes only one demand: The convening of a congress representative of all trade union workers, whether belonging to Amsterdam, the R. I. L. U., or to neither, in order to found a united trade union international. The R. I. L. U. wants unity of the working class irrespective of whether Amsterdam has the majority and will lead the new trade union international or not, knowing that unity of the working class will lay the basis for a struggle against capitalism and create a broader field in which to carry on the ideological struggle to win the workers for Communism.

Amsterdam's Objections.

On the contrary, the Amsterdammers impose conditions because they are opposed to unity of the working class and want unity with the capitalist class. For this reason the issuance of the slogan of world trade union unity by the R. I. L. U. precipitated a campaign of vilification against the unity proposals. The most virulent campaign was led by the German trade union bureaucrats and the leaders of the German social-democratic party against the R. I. L. U. unity proposals. In the Berlin Vorwarts, the reformists expressed their real opposition to world trade union unity when they demanded: Will this world congress demanded by the R. I. L. U. be formed by proportional representation? Will the new trade union international allow national autonomy for the trade unions? Will the new trade union international be inde-

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What's Going On in Wall Street By Earl R. Browder

Profits Going Up; Wages Going Down; How to Change It.

WHEN the small panic occurred in Wall Street the other day, few workers realized that the goings-on there had an intimate relationship with themselves, with their wages and working conditions, and with all the struggles now going on within all their organizations. Let us see if we cannot trace the forces at work, extending from those dramatic ups and downs of the stock exchange, right down thru industry to the pay envelope and to the struggles within the labor organizations.

"Prosperity" Caused the Panic.

PROFITS are increasing with unbelievable rapidity. This is the basis for the great boom in security prices with industrial securities increasing in price every day for twenty days on Wall Street, up until November 10, when the little panic occurred. This "prosperity" was also the cause of the panic.

Every time the rate of profits increase a dollar, it is the tendency of security prices to increase from five to ten dollars. Earnings (as they are jokingly called) and prospective earnings are "capitalized"; that is, the market value is advanced to make the percentage of return "normal." Thereafter, super-human efforts must be exerted to keep profits at the new high level and prepare for new advances—otherwise the new "capitalization," the new but fictitious wealth, would vanish. But in the eager grasping for this "new wealth" created on paper, in the expectation that the increased exploitation of labor will make it real, the speculators on Wall Street overdo the thing a little. This is the natural tendency of speculation, and it also gives the opportunity to shear the "sheep" of petty speculators.

It was this last fact which operated to produce the small panic the other day. The increased "values" of the industrial securities had exceeded for a time the base in visible profits. The sudden decline was then precipitated by the mechanism of the stock market; the Boston branch of the federal reserve bank raised its rediscount rate, tightening up the available credits; some impetus was given thru the newspapers, which published a flood of "financial comment" from the money markets of the world, predicting a break in the New York market; the news of the new agrarian troubles came in the failure of several agrarian banks in Nebraska. Conditions were ideal for shearing the sheep. The sheep were therefore, sheared.

The security market will not go very low. Already, the day after the shearing, it started to recover. There is such a tremendous mass of profits squeezed out of industry this year that capitalism would not be capitalism if it did not breed a lot of new paper wealth. The market will stay high.

The Golden Flood of Industry.

IT will be interesting to take just a little glance at the flow of "earnings" that is at the bottom of Wall Street's feverish activities.

The United States Steel corporation increased its "earnings" steadily thruout 1925. The first quarter it earned \$2.93 per share of common stock; the second quarter it earned \$3.06 per share; and the third quarter \$3.44. This is an increase of more than 17 per cent. Production is increasing steadily, being now well over 80 per cent of the tremendous capacity developed during the war, and promises to continue upward. Conditions for big profits in the future are "favorable."

Railroads are enjoying the era of greatest prosperity known. Just a few examples: The Pennsylvania railroad earned in September, \$11,380,479, which is an increase over last year of almost 35 per cent. The B. & O. railroad showed a rich gain. The Western Maryland railroad gained more than 500 per cent.

Eight leading oil companies report profits for the third quarter of 1925 which are two and one-half times as

great as the same period last year. Agricultural machinery manufacturers report an increase of business of 11 per cent over last year, the greatest increase being in the profitable export trade.

Anaconda Copper, which produces one-fourth of the world's supply of that metal, earned its fixed dividend of \$6.50 per share in the first six months of the year. Everything it earns in the last six months, with business on the upgrade, is "velvet."

And so the story goes in almost all the principal fields of industry.

How About the Workers?

WITH all this "prosperity," how fares the worker? The answer may be given in one sentence taken from the Magazine of Wall Street (September 26, 1925):

"Today there is a movement toward wage cutting and several of the basic industries have been affected."

This particular issue of the Magazine of Wall Street could be read with interest and profit by every worker. The article from which we took the above sentence asks the question in its title, "Must Wages Be Lowered to Safeguard Dividends?" It then gives the answer that "the drive to cut wages is an industrial necessity," and "the future of profits requires reduced production costs."

This militant organ of capitalism then tells us something of the extent to which this wage cutting process has been carried in the past few months. Among the items of effective wage cuts it mentions the following:

Industry	Pct. of Wage-cut
Colorado Fuel and Iron Co.....	29
Northern Colorado Coal Fields.....	35
Bates Shoe Factory.....	15
Alberta Coal Fields.....	15
Amoskeag Textile Mills.....	10
Farr Alpaca Mills.....	10
Pacific Textile Mills.....	10
J. & P. Coates Thread Mills.....	10
American Thread Company.....	10
Lorraine Textile Mills.....	10
Utica Steam Textile Mills.....	10
American Woolen Mills.....	10
Arlington Woolen Mills.....	10
Lukens Steel Mills.....	10
Merrimac Paper Co.....	10
Goodyear Rubber Co.....	10
British Empire Steel (Canada).....	8

This is only an indication of what is going on, and not by any means a complete list. It is out of the lives of these workers in the industries that has been taken the materials for Wall Street's Roman holiday. In several of the cases cited above, the workers resisted heroically, but in each case they were defeated.

Fear of Reds Deters Wage Cuts.

IT will be asked, however, why have not these wage cuts become universal?

The Magazine of Wall Street kindly gives us an answer. Speaking as a capitalist to capitalists, the writer ex-

plains that the capitalist class wanted last year, just as eagerly as now, to cut wages. But they were restrained by fear of the "reds," of the left wing in the unions. They had to wait until the union officials had expelled most of the Communists, until they had bled the unions white by the war against the "reds," before the real wage cutting campaign could be put into effect.

The words of this contemptible capitalist sheet should be written in letters of fire on the walls of every labor union meeting place. In its eagerness to serve its masters it discloses to the working class the secret of control of wages. Here is the reason, workers, why your wages have not been cut more than they have. The Magazine of Wall Street says:

"It is understood by keen observers that the United States Steel corporation would like to reduce wages but dare not. They fear that Foster might succeed in doing in 1926 what he almost accomplished in 1919—the unionization of the industry. Until that industrial pace-setter, the United States Steel corporation, disregarding this possibility, deflates wages, the tendency towards wage cutting will not have received its full impetus."

Is that clear enough for you, union men and workers? It is the fear of Foster, the fear of the Trade Union Educational League, the fear of the Communists, that has kept the great corporations from further reducing your wages. It was the presense of Foster and the left wing that kept your wages as high as they are. That is what the capitalists say when they are talking to one another in their official organ, the Magazine of Wall St.

It is not without some meaning that this same magazine asks "labor leaders" to contribute to its columns—provided they are "leaders" who expel Communists. It is not so very long ago that the president of the Machinists' Union, Wm. H. Johnston, who is now busy trying to expel Communists from the union, was writing articles for this "open shop" advocate, this organ of wage cutters, the Magazine of Wall Street.

Kill Foster and You Can Cut Wages.

AND while this organ of Wall Street explains that wages must be cut, it warns that it will be impossible to make a real job of it, impossible to cut right down to the bone as they wish, until Foster has been defeated. "The figure of Foster," says the Magazine of Wall Street, "still casts a sinister shadow." Foster and the left wing are "sinister" to the enemies of the working class.

If, it goes on to say, in the "major conflict going on within the unions between the 'yellow' and 'red' factions," victory goes to the "yellows," to William Green, to Sigman, to Johnston, to Lewis, and to all those who

fight Foster so bitterly, then it will be possible to slash wages right down to the bone. But while Foster is a power, to attack the workers, to cut wages, "especially if accompanied by rising costs of living, would play into the hands of Foster and his following." That is what the Magazine of Wall Street says. The capitalists' fear of Foster protects the workers.

Then What Should the Workers Do?

WHAT shall we do? This is the eternal question of the workers everywhere, faced as they are with seemingly insoluble problems. From all the foregoing a few things to do are clearly indicated.

Profits are climbing higher and higher. The higher they go, the more intense becomes the drive to cut wages down. These facts are clear. They should dispose forever of that sickly school of pseudo-economics of Brookwood, of Spencer Miller and the so-called Workers' Education Bureau, of the A. F. of L. official family, of the B. & O. plan sharks—the "economists" (shades of Adam Smith and Karl Marx protect us!) who propose to "increase production" in order thereby to get more wages. That poisonous theory of class collaboration has already half-wrecked the labor movement, and if not destroyed, will itself destroy the power of the working class to protect its smallest interests, not to speak of the interests of the workers' revolution.

By studying the enemy, we learn how to fight him. And by studying the Magazine of Wall Street it is possible to learn quite a few things about how to carry on the struggle that now faces the workers. A few simple conclusions present themselves from the facts cited above, which are good guides to action on our part:

Any union man who supports the officials, such as Johnston of the Machinists' Union, who are trying to expel the Communists, is thereby giving support to the enemies of the working class, support to wage cuts, support to capitalism.

Those who support the left wing, the Trade Union Educational League, who become what the Magazine of Wall Street calls "Foster's followers," help to throw fear into the hearts of the steel kings, the Wall Street magnates, and all the enemies of the working class.

Support for the left wing is support for the struggle of the working class, for higher wages, for stronger unions, for the organization of the unorganized, for a strong party of the workers, for the emancipation of the proletariat from wage slavery, for the workers' government.

Which way will you go, workers? With the Magazine of Wall Street and towards slavery, or with the left wing towards victory for the whole working class?

MARY

By MINA ESKENAZI.

Written for the Juniors.

I
Mary had a little frame,
A little heart,
A little brain.
Mary had a little mind but not a friend
had she.

II.
Mary had some gnarled hands,
Some twisted limbs,
Some skinny hands,
Mary had a grimy face
Yet plenty wash had she.

III.
And everywhere where Mary went
Her twisted hands,
Her wrinkled face,
All of Mary dry and bent
Bad luck was sure to go.

IV.
It followed her in life some day,
Than every day,
Then all that day
It stood near her at wash,
Oi weh!
Swinging her to and fro.

V.
The only time when Mary laughed,
Or Mary grinned,

Or Mary joked,
The only time that Mary liked
Was a plain, sunny day.

VI.
"My wash is sure to dry today,
Dry today,
Dry today,
My wash is sure to dry today,"
Was all our Mary spoke.

VII.
And every cloud that Mary saw,
Mary feared,
So Mary quired,
Any cloud that Mary saw
Was sure to spoil her day.

VIII.
And every rain would make her worse,
Her pain outburst,
Would make her curse,
A day of rain would make her swear,
A God who had no sense.

IX.
So from her cradle till today,
Just till today,
Our Mary knew no hour of play,
And from her cradle
Until her grave,
She'll have no holiday.

X.

On Sunday tho to mass she went,
Her dues she paid,
Forgot her rent,
So Monday was a moving day,
Her pain was then immense.

XI.
Mary knew no politics,
She never heard of polemics,
Her priest she cursed quite every-
day,

On rainy day,
On sunny day,
More on collection day.

XII.
Mary knew of Xmas day,
From windows nice,
And great display,
Mary knew of Xmas day,
By other people's say.

XIII.
She cried her eyes out all that day,
But could not pray
In any way;
So she sat in bed on Xmas day,
Her gnarled joints to rest.

XIV.
Mary with her little frame
And little head,
And little brain,
Mary lonesome just the same
On Xmas cries her best.

Wages and Profits in the Railroad Industry

By MORD WILGUS.

PART II.

Profits in the Railroad Industry.

IN order to arrive at the actual rate of profit and the total profits for any given year, it is imperative to know exactly how much capital—not watered capital but real cold capital—has been put into the enterprise. The railroad magnates claim that 22,000,000,000 dollars have been "invested." Astronomical figures of that kind may be necessary when one studies the celestial bodies but certainly when dealing in cold cash, it is a horse of another color. What do they mean by 22 billion dollars "invested"? Have these capitalists forgotten the enormous grants of 155,273,560 acres of public lands which they bribed the congress and the state legislatures to "vote" them? Have these captains of industry lost their memory about the extension of state credit to them—a direct violation of the constitution—enabling them to build the roads with the state's money as in the case of the Union Pacific which received \$23,213,000 in government bonds? And have the railroad kings lost sight of the fact that whatever original "investments" were made have been repaid in interest and dividends many times over?

THE imagination is staggered when confronted by the unheard of corruption, bribery and trickery which marked the construction of the railroads. The McCormacks, the Macys, the Mortons, the Pullmans, whose descendants today are looked upon as "honest" and "respectable" millionaires, were directly involved in enormous embezzlements of public property.

The records of this gentry as given in detail by Gustavus Myers in his work "History of American Fortunes," are unparalleled for shameless corruption, so far as we can make out, in all history. It makes the old Roman aristocracy look like pikers in comparison.

Let us take one example. The Northern Pacific Railroad was granted 200 feet of public land on each side of its tracks along the entire road in 1864. As the road was in the process of construction, numerous villages and towns grew up alongside without the slightest protest by the railroad officials. Naturally this caused the value of the land to increase many times. Suddenly in 1877, the railroad brings suit to eject all the so-called trespassers and the supreme court, faithful to the interests of the capitalists, upholds its contention. The result was that the towns and cities had to pay millions of dollars in tribute to the railroad magnates or be summarily evicted. What was this but trickery by the railroad owners to enrich themselves at the expense of the public?

ANOTHER important fact to remember is that practically all of the railroad stock now outstanding represents no capital at all. The method of financing railroad construction consisted of a public offering of bonds with stock generally given away free. According to the U. S. department of commerce, the "stock," both common and preferred, of the railroad for the year 1922 was valued at over \$9,000,000,000. For this imaginary "investment" the investors received for the year 1922, \$275,721,615—all velvet on fictitious or watered stock. To give the reader an idea of what an enormous tribute the capitalists are forcing from the public—that is to say the working classes—we will give the dividends as paid year by year starting with 1908:

Year	Declared
June 30, 1908	\$329,062,261
1909	272,043,499
1910	351,202,272
1911	403,417,363
1912	347,354,133
1913	327,957,396
1914	380,339,400
1915	264,267,107
1916	268,618,168
Total	\$2,944,371,599
Dec. 31, 1916	311,876,409
1917	325,600,752
1918	279,929,286

1919	281,569,422
1920	275,348,254
1921	403,990,775
1922	275,721,615

Grand total \$5,098,408,112

THUS in the space of fifteen years the tribute paid to the capitalists is well over five billion dollars. It is a tribute because there is no pretense here of any investment even in the capitalist sense of the word. It is legalized robbery enforced by a government pledged to uphold and perpetuate this fraud at the expense of the overwhelming mass of the population—the working class. Marx pointed out long ago that besides the "honest" profit of enterprise, fraud may also be employed by the capitalists. In the case of the railroad in-

Total Wages Paid by Roads (1922)	
Total Profits Distributed by Roads (1922)	\$2,672,157,000.
Interest	\$538,594,000
Dividends	275,721,000
Profits	\$814,315,000

THUS over 23% of the gross earnings of the roads (after deducting depreciation, replacements, rents, taxes, etc., and excluding profits from coal mines, etc.) was allocated to the pockets of the capitalists. Are we to seek further for the reason why a majority of the railroad workers are paid below the minimum subsistence wage? Are we to stand agasp and wonder why men working day in and day out in the glare of the sun keeping the road beds of the country in working order are paid below \$25

abstractions as in the past but must present to railroad workers actual facts and conditions in the industry. The watered stock, the enormous totals in dividends and interest paid out must be shown not only for the roads as a whole but for the individual roads in particular in order to arouse the interest of the workers on the individual roads more effectively. All around wage increases of 25% to be demanded at once!

THERE exist nominally sixteen standard railroad unions. But outside of the Big 4 they are weak both in organization and numbers. Hence our immediate task is to get the workers into the unions. "Into the unions" must be made a national slogan wherever railroaders congregate. Coupled with this, propaganda urging the amalgamation of all the sixteen railroad unions into one powerful



dustry in the U. S. this fraud has been carried to its highest possible development with the aid and connivance of the government at Washington.

WE now come to the fixed charges on the railroads in the form of interest on the funded debt. From the years 1891 to 1922, the yearly interest charges for all Class 1 roads have been between \$221,500,000 and \$538,594,000. The total runs into billions and if original investments only be considered, they have been fully repaid many times.

Let us now place the wages and profits side by side and observe the great discrepancy between them. We will take the figures for the year 1922 as those of 1923 are not available:

per week for their arduous toil? Are we to be amazed at the "inability" of the roads to pay its workers a living wage when over eight hundred million dollars and more each year are allocated to the coupon cutters of Fifth and Park avenues and their counterparts all over the country?

Criticism.

IT will not do if pondering over these facts we grow excited and lose our heads. Indignation alone will never bring capitalism to heel. It is necessary to direct our discontent in the channels of militant organization; in awakening the masses of the railroad workers to their proletarian duty. To accomplish this objective we must intensify our propaganda among the oppressed and low-paid railroad workers first. The propaganda must not deal exclusively with

industrial organization must be intensified. The fraud underlying the company unions and the B. & O. plans must be systematically exposed. And within the unions, agitation for a labor party to defend and extend the political power of the workers in their struggle against capitalism must be initiated on a major scale.

Foreign Exchange.

NEW YORK, Nov. 13.—Great Britain, pound sterling, demand 4.84 5-16; cable 4.84 11-16. France, franc, demand 4.06 1/2; cable 4.07. Belgium, franc, demand 4.53; cable 4.53 1/2. Italy, lira, demand 4.04 3/4; cable 4.05. Sweden, krone, demand 24.72; cable 26.75. Norway, krone, demand 20.18; cable 20.20. Denmark, krone, demand 24.73; cable 24.75. Germany, mark, not quoted. Shanghai trade, 78.75.

Imperialism and the American Negro

THE following resolution on the question of imperialism was one of the resolutions passed at the American Negro Labor Congress, which held its sessions recently in Chicago, in which the congress analyzes the urge of the imperialist powers to dominate the darker races and shows that the enslavement of the darker races can only be combatted by organized action and for that purpose the congress declares itself in favor of the convening of a world race congress at which the question of combatting imperialism will be the main issue:

"Imperialism is the enslavement of the entire world by capitalist nations or groups of capitalist nations, bringing under their oppressive rule the 1,100,000,000 darker colored peoples in Asia, Africa, the Philippines, Mexico, Haiti, Porto Rico, Central and North America.

Imperialist Domination.

"From the colonies and semi-colonial regions, the imperialist nations secure immense supplies of raw materials produced at a lower labor cost by reason of the inferior social, economic and political status forced upon the darker-skinned peoples.

"In these regions also the imperialist nations find markets for the output of their factories.

"Here also they conscript recruits for the armies with which the imperialist nations wage war on one another, on Soviet Russia, on the colonial peoples themselves and on the working class.

Debauch Labor Aristocracy.

"By force, bribery and debauchery, the imperialist powers maintain division among the darker-skinned peoples, and the proceeds of the robbery practised upon them, are able in turn to bribe and debauch certain upper sections of the working class in the imperialist nations.

"Without the profits from the conquest and sweating of the darker-skinned peoples, the great imperialist nations cannot maintain themselves.

Life and Death Struggle.

"For these reasons the complete liberation of all the darker-skinned peoples of Africa, Asia, America and South America from the rule of world imperialism is of life and death importance to the whole working and farming classes—colored and white—in the imperialist nations, their colonies and spheres of influence.

"We call attention of the American Negro masses to the recent announcement of the entry of American imperialism on an immense scale in the \$100,000,000 Liberian project of the Firestone Rubber company, into the African continent—hitherto the exclusive field of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland—and in an imperialist industry monopolized by Great Britain.

"We declare that this new rivalry arising over the question as to whether British or American imperialism shall have the power to oppress and rob millions of our race, means an added menace of imperialist war in which our race, unless awake to its danger, will be conscripted by both sets of imperialists and slaughtered by the millions.

Break Chains of Bondage.

"But there is encouraging evidence that our race, and the natives of India, China, Egypt and Morocco, are moving to break their chains of bloody bondage.

"In China, beginning with a strike of textile workers in Shanghai, the liberation movement has swept to the farthest corners of the nation, based itself upon the workers and farmers, developed a definitely anti-imperialist and a firm working class character.

"All of the Chinese masses are uniting against the imperialist robbers of America, Great Britain, Japan and France.

"In China, only Soviet Russia appears as a friend and ally of the Chinese people.

Look to Soviet Union.

"Only in the Soviet union have the darker peoples attained to full social, economic and political equality. But the workers' and peasants' government of Soviet Russia, because it hails as equals and because it aids all the oppressed darker races in their struggles

for freedom from imperialism's yoke, is attacked on all sides by the imperialists, while the darker races of Africa, India, China and elsewhere are learning to look upon Soviet Russia as their best friend and ally.

"By the fury of the attacks we are enabled to understand the importance to the imperialist governments of the continued enslavement of the dark-skinned colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

"In India, where British imperialism has perpetrated the most horrible atrocities upon the masses, where mass murders like those at Amritsar are the order of the day, where workers and farmers, unable to pay the extortionate taxes, are slaughtered with machine guns and airplane bombs, where the workers slave 12 and 14 hours per day for a wage of \$10 to \$12 per month, and where more than 800 out of every thousand children in Bombay die before they are one year old, 150,000 textile workers are now on strike altho defeated in 1924.

"In Egypt, a strong national liberation movement exists altho its leaders have been murdered and the masses drowned in blood time and time again.

Moroccan Struggle.

"In Morocco, the combined efforts of France and Spain, aided by an American airplane squadron, have been unable to crush the heroic Rifis and to end their struggle for national liberation.

"In the Philippines can be seen the beginnings of a national liberation movement whose advance guard has been murdered and imprisoned by the Wall Street dictatorship headed by the militarist, General Leonard Wood.

"In Haiti, the American marines have suppressed every semblance of political liberty and more than 3,000 Haitians have paid with their lives for continuing the struggle for freedom.

"In Panama, American troops have broken the strike of tenants, jailing and shooting workers.

"In Mexico, the Calles government thru the intrigue of imperialists and their tools, including some misleaders, of American and Mexican labor, has been brot under the thumb of Wall Street.

"In Brazil, American army officers train the national army and ferment war between Brazil and Argentine.

"General Pershing imposes the will of American imperialism upon Chile and Peru.

"All thru South America the millions of Wall Street debauch the native governments while the natural resources pass into the hands of Wall Street's agents backed by gunboats and marines.

Cruellest Mockery of Freedom.

"In the United States, the Negro masses are given the cruelest mockery of freedom. Their social status is that of a colonial people. In the southern states our race is subjected to lynching, accompanied by bestial tortures, victimized by vicious peonage and contract labor systems, denied the franchise, segregated, deprived of anything but the meager educational opportunities, discriminated against and oppressed in every conceivable manner.

"In the north we are denied entrance to many unions, murdered in race-wars fomented by real estate agencies and capitalist enterprises bent upon fanning race hatred and further dividing the Negro and white workers, discriminating against the Negro workers in wages and conditions of labor.

"Our grievances and our cause are those of our race brothers in Africa and the darker-skinned peoples in the colonies of world imperialism.

"Our oppression, our cause and our enemies are the same as those of hundreds of millions of workers and farmers in Asia and Africa.

"This congress declares for unity of the masses of our race in America with the masses of Africa and Asia.

"In the world struggle against imperialism, we, Negro workers are to occupy an important place.

Gained Valuable Experience.

"Cursed tho we are with intolerable oppression, we have, thru our struggles, with the rulers of the most

advanced capitalist country in the world, gained valuable experience in the fields of industry, politics and organization, experience that has been denied members of our race in most other lands. In the light of the lessons we have learned from the terrible struggle we have been forced to wage, it is not too much to say that from our ranks will come the leadership of our race in its fight for liberation from imperialist oppression.

"It is with the full knowledge of our responsibilities to our race that we hail the rising liberation movements in Africa and Asia, that we welcome the long-delayed recognition of the necessity for solidarity of all oppressed, black, white and brown, as shown by the French workers in support of the Rifian struggle, the sympathetic attitude of the British workers to the Chinese and Indian independence movements, the growing unity of the working class and colonial peoples against their common enemy.

United Effort Needed.

"The white workers cannot free themselves without the aid of us dark-skinned people, and we cannot liberate ourselves unless they join with us in an assault of the world fortress of imperialism.

"We hail the workers' and farmers' government of Soviet Russia as the first to bring into being full social, political and economic equality for all peoples, white and dark-skinned. We call upon the members of our race to recognize this signal accomplishment of the first workers' and peasants' government as the sign manual of what the future holds for the toiling masses of the whole world when the workers and farmers follow its example and imperialism has been driven from the face of the earth.

"As a first step in connecting the struggles of our race in America with its world-wide struggle against imperialism, this congress of Negro workers and farmers instructs the national executive committee to convene a world congress of our race.

World Race Congress.

"It further instructs the American Negro delegates to this world congress to lay the foundation for a world organization of the workers and farmers of our race and to make this organization a leader and fighter in the liberation movements of all the darker-skinned peoples in the colonies of imperialism everywhere.

"Welcome Soviet Russia—the friend and ally of the oppressed of all races!

"Welcome to all who join with us in the fight for emancipation from imperialist slavery!"

Condemns Segregation.

The American Negro Labor Congress in the following resolution condemns the segregation of Negro workers and demands that the sale and renting of homes be taken out of the hands of private real estate concerns and placed in the hands of public agencies that will rent and sell to workers regardless of their race or color:

"The American Negro Labor Congress declares itself unalterably opposed to the segregation of our people in separate residence districts. We declare the discrimination against Negroes in regard to which part of a city they may live in and which part they may not live in, is a political question and must be dealt with just as we deal with discrimination in voting. The time has come when the living accommodations of the public, cannot be left to the private control of a few wealthy parasites who decide where the colored man may live and where he may not live, or whether he can have a house to live in at all.

Demand Protective Legislation.

"We demand legislation by which all tenements, apartment houses and homes to let, shall be subject to the claim of the first comer, regardless of race or color or the will of the landlord.

"It is common knowledge that Negroes are customarily charged rent at a rate of twenty per cent to one hundred per cent higher than is charged for the same apartments rented to white people. We demand legislation for a fixed rental for all places

to be let, with heavy penalties and damages whenever a landlord charges higher rents for one race than would be charged another race for similar accommodations.

"We declare that any Negro real estate agent who connives in charging more rent to his own people than would be paid by whites, is a renegade and a traitor to his own people.

Public Renting of Houses.

"In advocating the foregoing measures of relief, we do not regard them as being permanently effective. This congress advocates taking the whole housing question out of the hands of private individuals, and advocates the taking over of all rented residences by the public, to be rented without discrimination of color to the people at a fixed low rental. We further advocate that the housing shortage in the cities and towns be relieved by the local government building modern apartment houses to be rented on the above basis.

Score "Company Houses."

"It is also a custom of large employers of colored and white labor, such as mine operators and mill owners, to house their employees in 'company houses' and thereby to control the lives of the workers being able to throw them out of house and home whenever the bosses please and whenever there is a disagreement about wages or working conditions, we demand any legal measure that may be necessary to prevent any employer of industrial labor owing or controlling the homes rented to his employees.

"Pending legislative relief, and during the present period when the Negro's rights are ignored by governmental agencies, we call upon the residents of all Negro communities to organize colored tenants' unions so as to be able in an organized way to refuse to pay exorbitant rents, or to consent to live in inferior buildings or segregated districts."

Demand Ousting of Trust Friends in U. S. Trade Commission

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13. — Demands are being made here for the removal of three members of the federal trade commission for their refusal to prosecute the gigantic bread trust that has now been formed.

It is charged that the committee at first passed the buck to Atty. Gen. Sargent, and that the attorney general just as promptly passed it back telling the commission that it had full powers to act.

Following Sargent's refusal to investigate the case, the board by a vote of three to two decided to dismiss proceedings against the \$400,000,000 bread trust.

It is also pointed out that of the 55,000,000 loaves of bread produced in the country, the bread trust, controlling 157 bakeshops, produced 31,000,000 loaves thus controlling 56 per cent of the bread production in the United States.

The three men, Van Fleet, Hunt and Humphrey, hit by the charges, are the men that Cal Coolidge appointed for those jobs, so that big business would be able to carry on its mergers with fewer obstructions from governmental bodies. It should be remembered that the campaign pledge that Coolidge was elected on was, more business in government and less government in business.

McAndrew Rating Plan for Teachers Aims at Further Subordination

The new rating plan for teachers submitted by Superintendent of Schools William McAndrew to the Principals' Club aims to whip teachers into line with the new system of larger classrooms for each teacher, and conformity to McAndrew open shop rule. The teachers' disciplinary abilities will supercede all other requirements. The plan applies to all teachers in the elementary, junior and senior high and continuation schools. Its purpose is to provide a basis for ridding the school system of those teachers considered "undesirable."

Some Impressions From the Donetz Basin

By G. ALLISON.

AT the present time the coal industry is faced with an international crisis. An abundance of evidence has been produced from authoritative sources to prove that production is far in excess of consumption. Every coal producing country has shown a productive capacity equal to pre-war days, and this fact, together with the shrinkage of consumption, due to more extensive utilization of oil and other means of motive power, has intensified competition and spread ruin and chaos in the industry.

The effects of all this on the miners in the various countries is disastrous. In Germany the introduction of a longer working day and the low wages prevailing has provided the coal owners of other countries such as Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia and the neighboring countries with an opportunity of attacking the existing standards. In America and Canada, sweeping wage reductions have taken place and assisted by the existence of large armies of unemployed, the owners are now making attempts to smash the trade unions.

IN Britain the normal effects of the crisis have been intensified by the political boycott of the U. S. S. R. and the operation of the Dawes plan. The industry has plunged into one of the most distressing periods in its whole history. Already there are no fewer than 160,000 unemployed miners, and a large percentage of the remainder are working part time. The coal owners making the most of this situation, are attacking the already low standards in the various districts, through partial reductions, etc., and further, the coal owners are developing a new offensive whereby they hope to re-introduce the eight-hour day.

In view of this situation it will be very instructive to compare the conditions prevailing in the mine fields of a highly intensified center of imperialism, like Great Britain and the workers' republic of Soviet Russia. For the purpose of contrast we can take productivity, wages, hours and general conditions prevailing in Great Britain, with those prevailing in the Donetz Basin, which district is typical of the other mine fields in the U. S. S. R. In doing so, however, we must be mindful of the different circumstances that have prevailed in the two countries during and since the war.

In Britain, for example, the mines were unmolested during the war. Since 1918 the industry has had sufficient time and opportunity to stabilize, and in addition, there has always been ready access to an abundance of the necessary modern machinery and up-to-date equipment.

IN the Donetz Basin, however, the industry was practically ruined as the result of the civil war and the organized sabotage of the mines by the counter revolutionary forces, assisted by Britain and the other imperialist powers. The work of the reactionary forces could be traced in the wilful destruction of both the transport system and the mines. The systematic blowing up of bridges and the smashing of mining plants, done by the enemies of Soviet Russia during the civil war, are known to everyone, and testified to the tremendous tasks presented to the revolutionary forces after their final victory. Peace has only prevailed three years and even after open hostilities have ceased, reconstruction has been retarded by the systematic boycott of the U. S. S. R. by all the imperialist powers.

Nevertheless, despite the obvious differences in opportunities, it is a fact that the mining industry in Britain has failed to provide for the most elementary needs of the miners. Unemployment, as we have seen, is widespread, wages at the lowest ebb, the situation every way becoming worse and the only cure the owners can suggest is cheaper production through the medium of longer working hours.

On the other hand in Donetz Basin there is undeniable evidence of gradual improvement. Tremendous difficul-

ties have been overcome, enterprise abounds everywhere and slowly but surely the economic and social conditions of the miners is being improved.

Organization of Industry.

IN order to prove the assertions made in the last paragraph and to understand the factors responsible, it is necessary to deal with the various aspects of the mining industry in the two countries.

The first outstanding feature to be met with is the difference in the organization of the industry. Repeated inquiries in Britain have shown that the industry is owned and controlled by very many separate companies, and most of these companies are interlinked thru their directorates with the banks, railways, engineering and ship building industries. While it is true that this form of structure tends to reduce petty competition, it is also true that it is responsible for much needless waste of energy, transportation, etc. And in addition, it enables the coal owners to manipulate prices and camouflage real profits. Moreover, the coal mining industry in Britain is asked to yield profits on share capital which in some cases has been nearly doubled out of the profits made during the war and the years following. Finally, on top of all the foregoing, the coal industry in Britain must pay roughly a shilling per ton in the form of royalties to the landowners. Obviously such a preponderous machine must have a profound effect on the conditions of the miners.

In comparison, the Russian structure is simple. Eighty per cent of the total coal production of the Donetz Basin is mined by the Don Bas Coal Trust. The remainder is worked by similar state trusts (railway, chemical etc.), all of which consume their own production.

Through the medium of the coal trust, transportation is reduced to a minimum. Huge schemes of electrification, impossible under private enterprise, have been embarked upon, and the natural resources are exploited in the most scientific method possible. Already we can see that thru the elimination of class interests and class antagonisms, the coal industry in Don Bas has, in a comparatively short space of time, progressed further than the long established British industry.

Production and Costs.

SOME interesting facts are disclosed in analyzing the productivity of the backward Russian mines compared with the up-to-date British plants. The latest figures for Britain gave the average output at approximately 17½ hundredweight per man shift, and the cost of production approximately 18.2d per ton. For Donetz Basin the averages are 11 hundredweight per man shift and 22- per ton. These figures show only too clearly the adverse circumstances under which the Russian mines are operating. The low productivity is almost entirely due to the lack of machinery and the results of the white guards' devastations.

Here we can draw some interesting comparisons. In Britain a large percentage of the total cost of production goes towards the payment of royalties, employers' insurance, etc. In the Don Bas nine per cent of the total cost of production is set aside for social insurance, cultural funds, miners' rest homes and other mediums for bettering the lives of the miners. And it is still more interesting to note that despite the lack of machinery, low production, etc., the Don Bas hewer works a six-hour day, 18 days per month, and has one month's holiday with full pay every year. When sick or injured he receives full wages and all medical treatment free.

There is still room for another contrast being drawn. The British miner knows only too well that over-production means unemployment for many, lower wages for all, a miserable existence and no guarantee against absolute starvation for himself and his dependents. The demand for coal in Russia depends to a large extent upon the home markets and has frequently been restricted due to the backward state of the other in-

dustries and particularly the metal industry. In fact, only a short time ago the coal production of the Donetz Basin exceeded the normal demand, and it is interesting to note how the problem was dealt with. In the words of an official report, "The restriction of output was carried out not by a reduction in the number of miners, but by allowing them longer leaves."

Wages.

NOMINALLY, the average wage of a miner in Donetz Basin is approximately 50 per cent less than the present wage of a British miner. This, on the face of it, looks exceedingly bad. But again there are other factors to be considered. Here in Russia the miners pay no house rent. Coal and light are also free and in addition the first essentials in the food list, namely, bread meat, milk, eggs, etc., are on an average less than half of the British prices.

It would be a mistake, however, to say that the Don Bas miners enjoy ideal conditions or that they are satisfied with their lot. Housing conditions are very bad. Those dwelling places erected during the old regime are symbolic of the rate at which the Russian miners were exploited by British, French and Belgian capital and held in subjection by despotic czarism. But it is in this respect that the visitor meets the most inspiring feature. In almost every village housing schemes are being carried out, communal restaurants, communal houses and ordinary family homes are being erected. Those already finished are mansions compared with the hovels into which the miners of pre-war days were herded by capitalism.

The cultural side of life is being tended to by the erection of schools, proletarian theaters, clubs, and libraries. All of these developments taking place amongst the ruins of the old system are a real manifestation of the creative power of the freed proletariat. The harmonious method in which the Communist Party, the trade unions and the administrative machinery of the industry work together for the common good is a sure sign that the working class are conscious of the power they wield and that they will succeed in spite of all external opposition, in working out their own complete emancipation.

The Role of the Trade Unions.

HERE again it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the fundamental differences between the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the Russian Miners' Union before we can hope to appreciate their different functions.

It is understood everywhere that the British working class were the pioneers for the world trade union movement, and that the miners' organization is one of the strongest sections in Britain. The mining industry, in comparison with other industries, is exceptional free from craft and sectional barriers, and this fact has tended towards making the M. F. G. B. a powerful organization. During its life it has engaged in several heroic struggles against the employers and enjoyed a reputation as one of the foremost sections of the organized labor movement. Yet, despite its record, experience and mass character, its achievements are meager.

Beyond the loose support given to the independent working class educational movement in some districts, the miners' unions and the federations can boast of no other activities on the educational and cultural field that definitely equips its membership for the every day struggle or improves their social conditions.

Politically it has been content with affiliation to the national labor party and has almost invariably acquiesced in the policy of its reactionary leadership. Finally, the present standards, accompanied as they are by the threat of fresh attacks from the employers, are sufficient proof that the M. F. G. B. has failed to improve or even protect the economic interests of its members.

Let us compare this with the role of the Russian union, which it may be mentioned, has only been able to

maintain a permanent existence and assume a mass character since political and economic power passed into the hands of the proletariat.

Naturally, the prime function is to promote the economic and social interests of its membership; but the elimination of capitalism and all forms of oppression and the subsequent elimination of class antagonisms and class interests has led to a complete change in the character of that task. The Russian union works in the closest possible collaboration with the managerial authorities in the industry. It plays a real part in the control of industry and is directly concerned in increasing the productivity of the mines, simply because every advance made and every improvement effected is directly reflected in better houses, higher wages, and more comforts for the miners. With regard to safety regulations, the union, in conjunction with the management, ensures that the lives of the miners are not unduly exposed to the dangers of their occupation. Regulations safeguarding the miner from gas and bad air, statutes insuring the safety of the traffic and traveling ways and guaranteeing an adequate supply of all kinds of timber have been worked out jointly. And the trade union pit committees insure that they are carried out to the letter. One example will be sufficient to show the significance of the unions in this respect. In mines that are considered to be very gassy, the pit committee insists that water and compressed air are led into all the working faces and that traps are provided on all main roadways to prevent the spread of any explosion that may occur, and in the event of an accumulation of gas in any particular section of the mine, the men affected can go home without losing any part of their wages for that day.

This, however, is only one aspect of the activities of the Russian Miners' Union. As great or even greater achievements fail to be recorded in the sphere of social work. In this respect the union has taken upon itself the practical work of raising the social and cultural standards of its membership.

SCHOOLS for the elimination of illiteracy, political and technical schools for the more advanced, libraries, sport organizations, etc., have been promoted by the unions and controlled in conjunction with the state department. Not only in the centers has this been done, but in every other part of the mine field. Similar privileges are provided for the children, the youth and the women folk, and all sections from the oldest to the youngest take full advantage of the facilities now provided for them.

Still another function of the union which cannot be omitted is that of safeguarding the health of its individual members. Mansions in the Caucasus and the Crimea, previously the property of the very richest of the old Russian aristocracy have been converted into rest homes. Rest homes not reserved for the higher officials or the sick and the maimed, but for all the miners. Here, after a years' work in the mine they are provided with all possible comforts during their months vacation.

Consequently we see that in every respect the miners' union plays a real part in the political, economic and social life of Donetz Basin, compared with which the activities of the British unions are meager and insignificant.

THIS fact is reflected in the unbounded enthusiasm of the ordinary worker. The Don Bas miners realize in full that they are now controllers of their own destinies. They are confident that thru the combined strength of the proletarian army of the U. S. S. R. and in defiance of all the designs of international imperialism, their conditions of living will be permanently improved and their economic security guaranteed. Above all, the miners of Don Bas are proud that their revolution has made them the pioneers for the international working class movement, inspired by the fact that their deeds are closely followed

(Continued on page 7)

The Movement for World Trade Union Unity

(Continued from page 2.)

pendent of all political parties? Will the new international be used only to better working conditions or for world revolution? And, as a last refuge, they sought to defend their alliance with the capitalists by saying that to break with the capitalists will mean that no more wage agreements could be made with the bosses, and that all co-operation with the labor bureau of the league of nations would be broken.

Lozovsky Replies.

To this the R. I. L. U. replied, thru Lozovsky in his speech at the Sixth All-Russian Trade Union Congress, that the R. I. L. U. proposed that the labor organizations be represented at the unity congress in proportion to their numbers and the R. I. L. U. would combat any attempt of the Amsterdamers to limit the representation to trade union bureaucrats appointed by the officialdoms. What the R. I. L. U. desired was the election of delegates representing the workers in the shops and factories who really desire trade union unity. On the question of national autonomy, he pointed out that under the guise of national autonomy the Amsterdamers had committed the blackest crimes against the working class, since national autonomy had been utilized to break strikes in every country thru international scabbing. Thus British and French coal was used in 1922 against the coal miners of the United States on strike, and, vice versa, United States coal had been used against the miners of Great Britain and France to break their strikes. The new international would really be a co-ordinating center to bring international unity into the struggles of the workers against the capitalists.

With an innocent air, these Amsterdamers pretend that "their" trade unions are independent of all political parties, but in these countries in which they are not the backbone of the social-democratic and labor parties and act as the handmaidens of capitalism, they are altogether dependent on the capitalist parties, as in the United States. But what the Communists are advocating is international trade union unity and have already declared that even though they are in the minority at the world congress, they will remain in the international, obey its discipline, and lay their program before the workers and let the working class decide whose program and tactics are right—the R. I. L. U. and the method of the class struggle, or Amsterdam and co-operation with the capitalists at the expense of the workers.

Amsterdam Wants Unity with Bosses.

The opposition of the Amsterdamers to the trade unions mobilizing the working class for the abolition of the wage system is expressed in their demand that the trade unions shall be used only to better working conditions and not for the overthrow of capitalism, but under the leadership of the Amsterdamers the trade unions have done neither one nor the other. Not only have these leaders sabotaged the struggles of the workers

to preserve their standard of living and working conditions, but they have also prevented the seizure of power by the working class, as, for instance, in Central Europe in the years 1918-19 and in Italy in 1920.

That the Amsterdam leaders stoop to the futile argument that to break with the capitalists will mean that no wage agreements can be made with the bosses shows that they are desperately fighting against world trade union unity in order to preserve their unity with the capitalists. They conveniently overlook the vast difference between wage agreements forced on the bosses by the struggles of the workers and the voluntary entry of Amsterdam leaders into capitalist governments to stifle working class revolt, and sabotage of even the most elementary struggles of the working class. They desperately fight against unity since they know that world trade union unity will lay the basis for a fight against capitalism which they will be forced to oppose to defend capitalism, and thus expose themselves to the mass of the organized workers. To preserve their social standing, the alliance with the capitalist class is absolutely necessary for these leaders and they will betray every working class action to preserve it.

At the Scarborough meeting of the British Trades Union Congress the British trade unions definitely placed themselves in line with the Russian trade unions on the question of international trade union unity. Up until that time the British leaders had held the idea that the entry of the Russian unions into the Amsterdam International would secure the unity desired. But the bitter antagonism of the right wing Amsterdam leaders (Jouhaux, Merrheim, Oudegeest, etc.) against having anything to do with the movement for unity or the Russian unions, has disillusioned the British unionists regarding the possibility of securing the co-operation of Amsterdam in securing trade union unity.

Today the British unions support the program of the Russian unions on the unity question: To secure world trade union unity by an all-inclusive international federation of trade unions. This can be achieved thru an international congress of representatives of the workers from the factories, shops, mines and unions irrespective of whether they belong to Amsterdam, the R. I. L. U. or neither of them.

The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, composed of official representatives of the British and Russian Unions is the center of the world movement for unity. The Norwegian Federation of Labor has gone on record for affiliation to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.

The reactionary trade union officials denounce this movement for unity, the capitalists and their press are bitterly attacking it. The agents of the bosses in the trade union movement are mobilized to maintain the divisions in the ranks of the trade unions to prevent a united resistance of the workers against the attacks of capital. Those who stand for unity are for the interests of the workers. Those who oppose unity are aiding the capitalists.

CHICAGO WORKERS' SCHOOL

Outline for Study Class in "Capital" Volume I.

Course to run thru three semesters of eight weeks each.

Instructor—Earl Browder.

Course covers Parts I, II, and III of Volume I, beginning at page 41 and concluding at page 331.

"Commodities and Money," "The Transformation of Money into Capital" and "The Production of Absolute Surplus Value" are the three basic subjects dealt with during the course.

All students entering this course must give satisfactory evidence that they have obtained a fair grasp of the elements of Communism and Marxian economics. The course will include outside reading and the preparation of written pages for each lesson besides the regular work in the class itself.

Outline for first semester, Nov. 15 to January 15.

Part I, Chapters 1, 2, and 3; pages 41 to 146.

First Week: Organization of class, Chapter I, section 1. Pages 41-48. Commodities: The two factors of a commodity. Use value and value. The substance of value and the magnitude of value.

Second Week: Sections 2 and 3 (to sub-head 3) pages 48-63. Two-fold character of labor in commodities. Form of value or exchange value. Relative and equivalent forms. Relative form of value. Its nature and import. Quantitative determination of it.

Third Week: Section 3 (to conclusion of section) pages 64-81. The equivalent form of value. Elementary form of value as a whole. Expanded form of value. The expanded relative form. The particular equivalent form. General form of value. The altered character. Interdependent development of relative and equivalent forms. Transition from general to money form. The money form.

Fourth Week: Section 4. Pages 81-96. The Fetishism of commodities.

Fifth Week: Chapter II. Pages 96-106. Exchange.

Sixth Week: Chapter III to Section 2. Pages 106-116. Money. The measure of values.

Seventh Week: Section 2 to subsection c. Pages 116-139. The medium of circulation. Metamorphosis of commodities. The currency of money.

Eighth Week: Section 2 to conclusion of section. Pages 140-146. Coins and symbols of value. Review of semester work.

Outside and Supplementary: Assignment and recommendations to be made by instructor. Marx's Critique of Political Economy to page 162 should be studied as a earlier elaboration of material covered during this semester. His Poverty of Philosophy can also be used occasionally.

Herman Cahn's Capital Today should be referred to, since the examples given are more up-to-date and American in terminology.

Young Workers Class for Correspondents Meets on Saturday

NEW YORK, Nov. 13.—The first meeting of the correspondence course of the Young Workers' League in New York will take place Saturday, Nov. 14, at 4 p. m., at 108 E. 14th St. This will be a very interesting class as the instructor is the same one who will teach the party training course, Comrade Joe Freeman. It is important that this course be given at present as we will soon have to begin issuing factory papers, wall papers and what's more, our comrades will have to make the Young Worker a real young workers' paper by writing for it. Make sure to be on time.

Some Impressions from the Donetz Basin

(Continued from page 6)

by the workers in other countries and as a consequence they are ready and willing, when necessary, to make still more sacrifices in safeguarding their hard won gains and in extending a helping hand to the international working class.

The question before the British miners is, "How can we benefit from a knowledge of the past and present experiences of the Russian miners?"

LET us remember first of all that advantages similar to those enjoyed by the Russian miners are only possible after the last remnants of capitalism and exploitation have been destroyed and the proletariat have captured power. In the midst of the present crisis in Britain we have many elements, even in our own ranks that would gladly help us to forget this fundamental truth. Those elements led by Hodges and other leaders who aim at bettering the conditions of the miners by persuading the government and the coal owners to reorganize the coal industry along more scientific lines are simply aiming at perfecting the machine that is already responsible for our present deplorable conditions. Instinctively we know that the application of science to industry has meant greater profits for the owners, but more dangers and more degrading conditions for miners. Further improvements in this direction will inevitably mean more ruthless exploitation and weakening of our powers of resistance.

The message coming to us from the experiences of the Russian miners is not that we shall endeavor to patch up a decaying system. Our task lies in emulating the Russian workers and peasants in our struggle for power only after that has been gained, can we hope to apply science to industry

in a manner beneficial to the producer.

IN the present crisis our duty is clear. Let us take a different stand on the principles of no longer hours and a living wage for the miners, and above all, let us make the necessary preparations to insure that our fight will be a class fight round definite class issues. Only by acting in this manner will we be able to show our appreciation. Lip service to these achievements is so much humbug, unless we are prepared first of all to follow the example set.

In our present crisis we must forsake, once and for all, the paths of class collaboration that have so often brought defeat. Let us present our demands and struggle determinedly for their attainment, refusing to countenance all attempts at side tracking. By this means and only by this means will we pay our tributes and earn the esteem of the Russian working class and their achievements.

Russian Labor's Tasks Twenty Years Ago

(Continued from page 1)

where possible, be preserved. One wave is followed by another. The capital follows the provinces. The Border States are followed by the heart of Russia, the proletariat by the town petty bourgeoisie, the town by the village. The defeat of the reactionary government is unavoidable in the face of its widely divergent tasks. Upon our preparations for the spring 1906 depends to a great extent the issue of the first phase of the great Russian revolution.

Movie Trust Freezes Out Competition

By WM. F. KRUSE

THE federal trade commission has spent many months of testimony-taking to find out whether there is such a thing as a "movie trust." That such a trust exists is certain to the dwindling army of "independent" producers and exhibitors; that such a trust must sooner or later come into being is clear to any one who understands the laws of capitalist development. The movies have entered the stage of big business. "Famous Players" earned a profit last year of \$5,350,000, more than a million increase over 1924. "Metro-Goldwyn" reported net profits of almost half a million for a three months period ending Nov. 30.

The little fellows are squirming. The Motion Picture Theatres Owners Association is complaining. The independent producers and distributors are yelling for help to Will Hays—the trust's own umpire whose chief reason for existence is his political pull with the political representatives of other big trusts.

One of the latest of these appeals is made by Murray M. Garsson, one of the most solid of the "independents," who has turned out some first class pictures. This letter states, in part:

"The unfair methods of the big companies (the motion picture trusts) are more throttling to competition today than ever before in the history of the industry, with the possible exception of the old General Film Co.

As the situation exists, unless an independent producer sells his product to one of the Big Three, he is shut out of the opportunity of having his picture gross a revenue sufficient to cover the cost of production.

"This is occasioned, first, by the fact that the exhibitors are coerced into accepting block bookings of the product of the Big Three to an extent which leaves them with absolutely no open time for independent pictures of merit; second, thru their ownership of theaters thruout the country independent producers are frozen out of an opportunity to dispose of their production. And unless the exhibitor is given some relief of this same menace, the Big Three will, in a short time, drive every independent motion picture exhibitor out of business, as well as the independent producers."

Trust Admits Charges.

On the other hand the representatives of the trust are becoming more and more frank in admitting the existence of their control of the industry. In the "1925 Film Year Book," Richard W. Saunders, comptroller for Famous Players, and formerly cashier of the National Bank of Commerce in New York City, states bluntly:

"The greatest progress, in my opinion, has been along the following lines:...

"2. The strengthening of certain corporations by amalgamation, and the elimination of certain weaker companies will in the end strengthen the industry..."

"4. The greatly improved attitude of the banking and financial world towards the industry... One conservative bank has issued in its magazine an account of the 'stabilization' of the industry..."

"6. ...The benefits of production on a reasonably large scale enabling the exhibitor to contract for a good part of his product at one time, are now recognized, and the dangers minimized. For that reason, combines on the part of exhibitors for purchasing pictures, if they transgress the reasonable price return to producers, are likely to do the industry a great deal of harm.

"7. The number of new companies being organized for picture production would seem to be out of proportion. A great number are bound to fail and this brings about a reaction against the industry on the part of financial backers.

"10. Among the numerous other benefits to the industry in 1924, might be mentioned the advertising, which has gained in beauty and drawing power; the improvement in trade papers, which are more calm and judicial in their treatment of pertinent subjects; and in general thruout the industry, there has been an arrangement of the whole to the parts, an adjustment of each to suit the needs of another, that cannot but be of great permanent value.

"To sum up, the industry during 1924, gained tremendously in STABILITY."

What a Movie Trust Will Do

The first effect of trust control of any industry is the standardization of method and product. Already this is very evident in the film field where more and more pictures are cut to the pattern of the "program picture." The "improved attitude" of the banks marks the film as another playground for our dominant finance capital group, and already we see the effect in reduced production budgets. The "conservative bank" article mentioned pointedly that many pictures costing \$100,000 made more profit than those costing \$200,000 or more—and the bank wants profit. A third immediate effect of the trustification of an industry is its closer integration with other trustified industries thru interlocking directorates with banks and big corporations. Thus far the movie game has been run by a coterie of specialty capitalists who became wealthy on the film and who got and had most of their money in movies and theaters only. That golden age is over, now comes the period of "amalgamation" and "elimination," of a "calm and judicial" trade press, of trust control.

The next stage will be workers' control and toward that end labor organizations are beginning the producing and showing of labor films in their own interests—financial and ideological. A list of labor films can be obtained from the International Workers' Aid, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

Organization Meetings | Workers (Communist) Party | Resolutions Social Affairs

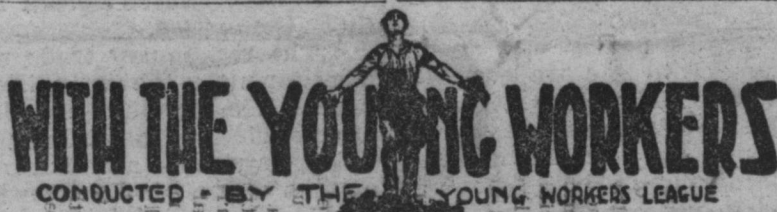
Weinstone to Debate with Socialists at the Church Forum Sunday

NEW YORK, Nov. 13—The Church of All Nations will be the battleground of warring points of view on the subject: "Resolved that the Soviet form of government is applicable to western civilization," this Sunday evening at 8:30, when a representative of the socialist party and one from the socialist labor party will debate with William W. Weinstone, spokesman for the Workers (Communist) Party on this subject. The Church of All Nations runs a forum on New York's East Side at 9 Second Ave. As this is the heart of a working man's district, the socialist party, the socialist labor party and the Workers (Communist) Party are expected to be well represented in the audience that night. Admission is free and Workers Party members and sympathizers should be there early to be sure to gain admission and get all the best seats. No clue has as yet been given as to whom the socialist party and the socialist labor party will send, but assurance has been received that each of the parties will be represented by a good speaker.

As this is the first time in a long time that the socialist party has been compelled to go on record as to what its attitude is toward the Soviet form of government, not for "oriental peoples" but for our own precious "western civilization," there is a special interest attached to this discussion. The socialist labor party also has been "up in the air" on the question of the applicability of the Soviet form of government to the United States and may be expected to declare that nothing but industrial unions will be accepted by them. Thus, the whole question of the political significance of industrial unionism will also be examined during the discussion.

Wrap your lunch in a copy of the DAILY WORKER and give it (the DAILY WORKER, not the lunch) to your shop-mate.

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



YOUNG PIONEERS BEGIN DRIVE TO REORGANIZE INTO SCHOOL NUCLEI

By CLARENCE MILLER

Along with the reorganization of the party and league our Pioneers are also in the process of reorganizing on the basis of the school. They, like the party, cannot become a real Bolshevik Pioneer organization without changing their present form of organization. Just like the party and league cannot become Bolshevik organizations without making every shop their stronghold, so the Pioneers must make every school their stronghold.

Ideological Preparation.

At present the entire district of our Pioneers are undergoing an ideological preparation for reorganization. In every group there is going on a series of discussions on "What is a Bolshevik (Pioneer)," "How did the Russian Bolsheviks act to bring about the Russian revolution," "What does a Bolshevik do to make his organization a Bolshevik organization?" The functioning of the organization, "What will the Pioneers have to do to make their organization a real Bolshevik organization?" These discussions take place at the group meetings, at City Central Committee meetings, at District Executive Committee meetings. A special city membership meeting was held Saturday, Nov. 14, where the problem of reorganization was discussed. The discussions of the District Executive Committee and City Central Committee are such as to prepare the more active members to take the initiative in the discussions.

The District Convention

This ideological campaign in our groups will culminate with the district convention to be held during the week-end of Thanksgiving. The agenda drawn up by the Pioneer District Executive Committee and City Central Committee jointly, is rather elaborate. It contains among other points a discussion on reorganization and bolshevization, school struggle and school work, child labor and the struggle against it, opposition organizations (Boy Scouts) etc. All of these topics will be introduced by a member of their district Executive Committee or City Central Committee.

Plans are being made to have as many as possible out-of-town comrades be present at this convention. This convention will lay down the practical steps to be taken in the reorganization which is to follow shortly after the convention.

Recruit Members During Education Week.

Along with reorganization we are starting a membership drive. During education week, a lot of propaganda will have to be carried on to counter act the concentrated propaganda of all capitalist institutions that are being mobilized by the American legion in conjunction with the board of education. We must utilize this for gaining new members. Our Pioneers will have to show whether they are really Bolsheviks by working hard during this week to get in new members. The party and league have been mobilized for this purpose also. During this week we expect to get at least 200 new members. The juniors will also participate in the Young Workers League mass meeting and in the distribution of leaflets. Special arrangements have been made for distributions in the schools.

Other Activities.

The question of building the Young Comrade is also being considered. We will try to raise money and sell subs for the Young Comrade. We are also going to issue "wallpapers" in every section. The comrades who will edit these papers will have to attend class once or twice a month in which the question of editing these bulletins will be discussed. The comrades will then begin to contribute more to the Young Comrade. A training course for the

DISTRICT EIGHT CIRCUIT SCHOOL STARTS IN GARY, NOT MILWAUKEE, MONDAY

Announcement of the circuit classes as mentioned in the Friday issue of The DAILY WORKER said that the course would begin in Milwaukee on Monday evening, Nov. 15. This was an error.

Classes will be as follows:

- Gary, Ind., on Monday evening.
- South Bend, Ind., on Tuesday evening.
- Waukegan, Ill., on Wednesday evening.
- Milwaukee, Wis., on Thursday evening.

Comrade Oliver Carlson is the instructor. The course will be in the "Elements of Communism" and will continue for eight weeks.

Juniors has been decided upon. It is to start a week after the convention. American History, Fundamentals of Communism and organization work will be taken up.

A plan has also been drawn up on the formation of parents' councils during national education week. The party and league ought to get in on this and help make a success of it.

For Our Sceptics.

There are always comrades, who have what one might consider, a paternal attitude towards our children's movement. They do not consider the children capable of doing things. They will say that the above plan is good for adults but not for children. To them I want to say, come down to our meetings and judge for yourself. See the Pioneers respond to their program of work and you will agree that they are worthy comrades in the struggle, in spite of their youth.

French Tire Firms Fail Due to High Raw Rubber Prices

PARIS, Nov. 13—Several smaller French automobile tire firms have failed and large firms are finding it difficult to make both ends meet, due to increasing rubber prices caused by the British monopoly of the rubber output.