

## Mr. Thomas Serves His Majesty

(Continued from page 1)

employers' groups and the workers. By the calling off of the general strike the state is freed from the appearance of being the partisan and can create the illusion of rising again to the position of the neutral adjudicator of the quarrel between classes—the fatherly and impartial judge and chastiser of both. The government's maneuver with the right wing leaders of the general trade union council, in bringing about the formal calling off of the general strike while the same struggle proceeds with even a sharper quality, is openly hailed by correspondents of capitalist news agencies which say that the contest now proceeds as one "between capital and labor rather than between labor and the government."

The forces of capital, by the maneuver of calling off the general strike and by beginning the lockout, have regained the "normal" advantage of a free hand for their state to act the role of neutral power. Thru Baldwin's mouth the employers can and do now say "we will not countenance any attempt on the part of the employers to force wage reductions against returning strikers," while thru their own individual mouths they are perfectly free to decree the open shop and the destruction of the trade unions so as to create "conditions which would make another general strike improbable."

This is the price to the workers of having the agents of capitalism as their leaders in a struggle against capital. This is why every capitalist agency speaks only in terms of respect for Thomas and MacDonald. This is why the prince of Wales and the duke of York cheer the right wing leaders of labor in parliament.

### BROKEN TOOLS OF CAPITALISM.

But the tool is worn out in the use. The Thomases and MacDonalds can be of no use to capital only so long as they preserve their appearance as representatives of the workers; and they have in this case appeared just about once too often as the betrayers of labor. Never before in all British history such colossal treason been known as that of Thomas, Henderson, MacDonald & Co. in this crisis. Not even "Black Friday" of 1921 can equal it.

It is interesting to note to what extent the question of the state power was posed before the British working class in this crisis. The question of power was inherent in the situation; but it went unrecognized by the "leaders" who dominate the labor movement. Even the question of the Daily Mail, when the printers refused to set up an editorial attacking the workers, which precipitated the general strike, contained in its seemingly small circumference the question of state power—the question of which class shall control and speak thru the enormous social institution of the press. (It can only be a ruling class.) The denial of print paper to the general strikers' newspaper organ (by action of the state power), completes the case: the question of the use of the press becomes the question of state power.

### POLITICAL POWER THE DECISIVE FACTOR.

Another illustration is in the matter of food distribution. From the confused reports it appears that the official position of the strikers was that of helping in the distribution of food; in practice the striking workers were willing to form organizations to dis-

tribute food themselves, but were unwilling to work with the strike-breaking "service" organizations of the state. The government could not give over to the strikers the prestige of feeding the community thru their own working class organization; again events led up to the question of state power.

Once again, and this time in a "democratic Anglo-Saxon" country, it is proven that the question of state power is the pivotal question of the class struggle. This event shows what a general strike can do—and what it cannot do. A general strike can give tremendous impetus to the class struggle and can develop it far toward the point where revolution becomes the order of the day. But revolution consists in its essence in the breaking of the state power of one class and the assuming of state power by another class. This cannot be done with folded arms, it cannot be done with inaction, but only by the surest, swiftest and most determined action, which requires the organization of the most advanced, clear-headed and unwavering section of the working class under the highest discipline with a single, clear program for the taking of state power. The taking of state power is a political act, and such an organization is a political one—a political party. Without developing for itself such an organ of leadership the working class cannot bring the struggle to the conclusion. The British workers are in the process of developing such an organ to the scale of mass significance. Without its leadership they are at the mercy of the leadership of the MacDonalds and Thomases and Hendersons. This experience proves that a general strike, continued, reaches a point where there must be either a collapse or retreat leaving the capitalist dictatorship in power, or else the mass movement must proceed under Bolshevik leadership to the seizure of power.

When a mass struggle reaches the question of political power, the lack of a Communist Party means defeat for the working class. A general strike can serve a revolution, but cannot make a revolution.

### TO WORK! HELP BRITISH LABOR!

The British trade union movement, the oldest in the world, the one which broke the first trail in the world of capitalism, is now in the supreme crisis of its life up to the present time. Let the reactionary leaders in this or any country speak their treason to it at this moment, and they expose themselves as international scabs of the foulest order. Failure to support the British miners now on excuses that the strike leads to revolutionary developments, as indicated by William Green, will mean open support of the British capitalists in the effort to exterminate the British labor movement. There is no alternative. Thruout Great Britain the employers have announced the program of the open shop and extermination of the unions. Refusal of support on the ground of objection to the general-strike-means-support of the general lockout and the open shop.

American workers should proceed with all the energy and speed that is in them to have their unions appropriate funds for the relief of the British strikers. If confusion is raised on the ground that the British unions may not accept help from foreign trade unions, this also will furnish no excuse, as the funds can be deposited subject to the call of the British unions. —R. M.

## How the Union Organizes

Reprint of a circular being used by the Chicago Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the present drive to organize the unorganized. The cartoon is by Lydia Gibson.



### NON UNION SHOP

Boss: "I will call you when I need you."



### NON UNION SHOP

Dismissed Worker: "And this is my reward for keeping your shop out of the Union."



### UNION SHOP

Shop Chairlady: "You cannot discriminate against anybody here, WE WILL NOT stand for it!"

(The Workers) "You tell him, kid . . ."

## EVERY WORKER IN THE DRESS INDUSTRY MUST EARN A LIVING

The system of discrimination inaugurated by the employers against a number of employes in their shops by favoring certain workers at a particular time, is only for the purpose of keeping you constantly quarreling among yourselves, which makes you bitter against one another. In this manner you are divided and cannot come together to unitedly demand a better livelihood.

You may be the one whom the employer favors today, but the one who is laid off may be the favorite tomorrow or next season, or whenever he chooses, so as to make it more profitable for him.

Every worker in the dress industry is entitled to earn a living and have a right to say what the price of his or her production should be. To do that—**JOIN THE UNION.**

**CHICAGO JOINT BOARD,**  
Int'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,  
328 W. Van Buren Street.

Watch for our Circular No. 2 on the subject: "You are Selling Energy and Not Your Conscience."

# Whose Government Is It?

By JAY LOVESTONE.

A GREAT political drama is now being enacted in the house of congress. One should say, a political tragedy, to be more exact. The battle is being fought actually in the corn fields and in the cotton fields, but to all intents and purposes, the present act is being performed in the house of representatives.

Neither the Haugen bill or the Tinch bill affords substantial relief for the exploited American farmers. Of the two, the Haugen bill unquestionably affords a bit more than does the Tinch bill, which is simply a camouflaged piece of legislation aiming to put the farmer to sleep on the Coolidge bandwagon for 1926 and 1928.

## Crisis Growing More Acute.

THE basic economic problem for American agriculture is as acute as ever. The divergence between prices for agricultural commodities and industrial commodities has been increasing within the last few months at a pace altogether too alarming for the most conscious leadership of our ruling class. The world war lent great impetus to the development of American agriculture to capacities far beyond the demands of the so-called normal world market. Besides, while industry is being operated more and more on a gigantic and collective, monopoly scale, agriculture is falling behind in development, when compared with the tremendous progress in technical and commercial avenues, within the last decade. In the main, American agriculture is still organized on the individual basis prevailing at the opening of this century.

The deepening crisis in agriculture is having its political reflex in the class relationships in the United States. The economic difficulties in American agriculture are powerful forces for serious disruption of the capitalist class in this country. The new class lines have not yet become fixed. The divisions are not yet deep enough for frontal clear-cut mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers, against the big bourgeoisie, as a class. But we already hear talk about the "solid middle-west."

We are now being introduced to "corn-belt committees." An attempt is being made to secure the passage of the Haugen bill thru an alliance of the representatives of the farmers of the middle west and the representatives of the cotton growers of the south.

Such an alliance has its difficulties, but such an alliance stands much more chance of being consummated in the house of representatives than in the senate. In the latter body, the elements representing big Southern capitalist interests would very likely line up with the industrial magnates of the North so well represented by the senate. The gulf between the big economic interests of the South and the North is being bridged. Simultaneously, however, there is being created a chasm between the big bourgeoisie and the small bourgeoisie of the South. In the house of representatives, the small bourgeoisie of the South have some substantial representation. In the senate, they have considerably less.

## Political Differences Evident.

SOME sort of an agreement between the representatives of the Western and Southern small and middle farmers has been arrived at thru the arrangement to appropriate \$100,000,000 out of the \$375,000,000 provided for indirect farm-relief in the Haugen bill, to meet losses in cotton marketing operations. The spokesmen of the big financial interests, located primarily in the East, are exerting every possible pressure they can on the Southern representatives, in order to break up this combination. The bill, introduced by the reactionary congressman, Aswell of Louisiana, notorious for his attempt to secure the enactment of wholesale deportation legislation, is an example of the efforts of the Southern big capitalist interests to win away the Southern agricultural, the smaller cotton interests, from the camp of the middle western congressmen.



The British General Strike throws a fright into Uncle Sam Capitalism, who is only too ready to use the sword to assist British capitalism. The morality of capitalist society is that the workers must receive no aid from brother workers abroad, but British capital will expect to receive the aid of the United States fleet ultimately to subdue the British workers when, some day, the British fleet raises the red flag.

## Class Divisions Still Formative.

THE extent to which confusion has crept into the camps of the bourgeoisie in their efforts to meet the agricultural crisis is shown clearly by the fact that in the house agricultural committee, consisting of twenty-one members, neither a political, nor even a numerical, majority could be secured for any of the three major agricultural bills now before the house. Of course, since it was impossible to secure a majority in a committee of twenty-one, the likelihood of securing a majority in a larger committee—the house of representatives, consisting of 435 members—is even slimmer. Come what may, no matter what bill will be passed or rejected by the house in its closing deliberations, the hold of the republican party on the agricultural sections will be further considerably weakened.

## Government Openly Against Farmers.

WHAT may the farmers expect from the United States government? Perhaps the best answer to this question is to be found in the recent action of the senate committee on interstate commerce in its dealings with the railroads. The railroads owe the United States \$304,000,000 which were lent to them during the war period by the United States treasury. This money was lent to the railroad interests at the rate of six per cent. Only the other day the senate committee on interstate commerce reported favorably a bill for the reduction of the rate of interest from six to four and one-half per cent on the amount owed the government by the railroads. This reduced rate of interest means an annual loss to the United States government of more than \$6,000,000.

At the same time, the senate is refusing to enact legislation to give money to the land banks for use in helping the farmers in the Piedmont regions of Georgia and South Carolina to meet the emergency caused by the severe drought, which is the worst experienced by the farmers in this territory in many years. A futile effort has been made to secure an appropriation of \$5,000,000 in order to enable these farmers to make loans at the local banks for the purpose of meeting interest on overdue debts.

These South Carolina and Georgia farmers are being compelled to borrow from local banks at exorbitant

interest rates or forced to lose their property. At the same time, the railroads are being saved millions of dollars by the government. While the railroads are enjoying a most prosperous year, many sections of these states have had their whole cotton crop destroyed. Nearly one-half of the counties of South Carolina have been so hard hit that their entire crop has been wiped out.

Thru the land banks, the farmers of these territories owe the government approximately \$100,000,000. The farmers being bankrupt cannot meet these obligations. They are thus forced to give a second mortgage on their farms or to mortgage other property they may happen to have at the local banks. These banks charge the farmers a minimum interest of nine per cent. The government consequently is compelling these farmers to pay the loan sharks at least nine per cent in order to meet the interest maturing on the mortgages controlled by the land banks of the Washington administration.

## Washington Friend of Railroads—Foe of Farmers.

IF anyone wants to know whose government is now being run at Washington, all he has to do is to examine the above facts. When the railroads fail to meet their financial obligations, the government rewards them by reducing their obligations. But when the farmers are driven into bankruptcy by the monopolist capitalists and by the forces of nature, then the government penalizes them. Instead of reducing the obligations of the farmers in dire straits, the government drives the farmer still further into debt and bondage to the big capitalist interests which controls every wheel of the governmental machinery in the national and state capitals.

Here we have an answer not only to the question: "Whose government is this?" but also to the problem of what the agricultural interests, the farmers, may and will get from the United States government.

## Government Will Help Fascist—Not Farmers.

THE American capitalists are ready to give practically a moratorium on debts to railroads, to the fascist government of Italy and to all capitalist cliques in Europe and elsewhere but

the United States government is too poor to help the farmers in distress. Senator Nye of North Dakota doesn't stand one chance in a million to get even the slightest consideration for his bill to have the United States government accord the same treatment to the bankrupt farmers which it has accorded to the fascist government of Italy.

In the meanwhile, the workers in the industrial centers can glean increasing signs of developing hostility on the part of small farmers to the big capitalist interests. When the spokesmen of the corn belt committees, representatives that are very conservative and ultra cautious, can make a declaration of the following character, then we surely have an increasing mass protest in the ranks of the farmers that will cause deep-going class realignments in the near future.

## Class Conflicts in the Making.

WE quote from the statement made by the corn belt committee on May 5th:

"The strategy of the opposition to farm relief legislation is simple and easily understood. It is to organize an 'industrial bloc,' arouse Eastern consumer fears, and form an alliance with certain ultra-conservatives from the South. It is a move that is shot thru with sectionalism and class prejudice and constitutes an assemblage of inflammable material that may wreck political parties and bring about new groupings in our national life... A solid combination of the east invites a similar combination in the west and south with the results of a clash of these two 'solid combinations' a long way in the future with much political and other wreckage along the way."

The class conscious proletariat of the United States has a distinct and imperative duty in its relations to the agricultural masses. It is the task of the working class to win over as many of the agricultural masses as possible to its banner and leadership in the fight against the big bourgeoisie. The contradictions in American agricultural economy are too inherent and ingrained to be met by the half-hearted efforts of our capitalists. Herein is a real opportunity for Communist inspiration and leadership.

# The Strikers

By Kurt Klaeber

TRANSLATED BY AVROM LANDY.

A NOTICE was posted on the gate of the mine. "What does it say?" a tall pickman asked and stretched himself.

"The hounds!" cried the one who had read the note first, "they want to cut our wages again."

"Ho!" roared another, "and we're to work longer, too."

Old Bernhard pushed himself through the crowd. "Is that true?" he exclaimed, and read the notice.

"Those dogs!" the tall miner cried in the meantime. "They want to starve us."

"Serves you right," answered another. "You're eating out of their hands, even though you can't lift your cross anymore."

More and more came. They crowded around the notice. Screamed and filled the air with noise. Some raised their fists.

"No one goes in!" old Bernhard called sharply in the midst of this.

"No! No one!" the tall miner roared after him and elbowed his way out.

They collected in front of the gate. It was a large mass. Some, however, were fetched back again and streamed across the yard.

After a time old Bernhard came out. "We're striking!" he cried out loudly. "All are agreed. Nobody will be let in."

"No," the men cried, "we'll let nobody in."

"What more do they want?" somebody asked, as old Bernhard went in again.

"They're looking for the director!" said a little man.

"Will they find him?" asked the tall miner.

"Certainly not!" said the little man. "The big ones are never here when they think it might become dangerous."

"But we've caught the manager," said one who came out of the mine.

"What did he say?" asked the little man.

"At first we intended to throw him down the shaft."

"He's still alive then?" asked the tall miner.

"Yes, he said it is really a shame to offer us such wages. Then we let him go."

"You shouldn't have done that!" and old helper interrupted. "They all stick together when we're to be exploited, for every one of them makes his profit out of us."

Another nodded: "We're nothing anyhow but cattle to make money for them. Nothing more."

"What'll happen now?" asked a young lad.

"We mustn't let anyone get to the pumps!" growled the tall miner.

"No," the little man agreed, "they'll be sure to give in then."

"Our pit's to be flooded, then?" a fat man crowed somewhat anxiously.

"Hey, Beyer," bawled the little man, "would you rather starve?"

"No!" the old man answered. "But where'll we work when the pit is flooded?"

"This way," cried the tall pickman, "we're all working ourselves into the grave. Is that any better? They won't let the pit be flooded either."

"No, they won't do that!" hissed the little man. Besides, we're all agreed!"

"The Christians have even voted for the strike!" someone called out from the crowd.

"They're here, too!" said the tall miner.

"I'm one!" said a black-haired man with emphasis and pushed towards the front.

"Me, too!" said the tall miner and stretched himself.

"Ha, ha!" bleated a fat shaftsman. "So the dear god's on our side today, too." Everybody laughed.

After a while the men returned from the mine place. "Didn't you find him?" the tall pickman called out to them.

"No!" old Bernhard answered. "He hasn't been at the mine today."

"What we do now?" another asked.

"Wait till he comes," old Bernhard replied.

"But will he come?" wailed Beyer anxiously, turning to the old man.

"He'll come all right!" old Bernhard laughed. "Especially when he sees his pit is being flooded and we're not letting anyone in."

Meanwhile the men settled down. Many also went back to the mine place. Some sat down on the stone pile.

"Fat Benjamin is coming!" one of them called down.

"The manager?" old Bernhard asked up.

"Yes!" the man called again. "But there are two policemen with him."

"Didn't I tell you!" growled the old helper. "The big ones stick together like cement and we blockheads always let them go once they have condescended to bow to us."

"He must have been at the police station!" said old Bernhard.

"Well, let him come on!" cried the tall pickman and raised his fists.

The others, however, were not so confident. "At least we ought to fetch ourselves a few sticks," some advised.

"Yes!" the black-haired individual called and turned toward the mine. They disappeared thru the gate and returned with some laths and picks.

The three approached in great haste, big Benjamin walking a short distance ahead. "I come with peaceful intentions," he stammered, gasping like a dog.

"We come with peaceful intentions," the policemen repeated putting their hands on their sabres.

"You've stopped the pumps!" gasped the fat man again and looked at old Bernhard. "So you must have driven away the machinists. That's unlawful." He had to pause to catch his breath.

"That's unlawful," the policemen repeated and took their pistols out of their cases.

"You must admit the machinists to the pumps again! You must also let me enter the mine! Why, the pit is being flooded!" The man screamed it in the men's faces and came nearer.

"Step aside!" commanded the two policemen and also came nearer with him.

The men had not interrupted fat Benjamin while he was speaking. Even now no one answered. Only when the three came nearer, some started to open their mouths.

Then old Bernhard stepped out. "No one goes into the mine!" he snarled looking the fat man in the face.

"No one!" exclaimed the men who stood up and now came nearer from all sides, surrounding the three.

"That is disobedience to the state!" one of the policemen shouted and tried to raise his pistol.

But they took it out of his hand. Also from the other.

"No one comes in here!" said old Bernhard still more sharply.

"Then what do you want?" the fat man asked anxiously as he saw himself deprived of his protection.

"We want the director to come!" said old Bernhard.

"Let the director come!" shouted the others too.

"Let him take down this shameful notice! Let him pay us a decent wage! We don't want to starve!" They called from all sides.

"Tell him that!" the tall miner roared, stepping forward. "Tell him that! Or his pit will continue to be flooded!"

The three ran back. They even returned faster than they had come.

"What'll we do now?" asked some.

"They won't let the pit be flooded!" said an older miner.

"No!" old Bernhard agreed. "The director will come now all right."

The men settled down again. Towards nine, a few women came. Also children. Some brot coffee.

"Are you striking?" asked Mother Bernhard pushing towards her husband.

"We're striking, Mother," the old man nodded.

"The afternoon shift have heard about it too," the woman continued.

"I sent a few men in," answered the old man.

"Even the children are carrying it to the houses," said another woman and smiled. "They expect to meet in the marketplace towards eleven."

Until about ten o'clock no one appeared. Shortly after ten o'clock, however, the policemen came again. There was a third person with them.

The first two stopped about fifty steps from the gate. The other, an elderly police sergeant came nearer.

He immediately asked for old Bernhard. "So you won't give up the gate?" he shouted at him.

"No!" answered old Bernhard who was still standing beside his wife.

"Is that what you want, people?" he shouted again turning towards the men.

"Yes!" most of them cried taking a few steps

towards the police sergeant.

"You'd better think that over," sneered the sergeant acridly.

"Think over what!" cried the men together. "We want the director to come. That's all we want."

"But he won't come until the pumps are running," the sergeant answered.

"But the pumps won't run until he promises us a decent wage," one of the men shouted back.

"So you want us to use force then?" the sergeant threatened somewhat louder.

"Is that what you're after?" old Bernhard asked.

"We only want to restore the right," the sergeant answered.

"What sort of right?" roared an old man. "That we starve and the director drown in money? You ought to be ashamed of yourself if you want to establish a right like this."

"Yes, you ought to!" cried a few others also.

"Why, I used to know you," said a bearded mason, stepping nearer to the sergeant. "We went to school together."

"And now he wants to use force against you," hissed the little man.

"Probably have them shoot at you!" another scoffed.

The sergeant retreated before their gibes. For they were not very pleasant to him.

"So you won't give up the gate?" he asked again.

"No! We won't!" they all shouted back now.

This time the three did not go back very far. They ran to the first bend in the road and began to signal.

"There still more seem to be coming," the tall miner said.

"They are going to use force," cried the little man.

"Then will they shoot?" asked an anxious voice.

"We'll shoot back!" cried one of the youngsters who had one of the policemen's pistols.

"We ought to fetch ourselves a few more picks!" warned the tall miner.

"And laths!" cried another.

The greater part of the men distributed themselves quickly over the yard of the mine.

On the street below, a troop of police suddenly emerged. Some turned off at the right and lay down in a small vegetable garden. Others climbed on the high waste pile to the left. Suddenly they shot from this pile.

The shot drove the men from the mine yard to the front of the gate again.

"They're shooting already," a woman called.

"We have guns too!" the tall miner growled.

"Four," said a second, "but they're only shot-guns."

"Did you get them out of the watchman's house?" asked old Bernhard.

"Yes," said the tall miner, "there were two pistols there too."

Again they shot from the pile. The shots, however, were only intended to intimidate the men. Shortly after them the sergeant bobbed up again.

"You are surrounded!" he called. "Do you still refuse to give up the gate?"

"We really are sold," groaned old Beyer.

"Coward!" shouted the tall miner.

"Coward!" also screamed the woman who was still standing near the men.

"Shoot away!" she continued to shout and stepped a little away from the men so that the sergeant saw her. "Shoot away! Shoot us dead if you like. That's better than starving."

The next shot pierced the tin of the gate and tore a large hole in it.

"Behind the wall!" cried the tall miner, and they let the women in first. But the men followed directly after them.

They stationed themselves behind the wall. Especially those with the guns looked for good places.

"We shouldn't shoot," old Beyer lamented, raising his hands.

"We shouldn't," said another and went up to him.

"Then what are we to do?" asked old Bernhard, going up to them.

"Yes, what are we to do?" the woman also asked, placing herself in front of them. "Is it better to starve than be shot down?"

"They are scoundrels!" cried the tall miner and went up to them.

"No," said a coughing shaftsman. "They are

# LENIN

## Short Stories of His Life

(2)

In Siberia.

LENIN'S life in Siberia was strictly organized. First, gymnastics and walking in the fresh air. Then earnest study (statistics, history, economics), in the intervals fiction (Tolstoi, Turgenyev, Zola). He did not drink or smoke, but he ate and hunted and was a jolly fellow. He played chess at night and took it earnestly: he concentrated his thought and usually won.

He got his papers in big packages and always read them in order. He had a regular correspondence with other comrades in Siberia and in Petersburg. Altho he was systematically spied on, he managed to keep good connections with the peasants. These men liked him because they got good legal advice from him and inspiration for their thought. The place for his exile was the village Shusenskoye in the Minusinsk country, in the province of Yenisey. He paid the peasants ten roubles a month for his board.

In 1897, his pamphlet "The Tasks of the Social-Democrats in Russia" was published abroad. It was still an excellent propaganda pamphlet. After reading it, Martov said: "When I had read Lenin's booklet, I at once understood that he is the ade of the clay from which leaders come." And after his trip abroad, Axelrod had written: "Up to this time we have had in Russia no one in whom the Marxian doctrine has been bound up with practical qualities. Now we have him. He is the future leader of the workers' movement, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov Lenin."

Lenin's whole life was a fight against incorrect tendencies in the workers' movement. Already before his time in Siberia, he had smashed legal Marxism, which was the common name for theoretical works which went thru the czarist censor. The main representative of this tendency was Peter Struve, now one of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary emigrants. Lenin showed where Struve was correct in criticizing the populist theories with the help of Marxism. But Struve's theory became the apology for capitalism. Struve said: "Let us admit our lack of culture and go to school to capitalism." Lenin showed that Struve was on the way to the capitalist camp. In his arguments against Struve, Lenin already represented the same views about the state which are further developed in his book, "The State and Revolution."

\*This one-time "socialist," Peter Struve, just a few days ago was elected to head the organization supporting the Grand Duke Nicholas as the would-be future "Czar of Russia." This occurred at the latest monarchist conference in Paris.—Editor.

When Lenin was in Siberia, there were circulated in Petersburg a memorandum written by Madame Koskova. It was called "Credo" and expressed views which were later known under the name of economism. Representatives of this theory explained that the political fight in Russia was too hard for the workers. They must confine themselves to questions of their immediate needs, such as wages, etc. It is the duty of the bourgeoisie to acquire bourgeois liberties for Russia, it said. Lenin and his comrades sent a strong protest against these views; they showed how it is exactly the workers who have to conduct the fight against czarism. Economism would mean that the workers would become the tail of the bourgeois movement. (Koskova has also proved how correct Lenin was; she is editor of one of the white emigrant papers).

Already in his "Tasks" Lenin had said: "We must not postpone the founding of the labor party in Russia until we have political liberties. We must not postpone the founding of the workers' party until the bourgeoisie has come to power, because we are a hundred years behind the rest of Europe. Not at all. We must at once, under the yoke of czarism, under these very difficult conditions, create our independent socialist class party, a party which will fight both against czarism and against the bourgeoisie, and we will do it."

### No Place in Russia.

LENIN'S exile—during which Nadyezhda Krupskaya, one of the comrades in party work, had become his wife—ended in January 21, 1900. Lenin now tried to work in Russia, but it seemed impossible. During the revolution, there have been found gendarme reports which show carefully his every step was shadowed. He had already in Siberia the idea that the party can be created only around a central political paper. Now the comrades decided that he should go abroad and start the paper. And with him Martinov and Potresov.

Before he left, July 16, he visited several places in order to learn how the circles were working. He also organized new circles. There were party organizations, at least in fifteen localities, but the central committee elected at the convention of 1898 was in prison and there was nothing to take its place. Besides these organizations, there were the Jewish Bund and social-democratic parties in Poland and Lithuania and in Latvia. Strikes and demonstrations were common occurrences at the time. A common link must be created.

Thus began the long exile of Lenin. It lasted until 1917, broken only during 1905-1907. Many

comrades have described his simple life and his work in exile. His widow Krupskaya, has also written her memories of these times. She points out that although they were poor she cannot say that they suffered actual need. Lenin had an income from his literary work and he contributed all he could afford to the party treasury. They had rooms with workers, often only one room. Lenin passed his time in libraries, or in the editorial room of the party paper. Sometimes he visited museums, and infrequently theaters. But regularly, at least once a week, they passed in excursions in the country. They had bicycles and made trips.

Emigrant life has always been queer. Engels said that the best way to avoid its dangers is to enter into the life of the country you are in. Among the Russian refugees in the cities of Western Europe, all kinds of groupings, gossip and slander prevailed. Spies and provocateurs tried to sneak in among the revolutionists. Poverty did its share. In order to avoid the dangers of emigration, Lenin lived apart from the emigrant coteries. He kept contact with the labor movement of the different countries and especially with the Russian movement. He followed the movement minutely thru papers and letters and thru receiving frequent visits of comrades from Russia. He kept his comrades also busy working and helped them in their troubles. Comrade Zinoviev tells how he encouraged others, saying: Things aren't so bad with us. Plevhanov and Axelrod stared their eyes blind before they saw the first revolutionary Russian worker. Cheer up and work.—But as a matter of fact, as Zinoviev said, Lenin felt in exile as the lion feels in his cage. He had nothing to which he could apply his tremendous energy. And he saved himself, like Marx in exile, by living the life of the scientist. He could spend his fifteen hours a day in the library and he was one of the best-read men of his time. He was an excellent lecturer and teacher in party courses.

Once when Martov came with the immigrant gossip in a party discussion, he answered: Comrade Martov, here in Geneva you can waste your time with such word quibblings, but when I speak I think of the thousands of Russian workers and peasants to whom I hope in a not very far off future to answer the question of what I think about the tasks of the revolution. They demand plain answers, how to fight, how to organize the victory, and our party will give them the answer. And they don't care for your petty, ignorant matters.

(Further short stories from the life of Lenin will appear in the next issue of the Saturday Magazine of the Daily Worker.)

half and half peasants. They have land and cattle and do not know yet what hunger is like."

"And so they're willing we should have it," the woman hissed. "Just look at those fat necks!" she cried louder.

"And the bellies!" another laughed.

"Yes, they steal our work," the little man snarled, "and then they attack us from the rear."

"Let them out," old Bernhard said, intervening.

"Open the gate!" a young fellow cried.

They ran out hastily.

In the meanwhile the guardsmen on the stone pile had moved forward. Those in the garden also came slowly nearer.

"Now's a good time to shoot!" called a miner who was looking over the wall.

"Go slow," warned an old man. "We haven't much shot to waste." Now a wild shooting began. The men ducked again and again after firing. Yet one of the lads collapsed.

"His forehead is crushed," said the little man as he bent over him. "Half of the back of his head is gone."

The men did not shoot badly either. Their shot-gun fire seemed especially well-aimed. Often someone on the pile uttered a cry.

When the police had come within thirty meters they actually had to retreat again. They entrenched themselves behind rocks and shot only at the gate.

"They intend to storm," said the tall miner.

"That's why they're shooting the gate to pieces."

"Then we're last," wailed an old man and nodded his head.

"But they're not here yet!" another contradicted him.

"And what odds?" cried the woman. "They can only kill us."

Meanwhile the gate was torn open still more.

An especially rash one jumped up and threw a hand grenade at it. Then it gave way completely.

Over on the pile they seemed to rejoice at this success. They even ceased firing for a moment.

"Will you give up the mine now?" one of them cried. The men did not know what to answer to this. Most of them had not yet been discouraged by the shooting. Some looked as if the battle had made them still more angry.

The men on top of the pile became irritated from waiting. The firing began again. Also the throwing of hand-grenades.

"They're going to storm directly," cried a lad who had climbed up on a ventilation tower.

"We must run to meet them," one of the men demanded and approached the gateway.

"Yes, if they storm they can't shoot any more," said another.

"And with our picks we can attack them pretty effectively," whispered a third.

The first also tried to distribute the men a little. "Those with the guns remain on top," he called to old Bernhard.

"They're coming!" shouted the lad and let himself down with a thud from his hiding place.

Heads became visible on the pile alos. Whole bodies. The police sprang up and came leaping in great bounds. At the same time they also broke in from the garden.

The miners poured out of the gateway to meet them. When they saw that, they threw hand-grenades as they ran.

The first one exploded too far away. Nevertheless, it wounded two of the men. The next one blew four men apart and some collapsed afterwards.

The explosion frightened the men. They did not run forward any more. They even

fall back.

This made the rest waver.

"Keep on!" cried those in the rear. "At them!" They tried to encourage the wavering ones.

In spite of that, the first could not rush forward. A giant of a man who was running forward fell in a heap.

Were they afraid? They did not know. The dead ones had paralyzed them. And now that the police struck at them, they scarcely defended themselves.

"Strike, can't you?!" shouted the woman who stood in the foremost rank.

"Strike!" shouted the little man also, lifting his pick. But most of them let themselves be struck down.

Then faint calls suddenly sounded from the market-place. Shots were exchanged. People were tramping. Rushing. Hastening forward.

"Ours!" shouted a lad and cheered.

"Our people!" the men shouted too, and seemed to be awakened.

Now familiar voices were heard. Shouts. Interspersed commands rang out. Raging. Clamoring. But they died out again. "Even the women are with them," cried a lad who saw the foremost coming over the hill.

The police became confused by the shouts. Some turned about. Others were already running back.

Movement now came into the men too.

"They are fleeing!" others called.

They suddenly ran after the police. Some uttered cries of triumph. The faces looked wild. Many roared like a lion.

"What is that?" asked the tall miner, running looked at with his pick. "Revolution!"

# Psychology of Revolution

By D. KVIKTO

SIXTH ARTICLE.

Fascism in a Psychologic Garb.

THOSE who picture to themselves the fascist as a town bully, wearing a black shirt, think only of the under-dog of fascism. Since the fascistic "gentleman" often wears a silk hat and monocle, why should he not wear an academic robe as well? One of the fascists wearing an academic robe is Dr. Le Bon.

As it behoves a guardian of the "national soul," Le Bon makes a distinction between the intellect of the race and the intellect of the revolutionary crowd. While the intellect of the race, according to him, is characteristic of its constancy, that of the crowd is known for its fickleness. The same distinction he draws between their respective leaders. While the representatives of the nation (in normal times) are of sound judgment, the leaders of the revolutionary rabble sink to the crowd level.

To this it may be replied that no nation adheres to the same policy, for it is constantly compelled, under the pressure of circumstances, to change it, yet this change is not called fickleness. The change of policy and tactics by the revolutionary masses, to be sure, moves at a more rapid pace, for the simple reason that revolution in itself means rapid and thoroughgoing change, due to which the revolutionary masses are confronted by new and often unexpected situations, to which they must respond quickly and emphatically.

The doctor accuses the crowd of being incapable of noticing any but the external resemblance of things but not the internal affinity:

"The mode of reasoning of crowds resembles that of the Esquimaux who, knowing from experience that ice, a transparent body, melts in the mouth, concludes that glass, also a transparent body, should also melt in the mouth; or that of the savage who imagines that by eating the heart of a courageous foe he acquires his bravery; or of the workman who, having been exploited by one employer of labor, immediately concludes that all employers exploit their men." (The Crowd, by Le Bon).

We doubt whether the characteristic holds true in the case of the savage and the Esquimaux; it may be Le Bon's own invention, as the "collective soul" is. But assuming that this is a true characteristic, how can it be applied to the worker? It would mean that either all workers would conclude that employers are exploiters, (for the fact is that wage system is exploitation) and that no sooner a workman had started working than he would become class conscious (unfortunately this is not the case). But since it takes time to come to these conclusions, that means that the workers come gradually to the realization of it and, consequently, there is no more savage elements in their reasoning, than in the reasoning of any human being belonging to the "nation". On the contrary, the comparison of Le Bon is a good illustration of poor reasoning; for such kind of argumentation suits an audience of minors, but not of thinking people. It is amusing to see how often the avowed "national" minds, thru whose lips the race supposedly speaks, lose their mental balance when they deal with revolutionary activity.

According to the French "psychologist" everything seems to be real to the revolutionary masses as in a sleep, and they believe in the most incredible things. The revolutionary spirit recalls rather a mental state than a doctrine. One of the characteristics of the revolutionist in his inability to adapt himself to the established order. After order is restored, the revolutionist is again dissatisfied, and is ready to attack the rulers.

This characteristic of Le Bon shows only the revolutionary mass is not homogeneous, and that there are various factions, as in "normal" assemblies, each faction aspiring to run affairs according to its program. But why does Mr. Le Bon grant the "terrible" name of revolutionist to the conservative opposition? It is well known



BRITISH CAPITALISM: "My word! These blasted workers should leave internationalism to the upper classes!"

that the ruling party after a revolution is very often more revolutionary than the opposition party, and that the latter may be more moderate and even conservative. It would follow from this that both the revolutionary leaders and the masses that support them are the same; while the conservatives or moderates would turn insane, as they in turn would also cherish the hope of violent overthrow of the ruling (revolutionary) party. Something is deficient with this psychology which turns against its masters.

There is one common source for all the revolutionary programs, he continues—"mysticism," that is a faith in a formula, in theory. The mysticism expresses itself in that the workers believe that they are more capable to rule the state and industries. The faith of the leaders is the outcome of jealousy and envy, but not of superiority. As for the masses, they generally hate superiority. They like as little the wealthy as they dislike the intellectuals. And the famous savant reaches the conclusion that the labor movement of Europe is nothing else but a struggle of inequality of intellect and luck, on the preservation of which nature insists.

But this inferior state is ascribed by Le Bon only to the revolutionary masses and not to the race or nation. The historical race once it is formed, possesses, due to the hereditary law, such a power that all its beliefs and institutions, and the elements of its civilization, are nothing but expressions of the genius of the race. The influence of the revolt can last but a short time for it is against the traditions of the race. (So reasons Professor Le Bon.) Progress is attained but gradually; a revolution does not attain it. It only changes the names and terminology; it only destroys treasures, accumulated by long effort.

Civilization, he thinks, was always created and directed by a small aristocratic circle, but not by the masses. "When the structure of a civilization becomes rotten, it is always the

masses that bring about its downfall. It is at such a juncture that their chief mission is plainly visible, and that for a while the philosophy of number seems the only philosophy of history."

But since the revolutionary masses are needed to destroy the decayed structure, this alone would indicate both the necessity and the sanity of revolutionary action. Should the revolutionary crowd be in a hypnotic state it would equally attempt to destroy the solid and the decayed structure; but since it destroys the rotten building alone it signifies that it is aware of its activity and is not at all "hypnotic." To carry out the revolutionary plan it requires a long time—a state preparatory to the revolutionary outbreak. A revolution, then, is the sum total of a small circle, at the beginning, then of a large party and lastly it is joined by the oppressed class.

Another accusation of Le Bon's is that the revolution enlists the most dangerous elements. Its companions are two categories of criminals—professional and occasional criminals. These criminals form the army of disorder. All leaders of revolution, all founders of religious and political alliances have always relied upon criminal elements.

What relation is there between the revolutionary movement and criminal elements? Criminals shun any participation in revolutionary parties, which would demand self-abnegation and sacrifice. True revolutionists prepare the ground in the course of long weary years preceding the revolution; they consciously sacrifice themselves for an ideal though they know that it may be a long time before the ideal is realized and that it is possible that they may not live to see their ideal realized. As for the ideals themselves, these are born in the hearts and heads of men who reflect upon them in seclusion, who deliberate upon them a long time previous to the outbreak. Those idealists and thinkers belong ideologically to the same revolution-

ary "crowd," and long before the revolution takes place, they rally under the red banner—the symbol of life and creation.

That in time of upheaval the criminal elements seize the opportunity to give vent to their own inclinations, Le Bon himself admits. We may add that the counter-revolutionary elements join the criminals to increase tumult and disorder. Yet all chaos, all destruction wrought by them is ascribed to the revolutionary elements. Le Bon himself says that in time of revolution ordinary people sometimes become heroes, and are morally superior to everyday people. Suppose it were possible to do away with the elements that are criminal and counter-revolutionary but which take the disguise of friends of the revolution. What would become of the revolutionary activity? It would have to deal with open enemies, and the revolutionary struggle would take different aspects.

It is evident that the epithets "degenerate," "criminal," "insane" are employed for one reason—to discredit revolutionary activity. Le Bon, like the rest of his kind, needs the psychological mantle to drape the old criminal order to make it look more attractive. He cannot do it unless through slander, abuse and falsification. It is true that there are enough simpletons to believe it, but it is our business to tear down the mask and show that under the garb of the psychologist the fascist rejoices when he sees his like, as we may judge from the following:

"We must congratulate ourselves that Europe possesses a man of sufficient energy to endeavor to apply it. If his work succeeds it will have contributed towards saving our civilization from the danger of final destruction with which socialism threatens it." (The World Unbalanced.)

There it is! Mussolini is the savior and guardian of civilization, and psychologists, like Le Bon, its makers. A fine civilization this is!

# "Bloody Wednesday" in Poland

By J. SOCHACKI,  
(Communist Deputy in the Polish  
Parliament.)

## The Unemployment in Poland.

IN the city of Stryj, Poland, at the beginning of 1926, according to the statistics of the local unemployed committee, there were 1,400 workers unemployed. This number was decreased in the month of March by about 300 which were employed at public construction work.

From 1,000 unemployed at the end of March, there were 750 workers without any means of living. The city government did not help those workers in any way.

Numerous delegations of the unemployed, demanding from the city the right to live, were always sent back with nothing. The excuse was that the city has no funds for the unemployed.

Under the constant pressure of mass demonstrations, the city government has once during the whole winter distributed among the unemployed some rotten wood for fuel, a little bit of flour and fourteen gold marks for each family. Of course, this meager help could in no way be of any assistance to the unheard misery of the unemployed. It is worth mentioning that government doles were given to no more than thirty or forty unemployed.

The hungry and desperate workers assembled daily in the local of trade union halls. The workers' demands were presented time and again to the city elders, but of no avail; the delegation of the unemployed always came away empty-handed.

## Repressions.

THE unemployed committee of Stryj and the council of trade unions called for the 17th of January a convention of delegates of unemployed workers and trade unions of the whole district of Carpathia in order to discuss the situation and work out a plan of action.

The city elders, however, forbade the holding of such a convention and

top floor, and many workers were beaten brutally with the butts of guns.

The bourgeois press is lying when it says that the life of the police was in danger, etc. There were thirty armed policemen as against 250 defenceless workers. Another thing, the police started shooting when the workers were crowded in the narrow corridor of the building.

I asked many eye witnesses, and they all testified that there were three volleys of shots.

The first bodies fell in the corridor and on the front steps of the elders' building. The seriously wounded ones were found in the yard and on the streets in front of the buildings.

After the demonstration was dispersed the police were following and

still shooting at the fleeing workers. That the police did shoot at the workers who were running away, is admitted even by the bourgeois newspaper, "Kurier Lwowski," which says: "After the first shots the demonstrators made a getaway, but the police did not stop shooting for another three minutes."

The result of this bloody murder—10 workers killed, among them a 15-year-old boy. More than ten were wounded seriously and a score of other wounded workers never reported for medical treatment for fear of the police. After the murder of the hungry and miserable workers the city and all the public buildings were guarded by the soldiers.

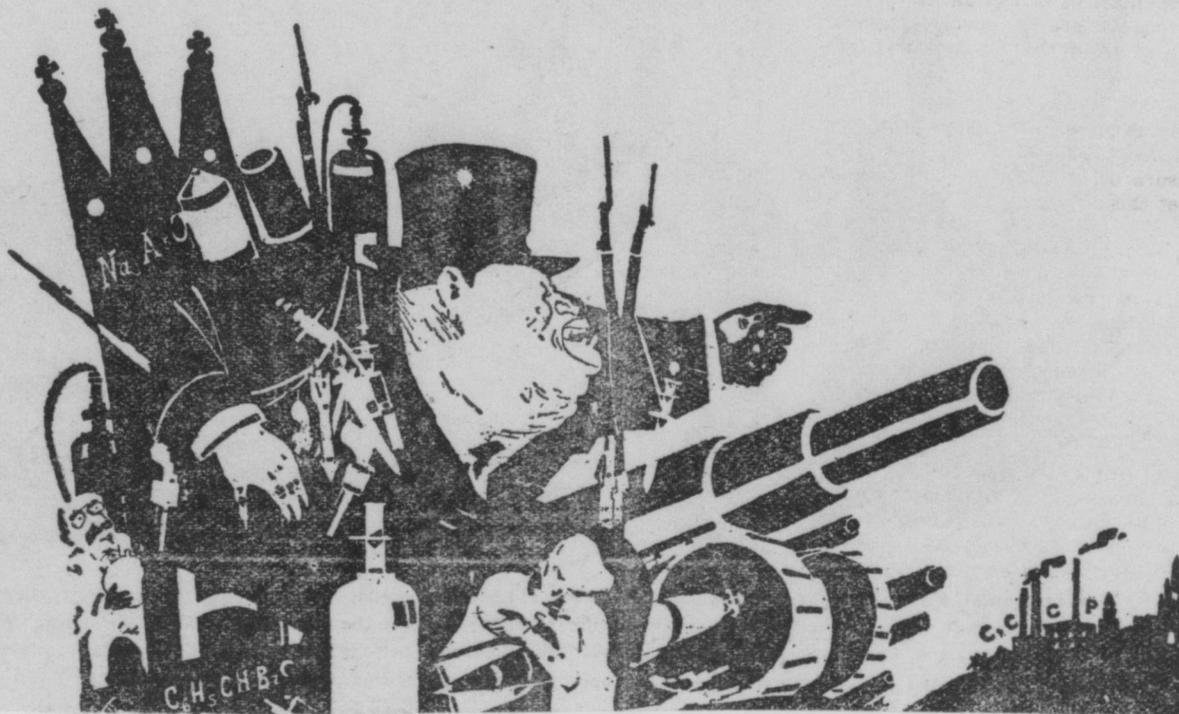
I was told that on March 31, some

regiments of soldiers refused to come out, and in result some soldiers and an officer were arrested.

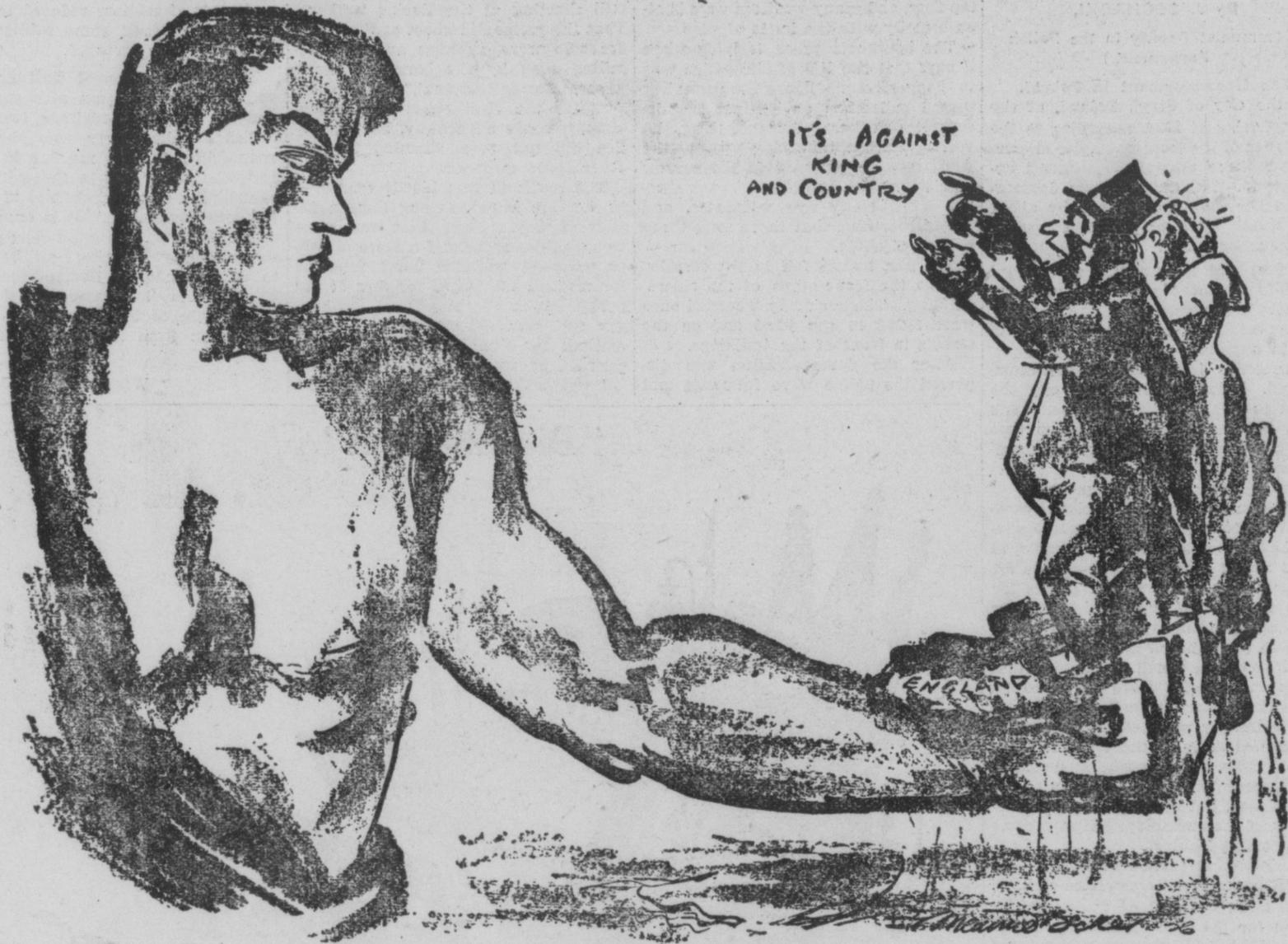
The whole of honest working class opinion must condemn also the position of the social-traitors from the Polish socialist party who share responsibility for the murder in Stryj, and who are trying to throw this responsibility on the shoulders of "Communistic instigators." It is true there was in Stryj an instigator who pushed the unemployed workers on the street to demonstrate, to demand bread or work. This instigator was hunger. This ought to be clear even to the gentlemen from the Polish Socialist Party.

Warsaw, April 5, 1926.

## "Disarmament"



# British Labor and The Capitalist State



The cartoonist Maurice Becker shows British Labor supporting, under the influence of its right wing leadership, the capitalist government, even at the moment when Labor finds itself in terrific struggle against the same capitalist government. When British Labor completes the lesson which teaches that the Thomases, Hendersons and MacDonalds are acting as agents of the capitalist class, then Labor will turn toward the revolutionary program and will overturn instead of supporting the government of the capitalist class.