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MARCH, 1925

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MARCH, 1925

No. 5

The British Conference on World Trade Union Unity

By Wm. Z. Foster



FOSTER

IF further proof were needed of the growing revolutionary spirit of the British working class, such proof was abundantly furnished by the Unity Conference of the National Minority Movement, held in Battersea Town Hall, on January 25th. There were present 630 delegates from all over Great Britain, representing more than 600,000 workers in practically every important trade union in the country. The whole thing was a blaze of revolutionary spirit. It was a striking demonstration of the spirit of international unity, now spreading like wildfire among the millions organized in the British trade unions.

The conference, which was made up of delegates from trade unions, cooperatives, unemployed, etc., was held in the face of sharp opposition. The old-line trade union leaders could see in it the handwriting on the wall for their antiquated system of unionism which has cost the British workers so dearly. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, invited to attend, abruptly declined the invitation. The leaders of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Amalgamated Engineering Union (Machinists) went the General Council one better and sharply warned their members not to attend. The capitalist press profusely praised the reactionary leaders for this stand; suddenly the mouthpieces of the capitalists became militant defenders of "legitimate" trade unionism against the diabolical assaults of the left wing. They made much of the fact that Cook, recently elected left wing secretary of the national Miners' Union, did not attend the conference and preside over it, as advertised. The reason for this was that when he agreed to preside the date for the conference was set for January 24. Later, it was changed to the 25th. This conflicted

with an already scheduled important miners' meeting which he could not cancel. But Cook sent a copy of his speech, fully identifying himself with the Minority movement. He said, "I am proud to be a disciple of Karl Marx and a humble follower of Lenin."

More active opposition was offered by those tools of big capital, the British fascisti. Before the meeting they plastered the whole neighborhood (which is the district of Saklatvala, the Communist M. P.) with posters screaming "To Hell with the Communists. Join the Fascisti!" They also issued a couple of pamphlets bitterly attacking the Minority Movement. These were distributed widely. Then the fascisti, representing themselves to be officials of the Minority Movement, secured entrance to the hall early in the morning and sprinkled the place with foul-smelling chemicals.

The Urge to World Unity

The specific object of the Conference, in addition to generally furthering left-wing propaganda and organization in the trade unions, was to organize a great drive behind the R. I. L. U. plan for the calling of an international convention at which both the Amsterdam and Red Internationals shall be merged and the world's labor movement united. This drive for unity has developed powerful support in the British unions. The British trade unions are fast coming to realize that Amsterdam, with its policy of class collaboration and support of the Dawes' plan, can do nothing for them. They are turning their eyes more and more to revolutionary methods, and Russia is an inspiration to them.

When the delegates of the Russian trade unions came to the Hull convention of the British unions, they were given a mighty ovation. They invited the British to send a delegation to Russia. This was done, and the British delegates got a still more wonderful

demonstration at the Russian Trade Union Congress. The British delegates endorsed the plan of the Russians for world unity. Moreover, they brought home a report glowingly supporting the Russian revolution and pointing out its achievements. The delegation was headed by Purcell, President of the British Trades Union Congress and chairman of the Amsterdam International.

These moves, backed by the left wing generally in the unions, left Thomas and the other right-wingers gasping. But they have been unable to develop any real opposition to the course of events. The General Council adopted their Russian delegation's report unanimously, and are preparing to set up an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee to fight for world unity. This creates a ticklish situation in the Amsterdam International. The British unions are the backbone of that organization, and if the right wing, led by Oudgeest, Grossman, Jouhaux, et al, who are bitterly fighting against unity, attempt to block the combined efforts of the Russians and the British, it may result in splitting the Amsterdam International. That would be a fatal blow to it and would definitely mark the ascendancy of the left wing in the world labor movement.

The resolution adopted at the Battersea Unity Conference supported the policy of the General Council of the British trade unions. It said:

"International unity, to fight capitalism, not to defend it, can only be achieved if the labor movement of all countries, and particularly our own, succeeds in forcing the Amsterdam International to agree to the convening, together with the R. I. L. U., of a world trade union congress. At this Congress, representatives of all the trade union organizations affiliated to both the Amsterdam and the R. I. L. U., as well as those trade unions outside any international organization, shall be present. Only at such a world congress as this will it be possible to unify our forces. We must break with the policy of class peace, and collaboration with the League of Nations, that powerful instrument of capitalism, and create an international leadership fit and willing to lead the battles of the working class against the capitalists, under the banner of one trade union movement."

The aim of the Minority Movement is to stir the masses and to swing them definitely into an irresistible demand for trade union unity, one that cannot be betrayed by weak or treacherous leadership. The resolution was moved by the veteran, Tom Mann, chairman of the Unity Conference, and it was seconded by another veteran, A. A. Gossip, Secretary of the National of Furnishing Trades. Tom Mann looked younger than ever. He enthused the whole conference with his contagious vigor and militancy. Many

speakers supported the resolution. I was struck by four features of their debate. One was their splendid ability as floor-men; quite evidently they were trade union militants of long standing. Another was their revolutionary spirit and understanding of Marxian and Leninist principles, still another was the definite close-to-home illustrations they gave on the need for unity. To them the fight against the Dawes' plan was no far-fetched thing but an immediate bread-and-butter question that could only be solved by powerful and revolutionary organization. And, finally, I was struck with the compactness and homogeneity of the gathering. All seemed to think and react alike. It was such a contrast to the lack of homogeneity of our working class, made up as it is of 50 races, with a multitude of jangling languages, religions, traditions, etc. The whole conference just breathed of the workshops. It was the real voice of the most intelligent and revolutionary elements of the British working class.

Other Business of the Conference

In addition to the unity resolution, several other matters, more or less related to the immediate purpose of the conference, were handled. One of these was a very able report on the Sixth Russian Trade Union Congress, by Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the National Minority Movement. At the conclusion of his speech, Pollitt was bombarded with scores of questions dealing with every imaginable trade union problem in Russia: piece work, organization of women, children, the blind, condition of the cooperatives, unemployment, etc., etc. The delegates betrayed the broadest knowledge of the situation and the greatest hunger for information. Such a demonstration would be utterly impossible at this time in a general American rank and file trade union conference, stuffed full as the heads of our workers are with lies about Russia, propagated equally by our labor leaders and the capitalists.

An important resolution was one condemning British imperialism and declaring solidarity with the working classes and labor unions throughout the British Empire. With the British workers, the question of imperialism, like that of trade union unity, is a closeup and burning one. The leaders of the Labor Party were scorched by several speakers for their imperialistic policy when in power. Now the conservatives controlling the government are declaring that Labor has no



HARRY POLLITT OF THE BOILERMAKERS' UNION, NATIONAL SECRETARY OF BRITISH MINORITY MOVEMENT.

right to kick against the atrocities in Egypt, India, and elsewhere, because when it was in power it did the same thing. The Amsterdam International was also bitterly assailed for organizing only European workers and for leaving the workers in the colonies and weaker countries to their fate.

A resolution that created much interest was one dealing with the cooperatives. Flocks of delegates wanted to speak on this question, but the limited time cut the actual number of speakers to just a few. From these, however, two things became evident—first, that the cooperative movement of Great Britain is in the hands of reactionaries who have the pettiest kind of a petty bourgeois outlook, and, second, that the left wing is going henceforth to devote a much larger share of its efforts towards utilizing the great field for organization and propaganda presented by the cooperative movement.

The final resolution dealt with the present attempt of the government to put the railroad workers under military control. C. E. Cramp, president of the N. U. R.,

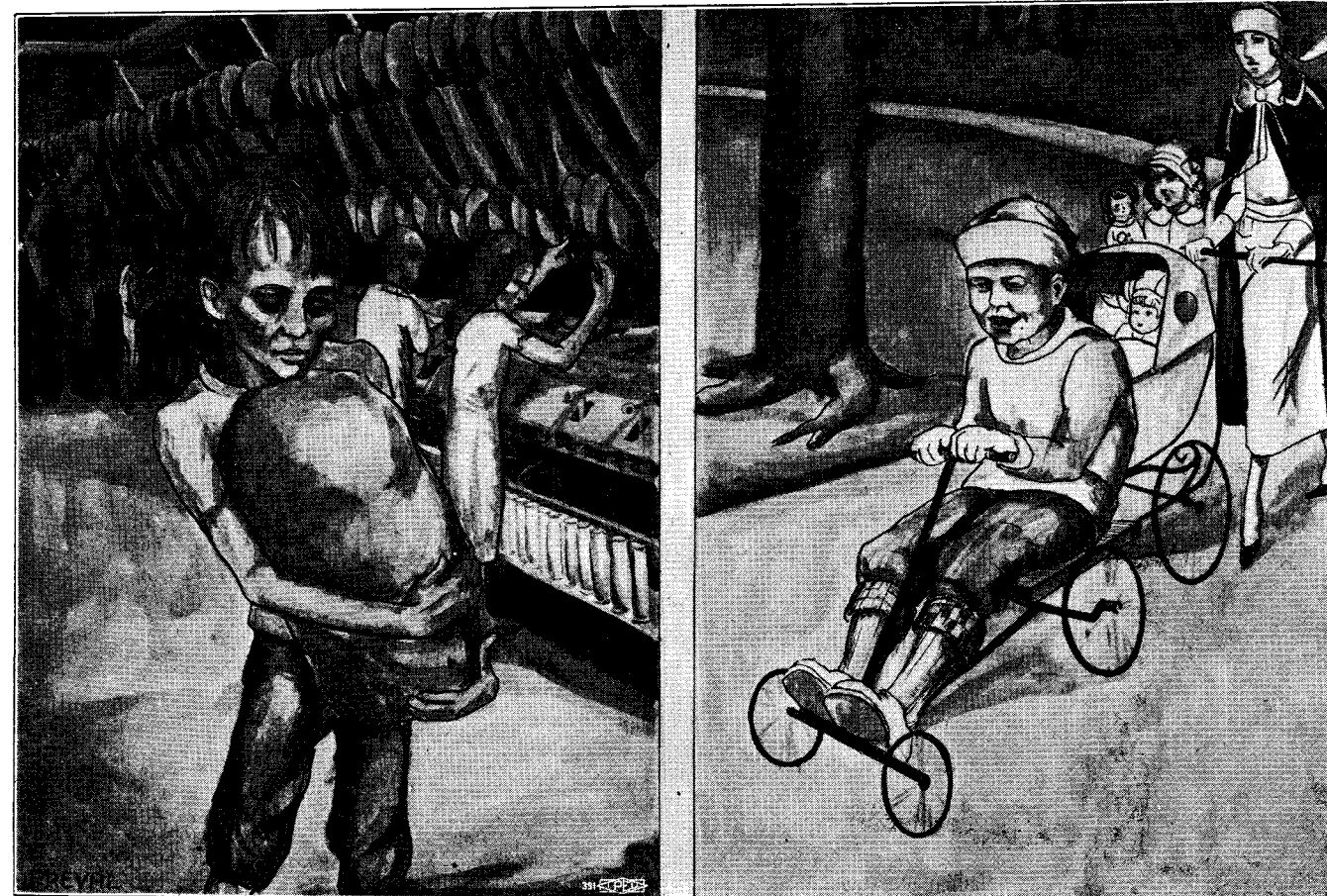
actually had proposed that this infamous measure be accepted if the government gives the unions guarantees that it will not be used to make the railroaders into scabs during strikes. But the rank and file are in most determined opposition to it. Any attempt to enforce it will surely be met by a great strike. Naturally, the Unity Conference pledged all help to develop such resistance.

There were a number of delegates from foreign countries come to the conference to express their loyalty to the cause of international unity. Several ran dangers of imprisonment to reach the conference. Among those who spoke were Dudilioux, secretary of the C. G. T. U. of France, and representative of the R. I. L. U., Jim Larkin, Hais of Czecho-Slovakia, Miller of Germany, a delegate from India, and Jim Cannon. Comrade Cannon spoke for the Trade Union Educational League. He made a powerful presentation of the meaning of the maneuvers of the A. F. of L. to re-enter the Amsterdam International. He also pointed

(Continued on page 236)

American Shibboleths

No. 1. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.



Drawn by Juanita Preval.

Class and Klan in Herrin

By Thurber Lewis



WILLIAMSON is a coal digging county. It is dotted with mines. The bulk of the population is mining; the balance is small farmer and business. One has only to talk to the miners to see that half or more are foreign born. Most of the foreign diggers are Slavs and Italians. A distinct southern drawl marks the speech of the greater part of the American stock. For the most part, these latter originated in Kentucky and Tennessee. Some of them come from the mountain race of tobacco-chewing, cussin', straight-shooting White Mule distillers who have gained the reputation of being fond of firing off guns at each other. Some drifted in from the southern lowlands, the habitat of the "poor whites," who remain to this day bewildered by the onrush of industrial progress.

The miners in southern Illinois, where Williamson County is, are organized one hundred per cent. Many years of strike and struggle have given them their job control. You can't work in the Illinois mines unless you are a member of the United Mine Workers of America. And the miners are not going to let their union be taken away from them without a fight.

Those miners are proletarian to the bone. The foreign-born diggers have a long proletarian ancestry. The Americans are new to wage-slavery; the generation before this and much of the present were sons of the soil, but it doesn't take many years at heaving black diamonds a thousand feet under to make proletarians—and real ones. One doesn't have to be in Williamson County more than a few days to learn that there is more to the struggles there than just klan and anti-klan.

The open-shoppers learned a lesson in Williamson County

in 1922. The Lester strip mine, outside Herrin, tried to run with scabs and gunmen during the big strike of that year. The gunmen got reckless and shot a couple of strikers. Not many of them got away to tell the story. After the smoke cleared a number of miners were brought to trial. The Illinois Chamber of Commerce gave \$50,000 for the purpose of prosecution. Most of the county officers were old miners. No one was prosecuted.

Why the Klan Came.

The lesson the open-shoppers learned was that frontal attacks on the miners of Williamson County won't work. They have tried force and found the miners ready to fight back. The solid organization of the miners remains a barb in the side of the employers. If they can't break the morale of the men one way they try another. They are trying another way now. The objective is the breaking up of the coal-diggers' unions in southern Illinois; they have singled out Williamson County to start in because that's the storm center. The medium they are using to turn the trick is the ku klux klan.

There are no more killings and there is no more liquor drinking in Williamson County than in any other southern Illinois coal county. Yet the ku klux klan decided that Williamson must be "cleaned up" at all costs—Williamson which had shown it could fight back when the employers launched an offensive against the miners. Why should the ku klux klan suddenly get busy in the neighborhood of Herrin, where the Lester strip mine is? The reason is that the klan is being used in a well-defined move to break down the organization and resistance of the miners.

The ku klux klan slipped into Williamson County on



LESTER STRIP MINE.

padding feet not long after the trials in Marion, the county seat. It worked silently. It gathered in some farmers, pool-room bums, preachers, boys-about-town looking for excitement, bankrupt business men and added to the lot a band of somewhat disreputable importees who were experienced hipshooters. The old-timers with feudist blood in their veins saw the chance to take their winchesters off the wall again. The "purist" element saw an escape for their suppressions and an opportunity to show the "dam furriners" where to get off at. Hard-put-to-it, cockroach business men breathed easily at the thought of being released from the debts that wouldn't let them sleep nights. And the men of God held out open arms to this mysterious stranger which, they had heard, jammed pews in other places. Nobody in the county talks more fervently of the klan than these narrow-souled preachers. The miners were off their guard. They were hoodwinked. What connection was there between them and this strange, and for a while, somewhat amusing movement that talked about "cleaning up" on Williamson? They are finding out.

Union Leader and Kluxer.

Two characters, Ora Thomas and S. Glenn Young, personify the clash of forces in Williamson County. Ora Thomas is a native of southern Illinois. He worked in the mines during most of his life and he joined the miners' union when he was sixteen. His record as an active and influential member of the U. M. W. of A. is unsullied throughout more than twenty years of service. Not a miner for miles around but has a good word for Ora Thomas. He held many responsible positions and was sent as a delegate to many conventions. He was one of the leaders of the battle between miners and scabs at the Lester strip mine; now that he is no more, there is no harm in its being revealed. One story has it that he was the observer in the plane that soared over the mine during the affray. In any case it is certain he was one those who saw in the coming of the Chicago gunmen a threat against the miners' organization and its chances of winning the strike, and that he was ready to play his last part in any trouble the imported gangsters might start. Such was the life of Ora Thomas.

It is not known where S. Glenn Young came from. Some say Texas, some say Kansas, and he used to say Kentucky. No matter. Everyone agrees he had a long career as a free-lancing soldier of fortune behind him. His klan friends glorify his murders and say that he always shot in defense of virtue and his country. He himself was not without vanity and liked to tell of the thirty notches on his gun-handles. He told vivid stories of draft-dodger chasing and moonshiner hunting in the mountain fastnesses of Kentucky. He caught the imagination of the simple minded. But the one fact that has been established beyond question is that many years of his glorious career were spent in the services of scab-herding, strikebreaking agencies. Like as not, those notches represent thirty strikers.

Such was the life of S. Glenn Young.

These men represented the line-up in the struggle in Williamson County. They are both dead. On January twenty-fourth, Ora Thomas stood up under the fire of Glenn Young and two of his bodyguards, shouting defiance and emptying his gun. Young and his men, who had started the shooting, dropped before Thomas went down with nine bullets in his body.

Out to Break Union.

But the struggle goes on. The klan is more domineering than ever. The miners are awakening more and more to the realization that the klan is in Williamson County to break up their morale and their union. The miners are beginning to sense the connection between the Lester mine and the klan. The connection is direct and unquestionable. It has been quite conclusively proved that Glenn Young was one of the mine guards who escaped from the barricade in the Lester mine just previous to the battle. His later raids and search-



ORA THOMAS.

ings as leader of the klan "mop-up" forces, were discovered to have arisen out of a hidden anxiety to uncover machine guns, rifles and other material that could be used as evidence to re-open the mine riot trials in a country whose official machinery is controlled from top to bottom by kleagles and cyclopes. Ora Thomas, leader of the embattled miners, was chosen from the beginning as a target and center of attack by Young and the klanmen. All the elements who were enthusiastic supporters of the prosecution in the trials following on the Herrin affair are found to be equally enthusiastic klanmen. Money was used by Glenn Young and his following in such liberal quantities as to indicate it came from other than local sources. That money was plainly poured out and the klan set on foot in Williamson County by interests bent on the disruption of the mine unions.

The klan fooled people down there at first all right. The openness of the county in the matter of booze gave the K. K. a passable excuse for existence. The eighteenth amendment instead of meaning prohibition is merely a nuisance in Williamson County. Coal miners like their liquor hard. Facing the coal in the roasting heat of the lower veins calls for strong drink when the wearing day is done.

To make matters worse, the officials of the miners' union are, as one person in Williamson said, "Either puss-footers looking for jobs or jellyfish and just plain scared." Some are accused of being members of the klan. The miners lack

The Kluxer's Creed

From a K. K. K. Application Card

The following points are taken from a list of "articles of the faith" to which all members of the klan are required to subscribe:

- "White supremacy.
- "Preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign agitators.
- "Prevention of fires and destruction of property by lawless elements.
- "Limitation of foreign immigration.
- "Closer relationship of pure Americanism.
- "Law and Order."

After listing the various points, the moron-card continues: "Upon these beliefs and the recommendation of your friends you are given an opportunity to become a member of the most powerful secret, non-political organization in existence, one that has the 'Most Sublime Lineage in History,' one that was 'Here Yesterday,' 'Here Today,' 'Here Forever.'"

leadership now that Ora Thomas is gone. But the coal diggers won't be asleep much longer—leaders will spring up—they always do. The klan had little trouble finding a new leader when Young went. They are in complete control of the county now. They are working gradually and steadily up to the point where they will openly challenge the right of the mine unions to exist. Then the real fight will start. The Herrin Lester mine affair and the raid shooting will be lost to memory in the melee that will follow when the miners awaken once and for all to the knowledge that the klan is out to take away their chief weapon—the union.

This story is lost if it is looked upon merely as the story of Herrin. It is the story of the class struggle the world over. The class struggle does not always present a picture of sharply divided opposing forces. It lurks in many hidden byways of social life. If in the end the class struggle expresses itself in plainly defined terms, it is often cloaked in the guise of movements apparently serving other ends. The fascist movement abroad is an example. At home, the American Legion, the klan and similar movements of the thwarted petty bourgeoisie and de-classed elements, are but heedless tools of the master class and implacable foes of the working class.

Severino

By T. J. O'Flaherty

If a radical worker insists on being born in America, he may be arrested, indicted, convicted, imprisoned or hanged, but he cannot be legally deported. His foresight in selecting his native land at least saves him that inconvenience. Formerly, that is up until the crusade for democracy started, with the Kaiser as the bete noir of the democratizers, citizenship papers in the United States meant more than a scrap of paper. But today a radical with his naturalization certificate

is about as immune from deportation as Raisuli, the Riffian chieftain, is from bribery.

Take the case of A. V. Severino, for instance. Severino is a citizen of the United States, of Italian birth, a member of the bricklayers' union in Cleveland, was candidate for councilman in that city and attended the Communist convention at Bridgeman, which was the cause of the present attempt of the Department of Justice to take his citizenship papers away from him.

When the Communist leaders were arrested in the big Burns-Daugherty raid on their convention, the government initiated deportation proceedings against those who were not citizens. But it was not expected that similar action would be taken against those who had taken out their final papers. The capitalists of this country however are thoroughly scared at the radical menace to their robber system; they are committed to the policy of disfranchising the native-born radicals wherever they can possibly do so, and deporting all those of foreign birth, whether naturalized or not.

This is one of the most important aspects of the Michigan defense. It makes the Severino case fully as significant as the cases of Ruthenberg, Foster, Dunne, Minor, etc., which have aroused the indignation and support of class conscious workers throughout the country. The "criminal syndicalist" law which is being used by the state of Michigan, backed by the United States government, to suppress the Workers (Communist) Party by putting its leading members in jail, is also used to open the way for the disfranchisement of the naturalized, foreign-born workers and thus render them easy prey to the bosses under threat of deportation.

The great majority of the membership of the American trade unions is foreign-born—naturalized and unnaturalized. Any active union member who comes into conflict with the employing class can be branded an undesirable, deprived of his citizenship papers and deported, provided the government succeeds in deporting Severino. The Severino case is a test case. It must be fought vigorously.

Homily to the Young

Prudence proclaims this precept: take your stand
Upon the old until the new be tried.
Speak softly to the rulers of the land;
Avoid the fall which follows after pride.
In Rome, do as the Romans do—remember
Rome was not built on any given day,
And wiser heads than yours, in countless number,
Have thought these problems out, and said their say.

Be honest—you will find no other virtue
Ever will stand in better stead than this.
Be true—but never judge that it can hurt you
At need, to give a diplomatic kiss;
And you will win to honor and success—
And thirty silver pieces, more or less.

—Robert L. Wolf.

Kellogg in Paris--Johnson in the Senate

By Alexander Bittelman

KELLOGG in Paris knew exactly what he was doing when he, together with Messrs. Herrick and Logan, were signing the Paris Agreement. White Senator Johnson of California did not know what he was doing when he took the floor in the Senate to speak on this same agreement. This is merely another way of saying that while our big capitalists are perfectly conscious of what they want in foreign politics our smaller capitalists are totally at sea in the matter of foreign relations and foreign politics. Big Capital knows its mind. Small Capital does not seem to have any mind at all. Hence, the practically undisputed sway of big capital in all the affairs of the country.

What happened in Paris?

In the beginning of January the so-called Allied and Associated Powers in the World War held a conference in Paris. The purpose of this conference was to settle once

Germany. And as to the struggle over the distribution of the reparation accounts, this is merely one item, one phase in the bigger struggle for world power.

The Paris Conference settled a few minor disagreements in the matter of distributing the spoils of reparation. Which means that it settled nothing. It just removed some minor difficulties, thus clearing the way for the real, major struggles. The fight will go on.

However, something happened at the Paris Conference which deserves more than passing attention. Because of the diplomatically unskilled manner in which the American delegation handled its affairs, it became clearly apparent that the government of the United States is definitely committed to the enforcement of the Dawes plan. Not that these commitments have been made at the Paris conference for the first time. Nothing of the sort. The American government, in spite of all its declarations to the contrary, was committed to the enforcement of the Dawes plan from the very moment that Morgan and Co. began their maneuvers for the "settlement" of the reparations problem. The readiness of the American government to back up its bankers and financial experts was implied (and so understood) in every step made by the latter towards formulating and bringing about the acceptance of the Dawes plan. Notwithstanding the fact that the representatives of the American Government were always parading at the inter-allied financial conferences as "unofficial" observers, and notwithstanding the additional fact that the official American negotiators in the Dawes plan were bankers and other financial experts, the American Government was continually a factor in the game. By the very fact that the Dawes plan was the creation of Morgan and Co., the American government stood committed and obliged to back up this plan in the interests of American imperialism.

The cat of America's "entanglements" in the affair of Europe was in the bag of the Dawes plan all the time, but the American government found it necessary to conceal this fact from the eyes of the masses. What happened at the Paris Conference was simply this: Kellogg let the cat out of the bag, so that now everybody can see that the American government is committed to the enforcement of the Dawes Plan.

A Diplomatic Setback.

Kellogg did not mean to do that, of course. Quite the contrary. Before signing the agreement, which made the payment of German reparations to the United States part of the Dawes plan, Kellogg presented a statement of reservations to the effect that in signing the agreement the United States would assume no obligations in the matter of enforcing the Dawes Plan. This statement was to reassure "public opinion" at home.

Here is how Senator Johnson of California relates the incident:

"It was in the dispatches which I have here—I have some confirmation from a private source, but I do not refer to that and I do not depend upon that in



1. CHARLIE HAD A VERY COMFORTABLE AND DIGNIFIED SEAT.

more the differences among these powers as to how the reparation payments extracted from Germany shall be distributed amongst them.

This Paris Conference is neither the first one of the kind nor will it be the last one. These great (and small) powers are a quarrelsome lot. They will continue to "disagree", to bargain and to struggle as long as the affairs of the world are dominated by capitalism. Such conferences are merely incidents in the great game of imperialist expansion which is now the prime moving force in the life of every modern capitalist country.

At this moment the stake in the game is the control of Germany's economic life. This is what the great powers (America, England and France) are fighting about. The Dawes Plan is the political instrument by which each of these powers is trying to achieve its ends—the largest possible measure of control over the economic resources of



2. BUT HE GOT UP ONCE TO SHOW HIS AUTHORITY.

making these remarks—I have here certain statements that are in the dispatches which came across the ocean during the time of the signing of the agreement which, to put the matter very briefly, demonstrated or indicated that Mr. Kellogg asked that he be permitted to sign the agreement with a reservation that America would be bound only in respect to matters that America was concerned in. In substance, Mr. Kellogg desired a reservation be made, by which America could hold herself aloof in the future, pertaining to the question of department of the particular agreement.

"The instant, say the dispatches, that Mr. Kellogg offered this reservation, Mr. Churchill was on his feet repudiating it; Mr. Clementel was on his feet denying it and Mr. Theunis of Belgium was on his feet saying: 'You cannot do it; you cannot do it.' And Mr. Kellogg, according to the dispatches, pocketed his reservation and signed the agreement without any reservations being made at all."

Kellogg was compelled to sign without reservations. He thereby exposed "prematurely" a fact well known to every informed person, namely, that the Dawes Plan is not the private affair of a few American bankers but an imperialist arrangement of American capitalism backed and supported by the government of the United States. This was undoubtedly a diplomatic setback for the American government, but one which hardly touches the balance of forces in the international imperialist struggle. The government of the United States will do the bidding of Morgan and Co., just the same irrespective of whether the Paris Agreement (or any other agreement) is signed with reservations or without. The only place which may be affected by the diplomatic setback in Paris is the sphere of home politics, which is precisely what is beginning to happen.

The Impotency of the Congressional Opposition.

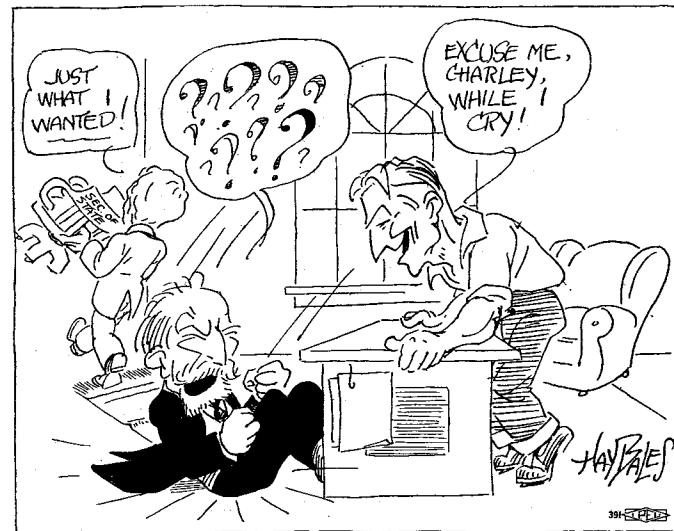
Home politics, as far as Congress is concerned, is rather at a standstill at this moment. It seems as if the democrats and the "insurgent" republicans, who are supposed to be the official opposition to the Coolidge administration, have not yet found their bearing. The fact is that there is in Congress no opposition to the present administration.

This astounding fact is being explained in many ways.

First, that the new administration is not yet in power. This explanation is sheer nonsense, because there is no material difference between the present administration and the one that will officially take office in a few months. If there are good reasons for fighting the incoming government, these reasons hold just as good for fighting the outgoing one. The second reason that is being put forward to explain the lack of opposition in Congress is the apparent absence of definite, clear-cut issues upon which an opposition could conduct a militant fight against the present administration.

Now, this second reason should be examined more closely for it contains the kernel of the real cause. It means that there are at present no outstanding, major differences of opinion between the Coolidge administration and the parties in Congress that are supposed to be in opposition to it.

The so-called opposition in Congress is made up of two unequal parts. Its major section consists of the regular democrats. Its smaller section includes the "insurgent" republicans, the "progressive" democrats and the Farmer-Laborites. The latter group, otherwise known as the "progressive" or La Follette block, is supposed to be the genuine opposition to the reactionary policies of the Coolidge administration. But where is this opposition to be found? Wherein does it manifest itself? From a real political point of view this opposition simply does not exist. It has no policy, no militancy, no organization. It is bankrupt as far as present day political life is concerned. The only organized political opposition against the rule of big capital and the Coolidge administration in



3. AND WHEN HE SAT DOWN. . .

America is at present to be found only outside of Congress in the activities of the Workers (Communist) Party and its sympathetic organizations.

American Imperialism—the Big Issue.

To speak about the lack of issues in the American class struggle is ridiculous. To say that there is no militant opposition in Congress against the rule of Coolidge because there are no clear-cut issues is the same as saying that the American masses have no grievances against capitalist exploitation, against wage-cuts, unemployment, the persecution of Negroes, imperialist plunder in China, Central America, South America, etc. Why, every single move of the American government, whether at home or abroad, is a move toward the further

aggrandizement of the capitalists at the expense of the toiling masses.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America proceeds in its daily work precisely on the basis of such an understanding. It sees its duty in continually agitating the American working masses towards political action against the rule of capital. It sees America's "entanglements" not only in the recent Paris Agreement, but in every act of the American Government, practically since the Spanish-American War in 1898. It is Senator Johnson of California and some of the other "progressives" in Congress who are just now awakening to the "possible" danger of the United States becoming entangled in European affairs.

Speaking of entanglements, what are we doing in China? What is the policy of the American Government in Mexico? What are the American marines doing in Santo Domingo and Haiti. It seems as if Senator Johnson of California never heard of these, and of Cuba and the Philippines.

And then, the Dawes Plan. Are our "progressives" against the Dawes Plan. No, they are in favor of it. Their position could be stated in these words: "For the Dawes plan but against entanglements." This means nothing, to be sure. The very terms of the above proposition are contradictory, because the Dawes plan presupposes active interference (and entanglement) in the affairs of Europe. But our "progressives" and liberals do not worry. As long as they are given a chance occasionally to state their "position" they feel perfectly satisfied.

Here is an example of "progressivism" on the Dawes plan which comes from the mouth of Senator Johnson, himself:

"The Dawes Plan may work for a year. It may work for two years. Pray God, you Americans today, that it will work in its entirety. If a success, and if in its entirety it works out, then doubtless we may not have the ills which it needs no imagination to conjure can arise from the document that was signed at Paris. If it works ill, if it works but partially, if, after all, it is essential for those who signed the deed of collection to do the collecting, then there will come a time in this nation, my friends, there will come a time to those that you love when you will curse the day that America became a part of a collection document for European debts."

This being the quintessence of "progressive" wisdom, is the political impotency and practical futility of our "progressivism" and liberalism to be wondered at? Big capital and the Coolidge administration may sleep quite peacefully as long as their only "opposition" in Congress is the one represented by Senator Johnson and his friends of the LaFollette group. It is only when the representatives of the Communist

This is Number 37

If the number appears on the address label of the wrapper on this issue of the Workers Monthly when you receive it by mail, it means your sub has expired and it is time to

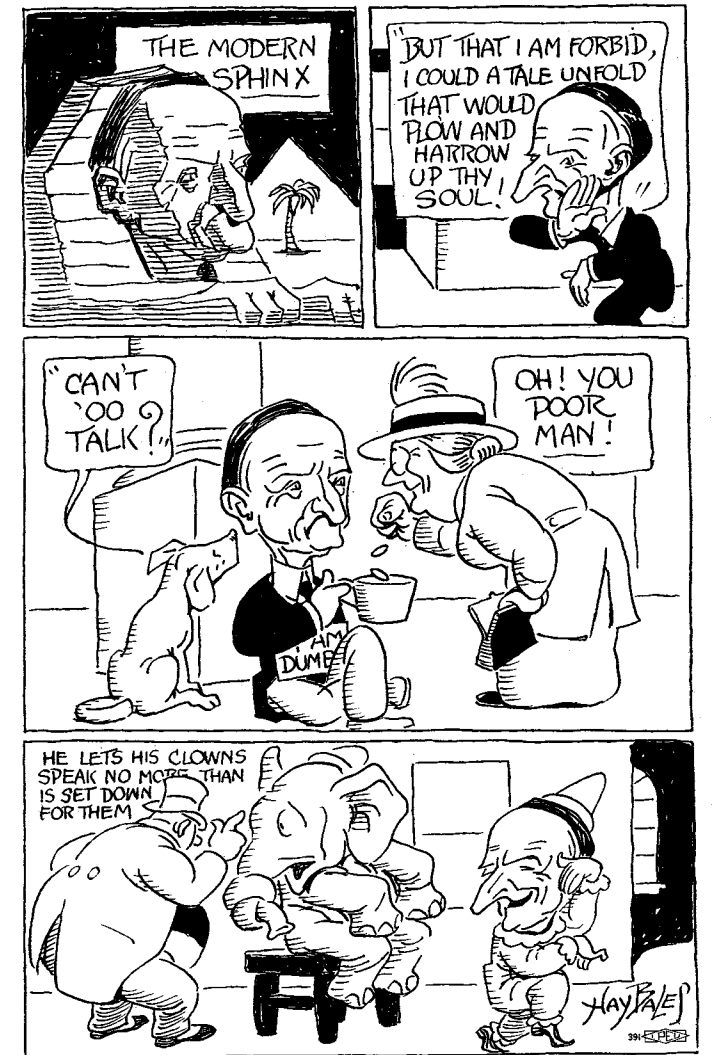
RENEW!

Party find their way into Congress that the servants of capitalism will feel compelled to sit up and take notice. Then, and only then will the voice of real progress and of actual struggle against the iniquities of capitalist rule find its expression also in the legislative Chamber of the American Government.

UNITY!

The agreement arrived at as a result of the presence of the official British Trade Union delegation at the Sixth U. S. S. R. Trade Union Congress is a sensational event, a step of utmost importance for the workers. Amsterdam claims 16,500,000 members; the R. I. L. U. has over 12,000,000. Every attempt of the reactionaries to prevent unity of these forces is a blow at the power of the workers. A united International will be formed, and America will take its place in it! Read "Unity," a pamphlet published by the British Minority Movement. Copies (from Daily Worker Publishing Co., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago), 15 cents; 11 cents in bundle orders of 10 or more.

HOW 'SILENT CAL' LOOKS TO ONE WHO HAS NEVER SEEN HIM



STRAY THOUGHTS ON INAUGURATION DAY.

Ten Years of the Amalgamated

By P. Yuditch

DURING the last month of January the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has been celebrating its tenth anniversary. The 13th of October, 1924, marked ten years since the birth of the Amalgamated. It was on October 13, 1914, that the clothing workers were compelled to split the United Garment Workers' Union. On that day, the delegates of the clothing workers were driven out of the convention ruled by the Rickert machine, which was in session in Nashville, Tennessee.

The ten years in the life of the Amalgamated have been full of varied experiences. Its achievements have often been regarded with amazement by people of quite different sorts, who not only wondered at its accomplishments, but even at the peculiar nature of its activities. For the Amalgamated never pursued a clear-cut line of action. It constantly shifted its conduct, giving battle on the one hand, trusting to conciliation on the other, following a policy of class struggle and also of class collaboration. While launching an attack at one place, it very often, at the same time, made a peaceful retreat in another. The pages of its history are painted in varying designs, so that one finds it hard to know which is the truly typical pattern.

What has been the cause of these contradictions? It is worth while analyzing this for two reasons: first, so as to understand the path followed by the Amalgamated up to the present; second, to understand where it may lead in the future.



AT THE MACHINE.

The Amalgamated was born in October, 1914, as a child of revolt. The clothing workers rebelled against the Rickert machine of the United Garment Workers' Union. They left Nashville quite alone, deserted, hated by enemies and repudiated by so-called friends.

At such a critical moment, the utmost revolutionary determination was necessary. To establish their new organization, the clothing workers had to break through an iron wall, which was defended both by the clothing manufacturers and the yellow leaders of the labor movement. This barrier could not be destroyed by folded arms, nor by a policy of diplomatic conciliation. To accomplish this, there was required of the clothing workers the same revolutionary spirit which they developed before their revolt against the leadership of the United Garment Workers.

It happened, however, that the Amalgamated immediately after its birth, became a combination of two entirely different forces: on the one hand the rank and file, and on the other the new leadership under the control of Sidney Hillman.

Though the rank and file consisted of elements saturated with the spirit of revolt, the leadership was intrusted to a man who had won power as a mediator. It is no secret that Hillman was popular at that time because he followed a policy of class collaboration as a representative of the workers in the employ of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Hillman was not considered a revolutionist, socialist or anarchist, certainly not a Communist. He was known simply as an able mediator

Years of Struggle.

Despite these contradictory forces, the Amalgamated began to break down the iron wall of capitalist resistance and started on its difficult up-hill climb to build and secure the new organization. It must be admitted, that notwithstanding the contradiction of forces, the Amalgamated at that time was driven forward. Both elements without doubt, served the organization faithfully. The spirit of class collaboration was not much of a hindrance then as the urge of the struggle for existence was far stronger than that. Most of the gains of the Amalgamated had to be fought for, and could not be obtained by begging. Even Hillman's spirit of conciliation was, to a certain degree, useful during that period. Hillman, the mediator, could very easily make his peace with the revolutionary spirit of the masses when he had no other alternative.

However, not all the positions won by the Amalgamated were obtained through battle. There were also cases where the leadership quietly made arrangements a la Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Thus from the very beginning, the Amalgamated followed a zig-zag path in all its activities. In general, however, its actual achievements surrounded the union in the early years of its existence with a revolutionary glamor.

As soon as the positions gained by the Amalgamated were firmly secured, the glamor quite noticeably began to fade. The entrance of America into the World War produced an industrial revival in the clothing industry. The manufacturers needed "hands." They were forced to make peace with the organization of the clothing workers. Even government officials then became mediators for the Amalgamated. It was

during this period that the leaders of the union began to assume the upper hand over the revolutionary rank and file.

The policy of class collaboration with the manufacturers began to spread throughout the industry. The officialdom reckoned less and less with the will of the membership. Little by little they began to forget that the clothing workers are capable of revolt. They began to regard them as a flock of sheep, and to deceive them.

From 1916 to the end of 1918, the most prosperous years in the needle industry during the war period, no serious struggles for better conditions were undertaken. It was only toward the end of 1918, when prosperity in the clothing industry was declining, that the rank and file began to demand a fight for the 44-hour week. This, however, was not begun until November of that year, when the prosperity had vanished. When at last the clothing workers went out on strike for their demands, they struck magnificently. The rank and file had not lost the spirit of battle of former years. In New York, they were on strike for 13 weeks. The 44-hour week was won. But in the settlement made, the power of the class collaborationists was as evident as that of the class conscious strikers. The workers made one gain, but the manufacturers received their little something in return.

The revolutionary spirit of the workers was again revived at the end of 1920, when the enemies of the Amalgamated made a strong attempt to destroy the organization. At that time, the spirit of revolt among the clothing workers once more obtained the upper hand. The manufacturers staged their first offensive in the clothing market of New York. In this they were encouraged and assisted by the National Manufacturers' Association. The workers, however, stood firm in a lockout lasting 26 weeks, and did not surrender. They fought bravely and won.

Right and Left Wing.

Right after that the situation again changed. The labor movement began to manifest two distinct and opposing tendencies. In the ranks of the Amalgamated a right and left wing developed. This division gave the leadership new opportunities for the exercise of their inherent spirit of mediation. They began to maneuver in all directions, ever ready with their policy of conciliation. Inside the organization, their tactics were to prevent either the right or the left from gaining the upper hand. Outside the organization, they began again to maneuver with the bosses. Within the union they exerted themselves to prevent the power of the rank and file from dictating. Without, they began to co-operate with the employers in the old spirit of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx negotiations. The revolutionary glitter had altogether disappeared.

The officialdom of the Amalgamated then began to play the dual game of supporting the lefts and fighting the rights in one city, while they followed just the opposite in another place. At the same time, their peace policy with the manufacturers continued undisturbed. Thus day by day the manufacturers are enabled to rob the workers of more of their standards and conditions. The clothing workers are deceived on all sides, and their situation grows steadily worse.

Within the organization itself, the determined stand of the left wing has partly compelled the officialdom to give up their pussyfooting policy, of supporting left and right at one and the same time, and compelled them to take a definite position. Of course, the position was on the extreme right.

The leaders of the Amalgamated have lined up with all the yellow forces, which are cordially hated by most of the active and sincere elements among the rank and file of the union.

The officialdom has even brought back into positions of power such corrupt elements as had actually been driven out of the organization previously by both Hillman and Schlossberg, the president and secretary of the Amalgamated. They made a united front with all those forces with whose help they are now carrying on a fight against the left. The union is now being dragged deeper and deeper into a swamp. The conditions in the shops become more and more unbearable. Demoralization and chaos in the union have reached a climax. The workers are enraged against both the officialdom of the union and the bosses.

So ten years have passed. Ten years in which the officialdom of the Amalgamated has already forgotten that the clothing workers can also revolt; that they can yet break the power of the new Rickerts of the union as well as of the clothing manufacturers.

An Administration Delegate Reports

(Ted Miller—that isn't his name, but it will do just as well—is a rock-ribbed reactionary, a defender of the American Constitution and protector of the sanctity of the home. He is down on all Reds. So the bureaucrats in the central labor body picked him out to represent them at the A. F. of L. convention at El Paso. This is what Ted reported when he got back. It is not fiction. Ted is a real person, and the story was taken down pretty nearly verbatim.)

"Well, brothers,
I got back from the Texas Convention last night,
And I sure want to thank you for the trip.
The convention was called on the Seventeenth
And adjourned on the Twenty-fourth.
We all had a good time.
Most of the boys spent their time in Juarez.
That's sure some town. . .
They don't have keys in that town. . .
Whisky. . . two dollars a quart. . . good stuff.
Plenty of beer. The Mexicans make a drink
Called pulki. . . it would make a man kill his mother.
We sure had plenty to drink. . .
Now I've seen lots of bull thrown around here,
But down there I saw them killed by the car load.
And cock fights! . . . Christ, them long-legged birds
Can fight like hell. . . never seen anything like it.
We sure had a good time. . .
And women. . . a man's a hog that wants a better variety;
Any nationality, color, size, any age from twelve to sixty,
I was too drunk to see good, but they looked pretty clean.
Well, brothers, I don't know of any more to say,
Only, I sure want to thank you for the trip.

"Oh, just another word, brothers.
You remember the big schooners O'Sullivan used to put out?
Them two-handed ones?
Well, that's how they serve beer in Juarez."

Jim Waters.

Negroes In American Industry

By William F. Dunne

AS I look back over the years I can see that we were probably "poor white trash."

We lived on Minnesota Avenue, and Joey, a little Negro boy whose last name I do not remember ever hearing, was my first playmate while we lived in Kansas City. Certainly we were miserably poor; that we belonged to the white race has never been disputed and justification for the supposition that we were "trash" is furnished by the distinct memory of being called "nigger lover," by older children when Joey and I ventured onto the nearby vacant lot whose garbage piles furnished an inexhaustible store of treasure for the younger set of the neighborhood.

I remember that the epithet held no approbrious meaning for me, but nevertheless I resented it just as an Irishman, an Englishman or a Swede resents being classified nationally in a certain tone of voice. My attempts to revenge what was evidently, for reasons not understood by me, intended for an



A NEGRO FAMILY JUST ARRIVED IN CHICAGO FROM THE RURAL SOUTH.

insult were not singularly successful. Joey was too good-natured to be of much value as an ally and the conflicts were generally in the nature of rear guard actions ending in the retreat of the three of us, Joey, myself and Rover, one of the nondescript dogs with which Kansas City abounded and which Joey and I had adopted, to the fastnesses of the kitchen of one of our mothers—our houses were side by side—or to the woodshed.

Our mothers were singularly uniformed as to the reasons for our troubles and unbelievably unsympathetic—particularly towards Rover. Our fathers we saw but seldom. They worked in the Armour packinghouse and were on their way to work before Joey and I arose in the mornings. They went to bed at an early hour and so did we.

We were governed by a matriarchy.

Overshadowing all else as a source of danger to Joey, Rover and me was the city dog-catcher. He was the terror of the neighborhood children who were all well supplied with unlicensed prototypes of Rover, and whatever differences ex-

isted between the races were submerged in the face of this common enemy. His advent into the district was made known by a sort of grapevine telegraph that was surprisingly efficient. Even the dogs sensed the danger and as a rule they made no protest when hurried into woodsheds and cellars.

Rover was an exception. I do not know if his mongrel heart held a sort of fearless defiance or if he was simply in rebellion against an exercise of authority but the fact remains that Rover would howl to high heaven at the most critical moments when the enemy was within earshot.

On one terrible day the grapevine failed to work and the enemy was within the gates. Joey and I adopted desperate measures. I stole a pair of mother's stockings and we lashed Rover's legs fore and aft. Joey stripped his three year old sister of her sole garment—a frock fashioned on severely simple lines—and with this emergency muffler we bound Rover's jaws while she ran screaming her protest in chocolate-colored nakedness.

Our mothers arrived as we were contemplating our work with justifiable pride. They lost no time debating the course to pursue. My mother seized Joey, Joey's mother grabbed me. With a loud smacking noise, black hand descended on white bottom and vice versa.

Joey and I left home that day with two slices of bread and three cold fried catfish to brave a world that we felt could be no more hostile than homes ruled by mothers to whom an undressed female child was of more importance than the liberty of Rover.

We were captured within four blocks of our domiciles, spanked again on already tender areas and put to bed after our commissariat had been raided.

* * * *

You ask what the foregoing has to do with the Negro in industry and I reply that the Negro in industry encounters a hostility from white workers that is artificial and not instinctive, that my childhood experience is that of thousands of white children who feel no hostility toward their Negro playmates until old enough to absorb the prejudices of their elders.

Nothing is clearer than this in the report of the Chicago commission on race relations—the most exhaustive and authoritative study of the real problem yet made in the United States and which was begun after the 1919 race riots.

The problem of the Negro in industry as well as in American society as a whole, is a problem created by the background of chattel slavery and intimately connected with its traditions, the propagation of a whole series of falsehoods and fetishes, scientifically untenable, but which by repetition and a certain superficial plausibility, have become dogmas which to question means social ostracism in the former slave states—the historical home of chattel slavery whose conceptions of the Negro as a social inferior who menaces white supremacy is the obscene fountain from which flows all of the poisonous streams that carry the virus of race hatred into

the ranks of the American working class and the labor movement.

Slavery not Abolished.

The slave south is not dead and slavery has not been abolished. It lives in song and story, it lives in every community where there are black and white human beings, it lives in the agricultural regions of the south, it exists in the industrial feudalism of the lumber and turpentine camps of the south, it lives in the southern non-union coal fields, it lives in the columns of the capitalist press of both north and south and the prejudice and strife among the workers is fed and inflamed like a gangrenous wound by this filth that it exudes.

The problem of the Negro in industry—it is really the problem of the dominant white workers if a white working-class exploited as the American working class is can be termed dominant—must be approached from two viewpoints—that of the Negro and that of the white worker. Both have their prejudices. Both are victims of constant and cunning misinformation supplied them with a deliberate aim and a diabolical cleverness hard to combat. But it must never be forgotten by those who see the danger to the workers of both races and consequently to the whole working class movement, that while the prejudices of the white workers have absolutely no foundation in fact, those of the Negro workers are, although a grave danger to working class solidarity and serious obstacles to organizing work, based upon enslavement, persecution and torture of black by white since 1619.

The Negro worker is the injured party and because he is, because the dominant white knows he is, the changes are rung on the unprovable assumptions concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Negro as an individual and as a race in an attempt to justify the denial of political rights, denial of equal educational privileges, Jim Crowism, discrimination in unions, mass murder in race riots, hangings, burnings at the stake and the rest of the long list of Dantesque horrors inflicted on the black race since its first representative was torn from his African home by white slave merchants.

Borrowed Prejudices.

The opinions of the working class in all social epochs



WHITES STONING NEGRO TO DEATH.
Actual photograph of the killing of a Negro by the mob shown below after chasing him for several miles.

up to the immediate period preceding revolution, according to the easily demonstrable Marxian theory, are the opinions of the ruling class. This applies with the greatest force to the opinions held by whites of the Negro. The white ruling class of the south has conspired since the civil war to deprive the Negro of every economic and political right. The rise of a Negro middle class has been fought consistently and white workers, imbued with the prejudices of their rulers have been only too glad to have inferiors to whom they could transmit the kicks given their own posteriors by the feudal aristocracy and the rising industrial capitalists of Dixieland.

The final argument for the suppression of the Negro with which disagreement must be accompanied by readiness to



CROWD ARMED WITH BRICKS SEARCHING FOR A NEGRO.

defend one's life against both white southern workers and capitalists and the social strata lying between, takes the form of the inevitable question: "Would you want your sister to marry a black blankety blankety blank blank?"

This is the form into which the hatred and fear of granting equal opportunity to the Negro rationalises itself. It is the sexual motif which lies like a thick and fetid blanket over the whole south, extending into the north as well, but as a thinner fabric in which rents are appearing, rents torn by the inexorable forces of industrial, political and social development in the United States.

Into the labor movement itself has been catapulted the monstrous fallacy, promulgated by a decadent feudalism based on complete subjection of the Negroes, that the black race individually and collectively, lusts with an ungovernable passion for the bodies of white women. This false dogma has been and is used to excuse all overt acts against the Negro on the part of whites when all other excuses fail. The white press and pulpit, the lecture platform, the moving pictures, silly but white ego-satisfying books of the Nordicismians, are used to perpetuate this easy and effective means of alienating all sympathy for the Negro even when he has been made the victim of the sadistic appetites of whole communities of maddened degenerates as in Mississippi, Jan. 26, 1919, where the burning of a Negro at the stake was advertised in the press for several days, the announcement of the hour at which the officers of the law would turn him over to the mob was made and special trains were run to accommodate the curious—a desperate spectacle without parallel unless we except the holocausts of Christians in ancient Rome.

A volume could be written on this phase of the race question alone but it is enough to say here that in other countries where there are large Negro populations, the sexual question does not arise. In the British West Indies, where the Negroes outnumber the whites 50 or 60 to one, according to the statement of Lord Olivier, formerly governor-general of Jamaica, no case is on record of an attack on a white woman by a Negro.

This instance alone is enough to discredit the whole myth of rape of white women as the basis of hostility to the Negro even if there were not available the testimony of competent and unprejudiced investigators who, without significant exception, are agreed that the opposite is true—a pronounced penchant of white southerners for Negro women—the millions of mulattoes are alone proof of the soundness of this conclusion—and that it is extremely doubtful if a dozen cases of attack on white women could be proved as fact in the whole horrid history of the innumerable lynchings of Negroes.

So much for the justification on moral grounds of discrimination against the Negro in the labor unions and industry as a whole.

Is the Negro a "Natural" Strikebreaker?

But the discrimination of the unions against the Negro worker is justified by the white workers on other than moral grounds in the north. He is accused of being an incurable strikebreaker and therefore a willing tool of the employers.

The influx of Negro workers into industry during the last decade has brought the question of his role in the labor and revolutionary movement squarely before the American working class. The expansion of American industry during the world war and the stoppage of immigration created a great demand for labor. The drafting of thousands of southern

Negroes into the army intensified the racial antagonism south of the Mason and Dixon line, tore them loose from their feudal environment and gave them an immensely broader outlook. Increasing persecution in the south and the demand for labor in the north brought hundreds of them into northern industrial centers into contact and competition with white labor.

Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, Gary, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and Toledo in the



NEGRO STOCK YARD WORKERS LAID OFF AND RECEIVING LAST WAGES.

Photo taken at temporary pay station established at Y. M. C. A. by the packing companies.

industrial east and middle west immensely increased their Negro working class as did cities lying halfway between north and south like St. Louis, Kansas City and Cincinnati.

Chicago is fairly typical of these industrial centers.

In sixty-two Chicago industries comprising box-making, clothing, cooperage, food products, iron and steel, tanneries and miscellaneous manufacturing, from which statistics were secured, the number of Negro workers increased from 1,346 in 1915 to 10,587 in 1920. The number of Negro workers therefore multiplied approximately eight times in the five-year period.

In forty-seven non-manufacturing industries in Chicago, employing 4,601 Negro workers in 1915, there was an increase to 8,483 in 1920, a 50 per cent increase.

In Chicago, concerns reporting the employment of five or more Negroes in 1920 and altogether employing 118,098 workers, the percentage of Negro workers classified generally by occupation was as follows:

Paper box manufacturing—14 per cent.
Clothing—14 per cent.
Cooperage—32 per cent.
Food products—22 per cent.
Iron and steel products (iron foundries)—10 per cent.
Tanneries—21 per cent.

Miscellaneous:

Lamp shade manufacturing—27 per cent.
Auto cushion manufacturing—50 per cent.
Other industries (manufacturing)—5 per cent.

(Continued on page 236).

The Prison Story of the Wobblies

By Harrison George

IT is four-thirty in the morning of February 2, 1923. Wakeful, I had awaited the "get up" call of the guard, whispered through the barred front of my cell on the second gallery of "D" cell house at the great federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas. I was "going out on expiration of sentence." I had done my jolt and was going out... going out...!

The hush of night lay over the whole prison, broken only by the fitful coughs and snores of hundreds of sleeping men, penned in steel cages of the cell-block with its five galleries rising into lofty obscurity. The prisoner who goes out is aroused long before the others, and already I had said good-bye to my fellow workers the day before. There are some heart wrenchings for the companions of years left behind.

Now comes the guard with added, but welcome, racket. He unwinds the gallery lock and throws the lever, brings clinking keys to my cell door, unlocks it, rolls back the door and escorts me down to the cell desk, where he checks out my numbered cadaver while chattering sotto voce of a most interesting murder.

"Reckon he'll swing for it. Pretty slick... come up from Kansas City in a taxi... But they got 'im. If he'd been a nigger he'd been lynched.... Leavenworth folks sure wuz sore... Heard some of our best people in the crowd a-sayin'..."

But the story was interrupted. The captain of the guards came to unlock the cell-house door to admit me to the main hall. Thence to my last neglected breakfast of oatmeal and



GUARDS URGE NEGRO MURDERER TO ATTACK I. W. W. PRISONERS.

Maurice Becker.

vile coffee. In forty minutes, by way of the clothing department, I was fitted out with prison-made shoddy clothes, given five dollars, and checked out the main gate.

The trolley station was pointed out. In its cold shelter I waited. Its wooden walls were adorned with varied scrawled obscenities. The wind was piercing cold... but clean. The car came. Personal responsibility nearly overcame me when I had—for the first time in a long, long while—to pay my fare...Resurrection!

Resurrection! Not after three days, but after five years! Everything is strangely new, yet strangely old. The car joggles on a devilish rough track. Above, advertisements, colored gaudily—canned goods, tooth paste, cough drops..... capitalism! Then, the passengers, workers with greasy caps over their ears, whiskered, stooped—some of them—in old clothes or overalls, lugging dinner pails, dour of face and taciturn, going to work as the whistles begin to blow. More capitalism.....! Now, at last, I know that I am free.....!



SOLITARY.

Maurice Becker.

It was a beautiful autumn day, September 7, 1918, that day we wobblies had arrived at Leavenworth. We arrived from Chicago in style, on a special train, though deuced cramped from being handcuffed in pairs on tiresome day-coach seats all night and all day. Tired, too, from singing wobbly songs all night and at every opportunity. Big Jim Thompson had shared my seat and my handcuffs, and had listened patiently while I had read him Swinburne's great lyric "The Triumph of Time." Significant title!

After the train had crossed the Missouri river, it stood on a switching track between rows of factories. Merrily we piped up, "Hold the fort, for we are coming, union men be strong," and the workers began hanging out of shop windows to listen. Then the train took the winding tracks up the long slopes to the prison.

From the railroad, or rear entrance, the prison is a towering citadel sitting atop a barren hill. Trusties, with yellow stars sewed on their coats, hung about the great gates which opened to swallow the whole train.

At last we are ordered to detain. We are inside the walls. We can stretch gloriously as we are lined up and checked off by the accompanying marshalls and a guard, pistol at belt, whose jaws leak tobacco juice. Other guards high in the towers atop the walls look down nonchalantly as they lean on their rifles. They had heard us singing as the train pulled up the last slope and into the other gate—"For justice thunders condemnation, a better world's in birth." Maybe so, maybe so, but the wobblies were in prison!

Let the reader who has begun to think he is to read "all about prison" be undeceived at once. I state flatly that no one can tell the depth of prison's wound, its stark agony, its persistent painless ache, its void. One floats, as it were, in the trough of the sea of years, the years that roll past like great, cold, gray waves, yet leaving one always without glimpse of horizon, down in the trough of the sea....

It is folly to swim in the trough of the sea... One had better float.... In the sea of prison years the sharks of madness devour the fools who swim...

Some time, when I was floating, in some book, whose title and author I forget, I read a passage by a famous prisoner of the Czar:

"History is a tremendous mechanism serving our ideals. It moves slowly, it is incalculably cruel, but the work goes on. We believe in it. Only at moments, when like a monster it drinks the living blood of our hearts to serve it as food, do we wish to cry out with all our might—'What thou dost, do quickly!'."

Going to prison is part of a revolutionist's job. Coming out of prison, still a revolutionist, is the other part.

As for a man, so for a movement. The cause which has passed through prison must not only pass through, but must emerge inwardly strengthened, shrewder, more daring. It is a real tragedy that the I. W. W. lost strength, grew confused, become hesitant, legalistic, pacifist....

The more the capitalist dictatorship shed its democratic mask, the more the I. W. W. pined for democracy's Loreleian song. It forgot what was said at the 1912 convention, "that no legal safeguard can be invoked to protect any member of the working class who incurs the enmity of the employers by

standing between them and unlimited exploitation of the workers."

It forgot that the only way to avoid persecution by the ruling class is to overthrow it, and the only modification possible to obtain comes from fear of revolution given by extra-legal strikes or mass political demonstration.

We wobblies felt pretty cocky when we first got to Leavenworth. We had been thoroughly trained in the theory that "ideas cannot be imprisoned" and we felt that we had won a great "moral victory" over the tyrannous government. We would not be hard on President Wilson, but we were determined to stay in prison long enough to teach his administration a lesson....

Shortly after our arrival our attorney came to consult us on the matter of an appeal. He spoke to us collectively in the chapel. "Third Rail Red" questioned the wisdom even of going out on bonds; "I think it will be better for the movement if we stay here for another six months, anyhow."

Ah, but that unrepentant government....!

Wobbly spirit and morale was good during the first year or so. If their souls needed consolation they concealed it, though the official consoler was available always upon request, made in writing the night before. This was Chaplain Allen, who had charge of the library and the spiritual punishment.

The library boasted 10,000 books, which were circulated to the cells upon request. Since each book contained an estimated number of 10,000 bed-bugs, the 100,000 in each cell stood in no danger of racial deterioration through in-breeding. They were all good, strong bugs. It was an arrangement of genius, no less than the Federal Reserve banks' control of credit and circulating media....

Attendance at Sunday morning chapel was compulsory, at first. But it was quickly discovered that the wobblies were singing rebel parodies of the most saintly songs. Thereafter chapel attendance was optional. Reverend Allen announced it with annoyance and promised a very unchristian punishment for those who came to get out of their cells and remained to scoff.

The chapel, the House of God, had bars on the windows and bars even on the sky-light. Guards, with clubs, ushered the marching lines of grey-clad convicts into divine worship. Chaplain Allen, Bearer of God's Word, sermonized from the pulpit. Beside him sat always the Captain of the Guards with unprayerful scowl and a 20-inch hickory club. After the invocation the convict congregation stood, and with eyes raptly directed toward the bars of the skylight sang soulfully, "Safely Guarded Through Another Week."

But the Chaplain was not such a bad scout, after all. There was a little matter of getting away with government gasoline which really deserves more attention. His innate humanity would out. As spiritual guardian of the convicts he confiscated all the naughty books found, and had acquired a private library which he read with great gusto.

For some time I wondered at some of my fellow rebels going to the theosophical service which took place every second Sunday in a room of the chapel. The theosophy chap came up from Kansas City twice a month.

I wondered on, until once I went there myself, and discovered that besides the inconsequential lecture and literature available in the little room, the mystic brought with him—doubtlessly in conformity with his philosophy that Nirvana is attainable through physical processes—a bevy of charming daughters of Eve.

On Sunday afternoons in good weather we "got the yard," were allowed to wander at will inside the walls. The wobbly parade ground was along "Wall Street." Not the den of



Maurice Becker.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST—LEAVENWORTH—1919.
OFFICER.—ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE S. P.?
C. C.—YES SIR.
OFFICER.—HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A REVOLUTIONIST?
C. O.—WHY, MY FAMILY DATES BACK TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

thieves in the shadow of Trinity on lower Manhattan, but the open space along the inside of the north wall, running from the stone shop on the west to the brickyard at the east.

Ambling up and down in groups of from two to six, we discussed and settled with certain finality all the problems of the supposed human race. These were the hours of diversion. Sweating hand-ball contestants shouted. Baseballs flew everywhere. Around a guitar Mexicans clustered, singing with mellow passion the love songs of the border. Italians shouted, with staccato unison, their finger-guessing game. Expert safe-crackers revealed in confidence to anxious neophytes, the art of rifling vaults without the use of nitroglycerine. And in the shade of the stone shop, Brent Dow Allinson called a conference of the prison intelligentsia.

Brent was an excellent type of "conscientious objector" who had read "The Great Illusion" and become convinced that the diplomats of capitalist imperialism do it an ill service by indulging in wars. He had but begun to instruct them on their error when he encountered the obstinate contradiction of an imperialist war. It was somewhat discouraging, but he insisted that, anyhow, the business of killing people was not to his taste, and, since he took his punishment with fortitude, no one can gainsay his sincerity.

In the conference sat several wobblies, Allinson, Taraknath Das, Doctor of Philosophy and Indian nationalist, Earl Browder, and a German count, Von Shaack, who had fallen upon evil



Maurice Becker.

RIOT IN THE MESS ROOM—LEAVENWORTH XMAS EVE—1918.

days in which his only hope was that the German social democrats would save his Prussian estate from the vandal hordes of Bolshevism. A hope, needless to say, in which he was not disappointed.

These conferences drew up minute plans of the new society, despite the dubious dissent of the count, who insisted that a world without class distinctions, particularly between counts and commoners, was both impossible and undesirable... ble...

There came a time when the Wilsonian "heart of the world" era began to pall upon Allinson, and under wobbly tutelage we had hopes of him. He even told me that he would fight, if it were with the Red Army. But, alas, he was expelled from our college before his education was completed, and straightway set about trying to teach diplomats not to be diplomats, and bourgeois not to be bourgeois...

* * * *

In two or three years a considerable number of the wobblies began to feel that either the government had been sufficiently punished or that it was wholly unconscious of its misdeed and mistake of putting workers in prison merely for advocating the overthrow of capitalism. An amnesty movement upon this basis sprang up outside, and received much support from liberals who, two or three years after the war was over,

contended that though we had done nothing in the first place, it was now perfectly safe to release us.

But if it is easy to get a wobbly into jail, it is no small task to get him out. Wobbly etiquette is a stickler for all formalities. When getting into prison, the government did the deciding and we all came. But when getting out was the question, and whether we got out, and how we should get out, had to be decided by the wobblies, then the trouble began. Woe to him who ventured to foresee a problem and offer a plan of action to meet it. Firstly, he was rebuffed as a damned "intellectual" and secondly he was apostate from the wobbly creed of drifting into political crises with no other plan than the Preamble and the Industrial Union Chart.

Some waited for a general strike and scorned other methods, others were willing to have appeals to the President made for them but not by them. After some had made individual appeals it was decided that they had done wrongly. Then the question arose, "Shall we all appeal?" A statement refusing to appeal for clemency was drawn up, but no more than a few could agree on its items. Finally, however, someone sent it out and it was published over the names of all prisoners without their knowledge as "An Open Letter to President Harding."

There was a storm of protest until, suddenly, it was

discovered that the detested thing was winning great publicity among the liberals. At once and ever after, those who had protested it most were most set upon upholding their interpretations of "The Open Letter."

The bitter differences came over these interpretations. For the question then arose, "Shall we accept clemency which we have not applied for?" And then the question which split the prisoners into hostile groups, "Shall we accept conditional commutation?" Some wanted a vindication of innocence of any conspiracy against the imperialist war, and some wished, practically, that the government guarantee not to molest them henceforth in the perfectly legal "purely industrial" and peaceful pursuit of overthrowing capitalism.

The lack of political sagacity and planfulness among the wobblies, together with the artful maneuvers of the government to split them, harmonized nicely, and it is a tragic truth that the final release of all, instead of giving strength to the whole I. W. W., brought such division into its already confused and mediocre leadership that it still bleeds from the schism.

* * * *

There is no question but that the I. W. W. suffered from the loss of leadership when the whole leading stratum went to prison. Nor is there any doubt that the test of war and prison found that leadership's weak spot—its lack of revolutionary ideological unity, and so disrupted the group that its release from prison was another blow to the organization as a whole.

It is a practical proof that a union, even though led by heroes, so long as they do not have a unified political concept of the revolutionary struggle, cannot effectively lead and direct such essentially political struggle as is the fight against imperialist wars or even the release of political prisoners.

* * * *

Where is the revolutionary leadership such as gave the I. W. W. its proud name? The historical conflict at Goldfield, the marching thousands led to victory at Lawrence, the battles of McKees Rocks, the bitter violence of the Mesaba Iron Range strike led by those whose war cry against the thugs of the Steel Trust was "Three dead gunmen for one dead miner!" Was the defense of the union hall at Centralia but an ember which flared in the darkness?

There is nothing pre-ordained about it. The I. W. W. may continue to decay under a legalistic, pacifist and sectarian leadership; or it may well be that its earnest revolutionary elements among the rank and file may organize upon Communist principles and lead the I. W. W. to a greater and better future. But it must face realities!

The unquestioned center of revolutionary unionism is today the Red International of Labor Unions. It is sectarian silliness for the I. W. W. to pretend that it is strong enough in numbers or ideas either to contest the field or stand aside in mythical "independence." The I. W. W. has never claimed world jurisdiction, and it has officially disclaimed it. At the very First Convention, Resolution No. 16 declared the intention of immediate relations with the International Secretariat. Delegates were often sent to International Conventions. Isolation must be ended and the I. W. W. affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

* * * *

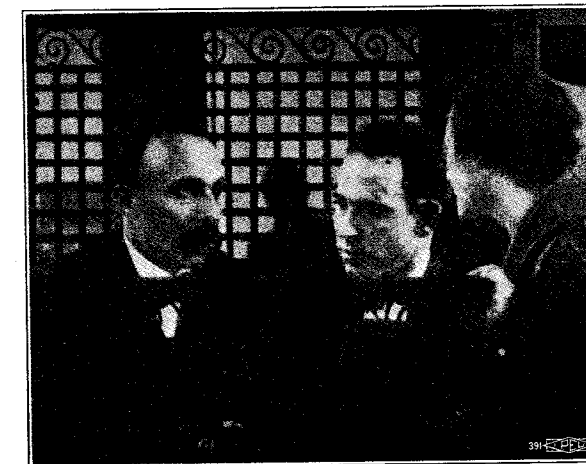
Recognition that mere unionism is not sufficient for the revolutionary struggle should lead to recognition that there are two kinds of political parties, one which reflects the economic interests of the capitalist class and the other which reflects the economic interests of the working class. The I. W. W. should discriminate between these two, opposing the one, fraternizing and cooperating with the other.

Eight Centralia victims are rotting their lives away at Walla Walla, eight-five proletarian fighters of the I. W. W. are imprisoned in California, many others are scattered about the penitentiaries of this nation. Each group has its trials, tragedies and its lessons, which may not be told except by themselves. Certainly the writer would not attempt to detail their experiences as he has his own. But they are prisoners of the class war. They are our own. They are proletarian fighters. And they must be freed!

Everywhere, every Communist or militant worker must go to the I. W. W. and say, "You may differ with us on many things, but there are wobblies in prison. Do you agree that they ought to get out? If so, let us unite our forces on this one issue! Let us work together to rouse not only a protest but a revolutionary protest! Let us fight upon the basis of class struggle. Let us agree that our prisoners must be free not merely because they are innocent, but because they are workers who fought for their class. Upon that basis alone can we get their class to fight for them!"

"To the capitalist government let us say, "Give back to their class the wobblies in prison!"

The World's Workers Stand Behind Them!



VANZETTI

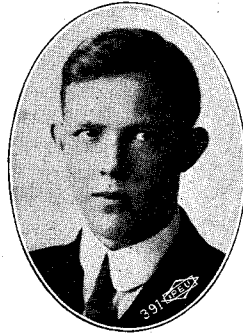
SACCO

MRS. SACCO

Thus far labor has prevented the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, but they may have even a worse fate—the fate that has befallen Tom Mooney. A supreme effort is necessary if they are to be spared this living tomb.

The Communists Take the Lead in Minnesota

By C. A. Hathaway



C. A. HATHAWAY.

FOR a number of years Minnesota has been in the public eye. The action of the state labor movement in endorsing amalgamation, its repeated demands for the release of Mooney and Billings and Sacco and Vanzetti, its stand for the repeal of criminal syndicalism laws and for the dismissal of the cases against the Communists arrested in the Michigan raids, as well as the success of its efforts to form a political alliance with the farmers in a farmer-labor party, have won for the Minnesota trade

unionists the approval of all real progressives throughout the country.

The same causes brought to Minnesota the bitter opposition of the labor bureaucracy, as represented by the officials of the A. F. of L. and their henchmen in the Minnesota state federation.

In every one of the progressive moves undertaken, in all the important struggles, the militants from St. Paul and Minneapolis played the leading role. In the conventions of both the state federation of labor and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the delegations from the Twin Cities, always strongly interspersed with Communists, have been the ones to advance the program and give militant expression to the needs and desires of the workers in the shops, mills and mines. This soon became apparent to the A. F. of L. machine and its local tools. They realized that if they were to succeed in blocking the rapid moves to the left being made by the workers in Minnesota, they would have to destroy the influence of the left wing over the central labor bodies in those two cities.

Gompers Steps In.

Three years ago the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. sent organizer (?) Paul Smith to Minneapolis. For three years he has been sitting around Minneapolis hotels drawing his salary and expense allowance of \$18 per day, doing good work as a stool pigeon for Gompers, (and now Green), but absolutely nothing to organize or improve the conditions of the wage workers. At irregular intervals he has condescended to attend meetings of the Minneapolis Trade & Labor Assembly, usually, however, only when he had some ultimatum to serve on the organization. It has become quite a common occurrence during the past three years, to see him drag his two hundred pounds of pork up to the platform and rather harshly notify the delegates that they have again aroused the ire of his Gompersian majesty, and that they must either repent or see their charter revoked.

The threat of the revocation of that much-abused, age-worn, charter has caused many sleepless nights to Minneapolis reactionaries and even to some fake progressives. Whenever a radical measure has been presented to the Assembly, they have pointed to the ancient document which adorns the wall

and solemnly warned the delegates that the string that held it was getting very thin. Today the string has broken—the charter has been revoked. After three years, Paul Smith has finally accomplished the job for which he was sent to Minnesota.

For six months, during which time it is on probation, the Assembly will be without a charter and then the new charter will be granted under the name of the "Central Labor Union of Minneapolis and Hennepin County." The old name, according to Smith, having become smirched with Communism.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has spent close to \$20,000 on Mr. Smith's maintenance during the past three years' time. In return for that amount they have succeeded in driving the Communists out of the Minneapolis central body, but they have strengthened the position of the Communists among the rank and file in the local unions. The most disastrous part of their attack has been to destroy the militancy of one of the best central bodies in this country and to drive many weaklings out of the labor movement.

Constitution Ignored.

In their attack against the left wing they ignored the constitution of the A. F. of L. and all parliamentary precedent. Comrade Stevens, Comrade Frank, and the writer were protested as delegates to the Assembly because of membership in the Workers (Communist) Party. The constitution of the A. F. of L. provides that no delegate shall be unseated until charges have been preferred against him and he has had a trial before a committee of the Assembly. It further provides that the delegate shall have the right of appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and pending this appeal he shall retain his seat in the central body.

All these rules were ignored. The Communists were unceremoniously thrown out, after which the local leaders entered into an agreement with the American Federation of Labor which provides that no person who is a member of the Workers Party, the I. W. W., or any other "dual revolutionary" organization, may hold office in the Assembly. The left wing countered by putting up a complete left wing slate composed entirely of members of the Workers Party. These candidates ran on the following program:

1. The immediate organization of a council of unemployed workers to include all working class organizations—this council to raise the slogan of "Work or full trade union wages for the unemployed."
2. The Assembly to work against the influence of the Republican, Democratic, LaFollette, and all other capitalist or middle class politicians in the Farmer-Labor movement.
3. The Assembly to lead an aggressive fight for increases in wages and against any lengthening of the hours of labor or reductions in wages.
4. A militant fight to force the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.
5. No persecution or expulsion of delegates because of their political beliefs or affiliations.
6. A fight to force the repeal of the Minnesota criminal syndicalism laws and support of all campaigns for relief of class war prisoners.

7. The Assembly to work against the influence of the Republican, Democratic, LaFollette, and all other capitalist or middle class politicians in the Farmer-Labor movement.

8. The "Labor Review" to be made into a fighting organ of the trade union movement, recognizing the class struggle and severely criticising all schemes of class collaboration and to give publicity to the campaign for unity in the international trade union movement.

9. The Assembly to enter into united fronts with all other working class organizations who will fight for the above program.

The candidates running on this slate were immediately ruled off the ballot by the reactionary officialdom. An appeal from the decision was not permitted.

Copies of the program had been printed, however, and circulated broad-cast throughout the entire local labor movement. It won support for our Party and influence among the rank and file for our members. This is shown by the manner in which the local unions are supporting us in our fight. Not a single local union has withdrawn a Communist delegate from the Assembly since the attack started. All our members have been re-elected as delegates by their locals. Lathers Local No. 190, which had not previously been represented by a Communist delegate, elected Comrade Walter Frank and when his credentials were protested re-elected him, protesting against his unseating and demanding in a communication to the Assembly that they be permitted to choose their own delegates.

Strikebreaker-Government Defended.

In this fight the right wing has shown its true colors. Its leaders are either dead from the shoulders up and have learned nothing from the experience of the last few years, or else they are stool pigeons for the capitalist class and are deliberately misleading the workers in their struggles. In either case they are equally dangerous. In every labor struggle the powers of the capitalist state have been used against the workers—the courts, the police, and the militia. Yet, we find the right wing group drawing up a new set of by-laws, adopted at the last meeting which requires every delegate to take the following pledge before being seated:

"I further pledge my word and honor that I am not a member of any dual organization or revolutionary movement against the government of the United States, and that I will not become a member of such an organization so long as I am a delegate to this Assembly, and should I do so, I shall automatically cease to be a delegate.

Apparently Sam Gompers' dying message to defend American capitalism has taken firm hold of the reactionaries in the Minneapolis labor movement.

Communists Expose Betrayals

Throughout this entire fight the Communists have at all times set forth and defended the program of the Workers (Communist) Party and of the Trade Union Educational League. We have built up our own independent support in the movement as opposed to both the center and right wing groups. When the leaders of either of these groups have attempted to put policies into effect that would weaken the workers in their struggle, we have been ruthless in our criticism. This has greatly increased our influence over the rank

and file but it has also increased the bitterness of the reactionary attack.

In St. Paul, Comrade J. F. Emme received the Farmer-Labor nomination for Congress in the last election. The reactionaries under the leadership of Mahoney and Starkey gave their support to the Republican candidate rather than support one who stood for the real workingclass program. They went so far to the right that they and the candidate they supported were entirely acceptable to some of the largest corporations in the city. So respectable did they become that the Hamm Brewing Co., donated the use of a building on the most prominent corner in the city for the local headquarters; the Northern States Power Co., donated the heat and light; the Bell Telephone trust donated the phone service; the Louis F. Dow Co., whose printers had been on strike for two years, donated the office furniture.

Emme Attacked.

Our Party issued 25,000 printed leaflets in the last political campaign under the caption of "Save the Farmer-Labor Party," exposing the betrayals of Mahoney and Starkey in supporting the Republican candidate for Congress and telling of the alliance that had been made in Ramsay County with the financial interests. It urged support for the full Farmer-Labor state ticket while supporting Foster and Gitlow on the national ticket.

This leaflet aroused a storm in the local labor movement—the rank and file lining up for the most part with us, as evidenced by the 13,000 votes polled by Comrade Emme. The reactionaries countered by preferring charges against Comrades Emme and Votaw, (The leaflet had been issued in the name of Comrade Votaw as secretary of the St. Paul C. C. C.) and after a trial before a committee of hand-picked reactionaries, they were found guilty. The report of the committee providing for their unseating as delegates to the Assembly was adopted by a very close vote at a meeting packed with reactionary delegates.

An appeal is now being taken to the local unions. Comrade Emme and other Party members are addressing several locals every night setting forth our program and exposing the policy of the reactionary leaders. Many locals are going on record repudiating the action of the Assembly in unseating our comrades. It is hardly possible that we will be able to carry this referendum but it is having the effect of crystallizing a definite left wing block supporting our program in every local union.

To Destroy F. L. Federation

It has now become quite clear that the support of the Republican candidate for Congress in the fourth congressional district and the support given the middle class politician, LaFollette, by the reactionaries was not accidental. That was the beginning of a move to destroy the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota as a party representing interests of the workers and farmers.

A few days ago a conference was held in St. Paul composed of the Farmer-Labor members of the state legislature; Mahoney and Harmon, chairman and secretary respectively of the Farmer-Labor Federation; Buckler, the state chairman of the Farmer-Labor Party, and a few others who were not yet in but desired to get into some political office. At this

(Continued on page 237)

March, the Month of Revolution



The First Proclamation of the Commune of Paris

CITIZENS,

Your Commune is inaugurated. The vote of March 26th has sanctioned the victorious Revolution.

A cowardly aggressor had seized you by the throat; in legitimate self-defense you expelled from your walls the government which desired to dishonor you by imposing on you a King.

Today, the criminals you did not even trouble to pursue, have taken advantage of your magnanimity to organize a monarchic conspiracy at the very gates of the city. They invoke civil war; they use all means of corruption; they admit all allies; they have even gone begging for foreign aid.

From these execrable devices we appeal to France and the whole world.

CITIZENS,

You have just given yourselves a constitution which defies all attack.

You are masters of your fate. Strong in your support, your representatives will repair the destruction caused by the fallen authorities. Industry in danger, labor in suspense and paralyzed commerce will receive vigorous stimulus.

Today the expected decision concerning rent; Tomorrow concerning the moratorium.

All public services reorganized and simplified;

The National Guard, henceforth the sole armed force in the city, re-organized without delay;

Such will be our first measures.

The people's representatives only ask the support of its confidence to assure the triumph of the Republic.

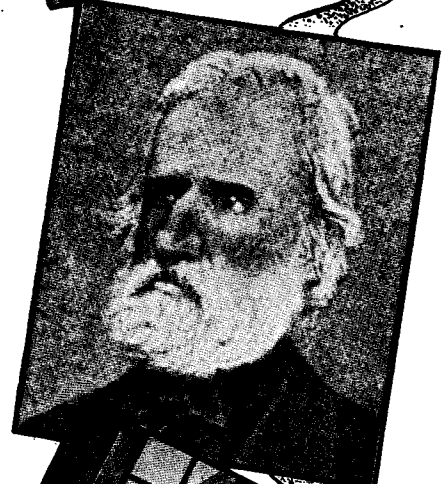
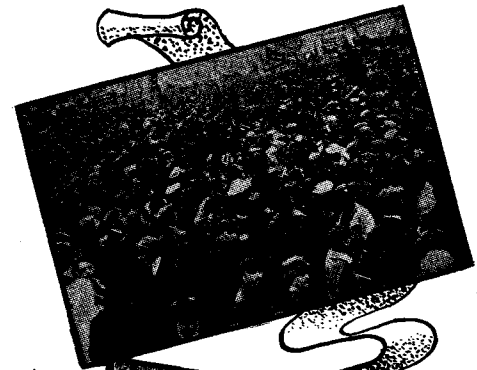
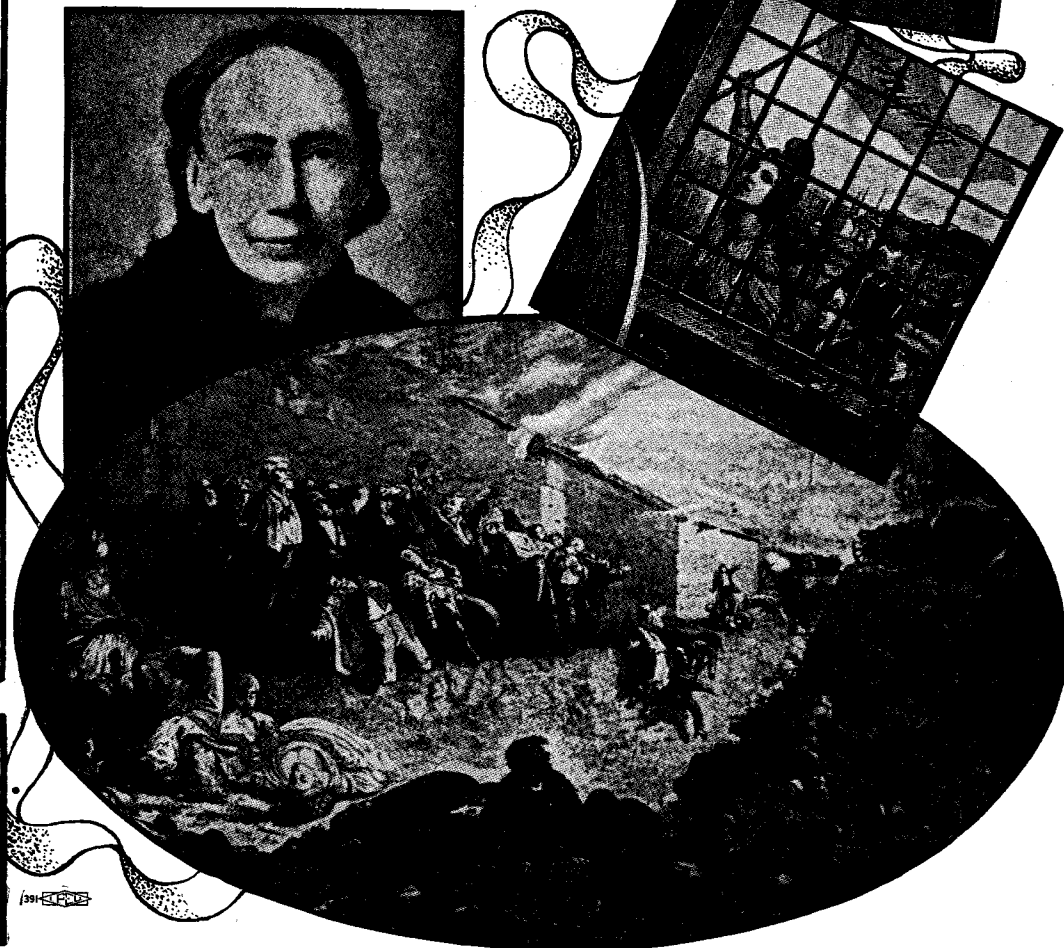
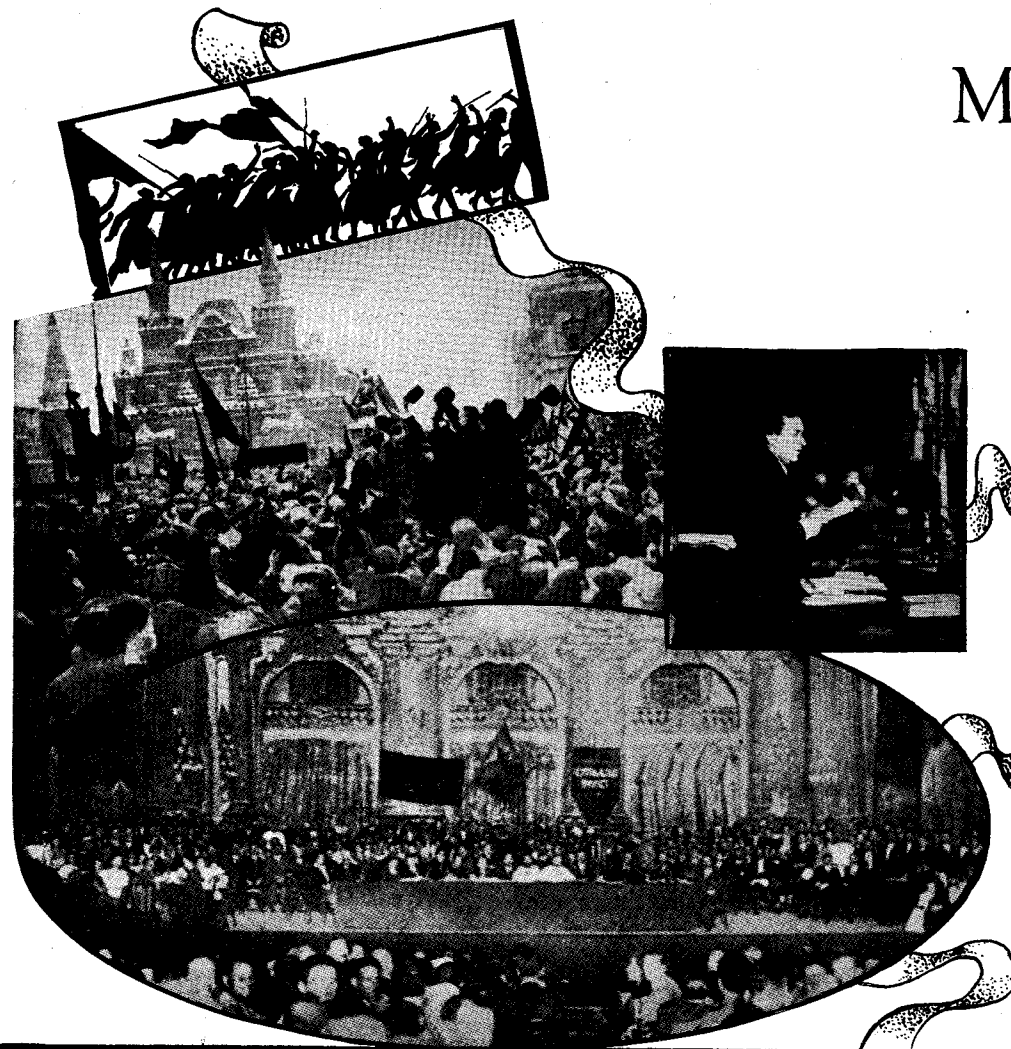
THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

Hotel de Ville, 29th March, 1871.

MARCH, 1917.—OVERTHROW OF THE CZARIST GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA. The photo in the upper right hand corner is a Petrograd street scene during the bourgeois revolution.

MARCH, 1871.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. The white-bearded old lion at the right is Louis Auguste Blanqui, a foremost inspirer of the Paris Commune. All during the period of the Commune (March 18 to May 27) Blanqui was a prisoner of Thiers at Versailles; the communards offered to give up all their hostages in return for the liberty of Blanqui, but Thiers refused. Immediately below Blanqui is a famous picture representing the spirit of the communards. To the left is Louise Michel, heroine and martyr of the Commune. In the right-hand corner oval is depicted the last stand of the communards against the bullet-riddled wall of the cemetery of Pere Lachaise. The narrow rectangular picture to the left of it illustrates the fraternization of soldiers and populace on the morning of March 19.

MARCH, 1919.—FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. In the lower left hand corner Lenin is shown addressing the historic Second Congress of the Comintern. Above, in the oval, is depicted a session of the Third Congress held in the "Bolshoi" Theatre, Moscow. The street scene shows the armed workers of Petrograd, passing in review before the representatives of the International, in front of the Winter Palace of the former czars, Petrograd. To the right of this is a photograph of Zinoviev, president of the Comintern.



Industrial Depression or Prosperity?

By Earl R. Browder

ONE year and a half ago it seemed that the United States was headed directly for a huge economic depression. Production was sharply on the decline. Agriculture was in the midst of a deep depression which was forcing hundreds of thousands of farmers into bankruptcy. Foreign trade was slowing down and prospects for increase were not bright. Building operations, the backbone of the previous boom, had more than overcome the war-time shortage and seemed certain to be drastically curtailed. Unemployment was rampant and steadily growing.

With the beginning of the year 1924, however, there came a halt to the downward trend. For the first three months production and employment recovered somewhat, before making another plunge which reached its last low point in August, 1924. But even as the downward curve of industry was again making itself felt (March, 1924), it was becoming apparent that the immediate economic crisis in the United States (even though unavoidable because its underlying causes could not be removed without changing the capitalist system) might yet be postponed for a year or so. At that time the writer said:

"We are certain that unemployment on a mass scale will face the working class in the near future. That does not mean that we can say positively that it will be in the summer of 1924, or the winter of 1924-25, or even that it may not be held off until the summer of 1925. The tendency is fixed by broad underlying factors which do not admit of unemployment being prevented, but the tempo of development is subject to variation by many minor factors."

This cautious estimate made one year ago has been strikingly justified by the developments of the latter part of 1924 and the first month of 1925. Industry and commerce have been recovering with startling rapidity. It would be as idle and erroneous to ignore this fact, as it would be, on the other hand, to overestimate its significance for the future.

The Basis of the Recovery.

What is the basis of the recent revival of industry? Has it been brought about by a fundamental change in the economy of America which has laid the ground for a new long-term boom? Or was our previous estimate erroneous that a crisis was imminent? Or has there been merely the entrance of some new factor of passing effect, accompanied, perhaps, by a higher degree of vitality in the market than statistics had foreshadowed?

My judgment is, and the facts support the opinion, that the explanation is the last mentioned one.

Two new factors, not visible a year ago, have been of decisive effect in starting the course of industry upward again. One of these is the world shortage of grain accompanied by a large harvest in the United States, which has relieved the agricultural crisis. This first factor is expressed in the price of wheat at \$2 per bushel on the Chicago market in January of this year. The other factor is the increased exports which have been stimulated and increased by the credit and political power of the United States, overcoming

the effects of the ordinary laws of the world market which would have choked them off.

The agricultural recovery is, without doubt, of a passing nature. It is hardly likely that there will occur again immediately the conjunction of a world shortage of grain with a bumper crop in the United States. The agricultural industry, the most unorganized economic field of activity, is the most subject to drastic ups and downs. The chances are strongly in the direction of American agriculture again next year facing the same problems of one year ago, which have not been touched fundamentally by the present high prices. The effect of \$2 wheat upon the industrial crisis in America has been merely in the direction of postponing it to a later date.

The Question of Foreign Trade.

Forecasts of depression in 1924 were based partially upon the expectation of curtailed export of commodities to foreign markets. This expectation was based upon the continued breakdown of European economics, with the absence of purchasing power in the face of dire need, combined with the development of capitalist production in what were formerly colonies of the original "mother lands" of capitalism and the increased intensity of competition in the markets generally.

In spite of all factors working against the expansion of American trade in the world markets, however, the statistics for the first 11 months of 1924, show net exports of merchandise were more than three and one-half times as large as the amount for the same period in 1923. (See Federal Reserve Bulletin, January, 1925.)

Whereas in 1923 the visible balance of trade was against the United States by \$28,000,000, in 1924 this had changed to a favorable balance of \$612,000,000.

This tremendous jump in the foreign trade of the United States was not based upon participation in the "open markets" of the world, if there is any such thing left in this, the modern monopolist era of capitalism. It was based upon foreign investments. And, as it was pointed out for the first time by Lenin, foreign investments are the principal instrument of every great capitalist power for subjugating the markets of the world.

And with what a dramatic sweep has American capital flooded the world markets during the year 1924.

Twenty-six groups of securities, issued by European governments or bearing their guarantees were floated in America, with about the same number from Latin America and the Far-East. The amount involved was more than \$1,000,000,000, distributed as follows: Europe \$473,000,000; Japan, \$185,000,000; Latin America, \$192,000,000; Canada, \$200,000,000. These were almost entirely new investments.

Foreign securities of all kinds issued in the United States during 1924 amounted to approximately one and one-half billion dollars, of which, according to the *Annalist* of Feb. 2, from which these figures are taken, about one billion represented new investment of American capital abroad.

The United States Department of Commerce estimates that at the first of the year 1925, American investments abroad, not including war loans, amounted to \$8,000,000,000.

The estimated income to American security holders from these foreign investments is \$400,000,000 annually.

The practical effect of this terrific flood of capital and credit from America to the markets of the world has been to capture, to seize by the monopolistic power created thereby, the outlet for three and one-half times as much merchandise from American factories for 1924 over 1923, in spite of the otherwise unfavorable constellation.

Other Factors in the Temporary Recovery.

Another factor in postponing the depression has been the continuation of the building boom beyond the wiping out of the estimated war shortage. In spite of the predictions of the experts, such as those of the F. W. Dodge Corporation, that building for 1924 would show a decline of 10 per cent, there was a positive increase, making 1924 the greatest building year in history. Building for the year amounted to 603 million square feet of floor space, totally a value of \$3,547,251,571; compared with but a half-billion dollars building in 1918 for example, or with one and a half billion in 1919, a boom year. The capacity for the domestic market to carry on the building operations beyond the point of making-up the war-time shortage had been underestimated by all concerned.

Whether the Dawes' plan has been of appreciable effect in the temporary revival in any direct manner is questionable. It may be and is contended that the acceptance of the Dawes' plan by the governments of Europe, meaning as it does the acceptance of the hegemony of the House of Morgan at least for the time, has stimulated the foreign investments previously mentioned and thereby helped in the recovery of commerce and industry. However much this is true, the Dawes' plan has not been successful in its supposed object of rehabilitating European economics. These continue in a state of chaos at least as bad, if not worse, than a year ago. A Berlin dispatch, for example, in the New York Herald-Tribune of Jan. 27, states:

"The lack of development of Germany's foreign trade since the adoption of the Dawes' report is causing serious misgivings in Allied and German official circles here concerning the fate of the reparations settlement achieved in London. Figures obtained today tend to confirm these fears, although they do not yet justify final opinions. While showing a considerable increase of German imports, particularly from the United States (my emphasis, E. B.), the figures reveal but a slight rise in German exports."

In other words, the effect of the Dawes' plan, while artificially stimulating imports into Germany, particularly from the United States, has done nothing whatever to change the chaos of European economics to any kind of ordered arrangement. And this is inevitably so. Whatever temporary advantage it gives to one section of the capitalists, it is at the expense of the economy of another portion of the world, thus aggravating the fundamental contradictions of world capitalism.

Transportation Expansion.

Figures of transportation of merchandise for 1924 show, in spite of the sharp decline in the middle of the year, that the total car loadings were but 2.66 per cent less than 1923.

In the meantime the car loadings for 1925, first three weeks of January, show an increase over "normal" (based upon

on previous figures for the same periods), of 6.5, 17.4 and 18.2 per cent.

The American Railway Association, in its annual report, says:

"From the information now available the indications are that the railroads will be called on to handle the largest car load business during 1925 of any year on record and the conservative estimate of 11,844,125 cars to be loaded during the first three months is 256,851 cars or 2.2 per cent higher than the same period of 1924, the previous high record for the same period and 513,702 cars or 4.5 per cent higher than the same period of 1923."

On the basis of such estimates as the above, large sums of capital are being expended upon renewals and replacements of railroad equipment. Transportation thus becomes a factor in stimulating the industrial revival, as well as being a measure of the extent of that revival.

What the Revival Means to the Workers.

Tremendous profits for the capitalists of America are being coined out of the business revival. These profits are, in turn, being capitalized, with the resulting terrific boom on the stock exchange. But what has the year 1924 meant for the workers, and what are the prospects for 1925?

What has happened to the working class during the past year is graphically illustrated by the comparison of two figures from the "Survey of Current Business" of the United States Department of Commerce for January. They are as follows:

	Decrease Nov. 1924, from Nov. 1923.
Production of manufactures	2.7 per cent
Factory Employment	12.0 per cent

In other words, unemployment has been increased among the workers to the extent of almost 10 per cent more than the decrease of production will explain. The working class of the United States has been subjected to more intense exploitation, to speeding up, to lengthening of hours, to cutting of wages. And the illusory "prosperity" of the capitalist class, which will be shortlived but while it lasts is coined into hard dollars, is thus for the workers transformed into its opposite, into greater misery, unemployment, and a constantly lowered standard of living.

When Will the Crisis Come?

For the working class, capitalism is just one crisis after another, and prosperity is a reality only to those small sections whom the capitalists find it advantageous to corrupt by special privileges. So when we speak of the approaching crisis it means rather that breakdown of the capitalist system of production that closes the factories on a mass scale and halts production or brings on a war. Such a crisis is definitely in the near future for the United States. The question is, how soon will it come, and how? Will it be this year or next? Will it express itself in stopping production or in another world slaughter?

These are the questions that are placed upon the order of business for the working class of America. And whatever the alternative that history chooses, the basic preparation of the working class for the struggles into which it will be thrown is the same: Organization of the millions of unor-

ganized into the labor unions; transformation of the antiquated craft union structure into powerful industrial unions capable of throwing the mass power of the workers into the struggle; the crystallization of an iron disciplined vanguard in the Workers (Communist) Party; unity with the working

class of all other lands; revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the blood-sucking capitalist system, the institution of workers' rule and the conquest of industry and government for the working class—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Douarnenez, the Pride of All France

DOUARNENEZ is a town on the coast of Brittany, in northwest France, whose inhabitants are sturdy and hard-working and capable of putting up a stubborn scrap for their rights now and then. The recent strike of the Douarnenez fishermen and sardine cannery workers has aroused

the whole of France. As a result of the wage increases won in the strike, the men now get 1½ francs (7¼ cents) an hour, while the women workers get one franc (5½ cents) an hour. A basic 8-hour day is established, with "time and a half" pay for overtime up to three hours, and "double time" for every hour additional.



STRIKE COMMITTEE OF DOUARNENEZ.

THE MAN WITH ONE EYE, FOURTH FROM THE LEFT IN THE BOTTOM ROW, IS FLANCHES, COMMUNIST MAYOR OF DOUARNENEZ, WHO WAS REMOVED FROM OFFICE BY HIGHER GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES FOR AIDING THE STRIKERS.



SCANNING THE HORIZON.

AFTER THE WINNING OF THE DOUARNENEZ STRIKE. WOMEN WATCHING FOR THEIR HUSBANDS BRINGING IN THE SARDINES TO BE CANNED.

The Red Voice

WHEN I first saw you there—
Near that window—where the sun never comes—
You were green and straight;
You were then in bloom.
Brilliant blood-flower,
The sweet odor of your blossoms
Challenged the stench in this cellar.

I knew you would not be able
To hold up your head—for long:
Anything so delicately beautiful
Would perish at that window.

Now your stalk grows paler and paler—
The tip is white;
The once brilliant carmine of your flowers
Has faded;
The odor you give out is like the breath
Of a starved and dying child.

You ARE a starved and dying flower:
At the approach of death you lose hope.

Oh, lovely still! tho dying...
Lovely flower,
If you will live thru this dark night
I will batter down that wall
And you shall bask in the rays of the sun,
The green will return to your stalk.
Once more you will bear blooms
The color of pure red blood;
Once more shall your perfume
Be wafted thru the air—to me.
No more shall you droop
In this deep black pit of the night,
For the life-giving sun of the new day
Will conquer the night.

O lovely flower,
Drink in what life you can until the morn—
When I will batter down the walls of hate.

—JACQUELINE PERREAULT.

Lenin and the New Wave of Marxism

Leninism, a Marxian Science

By Manuel Gomez

TWO or three years ago, a bourgeois journalist—I believe it was Isaac Don Levine—published a book which he called "The Revival of Marxism." Whoever the author was, he was enough of an observer to note the plain fact that we are living in a period of world upheaval; and in such a period the revolutionary teachings of Karl Marx come naturally into their own. In every country on earth, workers are studying the Marxian doctrines and finding their application in struggle. They are looking beyond the old "marked passages" too. It is an outstanding characteristic, one which will have momentous consequences for the proletarian revolution, that the "revival of Marxism" takes place under the aegis of the living accomplishments of Soviet Russia and the Communist International.

Of course it is incorrect to speak of a "revival" of Marxism, for Marxism has never been dead. It is merely that the world crisis of capitalism has brought to the forefront of the fighting labor movement the consistent champions of orthodox Marxism, against the distortions and systematic "watering down" practised by the leaders of the Second International. These are the men whose activity has featured this new wave of Marxism. The present ascendancy of Marxian influence is the product of objective conditions—but it is significant that the outstanding Marxian spokesman of the period is not Kautsky or Hilferding or Otto Bauer, but Lenin.

Comrade Lenin was nothing if not a Marxist. He used to say that Marx was a fosterfather whom he adopted early in life, adding... "and I have never had occasion to be ashamed of the relationship." Lenin knew Marx's writings as only a few men have known them. And he was an orthodox Marxist in the sense of the living revolutionary theory; not in the sense of the dead letter. This is everywhere apparent: not only in his bold reliance upon Marxian fundamentals but even in the minutest details, as evidenced in all the activities of the Russian Communist Party—the Bolsheviks.

Leninism is not therefore some modern "corrective" of Marxism; nor is there anything in Leninism which does not have its origin in Marxism. We often hear Leninism spoken of as "Marxism in action." But this definition is worse than meaningless. It presupposes that the Marxism of Marx was not "Marxism in action"—a conception which may be comforting to certain latter day "Marxian" saints, but which does not square with the life history of the man who was deported by three bourgeois governments, who founded the First International and who was in active contact with the work of the Paris Commune of 1871.

Yet "Leninism" is not an idle word, reflecting a contemporary flare for Russian nomenclature. Marxism and Leninism are not just two names for the same thing. Leninism is something with quite a definite content of its own. It is in fact a distinct science, under the general head of Marxism. It is Marxism in the final stage of capitalism.

The lines of the Marxian analysis continue to hold good; they are reinforced from day to day by fresh proofs. However,

there have been changes in the tempo of revolutionary development within capitalist society which Marx could not possibly have foreseen. The tempo of the revolutionizing process shifted, and shifted again. The unmistakable signs of the final stage of capitalism did not appear until a relatively high degree of capitalist development had been reached, involving society in a complex maze of changing relationships, which offer a necessary starting point for new lines of proletarian strategy. These new factors cannot be properly gauged or made use of except in the light of the Marxian science of Leninism. Their interpretation and the resulting tactics and strategy of struggle constitute a legitimate addition to Marxism, which should not be misunderstood or minimized. Everything that is distinctive in the Communist program is based upon it.

The World of Marx's Time.

Marx lived between 1818 and 1863. Mazzini, Bismarck and John Bright were his contemporaries. The wars of those days were, for the most part, national wars for the establishment of national bourgeois states. In the sphere of commerce and industry, textiles were dominant, which means that the needs of the textile industry were a primary political consideration. England was of course the classic example of capitalist development, and it is worthy of note that this England was famous as the home of free competition, free trade and "insular" foreign policy. As to the course of empire, even Disraeli, by no means a "little Englander," was able to remark: "Colonies are millstones around the neck of the mother country."

After 1848 the capitalist class was definitely in the ascendancy everywhere in Europe, but it was a class that was relatively unused to power and to all appearances incapable of withstanding serious opposition from below. The emergence of a distinct proletarian grouping, which was to be clearly noted as far back as the first sorties of 1848, gave ground for belief that the reign of the capitalists was to be brief; the deep-rooted contradictions of capitalism, plainly discerned by Marx, seemed to be moving toward an early culmination.

Instead of collapsing capitalism appeared to acquire equilibrium. But temporary stabilization could not do away with its contradictions, which were at once the basis of its existence and its inevitable doom.

Marx analyzed the entire capitalist order as a system feeding upon surplus value, or "unpaid labor," which the bourgeoisie is able to exact as a toll upon the producers because of its monopoly of the means of production. He showed how all the accumulating inconsistencies of this system find expression in a growing intensification of the class struggle between capitalists and proletarians, and he proved conclusively that the workers are destined to be "the grave-diggers of capitalism."

Ours is the good fortune to live in an age when the expropriators are being expropriated. Under the leadership of

the Russian Communist Party, the Russian workers have already taken the decisive step in the accomplishment of their historic mission as predicated by Marx. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, covering one-sixth of the surface of the globe, stands as a fundamentally anti-capitalist wedge in the system of world capitalist states.

Lenin was the theoretician and strategist and guiding spirit of the Russian Revolution. Despite his death, he remains the theoretician and strategist and guiding spirit of the world revolution today. He was a Marxist, a great Marxist; and being a Marxist, he created the science of Leninism.

Lenin's world, the world of our own time, presents many important contrasts from the world of Marx. It is a world which the Marxian analysis anticipated but which Marx did not expect to take shape in its full and definitive integration, because he believed the process of capitalist development would be interrupted by the social revolution long before.

Our World; the World of Lenin

Capitalism has become world capitalism, reaching to the very ends of the earth. It is capitalism grown desperate at the inadequacy of its own confines.

Lenin counted among his contemporaries Clemenceau, Kaiser "Bill" and J. P. Morgan. The classic country of capitalism is no longer England, but the United States, with its huge accumulation of capital, and its war-hungry iron and steel industry, which has become, as Comrade Pavlovitch puts it, "the central industrial star, around which, like planets around the sun, there revolve many important branches of the capitalist economy of the biggest states." Free competition appears only as a survival, existing precariously as the plaything of gigantic trusts, cartels and syndicates. Free trade is an outworn dogma even in England.

No longer do capitalist statesmen look disdainfully upon the idea of colonial expansion. Since Marx's death, the empires of the world have increased in extent by nearly 175 per cent. Capitalist policy has become imperialist policy, culminating in devastating imperialist wars. The world war of 1914-18, resulting in the sudden release of deep-going revolutionary forces for the overthrow of capitalism, was the inevitable consequence.

This modern world is the center of Lenin's theories.

Kautsky, Hilferding and the other dignified apostles of Marxism had gone on wearing their halos in smug unconcern, simply repeating Marxian formulas. They distorted much but they added nothing. Every once in a while they put forward a half-hearted defense of Marx's law of increasing pauperization. Marxism was to them a house into which one could go and pull down all the shades. They had no desire whatever to face the new issue, which kept crowding upon the workers; they had no thought of taking active advantage for the proletarian revolution of every contingency that accompanied the evolution of capitalism; their one preoccupation was to escape from struggle. Consequently they could not appreciate the importance of reviewing and revising policy to meet every new phenomenon that arises, of periodically taking a fresh estimate of the entire objective situation and fitting it boldly into the general Marxian scheme. Hilferding undoubtedly stumbled upon some striking economic characteristics of imperialism, without ever touching the heart of the problem—and without of course laying the basis for any revolutionary program of action against capitalism. Lenin approached the

question dialectically. He was not satisfied to explain the immediate cause of imperialistic foreign policy. He analyzed the whole of present-day capitalist economy in all its phases, and found it to be the economy of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism.

Imperialism As a Capitalist Necessity

Imperialism had first presented itself not as a permanent crisis within capitalism but as a way out of crisis. In the home countries the evolution of capitalism would otherwise have long since run its course, its processes choked by huge accumulations of undigestible capital, its machinery disorganized by the absence of a sufficient market for mass commodity production, its working class impoverished and driven to revolt. Capitalism could to continue to exist only by conquering the whole world.

The scramble for colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence, etc., was not something that originated in the brain of an irresponsible war lord. It evolved naturally, as an inseparable phase of an evolving system of economy, based upon large-scale monopolistic industry, finance capital, the export of capital, intensified competition on the world market, and war.

With the centralization and concentration of industry, the capitalistic control over the state power became simplified. Whereas thousands of individual capitalists all competing with one another, could give political expression to their common class interests on a national scale only through some sort of parliamentary or "democratic" state form, Morgan, Rockefeller and their clique can use much more direct means. Lenin pointed out that there exists today, in every important capitalist country, a small "financial oligarchy" which exercises a virtual dictatorship over the life of the community; democracy is an obvious sham. Thus the government becomes a much more responsive, a more flexible, instrument in the hands of the real rulers.

Conscious revolutionary activity depends, above all, on an understanding of the nature and function of the state. Marx and Engels had both proved that the state is a weapon—a means of oppression in the interests of a ruling class. During the long "period of peaceful development of capitalism," when the many competing capitalists were actually interested in the Constitution, parliament, free press, etc., the teachings of Marx and Engels were easily obscured. Opportunistic distorters of Marx found it possible to pose as orthodox Marxists; an emasculated pseudo-Marxism appeared, shot through and through with petty-bourgeois ideology, carrying with it the inference that the state is some sort of impartial mediator, representative of no special class and standing out from and above society. Lenin, living in the age of imperialism, was able to pierce this fraud as with a rapier. Notwithstanding the many lengthy quotations from Marx and Engels, **The State and Revolution** is one of the most widely read of Lenin's writings, largely because the reader sees so much in support of its thesis in the everyday life around him.

Increasing centralization of the governmental apparatus has paralleled centralization of economic power. Repressive action against the workers has become open, unequivocal, brazen. All the state machinery was used to break the great coal strike of 1922, which President Harding proclaimed to be "a menace to the public welfare." No more flagrant and brutal violation of workers' "rights" was ever experienced



PEN-SKETCH OF LENIN.

than in the railway shopmen's strike of the same year, when Judge Wilkerson issued his blanket injunction and the entire Burns-Daugherty Department of Justice was turned loose upon the workers. During this strike troops were called out in 13 states. Side by side with this strike-breaking activity go wholesale arrests in disregard of the "rights" of free speech and freedom of assembly. The vicious "anti-syndicalist" laws are typical. When the workers, on their part, turn to legislation for relief the sham of capitalist democracy is manifest. Such laws as may be forced through Congress are vitiated in the interpretation, as for instance the Clayton Act. And at the end of the long road of legalism there sits the Supreme Court, ever ready with a Danbury Hatters decision, a Coronado decision or a Child Labor decision.

The responsiveness of the state machinery to the desires of the ruling financial oligarchy is a necessary feature of imperialistic foreign policy. The state becomes an agency for securing concessions and opening up fields of profitable investment abroad. For the export of capital to proceed uninterruptedly the government must be ready to "protect American interests in Mexico," to "see that Cuba meets her obligations," to "insist upon a real open door in China." If Morgan's heavy international loans are endangered it may even be necessary to go to war. Workers must be made soldiers to fight and die for Morgan. In this the capitalists have the assistance of a section of the workers themselves—the upper crust, the labor aristocracy, represented by the

cynical trade union bureaucracy, which has been systematically corrupted by the sharing of super-profits wrung from the exploited colonial and semi-colonial territories.

Capitalism found a temporary escape from the apocalypse of its contradictions by plunging into imperialism. But, as Marx had proved, the contradictions are fundamental. Lenin shows that the "escape" has only given rise to new and more serious contradictions. Decay of the productive forces under monopoly, disintegration of the capitalist class, intensification of the class struggle, and war, were some of the fruits. Competition on a national scale has been succeeded by competition on the world market, with the national states functioning as huge militarized trusts. In discussing the advent of imperialism I pointed out that a stage had been reached in the evolution of capitalism where it could not continue to exist except by conquering the world. The conquest is complete. In his epoch-making book on **Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism**, Lenin shows that between 1876 and 1914 four great powers acquired a colonial empire of 14,100,000 square kilometers, with a population of approximately 100,000,000. The entire territory of the earth has been parceled out. Yet capitalism has now reached a point where no single one of the ruling capitalist empires can continue to exist except by conquering the world. This is the greatest of all the contradictions which imperialism has conjured up.

From Theory to Action

Lenin did not study economic contradictions for amusement, but in order to make use of them for the struggle against capitalism. Against the background of the general Leninist analysis, all the characteristic features of Leninist strategy stand out in bold relief. Alliance with the exploited colonial and semi-colonial peoples, alliance with the peasantry, neutralization of certain petty-bourgeois and "de-classed" elements—even the Leninist policy with regard to the trade union movement, can be largely explained from it.

The Communist International's interest in India and Egypt, its working alliance with the Kuomintang party in China, thus appear not as isolated incidents but as a conscious union of forces destined to participate in the historic overthrow of capitalism. It is a practical application of the **Theses on the Colonial Question** adopted at the Second Congress of the Comintern, as presented by Lenin with some additions by Comrade Roy.

There were also **Theses on the Agricultural Question** at the Second Congress. Nor did Lenin first begin to think about the peasantry after the Russian Revolution. Otherwise the history of that revolution might have been different. Lenin's conception of the role of the peasants in the proletarian revolution constituted one of his important differences with the Mensheviks, and with nearly all the prominent pseudo-Marxians of the Second International. It is precisely on the question of the role of the peasants—the poor farmers, that is—that Leninism offers one of its most valuable contributions to the strategy of the working class movement.

Marx believed that agriculture would take the same line of development as industry: that it would be absorbed into the general capitalist system, that rapid concentration and centralization would take place, that large machine-operated farms would become the type, etc. In great part this development has actually taken place. Farming capital has become highly centralized; it is concentrated in the hands of bankers

and has in fact almost lost its separate identity in the general fusion of industrial and banking capital under the domination of the ruling finance capitalists. The small independent farmer is steadily being expropriated, becoming a virtual employe of the financial interests and a tenant on the land he once owned. The small farm persists, but what student of current economic processes can doubt that it is doomed to go? If this should occur before the overthrow of capitalism there would then be no basis for an alliance between the proletariat and the farm-owning agriculturist; there would be only the urban and rural proletariat, a more or less homogeneous class, with a simple and obvious unity of purpose in the class struggle, along the lines laid down by Marx.

However, the small farm still persists, and millions of "independent" farmers continue, nominally at least, to own their farms. But the status of the farmer has changed, in the United States probably more than anywhere else in the world. He is at the mercy of the grain elevator companies, the railroads, the great packing houses, the bankers, the grain and produce exchanges—of the whole mechanism of American finance capital centered in Wall Street. The workers in the cities are obliged to carry on a class struggle against large and small capitalists alike. But here too the real enemy is "Big Business." It is the co-existence of small farm holdings with the domination of finance-capital monopoly, and this in the period of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, which forms the basis of the alliance between workers and poor farmers. (In predominantly peasant countries, such as Bulgaria, the basis of the alliance is of course somewhat different; there it is a question of co-ordinating the struggle against capitalism with the struggle against the remaining vestiges of feudalism.)

The consciousness that we are living in the final stage of capitalism dominated Lenin's whole attitude toward the question of the role of the peasantry. The role of the proletariat had already been laid down by Marx; the corruption of a section of the workers in the imperialist countries through their participation in a small share of super-profit could not change the essential facts of the class struggle. The task of the revolutionist was to prepare the workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This meant to organize the revolution. It also meant to organize the forces of the revolution—and first of all the natural leaders of the revolution—the "vanguard of the proletariat." The Russian Communist Party is a living embodiment of Leninism; for it was Lenin who formulated the role of the revolutionary working class party. Its form of organization, its ideology, its discipline, its tactics and strategy, all reflect its historic role as the conscious vanguard of the proletarian revolution.

But the class struggle is international. The three Internationals—First, Second and Third—reflect the different stages of capitalism out of which they sprung. It was no accident that Lenin founded the Third (Communist) International not as an aggregation of parties but as a world party with sections in the various countries, a "general staff of the world revolution," to use the phrase expressed at the first congress—a Russian Communist Party on a larger canvas.

War and Revolution

That was in 1919. The oft-predicted Imperialist War had swept across the world, splitting the Second International

wide open and exposing the sham Marxism of the Kautskys in all its hypocritical ugliness. Marx had given no detailed guidance for a situation such as this but the duty of real Marxists was clear. It was to oppose the war with all their might and to make use of it for the proletarian revolution. Lenin found the necessary formula. "Convert the Imperialist War into a civil war for the overthrow of capitalism!"

The slogan will live as one of Lenin's greatest.

Another of Lenin's slogans was: "All Power to the Soviets!" Lenin discovered the soviets as the form of the proletarian dictatorship. He did not create the soviets. They were thrown up by revolution, first in 1905 again in 1917. But he recognized their historic significance, and for Lenin such recognition meant unhesitating and resolute action.

Everyone realizes that the November Revolution in Russia was not a mere palace revolution. It was a mighty social upheaval, the greatest that the world has ever known. When the full import of this is understood it is impossible to picture Lenin as a "putchist," or a Twentieth Century Blanqui, with the Bolsheviki as a modern band of conspiratorial Blanquists acting in blind obedience to their leader. What the social-democratic fakers resent in Lenin most of all is that he was a man of action. But he was more than that, as the present article has amply shown. All of Lenin's writings and activity, the entire history of the Bolshevik party, went into the making of November. The Russian Revolution represents the triumph of Marxism. Lenin succeeded, where the pseudo-Marxists failed, because he was a great enough Marxist to add to Marx,—to grasp the full dialectic nature of Marxism and to apply it concretely even in those situations for which Marx had not provided a blueprint. Thus it was that, in the final stage of capitalism, he was able to analyze the world around him and to work out in theory and practise the postulates of the revolutionary science of Leninism, which lives after him as the guide of the world proletariat.

This is the only true Marxism. There is constant need for innovation and original perspective, and he is no Marxist or Leninist who shrinks from this task. Consider only the circumstances which surrounded the adoption of such epochal policies as "war communism" and the NEP; Lenin could not have risen to occasion after occasion if he had been afraid to innovate.

Lenin's Debt to Marx; Our Debt to Lenin.

Leninism is an addition to Marxism which does not negate, but supplements it. Leninism is the Marxism of the final stage of capitalism. For capitalism is still capitalism even in the period of imperialism. The class struggle, surplus value, the labor theory of value—all of the points of the Marxian system—form the very foundation on which the theoretical structure of Leninism rests. The dynamics of the struggle as formulated by Marx, the dialectic method, the materialistic conception of history—these remain the fundamentals of any approach to the problems confronting the international proletariat. No one understood this better than Lenin. It was as an orthodox Marxist, and he never tired of repeating it, that he worked out the doctrines which are characteristically his own:

1. Present-day capitalist economy as the economy of imperialism;

2. Currents within imperialism and the strategy and tactics of the struggle against it;
3. Reformulation of the nature and function of the state, and the necessity of violent revolution;
4. Linking up of the national liberation movements with the class struggle of the proletariat;
5. Uniting the struggles of the exploited peasantry with the struggle of the workers;
6. Role of the Communist party as the conscious vanguard of the proletariat;
7. Soviets as the form of the proletarian dictatorship;
8. Extension of the theory and practise of the proletarian dictatorship.

Who can say that these additions to Marxism will be the last? The world changes and doctrines once compatible with Marxism become outworn while the general structure of Marxism remains firm. Marx once said that in England the overthrow of capitalism might take place peaceably; if he were living today, in the epoch of imperialism, he would certainly declare that to be impossible. In the prolonged crisis of capitalism growing out of the war, with its unstable shifting from open dictatorship to "democratic pacifism" and back, with its rapid disintegrating process setting loose new forces, with the super-imperialism of the Dawes Plan—it is quite possible that new laws will be established and new points of proletarian strategy discovered. And they will go to reinforce Marxism and Leninism. As Marx wrote, "the revolution is throughgoing."

Drama for Winter Night (Fifth Avenue)

You can't sleep here,
My good man,
You can't sleep here.
This is the house of God.

The usher opens the church door and he goes out.

You can't sleep in this car, old top,
Not here.
If Jones found you
He'd give you to the cops.
Get-the-hell out now,
This ain't home.
You can't stay here.

The chauffer opens the door and he gets out.

Lord! You can't let a man lie in the streets
like this.
Find an officer quick.
Send for an ambulance.
Maybe he is sick but
He can't die on this corner,
Not here!
He can't die here.

Death opens a door.

Yellow But Red!



NEWS NOTE.—"Ten thousand striking Japanese textile workers have declared that they will not go back to work until the boss is prepared to turn the mill over to them. Communist influence is reported to be strong among them."

Oh, God,
Lemme git by St. Peter.
Lemme sit down on the steps of your throne.
Lemme rest somewhere.
What did yuh say, God?
What did yuh say?
You can't sleep here. . . .
Bums can't stay. . . .

The man's raving.
Get him to the hospital quick.
He's attracting a crowd.
He can't die on this corner.
No, no, not here.

—Langston Hughes.

Canada and the British Empire

By Tim Buck

TO properly understand the significance of the movement toward independence just now so much to the front in Canada one must have some knowledge of the present "actual" status of the Dominion and the forces which, finding its limitations irksome, are making for change.

The political status of the Dominion of Canada and the internal and external powers of its governments, are defined and limited by the British North American Act, enacted by the British government in 1867. No amendments of any importance have ever been made to it, and because of the legislative and technical impediments—the fact that Canada has no machinery for registering opinions on the matter, and has no recourse beyond appeals to the British government, which hitherto have proved useless—none are likely. With the slight modifications effected by "precedents and interpretations" of which much is made of by Canadian "statesmen," the British North American Act pins the Dominion of Canada, firmly down to the position of a British colony.

There is not a line or a letter in the act that authorizes the Dominion government to negotiate a treaty with the foreign power. The Federal government cannot legislate in connection with internal affairs except within the limits set by the act, it cannot amend the constitution of the Senate, "Canadian edition of the House of Lords," and may not change the constitution of any province or take action which would in any way effect the office of Lieutenant governor, who is the "impersonation of the king in each province."

On top of that the Dominion government has no jurisdiction over Canadian citizens outside of Canada; when Britain is at war, Canada is at war also, and Canadian ports must always be open to British ships-of-war.

Transfer of Power.

Politically therefore, Canada is still a colony, still a part of the Empire upon which the sun never sets. But firm as the paper constitution and the political forms have remained, the economic foundations—upon which all imperialism rests—have rotted away during the past ten years, to be replaced by those of the United States.

In 1914, Canada was the favorite field of investment for the British capitalist, and more British capital was invested there than in any other part of the Empire outside the British isles; against the meagre \$600,000,000 invested in Canada at this time by the United States, British investments totaled \$2,500,000,000. This disparity in economic influence was well demonstrated in the federal election of 1911, in which the issue was reciprocity with the United States versus "protection" for "Canadian" industry. The protectionists—conservatives traditional imperialists—won this election fight on the basis of "Reciprocity or the Empire."

But the war, hastening the natural process, revolutionized Canadian financial and economic arrangements; with its outbreak, imports from Great Britain stopped almost completely, as did also the flow of capital from investments. The insatiable demand for all kinds of war materials stimulated Canadian industry and caused an unprecedented expansion. Bloating with enormous profits already flowing from war bus-

iness, United States firms and United States investors plunged into Canadian business with an energy that was well nigh feverish.

Not only by filling the vacancies left by British investors did Wall Street displace Lombard Street in Canadian financial and economic life, but when through the vicissitudes of war Britain came to Wall Street for loans, collateral was given in the form of American and Canadian securities, previously held by British investors. In this manner hundreds of millions of dollars worth of securities were transferred from British to American hands, still further accelerating the process of the transfer of economic power.

Imperial Preference a Boomerang.

Following the war, the system of Imperial Preferences between Great Britain and the dominions was inaugurated. The idea of course was to help weld the dominions somewhat more closely to the empire—and to give British manufacturers an advantage in their markets.

Under this scheme, certain goods produced in Great Britain or the dominions and exported from one to the other, were given a preferential tariff of 15 per cent. For instance, certain articles manufactured in the United States pay a customs duty of 37½ per cent. But similar articles from Great Britain, pay only 22½ per cent. At first glance it appeared a good stroke for the British manufacturer.

Its result, however, was merely to speed up the building of branch factories in Canada by American firms, and the concentration within the Canadian plants of all "empire trade." In this way, the majority of the 800 branch factories operated by U. S. concerns in Canada not only beat the Canadian tariff, but reap the same benefit from imperial preference, as do the British manufacturers themselves.

Possibly its most powerful effect has been the great increase of American influence in Canadian economics. Some idea of the changed status of the American and British financial interests, may be seen in the fact that in the years 1919-20-21, American interests invested no less than \$600,000,000 in Canada, as against the beggarly \$17,000,000 invested by Great Britain. While the total investments of Great Britain are now down to \$2,000,000,000, those of the U. S. are up to \$2,500,000,000; this is not all, however. For whereas a large proportion of the British capital invested is in governmental and municipal securities, the greater part of the American investments are in industry. Every branch factory is a propaganda bureau, and behind the propaganda there is always the power to give or take away the treasured job. It is this tremendous influence of American capital in everyday economic life, which more than anything else is at the back of the drift from "Nationalism versus the Empire," to "Independence versus Annexation." Murray Williams, leader of the Montreal Stock Exchange, starts a newspaper article with the following sentence: "Practically every well known financier and business man in Montreal is agreed that the future holds grave possibility of annexation to the U. S."

The Cunning of Downing Street.

The dazzling prospects of oil, cotton, railways, etc., make

this a prize for construction capital, for which Britain will fight to the last gasp, and in which British diplomacy will involve the dominions if it possibly can. Faced by the definite drift toward complete independence on the part of all the dominions, particularly Canada and South Africa, Downing Street displayed all the cunning that tradition gives British diplomacy credit for having. South Africa, one of the cornerstones of her eastern possessions, must not be allowed to drift too far. Canada, not so important, from that point of view, was at the same time a valuable ally, and what was more important—was drifting toward the United States.

Therefore, the world was treated to a fine show of "British" democracy. The dominions were granted representation with voice and vote in the peace conference, and were signatories to the peace treaty and League of Nations covenant. They are also members of the League of Nations.

Here is the joker. Yielding concession to the petite nationalism of the colonies with an apparently generous hand, Downing Street handed them at one and the same time, status and obligations. . . Freedom and Chains.

In other words, the dominions have been intrigued into accepting even greater responsibilities than ever would have been imposed upon them as colonies, without any adequate return whatever. To the American and nationalistic interests, this is of course far from pleasant, as may be gathered from the following statement of Sir Clifford Sifton, a prominent Liberal, and advocate of national "status"—the word these cowards use for independence. His words regarding the present situation are as follows: "The real difficulty is in connection with peace and war. Great Britain is a world power, militant and imperialistic, which has taken possession of vast and productive regions of the earth and means to hold them. Peacefully if she can, forcibly if she must. The self-governing dominions are huge, youthful, peaceful communities, having no sympathy with war, and desiring only to be allowed to proceed with their own peaceful development."

"Canada" Asserts Herself?

When the Lausanne conference was organized, the British government allowed it to be clearly understood, that she did not desire the participation of the dominions. No invitations were sent therefore, and no dominion representatives were present.

Later, the dominions were asked to ratify the treaty drawn up at this conference, and Canada refused. The reasons given being to the effect that being excluded from the conference, she could not logically be expected to shoulder any obligation flowing out of it.

Still more recently—December 2, 1924—the British government invited the prime ministers of all dominions to participate in an Imperial Conference, the purpose of which should be to decide the empire's policy, regarding disarmament and the Geneva Peace Protocol; the idea being that the conference would agree upon ratification or repudiation of the protocol for the empire as a whole. But in company with at least South Africa, the Canadian government refused to be parties to the plan; on the ground that England could decide for herself and vote accordingly, and the dominions should do likewise.

The controversial negotiations and communications, culminating in the conclusion of a treaty between the United States and Canada without either the ratification of the British parliament or the signature of the British ambassador at

Washington—despite his and the British government's attempts at insistence upon the time—"honored" procedure—are well known; as is also the refusal of the premier of Canada to promise troops to the British government for their expected Turkish adventure; it is not so well known however, that the prime minister of Canada at the Imperial Conference in June, 1921, refused to make Canada a party to renewal of the Japanese treaty, and the Manitoba Free Press, a very influential political paper, declared that "Canada will ratify no Japanese treaty, to which the United States does not give its assent."

What Does It Mean To Us.

At first glance one would assume that it matters very little to the revolutionary movement, whether England or the United States rules Canada, openly or in a veiled form. Capitalism is capitalism, and so far as the average worker is concerned this struggle for political control has little more than a sentimental appeal.

In a very real sense, however, the winning of complete independence from British political control means a great deal to the revolutionary movement of Canada, and to the labor movement as a whole. In substance, it means the repeal of the British North America Act. It will strip the capitalist government of their everlasting excuse of powerlessness, and bring the workers of the country face to face with realities.

Under the British North American Act, all property and civil rights are vested in the various provincial governments, and the federal government may take only such action as is dictated by considerations of national safety. For instance, the electrical workers of Toronto were defeated and humiliated in their attempt to compel the Electric Commission—a civic enterprise—to pay the regular civic minimum rate to its employes, by a ruling on the part of the Privy Council, to which "honorable" body the case was carried, that inasmuch as property and civil rights were provincial matters, the federal law under which the workers took action, was ultra vires, and the arbitration board set up under it was illegal. This, mind you, a year and a half after the event, when the men, who in the first place could have won easily by a strike, are demoralized and despirited by unemployment and suspense.

Under the same law, however, it was quite right for the dominion government to smash the Winnipeg strike at the behest of Pierpont Morgan, because that involved a matter of "extreme danger to national welfare." The same principle enables the federal government to send troops into any area to smash a strike and to enforce compulsory arbitration, while the fact that property and civil rights are matters of provincial jurisdiction, conveniently relieves the federal government of the power to adopt the eight-hour day or unemployment relief legislation, while the provinces calmly kick the football back, because it was the federal government which signed the Washington convention, and accepted the obligations. In other words, they say, it's up to the federal government.

These are only a few examples of the manner in which British political domination exercised through the British North American Act, is valuable to the capitalists of Canada, and detrimental to the interests of the working class. With all these advantages however, "the real difficulty is in questions of peace and war," as Sir Clifford very nicely put it, and these difficulties are too real, and too serious to be glossed

over. Mackenzie King, the present premier, is well known for his long service in Rockefeller employ, and his government is serving American interests well today.

In their fight for complete independence from Downing Street, the Communists of Canada will help them with all their might. Having won independence, however, when they

attempt to turn over Canada, lock, stock and barrel, to Wall Street, they will find in us their bitterest opponents. Independence is only a step, for each of us. For the dominant economic interests it is a step toward Americanization, to us, the Communists, it is a step towards a Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

The Carpenters Face Their Leaders

By J. W. Johnstone

FOR many years the Trade Union Educational League has carried on an ideological struggle against the ruinous and demoralizing policy of dual unionism. And it can be said, without contradiction, that the T. U. E. L. has been successful in this fight. Splitting away from the old reactionary unions, as a principle in the United States, is dead. Even in the I. W. W., where the most insistent and virile attempt was made over a period of nearly 20 years to form idealistic, pure, revolutionary unions upon a national and international basis, we see the Communists and other militants, through the Red International Affiliation Committee, working for the united front program of the Red International of Labor Unions within the I. W. W.

Today, dual unionism is not a dangerous factor in the American labor movement, and the proof can be found in the numerous expulsions of Communists, adherents of the T. U. E. L. and close sympathizers who accept the leadership of the T. U. E. L. and of the Workers Party, from the reactionary unions. It seems only yesterday that almost all the revolutionary elements of the American labor movement were making the A. F. of L. safe for the labor bureaucrats by withdrawing from the reactionary unions and isolating themselves in little sectarian groups, thus eliminating all opposition to the reactionary leaders. Now things have changed. The militants, instead of getting out, are challenging the leadership of the bureaucrats, and when expelled they fight for readmittance.

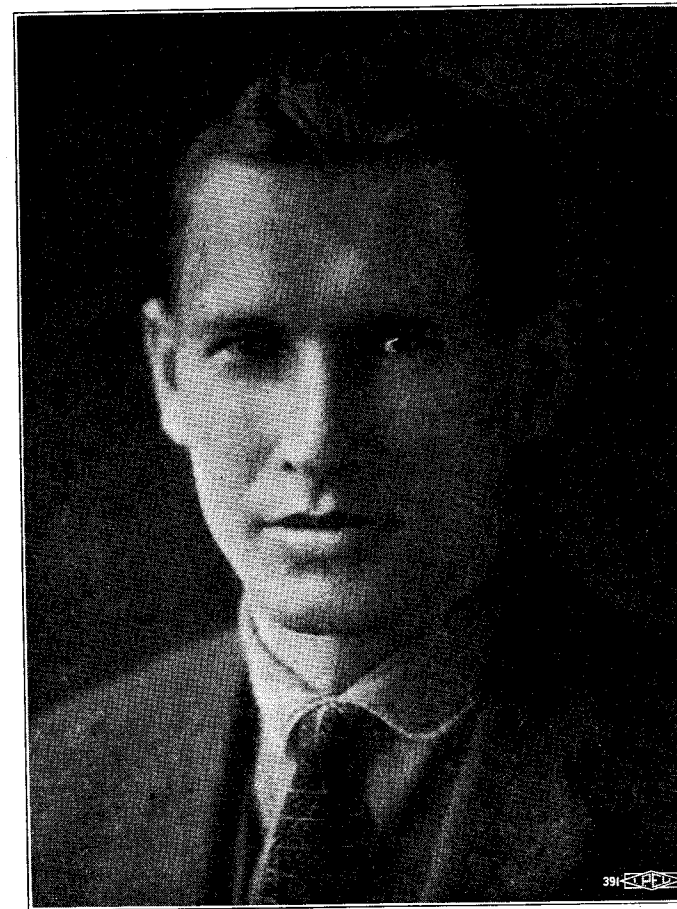
The success of the League in organizing the left wing and waging a militant fight within the reactionary unions, can be gauged in many ways. A powerful example is the gradual acceptance of the expulsion policy by the labor bureaucrats as the only means of combating the growing influence of the militants in the trade unions. They cannot meet the T. U. E. L.'s fighting program in any way other than by expulsion, which is a sign of their growing weakness.

Wm. L. Hutcheson is the latest autocrat to adopt this as a general policy against militants. Of course Hutcheson is not a novice starting out in a new game. He has expelled those who have opposed him before, even going so far as to revoke the charters of 68 local unions in the east during the 1916 strike, because they refused to accept a cut in wages.

This treacherous act was committed at a time when the strikers were almost assured of victory.

However, the situation now is different. The present expulsion policy, started by Hutcheson almost a year ago, is of a different character. It is aimed at expelling all those who oppose Hutcheson on the basis of principle, or who

attempt to expose his corrupt machine. Hutcheson, through his spy system (general organizing staff, etc.) has now a list of names of members throughout the country who are slated for expulsion. He is going through that list as fast as he can, at the same time trying to prevent an open revolt of the membership against his crude maneuvering by expelling these members without trial and in widely different points of the country. He does it through local officials, general organizers, or through the General Executive Board direct. So far 23 members have been expelled,—16 in Los Angeles,



BUD REYNOLDS, PRESIDENT LOCAL 2140 (DETROIT), VICE-PRESIDENT CARPENTERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Declared "expelled" in an arbitrary letter from Hutcheson's General Executive Board. No pretense of any trial or hearing.

five in Chicago, one in Detroit, and one in Philadelphia, while Mulcahy, of Providence, R. I., was first assaulted and then expelled from the last convention, because of his opposition to the Hutcheson Machine.

All these members have been expelled in flagrant disregard of the Constitution, the 16 in Los Angeles being expelled by telegraph, Reynolds of Detroit by letter, the five in Chicago by arbitrary action of the local president on orders from Hutcheson, while Burgess of Philadelphia was expelled after a fake investigation made by a sub-committee of the G. E. B. In no case were charges presented or any of the accused tried according to the Constitution, nor was the membership allowed a vote on the matter, although the Constitution expressly says that it takes a two-thirds majority of the members present at a hearing to convict a defendant.

All of the 23 members expelled were active in their union and enjoyed the confidence of the membership,—some were business agents, other delegates to and officers of district councils, president or secretary of a local union, or delegate to the central labor council. All of them have been members of the Brotherhood for from five to 30 years. Nineteen of them accepted the fighting program of the T. U. E. L., and nine were also members of the Workers (Communist) Party.

Hutcheson says he is going to expel everyone who is a member of the T. U. E. L., which means any member who is opposed to the class collaboration scheme or who attempts to expose the corruption of the Hutcheson administration. For the league has been doing this systematically, and anyone, whether a member of the T. U. E. L., the Workers Party, or neither, who does anything at all to expose this faker is classed as a member of the T. U. E. L. and either expelled or put on the waiting list for expulsion.

The five members expelled in Chicago, along with five other members of local no. 181, were guilty of the heinous "crime" of presenting a resolution to their local union which was passed and sent to the convention for action condemning the scab Landis Award agreement, which Hutcheson had signed without the knowledge or consent of the membership. This attack upon his class collaboration scheme had to be nipped in the bud, so five of these then members were expelled as a warning to all others. Since then, there have been no peaceful meetings of local 181 held, the membership supporting the expelled and insistently demanding that they be reinstated.

In Detroit, Bud Reynolds was expelled without even knowing that he was being tried or investigated. The G. E. B. just sent a letter to his local union and to the district council declaring his expulsion. Every local union in Detroit refused to recognize the expulsion. Hutcheson resorted to an injunction to stop Reynolds from attending meetings of the local union of which he is the president.

Bud Reynolds, the district council, and every local union in Detroit have defied the injunction, practically telling the court and Hutcheson to "go to hell." They are determined to see the fight through to the finish. Reynolds committed the "crime" of being a too ardent supporter of Morris Rosen, the left wing candidate for president against Hutcheson in the recent elections, and through his efforts Detroit cast a majority vote for Rosen.

F. W. Burgess, at this writing the latest victim of the

Hutcheson expulsion policy, was the campaign manager for Willis K. Brown, another candidate against Hutcheson. However, Burgess, the manager, was not as silent as Brown, the candidate. He pointed out where Hutcheson had changed the votes from "against" to "for" his pet old-age home scheme,



NIELS KJAR, A LEADING MEMBER OF LOCAL 181 (CHICAGO), FORMERLY DELEGATE TO THE CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR.

"Expelled" without trial, by arbitrary action of local president, with the approval of Hutcheson if not of the constitution.

and in addition dug out of the closet some more of the shady performances of the Hutcheson administration. This Hutcheson considers a dangerous tendency, so Burgess was expelled.

Who will be next is hard to tell. Maybe it will be Rosen, or his campaign manager. In Chicago, Hutcheson's tools say openly, "Wait until we get through with local 181; then we are going to start in on 1748 and go right down the line." Well, they are not yet through with 181, or with the Detroit membership, or Philadelphia, or Los Angeles. The fight has just begun, and before it is over Hutcheson will have lost his crown. It is not a fight for a day or a year; this fight will last just as long as Hutcheson is president of the Brotherhood.

Hutcheson is carrying on his expulsion policy upon a national scale, and is determined to either keep control of the U. B. C. & J. of A. or destroy it. He is absolutely unscrupulous. He uses the police, the courts, violates the constitution, and will destroy whole sections of the organization in order to keep his control of the union. He openly betrays the Brotherhood, as he did in Chicago, into the hands of the "open shoppers." He is opposed to strikes against the boss, but calls jurisdictional strikes, as he did in Kansas

(Continued on page 234).

History of the Russian Communist Party

Chapter II--The Struggle Between Populism and Marxism

(Continued from February Issue.)

By Gregory Zinoviev

Struve's "Critical Notes."

STRUVE'S "Critical Notes," was directed against Populism. It was devoted essentially to one theme: would there or would there not be capitalism in Russia. Struve was correct in his criticism of the Populists when he wrote: "In vain you dream of a unique Russia, based upon the economically independent small proprietor. No, take off your populist spectacles: look, Russia is advancing; factories and plants are springing up in her midst, an industrial city proletariat is appearing. Capitalism in Russia is inevitable. Russia will pass through it." On this point Struve, as also Tugan-Baranovsky was right, and in agreement with Lenin and Plekhanov. At this time the immediate problem did, in fact, consist in demonstrating that a working class, and large plants and factories would inevitably come into existence in Russia. It was necessary to show that capitalism was coming, that it had its progressive side, of which we Marxists have always had the courage to speak, asserting, to the present day, that in comparison with serfdom or the primitive feudal system, capitalism is a step in advance. Capitalism breaks the workers' bones, it exploits them, and, in a certain sense, it cripples them; this is true—but capitalism also creates immense factories and plants, it brings about the electrification of industry, it develops agriculture, it creates means of communication, it breaks down the walls of serfdom; and, to this extent, it is progressive.

The task of the revolutionary Marxists was two-fold. They had, on the one hand, to down the Populists, who were attempting to show that capitalism would never exist, and who declared capitalism to be an unclean thing, an abortion, evil, hell-born, from which we ought to flee as from fire. On the other hand, it was essential for the revolutionary Marxists of those days, during the first glimmer of capitalism, during the actual begetting of the working-class, to begin to organize and to create a workers' party. And here, Struve, while elaborating the first question very competently, completely "overlooked" the second. He proved conclusively that capitalism was inevitable, that it was coming, that it had, in truth, already come and that it possessed its progressive side; but he overlooked our fundamental problem—that once capitalism had arrived, once the working class had come forth, it was necessary immediately to begin organizing the workers, to create our own workers' party, in Czarist Russia itself, and to prepare it for battle not only against the Czar, but also against the bourgeoisie. Struve's "Critical Notes" ended with a significant phrase: He wrote: "Thus let us acknowledge our backwardness, and let us go as apprentices to capitalism." Compare this final note struck by Struve in 1895 with the conclusions drawn in Lenin's book, "Who are the Friends of the People?"—in 1894. Lenin also struck at populism, showing that capitalism was coming, that it was actually here, that it was unavoidable, that this was a necessary stage, that capitalism was paving the way for the

triumph of the working class; but, at the same time, at the conclusion of the book, he made a prediction, a prophecy that is now confirmed, and which is briefly this: that the Russian workers would come to understand the role of the working class as that of hegemony and understanding this, would carry the peasantry along with it, and lead Russia on to a Communist revolution. Such was the "slight" difference at that time between Lenin and Struve. And at that, relations during the domination of Czarism were so confused, that people, essentially of sharply divergent views, were, during those years reckoned of one opinion and were in one camp. Some raised the slogan, "Let us go as apprentices to capitalism!" Others said, "Let us arouse the working class, the proletariat-leader, in order that it may lead Russia on to the proletarian revolution!" And all marched together, one company, as it were, one front against populism. This was, I repeat, inevitable at that period of extremely unclear, undifferentiated social relations, and it left an indelible impress upon the whole succeeding development of our party.

Plekhanov the Theoretician and Lenin the Political Strategist

One other of Plekhanov's (Beltova's), works, published in 1895, must be mentioned: "On the Growth of the Monist View of History." In this volume Plekhanov revealed his most brilliant side, giving battle to Populism, chiefly on another arena—the philosophical—and coming forward in defence of materialism. It seems to me that many of our contemporary pedagogues, instead of "criticizing" Plekhanov, with the conceit of the half-baked, as it is their custom to do, might do more wisely if they would expound and interpret to the new generation this remarkable book, which has been the text-book of a whole generation of Marxists, who from it have drawn understanding of the basis of militant materialism. On the political side Plekhanov was never particularly strong. He was a theoretician. He was at that time the acknowledged ideological leader of the party, the leader, in fact, of that whole generation of Marxist intellectuals, and Marxist workers. Lenin was younger than he; he was only beginning to be active. And now, looking back, we very clearly see, that in the second half of the nineties there was first set up a sort of division of labor between Plekhanov and Lenin. There was, of course, no deliberate agreement, but this was what it actually amounted to. The strong side of Plekhanov was his theoretical side, and he took upon himself the philosophical warfare with his opponents, in the realm in which he was, and remains the incomparable master. Young though Lenin was, from the first he centered his attention on social-political problems, on the organization of the party and of the working-class. And, in this sense, they complemented one the other.

Mention must be made also of Lenin's work, "On the Growth of Capitalism in Russia," written in exile, in which he makes his first appearance as a distinguished economist.

In this volume he analyzes social relations in Russia, demonstrating with remarkable clarity and scientific knowledge, the incontestable growth of capitalism in Russia.

Lenin's Struggle With Struve.

Thus, from the very outset, two tendencies were apparent in legal Marxism. Lenin criticized Struve's "Critical Notes" and others of his works in the volume entitled "A Marxist Collection" which was burned, and which has not yet been published. (The article referred to is included in his collected works, under the pen-name of "Tulin".) Lenin was one of the first, who going hand in hand with Struve, felt, nevertheless, that he was not an altogether safe ally. In those years, when Struve was one of the most brilliant representatives of legal Marxism in Russia, it was not easy to come out against him, but Lenin did it. Already in the above-mentioned article, under the signature of "Tulin," he attacked the legal publications of Struve, accusing him even at that time of the gravest errors. He addressed him much as follows: "You

it may first be able to overthrow the autocracy of the Czar, and then push on against the autocracy of capital.... In short, it may once more be said, that the fundamental disagreement between the two groups, both within the camp of legal Marxism, resolved itself into the controversy regarding the hegemony of the proletariat, into the question as to whether the proletariat, would as a class, play the leading role in the revolution, whether it would in actual fact, conduct the struggle which would end in the victory of the working class, and the destruction of capitalism, or whether it would only advance in yoke with the other opposition forces, coming to a halt at victory over the autocracy, that is, at the establishment of a bourgeois system in Russia.

This then, was the background against which the workers' party in Russia was formed.

If you glance at other countries, Germany, for example, if you recall the historical work of Lassalle, you will see that in that country the bourgeois parties captured a significant portion of the workers, before the latter organized their own party. Lassalle began by liberating the workers from the influence of the bourgeois parties, their basic strata which the bourgeoisie had succeeded in capturing, and drew them over to the side of the workers' socialist party. And this development in Germany was not merely a chance phenomenon. Everywhere the bourgeoisie crystallized as a class before the proletariat, and everywhere they had their own party, their own ideology and their own literature earlier than the proletariat, and endeavored to capture a part of the workers for their own party.

In Russia the same phenomenon existed, but in a form peculiarly its own. Despite the fact that with us the bourgeoisie, as an open political force, took form later, nevertheless, in our case also, the first worker-revolutionists were impelled, not towards a workers' party, but toward the populist party, which, although to a certain extent bourgeois-democratic, was for all that a bourgeois party. To Lenin is due the credit for initiating in a certain measure, the thing that Lassalle had initiated in Germany. The setting, of course, was different, the ideological struggle assumed other forms, but the essential features were the same. The first thing to be done was to win over the various workers' groups that had gone astray, and had landed not in the workers', but in the populist party, in essence bourgeois; and then, having captured these groups, to begin together with them to build up a workers' party. Thus, if we keep in view the two currents in populism, on the one hand, and the two currents in Marxism, on the other, before us will be spread the ideological canvas upon which began the creation of the workers' party in Russia.

And now, after this long recital, I can proceed to my immediate theme—to the history of the party, in its proper significance.

The Embryo Period of the Party.

In his book, "What is to be Done?" of which I have already spoken, Comrade Lenin wrote that from the commencement of the eighties and nineties our movement was, so to speak, in the embryo stage of the party. In this decade, it was as though the working class was already pregnant with its coming child—the workers' party. There were just beginning to appear the first groups, which were very unstable, one falling to pieces, another being revived, when the first great ideological struggle commenced for an



ZINOVIEV.

From the bust by Clare Sheridan.

see one side of the phenomenon; you see that capitalism is coming, that it is breaking down the commune and serfdom—but you do not see the other side of the phenomenon, you do not see that with the initial appearance of capitalism our task does not consist in apprenticing ourselves to it, but in immediately organizing our own class, the working class, that

independent workers' party, for the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat.

By the first half of the nineties the party was already constructed on the basis of a mass-workers' movement, and this period may be called its childhood and youth. At the same time there broke out a strike movement which grew swiftly, as is evident from the following figures: From 1881 to 1886 there were in all 40 strikes, in which 80,000 workers participated. From 1895 to 1899 the strike movement already involved half a million—450,000—workers; that is, the number of strikers had increased approximately six to seven-fold. In Petersburg the strike movement was already of considerable significance by 1878. With the beginning of the eighties it assumed still greater proportions, and by the middle of the nineties involved 30,000 textile workers at one time.

The First Workers' Social Democratic Groups in Petersburg.

On this foundation there began to arise workers' social democratic groups. The first of these groups was founded by Blagoyev, a Bulgarian by origin. In 1887 he was a student in Petersburg, where at the time a number of Bulgarians were studying. Together with other comrades whose names have been preserved—Gerasimov and Kharetonov—he gathered around him a circle which held the same ideas, and founded the first social democratic group in Petersburg, which came to play as important a role as the North Russian Labor Alliance of which Kalturin was a founder.

"The Union for the Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class."

The year 1895 was especially rich in events. I have already related that in this year a whole series of books appeared, which were not merely books, but guide-posts on the road toward the creation of a workers' party. This year was further signalized by the foundation in Petersburg of "The Union for the Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class." This may be said to have been, in reality, the first Gubernya (State) Committee of our party. Unions for the Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class, were later organized in a number of other cities; in 1895 in Ivanovo-Vosnesensk; in 1896, in Moscow. These unions were the first social democratic organizations of any size, and laid the foundation for our party. The first, in Petersburg, included in its ranks a number of outstanding figures, first among them, Comrade Lenin himself, its founder. To it also belonged: C. E. Radchenko, Krshishanovsky, now working on the electrification of Soviet Russia, Vaneev, Starkov, Martov, who, as you know, is now a Menshevik, Silvin, (Bolshevik), B. Zinoviev, a worker in the Putilov Works, of whose fate, to my regret, I know nothing, Shelgunov, a worker at the Obukhovskiy Works, a member of our party, who is still living, but unfortunately is blind, and finally E. V. Babushkin, a worker in the Alexandrovskiy iron foundry, who was shot in Siberia in 1905, by Rennenkampff's troops—one of the first Bolsheviks, and a man with whom Comrade Lenin was deeply in sympathy, as one of the most outstanding representatives of the first generation of worker-Marxists.

Provincial Social Democratic Workers Groups.

At this time there were also numerous groups scattered throughout Russia which were working toward a united organization, and gaining considerable influence in a number of cities. In Martov's book you will find a long list (he has an amazing memory for names) of the group leaders of that period. It is worth giving them: Krassin, in Petersburg, the

same who is now one of our most distinguished workers; Fedosiev, in Vladimir, Melnitsky in Kiev, Alabishev in Rostov-on-Don, Goldenach (Riazonov,) Steklov and Tziperovitch in Odessa; Kramer, Eisenstadt, Kosovsky and others in Vilna; and Khinchuk in Tula. Comrade Khinchuk was at the start one of the founders of the party; then he went over to the Mensheviks, and was a member of their Central Committee; and afterwards, the first chairman of the Moscow Menshevik Soviet; later, he came over into the ranks of our party; now he is the director of the cooperatives. As for Kramer, Eisenstadt and Kosovsky, they were the founders of the Bund, to which some space must now be devoted.

The Bund.

At the present time the word "Bund" is very little known to the workers of our large cities, but at that period it was exceedingly popular in the revolutionary camp. Bund means in Yiddish, "union,"—in this case the union of Jewish workers of Poland and Lithuania. It was founded in 1897, a year before the first Congress of our party. It was brought into being by a vigorous, stormy movement among the Jewish artisans of Poland and Lithuania, antedating by several years the workers' movement in Petersburg and Moscow. For this there were special and wholly adequate causes. By the force of this circumstance, the Jewish workers and artisans became revolutionary earlier than the workers of the other cities, and were enabled earlier than the others to create mass workers' organizations, uniting them into a union which received the name of the "Bund."

From the womb of this organization of Jewish workers come forth not a few heroic individuals, not a few great workers. Suffice to name the Jewish worker Leckert, murdered by Von Bahl, the Chief of Police of Vilna, and to call to mind a whole series of active workers in the Jewish workers' movement, who are still in the ranks of our party, and have shared in its organization.

Founded, as I have said, in 1897, the Bund was at one time, during the course of two or three years, the largest and most powerful organization of our party. But then, when our biggest cities—Petersburg, Moscow, Ivanovo-Vosnesensk, and Orechevo-Zuevo—awakened, when the deepest strata of the Russian workers began to stir, then the not very large contingent of Jewish artisans, who earlier had in a certain sense, occupied the foreground, had naturally to take a secondary place. But be that as it may, in the second half of the nineties the Jewish workers' movement was of great importance, and the role that the Bund played in the party a leading one. One need only mention the fact that the principal organizer of the first congress of our party in 1898 was the Bund. And it was not at all by chance that this congress was held in Minsk, in a city of the Jewish Pale, on the territory of the Bund's activities. Observing that Jewish workers and artisans for a period of time played the role of skirmishers, the Black Hundred press, as is not unknown to you, hunted them down savagely, and for many years continued to assert that the instigators of the revolutionary movement in Russia were exclusively Jewish.

At the present time, reviewing the history of our party, now grown into a great organization, we ought, it seems to me, to remember the courageous Jewish workers and artisans who, arising the first to the struggle, helped us to lay the first stones in the foundation of our party.

(Continued next month).

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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Advance of the Miners.

SIXTY-SIX thousand votes for Communist candidates and the Trade Union Educational League program in the recent election in the United Mine Workers of America, as against 136,000 for the Lewis machine, is an event of the greatest importance for the American and international revolutionary movement.

The vote itself is a clear-cut left wing expression. It was cast for candidates who were practically unknown outside of their own districts and the element of personal popularity is eliminated. The left wing had no money with which to make an intensive campaign, it sent out no speakers and confined its election work to the distribution of the Trade Union Educational League program—the most advanced ever drafted for a union in the United States.

The best known Communists and R. I. L. U. adherents were eliminated either by expulsion or revocation of charters. The official press carried on a continuous campaign of slander and the Lewis machine is the most powerful in the American Federation of Labor.

The huge vote denotes definitely the crystallization of the revolutionary elements in the largest and most influential union in the United States and its significance can hardly be overestimated particularly if we do not forget that as always, thousands of left wing votes were either stolen by the administration for their own slate or not counted at all.

Capitalist Justice, A Leering Harlot.

JUSTICE, with cynical eye, leers out from under her traditional blindfold. It is the same sneer with which this disguised harlot of the capitalist dictatorship looks upon any worker who, having displeased the ruling class sufficiently to require suppression, finds himself confronted with the whole machinery of the state power bent upon taking away his freedom or his life.

By thousands every year such workers are penalized in small cases, until the great mass of workers begin to take government persecution of "agitators" as a part of natural phenomena—and with reason.

Such was the plight of two obscure Italian workers in the state of Massachusetts in the early part of their persecution, a persecution upon a now proven frame-up, a charge of murder in which they were wholly innocent. This was the case against Sacco and Vanzetti, doomed to die in the electric chair after a preliminary farcical trial and several legal delays.

Only when the mighty masses of labor began to learn of this repetition of the Mooney case, did help come. But jus-

tice, harlot of capitalist dictatorship leers. . . From all over the world great protests are rising at this blow at labor. The International Workers' Aid has called for a mighty demonstration. On March the first the workers of every great nation will join in one stupendous cry—"Down with Capitalist Justice! Our brothers shall not be murdered! Release Sacco and Vanzetti!"

Fighting Among the Ruins.

THE Paris Conference, of which Comrade Bittelman writes in this issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY, restores the period of international conferences in Europe. Paris, Brussels, Spa, London, Berlin, San Remo, Washington, Lausanne. . . Paris. The latest conference is a link in the long chain. It takes us back to the not far distant days when conference succeeded conference in feverish succession and Lloyd George was commuting back and forth across the English Channel. It is a final proof that now, six years after the Imperialist War, there is still no stabilization in the capitalist world.

Paris did not help the stabilization process. On the contrary, it marked another stage in the dissolution of capitalism in Europe.

More than to cash in on reparations from Germany, the diplomats met in Paris to carry on the fight for control of the resources of economic power. It was part of the struggle for world hegemony that has been going on ever since the war. In the final period of capitalism—when capitalist civilization is in shambles—the struggle for the re-division of the earth's territory takes precisely this form. It is all or nothing.

One power possesses all the advantages in the race for world empire. The United States of America. Hence the Dawes' Plan to take advantage of the helplessness of America's rivals by harnessing Central Europe to Morgan's chariot wheels. Hence the Paris Conference "to enforce the Dawes' Plan." Despite the funny expostulations of Hughes and Kellogg, the American representatives were more than innocent bystanders in Paris; they were the prime movers.

As Comrade Bittelman says, "the Paris Conference is neither the first one of its kind nor will it be the last one." There will be many more of these conferences and behind them all is the threat of the final arbiter, armed force. Meantime, the decay of Europe goes on.

And American newspapers are still debating whether or not the United States has become "entangled" in Europe's affairs. Find your answer in the following bewildered comment from the Review of Reviews:

"Within 48 hours after the announcement was made that Secretary Hughes would retire from President Coolidge's Cabinet on March 4, this matter was made the subject of keen and earnest discussion everywhere from Lapland to Tasmania. . . It takes an incident like this to help us understand how different, after all, is the post-war world from that of a dozen years ago, and how sensitive all nations and peoples have become to the influence and position of the United States."

Six Years of the Comintern.

WHEN Lenin and his comrades were planning the organization of the Third (Communist) International, the enemies of the world proletariat were planning the formation of the international organization of the bourgeoisie, the

League of Nations. Wilson, Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil were the capitalist engineers. Lenin, Zinoviev, Stalin and their comrades in other countries were laying the foundation for the revolutionary political party that has since then established its leadership of the fighting labor movement in all lands.

Wilson is dead and so is Wilsonism. Smuts is politically dead and lucky if he escapes the hangman. The Honorable Michael McWhite of the Irish Free State is chasing Lord Cecil over Geneva. Nothing is left of the League of Nations but a bursted opium conference. The capitalist pipe dream is about ended. The burglars cannot agree. Their white international is a cat house.

Lenin is dead, but Leninism lives and is today as when he lived, the inspiration and the guide of the Communist International, which during the six years of its existence has organized a Communist Party in almost every country in the world. While the capitalist nations alternate between getting ready to cut each other's throats and holding fake peace conferences, the workers of the world are being mobilized for the final conflict by the Comintern. The Enlarged Executive of the International meets this month in Moscow. It will be the general staff of the revolutionary world proletariat in session.

Japan Comes to Time.

ON January 21, a treaty was signed between Soviet Russia and Japan that put an end to four years of unsuccessful negotiation between the Workers' Republic and the Nippon Empire. The treaty is one of de jure recognition; Japan recognizes Soviet Russia, and Soviet Russia recognizes Japan. In the Dairen conference of 1921, the first between the two powers, Japan assumed an attitude of self-assurance that tempered down with every succeeding conversation: every time she spoke to Russia she was speaking to a stronger power. Meantime, with the break-up of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the temporary drawing of England into the orbit of American influence, Japan felt her position in the East weaker. Japanese imperialism was an enthusiastic signer of the ultimate agreement.

In the pact Japan recognizes the Russian title to the island of Saghalien and agrees to withdraw her troops. For her coal and oil concessions she agrees to pay royalties of from 5 to 45 per cent.

One of the most reactionary publications in England conceded in a recent issue: "Russia has made prodigious strides towards industrial triumph." The economic renaissance of Russia is even more phenomenal than the three-quarter century jump that Japan made from feudalism to capitalism. Russia is resplendent with the freshness of new life. Japan is effete, despite her comparative newness to capitalism. The Soviets are on the up-grade, Japanese imperialism on the down. Four million unemployed; uprisings in Korea; an increasingly rebellious slave-class; imminent imperialist wars; so goes the story of decadent Japan.

Old man Nippon leans wearily on his stick as he walks down the slope. Young Russia walks boldly up the hill with head erect. As they pass each other, they salute. Such is the treaty of January 21, 1925.

The Women's Day.

MARCH eighth is International Women's Day. Throughout the whole world, the message of Communism will be carried to exploited womanhood on that day.

Since the war, the problem of woman in industry has become one to reckon with. Womankind is becoming proletarianized. Capitalism needs more slaves. Children and women make cheap ones. Their entering industry makes possible a larger reserve army of unemployed, an army that capitalism must always have at hand to keep wages down.

Women are not organized. The swords of the mighty fall swiftly on any effort to organize them. The bankrupt officialdom of trade unions looks with annoyed toleration on attempts to unite female slaves for the struggle. But the time for organization has come—and the organizing will be done by women themselves.

Communist women are not fooled by ostrich-plumed "champions" of "women's rights," spokeswomen for suppressed petty bourgeois matrons. Communist women are proletarian women who see and feel the need for rebellion against the exploitation of themselves and their children.

March eighth is the day they have chosen to tell the world about it.

The Carpenters Face Their Leaders

(Continued from page 229).

City and other places, throwing the workers at each other's throats in the interest of the boss.

Now Hutcheson is faced for the first time in his career with a definite left wing opposition, which, in the last election, ran their own candidate, Morris Rosen, upon a program based upon the class struggle against Hutcheson and his class collaboration policy. This was their maiden effort. Hutcheson's wrath against the left wing was intensified because, of votes, he was compelled to count over 9,000 votes for the left wing candidate. The left wing is more than satisfied with this showing.

The election resulted in, more than anything else, the crystallization of the left wing upon a national basis. And they call upon all militants in the carpenters' union to rally to the defense of the organization. The expulsion policy of Hutcheson is an attack upon the union. No member is safe if he can be expelled by telephone, telegraph or letter. The progressive carpenters are determined to carry on the fight against Hutcheson upon a national basis until Hutcheson is removed and a militant leader elected who will lead the workers in the fight against the "open shoppers," on a fighting program based upon the class struggle.

God To Hungry Child

Hungry child,
I didn't make this world for you.
You didn't buy any stock in my railroad.
You didn't invest in my corporation.
Where are your shares in standard oil?
I made the world for the rich
And the will-be-rich
And the have-always-been-rich.
Not for you,
Hungry child.

—Langston Hughes.

The International

FRANCE EVERY day the class struggle in France grows more intense. The deportation of foreign-born radicals, begun nearly two months ago by the fake liberal Herriot government and still continued, reflects fear of the developing power of the workers, as evidenced in the heroic Douarnenez strike, etc. One of the latest victims is Comrade M. N. Roy, leader of the Communist Party of India and an outstanding figure of the Communist International. The congress of the French Communist Party, held at Clichy, outside Paris, from January 18 to 21, shows that the French Party is stronger and more united than ever. Two hundred and thirty-nine delegates were present, of which 224 were manual workers. The Party now has a membership of over 74,000. It is rapidly reorganizing along shop nuclei lines and has now 530 nuclei in the Paris district alone. According to the decision of the congress, the reorganization is to be completed by April 1, 1925. Important decisions of the congress were to intensify the struggle against fascism in France, to carry on increased agitation among the peasantry, to continue the campaign for trade union unity and to proceed with the bolshevization of the Party. The growth of the French debt and the danger of a Dawes Plan for France were also taken up. The election of the new executive committee showed the present leadership has the unanimous support of the party.

ENGLAND THE next annual congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain will be held in Glasgow on April 11, and 13. The Party closes one of the most fruitful periods of its existence, having grown in membership and, to a much greater extent, in influence in the trade union movement. The Party recently addressed a communication to Arthur Henderson, as secretary of the Labor Party, urging that the questions of Communist Party affiliation, election of Communists as Labor candidates, and Communists' eligibility for individual membership be again placed on the agenda at the next Labor Party conference. The Welsh I. L. P. has decided by the narrow vote of 117 to 76 not to support Communist affiliation to the Labor Party. The Communist Party of Great Britain is the backbone of the Minority Movement in the British trade unions.

ITALY MUSSOLINI'S recent grandstand play in the Italian Chamber was a sign of weakness, not of strength. In order to maintain himself in power he has been forced to surrender to the morons and most irresponsible elements among the fascisti—and this speaks certain and swift ruin for the entire fabric he has built up. Mussolini has now associated himself directly with the murderers of Matteotti. The opposition to his bourgeois-hooligan regime is steadily gathering force. Food riots have broken out among the peasants. Suppression of working class newspapers continues. Among the latest to fall under the Mussolini ban is "Sindacato Rosso," trade union organ of the Italian Communist Party.

MEXICO RECOGNIZING that the real capitalist power in Mexico, as everywhere else on the American continent, is the power of Wall Street, the Mexican workers have begun an energetic fight against American imperialism. A branch of the Pan American Anti-Imperialist League has been set up in Mexico, under the inspiration of the Mexican Communist Party, with Ursule Galvan as director. Comrade Galvan, who is known as the peasant leader of Mexico, is at present candidate for the legislature of the state of Vera Cruz. The Pan American Anti-Imperialist League was formed at a meeting of representatives of the Mexican Communist Party and the Workers (Communist) Party of America. It is enlisting in its ranks all workers, peasant and student organizations prepared to take up the struggle against American imperialism.

CHILE WHEN, some months back, the cable informed us that a military coup d'etat had taken place in Chile and a reactionary dictatorship had been established, our first thought was: Will Comrade Recabarren have managed to make his escape? Recabarren, leader of the Communist Party and of the Chilean Federation of Labor, editor of the Party's official daily, fearless spokesman of the workers in the Chamber of Deputies. The answer is now at hand. Recabarren was murdered by the agents of the military dictatorship. Comrade Recabarren was a rare type even among revolutionists. He was an implacable foe of capitalism, a brave and tireless fighter, a fiery agitator, a generous and devoted comrade. He was known to all the workers of Chile, and they will not soon forget him. Altamirano's military rule has been overthrown in its turn. It looks as though a more favorable period has set in for the Chilean workers.

CENTRAL AMERICA FROM the moment that the Pan American Federation of Labor, on the motion of the Nicaraguan delegate, De la Selva, adopted a resolution approving the government of the new President of Nicaragua, we began to suspect that this president was a tool of American imperialism. But we could not expect that his servility to Wall Street and Washington would go even beyond the desire of the United States government in that respect. On January 12, the State Department at Washington acknowledged receipt of a petition from the Nicaraguan government requesting that the 100 American marines now in Nicaragua be not withdrawn. And on January 13 the State Department declared that the marines would be withdrawn in spite of the petition. It is just possible that our State Department may be induced to change its mind. At any rate we are given an unprecedented opportunity to see what kind of Latin American government receives the unanimous approval of the Pan American Federation of Labor. There is no Communist Party in Nicaragua and in fact no real labor movement. The young Communist Party of Guatemala is rapidly recovering from the severe blows dealt it by the Guatemalan government.

The British Conference On World Trade Union Unity

(Continued from page 197).

out the world significance of the re-awakening that is now taking place in the ranks of British Labor. He and the other speakers were tumultuously received by the conference.

Throughout the entire conference the program of the left wing in the trade unions was emphasized: amalgamation, shop committees, organization of the unorganized, etc. And these practical trade unionists had a most effective way of painting these as immediate, burning, bread-and-butter questions. The British workers are dangerously close to the hunger line. With them the labor movement is a deadly serious thing. It would have been a revelation to many American revolutionists to see the extremely business-like manner with which the Britishers went at their problems in the conference. The thing that struck me was the entire absence of sentiment for dual unionism. One delegate, an I. W. W., spoke, and though he may have had secessionist ideas in his mind, he didn't venture to give voice to them in this intensely trade union conference. All he did was to kick against political action, and for this he was sharply attacked by several delegates, to the apparent satisfaction of the whole conference.

A Great Storm Brewing

Undoubtedly most important developments are impending in the British labor movement. The struggle for world unity is of itself tremendously significant. But the British workers are also heading for another big collision with their employers. Serious disputes are brewing among the miners, metal workers, and many other trades. A general feeling of discontent, a vague expectancy of no one knows what, prevails amongst the rank and file. The break will probably develop among the miners. And this time there will be no "Black Friday." This time it will not be up to the treacherous Hodges and Thomas. The powerful and rapidly growing left wing will have a say in the matter. When next the masses of British workers go into struggle, it will not be to face such a terrible debacle as they did in 1921. They will make some real advances.

The Battersea Unity Conference, marking as it does the rapid growth of the left-wing movement, is bound to be a historic gathering. Leaving aside certain important differences needless to outline here, it is roughly comparable to the left-wing conference in Manchester in 1900. That marked a turning point in British labor history. The militant left wing, spurning all plans for dual unionism, there laid the basis of a revolutionary organization in the trade unions and began a vigorous campaign to lead the deeply discontented workers into struggle against the strong and arrogant employers. Consequently they played a tremendous part in the epoch-making strikes of the miners, railroaders, and transport workers in 1911. The moving spirit of the Manchester 1910 conference was Tom Mann, and in Battersea in 1925 he is also a militant and central figure along with

Harry Pollitt, Tom Bell, George Hardy, Nat Watkins, W. Hannington, Jack Tanner, and the others.

Will history repeat itself? Will the Battersea conference be followed by a great series of upheavals as was the Manchester conference? I think so. Militants will do well to follow closely events in England for the next few months.

Another angle of great importance in the British labor situation is the developing struggle for power between the right and left wings. As yet the left wing, because of the sturdy rank and file spirit of independence in the unions, have had comparatively easy sailing of it. They have had no arbitrary expulsions to face, in spite of the fact that the National Minority Movement openly collects dues and per capita tax accepts the affiliation of local unions holds its conferences of regular delegates from unions, and uses other similar methods totally impossible at this time in the "hard-boiled" American labor movement. So far the reactionaries have not dared to begin expulsions. But they will not give up their power without a struggle. They will deal the left wing a heavy blow when they get a chance. And they will feel they have that chance in the coming great strikes, in which the left wing will play a vital part. They engineered one Black Friday, and they will engineer another, an even worse one, if they get an opportunity. But I am not at all pessimistic. If in the face of the renaissance now going on in the ranks of the workers, the Thomases, the Hodges', and the Clynes' try any such traitorous maneuver it will be the end of them and their kind in the British labor movement.

British Labor progresses by fits and starts. First it has a long period of stagnation, followed by a period of intense revolutionary activity in which great gains are made. Its whole history is a series of such periods. And it hangs on tenaciously to what it gains in its active phases. Seldom does it lose much of the hard-won ground. Its general tendency is ever onward and upward. The Battersea conference, taken in connection with many other indications, is an evidence that another period of intense activity is opening. A new period of struggle is beginning and it will be much more significant, more enduring, and produce more far-reaching effects than any that has preceded it. It will produce world-wide repercussions.

The British working class is stripping for action, preparing for battle. Joining hands with the Russians, it is taking its proper place in the vanguard of the toiling millions fighting international capitalism. And, in all likelihood, it will stand there loyally to the end. The British and the Russian workers joining hands! That is the great new alignment of Labor's biggest and best battalions. It is a combination that bodes ill for all exploiters. It surely means the establishment of trade union unity on an international scale, and a great intensification of the class struggle. It is a vital preparation for the final battle to overthrow capitalism and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Communists Take the Lead in Minnesota

(Continued from page 215).

conference plans were laid to call a state convention of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota for March 20. In the past all conventions have been made up of representatives of local

unions and farmers' organizations. This time, however, delegates to the state convention are to be elected at a series of county conventions held throughout the state. **These county conventions may be attended by any one who supports the Farmer-Labor Party.** The contact with the workers' organizations and the organizations of dirt farmers is being cut off entirely. At the coming convention the Farmer-Labor Federation, which is the nearest thing to class organization in side the ranks of the Farmer-Labor Party, will be liquidated. Mahoney, who a year ago, was looked upon as a progressive is the leader behind this move.

The call to the convention concludes as follows:

"No members of the Workers (Communist) Party will be admitted to this unity conference March 20th."

Thus it can be readily seen that the journey to the right has been completed. Both the reactionaries and the so-called progressives are ready to scrap the Farmer-Labor Party, to give up all militant action in the trade union movement, to come out as open defenders of capitalism and the capitalist government.

The Communists are utilizing this situation by going to the rank and file exposing the treachery of these leaders. One mass meeting has been held in Minneapolis, attended entirely by trade unionists, at which our complete program was examined. Today it is safe to say that one-third of the rank and file workers in the labor movement in both St. Paul and Minneapolis are consciously following the lead of the Workers (Communist) Party. It may be that we will be eliminated in the central bodies of the American Federation of Labor; it may be that ultimately we will even be eliminated from local unions. But the campaign of persecution and expulsions followed here has reacted to our benefit and have strengthened our influence over the workers.

Negroes in American Industry

(Continued from page 208).

The percentage of Negro workers in non-manufacturing industries for the same year was as follows (the industries given below have always employed a larger percentage of Negroes than the industrial enterprises proper):

Hotels—53 per cent.

Laundries—44 per cent.

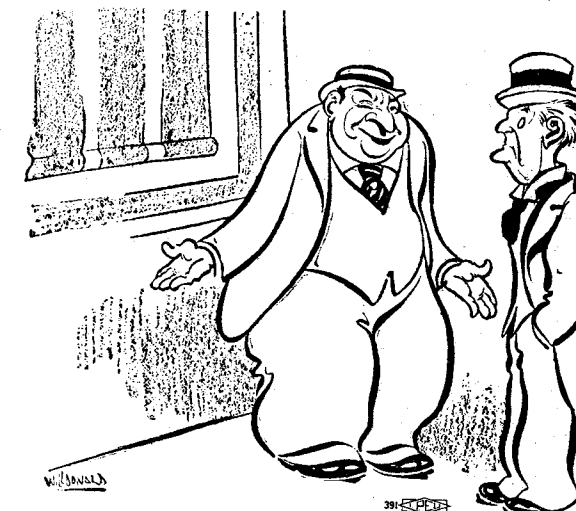
Mail order merchandise houses—8 per cent.

Railway sleeping and dining car service—68 per cent.

Miscellaneous (public service, warehouses, taxicabs, telegraph companies, etc.)—6 per cent.

A tabulation of the above percentages shows that in Chicago manufacturing industries in 1920 there was an average of 16 per cent of the working forces who were Negroes, with the quota rising to 23 per cent in the non-manufacturing industries.

According to the figures compiled by the Chicago Committee on Race Relations, the Negro population of Chicago increased from 44,103 in 1910 to 109,594 in 1920—an approximate increase of 250 per cent. The number of Negro workers increased from 27,000 in 1910 to about 70,000 in 1920. The increase in the percentage of Negro workers to Negro population in 1920 as compared with 1910 is undoubtedly due to the influx of Negro workers without families and consequently better able to leave the south.



YOU SAY YOUR CUSTOMERS GAVE YOU A BIRTHDAY PRESENT?

SURE. I HAD A COLLECTION BOX IN THE STORE MARKED "FOR THE BLIND"—AND THERE'S THE BLIND.

Migration North

Chicago is the heart of industrial America and from these figures we can gain a good idea of the magnitude of the problem created for the Negro himself—the labor movement and the Workers (Communist) Party by a social phenomenon which is well expressed in statistics showing that already in 1920 about 20 per cent of the workers in Chicago, the greatest industrial center in America, were Negroes.

The influx of Negro workers did not cease in 1920. It continued thru 1921-22-23, and figures made public by the southern state governments show that in this period more than 500,000 Negroes took their scanty belongings and left the southern exploiters to sulk in helpless rage. The Negro has at last found a way to avenge himself on his southern persecutors.

In 1924 the number of Negroes "goin' No'th" decreased due to the demand for agricultural labor in the south, where several million acres had reverted to the jungle because of the scarcity of labor.

The figures on lynching of Negroes in the south for 1924 speak volumes—they show a decrease of fifty per cent with a total of "only 19" Negroes done to death; horrible enough, but eloquent in that they show the increased safety of life and improved treatment in the drop from the 1923 total of 38 as a result of the withdrawal by the Negroes of their labor.

Most of the Negroes are in the north to stay and it is not necessary that the migration continue in a flood to bring the problem of the Negro in industry to the attention of the American workingclass. "The iron march of historical development" has already placed it on the order of business.

The unions of the industrial north and of southern states like Tennessee, North Carolina and Georgia that are rapidly becoming industrialized, can no longer shut their eyes and presume that only in isolated instances will they be called upon to make a decision. One-fifth of the American industrial workers now have black skins. They are in industry and are going to stay there.

(Another article by Comrade Dunne on the Negro question will appear next month.)

ADOLPH DEHN IS NOT GEORGE GROSZ.

By one of those inexplicable accidents of office and proof-room, the name of Adolph Dehn appeared beneath a drawing of George Grosz in the January WORKERS MONTHLY. We apologize to both artists for the slip-up, the seriousness of which we quite recognize.

Committee for International Workers Aid, National Office, 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago

30285	Bishop & Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, GaGlion, Ohio.....	50.00	30374	Ladies Auxiliary Br. No. 353, Duluth, Minn.....	2.00
30286	Jim Strukoff, Wheeling, Pa.....	6.50	30375	L. Zaks, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1.00
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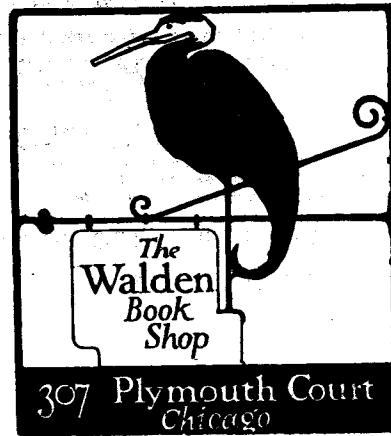
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