

FAIRY TALES FOR WORKERS CHILDREN

By Herminia Zur Mühlen

Translation
by
Ida Dailles



Color Plates and
Cover Designs
by Lydia Gibson

75 Cents
Duroflex
Cover

\$1.25
Cloth
Bound

The first book of its kind ever issued in this country. A beautiful work of not only high literary value, but also one that will instill into the boy or girl a real feeling for the working class—and draw them into the ranks of the workers of the future. Grown-ups will enjoy this book that children will treasure.

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

"The Source of All Communist Literature"

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD.

CHICAGO, ILL.

The WORKERS MONTHLY

ANTI-IMPERIALIST NUMBER



JULY 1925

25CENTS



THERE are forces at work today that are slowly but surely driving the American workers to a search for knowledge.

The development of capitalism, bringing with it industrial slavery and a deeper and more distinct division of classes in society—

Has also shown to the workers the necessity for organization, theoretical knowledge and the will to power.

So that every worker can better understand the system we live under and the forces behind it—and play a part in the ranks of the advanced section of workers who will lead their class to power—

The growing Communist movement in this country has developed a great source of education.

From “the source of all Communist literature” in this country, the thinking worker can secure a daily newspaper, a monthly magazine—and books and pamphlets written by the great revolutionary leaders, historians and teachers of the past, and the best works of labor’s thinkers and leaders of today.

All these books are included in the catalogue which will gladly be sent to you without charge on request from

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

“The Source of All Communist Literature”

1113 W. Washington Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

Science Has Conquered At last **Pyorrhoea**

Write for
Free Booklet
on Pyorrhoea
and Pyradium

—that insidious Disease of the Gums, which not only makes the mouth Horribly Repulsive, Loosens and Destroys the Teeth, but which Medical Authorities now say, “is the source of dangerous internal poisoning as well, often resulting in Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Brights Disease, Intestinal Troubles and other afflictions.”

WITH A FORMULA NAMED Contains Genuine **Pyradium** Radium

—a newly Discovered Preparation, used as a Mouth Wash, compounded by an eminent Chemist, specializing in RADIUM Researches, combining with several other proven Healing, Antiseptic and Germicidal agents, the most Novel and Powerful of them all,

RADIUM that marvelous and wonderful element, discovered and isolated by MADAME CURIE, the renowned French Chemist, a quarter of a century ago—a discovery that upset many a theory and revolutionized accepted conceptions of Physics and Chemistry—an element that is winning victory in the healing world, now questioning the Medical Fetish, “PYORRHEA CAN’T BE CURED,” a fact that is testified to by many former sufferers from this dreadful Infection of the Mouth.

PYRADIMUM
Quickly
Relieves
All Infections
of the Mouth!

PYRADIMUM is sold under an ABSOLUTE GOLD BOND GUARANTEE: if it does not eradicate Diseased Gum Conditions, Kill the Pyorrhoea Germs, Heal the Gums and Save the Teeth, the Money will be Cheerfully Refunded without Hesitation or quibble.

Price \$2.50 for a four ounce bottle.

Sent C. O. D. upon request, otherwise send money order.

COMPOUNDED BY

RADIUM REMEDIES COMPANY

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, U. S. A.

Sexton Building

Cor. 6th Ave. and 7th St.



World Empire.

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

A Combination of the Labor Herald, Liberator, and Soviet Russia Pictorial

Published monthly at 1113 W. Washington Blvd. Subscription price \$2.00 per year. The Daily Worker Society, Publishers. Entered as Second Class Matter November 3, 1924, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. IV.

JULY, 1925

No. 9

China and the Imperialist Struggle

By Max Shachtman

THE rush of four imperialist powers to intervene in the strike of the Chinese workers in Shanghai, important as it is, must be considered as an incident in one of the most complicated imperialist struggles that have yet led to the making and breaking of alliances, diplomatic trickery, invasion, civil and imperialist wars, that may well characterize the conflicts in the Orient and the Pacific as a Chinese puzzle. This desperate action of a few hundred workers in a Japanese-owned cotton mill is stirring the muddied waters of the rivalry of nations in the drive to transform China into a financial colony.

The heart of the trouble lies in two primary factors: the struggles between Japan, the United States and Great Britain for the control of China's resources; and the national revolutionary aspirations of the Chinese people, most clearly crystallized by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, which draws its moral support from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Whose Colony Shall China Be?

From the time of Japan's sharp break with the feudal past, in 1871, she has made astounding strides towards development as an imperialist power. A twenty-seven-fold multiplication of foreign commerce in thirty-six years is only one indication. China's forced cession of Port Arthur, Formosa and the Pescadores, together with the virtual handing of the independence of Korea to Japan after the war of 1894; the alliance with Great Britain against Russia in 1902 which followed by the disastrous Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, established Nippon as a recognized aggressive power, having at its command all the European tricks of the imperialist trade.

Her road to power was smoothed by the calm annexation of Kiau Chow and the province of Shantung, as well as the Pacific islands belonging to Germany at the outbreak of the world war; the occupation of Manchuria without the formality of reply to China's helpless protests; and then, with a dash of salt to the wound, the presentation of the 21-point demand to China, coolly requesting the latter to subjugate itself to the superior Kultur of the Japanese, a demand which was never accepted but practically granted in the treaty of May, 1915, when Japan was given all she wanted in Shantung, South Manchuria, and Eastern Inner Mongolia, with but a few heavy loans being loaded on to the Chinese at eight per cent interest.



ON THE ROAD NEAR CANTON. CHINESE TURNING THEIR BACKS FROM THE REPORTER'S CAMERA.

Up to that time, relatively little opposition was encountered by Japan in its whirlwind campaign of penetration and control of its neighbor; in fact, it succeeded in dealing a telling blow to the Russian bear and securing an alliance with the powerful British lion. It seemed that her control of China would remain as unchallenged as that of Britain over India. But there were hard pebbles in the rice, as it were.

France was in control of Indo-China; Britain, alliance or no alliance, had Upper Burma and a protectorate over Tibet; Russia was moving in again through Manchuria; and the successive acquisitions of the Philippine, Hawaiian, and Guam islands by the United States, above all, presented Japan with serious difficulties.

In order to be a serious factor in world imperialism, Japan's heart must lie in China. The island is a poor one: largely unfit for agriculture because of its mountainous character, and a meager supply of mineral resources of coal and iron ore makes her dependent for foodstuffs, heavy industry, transportation, and war equipment material on China. Without it she is lost. With it she has control of coal which forms one-quarter of the world's reserves, huge iron ore, antimony, tin, lead and oil supplies, rice and raw cotton, and a superabundance of cheap labor.

But the American eagle flies swiftly to land with such potentialities. Represented first by missionaries, book in one hand and Standard Oil can in the other, then by financial consortiums, and finally by a steady flow of unemployed American capital which finds lucrative positions in all the enterprises which China has to offer the foreigner, American imperialist finance-capital has established itself as the chief rival for hegemony over China to Japan. And with the development of time the rivalry has become sharpened, intensified, and has finally assumed a belligerent form. In one shape or another, the conflicts that arise almost daily in China can be traced to the antagonisms between Japanese, American and British capital.

Chinese Servants of Imperialism.

The outbreak in October, 1924, ostensibly between the two generals, Wu Pei Fu and Tchang Tso Lin, was actually a struggle between the United States and Britain on the one side and Japan on the other. The victory of Tchang Tso Lin was the defeat of America and England. But the Japanese, who had lost their alliance with the British through the growth of conflicting interests, continued the consolidation of their forces in China.

Both Wu and Tchang are now under Japanese direction. Millions of Chinese dollars have been spent by Japan to strengthen Tchang's forces, Wu has as his chief adviser a Japanese lieutenant colonel, and every other possible ally has been scraped together from such elements as Chi Schu Yuan and General Lu who was driven out of Shanghai last October.

America is not behindhand. One of the most powerful leaders in China to day, Feng Yu Hsing, is the servant of Yankee imperialism. Indebted to them in many ways, Feng has spiritual connections by reason of his conversion to christianity by American missionaries. But Feng is not the



KARAKHAN, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO CHINA.

ideal servant, unfortunately for the designs of the United States. A man of independent tendencies, strong native support, and the record of having driven the Chinese emperor from his palace, is not so easily held in leash. Especially in view of the unavoidable temporary weakening of the Kuomintang party by the death of the unifying influence, Sun Yat Sen, Feng has bigger things in mind than acting as military waiting maid to American bankers and entrepreneurs. So Feng is looking even to Soviet Russia as a possible ally in a struggle against Japanese imperialism, which may eventually become a struggle against America.

This is what is worrying Wall Street, and Washington. Inspired reports are appearing in the press concerning the official admission from Washington that the situation is "grave." Feng is being charged with receiving military and financial aid from the Soviet government—a sufficient taint of odium to indicate the weakening relations between America and its closest supporter.

With no absolutely reliable agent of any power in China, America is obliged to enter more directly into the struggle for the domination of the country. The orientation of America's imperialist diplomacy to the Orient, is reflected by the naval maneuvers around Hawaii, in the strengthening of the Pearl Harbor naval base, and the talk of fortifying Guam, which would make America impregnable in the Pacific, despite the renewed efforts of Britain under Baldwin to build the Singapore naval base, and the control of a good part of the Chinese coast by Japan and her possessions. The presence in the Pacific of the greatest fleet America has yet displayed in one sea, at this moment when anti-Japanese feeling has been inflamed in America to a high degree, is a covert declaration of war against Nippon and a statement of exclusive rights in the exploitation of China.

The first manifestation of America's new anxious aggressiveness was the swiftness with which marines were landed

at Shanghai as soon as the slightest excuse offered itself. The brazen invasion of Chinese soil, with barely the apology of extra-territoriality, is significant of the factors which are driving ahead towards a new war, this time in the Orient. The real obstacle in the way of complete subjugation of this tremendously rich country is the growing consciousness of the workers and the peasants. Under the leadership of the Kuomintang party, with its national revolutionary program, and looking towards Soviet Russia as a genuinely warm ally which has no imperialist intentions, there is every reason to believe that war or no war, the penetration tactics of American, British and Japanese finance capital will eventually be frustrated. In the close alliance between the revolutionary workers of the world and the striving people of China lies the security against the spread of imperialism, the impoverishment of the working class at home, and the turning of the world again into a shambles.



CHINESE WORKER TO EXPLOITERS "IF YOU DON'T LIKE THIS COUNTRY WHY THE HELL DON'T YOU GO BACK WHERE YOU CAME FROM?"

The Economical "Defense Test"

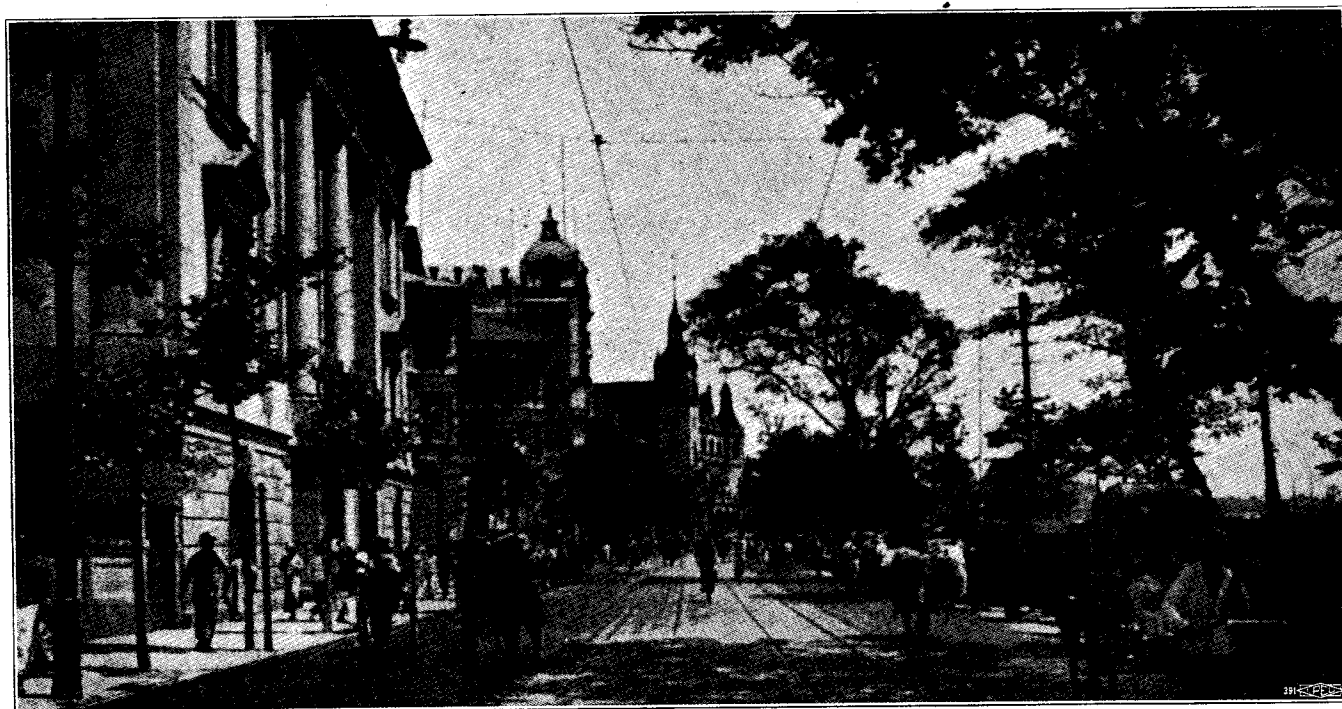
THE week of June 20th to July 4th is ANTI-IMPERIALIST WEEK throughout the Americas. It is to be a week of mass protest against the universal menace of American imperialism.

Meantime, Wall Street and Washington have selected this very period for a renewed dedication to the purposes of imperialism. That is the essential meaning of the nationwide mobilization arranged for July 4th which President Coolidge has given the ingenious name of "Defense Test." Militarism is to display itself on ostentatious parade. All its available resources are to be taken stock of. National Guardsmen are to take a day off from strike-breaking and

demonstrate their readiness for the next imperialist war. Men, women and even school children are to be mobilized.

Not the least important of the forces to be mobilized are the avenues of capitalist education. Newspapers, schools and churches will be expected to pour forth their poison of imperialism (under the guise of "national defense") in unprecedented volume. Every possible effort is to be made to break down the natural opposition of the workers and to whip them into line by bewildering them with an undigestible mass of propaganda. That is what capitalist education is for. The ruling class pays well for it.

It is interesting to recall President Coolidge's letter to the Acting Secretary of War regarding the date to be selected for the "Defense Test."



A STREET SCENE IN THE FOREIGN QUARTER OF SHANGHAI.

"I have no objection to the holding of this test this year, but I do not approve of your proposal that it be held on Armistice Day. If you consider it desirable to hold the defense test this year, I would suggest July 4th as being a more appropriate date."

Why not Armistice Day, and why July 4th? In the first place because Armistice Day is too closely associated in the minds of the workers with the horrors and sacrifices of the last "war to end war" to make them very enthusiastic about the next war. July 4th, on the other hand, is thought to be particularly suitable to imperialistic perversion because of the sentimental appeal that can be worked up.

But there is another reason—the determining one. July 4th is a "National Holiday" and Armistice Day is not. Factories and business houses are closed on July 4th but not on Armistice Day. The last "Defense Test," held on November 11th of last year, interfered too much with business. Mobilization is all right, but it shouldn't disturb business. Efficiency in all things!

When Armistice Day was again suggested for this year's mobilization (mobilization has now become an annual thing, you see), there was a storm of protest. Resolutions were passed by business men's associations and by rotary clubs. Some of them suggested that the "Defense Test" be held on a Sunday. One bright genius thought of the Fourth of July. Whereupon President Coolidge, economical in all things, sent his inspired little letter to the Acting Secretary of War.

So the needs of imperialistic aggression are reconciled with the needs of uninterrupted exploitation at home. Nothing is to be lost except the usual July 4th outings of tired workers into the country. And that doesn't cost anything.

Why Not Burn Some Witches?

THE trouble with the fundamentalists is that they are too crude. What they ought to have done is to pervert the theory of evolution, to divorce it from the conception of materialism, to confine it within the safe bounds of biological study, to isolate it from its obvious implications for the development of human society—in accordance with the more advanced bourgeois educational method. It was a mistake to deny evolution entirely. That puts capitalist science in altogether too ludicrous a position.

By abandoning all common sense and putting John T. Scopes on trial for teaching the mildly subversive doctrine of evolution—with a staunch affirmation of god and religion thrown in for security—the elders of Tennessee have suddenly exposed all the tawdryness and rotten hypocrisy of bourgeois "culture." Tennessee is fearful of progress. It is a center of reaction in all things, the root of which lies in the conditions of economic, political and ideological slavery in which the workers in the backward sections are forced to live. The Wise Men who make the laws for the state have merely taken the method of taboo which prevails everywhere where there is a ruling class and adapted it to their Seventeenth Century milieu.

There is only one thing missing from the trial, and we hope that Tarzan Jennings Bryan who has hurried from the jungles of Florida real estate to sally forth to battle against the Forces of Light, will suggest it before the news of the

trial is relegated to the back page. If Scopes is convicted, he should not only receive the ordinary "civilized" penalty, but should also get the ducking stool. And to celebrate the victory of Fundamentalism over science, a genuine witch should be caught and broiled to a turn.

The more sophisticated gentry in the advanced centers of capitalism are loud in condemnation of the Tennessee heresy hunting episode. Conservative senators and newspaper editors, who have never raised a finger for liberty where it actually counted, rush to the easy defense of a cause which has long ago been won, and subordinated after its victory. The "liberal" weeklies declare that the Scopes trial is the most important challenge to American progressivism in many years.

When the reason for these mock heroics is analyzed it reveals our "liberal" friends of the New Republic and the Nation as vulgar apologists of capitalism. The militant friends of Mr. Scopes nowhere show the connection between heresy hunting in Tennessee and the more urbane heresy hunting indulged in day in and day out throughout the United States. Their one complaint is that Tennessee is too crude. Fundamentalism in Tennessee has the dangerous tendency of popularizing the notion that the capitalist order is afraid of science. And that is something the friends of capitalism can't afford to allow. It is too close to the truth.

Warren S. Stone

AMONG those who will not mourn the death of Warren S. Stone, late head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, we are certain to find the coal miners of West Virginia, where the Engineers' Union ran a scab mine, a situation which gave rise to a tragically humorous exchange of letters between the president of the United Mine Workers of America, John L. Lewis, and this very same Stone. The head of one of the most powerful trade union units in the United States found himself in the interesting position of, typically bosslike, defending the rights of Americans to decline to deal with workers collectively through trade union organization. Lewis, who had a few Coolidge chestnuts to burn in the heat of the controversy with the LaFolletteite Stone, rage through a number of letters and after the election completely forgot the issue.

This situation was typical. Composed of the very uppermost layer of American labor, the Locomotive Engineers' Union ran smoothly along the rut of class harmony which Stone ploughed quite thoroughly. Huge banks, impressive buildings, lukewarm adventures in "progressive" politics, investments in petty enterprises on an "open-shop" basis, disassociation from the rest of the labor movement—that was the work of Stone during the time he directed a minor spout of the profits of imperialism to the pursed lips of his aristocratic labor union.

In one respect or another, the late and unlamented Samuel Gompers can be said to have been radically tinged as compared with the still less lamented Warren S. Stone. His headstone should be set up by the National City Bank and bear the prominent legend: "He was a meek and willing servant."

The New America: The American Empire

—By Jay Lovestone



An Imperialist Giant.

American imperialism now holds political sway over an area of 150 thousand square miles and more than ten million people in Central America and in the Caribbean regions. In the Pacific the flag of Wall Street waves proudly over an island empire of more than 125 thousand square miles populated by more than thirteen millions.

The territories of England, France and Belgium must be combined to be equivalent to this imperial colonial domain.

America is the leading world power of capitalism. Imperialist America is today not a country—gigantic as the stretch of land the United States and Alaska proper occupy—but a continent. Not a continent, not two continents, but a world. The United States is today the most self-supporting capitalist power. The Yankee imperialists have unexcelled harbors on two oceans and dominate the railways spanning two continents.

In his "American History and Its Geographical Conditions," Mr. Semple has well characterized this magnificent advantage enjoyed by our ruling class when he declared: "The most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States has been their location on the Atlantic opposite Europe; the most important geographical fact in lending a distinctive character to their future history will probably be their location on the Pacific opposite Asia."

Many have declared that the World War has made the United States the dominant imperialist power. This is at best a half-truth. Sooner rather than later America was bound to become the dominant force in the arena of imperialist politics. The almost unlimited resources over a vast stretch of contiguous land, the highly developed technique of the exploitation of these resources, the strategic geographic location—these have been only among the outstanding factors making for the rise of America as the greatest capitalist national group. The World War only hastened this process of development. The World War with its years of destruction and self-improvement of the European capitalist competitors of America and with its period of intensified, stimulated industrial development in the United States only brought nearer the inevitable supremacy of American imperialism.

America's Vast Resources.

At the opening of the convention of the American Bankers' Association about thirty years ago, its president uttered the following historically accurate forecast of the development of the American imperialist domain. He said: "We now hold three of the winning cards in the game for commercial greatness—iron, steel and coal. We have long been the granary of the world, we now aspire to be its workshop;

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, the spokesman of America's biggest bourgeoisie, has proclaimed this July Fourth, 1925, as Muster Day. On this day of the birth of the national independence of Yankee capitalism, our ruling class will muster its military, naval and economic forces as a demonstration to the world of its prowess and its lust for imperialist conquest.

It is no accident that Wall Street has chosen this day for flinging its political fist and flaunting its industrial resources into the face of the rest of the nations. The choice of July Fourth as the day for an ostentatious display of American imperialist power is the logical historical consequence of a series of politico-economic events of the first magnitude.

The American bourgeoisie are no longer struggling to secure, or maintain, or even strengthen their own national independence. To the capitalists of the United States July Fourth is no longer symbolic of the achievement of their national freedom from Great Britain. In the theater of international politics July Fourth now symbolizes the gravest menace of American imperialism to the national independence of many peoples and to the struggle of the international proletariat for working-class freedom.

Introducing America.

The growth of American capitalism from a struggling handful of British colonies into the dominating imperialist world power can be traced in three principal stages of economic development.

From 1763 to 1815 American capitalism was struggling for the right to be born, as it were, as a distinct, independent national group.

From 1815 to 1893 American capitalists consolidated their ranks as a ruling class and centralized their control of the means of production and exchange. It was in this period that the foundation was laid for the establishment of a highly centralized form of government and the exploitation of the resources of the country on a more intense and vast scale than had hitherto been known.

The year 1893 ushered in the third—the present—the imperialist stage of American capitalism—the final stage of Yankee capitalism. Today our exploiters talk of "spheres of influence," of the "open door" in the Far East and of the "supremacy of the Pacific."

Actually America made its debut on the imperialist stage in 1898 with the successful conclusion of the Spanish war. Immediately thereafter American capitalists turned the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean into a sixth Great American Lake. Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii soon fell into the clutches of the American eagle. Since then the United States has been accelerating the pace of its imperialist development and aggression.

then we want to be its clearing house." All of these wants have since left the realm of desire and have become realities. An examination of the control of natural resources by the Yankee imperialists discloses that:

America controls more than half the world's monetary gold; no less than 43 per cent of the world's output of coal; 54 per cent of the iron and 64 per cent of the steel; nearly 73 per cent of the world's petroleum; about 50 per cent of its copper; 52 per cent of the world's timber, almost 70 per cent of the cotton produced; more than 40 per cent of the shoes manufactured and well over 90 per cent of the world's automobiles. More than half the world's railway mileage is found within American boundaries. Three out of every four telephones in the world are found in the United States.

And the American workers are the most efficient in the world, running the best organized and highest developed apparatus of production and exchange in the world.

Militarism Flourishing—Navalism Expanding.

Our bourgeoisie have two tasks to accomplish in order to maintain and strengthen their present imperialist position:

1. They must maintain a huge enough military machine and a sufficiently powerful naval armada to keep secure their present capitalist empire, their spheres of influence and investment areas.

2. The American bourgeoisie must be able to mobilize at a moment's notice adequate legalized force and violence to crush any opposition at home to their imperialist ventures.

Consequently the cost of American imperialist national defense has more than doubled in the last decade. The American army has risen from a little over 200,000 to nearly 400,000 in this period. At the same time the number of citizens receiving military training has more than doubled, having risen from 243, 865 to 504,010.

Through the national defense act of 1920 all of America's military subdivisions have been unified and centralized. The basis has been laid for a grand national army. The Assistant Chief of Staff has boasted that this scheme "will provide a force of about three million men." More than three million dollars were spent by the United States government on schools and colleges for the purpose of training an officers' reserve corps and building up a powerful military caste.

More than that. In modern warfare a swift and effective mobilization of the industrial resources is essential to and an integral part of the scheme of national capitalist defense or offense. The success of such mobilization is the purpose of Coolidge's DEFENSE DAY and MUSTER DAY. Last year



A GROUP OF ARTILLERYMEN IN BRAZIL.

Looking over the group one can easily single out two or three American officers from among them.

more than sixteen millions participated in one way or another in the Defense Day rehearsals. There were held, then, more than 6,500 local demonstrations throughout the country. Nearly 93,000 officers and men of the regular army and more than one hundred and sixty-seven thousand men of the National Guard and approximately sixty thousand of the organized reserves took part in the 1924 Defense Day maneuvers. This year, MUSTER DAY, promises to equal, at least in magnitude and display, the military power and pomp of the preceding year.

But American imperialist, that is foreign, policy today rests on the navy. The United States navy is the very cornerstone of American diplomacy. Washington heartily espouses the doctrine of the noted naval critic, Admiral Mahan,



FILIPINO LEADER.

Manuel Quezon, President of Filipino Senate and Head of Independence Party in the Islands.

who once declared that: "He who controls the seas, controls the world." As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt has put it bluntly, but clearly, by saying: "Behind all the pronouncements of our State Department rests the power of our navy. It is the navy that turns these pronouncements from simply unsupported statements into matters that must be given the gravest consideration by all nations."

The American naval fever now rages around submarines, fast cruisers, and sea-planes. More than three billion dollars are today invested in the American navy.

Last year American naval maneuvers were held in the Caribbean. This year they were held in the Pacific. Next year, when the Dawes Plan will begin to strike its unavoidable numerous snags, the American naval maneuvers will very likely be held far out in the Atlantic.

It is also the aim of the American imperialists, in the words of Coolidge, "to keep abreast of other nations" in military and naval aviation. Hence the United States already has an aerial armada with a personnel of more than thirteen thousand men.

The American Imperialist Octopus.

The world, with the exception of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, is virtually in bondage to American imperialism. Great Britain which but yesterday was at the top of the world financially, must pay scores of millions of dollars

annually to our bourgeoisie until 1984. In the last year alone, American capitalists increased their foreign holdings by almost a billion and a quarter dollars.

Within the last decade, the Yankee bourgeoisie have increased their foreign investments by more than seven billion dollars. Before the war the American capitalists' foreign holdings totalled a maximum of two billion dollars. This sum was far greater than the European capitalists had invested, at that time, in the United States. The imprint of the American dollar has been etched on the coat of arms of nearly every government in the world. The total loans of our private bankers abroad now amounts to approximately ten billion dollars. Inclusive of the United States government loans to foreign states, American imperialist investments have reached the dizzy heights of roughly, twenty billion dollars.

There are now invested about two and one-half billion American dollars in Canada.

Latin America owes the Yankee ruling class more than four billion dollars.

Europe is in bondage to our bourgeoisie to the extent of at least two billion dollars. The Dawes Plan has opened the floodgates of American investments in Europe. The United States and Great Britain are now in fierce competition with each other for securing the dominant hold on what was once the splendid German industrial machine and resources. American bankers are privately financing Norwegian nitrogen companies, Italian water-power concerns and French railways. American corporations are buying heavily into European industries. The Aluminum Company of America, controlled by the Secretary of the United States Treasury, Mr. Mellon, owns one-third of the capital stock, five million kroner, of the Norwegian Nitrogen Company. The Westinghouse Company is likewise making appreciable investments in Norwegian corporations engaged in the manufacture of telephone equipment. The contract for the recent thirty-five million dollar loan by the Standard Oil interests to Poland, "bore the unusual feature. . . that in the event that any interruption of the service of the loan occur, a representative of the bondholders may administer the railroads in their interest."

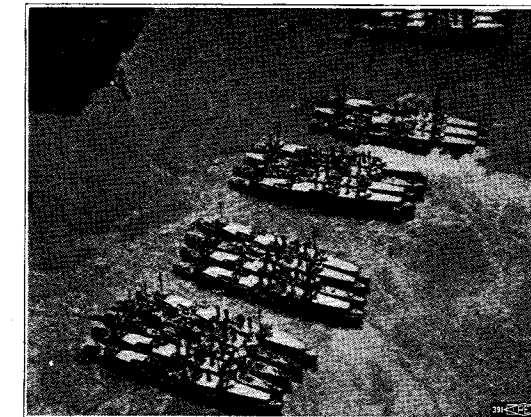
Asia and Africa are paying interest to the Wall Street kingpins on the ever-growing sum which has already reached a figure in the neighborhood of one billion dollars. American capitalists are today maneuvering and manipulating to secure control of the Japanese concession in China—the South Manchurian Railway, and the Fushun Colliery Territory. Wall Street has its heart set on ending the British control of the Kailan mining administration in Chihli—the largest coal producer in China.

Enter—The Financial Dictator.

The tentacles of the American imperialist octopus have been fastened on nearly every section of the earth. The sun never sets on the American flag because the sun never sets on the American dollar whose eagle's claws have been sunk into almost every country.

By means of a swarm of so-called unofficial observers, American imperialism is playing the decisive hand on the international political chessboard of capitalism.

A Boston corporation lawyer, Jeremiah W. Smith, is today the financial dictator of Hungary.



UNITED STATES DESTROYER DIVISIONS 10, 11, 15 AND 17 AT ANCHOR OFF PANAMA.

A New York banker, Gates W. McGarrah, and a New York corporation tool, S. Parker Gilbert, Jr., are the real rulers of Germany at this writing.

There is an American financial overseer for Persia; a tax and custom collector in Bolivia, Haiti, Salvador and Nicaragua. A former comptroller of the United States Treasury is today financial "advisor" to Panama. The Yankee imperialist agent, Mr. John S. Hord, is today serving as "fiscal" expert for Equador. American bankers have dictated Secretary of State Kellogg's last arrogant note threatening the most elementary rights of sovereignty of the Mexican people.

Wall Street's Winning Ways.

This all-powerful imperialist edifice rests on force and violence—against the weaker, the colonial peoples abroad, and the working class at home.

In a single year ending June 30, 1923, the United States National Guard served on the battlefield against striking workers in 21 states. The coal miners, the textile and railway workers, were the hardest hit by the legalized force and violence employed by the bosses to help them lower wages, smash unions, and raise the profits.

We are indebted to Admiral R. E. Coontz, Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, for the following frank characterization of the mission of the United States Navy: "Naval forces are maintained throughout the Caribbean Sea for the purpose of keeping down revolutions, protecting life and protecting commerce."

In the Near East the United States Navy is protecting the American tobacco interests. In the Far East the American Marines and destroyers are protecting Standard Oil and other American capitalist property at Hsingho at the cost of several million dollars annually.

Yankee marines have won their spurs as international strike-breakers. The Union of Banana Plantation Workers at Ceiba, Honduras, owe their broken strike and the resulting sixteen-hour day to the strike-breaking prowess of the marines from the United States battleship Galveston.

Judge George Washington Williams of Baltimore, is filling the Virgin Islanders with American democracy at the point of cold steel and by means of pouring into them hot lead.

The notorious sugar baron, United States Governor General Farrington, is guilty of massacring and hounding tens of thousands of Filipino sugar workers in Hawaii.

In South America national hatreds, jealousies, rivalries and bloody puppet governments are fostered and maintained by the agents of Yankee imperialism.

And in Europe the white terrorists and fascists exist and flourish in many instances through the grace of the almighty dollar.

America's New Role.

This is the American Empire. America is not only the pantry, the manufacturer and the banker of the world. The United States is also the policeman of world politics.

American imperialism today holds in the hollow of its palm the fate of many capitalist governments. The dollar is today the basis of international capitalist exchange. The dollar has today veto power over the basic legislation of nearly every country where capitalism is supreme. The currency of every capitalist country rolls and rings in the line and to the tune of the Yankee Eagle.

The Federal Reserve of the United States is now the Federal Reserve bank of the world. Last year one of America's leading bankers declared: "We must look upon our gold as the reserve not only of the United States, but virtually the whole world." There is more truth than rhetoric in this boast and threat.

It was an American hundred-million-dollar loan that stabilized—temporarily at least—the franc last year. It was the Dawes' loan that gave German capitalism another lease on life. It was the recent fifty-million-dollar loan to Italy that saved the political neck of fascism and the financial legs of the lira. And it took the establishment of a \$300,000,000 credit fund to put Great Britain back on the gold standard.

What Is Ahead?

The American Empire presents us with a youthful, vigorous and growing imperialism.

The monopolists and financiers dominate every walk of our economic and political life. The export of American

finance-capital is today the thread running through the industrial, financial and political developments of nearly every capitalist country. The American trusts are vanquishing the trusts of the other national capitalist groups in every market, on every stock exchange, in every trade lane of the world.

Nor have the territorial boundaries of the American Empire been finally settled. The greatest capitalist countries have already divided the territory of the entire earth. But the American imperialists are now quietly laying their plans to challenge and change many of these boundaries.

The class struggle in the United States has thus been internationalized.

Imperialism has produced a further new condition for the class struggle in America. The ability of our capitalists to maintain high monopolistic profits affords them an opportunity, an economic possibility, to win away certain sections of the working class from the ranks of the proletarian struggles, and win these workers over to the virtual role of defenders of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist order. That explains the highly opportunistic character of our labor movement, the great influence and power of our bourgeoisified strata of the working class, the labor aristocracy. This opportunism has infiltrated the masses and manifests itself in countless ways in the activities of nearly every section of our working class.

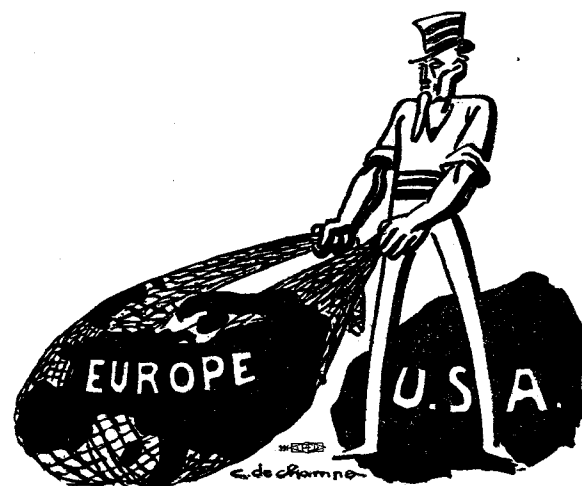
Since it is clear that only a highly centralized mass Communist Party, functioning as a strictly disciplined organic unit of a powerful International Communist Party, the Communist International, can unify the ranks and give leadership to the masses of our workers, it is obvious that only such a party of the proletariat can challenge effectively and finally overthrow the American imperialist empire.

The new America—the American imperialist empire—affords a new basis for our class struggle. We are today fighting the class war in a new economic and political milieu. It is only a mass Communist Party, rousing and mobilizing the workers for effective political struggles on the basis of the program of the Communist International, that can end the American bourgeois dictatorship and bring about the establishment of a genuine proletarian democracy by the working class.

As It Looks From Over There!

"What with Dawes Plan, Hurley Plan, Austrian Receivership, Belgian Consortium, etc., etc., etc. . ."

C. DE CHAMPS IN L'HUMANITE.



The Negroes as an Oppressed People

By William F. Dunne

A FEDERATED PRESS dispatch under date of June 10, says:

Lynchings of Negroes for the first five months of 1925, show an increase over lynchings for the corresponding period last year. . .

Eight persons have been lynched up to June 1, 1925, while ONLY five were lynched in that period last year.

The emphasis on "only" is mine.

The amount of freedom from outrages not usually perpetrated on members of the ruling race possessed by a colonial people or a national minority is a good measure of their social status. Judged by this standard the 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States and particularly the overwhelming majority of the Negro population which lives in the southern states are immeasurably lower in capitalism's social scale than the most oppressed section of the white working class—the foreign-born workers in steel, coal copper and textile towns where their homes are on company property.

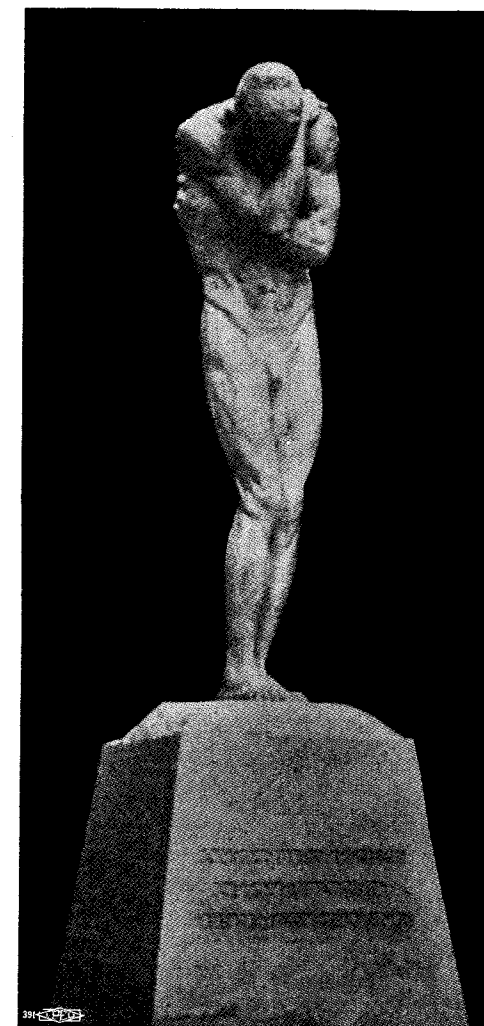
In the north the Negroes, having acquired industrial experience in an environment which, while far from being free from racial prejudice and hatred, is nevertheless far superior to that of the semi-feudal south, are demanding and forcing treatment equal at least to that of the white workers.

Even the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor has been moved at last to make an organization campaign among the Negro workers part of its program.

But in the south the lynching of Negroes as a community enterprise, and the murder of Negroes by whites without punishment of the offenders continue unabated.

Moved by what I am willing for lack of proof to the contrary to call a sincere desire to shame the United States into stamping out this horrible practice and of advancing the cause of the black race, a number of Negro and white intellectuals, publicists and middle class elements from time to time point out that in European countries Negroes are not discriminated against either socially, politically or economically.

They never tire of recounting the equal rights enjoyed by the Negroes in la belle France, or democratic England or fascist Italy. If they can discover a person of Negro blood



FROM STATUE BY HERBERT WARD, THE FAMOUS AFRICAN EXPLORER.

trine, with the changes made necessary by the historical conditions here?

Every attempt to make the struggles of the Negro masses in the United States a purely national question, to isolate it from the struggles of the Negro race in all of imperialism's colonies and spheres of influence, or even to isolate it from the struggles of ALL the darker-skinned peoples is to play into the hands of the ruling class. Equally true is it to say that any misunderstanding of the common interest in, or attempt to draw a line of separation between, the world proletarian revolutionary struggle and the liberation movements of the colonial peoples and racial minorities, leads straight to disaster.

How otherwise well-informed and intelligent persons can have been taken in by the friendly attitude of officialdom to individual members of the dark-skinned peoples residing in

upon whom some of these countries have conferred honors, they are deliriously happy in having found further proof that the attitude of the American ruling class and its dupes in America is an arbitrary one.

Such uncritical acceptance of superficial facts as evidence that the example of other capitalist nations on the Negro question is one we should follow here is proof of a monstrous ignorance of one fact:

That the Negroes are oppressed as a RACE and not as individuals.

It is not the purpose of this article to deal with the further oppression of the majority of the Negro race as workers and peasants, but to prove that whatever the Negro suffers in the United States, it differs only in degree but not in kind from the indignities inflicted on him in other spheres of capitalism—is part of the world system which decrees that certain peoples, mostly of the darker-skinned races, are the legitimate prey of the dominant white majority, wherever they are found in sufficient numbers to make suppression necessary because profitable.

What is the colonial policy of America, France, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium and Holland but the enforcement of this decree?

And what is the attitude of the white ruling class in the United States but the expression of this universal (outside of Soviet Russia) doc-

the European imperialist nations to the extent of believing this attitude genuine and indicative of a desire for racial equality is a mystery unless we realize the inevitable tendency of the class mentioned to seek always an easy way of escape from problems that can be solved only by struggle.

There is a wealth of testimony at hand, of which the facts set forth are not disputed, showing that wherever white capitalism has established itself the code of ethics that governs social contacts between its members is discarded the very moment it encounters in considerable numbers any "backward" people whose subjection it desires.

The history of imperialism in India, in Africa, in China, in the Philippines, is filled with bloody incidents, in proof of this contention. The record has many gaps in it for obvious reasons, but what has been written would fill a good-sized building.

Some day (and the rising of the Chinese against imperialism shows that the day is not far distant) the black, brown and yellow-skinned races will deliver their indictment against the white race and it will be well for that race if the accumulated wrongs of centuries have been atoned for in some measure by a proletarian dictatorship acknowledging these wrongs and righting them, when that day comes.

But here I want only to show that to the Negro, whether in Africa or forcibly torn from his continent and brought to America, the white ruling class of all countries has given him as a race nothing but blows, bullets, bayonets—and chains to the accompaniment of psalms and prayers.

For every true Nordic (and even the lowlier Alpine) knows that God is white and on the side of the white race. So it was that the first successful foray on the Negro race was the occasion for profuse thanks being given to the white god of battle.

The Portuguese were the first to discover that black slaves were handy things to have. The armored knights were soon systematically descending on African settlements of naked natives and carrying away the Negroes who escaped their swords. An old Portuguese chronicle gives the following description of one of these noble exploits:

Then you might see mothers forsaking their children and husbands their wives, each striving to escape as best they could. Some drowned themselves in the water, others sought to escape by hiding under their huts; others stowed their children among the sea-weed, where our men found them afterwards, hoping they would thus escape notice. . . . And at last our Lord God, who giveth a reward for every good deed, willed that for the toil they had undergone in His service they should that day obtain victory over their enemies, as well as a guerdon and a payment for all their labor and expense; for they took captive of those Moors, what with men, women and children, 165, besides those that perished and were killed. And when the battle was over, all praised God for the great mercy He had shown them, in that he had willed to give them such a victory with so little damage to themselves. They were all very joyful, praising loudly the Lord God for that he had deigned to give such help to such a handful of His Christian people.

The sanctimonious slaughter of Negroes begun by the

Christian Portuguese continues to this day in all the colonies of imperialism. The lynching of Negroes with the added spice of bestial tortures is only the American method of this international process which Yankee ingenuity has improved upon.

The triumphant religious note can still be heard in the southern jungles.

Let us leap four centuries and see if those altruistic upholders of democracy and the rights of small nations, the British ruling class, show in their attitude towards Negro colonials anything that would warrant the assumption that British capitalism differs from American capitalism in this respect. Speaking of the attitude of the whites towards the Africans in British colonies, Lord Grey, who can hardly be accused of partiality, said in 1880:

Throughout this part of the British dominions the colored people are generally looked upon by the whites as an inferior race, whose interests ought to be systematically disregarded when they come into competition with their own, and who ought to be governed mainly with a view to the advantage of the superior race. And for this advantage two things are considered to be especially necessary: First, that facilities should be afforded to the white colonists for obtaining possession of land heretofore occupied by the native tribes; and secondly, that the Kaffir population should be made to furnish as large and as cheap a supply of labor as possible.

Could the policy of imperialism be stated more frankly and concisely?

What is the effect of the application of this policy:

Let one, a member of the Matabele—one of the African tribes under British rule, speak for the natives. Testifying before a Royal Commission he said:

Our country is gone, our cattle have gone, our people are scattered, we have nothing to live for, our women are deserting us; the white man does as he likes with them; we are the slaves of the white man, we are nobody and have no rights or laws of any kind.

The natives were herded into "labor camps" and forced to work for the conquerors. Says E. D. Morel, the famous English liberal, in his "The Black Man's Burden":

Some hundreds of native police were raised and armed, and, as happens EVERYWHERE in Africa where the supervision is not strict, committed many brutal acts. Their principal duty appears to have been "assisting" to procure the needed supply of labor, and hunting down deserters. (Emphasis mine).

The Matabele Times spoke brutally:

The theory of shooting a nigger on sight is too suggestive of the rule of Donnybrook Fair to be other than a diversion rather than a satisfactory principle. We have been doing it up to now, burning kraals simply because they were native kraals, and firing upon fleeing natives simply because they were black.

In 1920 the family of Lobengula, the former native ruler

of a large section of British South Africa signed a petition to his Royal British Majesty which says:

The members of the late King Lobengula's family, your petitioners, and several members of the tribe are now scattered about on farms parcelled out to white settlers, and are practically created a nomadic people living in this scattered condition, under a veiled form of slavery; they are not allowed individually to cross from one farm to another, or from place to place except under a system of permit or pass and are practically forced to do labor on these private farms as a condition of their occupying land in Matabeleland.

Instead of getting better the conditions of the Negroes in the colonies of British imperialism become worse as the remnants of land left are taken from them. In the South African mining districts is almost an exact replica of the conditions suffered by the Negroes in the southern states.

We will deal with Germany more briefly because she is no longer a ruler of colonies. But the record established by her rulers before her empire was divided among her foes shows little difference from the incidents already cited.

Speaking in the Reichstag in 1904 on the Colonial Budget, Herr Schlettwein delivered himself of the following, which I ask you to compare with the statement of white policy by Lord Grey:

The Hereros (a West African tribe) must be compelled to work, and to work without compensation and in return for their food only. Forced labor for years is only a just punishment, and at the same time it is the best method of training men. The feelings of Christianity and the philanthropy with which missionaries work, must for the present be repudiated with all energy.

The Germans killed the Hereros who refused to work. It was very simple. It was a slaughter on a wholesale scale of poorly armed natives by troops equipped with the most modern weapons of death. A German writer records a conversation between some settlers arriving after the crushing of the natives, and one of the soldiers:

Children, how could it be otherwise? They (the Hereros) were ranchmen and landowners, and we were there to make them landless workingmen. . . .

It seems hardly necessary to mention Belgium when the record of her atrocities on the Negroes of the Congo was heralded to the world, but perhaps the world war and the flood of sympathy that went out to her because she suffered one-millionth part of what her rulers inflicted on the Negroes, may have dimmed the memory. To keep the record straight we give two quotations describing the methods by which rubber was obtained:

There is not an inhabited village left in four days steaming through a country formerly so rich; today entirely ruined. . . . The villages are compelled to furnish so many kilos of rubber every week. . . . The soldiers sent out to get rubber and ivory are depopulating the country. They find that the quickest and cheapest method is to raid villages, seize prisoners, and have them redeemed afterwards for ivory.

It is blood-curdling to see them (the soldiers) returning with the hands of the slain, and to find the hands of young children amongst the bigger ones evidencing their bravery. . . . The rubber from this district has cost hundreds of lives, and the scenes I have witnessed, while unable to help the oppressed, have been almost enough to make me wish I was dead. . . . The rubber traffic is steeped in blood, and if the natives were to rise and sweep every white person on the upper Congo into eternity, there would still be a fearful balance to their credit. (Letter of an American missionary named Clark, quoted by E. D. Morel in the work already cited.)

In 20 years the population of the Belgian Congo was reduced by these methods from more than 30,000,000 to less than 9,000,000.

"Bleeding Belgium," indeed, but the blood of Negroes, not her own.

And now for a glance at the colonial policy of France wherein is located that dear Paris where the Negro is allowed all the privileges accorded the whites—or was until it was filled first with American soldiers and then with American tourists who come to see the graves of those who died to save that dear France and incidentally "make the world safe for democracy."

France is the second great European colonial power. Her African holdings are immense, inferior in size only to those of Great Britain. She recruited hundreds of thousands of Negro troops during the world war and she still enforces conscription in her African colonies. These troops have Negro officers who meet French officers on equal terms and who are dined and feted when they come to Paris.

Does this mean that French policy toward "backward" peoples is a model for the world? Hardly, as we shall see. Sending in long and detailed reports is one of the best things that the colonial bureaucrats do. Unfortunately for the admirers of France, some of these reports have seen the light of day and show—

That France conducts the same bloody, brutal and ruthless policy among the Africans that we have already seen in operation in British, German and Belgian Africa. That is to say:

Soon, if this policy is persisted in, if the incendiarism and devastation of villages does not stop . . . if the concessionaires are always to enjoy the right of imposing such and such a "corvee" (Forced labor levy—W. F. D.) upon the inhabitants, and to place an embargo upon all the latter possessions, the banks of the Congo, the Ubanghi, and the Bangha will be completely deserted. . . . Another French official wrote:

The dead, we no longer count them. The villages, horrible charnel-houses, disappear in this yawning gulf. A thousand diseases follow in our footsteps. . . . We white men must shut our eyes not to see the hideous dead, the dying who curse us, and the wounded who implore, the weeping women and starving children. . . .

In one typical region 20,000 out of a total of 40,000 Negroes were killed off in two years.

We have now had a brief glimpse of imperialism in

action against the Negroes in America, British, German and Belgian colonies and we find it as similar as two drops of water—or shall we say blood?

The conclusion can be drawn that when in the imperialist nations a Negro is treated as an equal by the ruling class it is for only two reasons:

First: He has betrayed or is betraying his fellows—is a tool of the imperialists.

Second: Because the imperialist nation does not wish to cause itself unnecessary trouble among the colonials by bad treatment of individuals when good treatment costs nothing.

Let the Negro in France or England or Belgium try to take the privileges in the colonies that he is accorded in the imperialist nation proper and there is a different story.

The social reformists of Europe have accepted the doctrine of racial equality and they are much concerned to see that the black man is not ill-treated in Europe. They have no wish however, to link up the struggles of the colonial peoples with those of the working class at home. They may realize the revolutionary role of the dark-skinned peoples in the world struggle against capitalism, but they are not for it any more than are the liberal intellectuals.

E. D. Morel comments upon this as follows:

And curiously enough there is a type of European socialist mind that . . . re-inforces these tendencies (of capitalism). This type of mind visualizes the mass of African humanity in terms of a dogmatic economic theory. It would stand aside from capitalistic exploitation, which it regards as a necessary and inevitable episode in human development. It would do nothing to safeguard native institutions which it looks upon as archaic and reactionary. It would apply the same processes to all races (it refuses, apparently, to recognize any other form of civilization other than the European socialized state) at whatever stage of cultural development. It would cheerfully assist . . . at the destruction of African institutions. . . assent to the conversion

of African cultivators and farmers into wage-slaves.

. . . The only comment I would venture to make upon the contentions of this school, is that the form of socialism which Russia has evolved, and which, I suppose, is the most advanced form of European socialism now available to study, approximates closely to the social conditions of an advanced tropical African community. . . the spinal column of both is a system of land tenure which ensures to the population a large measure of economic independence. . .

Lenin once called Morel "an honest liberal." It is evident from the above quotation that Morel was not only honest in his attitude towards the Negroes, but that he understood the revolutionary part landless races are destined to play.

And now we come back to America and the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States and its colonies, 90 per cent of whom are workers and farmers. Oppressed as a race and as a class they have two allies—the white working class of the United States and their African kindred.

The two can be separated only at the cost of seriously hampering both. There must be no illusions in the minds of the American Negro masses that in some other capitalist nation there is freedom to be found. They are all alike and the Negro workers and peasants will have to fight the white ruling class wherever they are located.

More than that, the American Negroes will have to take the lead in uniting their race internationally, as a race, and then bringing it into line with the world struggle of the working class.

The same slogan to which the workers and peasants of Russia rallied, behind the Communists in 1917, can be used to stir the oppressed Negroes into action.

Peace, Bread and LAND—what racial or social group needs these three things more than the 120,000,000 beaten, bullied and landless African Negroes?

In the United States these same demands can be expressed in the slogan of full social, political and economic equality.

Reviewing the Defense Test

"By Gad, the Dutchmen themselves never goose-stepped better than that!

"We're ready for the next war."



THE barbarous sentences of forty and twenty-six years hard labor, respectively, imposed by U. S. Army court martial upon two young soldiers, Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, inspired a wave of protest among workers and liberals all over the world. Many of the latter were astounded at the severity of sentences for so "harmless" an offense as writing a letter to a newspaper and confessing oneself a Communist. Such an attitude shows lack of comprehension of the basis and purpose of a hired army. The first and fundamental commandment for a soldier is: "Thou shalt not THINK."

When a soldiery, overwhelmingly working-class in origin, begins to think, revolution nears. Well do the masters know it. They have trouble enough keeping ideas out of the heads of the citizen soldiery, the "National Guard," lest it be unfitted for its function. That an enlisted man, a paid soldier, should develop any original thought processes makes him immediately a candidate for the stamping mill.

What's the Army for, Anyway?

Millions of goslings are being taught a fake answer: "To defend the country against enemy invasion." Or, when they grow up to goose and gander stage they may expand it to: "The protection of American interests at home and abroad."

But the professional war mongers know better. They enlist all they can in barracks and armory and write illuminating pamphlets entitled, for instance: "The Use of Organized Force in the Protection and Defense of Property During Riots, Strikes and Civil Disturbances. . . War Plans Division. . . War Department Document 882. . . Office of the Adjutant General." Or, another of the same sort, revised and edited in the light of experiences during the World War, "A Treatise on Riot Duty for the National Guard. . . Prepared for the Militia Bureau by Henry A. Bellows. . . Formerly Colonel, etc. . ." We can allow quotations from these military gentlemen to tell the tale:

"A nation which cannot control, and at need suppress, the disorderly and violent elements within its own borders

Bayonets in War and Peace

By William F. Kruse

is in no position to make war successfully against aggression from abroad. Furthermore, wars and the occasions for wars are relatively infrequent, whereas scarcely a month passes which does not see military force required to maintain order somewhere within the limits of the United States." (Bellows p. 7.)

The War Department pamphlet put the same thought in these words: "Our domestic conditions are such that many communities are subject to industrial disturbances and sudden outbreaks of violence or the constant menace of any element of unknown size, with which our forces may have to contend." (Forward p. 2.)

Who are These "Elements"?

. . . Professional agitators, anarchists, socialists, thieves, cut-throats, vagabonds and ruffians, who, with the instinct of the vulture, will seek the field of prey, on the one hand, and, on the other, with the instinct of the rat, will desert the sinking ship. . . ." (War Dept. Chapter VI., Sec. 32.)

. . . For example, a mass meeting of ma'contents, Industrial Workers of the World, 'direct action' radicals, hot-headed strikers, or any group of potential trouble-makers may, at any time, prove the first step in the formation of a mob." (Bellows, Sec. 97.)

Why do these "Elements" Exist?

"The same spirit of unrest which makes all progress possible, becomes, if it lacks proper restraint and guidance a threat of violent revolt. A few months witnessed such diverse outbreaks, all demanding military control, as the race riots in Washington, Omaha and Chicago; the Boston riots resulting from the collapse of the civil machinery for maintaining order (the strike of the Policemen's Union); the disorders directly attendant upon industrial disputes in Gary Hammond, and a score of other places; and such actual at-



FROM BANKER TO SOLDIER!—GENERAL FOREMAN (LEFT) IN CHARGE AT HERRIN, ILL.



TROOPERS FACING THEIR EX-BUDDIES WITH A MACHINE GUN.

tempts at local revolution as the uprisings (general and sympathetic strikes in Seattle and Winnipeg." (Bellows, p. 9.)

"... Conditions following on the World War were such as to necessitate orders to the effect that Army units should at once prepare themselves for military protective duty. . ." (Bellows, p. 10.)

And what were these conditions? Every worker, every returned soldier will remember. War industries stopped. Millions thrown out of work. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers competing for the constantly dwindling jobs. Women and children drawn into war industry likewise fighting to keep a grip on their livelihood. Thirty-seven thousand new war millionaires and seven million new unemployed. The national Chamber of Commerce inaugurating a vicious drive for the open shop and against "pernicious war-time unionism." Whole police departments sent to army barracks for training in rifle practise and tank operation. The Navy oil reserves at Teapot Dome turned over to Sinclair. Federal



THE MILITIA IN CONTROL—SEARCHING CITIZENS AS THEY ENTER MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

government favors at so much per. Left wing labor moving to consolidate its strength through the Amalgamation movement while even conservative unions joined in the groping toward political class expression.

The capitalist class was alarmed. It groomed its servants, LaFollette and Gompers to divert the movement for independent political action, but at the same time issued "orders to the effect that Army units should at once prepare themselves for military protective duty."

How Did They "Prepare?"

These books were written. Officers of Army and National Guard had to study them. And then they went to work on the men.

"The basic training of troops for the service of military protection is mental. . ."

"What is easy enough for the professional soldier, generally far from home, is often very hard for the civilian soldier, particularly if he happens to be on duty in his own city. He may see someone he knows in the crowd, or he may be tempted to stop and argue a point with a windy breeder of disorder. He may be ordered to arrest, or to shoot, the very man with whom, in civilian clothes, he was working the morning before. He must learn therefore, to go about quietly, firmly and impersonally. . ." (Bellows p. 28.)



SNIPING AT STRIKING MINERS IN WEST VIRGINIA.

"A careful cultivation of the offensive spirit will do more than anything else to combat the most dangerous tendency of all troops. . . the tendency to stand around and talk. The capacity of the restless crowd for talk is fairly appalling. . ." (Bellows, p. 31.)

The Russian Czar lost his throne when the workers managed to talk to the soldiers. And when soldiers themselves begin to talk! Several Michigan units participating in the attempted invasion of Soviet Russia through Archangel, were "incapacitated" when the Bolsheviks addressed them with a sign: "Don't be scabs. We are all union men. Your country never declared war on ours. Go home and let us do the same."

"There are various ways in which this spirit can be inculcated," says Bellows, Page 32. "Bayonet drill, properly conducted, has proven of inestimable value in this respect. . . The 'bayonet face' is a valuable asset to troops on riot duty."

"It is not enough merely to explain these things; they must be hammered into him until they are much a matter of instinct as the military salute." (p. 30.)

(Continued on page 426)

This analysis of the development of capitalist contradictions under imperialism was written by Comrade Bukharin in 1924 for the official organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

Contradictions of Imperialist Capitalism

By N. Bukharin

The article, which was translated into English for the Communist Review of Great Britain, now appears for the first time in the United States. Our readers will greet it with studious interest.



A LATE PHOTOGRAPH OF BUKHARIN

ing its own evolution. Capitalism prepares this society and creates the necessary conditions for future general organization. However, this historical mission of capitalism has its limit, not in an organized society, but in a great destruction of social contradictions, in revolution. Not only will class antagonism, the strongest explosive of modern ages, that at the present time has reached its utmost limits, be the motive force behind the destruction of capitalist society, but there will also be all the contradictions of capitalism—crises, competition, and wars—reproduced on the largest scale. The revolutionary Marxist theory considers all the movements of capitalist society from the point of view of an extended reproduction of capitalist contradictions; this is the only method that can give a correct and actual picture of the bourgeois world.

At the present time, mankind—both its proletarian part and the bourgeois freebooters—is summarizing the results of the first world-wide imperialist conflict. The Social-Democratic apologists of capitalism, the ex-Ministers of bourgeois—imperial and republican courts, quasi-Marxist onlookers, are leading peaceful existences. Noske and Co., all carefully wrapped up in the soft cloak of a Wilsonized Marxism, besprinkled with the blood of victims of a "democratic" regime—all are feverishly engaged in writing up the results of the war.

Hilferding the Apologist.

Such a one is Rudolph Hilferding, who is rapidly ousting his teacher and mentor, Karl Kautsky, from the theoretical cemetery of social democracy.

In the first number of his journal, *Die Gesellschaft* (Society), Hilferding published a program and theoretical article, "Present-day Problems." We are unable to pay attention to

IN his book on "Theories of Surplus Value," Marx defines apologetics as a theory of capitalism that sees only the unity of capitalist relations, and not the internal contradictions of this order of society; it does not analyze them and cannot understand capitalism as a system of contradictions and consequently is unable to grasp the internal mechanism of capitalist development correctly.

Communist society is a body that is organized on a definite plan, is rationally developing and is capable of direct-

all the points in this article, especially as other comrades have written about it, but at the same time we should like to say a few words about several of Mr. Hilferding's arguments.

First of all, a few words on the problem of "organized capital." This is in truth one of the "present-day problems." But what does the social-democratic theory have to say on the subject?

Mr. Hilferding quite correctly indicates the further concentration and centralization of capital, the growth of monopolist combines, etc.

He writes: "This is the transition of capitalism from free competition to organized capital.

"Simultaneously with this there is a growth of the conscious order and management of industry and its tendency to overcome the imminent anarchy of free competitive capitalism on a capitalist basis."

What is remarkable in this? Was not this tendency immediately noted in our Communist literature? Of course, only in a different way from that of Mr. Hilferding.

The latter does not understand, does not seem nor wish to see, that this tendency to organization is also developing into antagonistic, contradictory forms. The apologist of capitalism keeps quiet over these contradictions which must form the first subject of a Marxian analysis.

Capitalist Anarchy Still Rampant.

Already Mr. Hilferding imagines that this era of organized capitalism, consciously managed without crisis and unemployment, with a steady and wisely regulated wage, etc., is advancing.

In reality, however, nothing of the sort is taking place, and—what is more important—cannot take place, since the elimination of free competition within capitalist countries and the overcoming of industrial anarchy at the same time means the intensification of "free competition" between different countries, the growth of anarchy in world production—in other words, an extended reproduction of capitalist contradictions.

Only such a limited point of view of "national industry," which has become the provincial viewpoint of supernumerary, impoverished professors living in the "pluperfect," can ignore world industry. Mr. Hilferding sees this world industry very clearly when he hears the gentle clink of American dollars, that extraordinary elixir which will revive the emaciated German mark that has "stunk three days" like the biblical Lazarus, and which the American Christ—in the form of General Dawes—must resuscitate now and forever. But Mr. Hilferding is blind in both eyes when he has to see the contradictions of world economics; he is deaf in both ears

when these contradictions cry against these apologists of capitalism in voices that are anything but melodious.

Anarchy is "overcome!" Crises are "disappearing!" It is only necessary to consider realities just a little to dispel these truly miserable dreams. International industry is at the present time more disintegrated than it has ever been before. Absolutely every investigator states this. Everyone is talking of "The decay of world industry," "the ruin of world economics," etc., etc., while Hilferding is writing that anarchy has been overcome.

As a matter of fact, in reality the anarchy of production has not been overcome, but on the other hand has become intensified although actually changed in its form. It has changed from a disintegrated anarchy of innumerable separate, petty, industrial units into a concentrated struggle of imperialist monsters with the world as the battlefield. The losses caused by this fight are greater as it grows in magnitude. The same thing takes place with crises. Of course, anarchy is overcome in developed, enlarged trusts and internal "crises" are eliminated together. But it would be empty and unworthy foolishness to imagine that crises in general disappear. The world crisis that took place not so long ago and that was so devastating in its effects, should have "knocked dialectics" into the skulls of even the Social-Democrats; but, presumably, these skulls are so thickly crammed with obsequiousness that nothing else can penetrate.

Hilferding the Ultra-Imperialist.

However, it would be an injustice to R. Hilferding to assert that he does not understand on which side his bread is buttered. Probably he just feigns blindness and deafness; he is simulating when he begs for alms from rich American tourists as they pass through the Berlin thoroughfares. Well, even this is in the order of things!

Mr. Hilferding admits that Anglo-Saxon capital was victorious: he is even prepared to reconcile himself to the political and "spiritual supremacy of the Anglo-Saxons. . . ." and here Mr. Hilferding reveals to us the real Social-Democratic paradise.

Until now, Marxism has asserted that wars were indissolubly associated with capitalism, but our "thinker" boldly destroys this "antiquated" view.

First of all, he crawls servilely along to the necessary deductions, all the while winking sagely at the "Anglo-Saxons" with their superb "political and spiritual habits":

"The interests of Anglo-Saxon countries, and especially Britain, tend more to consolidation and organization of the fruits of victory already won, rather than to the extension of their territories. . . . The interests of the democratic. . . masses. . . are in complete harmony with those interests. . . ."

Further he is still more candid.

"Does capitalism really signify war, and can peace only be secured after its complete destruction? Or is it possible to establish new forms of a political world order, by a consistent (!) policy that would limit the sovereignty of separate units, to the benefit of a super-state organization? Will there not be more scope for evolutionary development here than has hitherto been supposed?"

Thus, Mr. Hilferding wishes us to understand that he is

all for evolution against revolution, that he supports the League of Nations against separate sovereignties, that he supports "Anglo-Saxon supremacy," habits, dollars and all other benefits against the events that occurred in "Eastern Europe" (which he contemptuously refers to in two words—for he is a "sincere, respectable investigator!").

Mr. Hilferding belatedly resuscitates Karl Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism," which the latter preached even as early as the beginning of the war. The "irony of history" is remarkable! Before the war, Kautsky was also terribly enamoured of British political "habits"; he considered British imperialism an absolutely innocent babe, the mainstay of peace and the blessing of mankind. And now, when the Anglo-Russo-French preparations for the war have been documentarily established, when peace was nearly broken (no doubt, also a part of the Revolution) and drowned in blood, the thought of the Social-Democratic theoretician reverts back to its premises, dialectically enriched by the loss of its last traces of Marxism.

Thus, Mr. Hilferding puts the question (and mutters an answer in the affirmative) of "ultra-imperialism."

Generally speaking, this imperialist "union of unions," the "super state" organization, a single "world trust," etc., etc., could be realized in two ways:

1. Either by agreement, or
2. By fighting and victory of the strongest group.

It is foolish to build hopes on the first method, since agreement is possible and real only when there is equality of power, when victory is uncertain or battle without issue. Who will maintain that there is equality of power at the present time?

The second method is that of victory. Hilferding takes the victory of the "Anglo-Saxons" as a basis: to him Anglo-Saxon "supremacy" is the real "League of Nations."

But this, too, is an illusion because, in the first place, there is no unity within this "supremacy," and secondly there exist a thousand and one other contradictions that make this "paradise" a complete illusion.

Of course, America is victorious, but there is infinite space between this victory and a world capitalism organized by America. It is possible that America even wishes to "place Europe on a ration," to use Comrade Trotsky's expression, but a "plan" is one thing and reality another. If there were no other contradictions, if there were no European conflicts, if there were no colonial movements that are capable of changing the map of the world in one sweep, if there were no East (the movement in China), if there were no opposition from the working class, if there were no American-Japanese differences, etc., etc.—in other words, if there were nothing that exists and were something that does not, (i.e., if there existed only one—and excessively stressed at that—a pan-American, tendency) then we should have an "American" League of Nations, a world-wide trust and European rations dictated by Uncle Sam.

Our tactics cannot overlook such a significant phenomenon as America's supremacy, but at the same time it must primarily depend upon an analysis of contradictions. This analysis is the fundamental task of our theory. We shall be in a position to define our tactics only when the picture of reality will stand out before us in its entire concrete form, the most important component part of which is the existence of contradictory tendencies.

Left-Wing Advances in the Needle Trades

By Earl R. Browder

ONLY a little more than one year ago it seemed to many observers that reaction was triumphant within the needle trades unions. The Chicago convention of the International Fur Workers' Union had approved of the expulsion of B. Gold and others, of the terrorist tactics of the officials, and had changed the constitution in a manner calculated to disfranchise the left wing. The Boston convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers had spent 10 days of its two weeks' sessions in expelling left-wing delegates and confirming membership expulsions, also changing the constitution to enable the officials to perpetuate themselves in office. In the Capmakers the left wing was still unclear and confused, and the officials were having their way unchallenged. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers at their convention in Philadelphia, although they still maintained their cloak of liberalism that was formerly Hillman's stock in trade, disappointed all those who hoped for any kind of real progressive action. Altogether it was not an encouraging picture, and the pessimists in our movement were agreeing with the reactionary officials, in their judgment that the left wing had received a terrible defeat.

Basis of the Left-Wing Program.

The left wing, under the leadership of the Trade Union Educational League, refused to accept this defeat. It declared that the left wing program would rally the membership and overcome the machine-made victory of the reactionary officials, because: (1.) conditions in the industry, the contracting system, etc., can only be remedied by a fighting union policy and administration that does battle against the employers; (2.) the reason why the union officials made war against the left wing was in order that they might make peace with the employers; (3.) the peace-policy toward the employers will mean betrayal of the workers, and thereby force the workers to turn toward the left wing leadership to remedy their grievances. This analysis made by the T. U. E. L. was substantiated by the developments in real life.

With that blindness to fundamental forces that characterizes reformist leadership, and with cynical disregard of the interests of the workers, the officialdom of the needle trades unions decided that they had complete power to deal with the membership as they saw fit. Feeling secure with their "constitutional amendments" against the left wing, with the left-wing leaders expelled from the unions, with the union machinery completely in their hands, they proceeded to announce an era of "peace" and "negotiations" with the employers; the weapon of the strike was declared taboo; co-operation with the employers, arbitration, submission to "impartial tribunals," became the order of the day.

With these policies the Sigmans, Hillmans, Zaritskys, and Kaufmans, were sowing dragon's teeth. Because these policies resulted immediately in wage-cuts, loss of control in the shops, demoralization of the unions, accentuations of every bad condition in the industry, therefore all the paper weapons of the officialdom against the membership, all their artificial majorities and machine control of the union, failed

them in their desire to control the masses in the garment industry. Where one left-wing worker had been expelled from the union, ten more sprung up in his place, in revolt against the surrender to the employers.

Revolution in the Furriers' Union.

New York City contains four-fifths of the membership of the Furriers' Union. And in May, 1925, one year after the Chicago convention had "legalized" Kaufman's expulsion policy, and 18 minutes after Kaufman had caused the leader of the left wing, B. Gold, to be beaten up and expelled—a combination of the left wing and other elements in opposition to Kaufman, under the leadership of Gold and the left-wing group, was elected to office in the New York Joint Board by the largest vote in years and by a majority of ten to one.

Today, the manager of the New York Joint Board of the Furriers is B. Gold, who together with Fannie Warshawsky and I. Gross represent the left wing that leads the new administration. Curiously enough, Kaufman still holds his paper weapon of expulsion of Gold, which was reversed by the Joint Board but never accepted by Kaufman. The fact that Gold is accepted by the membership overwhelmingly as their representative, that he occupies and directs the union office, that the manufacturers recognize the realities by dealing with Gold as the one who speaks for the workers—these things make clear the small revolution that has occurred in the Furriers' Union.

Of course, the revolution is not complete as yet. It is still going on. The new administration, while solid as a rock against the gangsterism of Kaufman, is not entirely homogeneous, nor is it as yet a left-wing administration, although the left wing leads and dominates it. During the elections the T. U. E. L. group found it necessary to point out, in a leaflet to the membership, that the program of the anti-Kaufman block was not a left-wing program. The T. U. E. L. earnestly and sincerely co-operates in this block with the anti-Kaufman elements which do not yet accept the T. U. E. L. program—but the T. U. E. L. does not abandon its own program, and it will continue to propagate this program, fight for it, and try to win over all of those who are not yet convinced. When the majority of the anti-Kaufman block is convinced of the correctness of the T. U. E. L. program, and accepts this program as the basis for the administration—only then will the revolution in the Furriers' Union have been completed. This is now the task of the Furriers' Union left-wing group.

What was the purpose of the anti-Kaufman block, and is this purpose being achieved by the recent victories?

The purpose was to break the hold of the Kaufman machine which, by gangsterism, terrorism and violence, had made the union a cess-pool of graft and betrayal of the workers; and by breaking this machine, to open up the way to membership control and union progress.

This purpose is being achieved. The gangsters have been amputated from the union treasury. They are now

either entering the service of the employers to be used against the union, or are waiting for orders from Kaufman if that worthy is able to secure enough money to launch them into open warfare to regain the union offices from the new administration. Graft on the part of former lieutenants of Kaufman has been so thoroughly exposed that even the right-wing elements are trying to grab off some of the credit by joining in the condemnation of their dishonest servants. The organizational machinery of the union is being re-organized on the basis of mass participation of the membership in the committees which enforce the union rules, recruit new members, and carry on the strikes. Already, as a result of the anti-Kaufman block election victory, the Furriers' Union in New York is entering upon a new phase of its life.

Overcoming Reaction in the Ladies' Garment Workers.

It was a grievous wound that was inflicted upon the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union when the Sigman machine launched the expulsion policy in 1923 against the left wing. It was a mockery and betrayal of inner-union democracy when, in Boston, May, 1924, this machine caused the convention, with a manufactured majority, to endorse the expulsions and re-write the constitution of the union to place all power in the hands of the machine. The I. L. G. W. U. will be many years in fully recovering from the ill-effects of the blow. It has demoralized the union and seriously weakened it, with lower wages, loss of shop control, and violation of agreements by the bosses, as a result.

As we pointed out at the time, however, the reactionary officials could hurt the union, but they cannot destroy the left wing. And since the Boston convention this left wing has grown in numbers, power, and clarity of program. Today, one year after it was outlawed, it has gained the leadership of the three great locals in New York—Locals 2, 9 and 22, representing the mass of the workers in this market.

That very thing which caused the bureaucrats to expel the left wing—i.e., their desire, not to fight against, but to collaborate with the employers—was at the same time the guarantee that the left wing would grow and flourish in spite of all persecution.

Typical of this policy of class collaboration by Sigman & Co., is the submission of the demands of the union to the so-called Governor's Commission. At Boston, Sigman had been forced, as a screen to cover the expulsion policy, to adopt many of the demands upon the bosses formulated by the left wing. This made necessary some new instrument to block these demands and at the same time avoid a fight. The Governor's Commission is such an instrument. Sigman could say that he stood for these demands, but they must be won before the Commission, and the Commission defeats the workers, not Sigman.

The base hypocrisy, the black betrayal, contained in this policy was brought out in the brief recently submitted by Morris Hillquit, attorney for the Sigman administration before the Governor's Commission, when he said that a phrase in his previous argument, to the effect that "no power on earth can make the garment workers accept the principle of piece work," had been mere oratory, not to be taken seriously, and that the union accepted the jurisdiction of the Commission over any and all matters affecting the life of the workers.

Such cowardly denial of even the intention to think about



BENJAMIN GOLD IN THE HOSPITAL
After being beaten up by the reactionaries of the Furriers' Union.
—Reproduced from Labor Herald of last year.

the possibility of fighting for the demands of the workers reflects the entire policy since the Boston convention one year ago. But the membership, instead of accepting placidly their betrayal of the officials, accepted instead the leadership and program of the left wing, so recently excommunicated from the union with bell, book, and candle by Sigman. With the amalgamation of three locals into the new Local 2, comprising over 10,000 members, the left wing, which had long fought for this measure also, began to crystallize its power, sweeping the elections of the local overwhelmingly. This was followed by strong victories in Local 9 and Local 22. These three locals are the largest, best organized, and generally the most powerful in the I. L. G. W. U., constituting the backbone of the organization.

This left-wing strength is not the result of a wave of vague sentiment. It comes from the realization that it is only the left wing which leads the daily fight for the real interests of the workers on the job. An interesting illustration of this fact, and of the stupidity of the old officialdom, is seen in the controversy over the question of the demand for guarantee of employment. The reactionaries put forward the demand for 32 weeks in the year guaranteed. The left wing demanded a guarantee of 36 weeks. Whereupon the reactionaries (see *Justice*, May 8th) denounced the left wing as demagogues, arguing that investigation had shown the average for the market was 32 weeks, and that a longer guarantee would throw a section of the workers out of a job altogether. But when the left wing pointed out the fact

that the 32 weeks average was based upon the 44-hour week, while one of the principal demands at present is the 40-hour week, the membership saw clearly that the reactionaries either had their tongue in their cheeks when they supported the demand for the 40-hour week, or else they were demanding a guarantee of employment which would be 10 per cent below the average employment per year in the market when the 40-hour week would be gained.

There is much promise of future progress in the I. L. G. W. U. at the present time, as a result of the renewed fighting spirit of the membership, the good organization of the left-wing forces, and the growing clarity of its program. A real mass movement is under way. Many dangers are still ahead, chief among which is a tendency toward timidity among some of the leading elements, a lack of faith of the power of the strong left-wing program to rally the masses, and a consequent inclination to concentrate too much on minor issues to the neglect of the broad revolutionary fighting issues of the entire trade. Any yielding to these tendencies, any compromising with the right wing, would be especially disastrous now, when the membership is aroused and ready to fight. The principal task of the left wing in this situation is to clarify its own program, to push its fighting policy against the employers, to control and eventually eliminate the contracting system, to withdraw the union from the Governor's Commission and enter into direct negotiations with the employers with preparations for a general strike, to energetically push forward its economy program within the union, and to draw the line between itself and the old officialdom so that the most backward member can see that to follow Sigman & Co. means surrender and defeat, while the leadership of the left wing means struggle and progress.

Crystallizing the Left in the Capmakers.

In the convention of the Capmakers' Union, held in New York City early in May, the left wing appeared in greater strength than had been expected even by ourselves. And although but a small proportion of the convention, these delegates made themselves the storm center of that gathering, by their energetic fight for demands that raised the issues in which the membership see involved their own vital interests, their living standards.

Trade issues were, however, not the only ones raised in this convention, and it is of the greatest importance that a resolution, introduced by the left-wing delegates, for international trade union unity and support of the Anglo-Russian Unity Commission, was adopted by the convention. The reactionaries were afraid to fight against this resolution, because of the tremendous popularity of the issue among the needle trades workers. President Zaritsky put himself on record as opposed to it, before the close of the convention, in order to keep himself in good odor with the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and also, doubtless, as an expression of his own reactionary character; but the fact that he and his lieutenants did not fight against its adoption, limiting their opposition to an amendment to strike out favorable mention of the Russian end of the unity movement, shows how strong is the sentiment for unity.

Growing strength, more maturity of judgment, greater clarity of program, are the principal developments of the left wing in the needle trades as a whole. This was true of the left wing in the Capmakers' convention. Mistakes are still

being made by our comrades, such as, in this convention, the failure to oppose Zaritsky for president. One of the most promising signs for the future, however, is the quickness with which such mistakes are recognized and branded as mistakes, as was done in this case by our left-wingers.

The Storm in the Amalgamated.

Sydney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has long based his leadership upon the pose of "progressivism." The establishment of the A. C. W. came through struggle, and the splendid fighting tradition of the men's clothing workers always has acted as a check upon the development of class-collaboration policies. But last year, facing a crisis in the industry, which forced a decision either to carry on a widespread struggle with the employers or to compromise the interests of the workers, Hillman definitely cast in the lot of his administration with the right wing of the American labor movement.

This sharp swing to the right of the A. C. W. officials was accompanied, necessarily, by a war against the left wing. In order to silence criticism, to prevent opposition to this surrender among the members the left wing had to be silenced. So Hillman began to follow in the footsteps of Sigman & Co.

In the Chicago market, the collaboration with the bosses was carried out in a particularly outrageous manner, by stealth and trickery. The employers demanded a 10 per cent wage reduction. Publicly this was refused and the membership reassured that no reduction would be accepted. But the reduction was actually put into effect, by means of a "re-adjustment" of prices which, upon investigation by the membership when they began to find their earnings decreased, was found to be an actual reduction of more than the original demand of the employers. The same thing, with slight differences, was performed in New York and other markets. The employers got their reduced costs of production at the expense of the workers, but the workers were told that the union had refused to accept any wage reductions. It was a raw piece of business that aroused the hitherto somewhat quiescent left-wing elements in the A. C. W.

In the elections that occurred in the spring of this year in Chicago, the left wing entered candidates and announced a program against the class collaboration policies of the Hillman machine. And here another of the Sigman methods of warfare against the left wing was adopted in the A. C. W. After intriguing to secure the defection of a small group of left-wing workers, the Hillman machine set upon the left-wingers at the election places with strong-arm men, driving them away, intimidating the voters, and sending two workers to the hospital with broken heads.

It is in New York, however, that the big struggle against the policies of surrender of Hillman has centered, and Local 5 has been the focusing point. And in New York the masses of the membership have been so thoroughly aroused against these policies, and against the warfare upon the left wing, that for months the reactionaries have suppressed demonstrations against their misrule.

The Local 5 struggle began when three workers were removed from their jobs with the consent of Wolf, one of Hillman's lieutenants, in the expectation that, by having to come to the officials for reinstatement, the position of these officials would be strengthened. But the executive of Local 5 immediately acted to stop removals from the shops, calling

a walkout, picketing the shop, and issuing a leaflet calling for the re-establishment of the old Amalgamated policy of struggle to protect the workers.

Then the Hillman administration began a series of suspensions, expulsions, removal of elected officers, etc., attempting to terrorize the workers of Local 5 into submission. This has culminated in the removal of the executive (an action which the local refused to recognize), the appointment of a new executive (which is so discredited that six of its members have resigned), and the expulsion of individual members throughout the country, particularly in Chicago, because of distribution of the Local 5 leaflet explaining the controversy.

As these lines are written the A. C. W. situation is at a deadlock. The administration refuses to restore union democracy, union meetings are not allowed, and the official machinery is stalled thereby; but the membership in overwhelming numbers supports the left-wing demands and the re-instatement of Local 5. The recent demonstration of several members in front of the general offices of the union was the direct result of this disfranchisement, and the refusal to allow the normal expression of opinion through the local meetings.

For the first time in the history of the A. C. W. there was no May Day meeting for the union this year in New York City. The officials were afraid to allow even the celebration of International Labor Day because of the resentment against their actions in Local 5. To such an extent will an official family go when once embarked upon the policy of surrender and collaboration with the employers.

Due to the lack of sharp and continuous struggle in the past, the left wing is poorly organized and its program is still somewhat confused. Taking advantage of this condition, certain rather irresponsible people put forward the slogan

of "No dues payments until our demands are met." It has been necessary for the left wing sharply to rebuke this dues-strike proposal and fight against it. Under no conditions can the left wing give its support to such a method of fighting even the most reactionary officials. This, and other deviations of policy that have appeared in the struggle, have made evident that the most pressing task of the left wing in the A. C. W. is to properly organize itself, to clarify its program. Only such organization and clarification will bring victory for the left wing.

A tremendous movement of the needle trades workers to the left is under way. It is a revolt against the policy of collaboration with the bosses, against surrendering without a fight the conditions won in past battles, and a demand for an aggressive fighting union to win new victories for the workers. This movement will succeed, either in forcing the officials to revise their policies, or in establishing an entirely new leadership in the unions—on condition that it is properly organized, that it is disciplined, that its program is clear, that it allows no destructive deviations to creep into its practice. It is the task of the Trade Union Educational League to give the necessary guidance to this movement, as to all others of a similar nature, to the end that the entire labor and revolutionary movement in America be strengthened and prepared for the greater battles that are to come.

The crisis in the needle industry as a whole, and the necessity for the growing left wing to reformulate its program and to more closely unite its ranks lend great importance to the National Conference of the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L., which will be held in New York on ance to the National Conference of the Needle Trades Section of the left wing towards leadership in the clothing unions and towards the adoption of a revolutionary policy by these organizations.

The Punch and Judy Show that is Congress

"I HESITATE to think," says Edward Keating, who now edits "Labor" but who hopes some day to draw a fat "progressive" government salary, "what would have happened to the Republic and its people during the years since the Armistice was signed, if Congress had not been here to raise a row when the Palmers, the Daughertys, the Burlasons and the Falls became too raw."

It is the voice of the fake Progressive speaking. What would happen to the American people if it weren't for Congress? Well, for one thing, we might have fewer "Selective" Immigration laws, less fake "labor" legislation and more real help for the farmers. We might but we probably wouldn't. For the same powers that run the government at present would still be in operation. Congress itself does not determine anything. What has happened to the charges against Daugherty, to which Mr. Keating calls attention? What has happened to the charges against Fall? They have simply been dropped. Fall is a free man today—and the Doheny interests, exposed and "morally outlawed" during the Teapot Dome investigation, now combine with Standard Oil in the biggest and most powerful trust in the history of the American oil industry. Some months ago the country heard that Congress was to investigate the great electrical and super power trust. The "investigation" was dropped almost as quickly as it was taken up. Not another word of it has been heard from that day to this. Meantime, new merger and ex-

pansion plans are reported in the financial journals which will make this trust well-nigh impregnable.

The truth of the matter is that the center of gravity in political affairs has long since passed out of the hands of congressional and parliamentary bodies. Brother Keating's heartfelt remarks on Congress tend to keep alive the illusion that Congress is truly a ruling body, instead of a talking shop to divert attention from the real rulers of America. This is very pleasing indeed to the financial oligarchy in Wall Street, which exercises its political power directly through President Coolidge and the various national, state and local administrative departments of government. Congress is also used by Wall Street on occasion—just as the Supreme Court is used to nullify acts of Congress. But congressional rule is too cumbersome for the monopolist crew that dominates American capitalism in this day and age. Congress serves principally as a talking shop to delude and deceive, while the real decisions are made elsewhere.

When the workers understand this fully they will see that American "democracy" is only a sham to conceal the mailed fist of capitalist dictatorship. Communists want to replace this with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, of the workers. Brother Keating wants to preserve things as they are. That is why he is so solicitous about perpetuating the congressional illusion.

Reverie of a Reactionary Senator

MY day has been hard—the state problems unsolved,
Until history turns backward a page,
I must turn for relief to one book that I read,
"The Men of the Old Stone Age."

All property, privileges, taxes, and laws
Were plainly defined at that stage,
When they lived by the river or moved to the cave—
Those men of the old stone age.

Their warfare and maintainance surely were simple,
No subtle evasion, no investigation!
Our gains and our losses are one—O, we pay,
Quite dearly for civilization.

Their problems they solved in no indirect ways.
No budgets, no parties, and such.
We raise up ten questions in answering one,
And we spoil every bill that we touch.

I admire their statesmanlike laws, which of late
We have copied to help our investors.
And I'd long to return to their life in the wilds,
With our paleolithic ancestors!

—Geraldine P. Dilla.

Where Men Like Shadows Go

I HAVE walked streets where men like shadows go
Up rickety stairs to second story rooms.
And I have gone, too, hiding in gray piles
Of musty rags that they call sheets and watched
The red lights blink and men in terrible dreams
Toss themselves and cry like children in their sleep.

I have slept nights where sleep could never be
But the low moaning men in stupor make.
I have passed rooms where "queers" have beckoned me
And then ashamed hid in the gray dim light.
I have paid my fifty cents, nor found the rest
That I had asked nor touched the warmth of flesh.

There is an end to night but day is night
And night is day beside the sagging cot.
I have seen men who never cared to rise
And many more that never could—nor did:
The thin-skinned boy, pretty and called a "she",
Whose bed was made by men with blood afire.

The men who harvest Kansas' yellow wheat
(They harvest winter's now), old men with stumps
And those of youth who find adventure sweet
But know the time and wait with silenced fear.
I have slept nights where sleep led into death,
I have walked streets where men like shadows go.

—Raymond Kresensky.

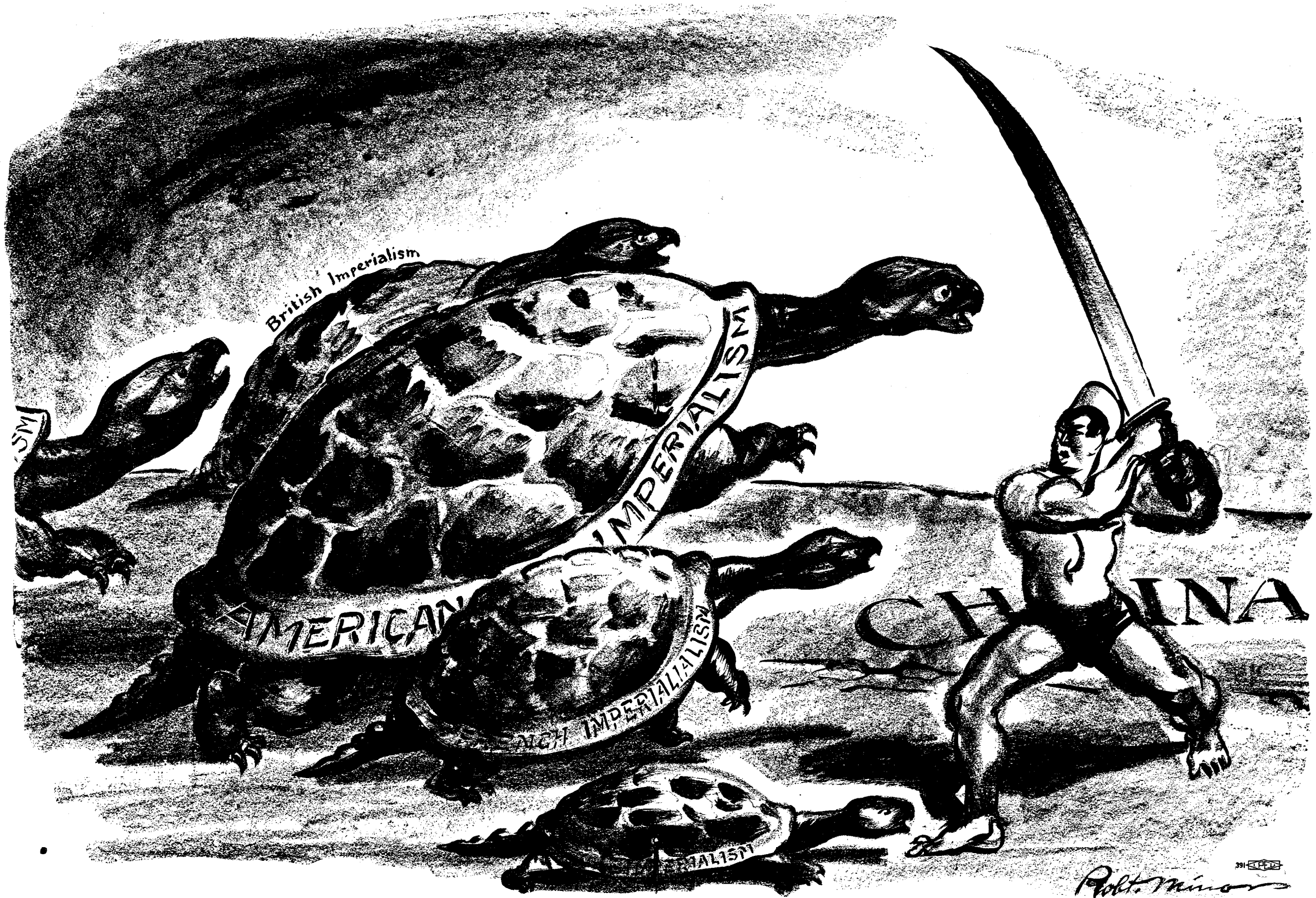
To Certain "Brothers"

YOU sicken me with lies,
With truthful lies.
And with your pious faces,
And your wide, out-stretched,
mock-welcome, Christian hands.
While underneath
Is dirt and ugliness,
And rotting hearts,
And wild hyenas howling
In your soul's waste lands.

—Langston Hughes.



THE SENATE AT WORK



The War of the Turtles

The Chinese regard the turtle as the symbol of all that is unclean. In Shanghai and Canton every wall, lamp-post and window shutter is covered with cartoon-posters depicting the foreign imperialists as monstrous turtles. More power to your hands, Chinese workers and students! Drive out the turtles! Your enemies are our enemies, your fight is our fight!

Native Sins of the Golden West

By Miriam Allen de Ford

WHEN Sinclair Lewis chronicled the intimate life of Mr. George F. Babbitt, he omitted an important detail of his family history. Early in their career all Mr. Babbitt's brothers migrated from Zenith, Minnesota, to South and North Zenith, California. Were it not for the devastating effects of birth control among the lordly Nordics, I should say that there were about two million of them. They were joined by the large and prospering tribe of Kennicotts, from Gopher Prairie. And arrived in this land of golden opportunity, they settled down to the real estate business and proceeded to make laws after the manner of their kind.

In South Zenith, colloquially known as Bulltown, where I was once a resident, I was approached on the day before a pre-Volstead election by a female Babbitt, and implored to "save the name of the precinct" by voting dry. I saved the name of the precinct, but not its aridity. I give the episode from my private memoirs as an instance of the emotional character of law-making in the Golden State. The emotion is carried over into law-enforcement. South Zenith is famous for the number of its Sweet Mammias who express their distaste for their fellows or their general ennui by murdering their husbands and other domestic nuisances. It is the only way to become really famous in South Zenith if the movies turn you down.

But the pure essence of California justice can be comprehended only by its dealings with the pestiferous working class. The sunshine of the state makes most people color-blind—they mistake the lightest pink for a deep and dangerous red, and have even been known to confuse a mild yellow with that alarming scarlet hue. California kiddies listen in at the radio for their Bedtime Red Raid stories; and seldom are they disappointed.

South Zenith is remarkable as the only California city which ever jailed a man for remarking that it had a fine climate. The story has been told by Upton Sinclair, whom the South Zenithites have not yet been able to land, and need not be repeated here. Naturally, a city so sensitive would hardly permit the public reading of a Constitution written by effete Easterners before California had even redeemed the Union by entering it. In fact, the gentler things of life are strictly forbidden all non-Babbitts. It is on record that when the Marine Transport Workers' Hall at the twenty-mile-distant port of South Zenith was raided by zealous Knights of the Knightie, the first thing the gallant fellows did was to throw the piano out of the window. It belonged to the Prison Comfort Club; and if there is one thing a good Californian hates it's a comfortable prison.

The prisons are not comfortable. In San Quentin they're building bunks under the stairs and in the halls, and with a fine democratic fervor putting two men in one-man cells, and three in two-man apartments. When this is called to the attention of a California Babbitt, he never suggests that some of the prison population may belong elsewhere. He says, "I tell you, what this state needs is a few more prisons."

Prisons are growing too tame and effeminate in Califor-

nia, anyway. Even the Sacramento County Jail, which was able during the war to kill off half a dozen men and drive one insane, recently succeeded in killing only one out of sixteen Wobblies held there for trial. The method is to force them to sleep on the concrete floors until they get pneumonia. If the Babbitts were really efficient they could manage to give them damp blankets and thus save the expense of quite a few criminal syndicalism trials.

The same end is gained, however, by the Joint Trial Act. In this system you simply hold all your criminal syndicalism prisoners in jail without trial until you have collected enough of them to justify the expense of a big case. Then you try them together, irrespective of when, where or why they were caught. It doesn't make much difference anyway, for the only thing you have to prove is that they hold a card in the I. W. W., and they always acknowledge that as if they were proud of it. Then the rest is all routine, and you can shoot them off to San Quentin for one to fourteen years—or to Folsom, if you've ever got the goods on them before. In fact, if you're smart enough, you can indict them on two exactly similar counts and slip them to jail for from two to twenty-eight years.

When even this celerity grows boresome, Judge Busick of Sacramento, who has thought up all sorts of funny little tricks to enliven the course of California justice, has devised a plan by which they come in and practically ask to be convicted. The method is this. You catch one or more of the creatures and put him on trial. As his defense witnesses come to the stand, you ask them if they are members of the I. W. W. If they say no, they are disqualified as witnesses. If they say yes, they are arrested for criminal syndicalism as soon as they leave the court-room.

And the Appellate Court, which seems to confirm or reverse decisions according to what the judge happened to have for breakfast that morning, has decided that Judge Busick's little joke is all right. They haven't made up their minds yet about another pleasantry of his, the granting of a permanent injunction making it a civil offense to carry on the activities of the I. W. W. They even sent a man to jail in South Zenith for violating this injunction issued by a judge in another city hundreds of miles away.

Why anyone should pay good money to go to a vaudeville show when he can attend a criminal syndicalism trial in Busick's court is an unsolved mystery. On one famous occasion, the defense asked for a change of venue on the ground that His Honor was prejudiced. Judge Busick heard the plea, conferred with Judge Busick, decided that Judge Busick was not prejudiced, and proceeded to try the case.

At that, he has not the exquisite wit of the South Zenith judge who released a lot of Wobbly prisoners on probation and gave them a set of rules which they must obey. Among other things they were forbidden to read the works of Upton Sinclair, to enter any restaurant calling itself a cafe, and to belong to any union unaffiliated with the A. F. of L.

The lately-retired chief of police of South Zenith, a highly advanced psychological cop who was lent them by

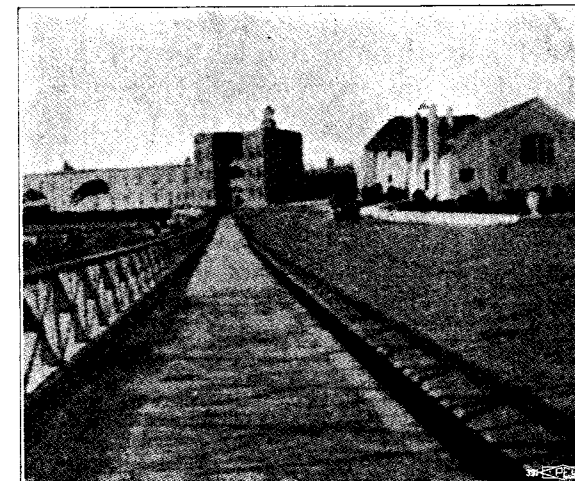
the university city which he had adorned, recently gave all his men a few army intelligence tests. The average mental age of South Zenith's finest was discovered to be ten years. One worthy specimen rated so low that they didn't know just how to place him, so they gave him a two-year rating by way of compliment.

In North Zenith and vicinity they say it with frame-ups. It takes a California court to refuse a re-trial in a case where every important witness has been convicted of perjury, and where the defense has a clear photograph of one of the convicted men a mile away from the place where the crime was committed, two minutes before its commitment. Yet Mooney is still in San Quentin, and probably lucky that he hasn't been hanged, and Billings is still in Folsom. Ford and Suhr are still in Folsom, too, with parole recently denied Ford; their heinous offense being that somebody got shot in a strike which they had happened to organize. The California penalty for this tactical error is life imprisonment.

When there is any danger that prisoners may escape the desired penalty, the North Zenith coppers are on record as having remembered that their forefathers were vigilantes. A few years ago there was a mix-up over some cuties who called with their gentlemen friends at a gangster's hang-out and discovered to their inexpressible amazement that the place was not a ladies' club. In the ensuing excitement some of the accused escaped to a near-by town. There they engaged in a little fracas with the police who came to arrest them, with casualties on the side of law and order. The next day three of the prisoners were found hanging from a tree, effectively disposed of without sheriff or chaplain. No one ever found out who the lynchers were, but strange stories went around about a string of autos seen to approach the town from the direction of North Zenith, and a number of North Zenith police officers were absent at roll call that morning.

It must not be thought that justice and criminal procedure in North Zenith are always so bloodthirsty as this. Circumstances alter cases. A well-to-do North Zenithite not long ago drove his car down the wrong side of a street and killed a young girl and injured her sister. There were witnesses unkind enough to intimate that the gentleman gave indications of just having visited his bootlegger. The jury, however, acquitted him on the ground that he had not been feeling well and had been seized with unconsciousness while at the wheel. Another wealthy man from a nearby town ran down a schoolmarm and amputated her leg. After one year in prison he was released on parole, by a board which has been very chary on paroles in general. On the other hand, a poor fellow with a family to support who accidentally killed a rich banker was given among other penalties the obligation of paying a substantial sum out of his wages every month to the banker's family for several years to come. As part of his income depended upon his use of an automobile, and he was forbidden ever to drive again, the learned judge's decision made things easy all around.

In general, it is a dangerous thing in California—as elsewhere, I heard it rumored—to run afoul of the law without a well-lined pocket to help things out. The warden of San Quentin has a private picture gallery containing the portraits of all the late lamented who have been bumped off the official gallows. Over it is a legend which runs: "You Will Find No Rich Men Here." As intimated, this is not a unique



MANY REBEL FEET HAVE TROD THIS LONG PATH TO SAN QUENTIN PRISON

feature of California legal procedure. The present governor of the state is, however, one to whom all Babbitts may point with pride: he issued a formal invitation, on one occasion, to the women of California to go out and work for an extension of capital punishment to other crimes than murder; and expressed the pious wish that one poor devil might have been hanged twice. The object of his tender attentions was an Afghan who was one of a lively party resulting in a corpse. His fellow-countrymen, who had acquired some veneer of American civilization, persuaded him to plead guilty while they fled the state. The trial was all over and the confiding Afghan back in his cell before an interpreter informed him he had been sentenced to hang. He went to the gallows as scheduled.

Only on one occasion did the governor reverse his iron decision never to reprieve a condemned murderer; that was the Good Friday when they were going to celebrate the crucifixion by hanging three men on a gallows built for two. That time even the Babbitts howled; and the jamboree was divided into two sections and put off for a later date. One of those three was an old sailor out of a job who was caught stealing a bottle of milk from a doorstep. The policeman—one of the South Zenith ten-year-olds—beat him up; and the old sailor, having been too long at sea to understand this routine tactic, shot him dead. It is an unbreakable rule in California that anyone who kills a policeman under any circumstances will be hanged—from a tree, if necessary, as previously noted. They informed the old sailor of his reprieve just seven minutes before his hanging; and now in the near future he is to go through that happy experience again.

Ah, yes, as George F. of the Babbitt tribe remarked, "The way to get a thing done is to do it." At San Quentin there is an institution known as the jute-mill. New prisoners are supposed to work in it for a year or so, and the unreasonable fellows object to the lint in the air, to the exhausting labor, to the fact that the place is a fire-trap—in fact, if you begin coddling prisoners there is no telling what they will complain about next. The unwritten law is that criminal syndicalists and other undesirable citizens get a double or triple

dose of the jute-mill; the obstinate creatures—doubtless on orders from Moscow—are perpetually objecting, and then going on strike because one or two of them are thrown in the hole in consequence. Nothing remains then but to throw them in solitary on bread and water until they are ready to give in and come back to work; and such is their mistaken pertinacity that it usually takes several weeks to starve them into submission. Out of pure spite, two of those fellows contracted tuberculosis just because the dungeons were a bit damp; one is going blind; and another, because he pretended he was too weak after a strike to work in the rock quarry, and they made him work there anyhow, destroyed the official monopoly in hangings by strangling himself to death in his cell.

But it would be very unfair to California to assume that all her criminal syndicalism candidates are of the uncouth type of this impulsive fellow. One of the very first of these desperate criminals to be apprehended was Anita Whitney. This dangerous woman had spent her whole life in such vicious practices as club work and social reform. Six years ago she went so far in her depravity as to attend a Communist meeting where an enterprising dick had thrown a maroon piano scarf over a glass case containing among other lodge emblems a Star Spangled Banner. This constituted desecrating the American flag by superinducing a red flag upon it; and was one of the main counts in the criminal syndicalism prosecution which followed. The other defendants, after two and in some cases three trials, were finally dismissed because the tax-payers balked at any more expense for the sake of righteousness; but Miss Whitney had already been convicted. Her case has been carried from court to court, and is now before the nine wise old men in Washington, where her great-uncle was once justice. At last accounts they are still postponing decision in the hope that there will be another earthquake soon and Miss Whitney will be swallowed up in it.

But the prize example of the high integrity and clear moral purpose of right-thinking California legal action is the case of Tom Connors. Connors was secretary of the California Branch of the I. W. W. Defense Committee. About two years ago a state legislator named Fellom—who certainly should have been lynched by now—dared to introduce a bill to repeal the criminal syndicalism act. All the anti-Babbitt associations—alas! even California is not free of them!—circularized the state in favor of the Fellom Bill, Connors among them. One of the twenty thousand circulars fell into the hands of a man who was on the venire of a jury to try a criminal syndicalism case. After two trials the twelve good men and true concerned decided that this constituted tampering with a jury, although Connors had never seen the complaining witness; and the sentence was set at five years. Only after six months in San Quentin was the judgment reversed. The judge was our old friend Busick.

Just about the same time, in a neighboring town, a prosperous contractor had a friend on trial for bootlegging. The contractor was accused and convicted of having introduced his bootlegging friend to members of the jury and of having intervened on the defendant's behalf. He got five days.

Yes, sir, you've got to hand it to California. When the Wobblies boycotted the state and advertised it as "the beautiful and damned—land of orange-groves and jails," a

proud district attorney arose and chortled: "We are glad to have the world know that California has jails for radicals—such as they are."

"Such as they are" is right. But the California exhibit which wins the gilt-lined custard pie is the trio of peripatetic professional witnesses whose testimony has sent over a hundred men to those jails up to date. The regular assortment, which recites its unsavory personal history and on the strength of it secures the conviction of complete strangers, consists of a confessed burglar and high-jacker, a stool-pigeon who during his radical career short-changed his trusting fellow workers of \$455.50, and a sexual pervert who has deserted from the army, navy and marines on thirteen separate occasions. Once in a while a new witness helps these three out in their arduous but well-paid labors; but since one newcomer staged an unofficial booze raid and killed a man who asked for his warrant, and another was hardly established in the state before he was extradited to Washington where he was later convicted of a statutory offense—to use the chaste language of the newspapers—against a fourteen-year-old girl, the authorities feel that innovations are dangerous, and are sticking to the original trio.

These old reliables testify to their former crimes; announce that while holding cards in the I. W. W. they, on their own initiative, burned sundry hay-stacks and otherwise maltreated the surrounding scenery; pocket their checks and go to the next trial—and some lumberjack who joined the agitation for baths and clean bedding years after these gentry were kicked down the steps of the last Wobbly hall, is on their testimony sent up to the hoosegow for one to fourteen years.

If any other state can cite a method of disposing of annoying disturbers more efficient, original or colorful, it is asked to send its representatives to confer with the local authorities, to the end that California may maintain its proud supremacy among the commonwealths. Efficiency, originality and color are indeed the three main characteristics of California justice. Under the first head, the secretary of a radical organization in North Zenith was quietly kidnapped on the street one night nearly a year ago, and has never been heard of since; under the second, a lot of South Zenith children rehearsing a play and another lot engaged in studying the contraband Russian language were scooped up and sent to jail as dangerous radicals; and under the third—well, shall we select the coat of tar recently administered by the Ku Klux, with police assistance, to some objectionable soap-boxers; or the bombing of the house of the colored gentleman who bought a home too near his white brethren; or the nice white steam-heat which was turned on the prisoners crowded in a little receiving-cell until they fainted and fell in helpless rows on the concrete floor; or the boiling coffee into which the wicked Wobbly children were thrown in San Pedro?

California has inaugurated a campaign to invite a host of red-blooded he-men and their ladies to settle in the Golden State. I hereby contribute my bit. I trust by its aid all good Babbitts will realize the opportunities and pleasures that await them in the land of honey, fruit and pretty fair wine. "California is calling." The spirit of '49 still lives—in fact, it has had a gland transplantation and hasn't grown up a bit.

Labor and the Capitalist Courts



AND CALIFORNIA GETS ITS CUE FROM WASHINGTON!
"FREE SPEECH SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TOO SERIOUSLY," SAYS THE SUPREME COURT

Immigration Talks For the D. A. R.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE recently delivered an address on the "Selective" Immigration Act before a convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution. It must not be supposed that the Daughters of the American Revolution ever took part in any revolution. They never took part in anything. They are respectable ladies. They are "descendants." Art Young once drew a side-splitting cartoon of the Daughters of the American Revolution holding up their hands in horror at the thought of revolution.

What have the Daughters of the American Revolution to do with the Selective Immigration Act? Well, you see none of them is an immigrant, so they can appreciate it. They are interested in making America a bourgeois paradise for the Daughters of the American Revolution and their daughters.

"Silent Cal" Coolidge can be talkative enough when he is among his own people—say at a bankers' conference, or a rotary club meeting—or a convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution. He freely admitted: "Restriction of immigration is nothing less than a revolutionary change from the older days when we boasted that this country offered refuge and opportunity, liberty and security, to all who desired them."

Immigration has not been cut off. It is "restricted." It is

A WORKER is thrown into jail. He may have been accused of criminal anarchy, espionage, sedition or he may have been framed up for murder by artists whose art consists of putting undesirable proletarians out of the way.

Whatever the technical charge, he has committed a "crime." His crime is organizing and agitating the workers against the bosses to the detriment of Profit.

The workers have rallied to the defense of their comrades splendidly, but only in an isolated way. Some of the trade unions have had their defense organizations, the I. W. W. has had its organization, the Workers (Communist) Party has had its organization, the socialists have had theirs, etc.

A great step forward has now been taken toward the unification of all working class defense organizations. We refer to the national conference arranged for June 28 in Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, by the Labor Defense Council.

The solidarity of all sections of the labor movement was never so sorely needed as at the present moment. There was never a more solid basis for united action than the defense of persecuted soldiers of the working class.

"selected," The docile workers are admitted and those who have a spark of class consciousness are cut out. The scheme is a fitting complement to the "Open Shop" drive on the American labor unions. Meantime, the workers are told that "restricted" immigration is actually in their favor because it relieves them from the competition of cheap foreign labor. But the fact is that the competition still goes on, and the American worker's wage is forced down because of the competition of "cheap foreign labor" employed in Germany, Japan and Mexico.

Even President Coolidge knows this. The Daughters of the American Revolution do not know it probably; they are not interested to look into such matters. What they like about the "Selective" Immigration Act is that it is aimed to break the fighting spirit of the American working class and to prevent a possible upheaval which would put an end to the complacent aristocracy of snobbishness, stupidity and idleness finding its expression in the Daughters of the American Revolution.

It is a keen instinct which leads President Coolidge to address the Daughters of the American Revolution with such matters. Helpless old ladies as they are, they embody a tradition which modern capitalism sees the necessity of making use of. They lend respectability. They stand for "stable Americanism." They represent a continuity with the past which the present oligarchy of finance capital recognizes as a valuable support in the ideological phase of its own profit-struggle against the workers, native and foreign-born alike.

Party Trade Union Fractions

By William Z. Foster

THE time is at hand when we must give much more attention than in the past to the organization of Party fractions in the trade unions. There are a multitude of reasons why this is so. At the recent sessions of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, the question of building trade-union fractions was one of those stressed greatly. The coming convention of the Workers Party must mark the inception of a far more intense, systematic, and widespread campaign to organize Communist fractions in the labor organizations of this country.



FOSTER

The necessity for building fractions in the trade unions is fundamental. The normal growth and functioning of our Party, not to speak of its one day leading the proletariat in the revolution, depends to a very large degree upon our extending our influence in the trade unions and in one day capturing the leadership of the masses of workers in them. The trade-union fractions are one of the chief means for winning this influence over the organized toilers. The Comintern lays the utmost importance upon their thorough organization in all countries.

Trade-union fractions are the instruments through which the Party carries out its policies in the unions. In all the struggles of the organized workers, in their strikes, in their efforts at united political action, in all the bitter problems confronting them, our Party must not only have clear-cut programs corresponding to the workers' interests, but it must also have the mechanism for putting them into action, for calling them effectively to the attention of the organized workers, and for taking the leadership of these workers in the actual struggle. This can only be had by a thorough-going organization of all the Communist forces in the trade unions, by a highly developed system of fractions.

Our Party members must always act as a unit in the unions. This can only be accomplished through the fraction system. As it is now many of our comrades seem blissfully oblivious of this need for a common program and common action. They go along single-jacking, with policies of their own. Consequently the Party's interests in their unions are compromised in many ways. Often there is the intolerable spectacle of Party comrades coming into open conflicts with each other in the unions regarding questions of policy. There have even been cases where Party members got themselves lost in inter-union jurisdictional wars by adopting the points of view of their respective unions and by making war upon each other in a manner that was almost as foolish and heated as that of the ordinary trade union members. Cases in point of recent occurrences were in the food trades and shoe industry in New York, and in the fight now going on throughout the country between the Journeymen Tailors and the Amal-

gamated Clothing Workers for the control of certain classes of shops in various cities.

Such a short-sighted policy is, of course, out of the question for our Party members. The Workers Party is the Party of the working class. Consequently its interests far outrun the petty jurisdictional claims of any trade union. In such a war between unions the Party policy is to intensify the movement for amalgamation as a final settlement of the difficulty, and to demand local united-front movements between the quarrelling local unions as temporary expedients to bridge over the situation pending its ultimate solution. But the only way in which our comrades can get to understand this policy and to effectively apply it is through a well-developed trade-union fraction organization. Trade union fractions mean discipline, uniform policies and real power for our Party in the labor organizations.

One of the great problems confronting the Workers Party is to bring larger numbers of the membership into the trade unions and to stimulate the activities of those who are in the unions. A well-ordered system of fractions will contribute much to this end. Wherever the Party has its forces well organized in the unions this very organization will in itself react upon the Party to bring ever larger numbers of the eligible members into the trade unions. In addition to the many other important reasons why trade union fractions are necessary, this one, the induction of the proletarian members of our Party into the trade-union struggle, must not be lost sight of. Our practice must have as an inflexible rule that every Party unit shall stimulate and be responsible for the functioning of the trade-union fractions in its sphere of activity.

As things now stand our Party has a not inconsiderable fraction development in the trade unions. It will compare favorably with that of a number of well-established European parties. But the whole work is just in its infancy. As we shall see further along, one of the difficulties we have to contend with is the common tendency to confuse Party trade-union fractions with non-Party T. U. E. L. groups. This confusion must be liquidated and the whole question of Party trade-union fractions cleared up in the minds of our members.

Relations of Fractions to Unions and Party.

In constructing fractions the general lines of trade-union structure should be followed. This method enables the Party to exert its influence intelligently and immediately upon every legislative and executive branch of the trade-union movement. The fractions must be permanent (for regular locals and other constant organization forms) or temporary (for conventions, special committees, etc.) just as the nature of the movement requires. The essential thing is that the fractions be so formed that the Party can bring its pressure to bear freely and directly upon all trade-union organs. Fractions must be established in all trade unions, regardless of whether they are craft or industrial in structure, independent or "regular" in affiliation, conservative or

radical in tendency. Wherever there are masses of workers organized in trade unions, there the Party must have its active and well-disciplined fractions.

The fraction system must start in the shops and follow the trade-union structure to its highest ramifications. Where there are shop committees (and the shop-committee movement will eventually take on impetus in this country) trade-union fractions must be organized in them. Among the membership of every local union the Communists must organize themselves into a group which acts as a body upon all problems coming before the organization. If there are Communists on the executive committee of a given local union they must act together as a fraction, though in close connection with the general Party fraction of the union. The same principle applies all along the way. The Communist delegates from the various local unions in a given trade or industry to a corresponding district council or joint board likewise form themselves into a fraction, and also those on the executive committees of such councils or joint boards. The Communist delegates to all central labor councils must take the same course. In the executive boards of railroad system federations, miners' districts, international unions, federations of international unions (A. F. of L.), and in conventions of state federations of labor, international unions, and of the labor movement as a whole, when Communist representatives reach these bodies they must combine themselves and act as organized units, their fractions in each case being temporary or permanent, as the situation dictates.

The trade-union fractions are not full-powered Party units. They do not collect dues, nor have they voting power in the Party. They must not be confused in structure or function with shop nuclei. The fractions are Party organs for working in the trade unions. The shop nuclei are the basic structure of the Party. They collect dues and legislate upon and execute Party policies in all institutions in their sphere where the Party is carrying on activity. They affiliate directly to and form the basis of all higher Party units. The trade-union fractions, on the other hand, are specialized for work in the trade unions. They do not affiliate directly to the higher Party units. They are controlled by the Party through the industrial departments and committees of its national C. E. C. and the local units.

The trade union fractions must be well-organized, with a regular secretary or committee at the head of each. The fractions of the lower trade union units receive their direction from the higher fractions and Party units. To illustrate by starting at the bottom. The general fraction in the shop committee is, as a general rule, led by those members who are also members of the executive committee of the shop committee, the whole being directed by the shop nucleus. The fraction in a local union is, so far as practicable, headed by its members who belong to the leading committee. The same principle with modifications to be discussed later, applies all the way to the top of the movement. All the fractions in a given trade in one city get their leadership from the Communists who are delegates to the district council of that trade. These, in common with the leaders in all other local groups, are directed by the fraction in the local labor council. This important fraction is in close connection with the local committee of the Party and receives its instructions therefrom.

On a national scale a like principle prevails. The local

fractions in the respective industries take their lead on national policies from the Communist fractions in the executive boards of the international unions where such may exist, or from specially organized national committees where there are no Communists in these boards. The national trade or industrial fractions are to take their lead from the fraction in the council of the whole labor movement when there is Communist representation there, or failing that, from a general trade union committee. All these national fractions stand in close relationship with the Industrial Department of the Party which directs and supervises all their activities.

Two important principles are involved in fraction organization. One is that the fractions take their policies and leadership from the Party organs of corresponding degree. But although well-disciplined and controlled fractions are necessary to the Party's progress care has to be exercised not to overdo this control. They must be given the utmost freedom possible in order to develop their vitality. Two dangers must be guarded against: one is over-control of the fractions, and the other is letting them run wild with autonomy. The second important organization principle to be noted is that as a general rule the leading body of a given fraction consists of those comrades who are members of the corresponding leading trade union committee or council; as, for example, the fractions in a city take their general directives on local matters from the fraction in the central labor council and, through it, from the Party. The aim of this system is to establish direct contact with the various trade union organs. But the principle must not be mechanically applied, especially now when our fractions are weak and small. To do so would wreck the whole fraction organization. The fractions and the party in general must, while applying the foregoing principle so far as is practicable, always elect or appoint to leading positions in the fractions such comrades as are necessary to make them function effectively.

Proceeding along these same general lines, the trade-union fractions of the Young Workers League, which are organized into separate units, must work in organic connection with the Party fractions. Mutual representation must be assured in both bodies from the lowest to the highest, so that the youth fractions work in perfect harmony for the general program of the Party units; the latter, in turn, must give all possible aid to the special demands of the youth in the industries and the unions by supporting the campaign of the Young Workers League to abolish all discriminatory clauses against young workers.

Relations of Fractions to the T. U. E. L.

The Trade Union Educational League being a non-partisan organization of the left wing of the labor movement, the Workers Party forms definite Communist groups within it. These are trade-union fractions. With comparatively few exceptions, they are identical with the Party fractions in the trade-union units. The exceptions are where the trade unions have committees which have no counterparts in the League, and vice versa. The Party does not build two sets of fractions, one for the trade unions and the other for the League. The same Party fractions serve for both organizations. Otherwise endless confusion would result.

In a given city the Trade Union Educational League has, or is supposed to organize, general left-wing groups in every

local union of, let us say, the Machinists' Union. The Party fractions exist within these T. U. E. L. local craft groups. All the T. U. E. L. groups locally in a given craft combine, and the Party fraction system follows the same line. Then there are local industrial T. U. E. L. groups comprising the militant elements of all the local unions in, let us say, the metal industry, with a corresponding Party fraction covering the same scope. In the National Industrial Committees of the League the same principles apply, the fractions following the League formations even where there are no definitely corresponding trade-union organs. A case in point is in the railroad industry. The League has a national committee covering the entire industry, although there is no trade union council or federation covering the whole industry. Likewise, the League groups often include dual and rival unions in the same industry, and the fractions must follow suit. This brings no confusion into the fraction system. By the fractions following the League's conformation it does not disrupt their direct contact with the regular trade union organs. It merely centralizes them and elaborates their connection with one another and with the unions.

In the present state of development in the labor movement where there are large numbers of so-called progressive workers in the unions who are advanced enough to break with the bureaucracy but are not ideologically at the point where they will affiliate outright with our Party organizations, the Trade Educational League is an historical necessity. It offers a means to assemble considerable masses of these workers in such a manner as to enable us to exert great influence over them. To build the T. U. E. L. into a real mass organization, and thus to bring the maximum of numbers of these discontented workers under our influence in the trade unions, is one of the most important tasks confronting our Party.

A factor working against the accomplishment of this vital work is the tendency on the part of many comrades to confuse the T. U. E. L. groups with Party fractions and to try to employ them as such. They tend to look upon the League groups as Party units, to occupy them with purely Party affairs, and to restrict their membership to Party members. This is a mistaken policy. It drives away valuable non-Party elements and robs the League of its mass character. In the early days of the T. U. E. L., when the trade unionists were militantly fighting against the great "open-shop" drive of the employers, and when they were easily inclined to respond to our lead slogans, this tendency to look upon the T. U. E. L. groups as Party trade-union fractions was not so manifest or harmful. In the big conferences and in the large local groups of the League, of that period, it was a comparatively simple matter for the Communists to meet together separately and to co-operate as fractions, even though they had only a faint idea of the functions of fractions in general as apart from the League.

But when the League was driven underground in the unions and the more timid non-Party elements began to fall away from it, the tendency to identify the League groups with Party fractions, which was then intensified, became more and more detrimental by driving away still more non-Party workers. The tendency was sharply to liquidate the League groups as non-partisan bodies and to actually turn them into Party fractions. This liquidation tendency must be stopped. The way to stop it is, on the one hand, to

build a thoroughgoing system of trade-union fractions, which will handle the purely Party trade-union matters; and on the other hand, to infuse these fractions with a definite understanding of the necessity for the T. U. E. L. on a broad scale and to launch them into an active campaign to construct the League on such a basis.

In the period now confronting it our Party must consider the building of trade union fractions as one of its major tasks. Success in this work means to bring our members into the unions, to clarify their program and to unite them effectively in the struggle against the bureaucrats. It will contribute very much to the building of the T. U. E. L. into a mass organization of the trade union progressive elements, and it will aid in many other ways in consolidating and strengthening our Party in its growing leadership of the working class.

Capitalist Industry Kills Off More Men Than War

"INDUSTRY still takes an annual toll which puts to shame major battles in the World War," says the Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

"Indeed, in one state, Pennsylvania, more men were killed in industry in 1924 than lost their lives to Spanish bullets during the entire Spanish-American war; while no battle yet fought has numbered 174,000 wounded, the figures for the state of Ohio.

"Pennsylvania continued her unenviable superiority in slaughtering workmen, with 2,209 fatal accidents. New York was second with 1,109. Others were: Ohio, 959; Washington, 407; Massachusetts, 336; New Jersey, 283; and Minnesota, 221.

"Pennsylvania also took first rank for maiming her workers, with 177,539. In Ohio, 174,454 were injured. Figures for other leaders were: Massachusetts, 60,000; New Jersey, 47,000; Washington, 39,000; Minnesota, 37,000; Oregon, 25,000, and Tennessee, 21,000.

"The figures for the state of Washington, which ranks thirtieth in population, are an amazing disgrace. They can be attributed largely to the criminal carelessness of the logging industry."

Whether it be in war or in "peace," the triumphs of capitalism are built upon the exploitation and martyrdom of the working class.

The Month's Prize News Story

By Associated Press.

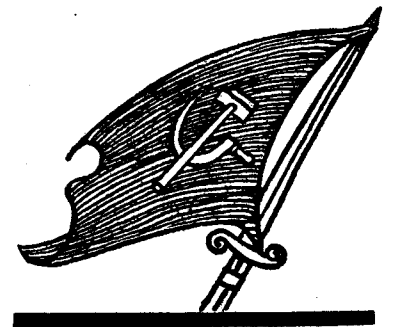
PARIS, June 10.—The French Senate was the scene of a heated debate on the question whether Roquefort cheese should only be entitled to the name Roquefort when made from sheep's milk and ripened in the Roquefort caves.

During the debate one of the speakers quoted tributes which he said had been paid to Roquefort cheese by Pliny the Elder and Julius Caesar. No decision was reached.

This spirited story of Moscow's big May Day parade arrived just as we were planning the present issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY. We at once decided to include it in our Anti-Imperialist Number. On guard before the breach in world capitalism made by the Russian Revolution, the Red Army is the direct military ally of every oppressed people on earth.

The Longest Procession in History

By Ruth Kennell



"To the workers of England entering the struggle for the unity of the world labor movement together with the working class of the U. S. S. R.—our greetings."

A SOUND as of beating rain gradually awoke me, and a burst of martial music brought me out of bed and to the bay windows of the hotel which project over the street. Tverskaya was full of mounted soldiers—the cavalry was passing by, the horses' hoofs beating a measured tread on the hard pavement. There went the lancers holding their blue and white ensigns high; along came the mounted troops looking as young and fresh as the May day in their clean khaki coats and caps, bright blue trousers and high black boots. For this was the morning of the First of May and already at seven-thirty the military parade was passing on its way to the Red Square. And such a May Day! The sun shone warmly, the air was still, the trees had just put on their tender, pale green leaves.

The military, at least, is always punctual, so that, habituated in Russia to being late, I missed the opening ceremonies, the taking of the oath and the speeches. The military parade was in full swing as I mounted the platform of the stand erected for onlookers. A crowd of people with special passes stood by the Kremlin wall; on the mausoleum were the Soviet officials, and beside them the four women workers sent by the British trade unions on a tour of Russia. Directly opposite, two long banners which hung on either side of the entrance to "Goom," the huge gray stone department store which forms one side of the Red Square, caught my eye. For they bore inscriptions in English:

"To the marching regiments of the revolution, the brave comrades in the struggle: the toiling women of England—fraternal greetings on the 1st of May!"

The military bands were playing, the soldiers were marching, the people were cheering. The Square was gay with color—the blue and cerise on the caps of the G. P. U., the red on the uniforms of the militia, the bright blue trousers of the cavalymen, the green of the home guards, the scouts' camouflage costumes of green grass, dead grass and weird splashes of color, and everywhere the red flags, all blended together in the gray Square. High above, I counted thirty aeroplanes making V's and dropping silver sky rockets. Now the cavalry was going by and the cobblestones resounded with the ring of the prancing of the horses. The machine-gun wagons rattled past with a noise like thunder, and the parade ended sharply at eleven, as scheduled, with the slow passing of twelve huge tanks whose laborious maneuvers so occupied our attention that we forgot to cheer.

A pause. The procession of the Moscow workers is beginning. Soon the first division is in the Square with their beautiful banners waving, and the demonstration of the citizens of Moscow is in full swing. On they come down Tverskaya, like a wide river pouring into the sea—the Red Square. Soon the Square is full of these moving lines, twenty deep, marching through in an endless stream. If the place was colorful before, it is now a living mass of color—hundreds of red banners embroidered in silver and gold or with inscrip-



"ALWAYS READY!"

The "Young Pioneers," Soviet Russia's Proletarian Boy and Girl Scout Organization to Help Blaze the Way to a New Social Order.

tions, red kerchiefs on the heads of the women and girls, the bright red gymnasium suits of the sport clubs—all harmoniously blend in a sea of color which somewhat subdues the barbaric splendor of the church of St. Basil's in the background.

Above us, on the highest point of the stand one of the union leaders is stationed. As each organization passes he shouts a "Da-zdrastvooyet, workers' and peasants' unions!" or, "young workers," or "Comsomsols," and they all, looking upward as they march past, give answering cheers. Now and then he would call, "Are you ready?" to a Young Pioneer group, and always the answer would come back instantly in unison: "Always ready!"

The banners, placards and floats passed in such numbers that one grew dizzy trying to follow them. The favorite pageant was one which depicted the present international situation and characterized chiefs of foreign governments, fascists, and workers in prison. A large wooden placard bore a grotesque portrait of Hindenburg. The factory units carried many wooden signs relating to their work. All the larger organizations had their own bands and each group sang as it marched so there was never an instant without music for their marching feet. And when they passed Lenin's mausoleum they must all cheer and shout greetings to the English women workers.

What must have been the emotions of these women from the workshops of England as they watched for eight hours the workers of Moscow march by, and were greeted by more than 600,000 people, almost one by one?

Before this gigantic procession, the military review of the early morning paled. This was the real demonstration, in which the workers were not crowding and weary spectators, but joyous participants: a mass celebration of International Labor Day by a million workers and their children; a universal holiday, for not a street car was running, not a restaurant or shop was open; the chamber maids could also be in the procession because not a room is cleaned on a holiday. Even the professional beggars seemed to be taking a day off.

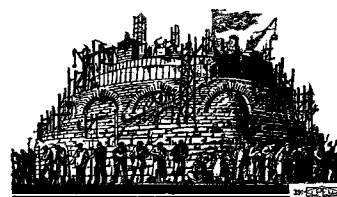
After I had watched the people marching for more than two hours, I went to join my division, the Comintern. We went around by the boulevard, a slow march did not get us into the Square until five o'clock, as each division had its order of march and we were among the last in the procession. Of course, there were many halts along the way, but what would have seemed tedious waiting to impatient Americans unaccustomed to mass demonstrations, was a gala time for the Russians. During these stops, they would dance on the cobblestones and sing and toss their comrades into the air. This custom is universal and having been adopted by the Comintern workers, we all had to take our turn at being seized by six burly fellows and tossed high into the air three or four times. As we proceeded along the boulevard, our red banners glowed against the delicate green foliage of the trees, through which could be glimpsed the golden domes of a great church. At last, the balmy atmosphere changed; the sky turned gray and big drops of rain fell. But this did not dampen the enthusiasm of the marchers.

When I finally turned homeward I was so tired that I thought I did not want to see any more of the demonstration. I had some difficulty in crossing Tverskaya—the marchers

resent their ranks being broken into and try to seize the invaders. But once in my room, the stirring music, the sound of marching feet, the singing and shouting, drew me to the window, and there I sat on the sill for another hour and watched the procession. Tverskaya was overflowing with marching people who made a riot of color as one looked down the street. Just beneath the window as they passed I would make out each division: here were thirty girls in red gym suits who made a pretty picture—they kept step gracefully to the band, lifting their knees high and showing to advantage their straight, strong bare legs; next a factory unit which halted in front of the Lux Hotel to greet us with, "Da-zdrastvooyet—Kominterna!" and so on. Then looking after them down the street one got the thrilling effect of the procession en masse.

There was a halt and the boisterous tossing of shrieking and laughing victims began again, and suddenly took a new turn. A group of husky young men went along the sidewalk and began seizing the "Nep" women and tossing them into the air. They resisted in vain. It was not possible to mistake the wives and daughters of the speculators and the old bourgeoisie, for they affect the fashions, wear very high heels and usually paint their lips quite generously (for the same reason that a fashionable woman always draws on her gloves before going out—they don't feel completely dressed otherwise). One the other hand, the working women, while well dressed, care little for style and never wear rouge.

Gradually the parade dwindled, the ranks thinned and what was surely the longest procession in the world's history came to an end at six o'clock in the evening. But at the workers' clubs, the theaters and in the streets the demonstration continued until early morning.



Ancestors

"I DO not think that foreigners"—
She sighed with solemn frown,
"Can ever make good citizens,
And they should be held down.
My ancestors came over here,
When King James wore the crown;
And that is why, as you can see,
We own one-half the town."

A turtle swimming in the soup,
Waxed then both proud and sage—
"Pooh! Pooh!" he sniffed, "Is ancestry
Your one and only gage?
You humans merely date back to
The Cenozoic age
But in the Mesozoic dawn,
We turtles were the rage!"

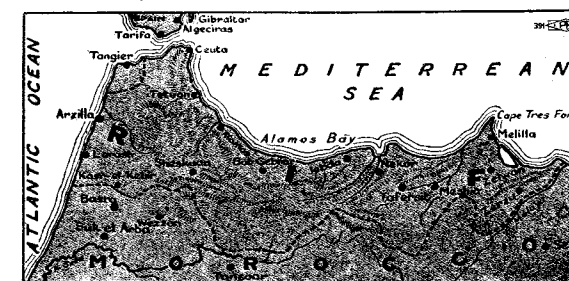
—Earl Bigelow Brown.

Imperialism Over All the World

OUT of the 111,500,000 square miles comprising the surface of the globe, 75,000,000 square miles are colonies, protectorates, mandated areas or "spheres of influence." Of the 1,750,000,000 people in the world, 1,250,000,000 live in colonial or semi-colonial countries.

The world has been partitioned out among a few great capitalist powers: Great Britain, France, Japan, the United States, etc.—those which possess capital. But none of these nations remains satisfied with its share in the division; each is constantly striving to extend its dominions at the expense of its rivals. Every bit of earth is a field for exploitation or a point of strategy.

This is the epoch of imperialism. It is impossible to read the newspapers nowadays without coming across new explosions in the imperialistic powder house. Now it is the combined assault of the imperialist powers upon the Chinese at Shanghai. Now it is the threat of the American naval maneuvers in Far Eastern waters, a fist shaken in the face of England and Japan. Meantime Great Britain hurries up the fortification of her projected naval base at Singapore. Japan moves to strengthen her army. And the next imperialist war is brought so much nearer.



Map of the Riff Territory.

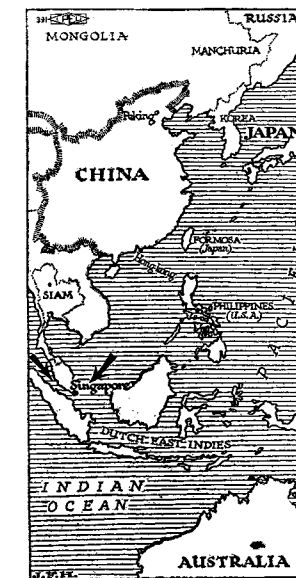
Illinois' Nice New Anti-Injunction Bill

BOOBS who are lost in ecstasy at the passage of the Illinois anti-injunction bill will be brought back to hard reality by a glance at the neighboring state of Wisconsin, that horrible example of fake progressivism where everything is lovely except wages, working hours and conditions of labor. Wisconsin has had an anti-injunction statute on its books for years, but who cares? The injunction has by no means disappeared as a factor in labor disputes. On the contrary it is more in evidence than ever. Injunction-issuing judges always manage to get around the law when they want to, and they want to whenever there is a serious strike situation. The bill as adopted by the Illinois legislature is not the same one as backed by organized labor. The original measure prohibited injunctions of all sorts in labor disputes except to prevent irreparable injury to property. In the clause about injury to property there was more than the requisite leeway to justify any injunction, but the legislators

In Latin America, scores of workers are brutally shot down at the orders of the American plutocrats who control the Chilean nitrate fields. Secretary of State Kellogg warns President Calles of Mexico that a revolution will be started against him unless he comes to terms with Wall Street.

But the imperialists are not having everything their own way. The enslaved masses of India are awakening to the struggle for freedom. A new China has arisen in the wake of the great movement led by Sun Yat Sen. Egypt has already got one arm free of the net of British power and natives of Damascus have sent Lord Balfour out of Asia Minor on the run. In the north of Africa, the heroic Rifians under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim, are winning back mile after mile of occupied territory for native rule, driving the French imperialist army before them as they drove the Spanish a few months ago.

Who can doubt that the awakening of the 1,250,000,000 people of the oppressed nations will have momentous consequences for the exploited wage-slaves of the capitalist states? When this mass stirs the entire order of imperialist capitalism will be shaken to its foundations.



Map showing location of Singapore base, Britain's deft to U. S. and Japan in Far East.

apparently did not think so, for they thought best to modify the bill to the point where it would offer no obstacles to even the stupidest judge. Now that the bill is passed, labor must insist upon its enforcement but without any expectation that it is going to be enforced. The workers cannot rely upon capitalist legislation but only upon their own strength.

Our Cover Design

THE striking cover design for this number of the WORKERS MONTHLY is the work of Lydia Gibson. She signed it with her initials, "L. G." However, through a misunderstanding on the part of the engraver the cut was originally made too large and the "G." had to be sawed off.

Labor and Empire

By Manuel Gomez

NATIONS are not great works of statuary carved out of a single rock. They are stratified into classes and groups. We must clearly distinguish the interests of the oppressed classes, of the workers, of the exploited, from the general conception of "national interests" which in reality means the interests of the ruling class.

While the capitalists of this country reap royal harvests from America's imperialistic ventures, the tolling masses enjoy no such benefits. For them, imperialism yields only greater hardships and increased suffering. Consequently it is not difficult to understand why the workers fail to enthuse with the capitalists over the new aggressions in China, the cynical blackmail plot against Mexico, the scuttling of Santo Domingo or the continued enslavement of the Filipinos. Sometimes the masses have been swept along the opposite path by false leaders but their underlying anti-imperialistic tendency has always been apparent. In general they have sympathized with every effort of the oppressed peoples to free themselves from the grip of Wall Street. In spite of the flag-waving pan-Americanism of a small section of the workers, which has recently gone over to the bosses, conditions are bringing about a natural partnership of struggle between the exploited workers of the United States and the oppressed peoples of the American Empire which must become a conscious alliance as the working class awakens more and more to its own historic interests.

Historic Background of Imperialism.

American workers might have already thrown off the whole system of wage slavery if it were not for the appearance of imperialism—as would certainly have been the case with the wage-earners of Great Britain, France and the other capitalistic countries of Europe. Everyone knows that there are fundamental contradictions in the capitalist system which made its life stormy and precarious even in comparatively early stages of its development. A long series of European working-class revolts culminated in the Paris Commune of 1871. The power of resistance of capitalism was weak, the rate of profit was falling steadily, a huge mass of surplus capital was piling up which could not be absorbed into industry. In the United States the same factors, appearing later and in necessarily modified form, were reflected in the bloody railroad strikes of 1870, the great Knights of Labor strike on the Gould lines in 1885, the fierce and all-enveloping Eight-Hour Struggle of 1886, the Homestead Strike of 1892, the rail strikes of 1893 and the famous Pullman strike of 1894. Then followed a long period of the so-called peaceful development of capitalism, broken only by localized conflicts, such as the Ludlow massacre, the Lawrence and Paterson textile strikes, etc. The opportunistic Socialist Party had its origin and development during this epoch. In Europe, the Social-Democratic parties built themselves into mass organizations. The "peaceful period of capitalism" was an international phenomenon, as Lenin has shown us. It was purchased at the expense of the backward and undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, through the policy of imperialism.

Obliged through the pressure of internal contradictions to shift to a new basis, capitalism spread out and embraced the world, striving to fit the undeveloped areas into a special place in an imperial system of economy founded upon conquest.

Super-Profits.

It was the development of monopoly which provided the method and created the physical possibility of exploiting these new territories. Each powerful national group strove to monopolize for itself the vast stores of raw material, the markets and the investment fields of the backward countries, and to incorporate them in its own economic system. Hitherto American capitalists had been satisfied to draw upon the raw materials of the undeveloped West, and they did not have sufficient capital to think of conquering new investment fields, but in 1898 they suddenly provoked an imperialist war with Spain, tearing away Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. That was the beginning of the period of aggressive development of the American Empire, which has since subjected, directly and indirectly, over three-quarters of a million square miles in Latin America and the Far East, and which is now reaching out for the whole world. Working-class lives have been sacrificed in the struggle for the American Empire, and workers have dug the coal and forged the steel and built the ships that went into the winning of it, but the empire does not belong to the workers; it is the empire of Morgan and Rockefeller and the Wall Street financial oligarchy, which controls the government and uses it for its imperialist purposes.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries raw materials are plentiful, land is cheap and labor can be had for next to nothing. American textile workers are paid little enough—when they are working, which is not very often these days—but unskilled textile workers in Central China work for from 75 cents to \$1.50 a week! In the mines and oilfields of Bolivia, the workers receive less than one-tenth of the wage paid to unskilled workers in the same industries in this country. And in Haiti and Santo Domingo the natives have been made to work for practically nothing at all, by the simple process of rounding them up in chain gangs and sending them out on the roads to labor twelve hours a day under a heavy guard of United States marines. Wherever a strike situation develops American warships or troops are called into action, or—as in Chile and the banana-producing realm of the United Fruit Co. in Central America—the native government is prevailed upon to furnish the necessary troops. With all these "natural advantages," and the added factor of monopoly control (established through the exaction of "concessions," through special provisions of forced loans and through downright robbery), it is not to be wondered at that the profits in colonial and semi-colonial countries are enormous.

Figures printed elsewhere in this issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY give some idea of Wall Street's return from its "colonial" investment during the past year. Profits of 1,000

per cent on the capital exported are not unheard of. It will be seen that properly safeguarded investments in undeveloped countries return far more than what is considered a handsome profit at home, far more even than monopoly profit. In fact they yield a super-profit. If the capitalists can continue to gain super-profits from their imperialist ventures abroad they may well resign themselves to more moderate profits at the seat of empire.

In the last analysis super-profit may be said to result from: (1) the greatly increased rate of exploitation (as reflected in the composition of the capital employed, which in backward countries shows a much greater proportion of variable capital to constant); (2) the exaggerated extension of monopoly characteristics in dependent countries; (3) the pressure of the imperialist state in the acquisition of "concessions," spheres of influence or colonial possession; (4) robbery of virgin resources.

The first point is cardinal. It is a simple law of capitalism that profit is in all cases obtained from the surplus value produced by the workers, and the rate of profit increases with the increase of the variable factor in capital, that is, the amount of labor power, which produces more than its value, employed in relation to constant capital which reproduces itself in the process of production without adding to its own value—raw materials, machinery, buildings and so on. It is obvious that in a highly developed imperialist nation the industries have a higher composition of capital employed in them, and therefore a lower rate of exploitation, than the colonial or semi-colonial countries. Because of these factors, resulting in longer hours of labor, the rate of profit is naturally higher in the subject nations, and this with the items enumerated, is the explanation of the origin of super-profits.

Super-profit gained in the undeveloped countries is the mainstay of modern capitalism. Capitalism draws strength in the form of super-profits to struggle against its inherent contradictions and to continue its exploitation at home.

Imperialism and the Workers.

But the contradictions are not overcome, but magnified. Monopoly has not done away with competition, which is now the fierce and remorseless competition of huge militarized trusts competing on an international scale. A few powerful nations—of which the United States is now the most powerful—dominate all the others. They use every means to extend their monopoly control. They struggle to get hold of all important resources. Oil becomes a raw material of vital necessity and there is a mad scramble for oil lands; implacable rivalries spring up between the United States and England, rivalries which are intensified by clashes of interests at a hundred other points, and which can only be settled by the final arbiter—war! The World War and the military exploits since the war indicate how the capitalist order plunges to disaster in this, the final stage of capitalism.

The climax of the struggle to obtain super-profits is thus far different from the period of "peaceful development" which characterized its earlier stages. The world is completely partitioned, and every attempt to seize upon fresh areas for the export of capital is a challenge to some powerful overlord.

Within the imperialist nations the class antagonisms are also intensified, as a result of the deep-going imperialist

crisis of capitalism brought to a head by the world war. In Germany, England, France and the other European countries this is obvious. Soviet Russia has overthrown capitalism, and thereby created the first breach in the ring of imperialist states. And in the United States what has happened? We are not on the edge of proletarian revolution certainly, but who would say that we are still living in the "peaceful period" of 1894-1917? Not even in the pre-imperialist days before 1895 has there been such a series of titanic labor struggles in the United States as in the period since the war. First the great Steel Strike of 1919 led by William Z. Foster, then the first Coal Miners' Strike, then the big "Outlaw Strike" on the railroads, then the second Miners' Strike, the nation-wide Railway Shopmen's Strike, the Textile Strikes of 1923-24. Palmer's famous "Red Raids." The assault upon the convention of the Communist Party in Berrien County, Michigan. Pitched battles in West Virginia and at Herrin, Illinois!

These events are all fresh in our minds. They indicate that imperialism has brought no permanent stabilization to capitalism. Imperialism, the source of the capitalists' super-profits, weighs ever more heavily upon the workers. Just as the American coal magnates, through their monopoly control of both sections of the industry, are able to play off non-union fields against union fields, so Wall Street plays off "cheap Mexican labor" or "cheap Chinese labor" against American labor. The average American worker may find it hard to realize that he can be at all affected by the competition of Latin Americans or Chinese or Filipinos, who are exploited under the worst conditions of imperialism and whose productivity is relatively low, but the competition is a fact. Just how much this can mean may be seen in the case of the Dundee textile workers in England, who have been so hard hit by cheap colonial competition that they recently sent special organizers to India to organize the native mill operatives—an excellent illustration of the importance of solidarity between the exploited workers in the home country of imperialism and the exploited toilers in the colonies!

The Anaconda Copper Mining Co. (controlled by the Rockefeller-Ryan interests) owns extensive properties in the United States, and it also owns the Chile Copper Co. in Chile. The Chile Copper Co. is a "low-cost producer." It can make money even when copper is selling as low as nine cents a pound. Ananconda's American properties find it hard to operate at a profit when copper goes much below fourteen cents a pound. When the price situation is unfavorable (or when there is a strike!) some of the American mines are shut down, while the Chilean mines are kept working.

Even where there is no conscious attempt to play off the underpaid colonial and semi-colonial toilers against Americans the effect of their competition remains, through the marketing of lower-priced goods produced by their labor. All unskilled workers feel this competition, which tends to get worse and worse with the progress of imperialism. Sections of the skilled workers feel it too, and these sections will now be greatly enlarged as a result of the Dawes Plan and other American monopolist schemes in Europe.

Capitalism is every fleeing before the ghost of the Falling Rate of Profit. It yearns for the super-profits of the colonies and semi-colonies and strives to invest as much of

its capital there as possible. The export of capital (as well as the war ventures and militarization which are inseparable from it) periodically stimulate certain industries at home to great activity—especially the iron and steel industry—but the other home industries lag behind. There is increasing unemployment. When, after each period of fitful activity the over-expanded steel and coal industries shut down, unemployment assumes tremendous proportions. During the present epoch of imperialism the life of the working-class family has become one of constant uncertainty and insecurity. No worker knows today if he will be working tomorrow. There are over 1,500,000 unemployed workers in England at the present time, and more than 2,000,000 in the United States.

Imperialism has made mass unemployment a permanent phenomenon. It has jeopardized and is actually forcing down the standard of living of the American workers. Moreover, it has placed at the disposal of the capitalists a highly centralized governmental apparatus, such as never before existed in American history. Compulsory "arbitration" laws are passed, blanket injunctions are issued, the constitutionally guaranteed right of free speech is flatly denied by the Supreme Court. Militia and state police are called out in every important strike.

Only militant struggle can prevent the workers from losing all the hard-won gains of recent years.

Corruption of Labor Aristocracy.

It is to the trade unions that American workers naturally look for leadership in struggle. What do they find? A situation which tells them plainly that if they are to carry on a successful struggle against the bosses they will also have to do some struggling from the inside. The titular leaders of the unions refuse to lead. They sabotage the labor movement at every turn. Instead of attacking the bosses they concentrate their attacks on the left wing which calls for struggle. They try to defeat every attempt to strengthen the trade unions by amalgamation. Although the American working class is considerably less than 20 per cent organized, they make no sincere effort to organize the great mass of unorganized workers. A cynical bureaucracy, perpetuated through machine-made re-elections, the American labor officialdom is jealous of every progressive move that threatens its continued domination.

But this in itself is not sufficient to account for the utter sabotage of the unions by the leaders. The officials have another interest in wanting to keep the unions weak, aside from the fact that weak unions are easier to dominate. I refer to something so sinister and at the same time so essentially interlaced with all the activities of the American labor bureaucracy that it should make every worker do some serious thinking.

It is simply this: the material interests of the labor fakery are bound up with those of the bosses.

The labor fakery has one finger in the jam pot of super-profits. The returns from the exploitation of oppressed peoples abroad are so great that the capitalists can well afford to give up a small portion in order to insure smooth-running operation in the important home sector of imperialism, without which the whole imperial system would crash. It is not only labor fakery who are corrupted in this way, but the

entire upper crust of the trade union movement, the so-called "labor aristocracy consisting principally of the most highly skilled workers and workers engaged in privileged trades. Such a privileged group of workers as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is not affected by the competition of colonial and semi-colonial labor in the same way as the great mass of unskilled workers are. Their wages are not lowered but increased—and the increase really constitutes a share in the capitalists' super-profits. Of course the increase is not permanent; as imperialism develops further, the privileges of even these aristocratic workers are being steadily undermined. There was a time when practically every section of the European labor movement was subsidized by a share in the super-profits from the colonies, and it was bitterly complained that the whole British working class was imperialist. The situation is far different today, with unemployment rampant and the standard of living being forced lower and lower. The honeymoon of the American labor aristocracy with the capitalist exploiters is bound to be short lived. Just at present, however, it gives the labor aristocrats partnership in the ugly business of imperialism and influences them against their own ultimate class interests.

This is the source from which has emanated a subtle poison permeating the ranks of the labor movement with a doctrine known as "class collaboration." At a time when the bosses are carrying on a vicious series of "open shop" drives against the unions, at a time when the broad masses of workers in and out of the unions require leadership in unflinching struggle—the corrupted leaders blandly tell them that "the interests of capital and labor are identical."

In Comrade Browder's excellent pamphlet on "Class Struggle versus Class Collaboration," published in the Little Red Library series, he sums up the outstanding phases of the campaign for class collaboration as follows:

- (1.) Establishment of "insurance benefits" as the dominant feature of the union's daily activity;
- (2.) The epidemic of so-called labor banks;
- (3.) Special schemes for collaboration in the shops for reducing costs and speeding up production, such as the B. & O. plan;
- (4.) The systematic corruption of the minds of the more intelligent workers with a philosophy of class collaboration, through the instrumentality of so-called workers' education, and
- (5.) The welding together of the entire official apparatus under the program of class collaboration, classic exposition of which was given by Samuel Gompers and Major Geo. L. Berry at the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L.

That such a program constitutes nothing less than abject slavery for the great mass of the workers is obvious to even the labor fakery. There is no real collaboration of classes under capitalism. The doctrine of "class collaboration" is an expression of the collaboration of capitalists and labor aristocracy to the detriment of the masses.

It is impossible to comprehend the real characteristics of class-collaborationism without understanding the corruption of privileged workers through a share in the super-profits. Capitalists do not share their super-profits willingly.

(They do not share anything willingly!) But in rallying support for their imperialist ventures—and in the give and take of the day-to-day labor struggle—certain concessions are wrung from them on the basis of which the favored elements betray the class struggle and go over to the bourgeoisie. The process is not necessarily a conscious one on the part of either the privileged workers or the capitalists.

Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that capitalism has learned a good deal since its early days and it does not underestimate the advantage of corrupting a whole section of the opposing class army.

The whole matter is not as simple as the payment of a bribe—although in the case of reactionary trade union officials, bribery, "rake-offs" and the awarding of all sorts of contracts are no inconsiderable item, as has been thoroughly proved in America before now. The selling out of the reactionary officials is in this sense a special problem, which the workers will one day deal with as it deserves. As for the labor aristocracy, its share of the super-profits comes primarily in the form of increased wages—and indeed all other sources of its income really constitute an addition to wages. Some of the forms of division are significant, however.

None is more significant than that which is implied in the mechanics of "labor banking." The rapid growth of the bank established by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers gave impetus to the system, and at the last convention of the A. F. of L. it was reported that there were 30 such "labor banks" in operation with resources totaling \$150,000,000, while about 60 more were in process of organization. Of all these, Browder points out in his pamphlet that the Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is the only one that has been tinged with any real proletarian atmosphere, and for this apparent exception there is a reason which we do not have to go into here; suffice it to say that the Amalgamated officials are the only ones in the union who benefit by the bank. As a result of their banking business the Locomotive Engineers have secured an interest in the Empire Trust Co. of New York, where their officials sit side by side with Charles M. Schwab on the board of directors. Browder declares that "the bank has tied up the affairs of the Locomotive Engineers with the machinery of Wall Street so closely that it is questionable if it should still be called a labor union." It is no more than natural that the financial ventures of the brotherhood offi-

cialists should have led them finally to participate in the "open shop" drive of the bosses, such as transpired in their West Virginia mining properties where they refused to recognize the United Mine Workers of America.

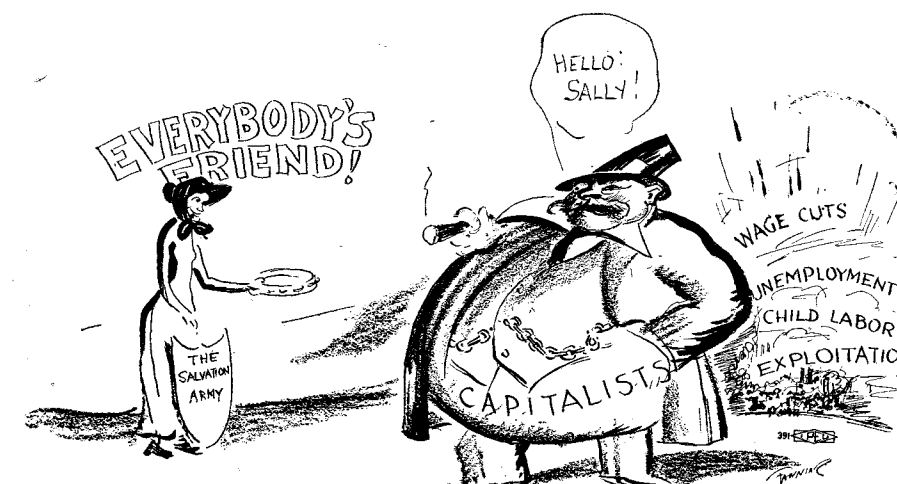
It is also quite in the order of things that when the late Warren S. Stone was raised from Grand Chief Engineer to the newly created position of General President "in charge of all the various activities of the Brotherhood," he was expected to devote most of his time to finance, insurance, etc., while the office of Grand Chief Engineer was made a secondary one, virtually subordinated to the financial department. William B. Prenter, the man who has been selected to succeed Stone as General President, has been occupied almost exclusively in the financial affairs of the organization.

The role of the banks in imperialism is well known. They are the unifying force that welds all other branches of capitalist industry together. Above all they are the principal exporters of capital. There is no mystery about the sharing of super-profits here. "Labor banking" gives those who benefit by it a direct stake in the exploitation of oppressed peoples.

One would expect to find the labor officials not only class-collaborationist but also imperialist, and that is just what we do find. They talk glibly of "our national interests," vulgarizing the imperialist ideology of the bourgeoisie in all its phases. They are "100 per cent American," that is jingoistic. They proved it by leading the working class like sheep to the slaughter of the imperialist World War. They have at last gone so far as to consummate an alliance between the A. F. of L. and the American Legion. Gompers appeared at a convention of the Legion for the first time in San Francisco four years ago, speaking from the same platform with Marshal Foch and General Josef Haller, notorious reactionary butcher of the Polish workers. Another guest of honor who had been invited to attend the convention but who was not able to be there was Mussolini!

The labor fakery are militant advocates of pan-Americanism. The Pan-American Federation of Labor, which was organized, financed and manipulated by Gompers, is the labor counterpart of the Pan American Union. Its political creed is the Monroe Doctrine and its purpose is to help consolidate American imperialist rule over Latin America. Its trumped-up conventions are devoted to whitewashing American imperialism, attacking the "reds" and evolving new schemes for smoothing out the road of empire among the Latin-American toilers. When a resolution of protest against American military rule in Santo Domingo and Nicaragua was introduced in the 1921 convention, at Mexico City, it was immediately choked off by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and a substitute adopted praising the United States government for the benefits supposed to have been conferred on the occupied territories.

The A. F. of L. fakery have sought out and established connection with the worst traitors in Latin-America. Their two main supports are Luis N. Morones, known as the "Gompers of Mexico," and Santiago Iglesias, the wily old boss of



the Porto Rican labor movement. Iglesias is president of the Socialist Party of Porto Rico and A. F. of L. officials would not normally be expected to have anything to do with a socialist but there is a mitigating circumstance. The Socialist Party of Porto Rico is the chief opposition to the powerful Nationalist Party, which is backed by the majority of the Porto Rican people and which demands unconditional independence from the United States. Iglesias has come out strongly against independence. His socialism is a matter of words.

The full meaning of such doubtful Latin-American labor associations is nowhere more amply revealed than in the following paragraph, which was printed in the WORKERS MONTHLY for March, 1925, as translated from "El Machete" of Mexico City:

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. . . . 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.

Thus far I have tried to show the following:

(1.) That by intense exploitation of subject peoples under the conditions of imperialism, the capitalists derive a super-profit which becomes the mainspring of imperialist relationships.

(2.) That as a result of this the capitalists are able to continue the system of wage slavery in the home countries of imperialism.

(3.) That imperialism thus becomes a burden not only upon the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, but upon the workers in the developed countries as well, whose condition moreover becomes worse and worse as the race for super-profits becomes hotter.

(4.) That the American workers are therefore obliged to struggle energetically to retain even their hard-won gains of the past.

(5.) That a section of the working class, including the trade union bureaucracy and the privileged workers, refuses to take part in the struggle and actually betrays it, having been won over to the bourgeoisie through a share in the super-profits.

(6.) That, sharing directly in the spoils of empire, these corrupted labor elements have a vested interest in imperialist expansion and become conscious or unconscious accomplices in the enslavement of subject peoples.

What I have not brought out except by inference is that the corruption of a section of the working class provides the

basis for the policy of the Socialist Party policy and of social-democratic parties throughout the world. This was clearly proved by Comrade Bukharin in his answer to Boris at the fifth congress of the Communist International. Political reformism springs from the same economic soil as class collaborationism. It has the smell of super-profits upon it. That is the reason why the Second International never made any serious effort to grapple with the problem of imperialism, being content to adopt the comfortable position that the problem would solve itself with the establishment of the new social order in "the civilized countries."

Workers, Subject Peoples, and the Revolution.

Unlike the Socialists, the Communists do not base their policies on a privileged group but on the needs of the broad masses. The lowest and most exploited strata of the working class are drawn into the struggle under their leadership. Capitalism must be overthrown! This is not the job of a group or a section, but of the entire working class.

It would be a mistake to draw too sharp a line between the labor aristocracy and the rest of the workers. The highly skilled operatives have not ceased to be wage-workers and they have not ceased to be exploited, despite their share in the super-profits. Concurrently with the tendency of the bosses to share with them there is a tendency to take away. All sorts of conflicting cross currents influence their reactions—and they will not be ultimately untrue to their historic interests as workers. While we fight to win the masses away from the leadership of these corrupted elements, we must endeavor to break the latter away from the bosses and to draw them more and more into the struggle. It is in unceasing struggle that the hope of the working class lies.

But however fine a struggle the workers put up in the developed countries it will not be easy to overthrow the capitalist order so long as the imperialists are not deprived of their source of super-profit in the subject nations. Here is where the importance of an alliance between the workers in the capitalist countries and the various oppressed peoples of imperialism comes in. Such an alliance would convert the colonies and semi-colonies from reserves of capitalism into so many strategic points for the revolution. By their export of capital, the capitalists have unwittingly helped to build up a native industry in the subject countries, with its own proletariat and bourgeoisie and its own intelligenzia whose aspirations for an independent national economy run directly counter to the interests of the imperialists. The widely-noted "awakening of the east" is a result of this. Anti-imperialist movements striving toward national liberation have gained great headway in every colony and dependency of the American empire. The victory of the national liberation movements, together with the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries will insure the overthrow of the capitalist system throughout the world.

If this common front against the common enemy is to be realized, however, the initiative must rest with the working class in the capitalist countries. Filipinos and Latin-Americans are, not unjustly, distrustful of all Americans as imperialists; the exploits of the Pan-American Federation of Labor have taught them to look with suspicion upon the friendship of even the workers. Our sincerity will be judged by deeds.

(Continued on page 430)

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

Combining
The Labor Herald, Liberator and Soviet Russia Pictorial
EARL R. BROWDER, Editor

Official Organ
The Workers Party
and
The Trade Union Educational League

Published by
The Daily Worker Society
1113 W. Washington Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

25 Cents a Copy
\$2.00 a Year—\$1.25 Six Months

Business Manager,
Moritz J. Loeb

An All-American Anti-Imperialist Congress

A NEW force has appeared in the Americas: the All-American Anti-Imperialist League... Capitalism may yet tremble before the advancing shadow of this auspicious organization, the vanguard of a historic movement, the expression of the avenging interests of an entire continent.

The All-American Anti-Imperialist League is not a fraternal order. It is not a sort of international Christian Endeavor society for the purpose of flattering cosmopolitan sympathies. It sets out deliberately to organize and direct the immediate struggles of Porto Ricans, Haitians, Cubans, Mexicans, Central Americans, etc.—of all the exploited peoples of America—against the crushing domination of American imperialist capitalism. From the very beginning this new organization has demonstrated that it takes its job seriously. It would rather throw off the rule of Wall Street than win the sympathy of American pacifists and old ladies.

So-called "liberals," who are anti-imperialist in words, may be frightened by such an organization but the working class will recognize in it an important ally. The Workers (Communist) Party has already affiliated with the League, and it is to be hoped that other workers' organizations in the United States will affiliate also. The anti-imperialist struggle, as the articles in this issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY demonstrate, is at the same time the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist countries.

It was the All-American Anti-Imperialist League that sent out the call for the observance of "Anti-Imperialist Week" (June 29 to July 4) throughout America.

The League is now suggesting to national liberation movements, labor and student organizations, etc., the convening of a joint anti-imperialist convention, either in Mexico City or in Buenos Aires, to work out a general program of struggle against Wall Street and to co-ordinate the general campaign with the specific requirements of each individual country. Just now, when every day brings us news of some aggression of American imperialism, the initiative for an international convention of anti-imperialist forces seems to us particularly timely. We do not know how soon the convention could be realized. We appreciate the many obstacles that stand in the way, as for instance the great distances to be traveled. But we are sure that such a gathering corresponds to the needs of the workers in this country as well as to the oppressed peoples of Latin America, Hawaii and the Philippines. If the All-American Anti-Imperialist League goes ahead with its plans in this connection with the same energy that it has displayed in its other activities we can expect to see them carried into practice within a relatively short time.

Practical working unity of all anti-imperialist forces against American imperialism! That is the great need. If the All-American Anti-Imperialist League can be the means of bringing about such unity it will play a role in history.

The Battle of West Virginia

IT is tooth and claw now in West Virginia. The last pretense of governmental impartiality has been abandoned in the permanent injunction issued by Federal Judge Baker in the interests of the plutocratic mineowners who are trying to beat back the advance of the miners' union. The injunction, requested and obtained by the West Virginia-Pittsburgh Coal Co., orders the United Mine Workers of America to refrain from all forms of persuasion, however peaceful, in organization work among the non-union miners in Panhandle County, W. Va.

Heretofore the judicial flunkies have always looked for technicalities or so worded their injunctions as to make it appear they were preventing violence and the destruction of property. Judge Baker tears the veil of hypocrisy from injunctions and declares boldly that the miners have no right to organize.

It is superfluous to point out once more that this is a direct violation of the constitutionally guaranteed right of free speech. The highest judicial body in the land, the Supreme Court, has already shown how much it thinks of this guarantee in its decision on the Gitlow case. Moreover, every guarantee in the Bill of Rights that interferes with the anti-union coal operators will meet the same fate in West Virginia.

For months now the West Virginia miners have been putting up a heroic struggle against great odds. The entire labor movement will be behind them in their new emergency. It takes more than a court order to prevent free speech! We can be sure that the miners will go ahead organizing.

The journal of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, commenting upon the injunction, declares:

It is not the mark of patriotism to obey a court order that citizens shall not advise and counsel with fellow citizens to join with them in any lawful movement. No citizen should submit to judicial censorship on what he speaks and writes.

While the above paragraph is rather quaintly phrased, the sentiment which it is intended to convey is plain and we endorse it one hundred per cent.

An Antidote for God and Cross Word Puzzles

IT is significant to note that at the time when the world's best known purveyor of "little library" books is making complete surrender to conventionality if not to downright reaction, a new little library is gaining prominence. As Haldeman-Julius progresses from Plato, Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde and Shaw to God, "Success" and Cross Word Puzzles, the little library of the working class makes its appearance.

Of the many advances made in the realm of Communist literature during the past months, the establishment of "The Little Red Library" is not the least. It is less than two months since the first volume of this library was published and already the library is known and read everywhere among militants in America.

During the first three years of its existence the Workers Party was able to establish and build up its periodical press. The next step was the satisfaction of the crying need for a permanent Communist literature. The Little Red Library is destined to fulfill this requirement and to serve moreover as an excellent medium for the agitation and propaganda of the American Communist movement.

Four volumes have now been published with twelve more planned and in preparation. These sixteen covering as they do a wide field of subjects and material give evidence of the tremendous possibilities of The Little Red Library in education of advanced sections of the working class and in agitation and inspiration for the working class mass.

Militants who have not yet made themselves familiar with this new Communist educational medium will do well to begin now to keep up with the development of the Workers Party from a party of action only, to a party which combines action with sober study of its theory and practice.

Militants who have not yet utilized The Little Red Library as a medium for agitation will find here a new and effective medium for gaining adherents to the Communist program.

Bayonets in War and Peace

(Continued from page 400)

Other Preparations, Also.

The basis of all this preparation may be mental but the actual struggle with the discontented workers is not going to be carried out on this plane. "Troops should never be ordered on riot duty without an ample supply of ball ammunition. Blank cartridges should never be fired at a mob. If ball ammunition is expected from the first, moral effect is gained." (War Dept. Chapter V., 17a.)

The books go into great detail in working out actual tactics for street fighting, bombing of barricades, roof storming with "hand grenades or light dynamite bombs dropped down roof scuttles and chimneys." The value of the tank is debated.—"Its appearance in Cleveland during the riots of May 1, 1919, seems to have attracted larger crowds than it scattered. . . (But) in Hopewell, Va., it depopulated the town, the rioters taking to the timber. . ." A professional butcher would be rather chagrined at having his quarry get away. Poison gas is not discussed, probably later editions will cover it adequately.

The arrangements for telephonic mobilization of the men, of motor trucks and drivers, of a spy service, of food and ammunition, even of extra shoes and similar equipment is considered in elaborate and interesting detail. Labor organizations could learn valuable lessons from these martial tacticians.

Steel vs. Lead.

There seems to be some disagreement over the relative value of bayonet versus bullet as a means of driving strikers back to work.

The War Dept. pamphlet (Chapter VII., Sec. 45.) declares: "The bayonet is the greatest moral factor in well-trained troops. When a mob is to be dispersed, the bayonet should first be resorted to without hesitation." But it also cautions infantry to use "great care" with the bayonet "against a mob many times larger." Let it not be inferred that this caution with the most "moral" weapon reveals any

solicitude for the workers against whom it is used. Far from it. "If a large mob is allowed to surround the troops and hand to hand fighting results, the soldiers lose the advantage of their superior weapons and their training, with the probable result of greater bloodshed, if not defeat, for the troops". . . "If the bayonet attack is attempted, provision must be made for final victory in case the more lenient measure results in failure."

Colonel Bellows disagrees with the previous writer. He doubts the greater leniency of scooping out a man's entrails with a bayonet as against shooting daylight through him with lead. He holds the bayonet "just as dangerous to the mob, and far more so to the troops themselves. The soldier, and particularly the civilian soldier, who will have no difficulty whatever in squeezing the trigger at the signal to commence firing, is quite likely to turn actually sick when he has to thrust his bayonet into the body of a fellow townsman."

"Women and Children First."

" . . . Nearly every disorderly crowd includes a considerable number of women, and often children as well. It is a common occurrence for women in the front ranks of a crowd to deliberately invite an attack, knowing how the sympathies of a large element in the community will be affected thereby. This situation is exceedingly unpleasant . . . but there is absolutely no help for it. Women who join such crowds know that they have no business there; the presence of troops is enough to warn them that violence may be expected. (How true!) . . . They must never be permitted to prevent the troops from accomplishing their purpose. The law makes no distinctions as to sex in holding guilty every person who remains at a scene of a riot after having been warned to depart thence."

The law! Enter the law! In all its majesty. Black robe and white wig, in its hand a bloody bayonet. What amount of force is lawful? is asked. "WHATEVER FORCE IS REQUISITE IS LAWFUL." (War Dept. Chapter IX., 57) Amen. Amen. Amen.

The Old Root

Popping of a board,
A cricket's brazen rattle,
The soft stir of ashes
As the old root settles in the fire.

Once he grew far down in the earth
Clutching with crabbed fingers
Till his knuckles grew white
As the mighty winds tugged and pulled
At the branches of the lofty tree.

The old root was friend of grub and chrysalis,
He welcomed the spring rain and the sun
That crept down and warmed his chilled hands.

Now his long life is over
And he settles sleepily into the ashes
Graying into oblivion.

—Beulah May.

New Uses for Strikes

Recent Tendencies in Mexican Labor Politics

By "Audifaz"

"THERE will be no more strikes in Mexico." "Where there is a Labor government (save the mark!) strikes are unnecessary." "Mexican labor has arrived at the epoch of harmony between the legitimate interests of capital and the legitimate interests of labor"; "the unions were not made for strikes."

This startling series of declarations had scarcely left the lips of Eduardo Moneda, General Secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and the storm of protest among the rank and file of the Federation had scarcely begun to assume volume as the press carried the interviews throughout the republic, when this same leader and his colleagues began a series of strikes. . .

But not one capitalist paper pointed out a contradiction between the no-strike policy and the new strike policy nor did the big metropolitan dailies oppose the strikes. On the contrary, they reported them complacently and favorably. The federation leaders had discovered something new in strikes.

Even the form was new—the pickets were not the striking workers, but POLICE AND MILITARY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT! It seemed as if the Federation were using all its control of the governmental machinery. In reality, the government is using all its control of the Federation machinery, for all of the leaders of the Mexican Federation of Labor (C. R. O. M.) receive their salaries from the government, and, along with their salaries, their orders.

A Twofold Purpose.

The purpose of these new strikes is twofold: to attack British capital thus favoring American investment and to destroy the unions, which, independent of the Federation, show so little discretion as to regard capital as capital without distinction as to who invested it, whether Uncle Sam or John Bull, and, in place of striking to favor governmental policy, has the uncomfortable habit of striking "porque si" to gain concessions necessary to the workers.

This war of extermination against the autonomous unions was opened with tactical skill first against the most defenseless of the autonomous unions, the Union Sindicalista de Tranviarios (trolley-men). The victory there was easy, as the "independent" union was a "company union," controlled and financed by the trolley company and the mass of the Mexican workers did nothing to defend it against the imaginary organization of the Federation in the same field.

This strike is typical of the methods and purposes of the new strike policy of the Federation. The trolley company is owned by British and Canadian capital so that Washington and its governmental and trade union agents in Mexico, viewed with complacency an attack upon the trolley company. So a recognition strike was declared, demanding the recognition of a palpably minority union as the official or "legitimate" union among the trolley workers of the Federal



IN THE TAMPICO OIL FIELDS.

District. (Corresponds to the District of Columbia in the U. S., but is an economic as well as a political center.)

The government of the Federal District (Labor Party government) declared that in its opinion the striking union represented the majority of the workers and must be recognized. To back up its flats, it sent the police to picket and not permit the entry of any workers into the car barns. The strike was short and bloodless.

Assault on the Bakers' Union.

But now the Federation leaders pursuing the same policy, have moved to the attack of more militant unions. One of the strongest and most militant of these in the Federal District is the Bakers' Union. It has an unquestionable majority of all the workers in the baking trade and is serving as a center for the organizing of other food trade workers. The Federation or "yellow" union which has opened war on it under the pretense of a war on the baking proprietors has control of only the fancy cake bakers (bizcocheros); while the "red" or independent union controls the bread and tortilla industry. (Tortillas are the native Indian bread).

The bizcocheros declared a strike of the "whole baking industry," and proceeded again to use the troops of the Federal District as pickets, lacking the strength to do the picketing themselves. But the independent unions and the Communist Party immediately rallied to the defense of the bakers. They themselves are strong and militant and held firm. There were several bloody clashes between the rival bands and in spite of the soldier-pickets the independent bakers did not get the worst of it. The strike has been temporarily called off, the leaders of the Federation thus acknowledging defeat in the first skirmish. But they are preparing to repeat the tactics and the government of the Fed-

eral District has issued a ukase to the effect that there "shall be only one union in an industry" and that that union shall be "legal" and "official" and must be recognized by bosses and government alike. It is going to "decide which of the two unions represents a majority of the workers" and it is a foregone conclusion that it will decide as it did in the trolley strike that the more or less imaginary federation organization has the majority of the workers. Another recognition strike will then be declared. However, I should advise the readers of the WORKERS MONTHLY not to bank too much on the combination of the federation union and the troops, as the Bakers' Union is one of the most militant and, compared with the petty bosses in the baking trade, one of the most powerful unions in Mexico. Moreover, it will have the support of the independent unions and the Communist Party in its fight.

More serious moves in the same direction are being prepared in the oil and railroad industries. Here the stakes are big, the industries basic and the very question of the dominance of American over British capital is at the heart of the matter.

In the Oil Industry.

The extraction of petroleum is the most important industry of Mexico. The Mexican Federation of Labor has no control in the industry. Some of the oil unions were born as autonomous organizations. Others separated themselves from the federation after its leaders tried to prevent or sell their strikes. Yet others separated themselves from the federation and the rival anarchist organization (the Confederacion General de Trabajadores) when these two national bodies tried to prevent a united front of all the workers in the oil fields. The unions in the oil fields, under the influence of Communist slogans, and in part of Communist leadership, began to comprehend that only a united front against the powerful oil companies held any possibility of successful struggle with the colossal world aggregation of capital that the Oil Association represented. Beginning with "solidarity pacts," they finally developed a truly powerful proletarian organization of all the unions in the oil industry under the name of "The United Front of the Oil Workers." It is, in form, a loose federation, but it is slowly centralizing itself under the impact of its struggles, its innate sense of solidarity and the urgings of its Communist elements. It already has to its credit the winning of a series of brilliant strikes against all the most powerful companies in the fields, which amounts to saying, the most powerful oil companies in the world.

But this is a terribly uncomfortable situation for the big oil interests that lord it over governments, including that of teapot fame, that brook no opposition and have effectively destroyed all real oil-workers' organization in the land of the brave and the home of John D. Here is a spectre much worse than that one-time terrible article 27 of the Mexican constitution which nationalized the sub-soil and its products until the Obregon-Calles regimes discovered the "socialistic" theory of the non-retroactivity of said article—a complete and successful operation of castration.

So the leaders of the Mexican Federation are cautiously advancing to the fray. Their first move uncovers the same plan of campaign that is being used in the bakers' strike and was used in the trolley situation. But this time it is on

a national scale and the economic life of Mexico and the Mexican proletariat is at stake. The first tactical move is the founding of the "Union of Employes and Workers of the Petroleum Companies." It has been founded, not in the petroleum regions, but in the Federal District, where the only oil workers are office employes, etc., that the various companies have in their main offices in the Capital. The new union does not include many office workers either, but sufficient for the purposes of the Federation leaders. Its future course can be imagined. This skeleton organization will be used to declare "recognition strikes," demanding recognition from each company as the legitimate or "legal" union. The companies, or at least the American companies, will not object to this highly favorable division in the ranks of the oil workers and will be disposed to recognize the new organization with remarkable readiness. Then will come the use of the government troops to aid in the recognition strikes, against the militant "scabs" of the oil-field United Front Federation: The new tactic discovered in the trolley and bakers' strikes, but on a tremendous scale and with international significance.

American Oil Empire Involved.

The outcome? Office-workers, troops and labor leaders cannot produce oil. The workers in the oil fields will receive the unanimous support of the unions of the Port of Tampico (also independent of the Federation and organized in a "United Front Federation"). The Communist Party will do its best to swing the support of the railway federation where its influence is great, of the electricians, of the bakers and other food workers, of the textile workers and of the peasantry behind the life and death struggle of the Mexican proletariat against the oil companies which constitute the backbone of American imperialism in Mexico. The All-American Anti-Imperialist League has already sounded the alarm in the May number of its official organ, "El Libertador," advising the oil workers of the Tampico region, the best organized in the world, to carry the war into the enemy's camp by forming alliances with the oil workers of the same companies in the United States, Europe, Asia and Africa through the medium of the R. I. L. U., as well as with the oil workers of Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, etc.

Within the Mexican Federation the Communists will do their best to win the solidarity of its masses with the oil-workers against the companies that constitute one of the driving forces of American imperialism in Mexico. And the response will not be unfavorable. The Orizaba workers showed their solidarity with the last railroad strike in defiance of the orders of the leaders of the Federation. The Orizaba union paper, "Pro-Paria," carries weekly attacks on its own treacherous national leaders. The Puebla general strike still in progress is another solidarity strike called in defiance of the Federation leaders. Where such masses are involved betrayal is no child's play.

The Communist Party of Mexico will appeal to that of the United States and to the Red International for aid. The battle promises to be a battle of titans whose echoes will be heard wherever there is an oil field from Sakhalin to California. Its decision will affect the fate not only of the proletariat of Mexico and the United States, but of the whole "petrolated" world.

Carbon Cakes

A SHORT STORY

By Franklin R. Timmins

BANNARD hesitated before taking another carbon slab from the stack of black grimy cakes beside him. He straightened his thick muscular back. Bannard was tired of this endless job. He pressed his puffy whiskered lips together, leaned toward a wooden box, and drew out one of his finished products, a square, smoothly sawed block of carbon. He stared at it, then threw it back.

He bent over the whirring band-saw, slapped another slab of rough carbon against the clamped gauge arm, and slid it slowly, surely, toward that screaming emery disc. The knife edge of the saw blade bit into the hard black cake, bit deeper and deeper. Cherry-hot sparks flew up toward the suction guard that half covered the saw table. Several escaped and spat against the flesh of his scarred arms, above his stiff leather gauntlets.

Mechanically he drew back the gauge arm at the precise moment that the blade severed the carbon plate. Mechanically he piled one piece in the box beside him, slid the other across his table onto a scrap pile. Again he straightened. There on either side twenty others toiled, all sawing carbon cakes.

Forty whirring emery discs. Forty bent backs. Forty pairs of scarred, hairy arms. And a great electric clock, hanging before the row of saw tables, marked time for the crew of them.

Bannard pressed another slab against the bracket, slid it toward the screaming saw. Sixty times an hour, hundreds of times a day, his gloved fingers approached that whizzing blade. No rest, no hesitation, except perhaps to look at the smooth grim face of that relentless clock.

Its smooth unscarred arms. Its tantalizing slowness as it neared closing time. Bannard hated that clock.

A guttural groan from a sawman down the line caused most of the men to look up. A stocky, muscular Pole was standing back from his table, wringing an ungloved hand in agony. Blood spattered on the floor and against the vibrating machinery. His redstained saw blade whizzed merrily on. It was directly in front of that cold emotionless clock.

A foreman hurried past, an emergency kit in his hand. His impatient gesture caused the sawmen to turn again to their tables, to the never-ending job of cutting carbon slabs.

Bannard scowled. Once a week that happened, with the regularity of clockwork. Once a week someone lost a finger against one of the whirling emery blades. Once a week a new man came to the saw shop.

A steel hand-truck rumbled across the concrete floor and stopped at his table. A dull-eyed, dirty youth stacked Bannard's finished slabs on the truck, and dumped a disheartening load of uncut blocks on the side of his steel table. The truck rumbled on to the next saw table. The clean white clock clicked off another minute.

"Bannard, you're behind again today. One a minute,

remember. But you've got to do it without staring at the clock, or I'll fire you." The foreman swaggered back to his office, boxed off in a corner of the long shop-room.

Bannard jammed the next few blocks viciously against the brittle saw blade. Sharp hot sparks flew frantically from the ripping, biting saw. The cold white clock leered down upon him.

It was nearing time for the five o'clock whistle to shriek its welcome call from far back on the roof of the factory. Bannard shot a questioning glance at his enemy, taunting him from its glistening case near the high ceiling.

In that fraction of a second came the event he had feared through his months at the saw tables. His glove caught in the saw slot, was drawn against the overheated, grinding blade. The jammed disc shredded the leather that covered his fingers and then burst into fragments with a deafening crash.

Bannard, snatching his lacerated, bleeding hand from the table, tore off the mangled gauntlet with a cry of rage. He shook his maimed fist at the grinning face of the electric clock.

Two drops of blood spattered on the glass. With a snarled oath he seized a heavy block of scrap carbon and flung it with all the strength of his powerful body.

Shattered, blackened with carbon dust, its twisted hands dangling, the clock seemed to shudder with a last click of its battered mechanism.

American Jobless Army

By Karl Reeve

WHEN the workmen employed in the car shops of the Chicago and Northwestern railroad, normally numbering seven thousand men in the Chicago plant alone, reported for work on Saturday, May 2, they were informed that on the following Monday 86 per cent of the total working force would be laid off indefinitely. On May 4, over half of all the workmen in the carshops on the entire system of the railroad, were told that their services were no longer required.

These car shop mechanics do not need to ask to question, "Is there a problem of widespread unemployment facing the workers of America at this time?" Nor do fifty thousand southern Illinois coal miners who have been either entirely unemployed or have worked only one or two days per week for well over a year.

Unemployment long ago passed the sporadic stage. Today, in the clothing industry, in the New England textile mills, among the employes of the International Harvester company, the United States Steel Corporation, the General Electric company, and in all of the basic industries, a jobless army faces starvation.

The publications of big business and their governmental representatives have been forced to admit that, widespread

Labor and Empire

(Continued from page 424)

as unemployment is at the present time, the trend is toward a more severe unemployment crisis.

"Factory employment was five per cent less in February, 1925, than in February, 1924," states bulletin No. 44 of the United States Department of Commerce.

"Reports from 7,506 identical establishments show a decrease of four per cent in employment and a decrease of 3.1 per cent in the aggregate earnings of employes in March, 1925, as compared to March, 1924," says the bulletin just issued by the United States Department of Labor.

This increase in unemployment is closely connected with the "open shop" drive of the employers to destroy the unions and generally reduce the standard of living of the workers. The attempt of the coal operators to destroy the miners' union in Oklahoma, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Illinois was preceded by a well-planned period of long continued unemployment. The policy of the Western Electric company, a branch of the J. P. Morgan electric trust, where the average wage is under \$25 per week, of discharging thousands of employes, and then after a period of unemployment hiring them back at a reduced wage, is but one example of what has been practiced in most of the large industries. Within a few months, 20,000 employes have been discharged from the Western Electric company, the largest employers of labor in Chicago.

If the statement of the Coolidge statisticians that production is increasing in spite of unemployment, is true, the increase, obviously, is made possible by speeding up the workers—by forcing a smaller number of employes to produce more. The same Department of Commerce bulletin which declares that unemployment in February, 1925, increased five per cent over February, 1924, informs us, "General manufacturing activity in February, 1925, was two per cent greater than a year ago."

And the April 27 bulletin of the Department of Commerce states, "Compared with March, 1924, practically all of the business and financial data showed improvement, the only downward movements among the business indicators being in the slight decline in factory unemployment."

This meager "prosperity," which Coolidge and his Wall Street bosses have been widely advertising, has been wrung out of the wrecked bodies of the starving masses of America's workers, and at the expense of a permanent and growing army of two million unemployed workers.

The American workers are suffering from child labor, militarism, wage cuts, open shop drives, higher living costs, discrimination against Negroes, women, the youth, and the children. They face the spectre of UNEMPLOYMENT.

These problems are ever-present evils of the capitalist system, and they will be solved when the workers take the industries and the government into their own hands, and crush the profit system which denies them a chance to work to feed their families.

History of the Russian Communist Party

COMRADE ZINOVIEV'S great narrative will be continued in the August number of the WORKERS MONTHLY. It was left out of this number because the regular installment could not be gotten ready for the press in time.

The key to sure policy toward the colonial and national liberation questions is in our understanding of the factor of super-profits. I shall close this article with a quotation from Comrade Bukharin which contains the kernel of the whole matter:

One of the most important differences between the Second and Third Internationals is the conception of imperialism, the conception that a few great powers exploit the colonies, receive super-profits from these colonies and by means of them corrupt some working class sections, which provide the basis for Social-Democratic policy. . . This conception is a strong weapon in our hands against social democracy, and against the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie, a strong weapon which enables us to establish a connection between Western Europe and Asia, between the industrial proletariat and the backward colonial peoples. We have in this conception a connecting link between the revolution of the industrial proletariat and colonial rebellions, which in the trend of history are nothing but component parts of the world revolution.

International Workers Aid

National Office—19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.
CASH INCOME—MAY, 1925.

30597	M. Mardfin, Yonkers, N. Y.	\$ 1.00
30598	Cancelled	
30599	Walter Kraft, Chicago, Ill.	3.00
30600	Walter Kraft, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
30601	E. M. Braunne, New York, N. Y.	2.00
30602	So. Slav Br. No. 1 (Milson), Chicago, Ill.	13.94
30603	Polish North Side Br. (J. Kowalsky) Chicago, Ill.	50.00
30604	W. P. Local Phila. (John Luman) Philadelphia, Pa.	20.00
30605	Daisy M. Barteau, St. Paul, Minn.	10.00
30606	Lewis Fox, New York City	1.00
30607	D. P. English Br. W. P., Chicago, Ill.	4.60
30608	A. Mencke, Cleveland, Ohio	2.50
30609	Otto Olson, Kalispell, Mont.	12.00
30610	Ellen A. Freeman, Troy, N. Y.	2.00
30611	Estelle Tarkoff, Boulder, Colo.	2.00
30612	Anna Hammer, Roslindale, Mont.	2.00
30613	A. Johnson, Chicago, Ill.	4.00
30614	Dr. A. R. Melnicoff, Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00
30615	Mrs. E. A. Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
30616	John Paolucci, Utica, N. Y.	37.95
30617	Jos. Willnecker, Toledo, Ohio	42.00
30618	W. Dietrich, Denver, Colo.	100.00
30619	M. Malk, Bloomfield, Wis.	25.00
30620	Lotta Burke, Cincinnati, Ohio	25.00
30621	German Br. W. P. (J. Gaebel), Chicago, Ill.	3.00
30622	Italian Br. W. P. (A. DiCapu) Chicago, Ill.	4.00
30623	Bjornson, Chicago, Ill.	1.25
30624	L. Lonby, Sioux City, Iowa	4.00
30625	Scand. Karl Marx Br. (N. F. Holm) Chicago, Ill.	10.00
30626	Wm. Peltzer, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
30627	Samuel Pevsner, New York, N. Y.	1.00
30628	Karl J. Malmstrom, Moline, Ill.	3.25
30629	Waukegan Local (V. Lehto, Secy.) Waukegan, Ill.	44.00
30630	I. W. A. Local (M. Orens, Secy.) Los Angeles, Calif.	50.00
30631	R. Dolence (Bro 25 H. Z. Ill. Sokol) West Allis, Wis.	10.00
30632	Louis Simoliunas (I. W. A. Local) Binghamton, N. Y.	55.00
30633	Labor Defense Council Chicago Br., Chicago, Ill.	23.41
30634	George Kessler, Eureka, Calif.	4.00
30635	M. A. Stolar, Chicago, Ill.	10.00
30636	John Fromholz (I. W. A. Local) Cleveland, Ohio	167.51
30637	Rev. Elias M. Barna, Rector (All Saints Russian Orth. Church.) Wolf Run, Ohio	8.00
30638	A. Mencke, Cleveland, Ohio	2.50
30639	Mrs. Milton I. Durbach, New York, N. Y.	25.00
30640	Charles Moschel, Cincinnati, Ohio	4.00

\$800.97

FOR YOUR
CONVENIENCE!

This Is the Blank

The Workers Monthly

1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Illinois

For the enclosed \$..... send the WORKERS MONTHLY for months to:

NAME:

STREET:

CITY: STATE:

These Are the Rates

\$2.00 A YEAR
\$1.25 SIX MONTHS

The Cream of the Week's News

in the

FEDERATED PRESS

Labor Letter

A digest of news relating to labor's aims and labor's achievements

Compiled and condensed for the busy but wideawake reader

Write for sample copy or send \$2.00 for year's subscription

The Federated Press

156 W. Washington St.

Chicago, Ill.

The most important work in literary and social criticism in many years, presenting a point of view original and valuable to a knowledge of our literature and our time, and all literature and all time.

THE NEWER SPIRIT

By V. F. CALVERTON

Michael Gold wrote the author:

"It delights me to see that we have at last a real philosopher in our revolutionary ranks. Your work is on a plane with the best writings of the Russian critics—the first class men among them. It seems incredible that a man of your insight, scholarship and temperament should be so red and fundamental."

John Dewey, noted philosopher:

"It is by far the best statement in behalf of sociological criticism I have ever read."

Herbert Read, editor, The Criterion:

"That 'the tendencies of art, religion and science are but the interwoven threads of social texture' is a truth that for some years has been growing into our critical awareness, but it has never before been traced with such thoroughness in the sphere of literature. Mr. Calverton draws his evidence from the consideration of three main periods with their parallel types of literature."

Sherwood Anderson, noted novelist:

"One of the few things I have read that has something to say... Remarkably fine."

This is one of the most beautiful books we have ever published. The price is \$2.50. Order your copy through

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.
1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

Published by BONI & LIVERIGHT

The Little Red Library



10 CENTS EACH
Twelve Copies for One Dollar.

A Pocket Series of GOOD BOOKS FOR WORKERS

No. 1

TRADE UNIONS IN AMERICA
by Wm. Z. Foster, Jas. P. Cannon, Earl R. Browder.

No. 2

CLASS STRUGGLE vs. CLASS COLLABORATION
by Earl R. Browder.

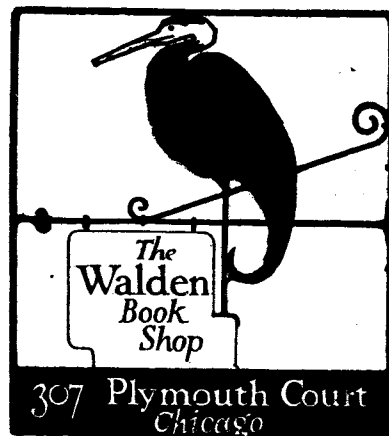
No. 3

PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM
by Frederick Engels. Translation by Max Bedacht.

No. 4

WORKER CORRESPONDENTS
By William F. Dunne.

The Daily Worker Publishing Co.
1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill.



ALL LABOR BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND
PERIODICALS ALWAYS IN STOCK

Subscriptions Taken for
English and American Labor Papers

THE WALDEN
BOOK SHOP

307 Plymouth Court Chicago, Ill.

MOVE the MASSES with MOVIES

In New York as many people attend the movies
EVERY DAY as visit the museums in a whole year.

In New York more than 30,000 have a single working
class feature film issued by our organization.

In Chicago 7,000 a night! In Philadelphia 5000 a
night!

And movies tell the workers' side of the story with
greatest effect and uniform quality in biggest town or
smallest hamlet.

Three Russian Story Features
Five Russian Topical Features
Several American Labor Newsreels.

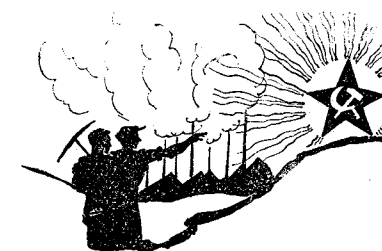
RUN ONE! RUN ALL!

For list and dates write to

International Workers Aid

19 So. Lincoln St. Chicago, Ill

A Spectre Is Haunting Europe



The Communist Manifesto

Marx-Engels

Cloth, 60 Cents
Paper, 10 Cents

The A. B. C. of Communism

Bucharin-Preobrazhensky
Paper, 50 Cents

The Peoples Marx

Julian Borchardt
Paper, 75 Cents

The State and Revolution

V. I. Ulianov (Lenin)
Duroflex Cover, 25 Cents

Theory and Practice of Leninism

I. Stalin
Duroflex Cover, 35 Cents

IN 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote in the open-
ing statement to the Communist Manifesto:

*"A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Com-
munism. All the powers of Europe have entered
into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre . . ."*

TODAY, this spectre has grown into a reality of gigantic
proportions—a living element that has forced the powers
of Europe—and America—"into a holy alliance" to keep the
working class from assuming power.

THIS spectre of 1848—the great reality of today, ever grow-
ing larger and under whose guiding principles one sixth
of the globe is already entering into a new stage of society—

COMMUNISM

Is clearly, simply and concisely explained in these books
which can be secured from

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

"The Source of All Communist Literature"

1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Chicago, Illinois