

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

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SECOND SECTION
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American Capitalism Preparing New Wars

By J. RAMIREZ (Gomez)

There is a whole assortment of "experts" at Washington whose sole business is to plan the next war. They plot out field offensives on the European continent, air raids against London, lightning invasions of Mexico, complex incidents of naval warfare against Japan. Minutely and patiently they study the topography of France, making numerous little markings on the map to indicate marches and counter marches, poison gas attacks, or other maneuvers. They take up one country after another and work out a complete, detailed plan of campaign against it.

U. S. Policies Make Enemies.

Our war experts have it all figured out as to who the future enemy is likely to be. If they prove to be wrong it doesn't matter, because they have laid their plans on the assumption that every great Power in the world is at least a possible enemy—not to speak of a few dozen of the lesser Powers. This means that at bottom the national policies of the United States are war policies.... policies which, if pushed to their logical conclusion, inevitably lead to war.

Wars arise out of clashes of policy. Where do the policies of the United States clash with those of other Powers? Where do they not clash?

Anyone can think offhand of a hundred "sore spots".... in China, Latin America, Europe. Chataqua orators are still repeating two-year old speeches on "our untroubled policy of isolation," but actually American foreign policy today is as adventurous as anything the world has ever seen. It is riding rough shod over all opposition, driving relentlessly on to new disasters. The legend of isolation is not believed by anyone who does not spend his time "reminiscing" instead of thinking.

Lafayette, We Are Here Again.

Europe occupies a more and more prominent part in our day's news from day to day. American capital is in Europe with both feet now, fighting aggressively for advantage, with the militant backing of the United States Government. The notorious Dawes Plan for the enslavement of Germany is the mark of the epoch.

Comrade Varga, in his lucid analysis of the Dawes Plan, showed how it reflected the changed economic conditions in the United States. "Owing to the boom period prevailing in the United States," he pointed out, "the bourgeoisie of that country had no inducement to involve themselves in European affairs. With the end of that boom, and the necessity for a world market, the interest of the American bourgeoisie in Europe increases and a share in the plundering of Germany appears to them more desirable."

There are more than 1,300,000 men out of work in this country today. Everywhere industry is continuing to slow down—especially the constructional industries, which play such an important part in American capital investment. On the other hand the bank vaults are bursting with gold; money is so plentiful (among financiers, stock gamblers, etc.) that it is being lent on call at less than 2 per cent interest.

Hughes Backs Morgan Scheme.

Finance capitalists must invest their surplus somewhere or they will get no returns from it. So they begin to look across the water. There are plenty of chances to invest in Europe. Germany for instance has been in the market for a loan, these many months. But the bankers must have guarantees. Germany, with the French occupation burdening the productivity of its most important industrial areas, is not good enough security. Consequently, Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P.

Morgan & Co., informs Ramsay MacDonald and Premier Herriot in London that no money will be forthcoming under the Dawes Plan unless the French troops are withdrawn. Secretary of State Hughes happens at this time to be enjoying a vacation tour to London. He declares himself heartily in accord with the Dawes Plan, and tells the newspapers that he agrees with the Lamont interpretation of it. Obviously Mr. Hughes would not talk like this unless he were talking for the United States Government.

How the Machinery Works.

The mechanics in the development of American foreign policy are shown here so plainly that one can "see the

hesitate to resort to any extremity if his profits are at stake. The last war was a Morgan War and the next war will be a Morgan War too.

Germany Mortgaged.

What is the Dawes Plan in essence? It is a scheme for giving the Allies (principally England and the United States) such control over the industrial processes of Germany that they could exploit her for their own benefit and at the same time forever hold her down as a rival. With heavy mortgage on the railroads and industries of the country, and control of her central banking institutions, the Allied bankers will have a strong hold over the entire economic life of Germany.

other countries, the Sinclair contract for monopoly rights in the exploitation of oil in southern Italy.

Reviving the League of Nations.

The United States has become a part of the whole European system. Comrade Varga calls attention to the fact that the League of Nations is again becoming an issue in America. The tremendous drive to put over the Bok "Peace" Plan.... the 1924 platforms of both Republican and Democratic parties.... the active part taken by U. S. Ambassador Kellogg in the present conference of premiers in London, all these things show which way the wind is blowing. And the outcome is war.

But America is a peaceful nation! Did we not, shout the philistines, take the lead in the calling of the famous Disarmament Conference at Washington to the Conference should not blind us to its content. "It is probable that the Washington Conference will make not for peace but for war," declared Thomas F. Millard, in a confidential memorandum written for the State Department.

A Coup d'Etat.

The Washington Conference was a simple aggressive maneuver. Europe is a puny field for the exploits of our imperialists. For years now they have had a vision of empire, whose eastern outposts lay far across the broad Pacific. In the quaint, picturesque, and (incidentally) enormously wealthy land of Old Cathay, Wall Street and the United States Government have been pursuing a policy of late, calculated to fairly bewilder the average worker or farmer, toiling away in the seclusion of "isolated" America. "China," wrote Millard, in another of his confidential memoranda "is the central factor in American Foreign Policy." China is also a factor in the policy of other national imperialisms. These policies clash one with another. War is the certain consequence. The Washington Conference was a masterly coup d'etat on the part of American capitalism in the struggle for strategic advantage in the far East.

The proposals regarding armaments were shoved into the background in the Washington Conference; the American representatives refused even to discuss them until "various Pacific Coast and Far East questions" were disposed of. Japan was put abruptly on the defensive. The inviolability of American interests in China was urged and insisted upon. Even the proposal for limitation of armament, apparently so innocent, were a part of the American offensive against Japan. All military experts concur that, especially considering the present industrial background of the two countries, the naval limitation agreements made by the conference, tend inevitably to the relative weakening of Japan and the relative strengthening of American Capitalism.

A Fight for Empire.

The Japanese have been made to feel that the United States government is determined to back up all the schemes of American Big Business in China. The fight for empire is declared. There is the threat of war and the danger of war in every line of the Washington agreements.

China is the greatest market in the world for the absorption of surplus capital. She has coal, iron, antimony, lead, oil, cotton, rice.... and, above all, plenty of cheap human labor. What group of money-mad American financiers would hesitate to lead us into the most perilous adventures in the face of such a prospect!

But American capitalism comes late to the Chinese treasure house. Much of the treasure has already been parceled out. The United States pre-

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How will you keep him from your door?

wheels go round." Bankers, in pursuit of profit, lay down conditions for foreign governments to follow, and the State Department backs them up; in consequence, whereof, the Government embarks upon a certain line of policy, which may involve it in all sorts of entanglements if it does not abruptly shift its position. The State Department is now backing up Morgan. A definite stand has already been taken toward France and England and there has been a direct clash with French policy in the Ruhr. Moreover, it is not easy for the Government to retreat. Now that Morgan has gone ahead with his Dawes Plan adventure, on the basis of assured government support, he is in a position to demand that the support be not withdrawn. American foreign policy has thus become warp and woof of the policy of Morgan. And Morgan thinks only of his profits. He will intrigue to checkmate possible foreign competitors. He will endeavor to use his present position for future economic advantage. He will not

This is nice enough for the American bankers—but gives them an imperialist stake in the unstable affairs of Europe, which the United States Government will be called upon to defend in every crisis. Eventually this means war.

It is inconceivable that there should be another big war in Europe, without the United States being involved. Morgan already has millions of dollars tied up in loans to Austria and Hungary, and practically controls the financial administration of the former nation, under the present receivership which the bankers forced upon her. In addition, there are the as yet unpaid loans to the Entente Powers. Morgan dragged the United States into the World War to protect those loans, and he intends to protect them in the future, however complicated the circumstances may become.

Other elements of danger are the heavy investments of American capitalists in European industry, the numerous concessions in the Balkans, the oil interests in Roumania and

The General Staff of the World Revolution

A View on the V Congress of the Communist International.

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN.

This is the eleventh day of the Congress. More than half of the work still remains undone. There will come out of the commissions a vast amount of leading principles and practical propositions as to the national and colonial problem, the peasant problem, the trade unions, organization and propaganda. There will, probably, be a number of decisions concerning the inner life of the most important parties of the Comintern.

Still, the heyday of the Congress is over. The debate on the political report of the Executive Committee has been completed. A resolution approving the policy of the Executive Committee has been adopted by the whole Congress against eight dissenting votes. The character of the Congress is now clear. All the rest of its work will only be an amplification of what is contained in this basic resolution.

It would be futile to attempt a survey of ten days' debate in a newspaper correspondence. There has been a wealth of Communist ideas poured forth in sixty-two speeches, some of which, reported stenographically, grew into fair size pamphlets. A brief analysis of this part of the Congress work alone will require a series of careful essays. What can be undertaken here is a few conclusions which force themselves upon every participant as self-evident and beyond dispute. These conclusions become a certainty as discussion develops. They lay, so to speak, on the surface.

1. This is a Congress of parties. There was a time, said Comrade Zinoviev in his report, when we were propaganda associations. We had no consciousness of being so, but we were no parties as yet. We saw a mass of discontent in every country, and we thought that was an organized Communist force. How the situation has changed. The seething of the masses referred to by Comrade Zinoviev, is smaller than it was four and five years ago. The attack of capital is fiercer. The companies work in a less favorable medium. Communists' work requires a solidly built organization, a pliability of tactics along a sharply drawn class line of action illuminated by theoretical groundwork. As one listens here to the reports of the various parties and to the passionate defense or denunciation of one policy or the other, one becomes aware that those are no more "societies for the propaganda of Communism," but political revolutionary parties in action. The main parties of the continent have a firm organization. They have developed a strict discipline. They are deeply rooted in the masses of the proletariat. They are winning over large numbers of workers. Some are mass parties themselves. And they are hooked up with every phase of the political, the economic, the social and the cultural life which has any relation to the interests of the working class or to the future of the social revolution. They are political factors of first importance.

2. This is a Congress of revolutionary parties. Revolution here is no abstraction, no pious desire. Revolution is the daily bread of most delegates here assembled. Europe is being shaken by revolutionary convulsions these last six years, and many parties have actually participated in proletarian upheavals. Here are the Italian Communists who fought bloody battles against their bourgeoisie and against the Fascists. Here are the Bulgarian representatives of a party which as late as September, 1923, conducted a series of armed insurrections. Here are the Poles in whose country there was a workers' revolt on the sixth of November, 1923, in Cracow. Here are the German comrades, steeled in numerous insurrections and bitter against their former right wing leaders who are blamed for not having led the masses into battle to seize power last October. And here are the members of the Russian Communist party which heads the proletarian dictatorship since October, 1917, after a glorious revolution.

No, revolution here is not a theoretical conception formulated on the basis of scientific speculation. Revolution is a fiery reality. It has not yet won a victory in any of the European countries, but it is daily nourished by the decomposition of capitalism, by growing burdens of militarism, by increasing ferocity of despairing bourgeoisie, by deepening misery and starvation of the workers, by the avalanche of an agrarian crisis, by mounting discontent of colonial peoples, by the bankruptcy of social-democratic and trade union bureaucratic leaders who are helping to mend the breaches in the structure of exploitation. The revolution is in the very tissue of European social organization. This is why the Congress talks of revolution as if it were the most commonplace order of business. This is why the delegates talk of preparations for revolutionary fights as if they were members of a military general staff in war time. This is war time in Europe. There may be a lull in military activities, but the war is on. The maneuvering for battle continues.

A detail: some of the parties here



Testing the Dawes Plan.

represented are illegal in their countries. Some delegates have come to Moscow under assumed names and may face grave dangers upon returning. But nobody seems to be upset over such prospects. They are taken for granted. They are a part of revolutionary life. "Illegality" today may turn out dictatorship tomorrow, and prison is an integral element of a Communist career.

3. This is a European Congress. There was a time when an international Communist congress resembled a full sized man surrounded by Lilliputians. The Russian Communist Party loomed up as the one and only great mass party consolidated into fighting battalions. The others were in a process of formation. The center of gravity, therefore, lay in the East of Europe. Russia not only led, Russia dictated. The word of Russia was law. In the present Congress, the leading influences of the Russian Communists remain in full force. The wisdom, insight, experience, knowledge of the best Russian comrades animates the whole International as ever before. The loss of the greatest of all political leaders, Lenin, leaves, of course, a colossal gap; his leadership can be replaced by none; yet, all the other brains of the Russian revolution are at work, and the western Communists look up at them for direction, aid, criticism, approval. Still, the center of gravity is gradually moving westward. The European parties become a factor more

and more decisive, not because the Russian Communist party is diminishing in influence, but because the other parties become more consolidated and gain in experience. The German party is a force at the present congress. Next come the French comrades. Third in importance are Italy and Czecho-Slovakia, the former for the revolutionary possibilities the Italian situation is fraught with, the latter for its solid party of 130,000 in a country whose entire population hardly exceeds thirteen million. Due to the key position of Great Britain among imperialist states, the British Communist party is given much attention. Western communism is a very active force both at the plenary sessions of the congress and in the numerous commissions. Ruth Fisher, the leader of the German Communist party, has been the reporter of the most important congress commission—the commission on the political report of the executive committee. Thalheimer, tho of the minority of the German party, is co-reporter, with Bucharin, on the program question.

4. This is a left congress. We do not mean to say that the fourth world

revolution.

Back of this tendency is an iron-clad conviction that Europe is heading towards a revolution, that capitalism is bankrupt, that the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism cannot be cured within the framework of bourgeois society, that even if there is a temporary halt in the downward trend of the present social and economic order, its final breakdown is unavoidable and approaching with fatal sureness. In such a historic era, every detail of Communist preparations may become of momentous consequences in the near future. Every aberration may prove disastrous.

This conviction, on the other hand, is based on a new powerful factor without which one cannot understand revolutionary Europe of today: the new proletarian generation. In the last six-seven years, millions of young workers have grown into manhood, millions of sturdy modern fighters who have not gone thru the old school of social-democratic adaptations, who have not lost their spirit in the crucible of disappointments following the war and its hideous "peace," who have retained a great source of unexhausted energy and have no patience with the existing order of things. It is the impetus of this young generation, unspoiled, unbiased in favor of compromises with capitalist order, untouched by the poison of bourgeois psychology, which is the driving power back of the new left leaders of European Communist parties. It is they, the millions of post-war proletarians, and not the old, tired, worn-out middle aged workers of the old type, who will be in the first ranks of the revolution.

5. This is a Congress of Bolshevization. The most feverish interest is given to the problems of the United front tactics and the Farmer-Labor government slogan. They are the nerves of the congress, the throbbing heart of all the discussion. They have been thrust upon the Communist parties by the recent developments in bourgeois states and by the practice of revolutionary struggle.

The practice of the German Communist party is of paramount importance. The German leaders of the right wing are branded for having failed to lead the working class into a battle for power last October. The Brandler group is accused of having allowed itself to be caught in the net of bourgeois democratic parliamentarism when the German Communists entered the Saxon government last fall. There are no words hot enough to express the scorn of the German delegates when they speak of the Chemnitz conference at which the right wing leaders failed to issue a call for insurrection. What was the reason for such hesitation, they ask. And their answer is: because the Brandler group believed in organic co-operation with the Social-Democracy on the basis of the constitution; because the right wing Communists were afraid of losing contact with the left wing social-democratic leaders; because they were not free from the inheritance of the past—from parliamentary democratic illusions; because they misunderstood and misinterpreted the tactics of the united front and the slogan of a labor-farmer government which must be a revolutionary tactic and a revolutionary slogan.

Nor is this wrong application of a correct set of principles confined to the German party alone. Over and over again representatives of the various countries appeal to the Congress against opportunist deviations in their respective parties. There is, for instance, the Checho-slovakian party whose conference adopted a resolution to the effect that the workers' government can be a peaceful transition to the proletarian dictatorship. There is the Swedish Communist party where a portion of the Central Executive Committee was against the centralization of the Communist International and where a noted leader showed strange aberrations in the question of religion. There is a tendency towards peaceful compromises in the Bulgarian Communist party. All such shortcomings are under a

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WORKING CLASS NEWS By KARL REEVE

The DAILY WORKER, the first Communist daily newspaper to be printed in the English language, has made working class history during the seven months of its existence. The news columns have created a favorable reaction among the workers, and an analysis of the different types of news stories printed in The DAILY WORKER will be of benefit to the volunteer reporter.

The DAILY WORKER is used not only to educate the workers to heed the message of Communism, it also solidifies the Workers' Party membership and educates and informs them of the Party tactics. This theoretical and tactical news is very important to the movement. The translations from Russian and other foreign magazines and newspapers inform the membership of the latest trend of world Communism. The theses, programs and articles explaining American policy, officially printed in The DAILY WORKER, create a self-reliant and well-informed rank and file.

More important to the volunteer reporters, however, is the Workers' Party news of meetings, demonstrations and entertainments which should be sent in from all over the country. This Workers' Party news keeps the different sections of the party informed about what the other sections are doing, and unifies the party.

Every Workers' Party event of even local importance should be sent to The DAILY WORKER. It is not much more trouble to write up the event as a news story, instead of

merely sending an advance notice in the form of a handbill, and not only saves much time, but makes a better story.

In addition, every labor event attended by a party member should be reported to the DAILY WORKER. Every strike in which a party member takes part carries with it not only the organizational duties but the duty to give the left wing angle of the story publicity in The DAILY WORKER.

The DAILY WORKER has unlimited fields of expansion which are as yet unknown to many of the Party members. The working class news which deals with the every day worker in the shop, or political and industrial activity, relies for much of its value on the distribution of the paper carrying the story to the places written up. For instance, at a Negro meeting of the followers of Marcus Garvey this week in Chicago, several hundred copies were sold to the Negroes because of a front page article giving a speech of Marcus Garvey. The paper not only extends its advertising, but also educates in this case, the Negroes to the Workers' Party policy toward the Negro problem.

It is the duty of the membership not only to send in the news stories, but when they are sent in, bundles of the paper containing the story should be ordered from the business office and sold at the strike meeting or demonstration written about.

The DAILY WORKER in reporting its first big strike—the Chicago Ladies Garment Workers' Strike—informed labor throughout the country of the injunctions suffered by Chicago strikes, and the membership of the union throughout the country not only

read our strike news but became more closely acquainted with the Workers' Party.

New uses are constantly being found to make The DAILY WORKER more valuable to the working class. In the Pullman carbuilders' strike The DAILY WORKER was sold at the gates of the plant and the imported steel workers, hearing The DAILY WORKER newbies call, "All about the Pullman strike," learned for the first time that there was a strike in the Pullman plant. Thus The DAILY WORKER stumbled on an unwitting aid to the picketers. The DAILY WORKER, in this strike, served as a rallying point for organization work, members of the staff speaking at the strike meeting and aiding in the strike activities.

All this activity, increasing the faith of the workers in the sincerity and power of the Workers' Party, had as its foundation, the printing of the strike stories in The DAILY WORKER. They formed the basis of the strike activity. Thus volunteer reporting assumes much greater importance than the mere printing of a news item, if properly backed up with selling of the paper and organization work.

In the strike of the Jewish Bakers in Chicago a big opportunity of similar nature was missed because the Workers' Party members who were striking did not call up the Worker with news of the strike.

Another innovation of The DAILY WORKER was inaugurated in the strike of the Greek Restaurant workers carried on by the Amalgamated Food workers in Chicago. The union bought a special strike edition of The DAILY WORKER, the entire front page being devoted to the strik-

ing food workers, the rest of the paper remaining the same. Several thousand copies of this special edition were distributed by the Food Workers Union among the restaurant workers, thus greatly aiding their organization drive and extending the influence of the paper.

The Western Electric campaign was an example of the possibilities of creating interest in working class news in almost any large factory. At one time over three thousand copies of The DAILY WORKER were sold daily in front of the Western Electric gates, exposing the speed-up system in the plant, increasing the sales of the paper and giving the workers more confidence in themselves and in the paper.

These are a few of the history-making achievements of The DAILY WORKER. Not only will they be copied in other factories and other cities, but other and greater achievements lie ahead for the only working class daily in America. In the coming drive for new subscribers the membership must bear in mind the tremendous importance of sending in news, selling the paper, and exploiting it to the utmost in the interests of the workers. If this is done, the subscription list will be doubled within six months.

In closing these few suggestions about the relation of the party membership to The DAILY WORKER, I give the few long suffering readers who have had the patience to wade thru the series of articles, the usual mechanical suggestions. The story should be typed if at all possible. Use double or triple space and write only on one side of the paper, and as O'Henry suggests, let each article finish at the bottom of the last page.

The General Staff of the World Revolution

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heavy barrage at the Congress. The Congress by no means repudiates the tactics of the united front, it is only giving it a clearly defined revolutionary contents as a means of winning over the majority of the working class, as an instrument for mobilizing the masses, as a method of class propaganda and as a test for the social-democracy to prove its anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary nature. There can be a million ways of applying the united front tactics, says the Congress; the practical steps may differ according to the concrete situation in every country. But if we have in mind our task of mobilizing the masses for the conquest of power, if we use every opportunity to strengthen the working class in its class struggle and to straighten its line in the direction of a revolution, then we may not be afraid of any strategical maneuvers including those which demand compromises. Enormous applause followed Zinoviev's quotation from Lenin's article, "On Compromises": "The task of a truly revolutionary party consists not in impossible repudiation of every compromise, but in making all compromises which cannot be avoided while remaining loyal to its principles, to its class, to its revolutionary task, to its cause of preparing for the revolution and of educating the masses of the people for a victorious revolution."

What lent the question of a Labor-Farmer government particular timeliness was not only the Saxon experiment but the present complexion of the most powerful European states. Social-democracy is becoming a leading factor in every country. The British labor government is directed by social-democrats. The French government is practically under the influence of social-democrats. In Belgium, the probability of social-democratic participation in the cabinet is near at hand. In most European countries there is a tendency on the part of the bourgeoisie to share power with the social-democrats. This is meant to save the capitalist order from collapse, but it may tempt some unstable proletarian elements, Communists not excluded, to cherish some

hopes of progress thru peaceful reforms. It puts the question of Communist co-operation with social-democrats on the order of the day. Those who think that a Farmer-Labor government may be a peaceful transition towards complete proletarian dictatorship, will they not advocate our joining a social-democratic government whenever opportunity offers itself, in order that we may reach our goal in this reformist way?

The Congress answered this question with an emphatic No! A Labor-Farmer government is not meant as a form of co-operation with social-democracy within the framework of the bourgeois state. A Labor-Farmer government is meant as a product of revolution, as a revolutionary slogan, as the popular name for the power of the masses, which is to destroy the apparatus of the old democratic state and take its place. A Labor-Farmer government is meant, not as an adaption to bourgeois democracy, but as a call to overthrow the bourgeois institutions, as an organization for such overthrow, in short, to put in Zinoviev's words, as a pseudonym for proletarian dictatorship. The forms, the circumstances, the composition of such a government may vary, but its fundamental principle must remain unaltered: a power to break the bourgeois rule. It may even be a coalition with some social-democratic parties which, under pressure from below, have lost their reformist meakness, but it must be a coalition for the seizure of power, for the realization of proletarian rule.

Thus the Congress, thru numberless clashes, thru feverish wrangles, thru sparkling explosions of oratory, passion, wit, sarcasm, thru a vast exchange of world-wide experience accumulated in actual struggles, proceeds to define a revolutionary, a Bolshevik policy which demands flexibility, alertness, shrewd and careful strategy on the part of a well organized and well-disciplined party, a policy which the allowing for adaptations, for adequate approach to biased or unconscious masses on the basis of any program that defends their interests and is capable of shaking them from passivity and mobilizing them for revolutionary

struggles, retains in view and moves towards the goal of the proletarian revolution—the seizure of power.

To consolidate every party on this basis and for this kind of work is Bolshevism. The resolution on the report of the E. C. defines it in the following words: "Making the party leadership, the organizations and the individual members active"; "real revolutionary initiative, energy and striking power, capacity for shrewd manoeuvring, conscious iron discipline of true revolutionary fighting organizations"; "consciousness of the task of the Communist party and of the Communist International as revolutionary leaders must become part of the blood of every individual member, so that out of the consciousness of a Communist fighting community there spring the firm loyalty which will cement the party into a Bolshevik organization and the International into a victorious world party."

6. This is a Congress moving towards a World Communist Party. The Congresses of the Second International were loose gatherings for the expression of opinions binding nobody. The Congress of the Third International is an assemblage of representatives who work out one

line of policy for all parties and whose decisions are obligatory to all parties. This alone is a token of the formation of a Communist world party. There is, however, something more. This move towards one international party did not spring from the heads of theoreticians. It was dictated by the practice of the struggle. It is not at all indifferent to the German party how the French comrades are going to act. Quite the contrary. On the activity of the French party depends much of the success of the German revolutionary movement, and vice versa. To the French Communist party, the strengthening or weakening of the Russian proletarian dictatorship is of paramount importance. To the Russian Communist party, the line pursued by the Polish comrades is a matter of grave concern. And so on, and so forth.

This is why every party is so keenly interested in the affairs of every other party. This is why all problems of all parties become here only the various facets of one great problem. The possibility of such a homogeneous policy for all countries is only an additional proof of the decay of capitalism. Conditions are ripening everywhere. The inheritors are steeling their arms.

SOCIAL-PATRIOTS SWEAR LOYALTY

The imperialist cannons in 1914 shattered nothing more completely than the illusion that the leaders of the French syndicalist and socialist movements were still revolutionists. Note how "Bataille Syndicaliste," Jouhaux and Vaillant swore their devotion to the great militarist ventures.

From "Bataille Syndicaliste," Aug. 4, 1914:

"From the power of the mailed fist, from German militarism, we must save the democratic and revolutionary tradition of France."

Jouhaux at the Grave of Jaures:

"And now, from this burial, we are entering into the war, and I am going too."

Edward Vaillant:

"Let us swear that we will do our duty for the Fatherland, for the Republic, for the Revolution."

Our Aims and Tactics in the Trade Unions

BY JAMES P. CANNON,
Assistant Executive Secretary,
Workers Party.

(A speech delivered at the Party Conference of Coal Miners at St. Louis, Mo., July 27th, 1924.)

COMRADES:

These conferences of Party members in the important trade unions in which representatives of the Central Executive Committee take part are becoming frequent occurrences. We must regard this as a healthy sign. It indicates that we are maturing as a Party of theoretical and practical revolutionists, and getting a firm grip on our basic tasks. The close collaboration between the active comrades in the field and the leading organ of the Party has a beneficial result all the way round.

The close and intimate contact with the practical problems of the daily struggle and with the comrades who directly face them, serves as an unerring corrective to any tendency there might be in the Party to deal with these problems in an abstract or purely doctrinaire fashion. On the other hand, the participation of the Party representatives insures that the fundamental political aspect of the trade union struggle will be brought to the front in these trade union conferences. The importance of this cannot be over-estimated. Otherwise there is constant danger of the work of our trade union comrades being influenced too much by expediency and so-called practicality. One-sided conceptions, purely trade union points of view, take the upper hand and the general class issues of the struggle are pushed into the background. Such a state of affairs must be guarded against. We know too well that it leads to reformism and futility.

We are meeting here today to consider the problems of the particular trade union you belong to, from the standpoint of the Party, which is the standpoint of all Communists. And I think I will be proceeding in the proper order if I put forward as a premise the revolutionary aims of our Party and propose that we weigh and judge every trade union question that comes before us, no matter how small or practical it may appear to be, in the light of our final aims.

A Revolutionary Party.

Our Party is a party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is the only solution of the labor problem and all our work must lead to this goal. This is our starting point in the trade unions, as in every other field of activity in the class struggle. It is this fundamental conception that distinguishes us from all other parties and groups in the labor movement. It is the band of steel that binds us together into one Party.

Our revolutionary goal shapes our policy in the daily struggle. The revolutionary aspirations of our Party comrades generates the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice that give the Party its driving power. Woe to us if we become so "practical" as to forget this for one moment. All our work must lead toward the proletarian revolution. If we keep this always in mind and measure all our daily work by this standard we will keep on the right road. The revolutionary principles to which we are committed put upon us responsibilities and duties which cannot be shifted or evaded if we are to live up to our conception of the Party as the vanguard of the workers. We have to stand up and fight for the true interests of the working class as a whole, at every turn of the road.

With the Masses, But Leading Them.

We want to be with the masses, but we must also go ahead of the masses, and not be afraid to take an unpopular stand, when it is necessary in order to combat their prejudices. Take for example the Ku Klux Klan. Here is an organization that is anti-labor in its very character, yet large numbers of coal miners are misled into supporting it. To fight the Ku Klux Klan, to expose its reactionary nature and win the workers away

from it is a difficult and somewhat hazardous task in certain sections of the country, but it is our duty to the working class to make such a fight. We would not be worthy of the proud name our Party bears if we evaded such a fight on any pretext.

Our work in the trade unions is developing. Evidence of this can be seen on every side. Such conferences as this are proof of the rapid strides we are making. We have already accumulated rich experience, and this experience is bringing to light both positive and negative sides in our work. One of our main duties is to review the whole activity from time to time, to strengthen and improve what is good, and discover what is bad in order to reject it.

It goes without saying that we Communists esteem each other very highly, but when we meet together in conferences such as this, it is not for the purpose of extending bouquets and empty compliments, but to speak out openly and frankly; to subject all our work to thoro-going examination and criticism in order that er-

from it is a difficult and somewhat hazardous task in certain sections of the country, but it is our duty to the working class to make such a fight. We would not be worthy of the proud name our Party bears if we evaded such a fight on any pretext.

It was in the forefront, dealing the heaviest blows against the agents of the bourgeoisie, who have usurped the official positions in the miners' union. The work of our comrades in this convention added greatly toward making the Miners' Union a better union for the class struggle, thereby increasing the prestige of our Party. That must be acknowledged at the very beginning.

In a whole series of trade union conventions held in recent months the same phenomena was to be observed. Our small Party, which only yesterday emerged from underground and began to collect the scattered forces of the revolutionary workers, was the storm center of the fight against reaction in the labor movement. We have not yet become the leader of the masses in the trade unions, but we have become the leader in the fight for their interests. The rest will follow in good time. Of this we can be confident.

It is no accident that our Party is pushing forward everywhere and putting itself at the head of the strug-

bring forth fruitful results. Our power will be multiplied at the next convention, if we frankly recognize the negative as well as the positive sides of our activity at the last one.

One of the main errors made by our comrades there, was the failure to realize fully that the brazen scheme of class collaboration presented to the convention in the report of Frank Farrington, revealed the political and ideological basis of all the corruption and betrayal of the whole bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America, from Lewis to Farrington. Our comrades should have attacked this report in the most militant fashion. They should have shot it to shreds on the ground that it represented the theory of the mutual interests of the coal diggers and the parasites who exploit them and fatten on their toil and misery. Against it they should have set up the principle of the class struggle, the theory of the salvation of the workers thru uncompromising struggle against their exploiters.

Such a fight would have been a dagger aimed at the very heart of the corrupt and treacherous trade union bureaucracy, because it would have been aimed at the false system of ideas with which they poison the labor movement. Such a fight should have been seized upon as the best means of opening the eyes of the miners, and making them see their real problem. All the other fights in the convention, the fight over the appointive power, the fight for better legislation in union affairs, for the reinstatement of Howat, etc., should have been regarded by our comrades, and explained to the delegates, as related to the basic fight for the principle of the class struggle, and subordinate to it. This would have been the best means of awakening the honest rank and file delegates, and of binding them more closely to us.

Another error at the convention occurred in the handling of the resolution on the recognition of Soviet Russia. Here again the principle of the class struggle was involved. The Farrington machine played a clever game with the delegates on this resolution, by calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia in one paragraph, and then nullifying the whole effect of the resolution by adding the qualification that Soviet Russia should recognize certain obligations—the very obligations which the capitalist governments of the world have been vainly trying for six years to impose upon her. Our comrades made the mistake of thinking that the question of formal recognition of Soviet Russia was the real issue, and of considering such a resolution a victory for us.

This was entirely too "statesman-like." We are for the recognition of Soviet Russia, because it is a working class state, and because we recognize that the interests of the working class all over the world are bound up with it. The recognition of Soviet Russia is for us an issue of the class struggle, and we should have made the fight purely on that basis, and hammered home again to the delegates the idea that the solidarity of labor, the world-wide union of the working class in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism, must be accepted as the guiding principle of the labor movement. We might have failed to get a majority of the convention if we had put the fight on this basis, just as we might have failed to get a majority in a clear-cut class struggle fight against Farrington's scheme of class collaboration, but that is a secondary matter. We would have brought the principle to the front. We would have clarified the minds of many of the delegates, and tied them more closely to us. It is not the formal victory but the fight that is important.

Inadequate Organization.

From the same point of view the inadequate development of the left wing caucus at the convention should be pointed out. Some comrades objected to these caucuses on the

(Continued on page 6)

LOOPING SILK STOCKINGS

By VERA BUCH.

Row upon row of workers' houses
Stretch at the foot of the factory.
Company houses, dingy and gray,
Each with a high pointed roof
And a puny red spike of a chimney.
Narrow and gray, like our lives,
From the factory window I see them.

And yonder on the hill, a jewel in the sunlight,
The house of our boss.
Slender columns rising white from the blossoming shrubbery,
Rosy roof all aglow, great glimmering windows.

I look down the long room, like a vast whitewashed jungle,
With its row upon row of machines, all clicking and turning,
Heads of workers bent low, great vistas of columns and drop-lights,
Two hundred and fifty girls I see, young and old, looping silk stockings,
Even the little hunchback, with her back like a question-mark,
And her face like a poor hunted rabbit's.
... But the daughter of our boss I do not see.

Where is she this spring day, the rich man's daughter?
Is she playing her piano there in the palace-like mansion?
Is she driving her car in the sweet air, breathing the scent of the blossoms?
Or is she dawdling in Europe, seeing the wonders
We never shall see? ... She is not here, the rich man's daughter.

All day I have sat here, looping silk stockings,
Heel and toe, heel and toe, each mesh precisely
Impaled upon its sharp needle.
Numb is my brain with the tiny monotonous meshes,
Drowsy my thoughts with the tireless thumping machinery.

Yonder the hazy sun gilds the palace-home
With a distant, dream-like splendor.
Was it in a dream I heard that some day
I shall play with the boss' daughter there, and she
Work with me here, some lay, looping silk stockings? ?

rors may be discovered and overcome. You have the right to expect plain speaking from the Central Executive Committees. I feel quite confident that if some errors in your work are mentioned here in this discussion, if some of the mistakes that individual comrades made, are pointed out in a friendly and brotherly, but nevertheless frank manner, as is the custom among Communists, that none of you will feel offended. The discussion is only for the purpose of improving our effectiveness and strengthening the party for the fight.

Our Valuable Experiences.

The power of a disciplined Party, founded on revolutionary principles, and concerning itself in a business-like fashion with all aspects of the trade union struggle, has already begun to manifest itself. At the last convention of the Illinois miners, for example, everybody could see that the Party is beginning to grow up, to stretch its shoulders, and take its place on the stage of events. Our Party appeared there as the leader of the fight for the interests of the men

gle. The reason for this is that ours is the only party willing to fight for the immediate interests of the workers, and the only Party standing for the solution of the labor problem by means of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. All of the interests of the working class immediately and ultimately, are indissolubly bound up with the revolution. And if we make mistakes here and there, if we fail to take the fullest advantage of opportunities which arise in the course of the struggle, it is because our comrades in the unions, due mainly to inexperience, have not fully mastered the art of taking a practical stand on every question that arises, and relating it skillfully to the final aims of the movement.

Correcting Our Mistakes.

To do practical work, and at the same time to deepen and extend the class-consciousness of the workers, and lead them toward the struggle for power—this is the heart of our task in the trade unions. From this point of view an examination of events that transpired at the last convention of the Illinois miners will

The London Conference By Alexander Bittelman

At this writing they are still deadlocked. They may continue in this fashion for another week or two, and then—break up. They cannot very well agree because there is too much at stake. Even a makeshift arrangement is something that the London Conference will hardly be able to produce.

It Isn't the German Loan.

Reading capitalist news and interpretations of the London Conference only confuses one's mind. According to them the main reason for the deadlock is to be found in the unwillingness or inability of the French government to accede to the, so-called, security demands of the English and American bankers, which is true, in a measure. But the explanation touches only the surface of the matter.

It is true that the French government, in line with the interests of the French heavy industrialists, wouldn't relinquish the right of the Commission on Reparations to be the sole judge and executor in the matter of imposing sanctions upon Germany in case of the latter's default. It is also true that the English and American bankers are opposed to the position of France in this matter, their main argument being that the prospective investors will not readily come forward with their money for the proposed 200 million dollar loan for Germany as long as the French government thru its control of the Reparations Commission remains the sole judge in the matter of sanctions. All this is perfectly true, because these are the outward manifestations of the conflict that is at present taking place at the London Conference. However, what

we should concern ourselves mostly with is not so much the outward signs as the inward causes, which brings us to the old issue of—

Who Shall Dominate Europe?

For this there are three great contenders: France, England and America. The capitalists of these three countries are being driven by the logic of the economic situation and by the force of mutual antagonisms and jealousies, to seize control over the most important sections of Europe. Germany, because of its coal and iron resources in the Ruhr and because of its comparative helplessness, offers at present the shortest and most effective way for securing domination over Europe. Germany has therefore become the chief stake in the imperialist game of the great powers.

France has made two attempts to secure for herself the coal and iron riches of the Ruhr basin. One was at the close of the great slaughter when the infamous treaty of Versailles was written. Clemenceau had then tried to annex to France all of the industrial Rhineland. In this he failed, because the capitalists of England and America wouldn't stand for it.

But French Imperialism was not ready to give up so readily one of its most cherished dreams. Consequently another attempt was made, the famous march into the Ruhr initiated by Poincare. The original purpose of the invasion was probably the complete annexation of the province to France, or, failing in this, to secure for French capital such a measure of control over the industries of the Ruhr as to make the latter practically French possessions. The combined opposition of the capitalists of Germany, England and America prevented France for the second time from realizing its ambitions. Then

French Imperialism began evolving a scheme based on the idea that the Ruhr industries be controlled jointly by the heavy industrialists of Germany and France. In other words, French Imperialism was getting ready to compromise with its German brethren on the division of spoils in the Ruhr basin. The industrialists of Germany were quite willing. Barring a few differences that were yet to be settled, Big capital of France and Germany was about to join hands in the battle for the conquest of Europe.

Then something happened. American imperialism jointly with the English stepped into the affair and said: No. It shall not be. This categorical NO was delivered through the so-called Experts' Report commonly known in America as the Dawes plan. And in order to touch French imperialism to the quick, American and English bankers fooled around for a little while with the French franc chasing it down almost to the same value as the German mark in its critical days.

French imperialism took the hint intelligently. It acquiesced in the Dawes plan, (theoretically, at least,) and expressed a willingness to negotiate. The result was the London Conference.

What Are They Negotiating About?

The concrete question is this: Who shall control the coal and iron industries of the Ruhr basin? To this question the replies are as follows: France: the heavy industrialists of France and Germany. America and England: All us us, meaning by this that in such a joint control America would come first, England second, France third, and Germany fourth. Or, if France remains obstinate, Germany might come third and France last.

The Co-Relation of Forces.

In this imperialistic battle, which is a continuation of the great slaughter by means of diplomacy and economic pressure and which is preparing the ground for a new and still bloodier struggle, the forces of the combatants are co-related about as follows:

In France: Heavy industrialists are in favor of exclusive Franco-German control, the petty-bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy are distrustful of it. The latter are more inclined toward accepting the Dawes plan.

In Germany the situation is about the same.

In America, big capital is naturally class (big, middle and small) and the labor aristocracy are opposed to Franco-German control and in favor of the Dawes plan.

In England the entire capitalist in favor of the Dawes plan and opposed to the French scheme. Middle and small capital as well as the labor aristocracy have not yet made up their minds on the proposition, the chances being that these groups will eventually be brought into line by big capital in favor of the Dawes plan.

Thus we see that the forces lined up in favor of the Dawes plan, considering the matter internationally, are much more powerful than are those favoring the idea of Franco-German control. If it comes to a show-down, which means war, the former are sure to win. But the international bourgeoisie does not dare to resort to the means of arms. The memories of the last slaughter are still fresh in the minds of the masses. However, there is no other way of solving the problems of the London Conference except by war, that is, from the capitalist point of view, or else, by a proletarian revolution from the point of view of the working class.

The Composer of "L'Internationale"

By AMADEUS DUNOIS.

There recently appeared in the editorial office of our French Party organ, "Humanite" Peter Degeyter, the composer of the music to that world-famous battle song of the proletariat, "L'Internationale." In reply to the question how he came to compose this melody, we learned that thirty-five years ago he was a textile worker in Lille, the industrial center of the north of France. At that time the Socialist movement in Lille was making great progress. Peter, along with his brother Adolf took part in it. Before all he was a great lover of music, and it was here that he entered a workers' choir which elected him as its leader. Among the members of this workers' choir there were two who have since become famous: Gustav Delory, the Mayor of Lille, and later member of parliament for Lille, and Henri Ghesquiere, who likewise became member of parliament and died during the last days of the German occupation. All kinds of songs were sung by this choir, the workers would willingly have sung socialist songs too, but they did not know any.

One day in 1889 a comrade handed to Degeyter a poem by Eugen Pottier, the former member of the Paris Commune, who had just died in the direst poverty in Paris. The poem was called: L'Internationale. The date next to the signature—June 30, 1871—indicated that the verses of the revolutionary song had been composed immediately after the bloody week of the Commune.

This poem, charged with glowing force, began with a call to the defeated in the social battle:

"Arise ye starvelings from your slumbers,
Arise ye criminals of Want!
For Reason in revolt now thunders
And at last ends the age of Can't!"

As the poem proceeds the whole program of the social revolution is

indicated in the wonderfully compressed lines.

Peter Degeyter was quite enthusiastic. He again and again repeated these powerful lines, in which burned the fire of an unvanquishable hope. For in fact "L'Internationale" is not the lamentation of the vanquished, humbly deploring their defeat. It is the war-cry bursting forth from the innermost of a class, the working class, which is preparing its revenge and knows that its revenge will come.

The humble textile worker Degeyter at this moment had the inspiration that these lines of revenge were only lacking an appropriate melody in order to become the proletarian revolutionary hymn.

"I shall attempt" he said, "to put these verses to music."

He started work immediately and some days afterwards, the music was composed—this martial catchy tune, which we all know so very well. Peter Degeyter at once began to make copies for his comrades in the choir.

Thus in a suburb of Lille in 1889 "L'Internationale" was born. It is true it required some time to become popular. It was sung in Lille, but in no other place.

In 1899 a general congress of the workers' organizations and the French Socialists was held in Paris, the first Congress of Socialist unity. When the congress was just about to disperse, a delegate suddenly mounted a table. It was Henri Ghesquiere. And in the general silence he started a song, which to most of the delegates was unfamiliar. . . . After the third couplet all the delegates joined in the refrain:

"Then Comrades come rally! . . ."

This was "L'Internationale." A year later the whole of Socialist France sang it, and thus it happened that the hundreds of delegates who attended the International Congress of 1900 learned to know this song. After this the simple song of Degeyter began to become known thruout the whole world.

While his song achieved such a great success in the Socialist world, Peter Degeyter had to have recourse to the law courts in order to establish his claim as the composer of "L'Internationale," as owing to the intrigues of Delory and Ghesquiere, his brother Adolf was held to be the composer of the song. It was only after 20 years of law suits that the court recognized him as the real composer of the "Internationale."

Peter Degeyter, who is by now 70 years of age is leading a very poor existence along with his wife, earning only a few francs by the sale of confectionary. Now, when the Russian Comrades have learned of his situation, they have decided, on the suggestion of the French comrades, to grant him a monthly pension and to arrange a festival for his benefit.

Great homage was paid to Peter Degeyter at the last national congress of the French Communist Party, when he was asked to take a seat on the tribune and to address the congress with a few words. But owing to great excitement the worthy old man stumbled with his words until the chairman, comrade Sellier, asked the orchestra to strike up the "International." And the latter, a workers' brass band from Lyons, started the immortal music. The whole congress rose to its feet and joined in the refrain.

At this moment Peter Degeyter was wholly changed. He looked as if the whole thing to him were a dream in his poor exploited life, which up to then had not found any expression. With his right hand he beat time, with the movements of his head he marked the rhythm. One could not turn ones eyes from the touching picture of this gray haired man. He was pale, his eyes appeared to be gazing into the distance, his nostrils trembled. And he seemed at this moment to be the living symbol of the working class, which will experience as a whole, after long and bitter sufferings, persecutions and injustice the day of its final victory.

It is very likely that this scene will be repeated in these days in Moscow. On the proposal of the French comrades the Executive Committee decided to invite Peter Degeyter to take part in the V. World Congress. He certainly has the right to receive the homage of the International and we hope that he will find no difficulty in accepting this brilliant homage in the capitol of the Communist International and the world revolution.

At the same time it is our duty to pay grateful homage to the old poet who wrote the verses of the "International," of "Jean Misere" and the "Monument des Federes" and many other revolutionary songs, inspired by the glorious Commune. We refer to Eugen Pottier, whose name we have to rescue from the oblivion with which it is threatened.



M. DOUMERGUE, French President, as seen by French Communists.

RIVERVIEW

RAIN OR SHINE

August 10th -- Sunday

Press Picnic Day

Rebellion in Labor Unions

A REVIEW—y MARTIN ABERN.

"Rebellion in Labor Unions" demonstrates most clearly how closely the official leaders of the American labor movement are tied in every way to the capitalist class. How and why the leadership in the labor unions is separated from the rank and file is graphically pictured as Miss Kopald in simply written but brilliant chapters outlines four major outlaw strikes in recent years.

The leaders have a vested interest in the unions and this cuts into the very heart of the organizations, presumably fighting bodies for the betterment of the conditions of the workers. This book proves one thing, if it proves nothing else: that the American "Labor Leaders," Farrington, Gompers, Lewis, Lee, Berry and others are intensely interested in the welfare of the employers and just as inversely in that of the rank and file of the labor unions.

The long tenure in office of the "labor leaders" has resulted in strong machines being formed and these machines have inevitably produced bureaucratic and other oligarchic features. Under the leadership of these agents of capitalism in the labor

movement, the unions have become governments and woe to any militant or oppressed and discouraged rank and file who dares to question the authority of the bureaucrat, labeled labor leader. The labor misleaders have become separated from the membership economically, in environment, in thought.

Unions exist primarily to conduct a struggle, a class struggle, against the employing class for better wages, conditions of labor, etc. But the labor unions in America today are not class institutions. There are two class institutions. There is the working class membership and then there is the leadership, capitalistically minded and capitalistically placed economically. A leadership which is heart and soul with the capitalist class, whom it must pretend to fight. But in this book, Kopald by citation of facts, by statements and actions of the alleged labor leaders themselves, Berry, Farrington, et al, shows how even the pretense of defense of workers in the unions has been eliminated and the bureaucratic and fake leadership has gone over completely and without any misgivings into the camp of the employing class. It is class collaboration with a vengeance.

The insurgent or "outlaw" movements of the Illinois miners in 1920, the railroad outlaw or "wild cat" strike in 1920, the Printers Vacation Movement in New York in 1919 and the New York Web Pressman's strike in 1923 are vividly outlined. In each instance Miss Kopald points out plainly how the "outlaw" or insurgent walkouts had their basis in bread and butter needs. The bread question in each case was acute. The needs of the workers were obvious—even to the "labor leaders." Only a spark was needed to touch off the seething discontent; and comparatively minor incidents, such as unjust fines (Tom Mooney penalty fine in Illinois), discharge of workers, (Carey Printing Company in New York) etc., did provoke the struggles which swiftly developed into struggles against the bureaucracy and tyrannical despotism of the labor officials and their, the labor leaders' aids, the government and the employing class.

As these insurgent strikes spread and brought thousands of workers into the ranks of the rebellious members (such as in Illinois) or brought out the entire organization such as the New York Web Pressmen, the insurgents learned that they not only

had to face the employing class. They discovered, to their dismay, but increasing knowledge, that they had to meet the enemy within the unions, their "leaders." These capitalist "labor" leaders invoked the aid of the employing class and the local, state and national governmental agencies. Thugs, gunmen, spies, expulsions met the insurgents on every hand. This was the democracy of the unions and rank and file rule.

These revolts of the miners, railroad workers and printers are significant, first in their similarity in origin, and, second, in their suppressions. These unofficial walkouts were unorganized. Patience and suffering had reached the point of revolt regardless of consequences to the men. The Union leadership suppressed these revolts with an iron hand. The insurgents were met at all times with cries of "Unconstitutionalism," "Bolsheviks" and the usual tirade of abuse, besides physical opposition.

Revolts in unions have taken place many times in the past. They are taking place in Europe and more will come in America. But revolts in the past and revolts now have a different meaning. Even as has taken place

(Continued on page 7.)

Our Aims and Tactics in the Trade Unions

(Continued from page 4)

ground that Farrington's spies might be present and learn something in advance about the fights we intended to make in the convention. This attitude is erroneous. It is the result of overcaution and too much concern for immediate legislative and technical victories. Moreover, it represents, to a certain extent, an unconscious yielding to the position of the reactionary officials who invariably resist any attempt to organize the rank and file against them. This question goes much deeper than appears at first glance. The failure to organize the left wing delegates at the convention into a fighting body, if carried to its logical conclusion, would lead to the failure to organize the left wing forces thruout the union. It means giving up, under pressure of the officialdom, the right to organize the Trade Union Educational League. "Don't make a mole hill into a mountain," is a good maxim; but it is just as good if we turn it around and say to the comrades who are willing to concede this small point: "Don't make a mountain into a mole hill." If we are making a serious fight to break the control of the trade union bureaucracy we must not neglect to organize our troops.

Our fight for the conquest of the union is at bottom a fight to organize the rank and file workers together with us on the basis of the class struggle. Therefore, they must be enlightened as to our aims and plans.

Conventions should be regarded as the best occasions to advance this process. The conventions afford us the opportunity of coming into close contact with rank and file delegates, of combatting by discussion and argument their prejudices and misconceptions, and of uniting them with us into an organized body to fight for the regeneration of the labor movement. The left wing caucus is necessary for this work.

It is far more important to us if we get acquainted with ten new workers and make them a part of the organized fight, than if we pass a dozen resolutions in the convention by an accidental majority.

The conscious support of the workers is what we want. We are fighting for their minds and hearts. Do not forget that, comrades. The officialdom can turn our best resolutions into scraps of paper. They can retain office by stealing elections, but they can not take away from us the workers we have won over to our way of thinking and fighting. The officials can maintain themselves in power, for a time, by a thousand tricks and fraudulent practices. But

once we have won the masses over to our side, we can snap our fingers at them. The control of the unions means for us the control of the masses. This, and this alone, will insure our final victory.

Communists and Union Offices.

I want to pass over now to another question which will become more and more important as our strength develops in the trade unions. It has confronted us already a number of times. That is the question of becoming candidates for office. This may become one of our greatest dangers, and one of the greatest sources of corruption of party members, if we do not properly estimate this question and take a resolute stand on it at the very beginning.

In the discussions which took place here today, we heard the remark made by one of the comrades that our struggle in the unions is a struggle for strategic positions. This is a one-sided view and if we allow it to stand alone, we will fall into a serious error. We must adopt the point of view that our struggle is a struggle to develop the class consciousness of the rank and file workers and to win them over to the principle of the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism under the leadership of our Party.

If we will connect the fight for strategic positions with this broad political aim and subordinate it to this aim, we will be on safe ground. Otherwise, we will be confronted with the spectacle of Party members regarding the fight for office as an end in itself; of evading or putting aside questions of principle with which the masses are not familiar; of scheming and calculating too closely in order to get into office. Of course the comrades will justify all this on the ground that once they get into office they will be able to do big things for the Party. But quite often we will be apt to find the very comrades who adopt this method of getting into office falling into the habit of continuing it in order to hold the office. They will thereby degenerate into mere office-holders and office-hunters. They will lose the confidence and respect of the militant rank and file workers, and our Party, which stands responsible for them, will have its prestige greatly injured.

Strategic positions, however, are very important and we must not take a doctrinaire view in regard to them. The opinion expressed here by one comrade that men become petty bourgeois in their interests and outlook as soon as they are elected to office and that, therefore, we should have nothing to do with office, is not correct. It is true that official position, especially in the American trade union

movement, has led many men in the past to corruption and betrayal of the workers, but that does not say that communists must be corrupted. We have to hold the conception that a true Communist can go anywhere the party sends him and do anything, and still remain a Communist—still remain true to the working class. Comrade Lenin was an official. He had more power than Frank Farrington, but he did not become like Frank Farrington. The guarantee against corruption of Party members who become officials is that they remain close to the party and that they base their fight for office on the support of the rank and file for the policy of the class struggle, and do not become too expedient and too "clever"—do not try to "sneak" into office by soft-peddaling and pussy-footing on questions of principle which may be unpopular, but which Communists, nevertheless, are duty-bound to stand for.

A Party of Struggle.

Our Party is a party of rank and file revolutionary workers, a Party of revolutionary struggle against capitalism and all its works, and we expect comrades who are put into official positions to retain that fundamental conception and carry it out in all their official work. They must not allow themselves to be influenced by their positions into an attitude of overcaution. Above all, they must not acquire an "official" psychology, and fail to do their duty by the Party for fear of jeopardising their positions. We do not put Communists into office in order that they may do less for the Party, but more.

The atmosphere of American trade union officialdom is a fetid one. It is permeated thru and thru with customs and traditions of a non-proletarian character. Take care, you comrades who become officials, that you do not sink into this swamp. Remember always that you are Communists and hold on to your rebel Communist spirit. Do not succumb to the customs and traditions of office developed by the agents of the bourgeoisie, who have fastened themselves upon the labor movement in official positions, but take your own revolutionary ethics and customs with you.

Party Discipline.

The question of Party discipline becomes especially important in connection with comrades in official positions. Comrades so situated must tie themselves closely to the Party, make themselves one with it, and regard the Party always as their best friend. The close union of a Communist official with the Party will be the best guarantee that he will be able to retain his revolutionary point of view and do his duty by the working class.

The Party expects even more discipline to be shown by comrades who become officials and leaders than by other members of the party. It does not fear even the biggest officials who go against the decisions of the Party and follow a policy in conflict with it. Comrades who hold offices, no matter how important they may be, cannot act as independent individuals without being called to order by the Party.

The Test of Our Work.

We can sum up the whole question in a few words. We are not Progressives, but Revolutionists. Our role in the trade union movement is to organize the masses for the proletarian revolution and to lead them in the struggle for it. All of our daily work must be related to this, and subordinated to it. The test of our work can never be made by formal victories on paper, but by the development of class consciousness in the ranks of the workers, the degree of their organization on that basis and the increasing influence and leadership of our Party. Strategic positions in the labor movement are of importance chiefly from the standpoint of enabling the Party to advance and develop its work of revolutionizing the masses.

Let us be shrewd and practical by all means. Let us learn how to meet every question that arises in the union, in a realistic and businesslike manner. Let us become experts in the daily work of the unions, and in maneuvering for strategic positions, but let us also remember always the danger of degenerating into mere progressives.

Active unionists, especially those who hold office, are beset by a thousand temptations to turn aside from the road of the class struggle. Only their close union with the Party will enable them to overcome these temptations. With the assistance of the Party they will learn how to serve the workers in the daily struggle and to connect all their activity with the task of leading the masses toward the final revolution. They will learn how to measure their progress at every step, not by formal victories on paper, but by the development of the class consciousness of the workers and the influence of the Party, by the extent to which their activity inspires the workers with that spirit of determined struggle, which is the spirit of communism.

Many difficulties will confront us in the task we have undertaken, but, with the assistance of the Party and the International, we will solve them all. We will win over the masses to the side of Communism; we will wrest the labor movement from the hands of the agents of the bourgeoisie and convert them into mighty instruments for the proletarian revolution.

THE REDS' PICNIC

BY FREDERICK F. SIMMONS

A PLEASANT woman, clad in a blue gingham apron and with a smile that very seldom leaves her face, bustles about where three paper covered tables stand beneath a tree. Behind her, a little fellow in gray striped trousers and a straw hat a trifle too large, hops obsequiously about, anxious to be of some help. At the end table, another fellow, tall and dignified, sits waiting with a bottle opener in his hand. The arrangements committee is on the job and its leading light, a slender youth with an over serious face, flits first here and there, to see that everything is alright.

Now the crowd begins to filter in. A Ford drives up and parks in the dusty road alongside the grove. From it clambors a bunch of youngsters, two women who brush the wrinkles from their skirts as soon as they reach the ground, and its driver, who locks the steering wheel, edges over in his seat and then on to solid earth. They make their way to the picnic grounds. Other Fords drive up, discharging their passengers in almost the same spot. From the car line comes a straggling group of the more unfortunate. The ever increasing crowd reaches the refreshment stands.

"Get your refreshment tickets here." A Jewish youth folds up little green tickets, surrounded by a group of prospective buyers.

"What'll you have Gertie?"

"Want some pop or a sandwich Marcia?"

A clamor arises.

"Now Morris look out. Don' spill da soddy pop!"

A couple separates from the crowd, going a little ways off to themselves. He bends over her solicitiously.

"What'll you have dear?"

The pleasant woman's arms flash industriously back and forth in the sun as she cuts off thick slices of bread, between which she puts liberal portions of ham. At the pop stand a constant clicking is heard as the tall, dignified fellow opens bottles in response to the words—grape, lemon cream, strawberry, root beer. The little figure in gray striped trousers still hops about, very much in the way. The leading light of the arrangements committee stands off a little to one side, seeing that everything goes off in the right manner.

Members of the crowd recognize familiar faces and it begins to separate into little groups. Plump, Jewish women, clad in loose-fitting garments, with a bunch of youngsters about their heels, sit fanning themselves in two or three small groups beneath tall trees. Their spouses, with solemn looks on their faces, bring them soda pop and sandwiches or else, stand in small knots, gesticulating wildly. Two or three groups of younger Jewish boys and girls frolic about in the open, their brightly clad, lithe bodies creating little pictures of grace and beauty not soon to be forgotten. Russians and Croatians stand about drinking pop and munching sandwiches. Americans sit about in the shade conversing with much laughter or else wander in small bunches about the grove. From one group to another roam the older men and women, exchanging greetings and stopping for a moment's chat.

"Say I see where the Democrats are going to run W. Z. Foster for president . . ."

"England's in a hell of a fix. Why, during the war . . ."

"I'll tell you the revolution's right at hand . . ."

"The last time I was in Chicago, I saw a funny sight. I was going down State Street . . ."

From underneath one of the trees there comes a shrill scream.

"Abie, Abie, vy you not leave Dorothy alone? Tch, tch, tch," with a shake of the head, "vat a boy, vat a boy."

It is a peculiar day—half rainy, half pleasant. Some small gray clouds float across the face of the sun, plunging the picnic grounds into a faint grayness. A few drops of rain fall desultorily. Then the clouds pass and once more the sunshine pours down in a pleasant shower, bathing the grove below with a soft, warm light

and filling the youths and girls with an inexpressible restlessness; the older folks with sleepiness. About the speaker—from out of town, but well known—a small knot presses eagerly, shaking his hands and asking questions concerning the radical movement in different-sections of the country. The vendors get busy. They wander about the grounds, punchboards in one hand, prizes in the other.

"Take a chance on a box of candy."

"Get a camera. Two chances for a quarter. You'll want to photograph some of the prominent Republican candidates when they come to town."

"Isn't this a lovely scarf? One of the Croatian boys made it. Won't you take a chance?"

Over in one corner, a small, pleasant-faced little fellow, whom everyone calls "Shorty" presides over a game of skill.

"Here you are. Step right up, pitch two balls in the little barrels and win a box of candy. Three balls for a dime and you can play as long as you've got dimes."

A young Croatian steps up.

"Ah, here comes a ballplayer. Now watch him."

Plunk, plunk, plunk. The balls hit the barrels and roll off onto the ground. Others press forward, anxious to display their skill. Some are lucky; others . . .

The lucky ones move about the grove, passing the candy around, just as long as it lasts. About the refreshment stands a small group still remains, munching sandwiches, drink-

ing pop and looking calmly about at the milling crowd. A straight, but slender youth wearing a limp brown cap bustles about, getting things ready for the speaking—principal event of the day. Finally two old boxes are secured and he mounts them, calling forth in stentorian tones.

"Now comrades, everybody crowd right up close here and it won't be any harder on the speaker's voice."

The crowd looks at him, rather dumbly perhaps. Then it begins to move slowly forward. Newspapers are brought into play. An obliging comrade secures a whole armload of such from somewhere and goes thru the crowd, passing them out. Most of the comrades sit down in a circle about the improvised rostrum. A few stand.

The speaker, a handsome, youthful fellow with an air about him which impresses one with his earnestness and knowledge, mounts the rostrum. As he moves his hand about it is evident that one thumb is gone—an unwilling contribution to modern industry, no doubt. He speaks earnestly and to the point. He does not indulge in oratory—he delivers a message. He tells them of things in foreign countries, analyzes the political situations there and then compares the analysis with things in America. He tells them of a convention held in St. Paul and of the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, a political party of the workers. He speaks clearly and earnestly and tells of the Workers' Party, his party, its aims and aspira-

tions. Overhead the sun comes from behind a bank of small, gray clouds and the speaker winds up his talk with an earnest peroration.

" . . . so that the working class of America will move forward to something more than mere political expression as a class; so that it will move steadily, unerringly forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The crowd applauds. The speaker steps from the rostrum saying, "Shorty's got a skin game over there in the corner that will now hold the center of the stage."

The youth with the stentorian voice steps up on the platform and makes a few remarks about local work and a plea for a large collection. Around go hats—dollars, half dollars and quarters, plunk into their insides.

The crowd separates; the vendors again go the rounds. Shorty's game as usual attracts a number of the comrades. Straggling groups begin to leave the grove and then more. A few hours later only a few are left and soon, all are gone. A truck filled with tubs, tables and empty soda pop cases rattles out upon the dusty road.

The sun shines lonesomely, weakly, down upon the trampled grass and littered grove. An inquisitive breeze seeks energetically amongst the scattered papers, throwing them hither and thither. A lone bird flies thru the grove. The breeze tires of its search; the sun slips stealthily from sight. In the city, the picnickers go alone, one by one, to sleep, perhaps to dream of the coming of tomorrow's Red Dawn.

Rebellion in Labor Unions

(Continued from page 6)

in Europe, so also in America. "The long struggle over the leaders' acceptance of the automatic machine in industry, with its inroads upon the workers' skill and trade union practices; the gradual revulsion against an unquestioning pro-war attitude; the resentment against leaders' inactions on trade union amalgamation; and the conflicting attitude towards Bolshevik Russia, all helped to create a true rank and file movement."

"In America, moreover, the disappearance (statistically in 1890) of the frontiers, has slowly changed the character of our economic life until by 1920 we were a completely industrialized nation, whose industrial workers outnumbered the farm workers and whose urban population exceeded the rural. Our economic environment has at last set. In the face of such changed economic conditions, the old trade union machinery is bound to be recognized as antiquated. For bread and butter reasons, the most powerful in the minds of the unionists, arguments for change must attain new persuasiveness. Simultaneously the problem of democracy in the unions must attain a new sharpness. For the need and possibility of some change in the structure and functioning of the union at once brings to the fore the old question of union leadership which possesses a vested interest in things as they are, and the machinery of power with which to maintain it. How in the face of this condition will a change come to pass?"

Today opposition to the bureaucratic machinery of the American Federation of Labor and its respective units is consciously and militantly organized and is expressed mainly in the program and tactics of the Trade Union Educational League.

This boring from within, perfectly constitutional methods being employed, meets with the same opposition and reactions and suppression from the "labor leaders" as did what they called the "unconstitutional" revolts of the rank and file. As before, the rank and file must face the united front of the labor officials, the employing class and the government. Gradually they are realizing that reconciliation on the basis of pure wage settlements is impossible. Even ordinary and obviously just bread and butter demands meet with the utmost repression. The struggle within the

labor unions, as also among the rest of the workers, begins to be broadened and is directed not only for immediate bread and butter solutions, but against fake labor leaders, the employing class and the capitalist government. Gradually it becomes a struggle against the capitalist class for rank and file control, workers' ownership of the means of production and distribution, and for a workers' government.

The struggle is long, but militant workers have learned much in past years. The militants and revolutionists no longer flock by themselves, separated from the rank and file in their love-nest and purity unions. Because of the systematic campaign of the Red International of Labor Unions and in America the Trade Union Educational League, the militants and revolutionists stay in the unions in order to win the rank and file to their program, whether it be amalgamation, a Labor Party or the Soviet revolution. If expelled, they fight their way back into the unions. Regardless of consequences, regardless of methods employed against them, militants now have as their slogans, "Win the membership to the militant program. Conquer the unions for the revolution."

This book by Miss Kopald is of

distinctly high value to every worker. It is a source book of fine historical need. Its facts are, however, also marshalled for excellent everyday use. It is a fighting document for all militant workers; it is damning against the labor officialdom. With their own words is the labor bureaucracy nailed to the wall.

Kopald deals with simple causes of the origin of the insurgent strikes, with bread and butter causes and brilliantly indicates their development into broader and, if you please, a revolutionary struggle. A truly valuable book which should be widely circulated and read. It is not necessary here to picture the struggle and detail the facts given. They will speak for themselves when you read the book.

The author, of course, writes from the typical "impartial" intellectualistic point of view, and while it should be clearly understood that the book is not written by a Communist or from the Communist viewpoint, it certainly is a welcome addition to the sparse literature on such a vitally important subject as left wing unionism in America.

Send in that Subscription Today.

WORKING CLASS REPORTER



Correspondent of Russian "Pravda."

Millerand Goes--Millerandism Remains

BY DANIEL RENOULT.

M. Millerand has gone.

M. Millerand is a two-fold renegade. He first betrayed Socialism to the republican petty and middle bourgeoisie. He then betrayed this republican middle bourgeoisie to the nationalist and clerical reaction.

There was a time when vituperative attacks were made upon the President of the Republic. These were made by—Alexander Millerand. They were directed against Casimir Perier. This was thirty years ago. M. Millerand then played in the paper "La Petite Republique" the same role as M. Bertrand of the left block today plays in the "Quotidien." He worked energetically to achieve his object of bringing about the downfall of the "Occupier of the Elysee."

This was accomplished. And when the block of the left was victorious it rewarded the noble efforts of the socialist journalist by making him the President of the Republic.

The victory of the left raised this politician to the highest eminence, the victory of the left has cast him down into the deepest obscurity. Thus the circle of events is completed.

And now it appears that Millerandism returns at the same moment as the old Millerand abandons, in his final guise as chief of the right block, the presidential seat.

Herein lies the most important po-

litical and social fact.

That which M. Herriot, supported by the reformed socialists and the reformist trade unionists, will accomplish, is precisely the same as that which M. Millerand intended to accomplish with the assistance of the governmental socialists, the moderate trade unionists and the "radical" petty bourgeoisie, when he entered the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry in the year 1898.

The similarity is starting.

The case was just the same at that time, when the attempt was made to divert the workers from the class war and from revolutionary thoughts and to convince them that they have to expect everything from collaboration with the true democratic bourgeoisie, as these were disposed to grant them real advantages and useful reforms and to attain, without social conflicts and collision, the dual ideal of the suppressed proletariat: Prosperity and Freedom.

We have again arrived at the same juncture. The disasters which the Millerandists at one time caused, were no worse than those for which the leaders of the reformists are preparing today. It is even certain that these leaders will be more ruthless than they.

The co-operation of the "socialists" and moderate trade union leaders with the bourgeoisie will be carried on upon systematic lines: the reformist trade

unions—backed by the socialist party—have already submitted a demand to M. Herriot that an Economic Council of Labor be constituted, in order that this body may deal with all the important questions of production and of the currency.

We can say that this Economic Council of Labor, according to the intentions of its proposers, will be on a national scale—but more elaborated and with greater powers—than what the International Labor Office is on a world scale.

M. Albert Thomas has won the game.

When the International Labor Office was set up on the basis of the Versailles Treaty, even the most moderate trade unionists assented with regret to this institution, as it was quite evident that the workers would be subordinated to the capitalist state. More than four years have elapsed and today the reformist trade union federation is proposing on its own initiative, the creation of such a state institution as will connect the trade unions subordinated to it with the administrative apparatus of the bourgeoisie.

This is the logical development which we have foreseen for a long time.

It is not by mere chance that just the same people who, in the socialist party, embody the type of the reformist trade union leader in the most typical manner, like Dumoulin, are

among the most fervent adherers of a governmental coalition.

The revolutionary workers will have to fight bitterly against this renewal of Millerandism. They will before long be assisted by the bitter experience which the abused masses of the workers will have to undergo.

The active members of the proletariat who still follow the reformist leaders will learn to their cost what it means to abandon the class struggle. Without the most determined class war the proletariat can accomplish nothing. Those who have played a prominent part in bringing about the defeat of the national block will soon recognize what they will be deprived of thru the policy of compromise of the reformist leaders.

These leaders are already—in order not to give M. Herriot any financial embarrassments—renouncing, for the time being, the general demand for the 1800 franc wage.

Here we have the first fruits of the policy of bourgeois-socialist collaboration. A lovely specimen! The revolutionary trade unions and the Communists will not fail to make clear to the masses the significance of this specimen.

M. Millerand has resigned. But against the Millerandism, which has again come to power by the block of the left together with the reformists, there will be waged an inexorable fight.

American Capitalism Preparing New Wars

(Continued from page 1)

sents itself in the role of a pre-war Germany, knocking at a door which has been previously slammed and bolted. And, like the war lords of Germany, our American imperialists are knocking with an importunity that foreshadows war. The policy of the "Open Door," which the United States has taken up at the behest of Wall Street, is a policy of war, and is being pushed with that definite understanding.

Islands of the Pacific.

Japan is a poor country, having little or no mineral wealth, and with much of her mountainous country, unfit for agriculture. She cannot give up privileges in China, without abandoning all possibilities of capitalistic greatness, and this is what American capitalism asks of her. There is no other way out but war. Already there has taken place a struggle for "key" islands in the Pacific. Little Islands like Yap have become of vital importance. By the Versailles Treaty, Japan obtains all the Pacific Islands north of the equator which up to 1914 had been Germany's; and these give her various points of vantage in the line of the direct American route between Hawaii and the Philippines.

War with Japan is coming. When Wall Street is ready, the Japanese-California question will be there to prepare the atmosphere with column after column of sensational "Yellow Peril" propaganda.

Comrade Pavlovitch has pointed out that it is a great mistake to explain the whole meaning of the war of 1914-18 in terms of the rivalry between Germany and England. Apart from the Anglo-German clash of interests, one must also take into consideration, the conflicts between Czarist Russia and Germany and Austria, between France and Germany, etc., etc. In the same way, one must not imagine that the war in the Far East will be a simple exchange of hostilities between the United States and Japan. Japan is by no means our only possible enemy there. The clash of interests in Asia is intricate and many-sided. Great Britain is a dominant power in certain sections of China; France too has important interests. American imperialism jostles other expanding imperialism at every turn. It all means war, war, war. A world war with new and unexpected alignments.

U. S. Versus Britain.

It may well be that the American war with Japan be only a starting point for a greater military duel between the United States and Great

Britain. England is America's greatest commercial and industrial rival. The U. S. Steel Corporation is in fierce competition with the British steel monopolies, all over the world. The British Empire was built upon coal; but petroleum is taking the place of coal as the fuel of the future, and the world-wide competition between the Standard Oil and the (British owned) Royal Dutch Shell combine conceals what amounts to a life and death struggle for British world power. As for the United States, the oil reserves of the nation are inadequate to the needs of American capitalist industry, despite the present flush production in the California fields. Hence the unabated struggle for positions of privilege in Persia, Mesopotamia, Baku, Roumania, Latin America and every important field in the world.

Many people are already familiar with the following significant, quotation from Eckel:

"The first duty of our navy in time of war will be to secure the Caribbean. The first duty of our expeditionary forces will be to furnish protection to the oil fields of this extra territorial region.

"Countries with adequate commercial fleets and navies will look rather to the three South American zones, all of which have immense petroleum reserves. The pressure there and elsewhere, will be increased year by year and the financial and commercial rivalry may at times have political and military results."

The Oil War.

We are going to fight another Morgan war, but we are also going to fight an oil war. Teapot Dome, and the sinister activities of Doheny, Fall and McAdoo in Mexico, show how completely the oil interests are able to dominate American Government policy.

The Latin-American Battlefield.

The struggle for oil concentrates our attention on Latin America. Latin America is our favored, carefully staked out battleground. American policy in Latin America, perhaps even more than in Europe and Asia, has in it the germs of countless wars. American imperialism has declared Latin America its "eminent domain." We tolerate no open door here!

Out of the twenty Latin American republics, eleven now have their financial policies directed by appointed officials from the United States. Six of these eleven have the financial agents backed by American Military forces on the ground. Four of the remaining nine have their economic and fiscal lives closely tied to the

United States through large loans and concessions, giving special advantage to American capitalists.

In these smaller countries of the South, controlled by our soldiers, our bankers, and our oil kings, we are developing our Irelands, our Egypts, and our Indias. Hatred of the United States is flaming up in Latin America. Newspapers are being established everywhere for the sole purpose of opposition to North American policy. The combined strength of the Latin American countries is considerable and it is continually growing. War clouds are gathering for the future.

While we talk of how we are protecting Latin America from Europe, Latin Americas are betaking themselves as fast as they can to Europe for protection against us. The League of Nations offers them a resource of which they are availing themselves. This brings Latin America into the orbit of European influences and is a direct challenge to the Monroe Doctrine. It betokens bitter, terrible war.

Monroe Doctrine.

Wall Street and the United States Government are determined to defend the right to their "natural" Latin-American empire. Every discussion of the Versailles Treaty carried with it the declaration that the Monroe Doctrine must be preserved. "Our" government is requiring statements of recognition of the Monroe Doctrine from every nation with which we have dealings.

Latin America is to be for Wall Street alone. We make no effort to hide the fact that the intervention of any other foreign power there means war.

But the Monroe Doctrine is being stretched even further. Great Britain and some of the other European powers already have some possessions in the Western Hemisphere which they have had for years. "The time is fast approaching" says Professor Gibbons of Princeton University, when the United States will regard European Sovereignty in the West Indies, as an anomaly that must disappear, and when the Latin American countries will take the same attitude toward the Guiana enclave, Trinidad and Tabago, and the Falkland Islands.... Because the American countries will demand a general liquidation and because the European owners will be unable to defend the titles, the forcing of Europe out of America is bound to go on until the last European title has been given up."

A Policy of Imperialism
American Foreign Policy
the policy of imperialism. Ever before

the war with Spain in 1898, American capitalism had reached the point of development where it could no longer maintain itself without giving up its self-absorption of two generations, and being drawn into the current of world events. Economic conditions were approximating those of European. The West was becoming populated. Money was no longer at a big premium for internal developments. Our native capitalists could not count indefinitely upon a constant consumption demand in this country. At last it became necessary for them to think of overseas investment for surplus capital and of overseas markets for surplus farm products and manufactured goods. With the first surplus of capital and the first suggestion of producing power in excess of consuming capacity, Wall Street began to look for new fields to conquer. In the United States itself, Big Business had developed into monopoly and monopoly had developed to the point where it was able to control the entire foreign policy of the Government.

There's Many a Slip.

Today the United States stands, a ready belligerent, the center of a hundred irreconcilable antagonisms, with new profit-wars facing it on all sides. But for all their unscrupulous scheming, the heaven of the capitalist is an impossible one. War leads easily to revolution, and revolution will destroy the whole basis of capitalist exploitation.

The United States has been going about its policy of war in a deliberate way. Over \$4,000,000,000 is invested in the United States navy. The strength of the United States army has been raised from 212,000 to 371,770 men,—and upwards of 500,000 citizens are being trained for slaughter in the military training camps and R. O. T. C. courses. Militarization is proceeding at an unheard of rate. Even small school children are being drilled in scout groups, and are being prepared, mentally and physically, to die for their country's financiers.

That bouyant phrase: "War to end War," is already beyond the comprehension of the younger generation. Its supposed meaning lives only in the memory of men and women who had already emerged from childhood before the outbreak of the war of 1914-18.

RIVERVIEW

RAIN OR SHINE

August 10th -- Sunday
Press Picnic Day