

# 66,000 Votes!



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Chas. Boyle.

Where the Hell's the Dump Cart?

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

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

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

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

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

*(Continued on page 236)*

## American Shibboleths

No. 1. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.



# Kellogg in Paris--Johnson in the Senate

By Alexander Bittelman

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

## What happened in Paris?

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

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

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

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

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

## A Diplomatic Setback.

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

Here is how Senator Johnson of California relates the incident:

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



1. CHARLIE HAD A VERY COMFORTABLE AND DIGNIFIED SEAT.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

### The Impotency of the Congressional Opposition.

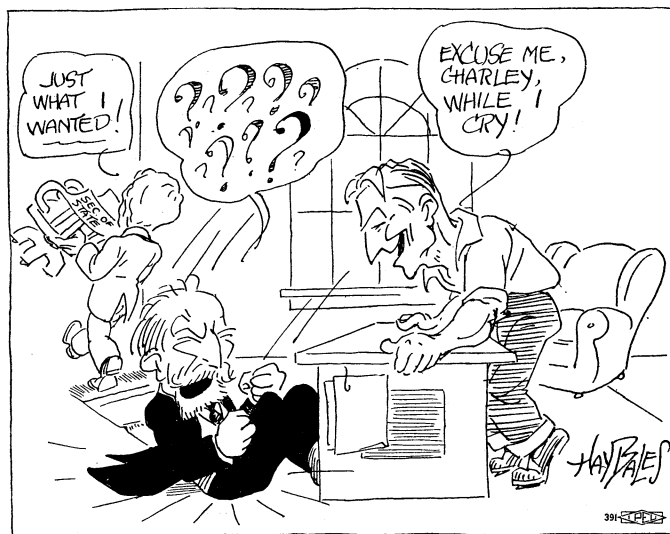
Home politics, as far as Congress is concerned, is rather at a standstill at this moment. It seems as if the democrats and the "insurgent" republicans, who are supposed to be the official opposition to the Coolidge administration, have not yet found their bearing. **The fact is that there is in Congress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

This astounding fact is being explained in many ways.

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

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

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



## 3. AND WHEN HE SAT DOWN. . .

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

### American Imperialism—the Big Issue.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

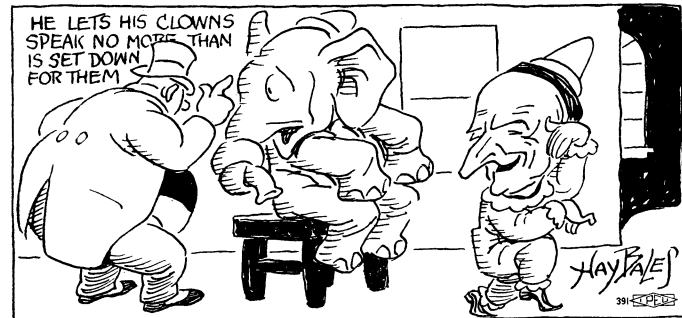
This being the quintessence of "progressive" wisdom, is the political impotency and practical futility of our "progressivism" and liberalism to be wondered at? Big capital and the Coolidge administration may sleep quite peacefully as long as their only "opposition" in Congress is the one represented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

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

## UNITY!

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

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



## This is Number 37

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

**RENEW!**

STRAY THOUGHTS ON INAUGURATION DAY.



# The Prison Story of the Wobblies

By Harrison George

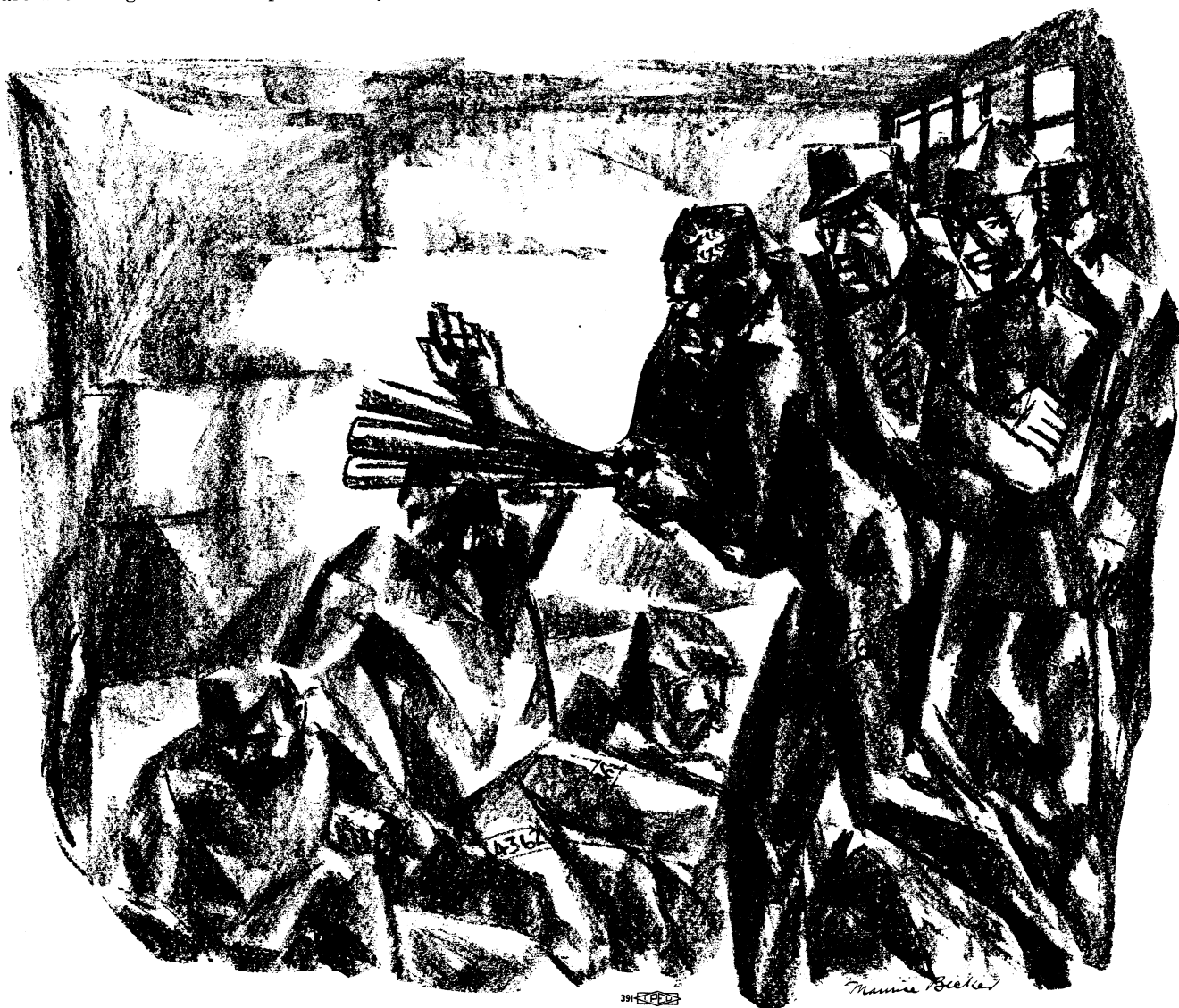
**I**T is four-thirty in the morning of February 2, 1923. Wakeful, I had awaited the "get up" call of the guard, whispered through the barred front of my cell on the second gallery of "D" cell house at the great federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas. I was "going out on expiration of sentence."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

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

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

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

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



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Maurice Becker

Maurice Becker.

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



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

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

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

\* \* \* \* \*



Maurice Becker.

SOLITARY.

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

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

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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

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

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

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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

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

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

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

standing between them and unlimited exploitation of the workers."

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

\* \* \* \*

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

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

Ah, but that unrepentant government....!

\* \* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \* \*

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

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

\* \* \* \*

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



Maurice Becker.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST—LEAVENWORTH—1919.

OFFICER.—ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE S. P.?

C. C.—YES SIR.

OFFICER.—HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A REVOLUTIONIST?

C. O.—WHY, MY FAMILY DATES BACK TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

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

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

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

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



Maurice Becker.

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

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

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

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

\* \* \* \*

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

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

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

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

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



PEN-SKETCH OF LENIN.

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

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

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

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

#### From Theory to Action

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Drama for Winter Night (Fifth Avenue)

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

The usher opens the church door and he goes out.

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

The chauffer opens the door and he gets out.

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

Death opens a door.

## Yellow But Red!



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

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

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

—Langston Hughes.

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

The call to the convention concludes as follows:

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

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

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

## Negroes in American Industry

(Continued from page 208).

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

**Hotels—53 per cent.**

**Laundries—44 per cent.**

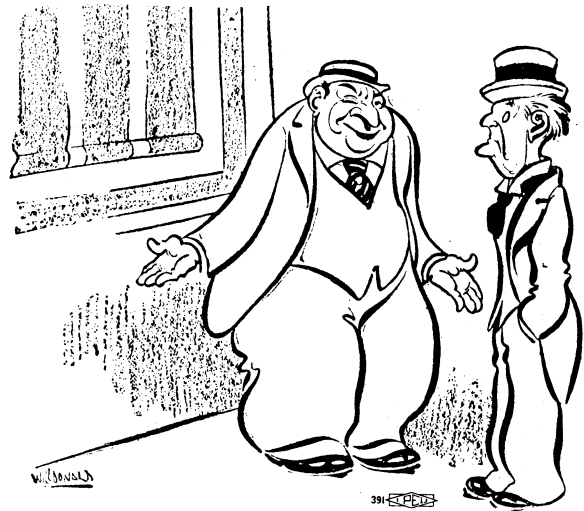
**Mail order merchandise houses—8 per cent.**

**Railway sleeping and dining car service—68 per cent.**

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

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

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



YOU SAY YOUR CUSTOMERS GAVE YOU A BIRTH-DAY PRESENT?

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

### Migration North

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Fight the Capitalist Prosecutors!

DEFEND

Ruthenberg, Foster, Minor, Dunne, Severino  
and the 27 others



## ***THE CAPITALISTS WANT TO CRUSH THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY***

The Department of Justice has a new plot to take away the citizenship and deport Severino and other Communists and militant workers.

The Party membership and its friends and sympathizers must demonstrate their support.

### ***WORKERS!***

Rush funds to the  
Labor Defense Council,  
166 W. Washington St.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Labor Defense Council  
166 W. Washington St.  
Chicago, Illinois

Here is my answer to the capitalist prosecution.....

Name .....

Address .....

City and State .....

Trade or Profession .....