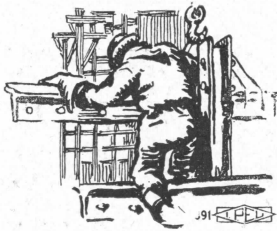


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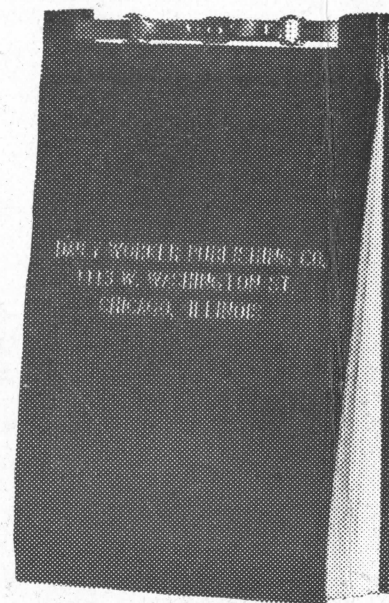
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1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Chicago, Ill.



750,000 Irish Workers and Peasants Are Starving!

AMERICAN WORKERS!

Give, to relieve the famine stricken in Ireland as you gave to the workers and Peasants of Soviet Russia.



AMERICAN WORKERS!

750,000 Irish workers and peasants have no food and no fuel. Demonstrate your international solidarity by coming to their assistance.

FACTS ABOUT THE IRISH FAMINE

The entire western seaboard from Donegal in the extreme north to Cork in the extreme south is stricken.

* * * *

The famine area reaches inland along this stretch of country for about forty miles.

* * * *

The failure of the potato crop last year was the climax to several bad harvests.

* * * *

The incessant rains flooded the bogs thus preventing the cutting and drying of peat which is the main source of fuel supply on the west coast of Ireland.

* * * *

British steam trawlers ruined the fishing industry off the west coast.

* * * *

The Free State government is more interested in pushing a "hanging bill" thru parliament than aiding the famine victims.

* * * *

The Irish Workers and Peasants Famine Relief Committee with National Headquarters at 19 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill., is the only organization in America which is active in the aid of the starving Ireland.

Irish Workers and Peasants Relief Committee, 19 So. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

Find enclosed \$..... for Irish Famine

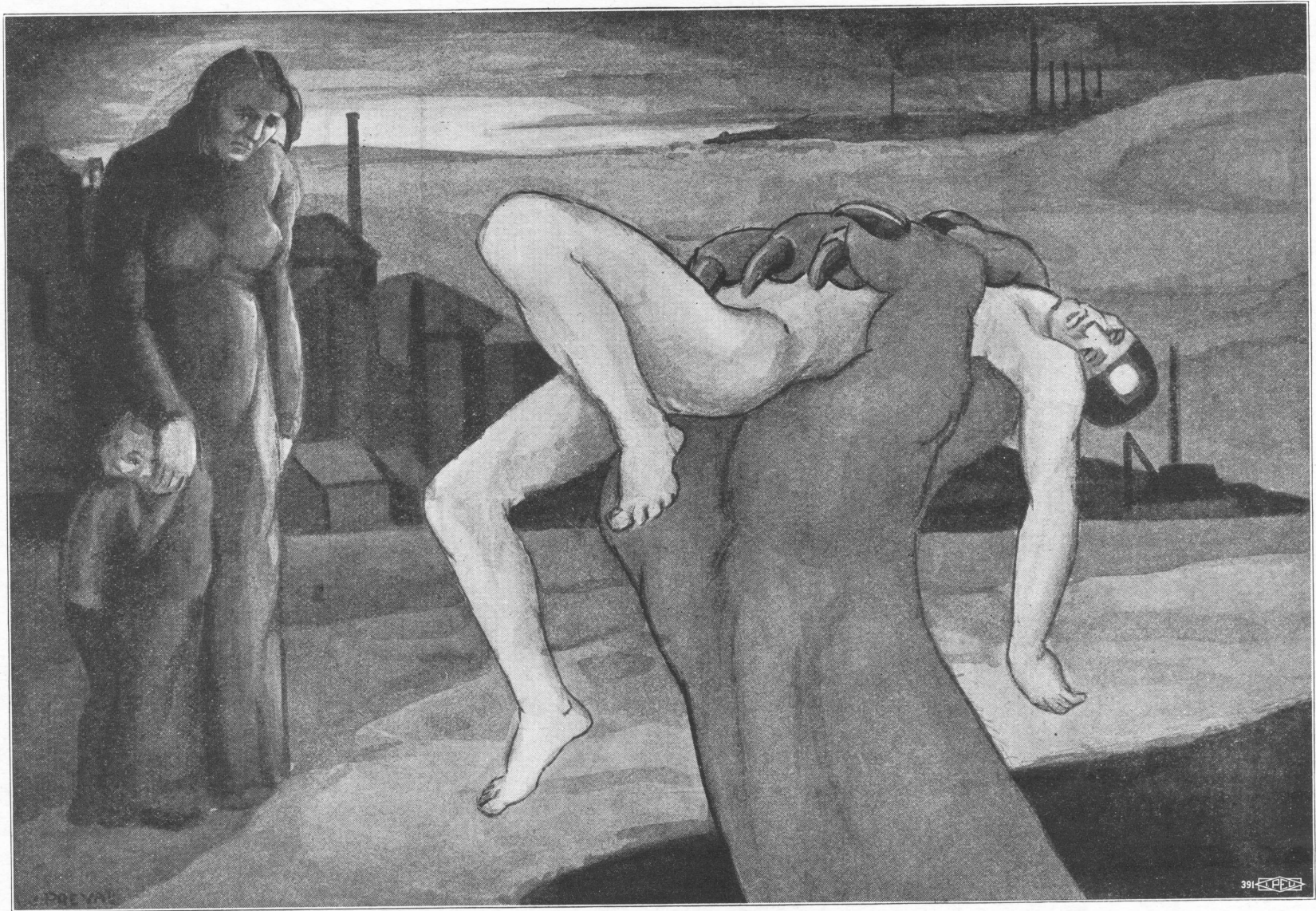
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Juanita Preval

FIFTY-ONE MINERS KILLED IN COAL MINE EXPLOSION AT SULLIVAN, IND.
Proper safety appliances had not been installed "because they eat up to much profit."

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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

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APRIL, 1925

No. 6

Rear Admirals and Russian Recognition

By Earl R. Browder

SOME one has said:

"What fools think, is important because there are so many fools."



EARL R. BROWDER

What are the fools thinking—the rotarians, the kiwanises, the clubwomen, the little cockroach business men of the commercial clubs, the labor leaders and the ministers of the gospel—the socially articulate who get their opinions ready made from the Saturday Evening Post and the Sunday supplements and pass them on to their underlings?

What are the opinions of the middle class groups, who still mold to too large an extent the thoughts of the working masses of the United States, on British-

American rivalry, recognition of Soviet Russia, American imperialist policy in the Far East, the need for a larger navy and more aircraft?

These are the issues which are featured by the press and once we determine its attitude on them we have a good idea of the direction in which the ruling class of the United States wants the current of thought to flow.

When we take a good look at the questions treated by the capitalist press we notice something that gives us a start if we remember that isolation from world affairs was traditional for the United States just a few short years ago.

Every one of the burning issues of the day deals directly or is intimately connected with matters of foreign policy. Until 1914 the job of Secretary of State was a place to pension off some deserving political supporter. Today it is the most important post in the cabinet. Until the war for democracy began to make Europe a slaughter house the Secretary of State did not have work enough for one amateur stenographer. Today he has an army of attaches who keep their fingers on the pulses of every capital in the world.

One more thing the headlined news has in common—not one of these questions can be divorced from the rest or any solution arrived at independently.

American foreign policy no longer is confined to securing indemnity for the what was probably justifiable extinction of a photograph salesman in Costa Rica or the release of bibulous sailors from some one of the port jails of the seven seas; it is a world policy with the United States playing a dominant role in finance, diplomacy and in war—as in 1917.

Let us look for a moment at the international alignments.

Three great nations hold the center of the stage; around them, or rather within overlapping circles which they form, revolve the satellites.

Great Britain is the center of a world system. So is America.

So is Soviet Russia.

Great Britain and America have but one mutual bond—they are capitalist nations and hate Soviet Russia with all the bitterness that fear of their loss of power can arouse in them. At every other point they meet as enemies—in the field of finance, in the race for oil, in the contest for the power to rob China, in shipping and in the world markets.

There are two great wars being fought before our eyes—the war for world supremacy between Great Britain and America and the war for world supremacy between these two great capitalist nations and Soviet Russia.

It is well to say here that Soviet Russia merely symbolizes the force that contests with capitalism for power. It is the Communist International and the millions of workers and farmers of all races and nations who accept its leadership that British-American imperialism fears. It is an enemy WITHIN the gates which leaves capitalism without that primary military necessity—a strong rear.

America is in far better position in both the imperialist war and the class war than Great Britain. The working class of America has not tasted the bitter crust of mass starvation and hopeless unemployment

that is the daily food of the British workers. The trade union and political movement here is years behind that of Great Britain. The American workers are still obsessed for the most part with the fallacy that this is a land of equal opportunity.

America still feeds herself.

American imperialism moves into the conflict for world hegemony with a steady step. Her limitless resources that no foreign power can capture assure her of the material backing for markets and war. Her capitalists can devote all of their attention to creating the necessary mass psychological background for conquest.

For the present she does not fear Soviet Russia to the same extent as does Great Britain. America has no India along whose northern frontier are peasant and pastoral masses who see in Soviet Russia their deliverer.

Soviet Russia is much more of a menace to Great Britain than to America—Hughes could not see this, or if he did would not act accordingly. He has gone. The assiduous Senator Borah, the liberal middle class appendage to the Republican Party of big capital, gets the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations committee. Kellogg, ex-ambassador to Great Britain, who for eight months has been watching closely the foreign policy of our overseas cousins, takes the job of Secretary of State.

We have now a rough sketch of the world background and it resembles a powder magazine sheltering a number of careless boys who have chosen to hide from their parents while they smoke cigarettes.

All of the ingredients for a first class explosion are present. It has become apparent that what fools are thinking is indeed of some importance.

In the later part of February President Coolidge, Secretary of War Weeks, Secretary of the Navy Wilbur and other high government officials" (we quote from the Chicago Tribune) conducted a school in Washington. The school had but one course in its curriculum—"National Defense as Peace Insurance."

The fools were to be made to do some organized thinking.

The pupils were delegates from women's patriotic societies and the claim was made that they represented sixteen million club-women. They had been called to Washington to listen to the official reasons for a substantial increase in the armed forces. The instructors were almost without exception naval and military men.

Rear-Admiral W. W. Phelps was one of the lecturers. His remarks were given the greatest prominence in the capitalist press. Here are extracts from his lecture featured in the Washington dispatches:

The American open door principle has been invoked to help American citizens secure oil concessions. Wherever we turn, this principle has so successfully been combatted by the imperialistic

powers and fought by our own provincial powers for temporary partisan ends, that American rights and interests have been pretty generally defeated."

Let it be noted that the admiral uses the word "imperialistic" as an opprobrious term. Does America come under that classification? Perish the thought: Do we not know that it is only the enemy whose purposes are unholy and that the God of the Founding Fathers smiles warmly upon our own own unselfish motives?

"The result is that the bulk of the world's oil supply is in English control, and within another generation, when our own oil pools are drained, as they are being drained not only by us but also by England and Japan to conserve their own oil reserves, your navy and merchant marine will be at England's mercy for their fuel."

Here is the ancient foe, the hated redcoat of our school days, parading in full-plumed readiness, the "imperialistic" monster that Phelps, the outspoken militarist names with high disregard for diplomatic usage.

"As people are ordinarily polite the world over, none of them are so rude as to tell us exactly what they think of us. Given all these situations, it is not too much to expect that the nations who owe us huge sums which they spent settling quarrels among themselves, will coalesce whenever they can pos-

(Continued on Page 284)

American Shibboleths

NO. 2 FREE SPEECH.



"Let Your Superintendent Be Your Labor Leader"

By Robert Minor

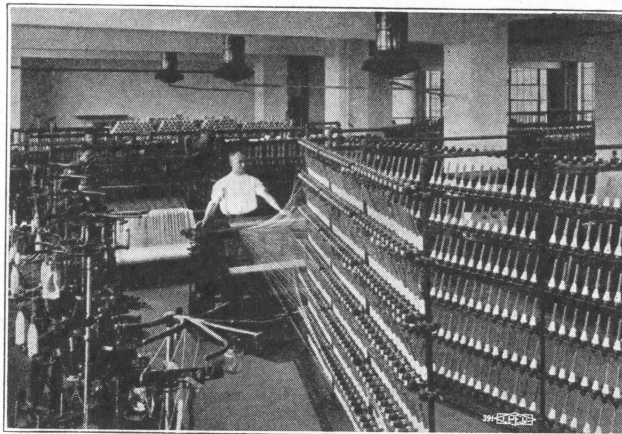
"GO AHEAD on the basis that your overseer and your superintendent are your labor leaders . . . Don't be misled by any so-called labor leader outside of your own mill to believe that it will profit you anything to do less work or to make more jobs for more people . . . In many mills wages have already been cut at least ten per cent . . . Increased production per operative, and a consequent lowering of the cost of production is going to be the salvation of cotton manufacturing in New England . . . In one cotton mill . . . the weavers used to run sixteen automatic looms; now they are running thirty-two automatic looms up to 60 inches in width . . . In another mill the operatives have doubled up on the work, . . . the weavers tend more looms, spinners tend more sides of spinning, card-room help tend three frames where they used to tend only two; all extra hands have been done away with, and this 100,000-spindle mill with 3,000 looms, which before the war employed 1,200 operatives, now runs full with 600 operatives, . . . This doubling up of the production per operative has become very common in New England . . . Go ahead on the basis that your overseer and your superintendent are your labor leaders, and make them be your leaders in fact as well as in name . . . Don't be misled by any so-called labor leader outside of your own mill to believe that it will profit you anything to do less work, or to make more jobs for more people . . . You can beat the life out of the operatives in any other mills if you will make a race of it . . . Go into the savings bank and ask the president of the bank, or the cashier if all of this isn't true. Ask the clergyman of your church."

The foregoing words are quoted from a single propaganda statement on behalf of the cotton and woolen textile capitalists of New England, which appeared in the *Fall River Globe*, February 9, 1925, as a paid advertisement signed by the "American Wool and Cotton Reporter." In quoting I have rather arbitrarily placed at the beginning two salient lines which appear again in their regular order; and I have deliberately omitted several plainly insincere references to "increased earnings" which are only a bit of raw lying intended to soften the hard fact of wage reductions.

Program of Textile Multimillionaires

The quotation expresses in illuminating words the program which is being expressed in grim action in New England and elsewhere. Considering New England alone, the program constitutes an effort to transform the entire lives of hundreds of thousands of working-class population. It is hardly possible to make the reader understand the tremendous significance of this. It is not a mere reduction of wages; it is an effort to alter and further to degrade the whole basis of life of a working class population. The mill owners have plainly in view a plan to introduce into the wage-labor system a ghastly modern imitation of feudal class relationships—an effort which very logically raises the slogan "Let Your Mill Superintendent Be Your Labor Leader!"

As to the wage cut itself it is officially called "at least ten per cent." "At least ten per cent" turns out to be—in



IN A SPINNING MILL
All these spindles are operated by a single worker. He receives somewhere around \$25.00 a week.

the pay envelope—often as much as twenty or twenty-two per cent reduction. That is, the reduction of pay in relation to the amount of time spent at work. But the reduction of pay in relation to the amount of labor done—that is, in relation to the amount of production—is in many cases **more than fifty per cent**. The mill superintendents do not speak of the reduction of pay without calling in the same breath for "doubled production per operative." And the proof that they mean to get twice as much production out of each worker, lies in their bland admission that with half the textile workers doing as much work as all did before, they intend to throw on to the street the other half of the mill force.

All over New England today, mill superintendents and overseers, under admitted and advertised instructions to "be the labor leaders in fact as well as in name," are propagandizing the mill workers to "do more work and get increased earning." For instance, in the Atlantic Mill—a woolen mill of a big corporation at Olneyville, a suburb of Providence, R. I., the superintendent came around to each weaver a few weeks ago to tell how each "could make more money." Each was to run three looms instead of two, thus turning out 50 per cent more goods and supposedly getting 50 per cent more piece-work pay. Very well; the weavers tried it. But no sooner had they gotten under way at this system, than the piece-work rate was reduced from \$12 per "cut" (roll of cloth) to \$8 per cut. At first glance this seems to be a simple case of speeding up the work while leaving the amount of earnings unchanged. But look again: Weavers cannot, in fact, keep up the pace. The result is that workers who were making about \$35 a week (skilled weavers) are now running three looms instead of two and receiving less than \$20 per week. And this is in woolen mills. Woolen mills are supposed officially not to be affected by the wage-cut, which is officially put forward as applying only to cotton mills.

Comrade Frunse

WHAT sort of a man is it that has been chosen to fill Trotsky's post as head of the Red Army? Who is this Michael Vassilievich Frunse, the new People's Commissar for War in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Our readers will want to know.

Comrade Frunse is a tried and tested member of the Russian Communist Party, a brilliant propagandist and an organizer of proven ability. He is a Bolshevik of long standing. For a time he was a member of the central committees of both the Russian Communist Party and the Ukrainian Communist Party. One of the most popular soviet leaders in Russia, he springs from poor parents and has spent the greater part of his life fighting the battles of the toiling masses. The capitalist press refers to "M. Frunse's notable military career," but it should not be thought that Comrade Frunse is a "soldier by trade." He got his training as a Red Guard and as an officer of the Red Army. He is one of the new type of the military chieftains who learned their art in defense of the revolution.

Frunse learned his art well. It was he who commanded the soviet armies on the southern front in 1920 when the counter-revolutionary White Guard army of Baron Wrangel was finally vanquished and driven from the soil of Russia. After Wrangel's defeat, Frunse was decorated by the Central Control Committee and presented with a sword on which was engraved a portrait of Karl Marx.

Michael Vassilievich Frunse was born in 1885, of a poor peasant family, at Pitchpeka in Turkestan. His father was a Moldavian who became naturalized as a Russian. Comrade Frunse grew up in the direst poverty and early began to feel the urge of revolt. While a student at St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute he became a member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, immediately aligning himself with the Bolshevik wing. In the beginning of 1905 he went to work in the industrial region of Ivanovo-Vosnesensk. He took an active part in the December insurrection.

The Ivanovo-Vosnesensk Committee elected Comrade Frunse delegate to the third and fourth joint (Bolshevik-Menshevik) congresses of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party at Stockholm.

Between 1904 and 1907 he was constantly dodging arrest. Finally in 1907, he was arrested, convicted of membership in the Bolshevik Party and sentenced to four years at hard labor in Siberia. He made his escape from Siberia in midwinter, suffering great hardships.

At the outbreak of the March, 1907, revolution, Frunse was at Minsk, in White Russia. He immediately became one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement there. The months that followed were busy and dangerous ones. In common with every other working class leader, he was facing the supreme test of an open struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. When the November revolution flamed up Frunse put himself at the head of the armed forces of the Shusky-Ivanovsky region, made his way to Moscow with a detachment of 2,000 armed workers and soldiers and threw himself into the fighting.

In April, 1919, Frunse was appointed commander-in-chief of the Red Army forces on the southeastern front.

In June, he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Soviet forces in the east.

In February, 1920, Comrade Frunse undertook to liquidate the counter-revolution in south Russia and by November of the same year the counter-revolutionary hordes of Baron Wrangel had been routed.

Comrade Frunse does not come as a new man to his present important duties. During the period of Trotsky's illness it is Frunse who has been the actual head of the Red Army.

Da Zdrastvooyet, Comrade Peoples' Commissar! We like your record.

The Death of a Traitor



FRITZ EBERT, who died early in March, represented the shame of the entire social-democracy of Germany, and of the Second International. He went down with the armor of capitalism on his back.

A prominent social-democratic leader, protege of Scheidemann, Ebert was lifted to power through the revolutionary might of the workers, whom he and his party cynically betrayed. Ebert was elected to the office which held until his death, at a time when the fate of German capitalism was hanging in the balance. Capitalism was saved for the time being by Ebert and his friends, who drowned the workers' revolution in a sea of blood.

The murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are upon his head.

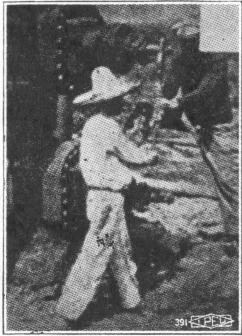
Shortly before his death, Ebert figured in a sensational libel suit which he instituted against a monarchist editor who charged the President with "unpatriotic conduct" during the munitions strike which took place during the war. Ebert proved that he was steadfastly loyal to the German capitalists and an unashamed betrayer of the German working class. The exposure of social-democratic perfidy brought out at this trial is said to have imposed too severe a strain on the nerves of even the hardened Ebert.

His death is lamented by the bourgeoisie of the world, but not by class conscious workers.

The Evolution of Senor Calles

By Manuel Gomez

FIFTEEN months ago Calles meant protection for the toiling Mexican masses against clerical and foreign domination; today he means governmental oppression, compromise with the native and foreign enemies of labor, disillusion and continued suffering for the peasants.



The change has come about so quickly that it hard to realize even in Mexico.

General Calles was an avowed labor candidate. His platform, unclear and contradictory though it was, appealed directly to the workers and peons. Mexican labor was a unit in his support. For the most part this support was unqualified; only the Communists, who joined loyally in the united labor front behind Calles, took occasion to point out the limitations and dangers of the callista policy. Gen. Calles went before labor unions and peasant leagues. He delivered impassioned speeches against "the crime of capitalist exploitation," winding up with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Emiliano Zapata, the heroic and almost legendary Indian agrarian chieftain, where he declared that the policies of Zapata were his policies and pledged himself to carry out Zapata's program for the confiscation of large estates and their distribution among the peons. The Mexican capitalist newspapers were furious. And far more uncontrolled, because further removed from the presence of vengeful callistas, was the wrath of the kept press in the United States. "Narrow, stupid nationalism," and "intolerable Bolshevism" were the mildest of the epithets used. The Calles' program clearly did not augur well for the plan of American imperialists to dominate Mexico politically and economically. In the emergency of Calles' almost certain election, the Chicago Tribune came forward with a scheme for the "plattising" of Mexico—reducing Mexico to the present status of Cuba.

A Sudden Chorus of Praise.

But the newspapers have changed their tune. As far as the Mexican press is concerned this might not mean so much, for Calles is now President of Mexico and Mexican papers are accustomed to mind their step when it comes to criticizing the President. With the American papers the case is different. Their comment is much more significant.

On December 19, 1920, the New York Journal of Commerce opined that President Calles was "going to be a pleasant surprise," and on the following day the Wall Street Journal printed the following:

"Composition of the Calles' cabinet has, in general, been well received and caused an optimistic impression among industrialists. Disregarding their personalities, and their clearly indicated labor tendencies, the view locally is that they are sound and not likely to advance any too progressive labor measures without due consideration."

On January 1, 1925, the Wall Street Journal declared:

"There is evident a constantly increasing sentiment of confidence towards the new government in both financial and commercial circles."

On February 1, the New York Times declared:

"The International Committee of Bankers on Mexico has found the new Mexican government entirely friendly and discussions have belied the previous intimations that General Calles had radical tendencies."

Two days later the Chicago Tribune printed a despatch from its Mexico City correspondent:

"The government will prevent unjust strikes, eliminate professional strike agitators and convert the committee of arbitration into a formal court which will be guaranteed by congress and the laws of the nation and against whose decisions there will be no appeal."

Peons Disillusioned.

While the native bourgeoisie and the American imperialists have been finding hitherto undiscovered virtues in Calles, his supporters among the Mexican workers and peons have been leaving him one by one. The Communists, who never had any illusions about the "pro-labor" general, have now come out openly against him. The trust of the workers in the government is dissipated. Union labor has been subjected to a whole series of attacks. The peons have already been completely betrayed.

The opposition grows. Except perhaps for the little group of Communists, it is a bewildered, thwarted opposition, not knowing what to hope for next. The Mexican workers have been betrayed so many, many times. They had resolved at last to back only a labor government. And now this! Is there a way out for Mexico or is it only a mirage?

And the average American worker who has been trying to puzzle his way along through the tangle of Mexican events will be even more confused. What is this crazy Mexican drama? he will ask himself. Is there no end to it at all?

Ask Ed. Doheny of Teapot Dome fame, president of the Mexican Petroleum Company, who has just lent the Calles government 6,000,000 pesos. Ask Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., head of the International Committee of Bankers. Ask Hearst.

The De la Huerta Rebellion.

To be able ourselves to answer these questions: how Calles once represented something which he represents no more; how this man who was the real point of attack in the reactionary uprising of Adolfo De la Huerta is now becoming increasingly satisfactory to the reactionaries—we must first know something of the ill-starred Da la Huerta movement, the history of which has never been written.

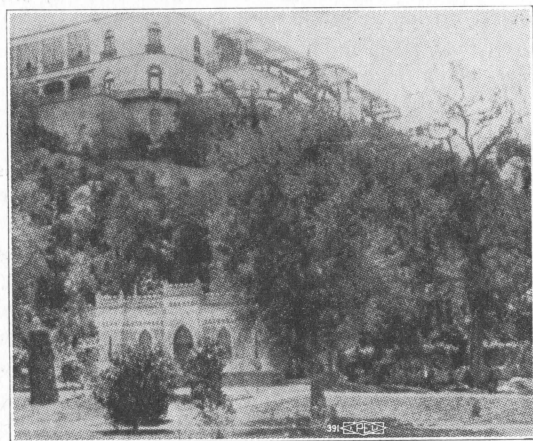
Such a revolution never was, on sea or land.

When before have there been disturbances in Mexico, capable, perhaps, of unseating the President, while at the same time no great cry went up from the big American financial interests which own hundreds of millions of dollars worth of Mexican property? As events progressed the comparative tranquility of our American financiers seemed almost incredible, for it persisted whether the armies of (then) President

Obregon met with victory or defeat. Prominent capitalists, when asked as to Mexico, smiled quizzically and said that everything was as it should be. The evidence of their faith was the firmness of the security markets. The five per cent bonds of the republic remained within one point of the price prevailing on December 6, 1923, when the rebellion broke out. Most important of all, vast quantities of new capital found their way into Mexico while the combat raged! While timid "outsiders" were getting rid of their Mexican investments the big fellows were gobbling them up.

What is the hidden mystery back of this state of affairs?

That Wall Street should have been prepared to greet with equanimity and quiet joy the prospect of a De la Huerta regime in Mexico was of course a surprise to no one familiar with the coming and goings of Adolpho De la Huerta while he



CHAPULTEPEC CASTLE, MEXICO CITY, OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT CALLES

was still Minister of Finance under Obregon. It was through the De la Huerta-Lamont and the De la Huerta-Doheny-Sinclair-Standard Oil agreements, which preceded American recognition of the Obregon government, that Wall Street's economic rule in Mexico had been consolidated. There remained the question of political control. De la Huerta's counter-revolutionary "pronunciamiento" aimed at the establishment of a reactionary regime based on the landowning and military classes, and dominated by foreign capital. It would have given the "golpe de gracia" to the policy of splitting up the large estates—and at the same time, politically, would have made Mexico a solid link in a homogeneous American empire stretching from the Rio Grande to the southern plateau of Bolivia.

There is a common belief that the De la Huerta episode was an anti-American, pro-English affair, backed by the British oil interests. There does not appear to be any warrant for this belief, except of course, that Obregon was not on any too good terms with the Britishers. An official of the American-owned International Banking Corporation said in Mexico City shortly after the De la Huerta rebellion broke out: "The political difficulties of the nation are being solved for the last time by the De la Huerta uprising. After this there will never be another revolution. Affairs will be settled right, and Americans who are in touch with the situation know it." (The Mexican World, Jan. 1, 1924.)

But the financiers of this country did not support De la Huerta as the weeks went by! They supported Obregon! That is a contradiction which reveals the whole course of the revolution as it developed.

A Change of Front.

While Wall Street and Washington were outspoken in their praise of "the accomplished Senor De la Huerta" (as the Washington Post called him during the first days of the rebel movement), they very soon shifted their position. There was no attempt at concealment. The United States government openly facilitated the triumphs of Obregon, not only by sanctioning a large loan but by allowing the Mexican federals to cross U. S. territory—by shipping Obregon arms and ammunition while denying them to the rebels, etc., etc. All of which, we are told, was an earnest of our government's sudden devotion to constitutionalism in Latin America.

The lines of combat in Mexico were tightly drawn. On one side the allied forces of blackest reaction—De la Huertistas. On the other side the great majority of the Mexican population, including workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie—Obregonistas.

Yet few are so naive to suppose that the United States government backed Obregon out of regard for the workers, peasants and nationalist petty bourgeoisie.

The insurrection burst suddenly on the outside world, but in Mexico it was long preparing. It was a result of the growing aggressiveness of the Mexican landowners and stockholders, together with the resolute determination of the American imperialists to secure political as well as economic control of the republic on the south. A social basis had been forming in Mexico to link up and make solid the conquest of Mexico by foreign capital. It manifested itself in proclamations that "perpetual radicalism" in Mexican affairs could no longer be endured by the solid men of the country. It found more militant expression—in attacks on the workers, the spread of the open shop movement, outrages in Vera Cruz and Puebla, the rise of fascism and the organization by the big landowners of the notorious "Sindicato de Agricultores." This tendency picked De la Huerta as its candidate for the presidency against his ertswile friend Calles.

From Ballots to Bullets.

But it soon developed that Calles could not be beaten. The social basis of the De la Huerta movement was not such as to make elections its strongest point. Mexican peons can be fooled, but they cannot be fooled in the name of reaction. Thus "democracy," as a method, was ruled out for the reactionaries. On the other hand, there was considerable dissension among the officers of the army, finding voice in the "juntas de protesta," etc., which suggested the possibility of a recourse to arms. One-fifth of the army was actually won over in the revolt.

The De la Huerta publicity bureaus explained the rebellion on the grounds that Obregon was showing undue partiality to Calles in the election campaign. The real foe was not Obregon but Calles.

In the actual fighting De la Huerta got no support except from the disaffected military, who were no match for the rest of the army backed by spontaneously formed regiments of workers and peasants. Within a couple of weeks it was plain that the revolt had missed fire. It was then that Wall Street deserted De la Huerta as a bad bet, while the English capitalists remained friendly to him in the vain hope that he

might win after all and thus put them in an advantageous position with regard to the competing American interests. Wall Street switched to Obregon—that is to Calles. And the workers and peasants who were fighting beneath the Obregon-Calles banner suddenly acquired a strange ally, whose powerful support was an important factor in helping Obregon to pacify the country.

Wall Street's Solution.

This was the cheapest if not the most favorable way out for Wall Street. It did not mean the immediate and complete subordination of Mexico that the De la Huertista reaction had promised, but a De la Huerta victory was out of the question. Armed intervention by the United States was a possible alternative, but this would have been a long, tedious and expensive task, which would not have been worth the cost, when the other alternatives of the situation are considered. An early peace, restoration of Law and Order in Mexico, were urgent necessities for the foreign investors. Intervention is to be put off indefinitely; it remains an effective threat, but the date of its actual occurrence will depend on the development of the various "peace offensives" in relation to the consolidation of Mexico with Central America and the islands of the Caribbean as the Latin American base of American imperialism.

Thus De la Huerta's ambition went glimmering. Already he is almost forgotten.

With the falling off in oil production in the United States and the probability of considerably increased production in Mexico during the present year, Mexican oil assumes an extraordinary importance for Wall Street. Even last year, when many wells were "pinched in," and output was systematically curtailed, Mexico produced more than 13 per cent of the world's total supply. The military-strategic as well as the economic-business value of this oil to American imperialism is so great that it is bound to be a central factor in American policy toward Mexico.

Calles has shown himself extremely friendly toward the oil interests—so friendly indeed as to secure that 6,000,000 peso loan from Doheny. Strikes in the oil region around Tampico have been ruthlessly opposed by the government and everything from armed force to bribery has been used to break them. The United States government did not support Calles for nothing!

Calles and the Bankers.

The President has declared his unequivocal determination to carry out the monstrous agreement with the International Committee of Bankers, which provides, among other things, for heavy interest payments on the national debt, reorganization of the National Bank of Mexico under Morgan domination, and return of the National Railways of Mexico to private ownership.

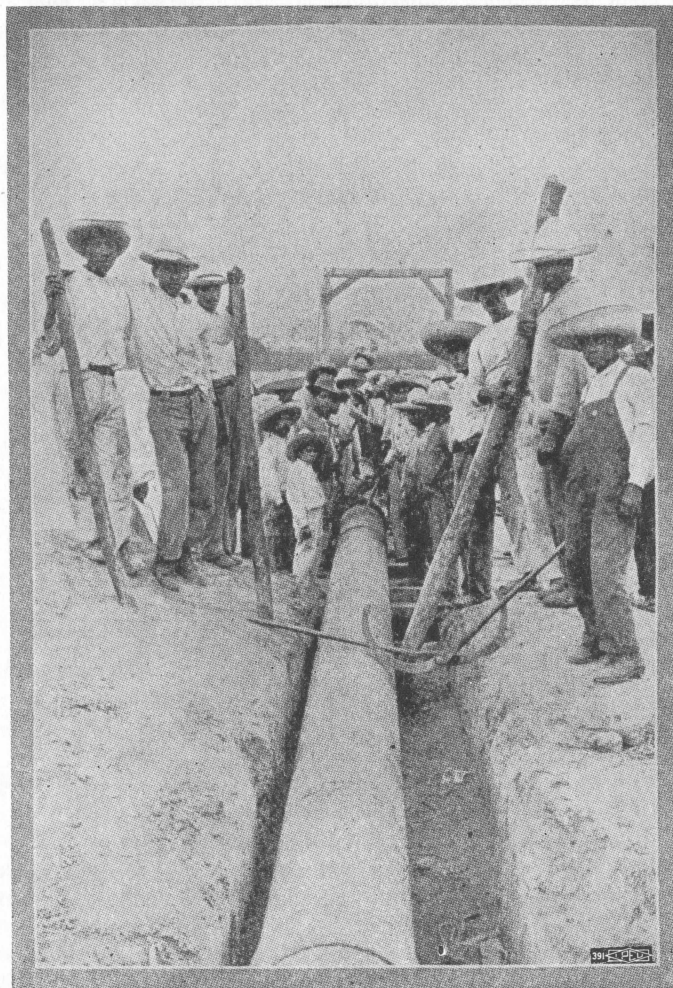
Apropos of the railroads, the following significant paragraph appeared in the Wall Street Journal of February 26:

"The situation was considerably relieved following announcement of the administration that henceforth the National Railways, previously operated autonomously, would be a direct dependency of the government under the Department of Communications and Public Works. **THIS IS REGARD-ED AS A CLEVER MOVE BY PRESIDENT CALLES. IT MAKES THE LINES DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO THE GOVERNMENT, THUS AVOIDING LABOR QUESTIONS**

AND STRIKES AND OPENING A CLEAR WAY FOR A READJUSTMENT PLAN." (Following in the footsteps of Obregon, Calles refuses to tolerate strikes among any section of government employes).

Introducing the Next President.

The connecting link of the Calles government with the Mexican masses is Luis N. Morones, Minister of Commerce, Labor and Industry, who is also, characteristically enough a connecting link with American imperialism, through the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor which was established on the bed rock of the Morones-Gompers alliance. Morones is the big man of the Calles cabinet. He, and not the President, is the real power in the government. His career has been nothing short of remarkable. A few years ago he was going around to dirty, out-of-the-way meeting halls, talking to every little group of workers who would listen to him. He did not scorn to attend the most insignificant convention. A shrewd and decidedly capable opportunist, he has taken advantage of the shifting political background of Mexico to climb step by step to power by means of the immature and developing labor movement, inside of which he has succeeded in building up a potent personal



PEONS LAYING A PIPE LINE FROM ONE OF MR. DOHENY'S OIL WELLS

How capitalism feeds racial prejudices and takes advantages of them to beat down labor's living standards. The need for a united struggle of black and white workers.

Negroes in American Industries

By William F. Dunne

This is the second of Comrade Dunne's well-informed articles dealing with the Negro in industry. The first one appeared in the March issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY.

Two tendencies show themselves in the labor movement. One is the blind, dangerous and senseless hatred of the Negro workers, encouraged by the unscrupulous capitalists and carried on by the camp followers of capitalism—real estate sharks, prostitute journalists, labor misleaders and all the carrion crew that live on the offal of the system.

This is the tendency that brought white and Negro workers into conflict in the Chicago race riots in 1919, in which 23 Negroes and 15 whites were killed and 537 persons of both races injured.

The other tendency, manifested only by the Communist Party and the most intelligent and militant of the workers outside its ranks, is perhaps best illustrated by the white workers who gave their lives in an armed struggle to protect a Negro organizer of the Timber Workers' Union from the attack of gunmen of the Great Southern Lumber Company, November 22, 1919.

The heroic stand of these southern white union men shines like a golden star in the bloody history of 1919—the year in which the antagonism between white and colored workers, as a result of the advent of the Negro into industry,

reached its climax, expressing itself in race wars, lynchings and dozens of cases of terror against Negroes.

The employers have taken full advantage of the racial antagonism, if this term can be used to describe a problem that has, so far as the labor movement is concerned, an almost exclusive economic basis—the competition of the black workers with the white for the means of livelihood.

That Negroes were used to break strikes in the meat packing, steel and transportation industries, that they are undoubtedly hard to organize in some of the existing unions and are in many cases prejudiced against them, complicates the situation, but it no more proves that the Negro is a natural strikebreaker than the seduction of Negro women by white men proves that the whole male white race is engaged in this pastime.

There are two reasons for the Negro's distrust of the labor unions, but it is yet to be proved that a much higher percentage of Negroes than white workers remain outside of labor organizations which they have an opportunity of joining.

The fact that in those occupations and industries where there are functioning labor unions and where there are



NEGRO OPERATIVES IN LARGE HAT-MAKING ESTABLISHMENT

This shop has been partitioned so as to segregate the Negro women workers from the others.

any considerable number of Negro workers, but little complaint of the attitude of the Negro workers is heard, is proof that Negro workers can be organized successfully. In the United Mine Workers of America there are not only hundreds of Negro coal miners but Negro organizers as well; in the Teamsters' union, the Building Laborers' union, the Longshoremen's union—organizations that have something of a mass character, there is practically no color discrimination and none of the racial prejudice found in other unions of the purely craft type.

The inescapable conclusion from the evidence is that when the Negro acquires industrial experience, is in actual competition with the organized white workers, two things happen—the white workers swallow their prejudices in the face of the need for better organization and the Negro worker abandons his suspicion of the labor union and its objects. This brings us again to the two principal reasons for the lack of organization among the Negro workers. They are:

1. The baseless prejudice of the organized white workers caused by

(a) Artificially created racial antagonisms—sexual jealousy fanned by the constant stream of propaganda, belief in the mental inferiority of the Negro, etc.

(b) The belief that the Negro worker is a natural strike-breaker as a result of his use as such in strikes of longshoremen, packinghouse workers, steel workers and other strikes.

(c) The distrust of the organized workers of any new element in the ranks of the working class (the Negro inherits the labor union prejudice formerly displayed against the foreign-born worker).

2. The Negro workers coming into industry are peasants with the lack of organizational experience characteristic of



TYPICAL PLANTATION HOME OF NEGROES
IN RURAL SOUTH

peasants the world over and with all of the ignorant peasant's suspicion of the city worker.

(a) Under the very poorest conditions in industry they have better wages, better food and better living than they have ever experienced before; they must acquire an entirely new standard of comparison before they are interested in unions.

It must not be forgotten in making any estimate of the importance of the first reason given, that of the whole American working class numbering approximately 28,000,000, less than 4,000,000 are organized, even though we broaden the definition of "union" to include many organizations that are not unions at all in the correct sense of the word. The weakness of the labor movement is an important contributing factor to the unorganized condition of the Negro workers.

The second reason is clearly understandable and its primary importance is appreciated more fully when we find, according to a report of the United States Census Bureau entitled, "Negro Population in the United States, 1790 to 1915" (1915 saw the small beginnings of the Negro influx into industry) that of 5,192,535 Negroes in the United States in 1915, who were "gainfully occupied," 2,893,674 were engaged in agriculture.

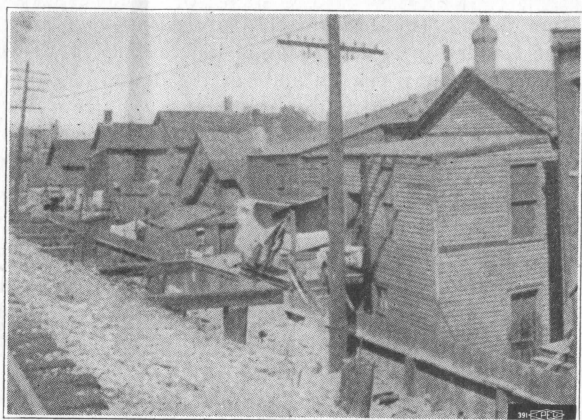
In the south, in 1910, 78.8 per cent of the Negro population lived in rural communities and 62 per cent of all those employed were in agriculture. The peasant character of the Negro migrants is therefore clearly established and no one who has had any experience with American farmers and agricultural workers at the time of or soon after their transplantation into industry, will be inclined to blame the Negro peasant who is in process of becoming an industrial worker, for his lack of interest in unions.

If in addition to the well known difficulty of organizing farmers from the northern states, who in bad crop years have established quite a strikebreaking record of their own, we take into account the fact that the agricultural south is comparable to the last years of feudal society in Europe; that in the state of Mississippi as an example, the amount until recently allotted to the public schools was but \$6 per capita, we gain a larger insight into the background of the overwhelming majority of the Negroes who came into industry since 1915.

It is useless to rail at workers who are the product of such an environment as this. There must be understanding



NEGRO TUNNEL WORKERS



REAR VIEW OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY NEGROES ON FEDERAL STREET, CHICAGO.

and the patience which can come only from understanding. Industry itself is the chemist that compounds the antidote for the backward Negro worker, but while the harsh hand of the exploiter is forcing him to drink again and again of the bitter cup of the working class there must be the most energetic direction of the educational and organizational methods at the disposal of the working class.

Upon the white workers rests the responsibility for bringing the Negro workers into the class struggle. When the white workers rid themselves of their ruling class-inspired prejudices, when they see the Negro worker not as an enemy but as an ally, when they realize and acknowledge in tones that can be heard by the Negro workers (and by the capitalists who profit from and foment division of the races), that the Negro workers are necessary for the victory in both the daily struggle and the final victory over capitalism, the task of organizing the Negro workers will be found to be not so difficult after all.

In every union the left wing must carry on a constant and fearless struggle against every manifestation of racial prejudice. The militants must be prepared to challenge the trade union bureaucracy on this issue just as they have on the general questions of policy and tactics of the labor movement and as always the Communists must take the lead.

The work among the Negroes in industry must parallel the work done in the unions of white workers, but for some time it will be of a more elementary character and can only progress as the Negro workers can be shown by concrete instances that the American labor movement wants them as equals and because they are workers.

The Negro workers must be shown that the Workers (Communist) Party is the only party that fights their class and racial struggle uncompromisingly and without counting the cost. They must be shown by actual activity that the Communists are the foe of every enemy of the Negro worker whether he be Negro-hating trade union official or capitalist.

Like the white workers the Negroes are victimized and misled by their middle class. There is nothing more despicable in American life than the Negro business man, the Negro preacher, the Negro politician and the Negro journalist who smirk and grovel to the white tyrants and who teach the men and women of their race that the way to secure concessions

and recognition is by servility and meekness, by trying to outdo the white man in smug respectability. It is a matter of record that some of these traitors have sold their followers into industrial slavery by means of fake unions which were nothing but scab agencies.

These two-time betrayers—betrayers of the black race and betrayers of the black working class—must be fought and discredited and this will have to be done by Negro Communists—revolutionary Negro workers who understand both the racial and class issues in the struggle.

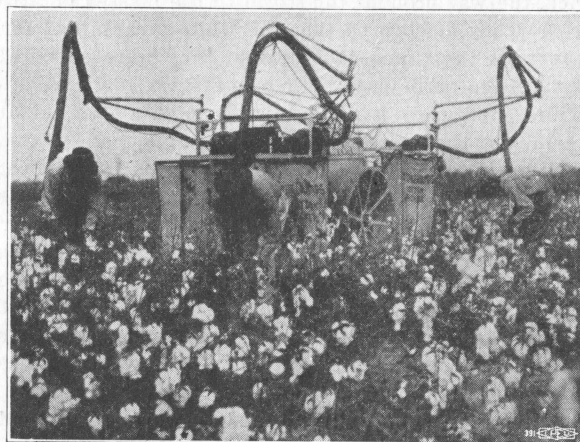
The Workers (Communist) Party must train Negro organizers and Negro writers so that as the labor movement is forced by economic pressure to organize the Negro workers, the Negro workers, acquainted by these leaders of their own race with the true role of the labor movement, can become a tower of strength to the revolutionary elements within it.

A survey of those unions that have organized Negro workers affords irrefutable proof that in the unions where black and white workers discuss the ways and means of combatting the tyrannies of the employers, the racial lines become so faint as to be almost invisible. The necessity for common struggle pushes into the background the question of color and it is soon forgotten. Quite aside from the increased economic and political power of the workers that the organization of the Negro workers brings, in the unions is where white and black workers meet in the nearest approach to complete equality.

In the labor unions is where the work of solving the problem of the Negro in industry gets the quickest results and it is there that the problem will be solved as well as it can be under capitalism, while the social-reformers and middle class liberals, "friends of the Negro," are lavishing wordy sympathy upon him and appealing to hide-bound enemies of the Negro to allow not quite so many lynchings next year.

The task that confronts the American Workers (Communist) Party in organizing the Negro workers and rallying them for the daily struggle and the final overthrow of capitalism side by side with the white workers is no light one. On the contrary it is a difficult and dangerous job.

No one who does not appreciate this fact should be allowed to come within a thousand miles of the work. It is something that cannot be expedited by undue optimism nor



INDUSTRY EVEN FINDS ITS WAY INTO THE SOUTHERN COTTON FIELDS

can the work be furthered by magnifying to Negro comrades the mistakes of the party and exaggerating its present strength and abilities.

Ill-balanced comrades who know little of the role of the Negro in American industry and less of the labor movement, comrades who appear to think that the whole problem centers around the right of the races to inter-marry, whose utterances give one the impression that they believe the labor movement, a product as it is of historical conditions in America, is a conscious conspiracy against the Negro workers, comrades who without thought of possible consequences would have the party begin immediately the organization of dual independent Negro unions, such comrades as these are useless in this work.

There are two things necessary before we can mobilize any great number of Negro workers for our program. The first is the development of some Communist Negro leadership. The second is a point of contact with the Negro masses.

There are excellent prospects for securing both these fundamental necessities and with the work already under way in the unions the American Communist party will be able to make steady progress in demonstrating to the Negro workers in industry and the whole American working class that it alone has a program for the working class, black and white, that strengthens it in the continual combat with the capitalists and that will bring the working class through victorious struggle, to full exercise of its power by the proletarian dictatorship under which men and women will be judged by what they do and not by the color of their skin.

Sometime this year will be held a conference of delegates from Negro working class organizations. Every effort must be made to have this conference representative of the most advanced group of Negro workers. It will be the first gathering of this kind in America and will establish a center for organizing work among the Negroes in industry.

There must be established as soon as possible a Communist Negro Press as a vital part of the party machinery. The existing Negro press is feeble when it is not actually traitorous.

The problem of the Negro in American industry has taken on an important international aspect. The colonial regions of Africa, where British, French, Belgian and Italian imperialists exploit the masses of Negro workers, are astir. As in America, the war brought the world to the masses of African Negroes. They discovered that the white tyrants had forced them to weld their own chains; that they were expected to fight and die to perpetuate their own slavery.

White supremacy is no longer accepted at the valuation placed on it by the white robber class.

Writing in a recent number of a semi-official publication of the British colonial office, a colonial bureaucrat tells of the changes taking place in the British African territories. He shows that the Negro tribes are holding tremendous semi-political gatherings at which a high degree of organizational ability is displayed. He writes of the complicated structure of Negro states destroyed by the white invader and tells of the new interest displayed by the Negro masses in the history of their states and customs before the white man came.

He cites their adaptability to modern warfare and modern machinery and warns the British ruling class that new and more subtle methods must be used if the Africans are to be kept within the confines of the empire.

From among the American Negroes in industry must come the leadership of their race in its struggle for freedom in the colonial countries. In spite of the denial of equal opportunity to the Negro under American capitalism, his advantages are so far superior to those of the subject colonial Negroes in the educational, political and industrial fields that he is alone able to furnish the agitational and organizational ability that the situation demands.

The American Communist Negroes are the historical leaders of their comrades in Africa and to fit them for dealing the most telling blows to world imperialism as allies of the world's working class is enough to justify all of the time and energy that the Workers (Communist) Party must devote to the mobilization for the revolutionary struggle of the Negro workers in American industry.

Arditi di Guerra



A COMMUNIST ANSWER TO THE FASCISTI

Poster put up by the Arditi in Milan, Italy. The Arditi were organized under the leadership of the Communists to fight fascism and counter-revolution.

Communist Policy and the Peasants

Speech Delivered at Moscow District Conference of the Russian Communist Party

By I. Stalin

COMRADES, I wish to say a few words on the foundations of the political line which the Party is taking at present as regards the peasantry. There can be no doubt as to the especially great significance of the peasant question at the moment. Many people are so carried away that they say that a new era, the era of the peasantry has begun. Others are inclined to take the slogan: "The face to the village!" to mean "the back to the town!" Others again even think of a political "Nep." This is of course all nonsense, is pure exaggeration. Apart however from this exaggeration, one thing remains, that is that the peasant question at the moment, precisely at this moment, is gaining great significance.

The first reason why the peasant question has such special significance for us at the present moment, is that among all the allies of the Soviet power, among all the chief confederates of the proletariat — and in my opinion there are four of them — the peasantry is the only ally which can be of immediate help to our revolution. It is a case of immediate help, under the present conditions. All the other allies, who have a great future before them, and who represent a splendid reserve for our revolution, are nevertheless at the present moment not in a position to be of immediate help to our power, our State.

Four Allies of Soviet Power.

Our first, our chief ally is the proletariat of the advanced countries. The advanced proletariat, the proletariat of the West, is a gigantic force, and it is the most faithful, most important ally of our revolution and our power. Unfortunately the revolutionary movement in the highly developed capitalistic countries, is in such a condition that the proletariat of the West is not able to give us direct and decisive help. We have its indirect moral support, the value of which to us is immeasurable. That however is not the immediate help which we now need.

The second ally is—the colonies, the oppressed peoples in the less developed countries, which are oppressed by the highly developed countries. That, Comrades, is the greatest reserve of our revolution. It is however developing far too slowly. It is therefore not capable at present of giving us immediate help for the consolidation of our power, and for our socialist economic construction.

We have also a third ally, intangible, impersonal, but of the highest degree of importance. This is those conflicts and contradictions between the capitalist countries, which indeed have no direct expression, but without doubt signify a great support for our power and our revolution. This may seem strange but it is a fact. If the two chief coalitions of the imperialistic countries had not had to fight one another to the death, if they had not seized one another by the throat, if they had not been occupied with one another, but had time to concern themselves with the fight against our power, it should not have been able to maintain itself.



STALIN

The conflicts between our various capitalist enemies are, I repeat, our strongest ally. What is there to say about this new ally? World capital began to recover in the post-war time, after several crises. This we must recognize. The most important of the victorious states, England and America, have now acquired such power that they are materially in the position not only to make capitalism more or less endurable in their own countries, but also to infuse new blood into France, Germany and other capitalist countries. This is the one side, and this side of the question illustrates that the contradictions between the capitalist countries do not, for the time being, develop as quickly as they did immediately after the war. This is an advantage to capital and a disadvantage to us. This process has however another aspect. Its reverse side consists in the fact that, in spite of all the comparative stability which capital has for the time being been able to accomplish, the contradictions between the advanced exploiting countries and the backward exploited colonies and semi-colonial countries is becoming more and

The Fight for World Trade Union Unity

By Tom Bell

"The one great need at the moment is a united front against all capitalist forces. Hence the need of a real live International Trade Union movement . . . No leader must be allowed to stand in the way of a united front for 1925."—A. J. Cook, Secretary, Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

THE struggle between the Communists and the Social Democrats for leadership of the masses of the working class in Europe has assumed the shape of a struggle for unity of the world trade union movement. The Red International of Labor Unions is leading the movement for unity while the right wing leaders of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions fight against unity.

The R. I. L. U. calls upon the workers to organize unity "from the bottom up," in spite of the opposition of the traitorous leaders who oppose it. Amsterdam attempts to demonstrate to the workers that the slogan of unity is merely a "Moscow" plot.



A. J. Cook

The two trade union internationals are separated by a deep gulf of principle and practice. The conduct of the Amsterdammers during the world war, their defense of capitalism in Central Europe and Italy in 1918-20 when the workers were attacking the capitalist state, and their aid to the capitalists during the vicious assault upon the standard of living of the entire working class, the purpose of which was to restore the equilibrium of capitalist economy—all of this proves that the role of the Amsterdammers is to preserve capitalism.

The R. I. L. U. stands for uncompromising struggle against capitalism for the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism.

The issue of world trade unity is fundamentally a question of whether or not the unions are to be used for fighting capitalism, or if they are to be brakes on the struggles of the workers. The drive for unity is essentially a drive for mobilization of the workers against capitalism. The right wing Amsterdammers understand that and they therefore fight against unity.

The Amsterdam leaders stand for unity with the capitalists. They endorsed the Dawes' plan and have displayed their willingness to aid in putting this plan into effect. The response to the unity slogan of the R. I. L. U. imperils their alliance with capitalism. As leaders of mass trade unions they are of value to the bourgeoisie as "labor lieutenants," but if they lose control of the masses, their value is nil.

The Leftward Movement in the British Unions.

The drive for unity has found a response in the British labor movement. The visit of a delegation from the Russian

trade unions to the Hull congress of the British unions laid the basis for closer relations between the two movements. This was carried further by the British delegation to the Sixth All-Russian Trade Union Congress. There the Russian unions decided upon the establishment of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee to take up the struggle for world trade union unity.

The attitude of the British trade union delegation to Russia was a severe blow at the entire reactionary wing of Amsterdam. Sensing immediate danger, the capitalist press lost no time in slandering and villifying the delegation. Purcell, Tillet, Bromley and the other left wingers became objects of hatred to the capitalists and their agents—the reactionary Amsterdam right wingers.

The fact that the British trade unions have endorsed the movement for unity in spite of the right wing leaders of the German, Belgian, Dutch and Swiss unions is a severe blow at those in Amsterdam who stand in opposition to unity and the struggle against capitalism. The British trade unions constitute the most solid basis for Amsterdam in Europe, just as the British Labor Party is the basis of the Second International. When the leaders of the British unions decide to join the Communists in the struggle for unity the Amsterdam right wing can see the handwriting on the wall.

The left wing development in the British unions has its roots deep in the masses of the organized workers. It denotes the radicalization of the oldest trade union movement in the world, a leftward movement on the part of what have always been looked upon as the most staid and conservative trade unions in the entire labor movement.

This orientation of the British trade unions has its impulse in the economic crisis under which the British workers have suffered since 1920. The army of unemployed has numbered hundreds of thousands, and at the present time numbers about 1,500,000. The offensive of the capitalists on the standard of living of the workers resulted in drastic wage cuts and worsening of working conditions. The reactionary leaders played their part in defeating the workers, as such infamous betrayals as that of "Black Friday," when the miners were betrayed by the leaders of the Triple Alliance.

Labor's "taste of power" with the formation of the MacDonald cabinet, and the spectacle of a "labor" government carrying out the instructions of the financiers both in foreign and domestic policy, broke large numbers of workers from their moorings. MacDonald in his anxiety to serve the British capitalists contributed to the development of a movement that means the end of MacDonaldisms in the British labor movement.

This leftward movement is no mere "tendency," but has already crystallized into actual organizational strength. The offensive strikes during last year, in support of demands for



Dudilleux, Secretary of the C. G. T. U. of France. A strong advocate of trade union unity.

wage increases, the enormous growth of the National Minority Movement (the British equivalent of the Trade Union Educational League), as shown at the recent London conference where 600 delegates represented over 600,000 organized workers, the election of A. J. Cook as secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain on a left wing ticket—all of these things show the depth of this left movement.

This movement among the British workers is the basis for the adherence of certain outstanding trade union leaders to the struggle for unity initiated by the R. I. L. U. And because of the enormous importance of the British unions to Amsterdam the right wing Amsterdam leaders are forced to fight unity by pretending to agree with it "under certain conditions."

Amsterdam Presents "Conditions."

The R. I. L. U. makes one demand upon the Amsterdam leadership: In conjunction with us convoke an all-embracing world trade union congress for the purpose of establishing one trade union international. Let the majority decide who will lead the new international—if you of the right wing have the majority then we will submit to the discipline of the international and continue to work among the masses to win them over to our viewpoint.

This does not suit the right wing of Amsterdam. They see the menace to their own positions in a world congress composed of representatives of the organized masses. While they like to pose as being the only legitimate leaders of the trade union movement they do not relish the idea of confronting the representatives of the masses in a world congress. Therefore they erect "conditions" in order to sabotage the calling of a world congress.

The Amsterdam right wing demands that the unified international shall continue in the same rut as the Amsterdam international of treachery and betrayal of the workers. They want assurances that the alliance with capital will be maintained, that national autonomy will be guaranteed so that the workers of one country can be used to scab on the workers of another country, thus making an international struggle impossible. They demand assurances that the single international would not attempt to mobilize the workers for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, and would more especially wish to see a "congress" held which would be confined to representatives of the officialdoms and would enable them to pose before the workers as having done their duty in the cause of unity while effectively sabotaging it.

Together with these demands they conduct a campaign of villification against the R. I. L. U. and the British leaders who stand for unity. The Amsterdam right wing is desperately fighting to maintain their position as the agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the trade union movement.

The A. F. of L. and Unity.

The movement for unity not only disturbs the capitalists of Europe, but also affects the plans of the American imperialists. The re-entry of American capital into active participation in European affairs through the Dawes' plan and the signing of the Paris reparations agreement whereby America will receive 2¼ per cent of the reparations squeezed out of the German working class gives American capital a direct interest in maintaining the Amsterdam right wing in the saddle. The success of the Dawes' plan depends upon the docility of the European masses, and one factor in preventing a revolt of the workers against the intensified slavery of the Dawes' plan is the traitorous leaders at the head of the trade unions. American imperialism has every interest in preventing unity, and the ascendancy of militant leadership in the trade unions.

The Amsterdam right wing is faced with the great problem of finding a solid basis upon which to combat the tendency towards unity in the I. F. T. U., since the British unions have lined up against them. In this way, the interests of the Amsterdam right wing and the American imperialists are identical. Both can aid each other in this struggle. The Amsterdammers can help the House of Morgan by continuing as its agents in the European trade unions to prevent a labor revolt against the Dawes' plan, and American imperialism can aid the Amsterdam right wing by bringing the American Federation of Labor into the Amsterdam International as a bulwark against the left leadership surrounding Purcell and his comrades.

That there is a tendency actually to accomplish this was shown at the El Paso convention of the A. F. of L. in the negotiations that took place between Gompers and Grassmann representing the German trade unions, Swales representing the British trade unions, and the representative of the Canadian Trades Congress.

The policy of the executive council of the A. F. of L. has always been determined by the wishes of the government at Washington. Since 1914, the Gompersian policy has been identical with that of the state department of Morgan's government. When the Wilson policy was one of "neutrality," Gompers led the unions in that path. When it suited American imperialism to enter the war, Gompers efficiently lined up the unions for the slaughter. At the end of the war when the republican administration adopted the policy of withdrawal from European affairs, Gompers withdrew the A. F. of L. from all connection with the European labor movement on the grounds that Amsterdam was "too socialistic" in its tendency. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is openly the instrument of American capital for controlling the organized American workers.

The A. F. of L. as a Bulwark Against Unity.

Now that it is imperative that American capital participate actively in European affairs the A. F. of L. will once more establish connections with the European labor movement. The entry of the A. F. of L. into Amsterdam will be only for the purpose of strengthening the right wing and conducting a struggle against trade union unity. Just as American capital has set out to take Europe into receivership, so also will the labor wing of American imperialism, the A. F. of L., attempt to take the European labor movement into its hands to control the workers for the benefit of Morgan and Co.

These four points must be the basis of the struggle and must not be compromised. There are many other demands, but these four should form the basis of any agreement. Any agreement that does not carry these four cardinal points is not worth the paper it is written on and only postpones the struggle to the future. In order to prepare ourselves for this life and death struggle that faces us, we must demand from our officials the following:

That immediate preparation be made and date set to enforce these demands by a national strike.

That all paid officials (organizers, etc.), be taken out of organized districts and placed in non-union fields.

That each district be instructed to elect a specified corps of organizers to be sent into the non-union fields.

That an intensive organizational campaign be immediately started.

That our International officers be instructed to negotiate with the railroad unions for the purpose of forming a strike alliance.

Against the "open shop."

For the nationalization of the mines, to be administered by the Miners' Union.

We are faced with a serious situation that requires immediate and determined action. This action can only come if the revolutionary rank and file members force the officials to act. Every day's delay places us in a weaker position. Act now and act quickly!

North Dakota's Communist Legislator

STANDING out from the throng of small town bankers, ambitious and unscrupulous lawyers, shopkeepers and well-to-do farmers who are the legislature of the sovereign state of North Dakota, is the gray-haired figure of A. C. Miller, the first Communist farmer to be elected to a legislative body in the United States.

This alone would make him a landmark in the history of the labor and revolutionary struggle, but it is the soil from which he came that makes him typical of the Communist movement.

His father was a German revolutionist, born in Essen before the Franco-Prussian war that brought the iron and coal of Lorraine to Germany's rulers and made of Essen a symbol of economic and military power which in 1914 became the center of the war.

Father Fled From Bismarck's Persecution.

A student of Marx in his boyhood, A. C. Miller's father came to the United States in 1849 to escape the Bismarck exception laws that drove the early socialist movement into illegality.

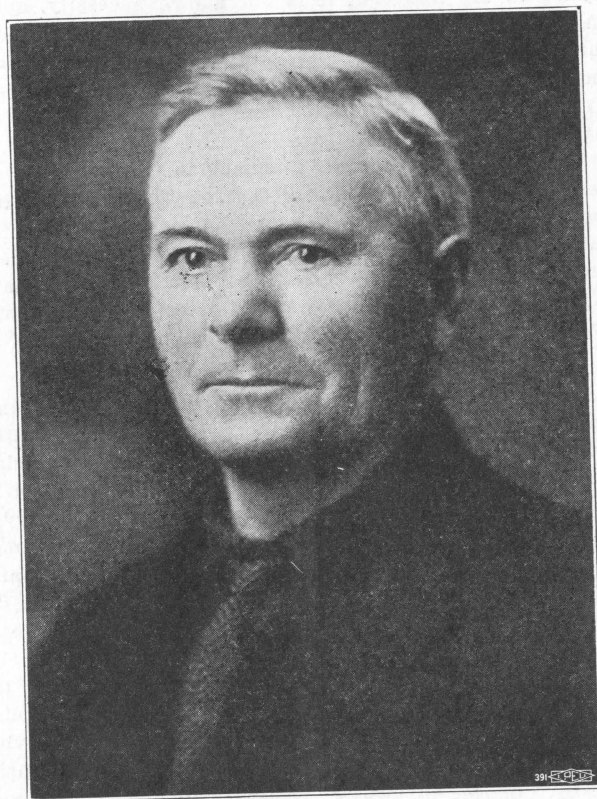
Born on a farm in Missouri, in 1870, Comrade Miller experienced all the hardships of the American peasantry. When twenty-one years of age he went west and for eleven years led the life of a migratory worker. Then he married and settled down to the task of wresting a living for himself and family from the reluctant soil of the wind-swept Dakota prairies.

He joined the Socialist Party when it organized in North Dakota and took an active part in all its campaigns. He has never voted for a Republican or Democratic presidential candidate. In 1923 he joined the Workers (Communist) Party.

In the Non-Partisan League.

In the great agrarian revolt which, having its inception during the war period, crystallized around the Non-Partisan League in the Northwest states and shook them to their foundations in 1919-20-21, the revolt which was already dying out when LaFollette decided to capitalize it for the middle class—Comrade Miller took more than his share of the work, trying always to keep clearly defined the class issues of the struggle.

In North Dakota, the mortgage shark, the International



COMRADE A. C. MILLER

Harvester Trust, the elevator and milling combine with headquarters in the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the local commercial clubs and all the leech-like elements that prey on the farmers, have had a fertile field. The machine of the Republican Party rolled over the poor farmers at every election with resistless force.

When poor crop years and low prices came there was nothing for hundreds of farmers to do but pack their few household belongings and leave their land and machinery to the banker vultures. But Comrade Miller stayed and fought.

No Cinch for the Farmer.

The life of a farmer in North Dakota is not easy under



IN THE DAYS OF "PLENTY"
The ordinary family meal of potatoes and milk.

Worst of Four Crop Failures

In many respects the present famine in Ireland is worse than the one that raged through four frightful years in the middle of the nineteenth century. Then, only the potato crop was a failure. Today all the crops have failed and in addition the fishing industry was ruined through the activities of a syndicate of British steam trawlers. At least 750,000 peasants are involved. As the case in the former famine this year's harvest was only the worst of four successively bad ones.

The Free State government which has a lot of dignity to uphold is doing everything possible to suppress news of the famine, just as the government of Queen Victoria of England did when news of the disaster of 1847 reached the outside world. A donation sent by the Turkish government to the famine sufferers, through the British government was returned by order of Queen Victoria, with the informative tip that England would take care of any little unpleasantness that might exist.

Cosgrave Emulates the Queen

President Cosgrave of the Irish Free State has taken a leaf out of Queen Victoria's book. When a New York newspaper cabled him for facts about the famine, he replied that though there was abnormal want on the west coast, it was nothing to get excited about. The resources of the Free State could cope with the situation. He was joined by the archbishops and bishops who are strong bulwarks of the Free State government. The Free State government needs another loan and the bankers are not usually anxious to throw their coin into a famine-stricken country.

As a result of this policy of suppression, very little news of the famine has sneaked into the American press. But the Irish Times of January 17 writes: "In this Free State, within a few hours journey from the capital, exists physical and mental distress as great as may be found anywhere in Europe, yet our people are curiously indifferent to it. Hundreds of people cower miserably in fireless cabins and women and children are dying of slow starvation."

The headquarters of the International Workers Aid in Dublin received a pitiful appeal for help from the staff of the school at Moenacross in County Donegal. "We the

teachers of the above school, beg to place before you the very pressing needs of the children in our charge. The parents of the children are unable to provide food, much less clothing or boots. It is pathetic to watch the poor pinched faces watching the few fortunate children who have lunch—fresh bread without butter or jam."

Peat Bogs Affected by Rains.

Another investigator into the famine situation, not a radical, writes: "I can honestly say I have not seen a proper fire in any house I have visited since Christmas."

An officer of the Board of Guardians in Fermanagh sums up the situation: "No crop, no seed, no means, and in some cases the children have no clothing."

In 1847, the Irish nationalist "patriots" could attribute all their sufferings to the British government. Today the governmental apparatus is at least in the hands of native Irishmen, no matter how much they move in accord with the desires of the wire pullers across the channel or perhaps the Wall Street bankers. Queen Victoria returned the donation of the "Terrible Turk" in 1847. President Cosgrave advises the American bourgeois press, that the Free State can take care of the famine without any outside help.

Eamon De Valera, leader of the bourgeois anti-treaty

(Continued on Page 283)



IN THE STRICKEN REGION

Defend the Communist Militants Prosecuted Under Reactionary Capitalist Laws



GET AND KEEP WORKERS OUT OF PRISON

Stop the Railroadng! Contribute to the Defense!

— Send Contributions to —

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

description—and this is of peculiar interest—he makes the following statement, word for word:

“The further east of Europe it is (and Russia, as you know, is east of Europe), the weaker, more cowardly and abject becomes the bourgeoisie in its political relations, and the greater the cultural and political tasks falling to the lot of the proletariat.”

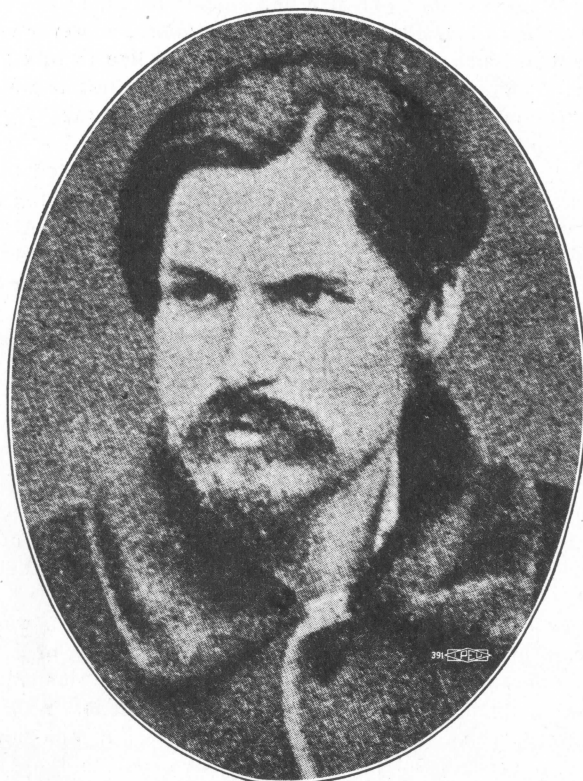
I think that Struve can be forgiven much for these prophetic words. It was in truth, of himself, of his own class that he wrote. And for us it only remains to repeat after him: “The farther to the east, the weaker, more cowardly and abject becomes the bourgeoisie in its political relations.” And no one has demonstrated this more clearly than Struve himself.

Economism.

At the end of the nineties, at the time of the first party congress, two currents became discernible, not only on the literary field, but also in the workers' movement, and even in the Social Democratic Party, though the latter had hardly taken on definite form as yet. One of these currents, which received the name of economism, I shall try to outline briefly. At the start I must say that economism was intimately bound up with the struggle of the tendencies appearing within ‘illegal’ Marxism. And, to state concisely the essence of the controversy between the revolutionary Marxists of this period, the advocates of political struggle, the “Iskrovzti” (the Iskra group), the future Leninists, on the one hand—and the economists on the other, it may be said that everything came down to the role of the proletariat in the revolution, to the question of its hegemony. This concept served during the course of 30 years as the fundamental dividing line, appearing in many settings, and in a variety of forms. In 1917, it lined up the Mensheviks and us on opposite sides of the barricades; in 1895, it assumed the form of a purely literary controversy; and from 1898 to 1900 it resolved itself into a struggle within the party. . . . And now, looking over the facts, you will see that there exists a personal bond between the adherents of economism and the representatives of the right wing of legal Marxism, the future builders of the Menshevik party. There is one and the same line of development: from legal Marxism through economism to Menshevism; next to liquidation, and then to what we have at the present time, when the Mensheviks have definitely gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. It is one logical chain. The question of the hegemony of the proletariat is of such importance, that no one who commits an error in regard to this question can escape the penalty. Whosoever stumbles in regard to this point, is compelled by the laws of gravity to fall lower and lower.

The Origins of Economism.

Economism arose in the second half of the nineties, when social democracy was advancing from the group stage, or “Krushkovshina,” as it was called, to mass activity. What is meant by “Krushkovshina”? From the appellation it is apparent that this was a period when the party was composed of very small, individual propaganda groups. Nothing else could be done at the time, since it was scarcely possible even to gather the workers into individual units. But when the movement began to grow and spread, then, on the basis of the great strike movement to which I have referred, the revolutionists began to set themselves new and larger tasks. They said: “We must not be content with groups, we must ad-



KALTURIN, one of the Founders of the North Russian Labor Alliance, referred to by Zinoviev as the First Nucleus of the Russian Communist Party

vance to mass-activity, to agitation; we must not only endeavor to bring together individual workers, but to organize the working class.” And here, at this extremely important juncture, the tendency known as “economism” was born. I shall now show why it was given this name.

When we began to advance to the mass organization of the workers, then questions of the economic struggle and the day to day life of the workers naturally began to play an extremely important role. Moreover, during the group period propaganda only had been carried on, but when group activity developed into mass activity, propaganda had to be replaced by agitation.

Observe, by the way, that there is a difference between agitation and propaganda. Plekhanov carefully differentiated them. He said: “If we give a number of ideas to a few people, that is propaganda; if we give one idea to many people, that is agitation.” This definition is classic, and really does distinguish agitation from propaganda.

During the group period, propaganda was carried on, that is, a number of ideas; a whole “weltanschauung,” in fact, were propagated among small groups of people; in the agitation period, on the contrary, an effort was made to instill into the minds of a large number of workers one fundamental idea, that of the economic subjugation of the working class.

And so, at this time we switched over to the economic field. It was not at all fortuitous that one of Lenin's first works was a pamphlet “On Fines,” which were at that time imposed upon the workingmen and women of Petersburg, for lateness, poor work, etc. These fines and deductions were



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