



World Empire.

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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

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

VOL. IV.

JULY, 1925

No. 9

China and the Imperialist Struggle

By Max Shachtman

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

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

Whose Colony Shall China Be?

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Chinese Servants of Imperialism.

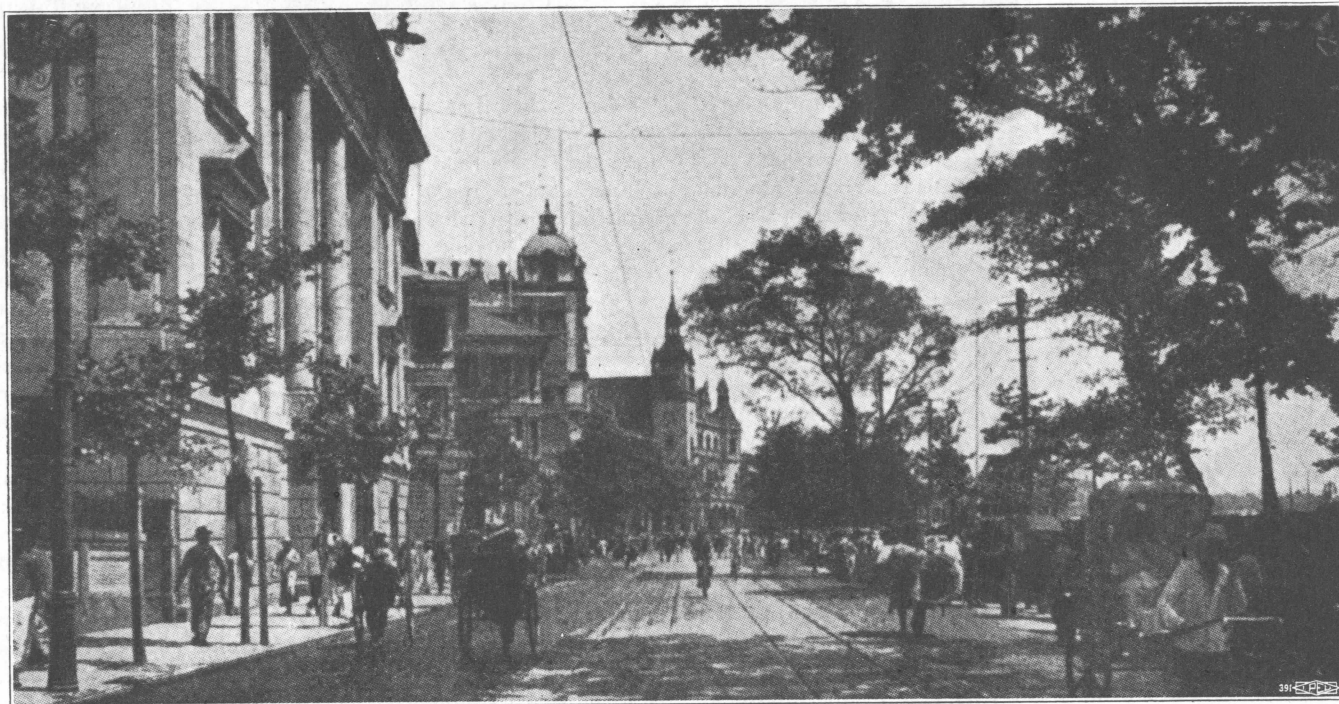
The outbreak in October, 1924, ostensibly between the two generals, Wu Pei Fu and Tchang Tso Lin, was actually a struggle between the United States and Britain on the one side and Japan on the other. The victory of Tchang Tso Lin was the defeat of America and England. But the Japanese, who had lost their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

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

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



KARAKHAN, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO CHINA.



A STREET SCENE IN THE FOREIGN QUARTER OF SHANGHAI.

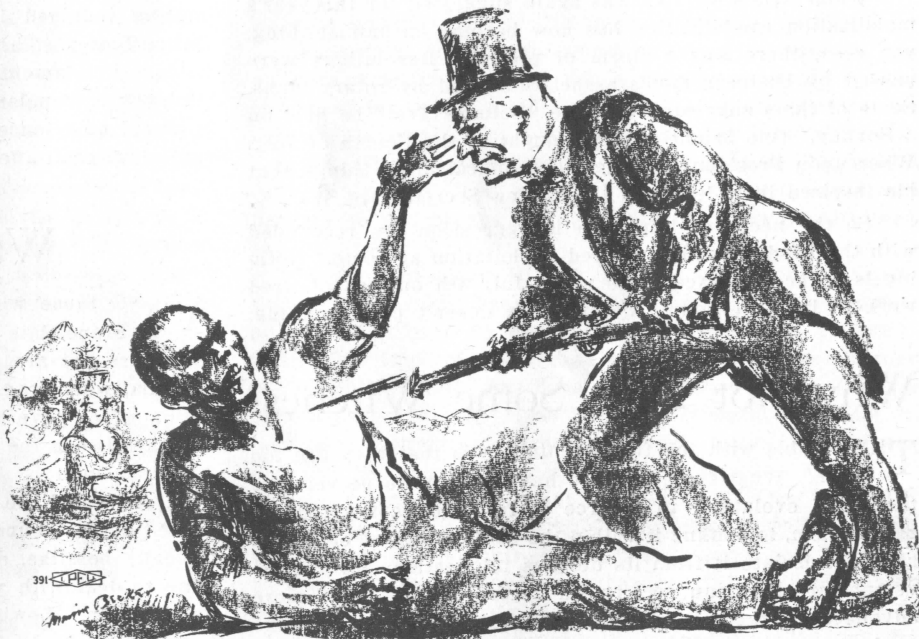
ideal servant, unfortunately for the designs of the United States. A man of independent tendencies, strong native support, and the record of having driven the Chinese emperor from his palace, is not so easily held in leash. Especially in view of the unavoidable temporary weakening of the Kuomintang party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

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

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

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

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



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

The Economical "Defense Test"

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

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

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

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

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

The New America: The American Empire

—By Jay Lovestone

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

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

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

Introducing America.

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

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

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

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

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

An Imperialist Giant.

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

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

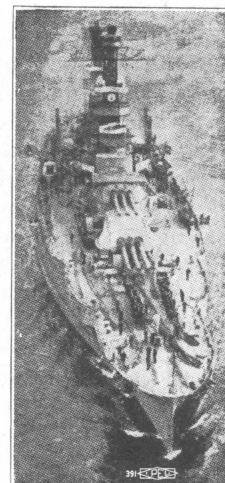
America is the leading world power of capitalism. Imperialist America is today not a country—gigantic as the stretch of land the United States and Alaska proper occupy—but a continent. Not a continent, not two continents, but a world. The United States is today the most self-supporting capitalist power.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

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

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

America's Vast Resources.

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



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

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

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

Militarism Flourishing—Navalism Expanding.

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

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

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

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

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

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



A GROUP OF ARTILLERYMEN IN BRAZIL.

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

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

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



FILIPINO LEADER.

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

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

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

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

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

The American Imperialist Octopus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Enter—The Financial Dictator.

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

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

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



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

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

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

Wall Street's Winning Ways.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Negroes as an Oppressed People

By William F. Dunne

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

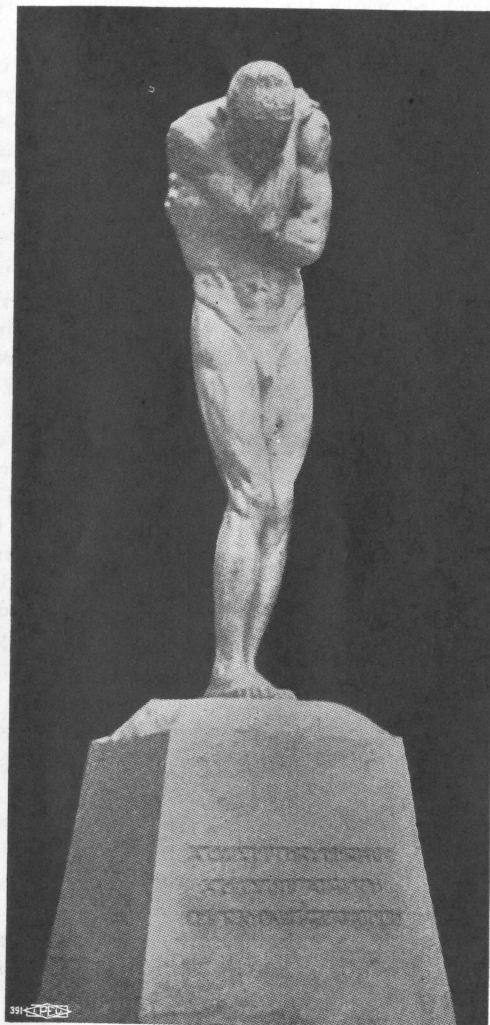
Lynchings of Negroes for the first five months of 1925, show an increase over lynchings for the corresponding period last year. . .

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

The emphasis on "only" is mine.

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

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



FROM STATUE BY HERBERT WARD, THE FAMOUS AFRICAN EXPLORER.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And what is the attitude of the white ruling class in the United States but the expression of this universal (outside of Soviet Russia) doctrine, with the changes made necessary by the historical conditions here?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

E. D. Morel comments upon this as follows:

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

of African cultivators and farmers into wage-slaves.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reviewing the Defense Test

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

"We're ready for the next war."



Bayonets in War and Peace

By William F. Kruse



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

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

What's the Army for, Anyway?

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

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

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

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

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

Who are These "Elements?"

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

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

Why do these "Elements" Exist?

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



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



TROOPERS FACING THEIR EX-BUDDIES WITH A MACHINE GUN.

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

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

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



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

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

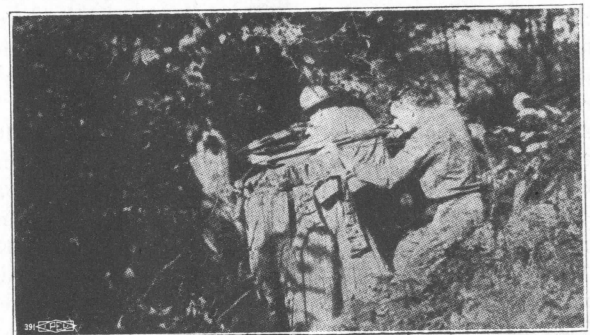
The capitalist class was alarmed. It groomed its servants, LaFollette and Gompers to divert the movement for independent political action, but at the same time issued "orders to the effect that Army units should at once prepare themselves for military protective duty."

How Did They "Prepare?"

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

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

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



SNIPING AT STRIKING MINERS IN WEST VIRGINIA.

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 426)

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

Contradictions of Imperialist Capitalism

By N. Bukharin

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



A LATE PHOTOGRAPH
OF BUKHARIN

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

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

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

Hilferding the Apologist.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Capitalist Anarchy Still Rampant.

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

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

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

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

Overcoming Reaction in the Ladies' Garment Workers.

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

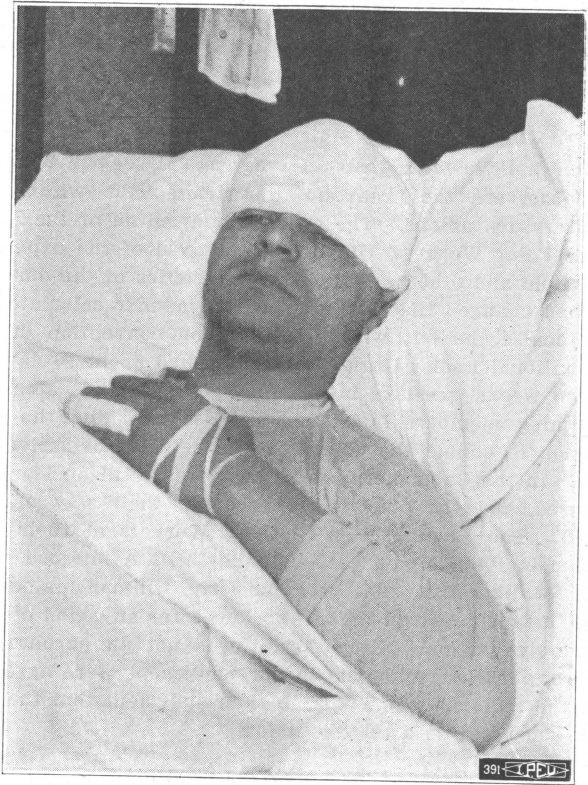
As we pointed out at the time, however, the reactionary officials could hurt the union, but they cannot destroy the left wing. And since the Boston convention this left wing has grown in numbers, power, and clarity of program. Today, one year after it was outlawed, it has gained the leadership of the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

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

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

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

Such cowardly denial of even the intention to think about



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

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

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

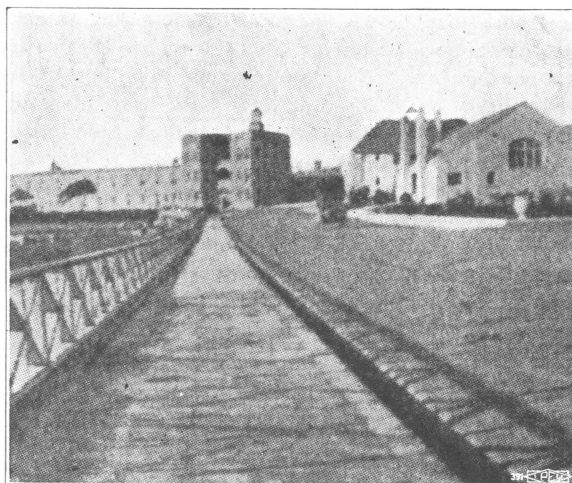
the university city which he had adorned, recently gave all his men a few army intelligence tests. The average mental age of South Zenith's finest was discovered to be ten years. One worthy specimen rated so low that they didn't know just how to place him, so they gave him a two-year rating by way of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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Labor and the Capitalist Courts



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

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

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

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

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

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

Immigration Talks For the D. A. R.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Party Trade Union Fractions

By William Z. Foster

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



FOSTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

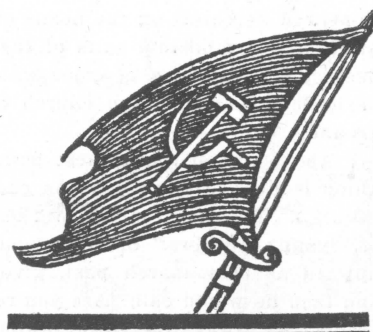
Relations of Fractions to Unions and Party.

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

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

The Longest Procession in History

By Ruth Kennell



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

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

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

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

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

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



"ALWAYS READY!"

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

Imperialism Over All the World

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

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

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

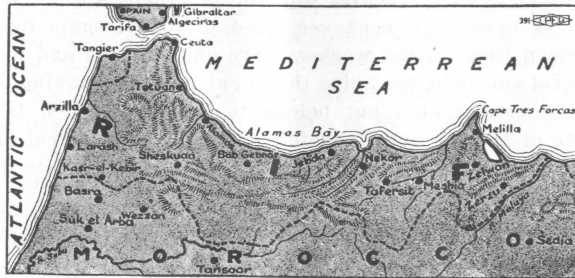
In Latin America, scores of workers are brutally shot down at the orders of the American plutocrats who control the Chilean nitrate fields. Secretary of State Kellogg warns President Calles of Mexico that a revolution will be started against him unless he comes to terms with Wall Street.

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

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



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



Map of the Riff Territory.

Illinois' Nice New Anti-Injunction Bill

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

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

Our Cover Design

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

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

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

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

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

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

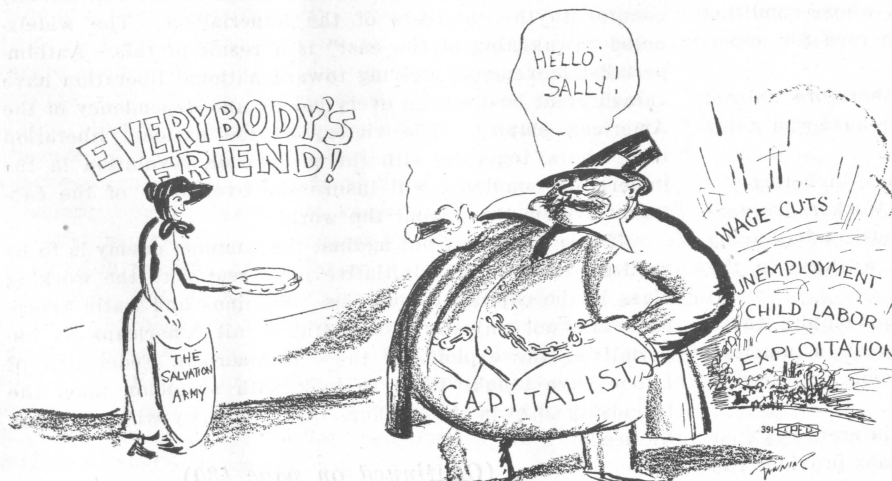
It is also quite in the order of things that when the late Warren S. Stone was raised from Grand Chief Engineer to the newly created position of General President “in charge of all the various activities of the Brotherhood,” he was expected to devote most of his time to finance, insurance, etc., while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

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

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

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

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



New Uses for Strikes

Recent Tendencies in Mexican Labor Politics

By "Audifaz"

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

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

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

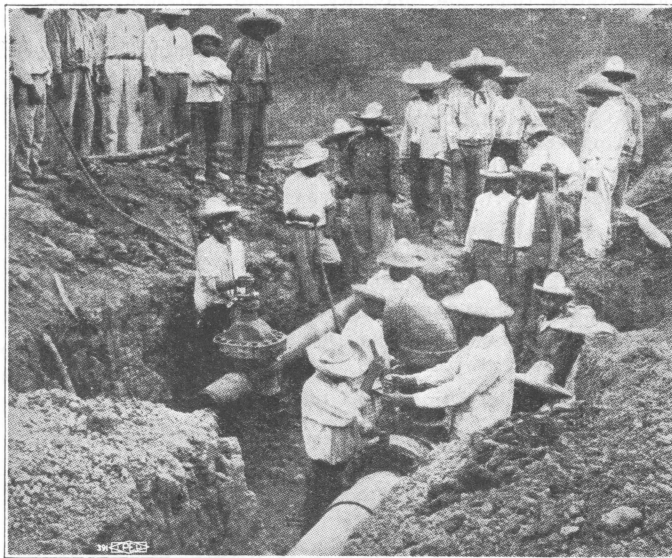
Even the form was new—the pickets were not the striking workers, but POLICE AND MILITARY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT! It seemed as if the Federation were using all its control of the governmental machinery. In reality, the government is using all its control of the Federation machinery, for all of the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

A Twofold Purpose.

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

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

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



IN THE TAMPICO OIL FIELDS.

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

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

Assault on the Bakers' Union.

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

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

FAIRY TALES FOR WORKERS CHILDREN

By Herminia Zur Mühlen

Translation
by
Ida Dailes

Color Plates and
Cover Designs
by Lydia Gibson



75 Cents
Duroflex
Cover

\$1.25
Cloth
Bound

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

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

"The Source of All Communist Literature"

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD.

CHICAGO, ILL.