



\$5

to each

CLASS-WAR PRISONER

International Labor Defense is sending \$5 monthly to each of 106 class-war prisoners and \$20 monthly to dependents.

WILL YOU TAKE CARE OF ONE?

From Thomaston, Me., Penitentiary (signed by a group)

"We, the undersigned, wish to thank the International Labor Defense for the recent \$5 remittance to each of us, and assure you it was an agreeable and welcome surprise.

"We realize that there are so many unfortunates situated like ourselves that it takes a lot of money to render assistance, and more so when there are dependents needing help. Fortunately for us, we have no one who requires any aid, for if they did they would have passed long ago for lack of food.

"Your monthly remittance will enable us to buy tobacco and stamps during the rest of our sojourn here."

From San Quentin Penitentiary

"Was very much surprised and pleased to receive your kind and welcome letter and check for \$5 enclosed. Here is hoping International Labor Defense grows stronger all the time, not for the benefit of those in prison but for the welfare of all the workers."

"It is mighty fine of International Labor Defense to take the interest they are taking. Most of the world has forgotten us. It is too busy keeping out of the way of the Frankenstein Monster that civilization has built."

From Folsom Prison, Calif.

"Your letter of September 22nd with enclosed check for \$5 reached me two weeks ago and I greatly appreciate both.

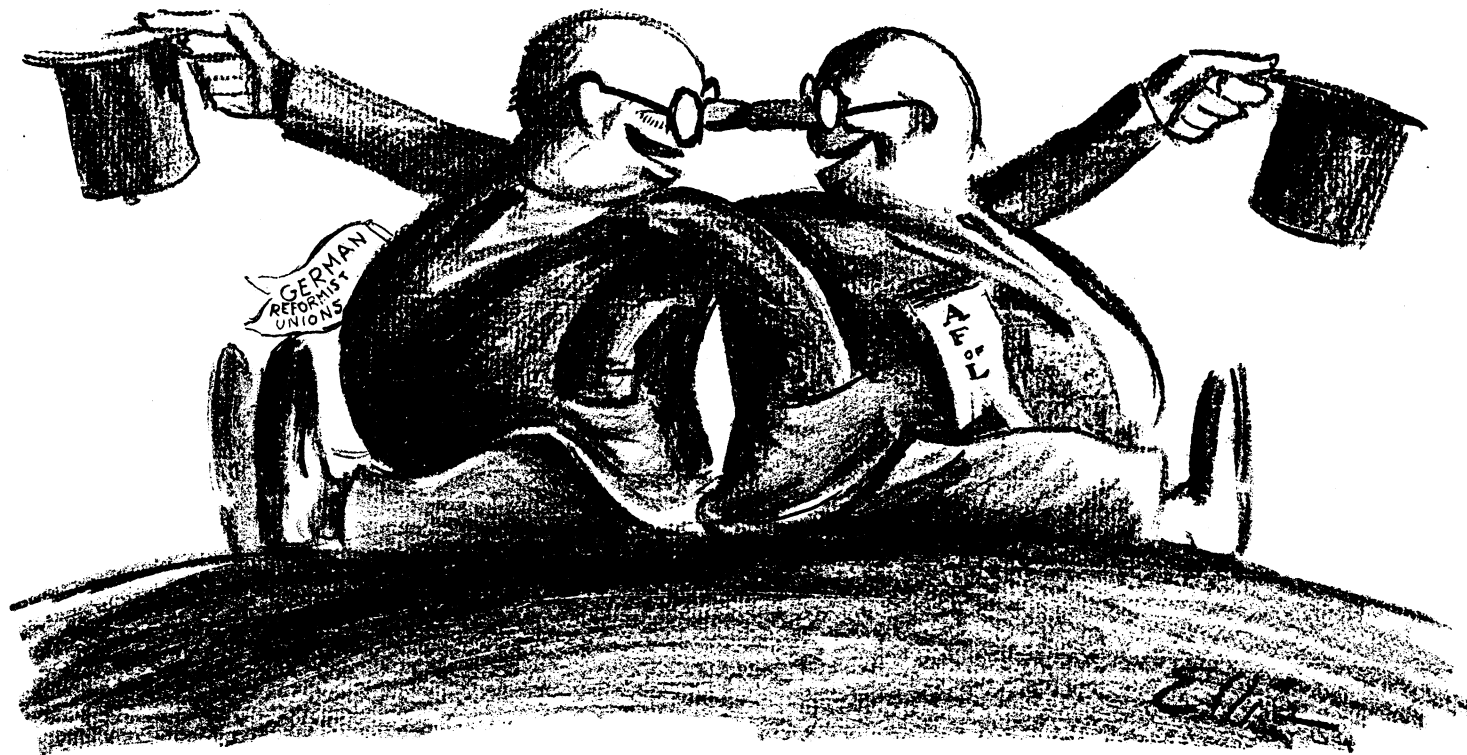
"Trade unionists, I. W. W's, Socialists, Communists and all the rest, are at all times subjected to persecution and prosecution because of their activities in behalf of the workers and no matter how much their political and economic principles may differ, the principle that the persecuted must be defended will remain common to all; therefore I say:—let us all stand solidly together on this common ground.

"A monthly allowance,—be it ever so small, means more to men in prison than I can tell you in this letter, and the knowledge that their dependents on the outside are also being looked after is another big item to them."

JOIN OUR \$5-A-MONTH PLEDGE FUND

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE,

23 South Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.



German and American "Labor" Endorse the Dawes Plan

Fred Ellis



Fred Ellis

AFTER EIGHT YEARS—THE FRUITS OF VICTORY.

grows and the revolutionary movement develops more powerfully. In Germany industry has reached only forty percent of the pre-war level and the proletariat is weakened by its unbearable level of existence. France is on the eve of complete financial bankruptcy and on top of that has thrown itself into a long colonial war. Poland, Bulgaria, Roumania, Italy,—is it necessary to speak about the ever-recurring political and economic crises of these countries?

While the Soviet Union reconstructs with ever increasing rapidity, Europe rots in continuous crises. One need only read the bourgeois American papers, read what bourgeois economists say — for instance, J. Maynard Keyes — about the situation in Europe. Read, for instance, what is said about European capitalism of the latter days by the daughter of Lord Curzon, and one will see that even the bourgeoisie itself begins to understand that capitalism has reached the eve of its debacle.

Eight years are an insignificant period for the transition to Communism in a backward country like Russia, but its progress during these eight years is so tremendous that the bourgeoisie of all countries is terrified and reacts with fury. Notwithstanding all fables and all slanders the truth about the progress of Soviet Russia can be concealed no longer. A number of workers' delegations that have visited Soviet Russia in the late years have testified to this prog-

ress with citing of facts that cannot be challenged. Although the bourgeoisie and its tail, social democracy, are doing all in their power to refute the reports of these delegations, yet they are so frightened that they are taking measures to prevent further progress. This is the best proof of the progress of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. But this progress becomes a source of new difficulties and new dangers for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The greater the improvements, the greater grows the danger of new intervention and of a new war against the Soviet Union.

That is a serious danger for the proletarian dictatorship. The Soviet Union has quickly developed its defense on the basis of a militia, but a war threatens it with new destruction and new exhaustion. The main task that confronts the workers of all countries who sympathize with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in spite of their political and trade union leaders, must be to prevent a new war against the Soviet Union within the next five or ten years.

If this succeeds and if the Russian proletariat during this period is given the chance to build undisturbed on its new life, then there can be no doubt that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics will strengthen itself internally to such a degree that no enemies and no wars can endanger it any more. And then the Soviet Union will be the strongest support of the world revolution.



The capitalist nations of Europe and America howl in vain while a proletarian Red Army guards the first workers' state of history.

talist countries to enter into the struggle against the capitalist social order and the government which upholds and protects it. The example of a country which, in relation to the undeveloped countries of the world, follows a policy of friendship and helpfulness and gives up all special privileges and rights of exploitation, as compared to the imperialist exploitation by the capitalist countries, is bound to make this country the rallying point for all oppressed nationalities in the struggle against their imperialist capitalist exploiters.

It is because the Soviet Union must and will inspire the exploited and oppressed workers of Germany, France, Italy, England and the United States in a struggle against their capitalist masters, because the existence of the Soviet Union with its policy of friendship toward the people of China, India, Morocco and other spheres of imperialist exploitation, a policy which springs from the fact that Russia is not a capitalist country, and therefore need not follow an imperialist policy, goes to make the Soviet Union a magnet around which will gather all the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialist capitalism.

Out of diametrically opposed economic systems of capitalism, and the growing Communist system of the Soviet Union, there develop conflicts which manifest themselves in far quarters of the world and in every phase of human existence. There can be no permanent peace between capitalism and the Communist social order which is being created in the Soviet Union. Either capitalism must destroy the beginnings of the new social order and thus win a tem-

porary respite for itself, or the beginning which has been made in Russia will spread over the earth and destroy capitalism.

Fetters on the Capitalist Power

The question which immediately arises in one's mind is, if we accept this analysis of the conflict between capitalism and the Soviet Union as correct, why has not capitalism long before this launched an open attack against the Soviet Union through a declaration of war and an effort to destroy the Soviet Government.

On the surface it appears that the capitalist powers have carried on only a guerrilla warfare against Soviet Russia. They have financed and equipped counter-revolutionary czarist generals, they have endeavored to use Poland as their cat's-paw in an effort to destroy the Soviet Union, they have tried the strangulation of the blockade. What has prevented the hurling of a French, Italian, English and American army against the Soviet Union in an endeavor to crush out the first workers' republic?

It has not been a lack of will to do this on the part of the capitalist government which has saved the Soviet Union from such an attack. It has been the lack of power.

There are three factors explaining this lack of power. The first is the economic conditions which existed in all of the capitalist countries with the close of the war. Capitalist production was in a state of collapse; depreciated money and disordered exchanges, unbalanced budgets, spread the danger of the collapse of the financial structure of capitalism. The hardships and sufferings which these conditions brought upon the people of the capitalist countries, particularly in Europe, expressed itself in the wave of revolutionary struggle which swept over the continent and which threatened to engulf the capitalist governments.

The second factor was the support and sympathy for the workers' and peasants' government of Russia. When England threatened to intervene in 1921 at the time of the Polish war, the ruling capitalist class of England was answered by a Council of Action formed by labor in support of Soviet Russia. All over Europe, the workers went on strike and used sabotage to prevent the supplying of the munitions of war to Poland. It was the knowledge that an armed attack by the armies of the capitalist powers upon Soviet Russia would carry with it the danger of an uprising and revolutionary struggle at home that held the capitalist powers in check.

The third factor was the mutual jealousy and conflicts of interests between the capitalist powers themselves. Germany, beaten and economically raped by the victors of the world war, could not be depended upon to join in a united

to the blood-dripping grip of American imperialism, cementing its compact with the anguish and misery of the oppressed peoples of this western world. No wonder that that hand is paralyzed and refuses to function as Russian labor extends toward it the hand of the world fraternity of all labor. It will require more than the fraudulent phrases of a resolutions committee to cover up this crime against the world solidarity of the workers.

Similarly, in reporting on the demand for the recognition of the Union of Soviet Republics, the resolutions committee again rushed to the side of the American imperialist regime, and vented its wrath on the Russian Workers Republic. Here are strange words coming from a labor organization:

The American Federation of Labor urges the government of the United States to maintain the position it has taken in favor of the non-recognition of the Soviet regime.

Yet the chairman of the foreign relations committee of the United States senate, Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, is an ardent advocate of Soviet recognition. In the recognition struggle between the "Strikebreaker" Coolidge and the western liberal, Borah, the heads of organized labor take their stand with the New England "open shopper." It looks as if Wall Street's government will recognize the Soviet Union before the A. F. of L. demands this step under pressure from the American working masses.

Sidestep Organization of Negro Workers.

ON the resolution for the organization of Negro workers, the Green regime dodged again. It refused to vote "yes" or "no" on the demand that "the most effective and sincere manner by which the American Federation of Labor can ensure a response to its efforts to organize the Negro workers is to take up in an aggressive and whole-hearted manner the cause and defense of the Negro against legal and social discrimination and abuses, such as lynching, segregation, disfranchisement, etc.; so that organized labor becomes the champion of the Negro's social demands as the demands of the most abused and exploited section of the working class."

To be sure it was claimed that the "American Federation of Labor from its birth favored and advocated the organization of all wage workers irrespective of race, color or creed." It is also argued that 100 of the 107 affiliated national and international unions admit colored workers to membership. But the proof of the failure of the A. F. of L. in this respect is that the door of race prejudice in nearly all union halls is slammed in the face of the Negro workers, resulting in very few Negro workers being organized in the recognized unions.

Delegate Purcell had his experience with the Negro waiters in the Atlantic City hotel where he stopped. He quoted one of them stating to him that, "We want to be organized. We want to join the union. But they won't take us in. They don't want us in the unions."

Left Wing Is Small.

IT is an uphill, desperate fight, battling for these progressive measures in the A. F. of L. conventions. This was more true of the Atlantic City gathering than any preceding it. The left wing was very small and almost inarticulate. This was due to some extent to lack of preparation; something that must not happen again.



William Gropper

FIGHTING THE LEFT WING AT THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

So-called "socialist" and militant elements of yesterday lined up solidly with the official machine in this convention. Thus the role of the "socialists," especially the heads of the needle trades unions, is especially interesting.

All through the gathering Sigman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Kaufmann, of the Furriers' Union, and Zaritsky, of the Capmakers' Union, with all their retinue, sat like dumb animals, incapable of thought. On no issues that came before the convention did they have anything to offer. Their thoughts were, of course, back in New York City, where the left wing was strengthening its hold upon these needle trades organizations, especially in the I. L. G. W. U.

Not even on resolutions that the last convention of their own organization forced them to introduce in the A. F. of L. gathering did the Sigman group have a syllable to utter. These resolutions attacked the Citizens' Military Training Camps and urged a renewal of the struggle for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. In reply to the plea on behalf of the two workers facing death in the electric chair in Massachusetts, the convention's resolutions committee declared:

"Your committee feels impelled to utter its dissent to the constant presentation of resolutions at each succeeding convention on subjects previously affirmatively acted upon . . ."

Polite words to excuse the desertion of the fight for the lives of these two victims of the New England textile profiteers. And no one protested. Not even Antonini. Similarly the Moulders' Union offered no demand for the release

claimed to possess about 10,000 photostats of the original writings and rare printed material of Marx and Engels.

Publishing Activities.

The collection of all published and unpublished writings of Marx and Engels, including letters, notes, addresses, etc., properly classified, edited, and annotated by the various research workers of the Institute will offer an opportunity to reconstruct as completely as possible the great scientific achievements of Marx and Engels. Thirty years after Engels' death there appears the possibility of seeing in print the material which Marx intended for his *Capital* and other economic treatises; also important writings of Engels on natural science, physics, chemistry, military science, etc. the publication of which was neglected by Engels on account of his work on *Capital* and other Marx manuscripts after Marx' death. Letters of Engels to Bebel, Adler, Kautsky and Bernstein dealing with important tactical questions will be brought to light. Probably the fact that the Marx-Engels Institute was preparing to publish Engels' letters has caused Bernstein to bring them out recently in Germany.

The complete edition of all writings of Marx and Engels in Russian will consist of thirty-six volumes. There will also be an international edition in which the writings of Marx and Engels will appear in the languages in which they were written. The smaller works, pamphlets or articles will

be arranged chronologically, Marx' writings beginning in 1837 and Engels' in 1839. This will take seventeen volumes. Volumes 18 to 25 will contain the correspondence between Marx and Engels and letters from Marx and Engels to Lassalle, Wedemeyer, Kugelmann, Freiligrath, Liebknecht, Bebel, Sorge, Becker, Bernstein, Adler, Kautsky, Zassulitch, etc. Volumes 26 to 34 will contain the economic works of Marx; *Capital*, *Theories of Surplus Value* and some unpublished economic writings. The last two volumes, 35 and 36 of this ambitious collection, will be devoted to a complete index of names, subjects and cross-references, and will contain a great deal of biographical and bibliographical material. The completion of this stupendous undertaking will be an event of great significance to our movement. In addition to this definitive edition of the writings of Marx and Engels, which will be primarily for students of Marxism, the Institute is also preparing popular editions of the most important works with explanatory notes in order to make these works more accessible to the masses.

Extensive Research Planned.

4. If the Marx-Engels Institute had set for itself only the task above described it would have earned the lasting gratitude of every Marxist, and we could take additional pride in the Russian Revolution for having made it all possible. But the Institute has still a larger program in view.



William Gropper

THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRYING TO DE-REVOLUTIONIZE MARX AND ENGELS.