

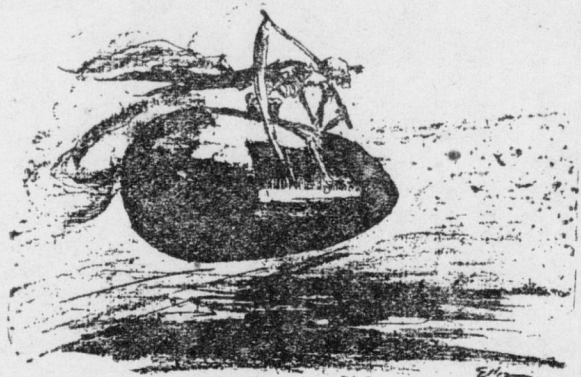
# THE NEW MAGAZINE

Section of The DAILY WORKER

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ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor



## EDITOR'S NOTES

By ALEX BITTELMAN



DEFINITELY and openly William Green and Matthew Woll have been doing their best at the Fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to whitewash the brigandage and murder by American imperialism in Nicaragua. They exerted all their efforts to prevent the congress from speaking out plainly and energetically in con-

demnation of the Nicaraguan killings and of the American government responsible for it. In this the Green-Woll combination succeeded largely but not fully. The congress did go on record, despite Green and Woll, protesting against the murder and demanding the withdrawal of American military forces from Nicaragua.

The militant delegates from Nicaragua and Venezuela, whose courageous efforts were responsible for forcing the congress into action, were also instrumental in opening up a discussion on the so-called Monroe Doctrine, attacking it for what it is—an instrument of American imperialism to subjugate and oppress the peoples of Latin-America.

But Green and Woll, who had been humiliated on the previous issues, succeeded in taking their revenge after all by attacking the Communists and the militants generally, thus attempting to placate their masters—the imperialists of the United States—who were naturally greatly displeased with the course of the congress in the beginning of its deliberations. It was exceedingly beneficial to the labor movement in the Americas that the Nicaraguan and Venezuelan delegates succeeded in bringing forth the issue of struggle against American imperialism in Latin-America, forcing Morones, of the Mexican Federation of Labor, to come along part of the way and defeating the efforts of Green and Woll to keep the whole matter out of the congress.

The deliberations and actions of this congress, though inadequate and indecisive, will yet prove of inestimable value if as a result of what happened in Washington, D. C., a real anti-imperialist movement comes forth uniting the labor movement of Latin-America for genuine struggle against the domination of the imperialists of the United States.

The Nicaraguan outrages happened in an "unlucky" hour, as one of the capitalist papers had put it. It was "unlucky" for Coolidge for this to have happened almost on the eve of presidential elections when he is already confronting formidable sentiment against the imperialist policies of his administration. And it was also "unlucky" for William Green to have "this thing" happen just at the opening of the Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The New York Times puts it this way:

"One of the unlucky aspects of the whole business is that the Pan-American Federation of Labor was meeting in Washington at the very time when these bloody occurrences were reported in Nicaragua. Violent speeches were naturally made by some of the Latin-American delegates, and a resolution of protest was to be drafted and sent to the state department."

One can sense in these words of the spokesman of Wall Street an effort to apologize for William Green's failure to keep the congress completely in check. Green and Woll will undoubtedly be exonerated by their masters in the imperialist camp, particularly those who are inclined towards the democratic party, like the Times, and who are not averse to the idea of hurting the political fortunes of the Coolidge administration just a little bit. But

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## The New War Danger Facing Soviet Russia

By G. VOROSHILOV

(Minister Of Defense Of the Soviet Union)

A FEW months ago comrade Bukharin pointed out that the Soviet Union was, owing to various circumstances quite independent of our will, approaching difficult times. Since then I have stressed this fact in various speeches and pointed out that despite all our efforts, despite our determined peace policy, our enemies wished to force us into war.

Recent events have completely corroborated the analysis of comrade Bukharin. A few weeks after Bukharin's speech, we received the Chamberlain Note, and then followed the events which are now well-known. Our country is approaching a new period of difficulties, and it is our duty to prepare ourselves in all seriousness for the trials which are facing us.

One can still meet the opinion that we will be successful in our manoeuvring and be able to avoid a collision with the enemy. This opinion is to a certain extent justified, but it does not represent the whole truth. The whole truth is that we are now approaching a period of history in which our class enemies will inevitably force us into war.

What has been our international situation up to the present? The majority of countries trades with us, the majority of countries recognizes us, but at the same time the capitalist world tells us through the lips of individual politicians, through the speeches of the representatives of the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, that it regards the existence of the Soviet Union as a temporary phenomenon which must be brought to an end. The bourgeoisie of the whole world is united in the fond hope that we will one day be destroyed. Not only Great Britain, but the whole capitalist world is of the opinion that we, that is, our state which has a new structure, who are building up socialism have no right to exist and must disappear from the stage. We have been in this situation now for ten years, since the commencement of the Soviet Power. Temporarily the situation relaxed, sometimes it was intensified. Now we are faced with a severe intensification. In face of this, can we expect a new period in which the hostility of the capitalist world towards us will relax?

I believe that the answer to this question is in the negative.

It was no accident that in the British House of Commons the representatives of the whole bourgeoisie supported the proposal of the conservatives to break off diplomatic relations with us, although the British bourgeoisie as a whole is by no means interested in a breach of the diplomatic and economic relations with us. And because the whole bourgeoisie nevertheless supported the breach, then that proves that we have no right to expect a new spring of friendly and neighborly relations with the outside world, but that, on the contrary, we must prepare ourselves for the worst. The comparatively

peaceful period of our existence has, without a doubt, passed.

The British bourgeoisie has played and will continue to play the first fiddle in the attack against us. It broke off relations with us in order to give itself a free hand. The British government is doing its utmost to force us into war. The raid upon our



VOROSHILOV

Together with Budenny he organized the first Red cavalry troops, which mashed the attacks of Yudenitch, Wrangel and the Polish Invasion.

embassy in Peking, which was carried out under the instructions of British governmental circles, was intended to do this. The British capitalists thought that we would answer the insults and maltreatment heaped upon the employees of our institutions in China with active reprisals. They thought above all, that we would undertake armed action against Chang Tso-lin, who was directly responsible for the raid upon our Peking embassy. The British capitalists wanted to kill three birds with one stone: By provoking us into war in the East, they hoped us to compromise us in the eyes of the Chinese toilers, they hoped also for an economic weakening of our country in consequence of the war and finally a weakening of the defense of our western frontier which would have made it easier for them to urge our neighbors against the Ukraine and White Russia.

But our government realized these not over-intelligent plans of the British capitalists in time. We did not permit ourselves to be provoked. In a difficult moment we retained our coolness and level-headedness. Following upon the failure of the raid upon our representation in Peking, came the raid upon our Trade Delegation and Arcos in London. The aim of this raid was to discover documents which might have compromised our employees and been used as material to accuse us of anti-British propaganda. No such documents were found, and the British government was compelled to declare that sufficient grounds were present for a breach with us without offering any concrete proofs.

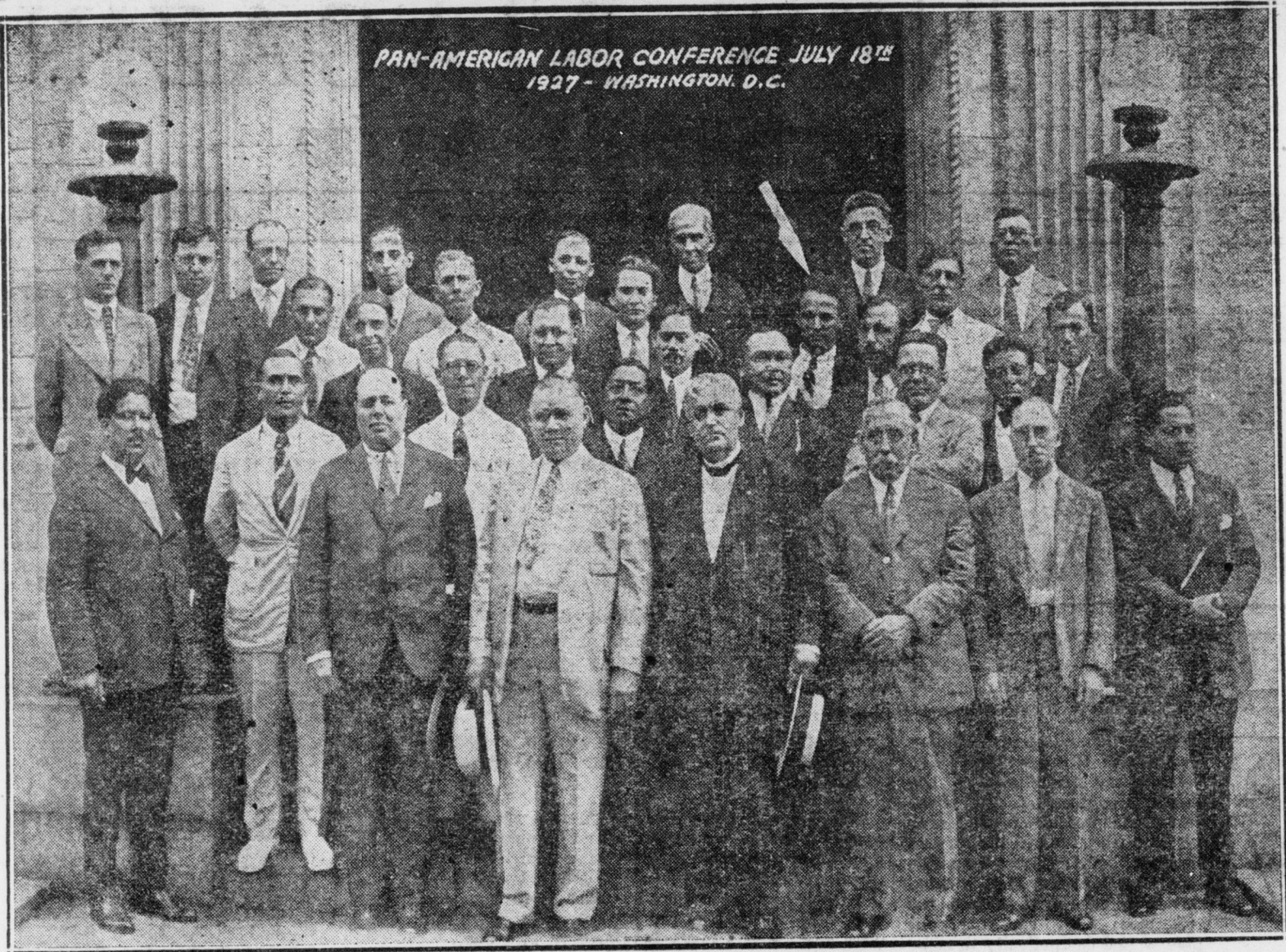
The following acts of the British bourgeoisie are known to everyone. They are laid down both in the note of Litvinov to Poland and in the statements of our government published in the press. We accuse the British bourgeoisie very definitely not merely of bearing the responsibility for the organization of the murder of Voikoff in Warsaw, but also that the British secret service organizes and supports incendiaries, bandits and murderers inside our country. The published statements of our government contained only a part of the proofs which are at our disposal. But this part is sufficient in order to show the increased activity of our enemies who are openly led by British official organs. We have arrested British spies very often before, we have however, never made any great stir about it. We knew very well that the proletarian world and the



C. M. BUDENNY

Organizer and commander of the Red Cavalry.

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PAN-AMERICAN LABOR CONFERENCE JULY 18<sup>TH</sup>  
1927 - WASHINGTON, D. C.

Martinez (marked by arrow), Venezuelan delegate, who staged a fight against Imperialism to the consternation of assembled reaction at the Pan-American Convention. The prosperous looking representative (?) of Labor in the natty white Palm Beach suit in the front row is President Green of the A. F. of L.

## EDITOR'S NOTES

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Green and Woll will NOT be exonerated by the oppressed peoples of Latin-America and by the workingclass of the United States. The workers of America will neither forget nor forgive the agents of imperialism in the American labor movement and will proceed to organize and struggle despite them and against them.

The Chicago Tribune, which speaks the mind of big Western capital and whose political affinities lie in the direction of the republican party, endorses fully the murderous actions of the American imperialists in Nicaragua, and is making a frank appeal to the egotistic interests of the reactionary labor bureaucracy and the corrupted upper section of the labor aristocracy. The Tribune makes its appeal on what it calls: **THE LABOR STAKE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.**

It argues like this:

"Labor in the United States will not find its future in visions and fallacies. It will find its welfare in the production of raw materials and the manufacture of them in ordered society. Organized labor is based upon a recognition of force as a means of acquiring good. It is much more willing to use force in domestic affairs than the United States has been in international affairs."

And further in the same editorial, the Tribune says:

"The world will do better with order in disordered regions nearby than it will do with violence and insecurity. The United States will do better with doors closed to European meddlingness and doors open to the production of materials. In this there is a higher humanity than there is to be found in the armed politics of jungle adventurers. And in it labor has a stake."

The Chicago Tribune, as is its habit, is very frank but not quite frank. What it meant is not that labor has a stake in the acquisitions of American imperialism, but that the reactionary labor bureaucracy has such a stake. The Green and the Wolls reason along the same lines as the Chicago Tribune, and they do so because they represent in the American labor movement the interests of American imperialism and of that upper section of labor which is corrupted by imperialism. The mass of American labor has no "stakes" in Central America. It is as much a victim of American imperialist oppression as are the peoples of Latin-America. And its answer to the Chicago Tribune will be: a strong and militant labor movement at home, fraternal unity with the exploited peoples of Latin-America for common strug-

gle against the monstrosities of imperialism.

The Ohio coal operators are preparing to open their mines with scab labor by equipping themselves with armed thugs, machine guns, etc. A new and sinister move is being made to break the miners' strike, but Lewis and his henchmen don't seem to notice it. And Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, engaged in destroying the labor movement among the New York needle trades workers, cannot be "expected" to pay much attention to the miners' strike except to encourage the reactionary and treacherous policies of the Lewis administration.

Rank and file sentiment and spirit among the miners has not been weakened, despite the demoralizing tactics of Lewis. The miners want to fight but the reactionary leadership would not let them mobilize all their resources. The deliberations of the District One Convention of the U. M. W. of A. are indicative of a strong sentiment of militancy among the rank and file which the opposition in the convention has not as yet fully expressed. It is becoming absolutely imperative that the left wing and the progressives in the miners' union steps forward more militantly than before to resist the treacherous moves of the Lewis administration and to strengthen the ranks of the strikers to insure their victory. The extension of the strike into the anthracite region thus making it a national strike for a national agreement is at present the most urgent and imperative step in the struggle against the coal operators.

The existing traction situation in New York City is full of great and important possibilities for the strengthening of the labor movement economically and politically and in every other way. But to achieve this end, the labor movement will have to display real progressive and militant leadership which (this must be said) is not to be found in the circles that dominate today either the Central Labor Council of New York or the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

This progressive and militant leadership, which is so essential for a full and proper utilization of the traction situation for New York labor, will and must come forward from the ranks of the labor movement, from its left wing and progressive elements. And the first prerequisite for this is a definite program and a clear line of policy based upon the widest application of the united front.

The workers employed by the New York traction companies are decidedly against the company union and against the labor conditions imposed upon them by the Hedley contract. By the time these lines appear in print, these workers may be on strike to enforce their economic demands and to establish a genuine union. Because of the pressure from the workers, and because of the political complications that may arise for some of the dominant labor reactionaries in New York if the traction companies

are permitted once more to crush their workers, the leaders of the Central Labor Council of New York and the leaders of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor felt compelled to step forward in favor of the workers. But the success of the present struggles of the traction workers will demand considerably more than friendly statements of labor leaders. What is imperative at this moment is a full utilization of all the economic and political power of New York labor in support of the demands and struggles of the traction workers.

The demands of the traction workers—the abrogation of the Hedley contract, a wage increase and the recognition of the union—are economic demands primarily. But the strategic nature of the traction utilities, the big and powerful economic interests involved in it, the contradictions of interest even within the capitalists in the traction situation, the repercussions that a successful traction strike will have throughout the country—all these elements are making the struggles of the New York traction workers a class conflict of first rate magnitude. This means a political conflict which must be prepared for and handled by the labor movement with a complete economic and political program looking toward the fullest mobilization of all the industrial and political resources of labor in support of the traction struggles. Only in this way will the struggle of the traction workers be won and labor as a whole strengthened.



# A Conspiracy Against the Workers of the Americas

By  
Manuel Gomez

## ARTICLE I.

The fifth convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which met in Washington, D. C., July 18-23, was the most significant gathering ever held by that so-called organization. Certainly it attracted far more attention than the previous conventions, not only in the United States but thruout the western world.

Increased popular interest was due to growth for the Pan-American Federation of Labor has not grown. The convention acquired significance because:

### Great Interest In Gathering.

(1) Massacre of 300 Nicaraguans by the United States Marines at Ocotal, Nicaragua, was reported in the midst of the first morning's session;

(2) Considerable tension was known to have existed following the ambiguous stand of the A. F. of L. leaders and the Mexican Confederation of Labor, of special importance in view of the fact that the Mexican confederation is the only bona fide general labor organization in Latin America affiliated to the so-called Pan-American federation;

(3) This is the first convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor at which there has been any kind of straight-out opposition to the administration.

### Not Stormy Convention.

Contrary to the impression given by the press, it was not a stormy convention. In fact it was extraordinarily quiet except for two days out of the six. The A. F. of L. delegates were in easy, monotonous control up to the very end, when the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor (William Green, president; Luis N. Morones of Mexico, vice-president; Santiago Iglesias, secretary, and Matthew Woll, treasurer) were unanimously reelected by a rising vote.

The only high lights of the convention were: (1) the Ocotal massacre and the discussion on the resolution submitted by the Nicaraguan delegation; (2) discussion on the Haitian question; (3) discussion on the Monroe Doctrine and American imperialism in general; (4) the attacks against the reds; (5) the silence of the Mexican delegation, which submitted no resolutions on Mexican or Latin-American relations and which did not participate in any of the discussions, with the exception of Morones's opening and closing addresses as vice-president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

### Against Workers.

But these things were enough. In the situations created by them the stifled cry against American imperialism was released in the convention. Secondly, the entire convention was exposed, and with it the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor, as nothing less than a conspiracy against the working class of the Americas.

The sessions were held in the restful detachment of the A. F. of L. council chamber, on the top floor of the American Federation of Labor building. They were attended by some 20-odd delegates, nine or ten newspapermen, a sprinkling of curious idlers, a number of A. F. of L. intellectual hangers-on, and a busy army of government spies—United States spies, Cuban spies, Peruvian spies, Venezuelan spies . . . amateur and professional spies . . . spies of all nature and description who watched suspicious individuals like myself when we were in the building and who follow us whenever we left it.

### Represent Small Groups.

As to the delegates themselves, the A. F. of L. was represented by Green (who presided), Woll, Morrison, Noonan and Wilson. The Mexican Confederation of Labor was represented by its big Chief, Morones, and by

(This is the first of a series of articles analyzing the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its recent convention at Washington.)

FOR six days delegates claiming to represent the organized workers of North, South and Central America met and debated. On the first day of the convention the associated press reported that 300 Nicaraguans had been slaughtered by the U. S. marines in Nicaragua. The news echoed thruout the world but it did not shake the convention, presided over by President William Green of the A. F. of L. A resolution of protest submitted by the Nicaraguan delegation was quietly brushed aside, a "respectful petition" to President Coofidge being adopted in its place. Why? How is it that the convention did not take up a single important matter of practical trade-union co-operation on behalf of the workers of the Americas? What is this "Pan-American Federation of Labor" and how is it that reports of its convention filled the newspapers with attacks against American imperialism while the convention itself engaged in no such attack? What did Latin America learn as a result of the opposition of a single delegate at the convention? What is the future of all-American working class co-operation in relation to the "Pan-American Federation of Labor"? These and other questions are answered by Manuel Gomez in the present series of articles on the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its convention, written especially for The DAILY WORKER. Gomez is secretary of the United States section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, having sections in twelve countries of the American continent. He attended every session of the convention and has been in close touch with the affairs of the Pan-American Federation of Labor for a number of years.

Moneda and Yudico,—the latter leaving after the second day to attend the forthcoming congress of the Amsterdam International.

In addition President Green reported delegates present from nine countries: Porto Rico, Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia and Peru. Of these the Porto Ricans represented an organization which is not independent but which is an intergral part of the A. F. of L., the Cubans represented an organization which is confined to a single industry and is only one of a number of Cuban unions in that industry, the four delegations from Central America represented organizations having only the shadow of actual existence, the Peruvian delegation represented organizations which do not exist at all, and the Colombian delegation never appeared.

### No Serious Action.

The convention proceeded in a leisurely way, refusing to get excited even over the Ocotal massacre. It did not grapple seriously with a single practical trade union measure. Here is what it did do:

(1) Recommended to all governments not having a Department of Labor to institute one.

(2) Recommended to all governments to add labor attaches to their embassy and consular staffs in foreign countries.

(3) Adopted a protest against the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gomez in Venezuela.

(4) Urged that effective control of the National Bank of Nicaragua, now in the hands of Wall Street interests, be turned over to the Nicaraguan government.

(5) Attacked the relatively powerful Argentine labor movement on the excuse of disunity and radicalism, and announced the intention of substituting it by a "legitimate federation of trade unions affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor."

### Attack Communists.

(6) Attacked the Communist International and the Communists in every country.

(1) Adopted a resolution submitted by the A. F. of L. delegation and embodying the entire substance of the "Monroe Doctrine of Labor" as expounded by Matthew Woll at the El Paso and Atlantic City conventions of the A. F. of L.

(8) Killed an effective protest against the rape of Nicaragua by American imperialism; heading off original resolution by adopting a harmless substitute.

(9) Killed a general resolution against American imperialism.

(10) Killed a resolution providing that the United States government be asked to indemnify the family of a Haitian citizen murdered by a drunken U. S. marine in Haiti.

(11) Adopted a recommendation of the committee on officers' report praising the accomplishments of the last Pan-American Commercial Conference.

### Green Addresses Gathering.

(12) Reelected the officers.

(13) Thanked the officers.

(14) Selected Havana as the next convention city of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The above list includes all of the resolutions and decisions passed with the exception of those which were so trivial as to make it unnecessary to refer to them here.

President Green's opening address was a paean of praise for "pure and simple" trade-unionism as practised by the A. F. of L. leadership. It was also a pompous repetition of meaningless abstractions like "freedom," "liberty," "justice" and "democracy." But there were other things in the address, which might easily have deceived someone unfamiliar with Green's lingo. He said he would oppose the use of armed force by the United States against any Latin-American nation, declared against intervention of any kind and expressed belief in the doctrine of self-determination for all nations. His declarations were soon to be put to the test.

After green came the vice-presidential speech of Morones, which was one long harangue against the reds.

It was at this point that the news of the Ocotal massacre was made known.

### Message Of Death.

That message of death from Nicaragua ought to have determined the character of the whole convention from then on, firing it with the spirit of indignant militancy against American imperialism. But it did nothing of the sort. One of the Nicaraguan delegates, Solomon de la Selva, made one passionate appeal and after parliamentary objections and filibustering by the A. F. of L. delegation—finally succeeded in getting his resolution before the convention. That was all. Matthew Woll's committee on resolutions then got in its dirty work, with de la Selva weakly assenting. The newspapermen made much of the Nicaraguan matter, and with reason. But the convention did not. As for de la Selva, he showed himself to be a phrase-maker who carried on no real fight on this or any other issue.

### One Fighting Delegate.

The "straight-out oppositin" which I mentioned at the opening of this article came entirely from one delegate. It was not a sustained opposition and it did not manifest itself at all, except by occasional inferences, until the fourth day of the convention. Yet the nature of it was such as to distinguish it sharply from the

play-acting of de-la Selva, and to accomplish everything worth while that was accomplished at the convention—exposure of Green, Woll, Morrison et al and their handpicked fellow-conspirators from Latin America.

### Draws Green Out.

The delegate to whom I refer was Ricardo A. Martinez, representing the Venezuelan Labor Union. Hesitant and unsure of himself as he was, Martinez fought a real fight whereas everyone in the room could feel instinctively that de la Selva had fought a sham fight. Martinez made Green and the others fight back and show their hands. The Venezuelan delegate offered a resolution which not only denounced the Monroe Doctrine and attacked American imperialism along the whole line, but which proposed concrete measures for struggle against it. Moreover, in defending his resolution he went outside the circumscribed field of Latin America and called for independence for the Philippine Islands and withdrawal of the U. S. troops from China. He voted for his resolution too, against the inevitable substitute of the resolutions committee—with not a single other delegate supporting him.

With the exception of this resolution of Martinez's, and one other, every decision taken by the convention was unanimous. The other exception was on the motion to make Havana the next convention city. Nine delegates held out bravely for Guatemala City!

### Conclusions.

In the series of articles to which the present is an introduction the writer will analyze the convention in detail, explaining the following conclusions which the convention helped to establish:

(1) That despite nine years of effort on the part of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy who control it the Pan-American Federation of Labor is still virtually a paper organization.

(2) That outside of Mexico it only exists at all in Latin America by basing itself on nondescript individuals most of whom are in the service of Wall Street-owned, reactionary and bitterly anti-labor governments in need of a labor fig-leaf.

(3) That the Pan-American Federation of Labor does not constructive trade-union work, nor does it engage in struggle of any kind on behalf of the workers of the Americas.

(4) That the Pan-American Federation of Labor is a labor instrument of the Monroe Doctrine as expressed in the foreign policy of Wall Street and Washington.

(5) That the purpose of the Pan-American Federation of Labor is to disarm Latin America, and particularly the Latin American workers, in the face of American imperialism.

(6) That the Pan-American Federation of Labor is now trying to expand by destroying every vigorous Latin-American trade-union organization and replacing it with a servile body dominated by the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Besides illustrating each of these points, I shall endeavor to set forth a positive line of action for the workers of the Americas, as against that laid down by the leaders of the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The following articles in this most interesting series on a subject of vital importance to American workers, will appear in the regular issues of The DAILY WORKER, beginning Monday.

## A Red Suburb in France

By Amy Schechter.



Dumoulin.

When the revolutionary workers of France make demands on their government they take no chances about being heard. They have a genius for putting their demands in a form that ensures the close, if not pleased attention to their government, as well as the attention of the masses of workers throughout the land. Lately, in order to give emphasis to the demand for amnesty for the hundreds of class-war prisoners in French jails and condemned to the horrible death in life of France's penal colonies in Africa, the French Communist Party put up the young sailor, Dumoulin, as candidate of the Workers' and Peasants' block in the municipal elections at Ivry, the workers' suburb of Paris called the "Red City."

Dumoulin is serving a four year's sentence as a leader of the 1925 mutiny in the Mediterranean fleet against France's imperialist Moroccan campaign. The Red suburb returned Dumoulin by a big majority, and when the election results were announced, thousands of workers, waiting in front of the Mairie, broke into the International, and then went marching through the streets of the town singing revolutionary songs and shouting their demand for amnesty.

The French Communist Party attaches great importance to the election of the young mutineer. It is a gesture that will catch people's imaginations—particularly the imaginations of the young workers and peasants serving in France's army and navy, and help in arousing sentiment not alone for amnesty, but also in favor of the Party's anti-imperialist campaign against war on revolutionary China and Soviet Russia.

The 1925 mutiny is still fresh in the minds of the French workers. The uprising, spreading from vessel to vessel of the fleet sent into Mediterranean waters to assist in carrying on the Moroccan campaign, coincided with the great anti-war conferences held throughout France by the Workers' and Peasants' United Front Committees of Action.

An account of the Marseilles Peasants' and Workers' Conference giving a weird picture of how sailor delegates slipped away secretly from their cruisers and came before the immense audience to pledge the solidarity of the class-conscious men in the navy with the other sections of proletarian France against the government's imperialist ventures.

This movement among the sailors was distinctly revolutionary in character.

"We refuse to be the accomplices of the bankers," declared the sailors, stationed at Toulon, in a letter to the Committee of Action. "We have heard your slogans—the sailors understand the slogan of fraternization."

Already our comrades of the Strasbourg and the Courbet have taken a stand against the war. The violent repression which they have had to suffer will not hold us back. It will only strengthen us in our decision.

"Whatever the cost may be, we shall find a way to impose our will upon the militarist assassins.

"We belong with you; you will help us. It is through the fraternization of the exploited proletariat, and of the enslaved soldiers and sailors, and the oppressed colonial peoples—it is through our common action that we shall be able to put an end to the war in Morocco."

At the time of the mutiny 20-year-old Dumoulin was quarter-master of the Courbet, where a number of sailors were killed and wounded in the struggle with the officers. Dumoulin took a leading part in events on shipboard, and then, later, made a splendid showing at the court-martial by which he was condemned.

Of course Dumoulin will not be freed immediately because of his election. But, in the meantime, his election will give fresh impetus to the amnesty and the anti-war campaigns. The French government has frequently testified, of late, to the effectiveness of the present Communist anti-militarist campaign with its definite class base, and freedom from the bourgeois pacifist illusions of the anti-militarist campaigns of the pre-world war period. Their latest testimony to the effectiveness of Communist anti-war tactics is the imprisonment of seven of the leading party members on charges of treason because of their anti-war propaganda.

As Sarraut recently expressed it in an attack on the Communists delivered in the Chamber of Deputies:

"The anti-militarist campaign of 20 years ago failed to penetrate the morale of the country. . . but the present anti-militarist action of the Communist Party is infinitely superior in its method."

## The New War Danger Facing Soviet Russia

(Continued from Page One)

capitalist world could not live peacefully side by side.

But although we were aware of this primitive truth, we did our utmost to maintain the peaceful breathing space. Since the first days of the existence of Soviet Russia, Great Britain has fought us bitterly. First of all by armed intervention and then by supporting Koltchak and Denikin with money and arms. But we destroyed both these weapons of Great Britain.

From 1921 to 1924 the bourgeoisie hoped that although it were impossible to overthrow us by force of arms, it might be possible that we would be suffocated in our own economic difficulties. But the bourgeoisie was quickly compelled to recognize that this hope also would not be realized. The economic system of the Soviet Union grew and strengthened. Then apparently our enemies returned to the old methods of struggle. In recent years Great Britain has armed against us at a great rate in Poland, Esthonia, Roumania and Latvia. These preparations produced fruit in the form of a considerable increase of the military power of Roumania and particularly of Poland. If despite all this Great Britain has up to the present time not succeeded in driving these countries into a war against us, then the reason is not lack of will on the part of Great Britain, but is the political situation which has prevented the formation of a united front against us.

The break off of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union should logically have been followed by a military attack upon us. This was not the case, but the only reason was that the British bourgeoisie had obviously miscalculated. At the time it openly secured the support of other capitalist states, but in the decisive moment these states refused to keep their promises. Today Germany and even France, Italy, Poland and the Baltic states declare that their policy is not the policy of Great Britain.

From all this it is clear that, with the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union, Great Britain has not achieved its aim which consisted in the immediate opening up of military operations against us. Great Britain is not sufficiently strong and will

any serious importance in a struggle against it. It is superfluous to say that the bandit raids, the bomb attempts, as they were carried out in Leningrad, cannot lead to any noticeable results. Other measures are necessary to draw our country into war or to commence an attack upon us. It would be serious only if Great Britain were successful in forming if not a military, then at least an economic united front against us. Great Britain is attempting to do this. The hope that as we are no industrial country, an economic blockade would cause us great economic difficulties, forms the condition for a successful military attack upon us.

I don't believe that Great Britain will be able to form such a united front against us. The interests of the individual capitalist countries are too contradictory. This was shown by the recent breaking off of relations with our Union by the British imperialists. Immediately after this action we received numerous offers from capitalist groups in other countries to give us credit upon conditions not less favorable than those we received from Great Britain. Also, the capitalist states must take their own inner political situation, the spirit of the working masses, into account. And in some countries they must reckon that the breaking off of commercial relations with the Soviet Union would inevitably produce serious economic consequences.

But in any case, we must be prepared for the worst, and the worst is that the British bourgeoisie will prepare with all its forces a united front for a military attack upon us. That can happen in two years time or in one year, it is even possible, though improbable within a few months.

What is our situation? A short while ago I visited the whole Ukrainian military district, I visited the Black Sea Fleet and the Donetz Basin, and I had occasion to observe the spirit of the working and peasant masses. I must say, that apart from the Red Army, which must of course be ready at any time, the workers and peasants are also prepared at a moment's notice to defend the socialist fatherland with the last drop of their blood.

But today that is no longer enough. Today it is probably not possible to defeat us with a direct military attack. Our army is in such a condition that it will be able to reject the attacks of the enemy. But in order to be really prepared to resist the enemy, we must also prepare the Hinterland. We must so prepare ourselves for the defense of the Soviet Republic that the economic system of our country will be able to work normally in case of war. It is a matter of course that we are opposed to war. We are building up our economic system, and the construction of socialism is developing at such a rate that in five or six years we will have an economic organism that will stand any pressure. Today a war would cause us great economic difficulties unless we prepared ourselves properly.

The only way of avoiding these dangers is to redouble our whole economic work. This is not an empty phrase. If war should break out, then we shall have to do it at once, then we may arrive in a situation where a war would cost us everything that we have achieved in the previous comparatively peaceful breathing space. We must already begin to reckon everything exactly. In case of war we must know exactly what branches of production must be limited, what branches extended, etc., how we are to dispose of our labor forces so that our economic system can continue without interruption.

The second task is to be watchful, and still more so than ever before. Our enemies are working with bombs and arson, more than ever before. This demands that every worker should observe what is going on around him so that he as a member of the dominant class can guard the property of the Soviet Union with keen eyes. Such an atmosphere must be created that no traitor can worm his way into our ranks and that no traitor can harm us. Watchfulness and intensified work, these must be our preparations for war, for self-defense against attack.

## Storm

It is raining,  
And the sound of the drops  
Beat in my brain and heart  
As the tears of slaves  
In the slavery mart;  
As the pent up misery  
Of countless eons.

Hear the wind swirl and toss  
The drops of rain  
Against the pane,  
As starvation and death  
Swirl and toss  
The lives of men  
In endless misery.

But as the sky shall brighten  
So shall the burden  
Lighten  
Vanish  
When the People Conquer.

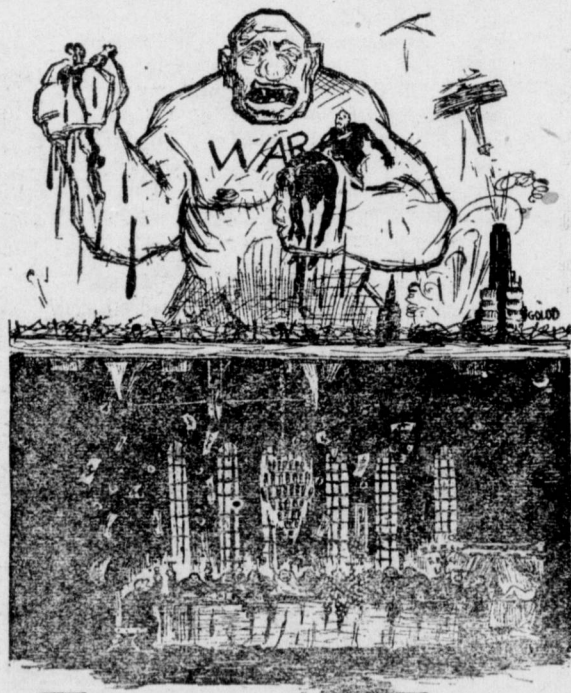
—A. KOHN.

probably not become strong enough today or tomorrow to organize a war against us. Although in the immediate future war is not very likely, nevertheless we must reckon with war in one or two years. Although the British bourgeoisie has not succeeded in forcing us into the war, it will not permit itself to be discouraged. The British imperialists have too many reasons to wish passionately the destruction of the Soviet Union. With the October Revolution they lost very much capital, invested in British undertakings in Russia and recently they have sustained very great losses in China. The development of the Chinese revolution is also shaking the power of Great Britain in India, the main basis of British imperialism.

All this causes Great Britain to an active and energetic opposition against us. It is of course no question that we are occupied in "making" the revolution in China and forging plots against the British government. The fact is that every revolution and every revolutionary movement inevitably expresses its solidarity with us. It could not be otherwise, for our country is the land of the proletariat dictatorship, the only country in the world in which a socialist economic system is being built up to give the whole of humanity freedom. It is for this reason that the capitalists of the whole world and in particular the capitalists of Great Britain who recognize their class interests most clearly, hate us so passionately.

Although I am personally of the opinion that war this year is unlikely, nevertheless the events are developing so quickly that we cannot prophesy with certainty what will happen in the near future.

It is understandable that Great Britain alone cannot fight against us. It has at its disposal the mightiest fleet of the world, but it has not sufficient land which for landing operations would have



# In the Land of the Free A Story

By H. G. WEISS

AMERICA, the land of the free and the home of the brave. The place where John D. made a fortune out of nothing and where any worker can get a job at decent wages if he isn't a Communist, or a natural-born loafer. Albert stood on the corner of Washington Street and admitted—or rather his stomach admitted for him—that he was hungry. But what to do about it? There were more men in town than jobs. All the cellars were cleaned out, all the lawns mowed, and all the garbage gathered up. The "loafers" had been busy chopping wood, painting fences, doing odd jobs, until now, apparently, there were no more odd jobs left to do. The stout woman proprietor of the 35c eating house on Ninth Street had fed him a couple of times—but the last time she had told him not to come back. But Albert had gone back. He would wash dishes, mop floors, peel potatoes—anything—if she would give him a meal. But the stout woman was adamant. She didn't want any more loafers around. Let him earn a living like she had to. So Albert—along with hundreds of others—stood on a street corner and found himself in a position to appreciate what a working stiff of Palestine once said: "The birds of the air have nests, the foxes of the earth have holes, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head." He sniffed the air hungrily. An appetizing odor was wafted to his nostrils. The stout woman proprietor was setting what looked to be a steaming meat loaf on a ledge outside a lower window. He felt he never would be able to take his eyes off that meat loaf. His knees felt wobbly under him; the saliva trickled in a thin stream down the corner of his mouth. Oh to be biting into that meat loaf, that juicy meat loaf! To be savoring it, swallowing it!

"Hungry, kid?"

He turned and saw a man, evidently an unfortunate like himself, who had been engaged canvassing work or food from door to door. This person was taller than himself, older, and by the placid look of his face, better fed.

Was he hungry? The nod was hardly needed for answer. Almost as if the meat loaf were a magnet with power to draw them, his eyes swung back to it, his nostrils twitched like those of an animal.

"Well, if you wanna eat, do as I say, see? Go to the back door where the meat is and batter the woman for a hand-out."

"But I've been there already and she turned me down."

"Never mind that. I bet we get somethin' outa her this time. You see if we don't. If you wanna eat, go ahead."

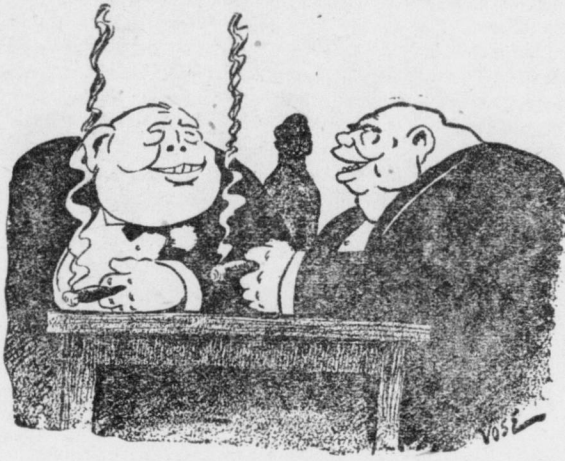
The woman was angry to see him at the back-door for the second time and told him so in no uncertain language. When he regained the sidewalk and looked around for the tall man, that worthy was beckoning him from a street corner half a block away. Joining him, he was grasped by the arm and led around several blocks before the man stopped and withdrew from under the sheltering folds of his ragged coat the meat loaf! At his astonishment the man laughed.

"Swiped it when the old hen was bawlin' you out in the back," he explained airily. He broke the meat loaf in two and gave Albert the larger piece. The latter did not know whether he ought to accept food thus stolen, but hunger made short work of scruples. Seizing his piece he devoured it ravenously, to the last crumb, feeling renewed strength and vigor flowing back into his body with every mouthful. God it was good! He could have eaten thrice as much again. His companion clapped him on the shoulder.

"That's the way to hide the goods," he grinned. "It'd take a stomach-pump to find the evidence now. What's yuh name, kid?"

"Albert."

"Well, Albert, mine's Jake. Put 'er there."



Jake was a jolly rascal. Albert drifted with him to a small park on Jefferson Street where they lay on the grass and sunned themselves.

"So the old man kicked the bucket, the bank got the farm, and your maw's gone to live with an aunt," he said sympathetically. "It's a tough time to hunt work in the city, kid; and it ain't better nowhere else, either. Me, I used to carry a hod—when I wasn't heavin' a muck-stick—but the buildin' boom's all shot to hell and they ain't no use huntin' for jobs that don't exist. We'll take it easy till three-thirty and then beat it over to the Volunteers and get some sandwiches."

"I didn't know there were places you could eat for nothin'."

"Nothin' me eye! Them people live offa guys like us. They use us as an excuse to beg the business men for checks, and collect old clo'es and sell 'em. They're like the Salvation Army, in the second-hand business. Their wagons goes round and picks up the stale box-lunches. Tait's and Leighton's have left over from yesterday. We 'get' them. For nothin'? Oh, hell!"

When Jake and Albert went over to the Volunteers an hour later, a hundred or two other men were already lined up. Jake cursed because the two sandwiches each received were made of jelly. "They hog the meat ones for themselves," he complained. "Damn their souls! We'll hit the Mission tonight, kid, and make the price of a meal and bed."

The Mission was the Holy-roller place of worship on Broadway, which opened doors at eight o'clock every evening. It was crowded by men and women and children, unmistakably of the workingclass. A sprinkling of hobo intellectuals was there, not to worship, but to enjoy the performance. With the pathetic exception of some horny-handed worker's attempt to look "dressed up"; with the equal exception of some tired-faced woman's effort to appear fresh in a limp gingham, the congregation was frankly unwashed and unshorn. Up on the platform there was a long row of chairs on which amateur preachers sat—they, too, the better clad than the majority of the congregation, were unmistakably workers—until it was their turn to take the floor and hold forth for the glory of God and the salvation of sinners, hallelujah! And there was a band to one side with an assortment of instruments; a piano out of tune; and a choir packed full of misdirected sex energy in the shape of exalted-singing young and old men and women. Here and there among the elect could be noticed keen-looking neatly-garbed men with a more sophisticated air. These were evidently the mainspring of the Mission, the ones who kept it a "going" concern. They were the gentlemen who filled the gaps left by the hesitations of the amateurs; the ones who rounded out the periods when human endurance was at an end

with an inspiring call for a hymn "Where he leads me I will follow."

There was no attempt to be coherent. Sermons consisted mainly of ejaculations. Penitents rose here and there and came to Jesus. The air was full of bloodthirsty cries. Oh, the blood of Jesus! You must be washed with blood! Blood must be shed! Behold the blood that washes away the sins of the world!

Broken confessions were made by members of the congregation; sordid, pitiful. Some unbelievers laughed immoderately and were led to the exit by a hard-boiled looking gent who sported a big special officer badge on the lapel of his coat. Albert felt bewildered and disgusted. He could hardly believe he was in a house of prayer. The little Episcopalian church to which he had belonged all his life, had never indulged in such antics, and he had never attended a revival before. One of the neatly garbed men came to where Jake was seated. It was evidently an old game.

"Are you saved, brother? How is it with your soul, brother? Have you asked yourself where you are going to spend eternity, brother?"

Jake nudged Albert in the ribs. "Listen to the boob talk, will yuh. Saved? Hell! How is it with our souls? Bunk! Where we gonna spend eternity? Say, brother, you'd better ask where we're gonna eat and spend the night!"

"The Lord will provide," said the sleek one unctuously.

"Well, he'd better hurry up," returned Jake, "because me and ma buddy are gittin' pretty hungry, and sleepin' on park benches is cold work these nights."

"Ah, thou of little faith. Did he turn the multitudes away? No, no, he fed them with loaves and fishes. Give yourself to him. He is food for the body, manna for the soul, a very refuge in time of trouble." He placed his hand on Jake's shoulder. "If you will confess your sins, receive Jesus in your heart, he will not let you want—I tell you he will not let you want."

Suddenly Jake waxed tearful. "How are we gonna think of salvation when we're hungry, when we're homeless! If we only had a little money. . ."

The sleek one haled Jake to his feet. "Tell it to Jesus, brother," he exhorted. "Carry it to the Lord in prayer. When has he failed a contrite heart? Hallelujah! Hallelujah!"

Thus encouraged, Jake came to Jesus. His was a rambling discourse broken into by the loud amens and hallelujahs of the faithful.

"He wanted to believe—Bless the Lord!—But he was hungry, cold—God bless you, brother!—But Jesus kept calling him to confess his sins—Oh Holy Name!—Would the faithful pray for him, pray for him. . ."

Several of the brethren—and sistern—we mean sisters—would, and immediately they did. Jake fell on his knees by his chair burying his face in his hands. The choir swept spontaneously into the singing of "Bringing In The Sheaves," while the sleek one wrestled for the timid, perspiring soul of Albert.

After the meeting, Jake with several other newly saved sinners of a roving, careless countenance, was herded behind a big curtain into an adjacent room for the purpose, as various ribald ones informed Albert, of being rolled into heaven. Albert saw nothing of this process; but the terrible shrieks and groans coming from behind that curtain were more reminiscent to his ears of a madhouse than of an entrance way to the courts of paradise. When Jake finally emerged he took Albert severely to task.

"What d'yuh think," he asked aggrievedly, "that I'm gonna do all the work and split half the jack?" He looked at the four bits the sleek one had slipped him. "You'd a made as much yourself if you'd a floped. If you wanna train with me, kid, do as I say, see?"

Albert signified that he saw.

"Awright. I'm a good guy for now. Let's eat." But providence was to direct otherwise.

"That's 'em! I saw both of 'em with my own eyes. They stole the meat. I saw both of 'em steal it, I tell you."

A thin, vinegarish looking woman pointed them out to the cop and the weight of the law fell on both Jake and Albert in the shape of the policeman's heavy hands.

"All right, me hearties. Easy now, easy, or I'll bat you over the heads with my club."

Albert was almost blubbering. "I never took it. I nev. . ."

"Aw, tell it to the judge."

The patrol clanged up. The policeman herded them in. At the station they were charged with theft and locked up. Jake took it philosophically. "Cheer up, kid, the worse is yet to come. You'll eat regular anyway—tho I ain't sayin' what of." He laughed and stretched himself on the plank. But Albert stared at the white-washed wall, horror in his eyes. A thief. He was in prison—a thief. Somewhere from another cell came a snatch of song: ". . . breakers of the law,

Highwaymen, veggs and wobbles, the worse you ever saw. . .

God bless the day they take me away From the Portland county jail!"

And being only nineteen, and unhardened as yet, he buried his face in his hands and wept.

## Pathétique

It so happened that on a Sunday  
he walks dully and in a lifeless repetition of steps,  
one succeeding the other,  
into the restaurant, and sits down in uninterested manner

upon one of the stools at the counter.  
He is wearing a dark grey jacket  
that is baggy from overuse,  
worn trousers and shabby cap.

While waiting for the order  
he carefully looks at his shoes.  
They are very new and commonplace—a bargain;  
and he is wanting  
to feel a certain pride in them,  
but his expression is only tired and dull.

He should be about forty;  
and he already has that stamp of barrenness  
that you see on blighted trees  
when there is a cluster of dry leaves  
hanging limply from the trunk.

—OSCAR RYAN.

# Clara Zetkin and Her Life Work

By KAETHE DUNCKER  
(Berlin)

COMRADE Clara Zetkin whose 70th birthday we shall celebrate on the 5th of July, is one of the old guard of the international workingclass movement. She is one of those who have passed through the "heroic age," through that time when it required much greater courage and heroism to champion the cause of socialism than it does today, for then there was nothing but persecution and personal sacrifices for the upholders of socialism.

Clara Zetkin was one of that small group of personalities including Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, which set its stamp upon the social-democratic party or at any international congress and who represented a part of the tradition of the international workingclass movement. And, most important of all, she was one of those few who, when the German social-democratic party developed into a petty bourgeois party of reformism, never sacrificed her revolutionary principles. In this respect her name is bracketed with the names of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring. When in these days we honor the life work of Clara Zetkin therefore, it is a considerable part of the history of the international workingclass movement which passes before our eyes.

The work of Clara Zetkin in the proletarian women's movement shows us more clearly than anything else, the great possibilities of a leading personality inside a mass movement. Mass movements do not grow from thin air; they develop more or less quickly under the direct influence of economic transformations. But the task of a leading personality is to assist that which lies in the sub-consciousness of a mass movement to give itself conscious expression and thus to ensure that the movement itself, which might otherwise expend its forces in a disorganized and wasteful manner, expresses itself in a united and consolidated form. Assuming, as was the case with Clara Zetkin, that the leader is perfectly clear with regard to the idea expressed in the mass movement and with this clarity combines a passionate devotion and a prodigious will.

The work of women in industry in Germany had already taken on a very considerable extent in the eighties of the last century. In 1882 there were four and a quarter millions of women apart from female servants, earning their own living. There were at this time, it is true, only a million and a half directly engaged in industry and commerce. But in the textile industry alone, over 300,000 women were working, and great numbers in the tailoring, dressmaking, tobacco and paper industries.

The objective conditions for a growth of class consciousness amongst women were therefore present. The subjective circumstances were not favorable to this growth. The majority of the women workers was petty-bourgeois in its ideas and still bound to the churches. The women who were compelled to go out into the world, clung nevertheless to the idea of the past, and above all to the principle that the women belonged in the home. They regarded women's work as a temporary phenomenon both for the individual and for society as a whole. No wonder! The men who had become class-conscious, were nevertheless still backward and reactionary in this respect. Added to this it was very difficult to approach the women with socialist agitation. Many of them worked in small-scale workshops or at home and further, the application of the laws relating to coalition and organization—as kaleidoscopic as the map of the German federal states—made it difficult to organize the women in trade unions and rendered their political organization impossible almost everywhere.

All these circumstances together prevented the speedy growth of a conscious proletarian women's movement. Small groups which might act as collecting points for the rest of the country formed themselves only in a few industrial districts, such as Berlin, the textile districts of Saxony, in Mannheim, etc. On the other hand the bourgeois women's movement had already attained a very considerable growth and did not lack intelligent leaders and eloquent speakers. In its first flush this movement even felt itself to be the representative of all women irrespective of class distinctions. It commenced to make propaganda for its ideas and its organizations amongst the petty bourgeois-proletarian sections, amongst the women working at home, amongst the tailoresses, washerwomen, etc. It was therefore of very great importance that the proletarian women had a leader in Clara Zetkin, Marxistically schooled, manysided, eloquent in speech and writings, to organize the isolated small groups of proletarian women under the banner of the international workingclass movement.

In the eighties of the last century Clara Zetkin lived abroad, first in Switzerland and then in Paris. She was active in the workingclass movement both in speech and in writing, together with her husband, Ossip Zetkin, a Russian refugee expelled from Germany. After her husband's death and the abolition of the anti-socialist laws, Clara Zetkin returned to Germany where she found employment in the publishing house of Dietz in Stuttgart. In 1892 she took over the social democratic women's newspaper "Gleichheit" ("Equality") which had been founded a year previously by Emma Ihrerer under the name "Arbeiterin" (Woman Worker).

Clara Zetkin devoted her chief activity as editor and speaker in numerous meetings, to making the



proletarian women class-conscious. She taught them to realize that women's work in industry and commerce was an economic necessity which, despite the dangers for health and the family which it brought with it, was nevertheless calculated to free the women from their economic and spiritual subordination. The women should fight not the necessity for then to take part in industry and commerce, she taught, but the accompanying evils. Comrade Zetkin did everything possible to save the proletarian women from falling into the tow of the bourgeois women's movement. It was of very great assistance to her that she was exactly acquainted with the bourgeois movement for the rights of women, for she had been as a student a follower of Auguste Schmidt, one of the leading pioneers of this movement. She was exactly acquainted with the whole complex of phrases with which the bourgeois women's movement habitually transformed the economic and class conditions into a struggle for "Freedom, Equality and Fraternity!"

With great clearness, Clara Zetkin defined that which separated the proletarian women from the bourgeois women's movement. This is shown in many articles which appeared in "Gleichheit," and in her speech upon the "Agitation Amongst the Women" held at the Congress of the Social Democratic Party in Gotha in 1896, and also her speech upon "Women's Suffrage" made before the Women's Conference in Mannheim in 1906. She showed how the bourgeois women were being condemned by the economic circumstances ever more and more to spinsterhood and thus, being faced with the question of existence, became ever more and more involved in contradictions to the men of their class. They were fighting for the right to take an equal part in public life, commercial activity and training, and their struggle was opposed by those who feared the competition of female labor in their own field. The proletarian women on the other hand, did not need to fight for the right to take part in industrial and commercial life, the needs of capitalism to exploit her removed the necessity. They were in the same front with the men, and their conditions were still more oppressive. For equal work they received less pay and were then forced to work at home when their day's work outside was at an end, to fulfil their wifely and motherly duties.

The struggle of the proletarian women for freedom would therefore have to take a different direction to that taken by the bourgeois women's movement. There should be no competition with the men of their class, but a fight with the men of their class against capitalist exploitation. The proletarian women would also struggle for political rights, but not for reasons based upon the natural position of women, but solely as a means to better their situation. The slogan of the proletarian women's movement was not a struggle of the sexes, but a struggle of the classes.

That was what Clara Zetkin made clear to the proletarian women. It is thanks to Clara Zetkin that the proletarian women's movement in Germany has kept itself free from the bourgeois suffrage agitation and acted from the very beginning as part and parcel of the general workingclass movement.

Whilst pointing out the general line to be followed, she also took pains to ensure that this ideology should spread widely and deeply. As editor of "Gleichheit" she worked to create a school of capable agitators to work amongst the proletarian women armed with good material and fully conscious of their aims. Therefore, "Gleichheit" dealt with every political question which arose and attempted to rouse the interest and understanding of the proletarian women for these questions. Clara Zetkin also sought to win capable collaborators for "Gleichheit," and she fulfilled her pedagogical tasks conscientiously. Very often she worked through and thoroughly altered the contributions which arrived for "Gleichheit" and when the authors protested, she never failed to explain the reasons for the alterations in long and detailed letters. Finally the authors were compelled to admit that she was right, and thus they learnt very much.

This was the work of Clara Zetkin amongst the women. She edited "Gleichheit" until 1916 when

the war enthusiasts of the Central Committee of the Party took it out of her hands. She led the women's conferences which from 1900 on biannually preceded the Congress of the Social Democratic Party. The pamphlets which she wrote during this period, have mostly had their origin from speeches made at such women's conferences.

But, with all this, we have only touched upon a part of her work. Clara Zetkin was not only the leader of the proletarian women's movement, but she took a prominent part in the general Party struggle. From 1892 onwards she attended the Party congresses first as a delegate and then from 1895 on as a member of the highest Party body, the Control Commission. And, as has already been mentioned, she belonged from the beginning to the revolutionary Marxist wing of the Party.

In the nineties of the last century the development began in the social democratic party which was completed by the world war. The party of the proletarian revolution became a petty-bourgeois party of reformism; the ideology of the class struggle was pressed to one side by the ideology of industrial peace, coalition and industrial democracy. The international social democracy exposed itself as the national party for the defense of the fatherland. But this radical change of front took place slowly and at first imperceptibly. The right wing, Vollmar, Bernstein, David, Heine, Schippel, attempted to alter the attitude of the Party to the bourgeois state. Thus the criticism of militarism was weakened, the colonial policy was ratified, the ratification of the budget justified, etc. In short, the way was being prepared for the coalition policy to follow later.

Unfortunately the Party did not realize how dangerous these beginnings were. At the end of the nineties, Bernstein was still opposed by the whole Party. At that time even Kautsky fought against the man who was trying to undermine revolutionary Marxism. But ten years later the reformist wing of the Party had grown tremendously in power. The worst thing of all was that the previous critics under the leadership of Kautsky took up a mediatory "centrist" policy. During the whole period Clara Zetkin fought tirelessly upon the extreme left wing of the Party. She opposed Bernstein in 1898, she condemned the deviation in the debate upon militarism, she attacked those who had voted for the budget, and declared herself in favor of the mass strike as a revolutionary weapon. When Kautsky became "tame," Clara Zetkin belonged together with Rosa Luxemburg and Mehring to the little group of "incorrigible" lefts who did not even hesitate on the 4th of August, 1914.

After the outbreak of the world war, Comrade Clara Zetkin was the first to attempt to restore the broken connections with the comrades in other countries. In March, 1915 she convened the Women's Conference in Berne, at which she unfortunately could not be present as she was given no passport and was watched closely in her home in Stuttgart. The distribution of the manifesto of Berne cost her several months of preventative detention. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring she issued the first and only number of the "International" which was able to appear in Germany during the war. Logically her way went over the Spartacus Bund to the Communist Party and the Third International.

We are glad that the brave old fighter has had the good fortune to be a witness and a collaborator in the work of building up Socialism in the Soviet Union. May she be a witness of the victory of Communism in Germany!

## THE SONS OF ESAU

Oh, we are Esau's shaggy sons,  
Our birthright we have sold  
For pottage—we the hungry ones  
Who wore the yoke of old.

No blessing from ancestral hands  
Shall rest upon our head.  
We have no fruits, no flocks, no lands,  
Ours but a crust of bread.

We shall not wail against our fate  
As did our ancient sire,  
But we shall toil both soon and late,  
Made strong by great desire.

Our labors shall not be in vain  
As serfs of shop and soil,  
For we shall take what we shall gain  
By blood and sweat of toil.

And we, the beaten ones, at last  
Shall wield our rightful powers—  
The sons of Jacob ruled the past,  
The future shall be ours!

HENRY REICH, JR.

# The Danger of War

By PIERRE SEMARD (Paris)

Comrade Semard wrote this article in the Santé Prison in Paris. After recovering his freedom on the 25th of June by a Royalist trick, he returned to his post in the Party without making any attempt to hide from the authorities. He wished neither to make use of royalist mercy nor to give himself up voluntarily to the courts. The courts have given him a period of ten days in which to present himself at the prison to serve his sentence.—Ed.

THE workingclass of France is under the pressure of the bourgeois offensive: reduction of wages and growing increases of prices; increase of indirect taxation and customs which fall upon the proletarian consumers; ruthless measures of rationalization the costs of which the workers have to pay. Hand in hand with the economic offensive there is also a political offensive whose object is to crush the resistance of the proletariat: persecution of the advance guard of the workingclass, the Communist Party; the arrest and imprisonment of its officials attacks upon the trade union movement; abolition of the right to strike, etc.

At the same time the danger of war internationally is growing. International capitalism is arming for the final struggle under the leadership of British imperialism against the first Workers' and Peasants' State in the world, against the bulwark of the workers in all other countries. It is the broad masses of toiling humanity in the capitalist countries who are to bleed in this next war for the salvation of the capitalist system in the whole world. The French bourgeoisie is also taking up its position in the war front. Although its diplomats hypocritically deny this to the outside world, yet the actions of French bourgeoisie show that it is no better

than the British. Side by side with the British imperialists it is already carrying on war in China against the revolution. In Indo-China and in the other French colonies it is oppressing the native population and trying to throttle its movement for emancipation. And in France itself it is systematically preparing for the new war. The military budgets and the shameful mobilization law of the socialist Paul Boncour which aim to place old men, women and children, in the services of the militarists as also the trade unions and the co-operatives, mean nothing less. There is no doubt about the enemy in this new war. The furious campaign of the French press against the Soviet Union should open the eyes of the blindest.

In this international situation, the National Conference of the Communist Party of France will meet on the 26th of June. The chief tasks which it will have to perform arise with iron necessity from the double pressure of the capitalists.

First of all the Party must set its aims in the struggle against the campaign of the bourgeoisie against the living conditions of the workingclass which threatens also the existence of the workingclass organizations. Secondly, it must prepare and organize the struggle to prevent the planned armed attack of the imperialists against the Soviet Union and for the destruction of the Chinese revolution. This task must be the central point in the coming National Conference and indeed in the whole policy of the French Communist Party.

Some of our comrades assume that the danger of war is not immediate, that we have still sufficient time to awaken and mobilize the masses. That is a great mistake which may have serious consequences. For the latest events show with all clarity that the danger of war is increasing and that it is as great as it was on the evening of the 4th of August 1914. Just as in the period which preceded the great imperialist slaughter, all the imperialist states are arming feverishly. Almost everywhere incidents are taking place reminiscent of Agadir and Sarajevo. The clouds of war are gathering over the Pacific. Big guns have already sounded in China.

The intervention of the imperialists in China is not aimed to defend the concessions, but it is a part of the offensive plan of the great powers against the Soviet Union. It is necessary that all workers, all toilers realize clearly—for some of them are not yet conscious of it—that under the leadership of capitalism a real class war of the imperialists against the workers and peasants of China and the Soviet Union is in preparation.

Communism threatens the capitalist states from

within. It threatens them still more from Russia where it is in power, and it threatens them in China where it acts as a spur to the revolutionary movement. Thus capitalism can feel the ground rocking under its feet. That is the reason for its determined preparation for a class war. In order to create the anti-Bolshevist united front, the capitalists of the various countries are striving, up to the moment without success, to milder their mutual contradictions. If they once succeed, then the war against revolutionary China and against the Soviet Union can take its course.

According to the imperialist plans, the Soviet Union is to be attacked upon all front at once. First of all economically and politically through the breaking off of diplomatic and commercial relations and by the formation of an economic and financial blockade of the Soviet Union. Then militarily; by the forcing of the border states into war, in China by the destruction of the revolutionary movement and finally with the assistance of the reactionary generals, by attacking the borders of the Soviet Union in the Far East.

All the forces of the working and peasant masses must be mobilized tirelessly against this imperialist plan to force an anti-Bolshevist war, against this hellish attack upon the bulwark of peace in the world, the Soviet Union. This is the task before the Communist Parties. The united front of the imperialists must be met with the united front of the workingclass, the united front of the toilers.

The Communist Party of France will place itself at the head of the action against the threatening war. Recently it has been shown, for instance by the parliamentary by-election in the agricultural department Aube and in the municipal elections in Paris and the surrounding country, that the influence of the Communist Party both inside the workingclass and inside the peasantry, is steadily growing. This explains the bitter campaign of the French government, of the Minister of the Interior Sarraut and the Minister of Justice Barthou against the Communist Party and its leaders. But it is just the man hunt after the Communists which proves to the broad masses that it is only the Communists who are feared by the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party alone is the defender of the old revolutionary traditions of the French proletariat. The socialists have entered the united front with the bourgeoisie. And, as the new mobilization law of Paul Boncour proves, they even do not hesitate to take the initiative in preparing for new war. Despite all persecution, however, the Communist Party will continue its struggle against the offensive of capital and for the defense of the Soviet Union and it will double and treble its forces in this fight. Our immediate task is an intense political enlightenment of the masses, and to give our rising influence an organizational expression, so that we may do our duty victoriously.



The  
**COMRADE**  
Edited by the Young  
A Page for Workers'



Young  
**SECTION**  
Pioneers of America  
and Farmers' Children

## RIGHT WING — LEFT WING

All children know that animals that fly have two wings, a right wing and a left wing, but very few children know that in workers' organizations there are also two wings. There is a right wing and a left wing. In this little article we are very briefly going to explain to you the nature of these wings. These wings are not like the wings of a bird that help it to fly, but these wings represent two different groups in the labor movement.

The left wing is that group of workers (many of whom are organized in the Trade Union Educational League) that stands always ready to fight for the interests of the workers against the bosses. They fight not only against the bosses but also against union leaders who betray the workers to the bosses. They also explain to the workers the need of organizing all the workers into a Labor Party—so that they could elect their own representatives to congress instead of electing republicans and democrats who are against the workers. This is in brief the nature of the left wing.

The right wing, consists mainly of two elements, some misguided workers, and traitorous leaders. These leaders betray the workers to the bosses. They fight the left wing as in the furriers' strike. They shoot the workers when they revolt as in Vienna recently. Many other such examples can be given, which prove that the right wing is the worst enemy of the workingclass.

(Articles on this subject will be welcomed and printed).

## NO MORE BOSS

By JOSEPH SHEMETH.

The capitalist, the short fat man,  
Just now thinks that he's the boss.  
But when the workers are united,  
The rich boss will be a total loss.

## IN GENEVA

There's a land across the ocean  
Where the great world powers meet  
Each one is with zeal discussing  
What to do with the others' fleet.

Each power in its own way is trying  
To deceive all the others there  
Trying to show it is very weak  
On the sea and in the air.

In reality all are ready,  
In case there should be war  
With many kinds of weapons  
And men from near and far.

Disarmament is but a blind  
To hide real motives there  
For all have men and all have fleets  
And all have ships of the air.

Workers, if they ask us to fight,  
Fight in their bloody war  
Let us hurl a defiant NO at them  
And ask them who they are.

That we should sacrifice our lives  
And kill our fellow men  
Only to give more profits  
And make it pleasant for them.

Workers, our answer must always be  
A loud and defiant NO  
Not for boss or profiteer  
To battle will we go.

But when at length the time has come  
The time that soon must be  
Then will we strike a mighty blow  
That the workers might be free.

## Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 25 is: R E V O L T. The following have answered correctly:

Annie Butkovich, Superior, Wyoming; Sam Sherman, New York City; Elsie Melniker, Ferndale, N. Y.; Ruth Youkelson, New York City.

## More Answers to Puzzle No. 23

Lillian Ballint, Barton, Ohio; Helen Marcel, Paterson, N. J.; Abraham Fischer, New York City; Mae Malyk, New York City; Veró Porrino, Corona, L. I., N. Y.; Dorothy Rubin, Minneapolis, Minn.; D. Melniker, Ferndale, N. Y.; Elsie Melniker, Ferndale, N. Y.; Edith Borax, Winthrop, Mass.; Florence Hayden, St. Paul, Minn.

## THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE NO. 25

This week's puzzle is a word puzzle. The rules are as follows: 1 in the puzzle stands for A in the answer, 2 for B, etc. Try and do it. Let's go!

19 8 8 15 15 12	9 19	20 8 5
3 8 9 12 4 18 5 14 19	19 8 15 16	1 14 4
20 8 5	20 5 1 3 8 5 18	9 19
3 8 9 12 4 18 5 14 19	2 15 19 19.	20 8 5

Send all answers to Daily Worker Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., N. Y. C., giving your name, age, address and number of puzzle.

## NOTICE!

The Young Pioneer Camp announces that they are now accepting registration of workers' children for a vacation at their camp. All information about the camp may be obtained at Room 41, 108 East 14th St., or at 106 University Place, every day from 12 to 8 p. m. Phone Stuyvesant 7770.

# THE ANGEL OF PEACE IN NICARAGUA



Cartoons  
of the  
Week  
by  
JACOB BURCK



BURCK