

mination to India? These first steps should be to accede immediately to the Nationalist demands, as expressed through the resolutions adopted by the Legislature, and the removal of the above-mentioned grievances of the Indian working-class. Nothing less; this is the irreducible minimum.

In conclusion, let it be remarked that the Labour Party should not approach the Indian question in the spirit of charity or humanitarianism. The dismemberment of the Empire and the consequent liberation of the colonial masses are conditions which will largely determine the end of wage-slavery in Britain. The fact that the bourgeoisie worship the Empire and will not countenance any tampering with it, should be sufficient to prove that this sacrosanct Empire is but a golden chain for the British proletariat. If the Labour Party would be the true leader of the British working-class, let it not defend, but help the break-up of the Empire.

Zurich, Sept. 27, 1924.

The Elections in the United States.

By I. Amter.

The election campaign is in full progress in the United States. Although it has not reached its height, it is assuming all the violence of preceding elections — that is to say, violence in words. At the present time, and judging from the response that the three main candidates — Coolidge, Davis and La Follette — are receiving from the electorate, the main fight is between La Follette and Coolidge.

To understand correctly what these men stand for, it will be necessary to go back a little. Coolidge is the so-called Rockefeller man. That is to say, he is the candidate of the Republican Party, which Rockefeller is supposed to have in his pocket. Davis, the candidate of the Democratic Party, is a Morgan man. Of this there is no question, for he is an attorney for the firm of Morgan and Co. Now let us look at the vice-presidential candidates, and we get a different picture. Dawes is the vice-presidential candidate of the Republican Party. But Dawes is the agent of Morgan, and served his master in the arrangement of the Expert Commission report, which bears his name. Thus the Republican Party unites on its ticket both Rockefeller and Morgan. The Republican convention took place on June 10 — at a time, when the Farmer-Labour movement was growing strong and when La Follette was declaring himself definitely for so-called "radical" measures. Big capital, therefore, took no chances and united against what they feared would be a landslide toward the radicals.

The Republican convention advocated straight reactionary measures. Everything is peaceful and glorious in the United States, Coolidge is the best of all presidents and nothing better could happen in the United States than that he should be re-elected. The oil scandals did not bother Coolidge — for are not political scandals the rule in the United States? And Coolidge and Wall Street know that the American people care nothing about such things.

On the other hand, Coolidge boasted that he had reduced the national budget by \$ 2,700,000,000. That was supposed to be an achievement of real practical value which the farmers especially would recognize. The war budget was not reduced to any extent — but in view of the world situation, Coolidge felt that he could convince the voters of the necessity of "preparedness".

The Republican convention ran very smoothly. There was no dissension, the Old Guard (Lodge and his colleagues) were completely removed from influence and control, and Coolidge took charge of the Party. Judged by this "unity", the ranks of the Republican Party are well consolidated.

The Democratic convention took place on July 1. The Democratic Party is an opposition party. It regularly holds its convention after the Republican Party and says "no" to everything that the Republican Party says "yes" to. This time, however, there was not much difference between the two conventions. The Democrats are no longer for free trade. They advocate a tariff, but a moderation of the Republican tariff (which is pure demagoguery.) Only one "issue" stirred the Democratic convention: the Ku Klux Klan issue. Should the Democratic convention denounce the K. K. K. in name? There was a group that demanded it. It looked as if the convention would split, but a compromise was achieved — and the K. K. K. was not named. The question of candidates also threatened to end the convention. McAdoo, son-

in-law of Wilson, was supposed to be the "favourite". He managed to collect the votes of a large number of delegates, but not the two thirds majority required. Smith, the popular Catholic governor of New York, was the next favorite. But it was obvious that Smith could not be nominated — in view of the strong K. K. K. movement, and in view of the fact that Smith is a "wet" and would like the repeal of the Volstead prohibition bill. One hundred and three ballots, taking 16 days, had to be cast, before the "dark horse" was found. Davis, attorney for Morgan and Co. former ambassador to Great Britain, was acclaimed as the man to lead the Democratic Party. He is reliable. He knows what Wall Street wants and is proud to be Morgan's attorney.

On July 4, the Conference for Progressive Political Action held its convention. It came together to adopt the nomination of La Follette, who proposed himself at the very beginning. La Follette has a so-called "radical" programme. He demands nationalization of railways, water power and other natural resources. He demands liberal credits for the farmers, right of organization for the workers. He demands the passage of a bill giving Congress the right to repass a bill declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. But most of all, he demands the disruption of the trusts. He wants competition — and the trusts are monopolies. Back to the "good old days, when competition was the life of trade".

What, however, did the Conference for Progressive Political Action do? Whom does it embrace? The Chairman of the convention, William Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists, stated it very clearly: "Our movement is broad enough to include bankers, manufacturers, business men, liberals, farmers and workers." And it includes them all. The financial backer of the movement is Rudolph Spreckels, the San Francisco sugar and coffee magnate. (It is said that he has put up \$ 3,000,000 for the campaign.) In the movement are all kinds of so-called "progressives". This is the Progressive Party, which although not yet duly incorporated, will be formed immediately after the elections. This is the "movement for the formation of a Farmer-Labour Party", which the C. P. P. A. once advocated. In reality, it is nothing but a hotch potch of all kinds of petty-bourgeois elements under the control of big finance. The big bourgeoisie has played its game well.

In the C. P. P. A. is the Socialist Party, who heralded the nomination of La Follette as a great victory. At last the workers were getting together in a Labour Party, for which the Socialists had fought so long. Debs considered it the achievement of 25 years of struggle — this "labour party" with Spreckels as its financial backer. But all is not smooth in the Socialist Party. A few days after the convention of the C. P. P. A., the Socialist Party held its convention. Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish "Forward" of New York, and leader of the Socialist Jewish masses, made a long, violent speech. He, too, rejoiced in the formation of the "labour party" — but he admitted it would be very difficult for him to convince his socialist readers of the necessity of voting for La Follette. He would be met with incredulity and defiance — but it would have to be done. He declared that the Socialists have been treading the wrong path in America for twenty-five years. "Marxism does not apply to America", he stated in stentorian tones. When warned by Hillquit, the leader of the party, that he was speaking not to the convention alone, but to the whole world, Cahan declared that the truth had to come out some time or other. Thus, the Socialists gave up the class struggle in America, too, as they have done all over the world.

That did not end the plight of the Socialists. Debs, in answer to a letter from Foster, in which the latter asked him how he could tolerate this piece of treachery on the part of the Socialist Party, replied that the Socialists do not formulate their policy to please the Communists, and that they have no "vatican at Moscow to give them orders". No, they have no Moscow to give them orders — and nothing else. The Socialists are now completely swallowed up by the C. P. P. A., the progressive movement — the third bourgeois party. And what has this entailed? In the State of Illinois, the "progressives" have nominated for governor a reactionary republican, Len Small, who last year was charged with embezzling State funds. And the Socialists must support him.

Before the convention of the Farmer-Labour Party, which took place on June 17, La Follette stated he would not accept the support of any organization containing the Communists, who plot the overthrow of the American government, who are acting under the orders of Moscow, etc., etc. The result was that at

the June 17 convention, at which the National Farmer-Labour Party was to be formed no party was formed, but only a National Executive Committee elected. The leaders of the Minnesota Farmer-Labour Party one of the largest organisations represented at the convention, were supporters of La Follette and wished to have him as the candidate of the Farmer-Labour Party at any cost. The majority of the delegates to the convention, however, were against La Follette. Nevertheless, a compromise was agreed upon to the effect that the convention should provisionally nominate its own candidates, who however should withdraw provided La Follette accepted the nomination only of the Farmer-Labour Party, that he accepted the programme of the Party, put himself under the discipline of the Party, and submitted the control of the election fund to the National Executive Committee of the Party. To be sure, he would not accept these terms, which should be regarded as a matter of course in any working class organisation.

The Minnesota leaders were not convinced by La Follette's refusal. On the contrary, they deserted the Farmer-Labour Party and went over to La Follette. This movement was followed by other groups, so that the Communists who had conducted the most militant campaign for the formation of the Farmer-Labour Party, were compelled to revise their plans. With the consent of the National Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labour Party, they withdrew the candidates and put up candidates of the Workers Communist Party, Comrades Foster and Gitlow. The Communist candidates are receiving the support of the farmer-labour parties that have remained loyal to the cause of a revolutionary-farmer-labour movement. Locals of the organised workers who have advocated the formation of a Farmer-Labour Party, are defying their renegade leaders and are supporting Foster and Gitlow. Gompers, much against his will (as expressed in his journal, the Federationist), has been compelled to support La Follette. But it will be a lukewarm support, with no movement to aid him.

The Communists, with very limited election funds at their disposal — in a country that demands the most sensational methods — are conducting a most vigorous campaign. All the Party members are heart and soul in the campaign. But it is a trying campaign. To get on the ballot, a large number of signatures is necessary. In the State of New York 15,000, in Ohio 20,000. Up to the present, the Communists have got on the ballot in six States, but hope to procure sufficient signatures to get raised in this campaign and the radical and revolutionary workers on the ballot in 15 States. In any case, the Communist flag is raised in this campaign and the radical and revolutionary workers and farmers are being faced with the real issues: against the Dawes plan, for recognition of Soviet Russia, against imperialism, land for the users, a moratorium for the farmers, the right of organisation for the workers, the guarantee of constitutional rights, the ending of child labour, for a Soviet Government in the United States.

La Follette, who is a Republican and still a member of the Republican Party, is centering his attack on Coolidge, and is completely ignoring Davis. He knows that Wall Street is behind Coolidge, who is just the sure reactionary and fascist that they need. Hence La Follette is going into the Republican States, and, according to the Republican papers, represents a real danger to the Republican Party. La Follette claims that he may capture New York, but is sure he will get the majority in all the wheat farming States, from Illinois to the western coast. Coolidge is now carrying on a vigorous campaign against La Follette in these States. The Workers Communist Party also recognizes that La Follette is its chief enemy. Being the counterpart of MacDonald in the United States, he is stirring up petty-bourgeois illusions in the minds of the American workers and farmers. The Workers Communist Party is unmasking the "honesty" and "sincerity" of Bob La Follette, who accepts the financial support of one of the big industrial and financial barons of the country.

The coming elections, will result in a realignment of political forces. The major bourgeois parties will combine. La Follette will form a petty-bourgeois "liberal" party, with bankers as its controllers, and against these two parties will be formed a Real revolutionary Farmer-Labour Party with the Communists as the inspirers and mainspring — the Communists, because all other working-class forces have turned traitor to the aims of the workers and poor farmers. Hence these elections are of great significance in the political life of the country.