



Chas. Boyle.

Where the Hell's the Dump Cart?

THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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The British Conference on World Trade Union Unity

By Wm. Z. Foster



FOSTER

IF further proof were needed of the growing revolutionary spirit of the British working class, such proof was abundantly furnished by the Unity Conference of the National Minority Movement, held in Battersea Town Hall, on January 25th. There were present 630 delegates from all over Great Britain, representing more than 600,000 workers in practically every important trade union in the country. The whole thing was a blaze of revolutionary spirit. It was a striking demonstration of the spirit of international unity, now spreading like wildfire among the millions organized in the British trade unions.

The conference, which was made up of delegates from trade unions, cooperatives, unemployed, etc., was held in the face of sharp opposition. The old-line trade union leaders could see in it the handwriting on the wall for their antiquated system of unionism which has cost the British workers so dearly. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, invited to attend, abruptly declined the invitation. The leaders of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Amalgamated Engineering Union (Machinists) went the General Council one better and sharply warned their members not to attend. The capitalist press profusely praised the reactionary leaders for this stand; suddenly the mouthpieces of the capitalists became militant defenders of "legitimate" trade unionism against the diabolical assaults of the left wing. They made much of the fact that Cook, recently elected left wing secretary of the national Miners' Union, did not attend the conference and preside over it, as advertised. The reason for this was that when he agreed to preside the date for the conference was set for January 24. Later, it was changed to the 25th. This conflicted

with an already scheduled important miners' meeting which he could not cancel. But Cook sent a copy of his speech, fully identifying himself with the Minority movement. He said, "I am proud to be a disciple of Karl Marx and a humble follower of Lenin."

More active opposition was offered by those tools of big capital, the British fascisti. Before the meeting they plastered the whole neighborhood (which is the district of Saklatvala, the Communist M. P.) with posters screaming "To Hell with the Communists. Join the Fascisti!" They also issued a couple of pamphlets bitterly attacking the Minority Movement. These were distributed widely. Then the fascisti, representing themselves to be officials of the Minority Movement, secured entrance to the hall early in the morning and sprinkled the place with foul-smelling chemicals.

The Urge to World Unity

The specific object of the Conference, in addition to generally furthering left-wing propaganda and organization in the trade unions, was to organize a great drive behind the R. I. L. U. plan for the calling of an international convention at which both the Amsterdam and Red Internationals shall be merged and the world's labor movement united. This drive for unity has developed powerful support in the British unions. The British trade unions are fast coming to realize that Amsterdam, with its policy of class collaboration and support of the Dawes' plan, can do nothing for them. They are turning their eyes more and more to revolutionary methods, and Russia is an inspiration to them.

When the delegates of the Russian trade unions came to the Hull convention of the British unions, they were given a mighty ovation. They invited the British to send a delegation to Russia. This was done, and the British delegates got a still more wonderful

demonstration at the Russian Trade Union Congress. The British delegates endorsed the plan of the Russians for world unity. Moreover, they brought home a report glowingly supporting the Russian revolution and pointing out its achievements. The delegation was rooded by Purcell, President of the British Trades Union Congress and chairman of the Amsterdam International.

These moves, backed by the left wing generally in the unions, left Thomas and the other right-wingers gasping. But they have been unable to develop any real opposition to the course of events. The General Council adopted their Russian delegation's report



J.T. MURPHY OF THE ENGINEERS' UNION (MACHINISTS).

unanimously, and are preparing to set up an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee to fight for world unity. This creates a ticklish situation in the Amsterdam International. The British unions are the backbone of that organization, and if the right wing, led by Oudgeest, Grossman, Jouhaux, et al, who are bitterly fighting against unity, attempt to block the combined efforts of the Russians and the British, it may result in splitting the Amsterdam International. That would be a

fatal blow to it and would definitely mark the ascendancy of the left wing in the world labor movement.

The resolution adopted at the Battersea Unity Conference supported the policy of the General Council of the British trade unions. It said:

"International unity, to fight capitalism, not to defend it, can only be achieved if the labor movement of all countries, and particularly our own, succeeds in forcing the Amsterdam International to agree to the convening, together with the R. I. L. U., of a world trade union congress. At this Congress, representatives of all the trade union organizations affiliated to both the Amsterdam and the R. I. L. U., as well as those trade unions outside any international organization, shall be present. Only at such a world congress as this will it be possible to unify our forces. We must break with the policy of class peace, and collaboration with the League of Nations, that powerful instrument of capitalism, and create an international leadership fit and willing to lead the battles of the working class against the capitalists, under the banner of one trade union movement."

The aim of the Minority Movement is to stir the masses and to swing them definitely into an irresistible demand for trade union unity, one that cannot be betrayed by weak or treacherous leadership. The resolution was moved by the veteran, Tom Mann, chairman of the Unity Conference, and it was seconded by another veteran, A. A. Gossip, Secretary of the National of Furnishing Trades. Tom Mann looked younger than ever. He enthused the whole conference with his contagious vigor and militancy. Many

speakers supported the resolution. I was struck by four features of their debate. One was their splendid ability as floor-men; quite evidently they were trade union militants of long standing. Another was their revolutionary spirit and understanding of Marxian and Leninist principles, still another was the definite close-to-home illustrations they gave on the need for unity. To them the fight against the Dawes' plan was no far-fetched thing but an immediate bread-and-butter question that could only be solved by powerful and revolutionary organization. And, finally, I was struck with the compactness and homogeneity of the gathering. All seemed to think and react alike. It was such a contrast to the lack of homogeneity of our working class, made up as it is of 50 races, with a multitude of jangling languages, religions, traditions, etc. The whole conference just breathed of the workshops. It was the real voice of the most intelligent and revolutionary elements of the British working class.

Other Business of the Conference

In addition to the unity resolution, several other matters, more or less related to the immediate purpose of the conference, were handled. One of these was a very able report on the Sixth Russian Trade Union Congress, by Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the National Minority Movement. At the conclusion of his speech, Pollitt was bombarded with scores of questions dealing with every imaginable trade union problem in Russia: piece work, organization of women, children, the blind, condition of the cooperatives, unemployment, etc., etc. The delegates betrayed the broadest knowledge of the situation and the greatest hunger for information. Such a demonstration would be utterly impossible at this time in a general American rank and file trade union conference, stuffed full as the heads of our workers are with lies about Russia, propagated equally by our labor leaders and the capitalists.



HARRY POLLITT OF THE BOILERMAKERS' UNION, NATIONAL SECRETARY OF BRITISH MINORITY MOVEMENT.

An important resolution was one condemning British imperialism and declaring solidarity with the working classes and labor unions throughout the British Empire. With the British workers, the question of imperialism, like that of trade union unity, is a closeup and burning one. The leaders of the Labor Party were scorched by several speakers for their imperialistic policy when in power. Now the conservatives controlling the government are declaring that Labor has no

right to kick against the atrocities in Egypt, India, and elsewhere, because when it was in power it did the same thing. The Amsterdam International was also bitterly assailed for organizing only European workers and for leaving the workers in the colonies and weaker countries to their fate.

A resolution that created much interest was one dealing with the cooperatives. Flocks of delegates wanted to speak on this question, but the limited time cut the actual number of speakers to just a few. From these, however, two things became evident—first, that the cooperative movement of Great Britain is in the hands of reactionaries who have the pettiest kind of a petty bourgeois outlook, and, second, that the left wing is going henceforth to devote a much larger share of its efforts towards utilizing the great field for organization and propaganda presented by the cooperative movement.

The final resolution dealt with the present attempt of the government to put the railroad workers under military control. C. E. Cramp, president of the N. U. R.,

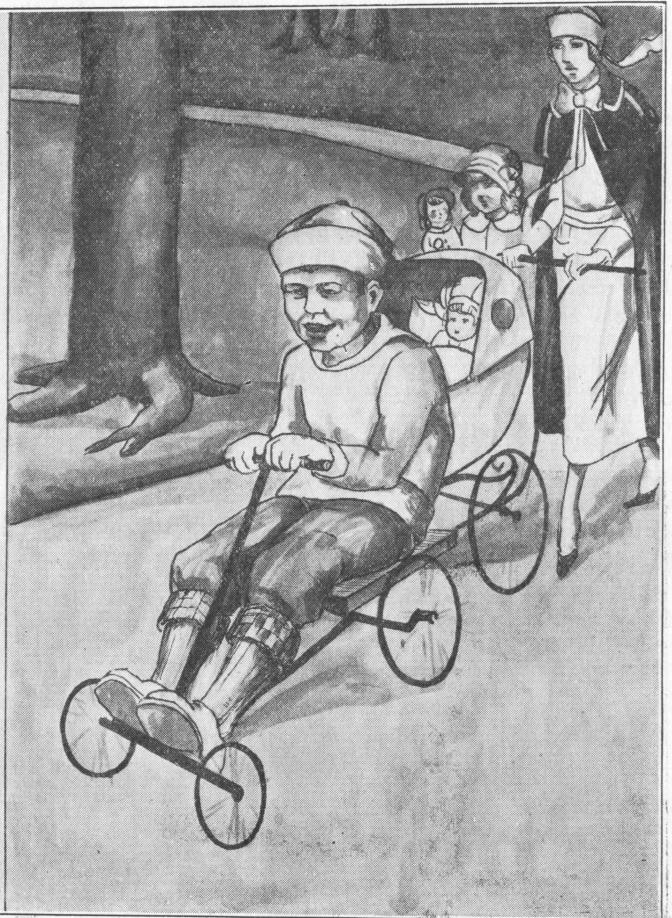
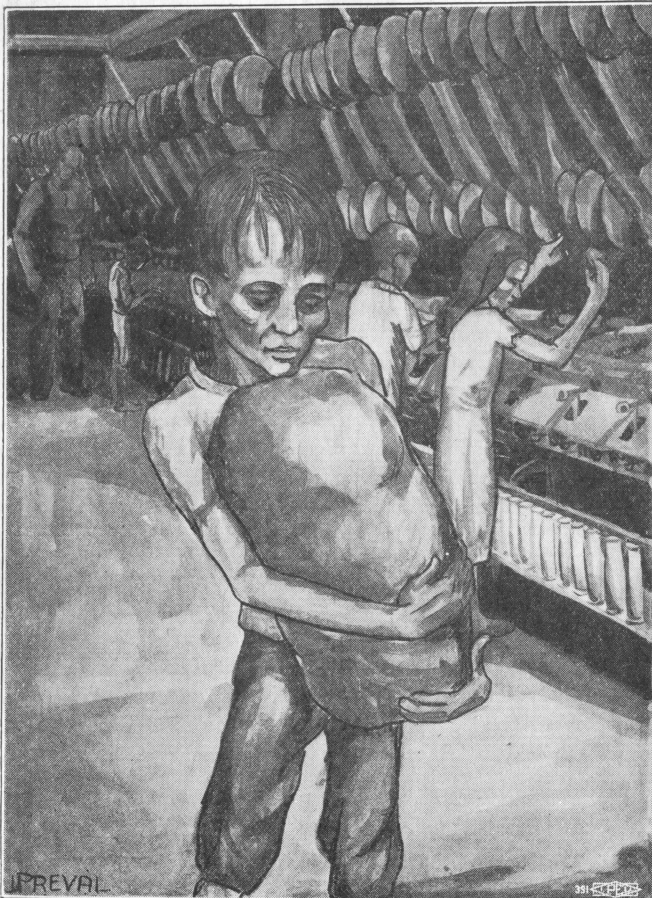
actually had proposed that this infamous measure be accepted if the government gives the unions guarantees that it will not be used to make the rail-roders into scabs during strikes. But the rank and file are in most determined opposition to it. Any attempt to enforce it will surely be met by a great strike. Naturally, the Unity Conference pledged all help to develop such resistance.

There were a number of delegates from foreign countries come to the conference to express their loyalty to the cause of international unity. Several ran dangers of imprisonment to reach the conference. Among those who spoke were Dudilieux, secretary of the C. G. T. U. of France, and representative of the R. I. L. U., Jim Larkin, Hais of Czecho-Slovakia, Miller of Germany, a delegate from India, and Jim Cannon. Comrade Cannon spoke for the Trade Union Educational League. He made a powerful presentation of the meaning of the maneuvers of the A. F. of L. to re-enter the Amsterdam International. He also pointed

(Continued on page 236)

American Shibboleths

No. 1. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.



Drawn by Juanita Preval.

Class and Klan in Herrin

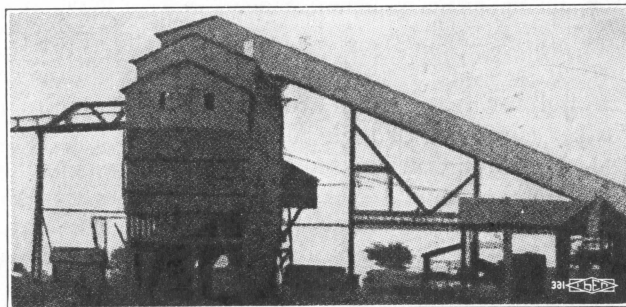
By Thurber Lewis

WILLIAMSON is a coal digging county. It is dotted with mines. The bulk of the population is mining; the balance is small farmer and business. One has only to talk to the miners to see that half or more are foreign born. Most of the foreign diggers are Slavs and Italians. A distinct southern drawl marks the speech of the greater part of the American stock. For the most part, these latter originated in Kentucky and Tennessee. Some of them come from the mountain race of tobacco-chewing, cussin', straight-shooting White Mule distillers who have gained the reputation of being fond of firing off guns at each other. Some drifted in from the southern lowlands, the habitat of the "poor whites," who remain to this day bewildered by the onrush of industrial progress.

The miners in southern Illinois, where Williamson County is, are organized one hundred per cent. Many years of strike and struggle have given them their job control. You can't work in the Illinois mines unless you are a member of the United Mine Workers of America. And the miners are not going to let their union be taken away from them without a fight.

Those miners are proletarian to the bone. The foreign-born diggers have a long proletarian ancestry. The Americans are new to wage-slavery; the generation before this and much of the present were sons of the soil, but it doesn't take many years at heaving black diamonds a thousand feet under to make proletarians—and real ones. One doesn't have to be in Williamson County more than a few days to learn that there is more to the struggles there than just klan and anti-klan.

The open-shoppers learned a lesson in Williamson County



in 1922. The Lester strip mine, outside Herrin, tried to run with scabs and gunmen during the big strike of that year. The gunmen got reckless and shot a couple of strikers. Not many of them got away to tell the story. After the smoke cleared a number of miners were brought to trial. The Illinois Chamber of Commerce gave \$50,000 for the purpose of prosecution. Most of the county officers were old miners. No one was prosecuted.

Why the Klan Came.

The lesson the open-shoppers learned was that frontal attacks on the miners of Williamson County won't work. They have tried force and found the miners ready to fight back. The solid organization of the miners remains a barb in the side of the employers. If they can't break the morale of the men one way they try another. They are trying another way now. The objective is the breaking up of the coal-diggers' unions in southern Illinois; they have singled out Williamson County to start in because that's the storm center. The medium they are using to turn the trick is the ku klux klan.

There are no more killings and there is no more liquor drinking in Williamson County than in any other southern Illinois coal county. Yet the ku klux klan decided that Williamson must be "cleaned up" at all costs—Williamson which had shown it could fight back when the employers launched an offensive against the miners. Why should the ku klux klan suddenly get busy in the neighborhood of Herrin, where the Lester strip mine is? The reason is that the klan is being used in a well-defined move to break down the organization and resistance of the miners.

The ku klux klan slipped into Williamson County on



LESTER STRIP MINE.

padded feet not long after the trials in Marion, the county seat. It worked silently. It gathered in some farmers, pool-room bums, preachers, boys-about-town looking for excitement, bankrupt business men and added to the lot a band of somewhat disreputable importees who were experienced hipshooters. The old-timers with feudist blood in their veins saw the chance to take their winchesters off the wall again. The "purist" element saw an escape for their suppressions and an opportunity to show the "dam furriners" where to get off at. Hard-put-to-it, cockroach business men breathed easily at the thought of being released from the debts that wouldn't let them sleep nights. And the men of God held out open arms to this mysterious stranger which, they had heard, jammed pews in other places. Nobody in the county talks more fervently of the klan than these narrow-souled preachers. The miners were off their guard. They were hoodwinked. What connection was there between them and this strange, and for a while, somewhat amusing movement that talked about "cleaning up" on Williamson? They are finding out.

Union Leader and Kluxer.

Two characters, Ora Thomas and S. Glenn Young, personify the clash of forces in Williamson County. Ora Thomas is a native of southern Illinois. He worked in the mines during most of his life and he joined the miners' union when he was sixteen. His record as an active and influential member of the U. M. W. of A. is unsullied throughout more than twenty years of service. Not a miner for miles around but has a good word for Ora Thomas. He held many responsible positions and was sent as a delegate to many conventions. He was one of the leaders of the battle between miners and scabs at the Lester strip mine; now that he is no more, there is no harm in its being revealed. One story has it that he was the observer in the plane that soared over the mine during the affray. In any case it is certain he was one those who saw in the coming of the Chicago gunmen a threat against the miners' organization and its chances of winning the strike, and that he was ready to play his last part in any trouble the imported gangsters might start. Such was the life of Ora Thomas.

It is not known where S. Glenn Young came from. Some say Texas, some say Kansas, and he used to say Kentucky. No matter. Everyone agrees he had a long career as a free-lancing soldier of fortune behind him. His klan friends glorify his murders and say that he always shot in defense of virtue and his country. He himself was not without vanity and liked to tell of the thirty notches on his gun-handles. He told vivid stories of draft-dodger chasing and moonshiner hunting in the mountain fastnesses of Kentucky. He caught the imagination of the simple minded. But the one fact that has been established beyond question is that many years of his glorious career were spent in the services of scab-herding, strikebreaking agencies. Like as not, those notches represent thirty strikers.

Such was the life of S. Glenn Young.

These men represented the line-up in the struggle in Williamson County. They are both dead. On January twenty-fourth, Ora Thomas stood up under the fire of Glenn Young and two of his bodyguards, shouting defiance and emptying his gun. Young and his men, who had started the shooting, dropped before Thomas went down with nine bullets in his body.

Out to Break Union.

But the struggle goes on. The klan is more domineering than ever. The miners are awakening more and more to the realization that the klan is in Williamson County to break up their morale and their union. The miners are beginning to sense the connection between the Lester mine and the klan. The connection is direct and unquestionable. It has been quite conclusively proved that Glenn Young was one of the mine guards who escaped from the barricade in the Lester mine just previous to the battle. His later raids and search-



ORA THOMAS.

ings as leader of the klan "mop-up" forces, were discovered to have arisen out of a hidden anxiety to uncover machine guns, rifles and other material that could be used as evidence to re-open the mine riot trials in a country whose official machinery is controlled from top to bottom by kleagles and cyclopes. Ora Thomas, leader of the embattled miners, was chosen from the beginning as a target and center of attack by Young and the klansmen. All the elements who were enthusiastic supporters of the prosecution in the trials following on the Herrin affair are found to be equally enthusiastic klansmen. Money was used by Glenn Young and his following in such liberal quantities as to indicate it came from other than local sources. That money was plainly poured out and the klan set on foot in Williamson County by interests bent on the disruption of the mine unions.

The klan fooled people down there at first all right. The openness of the county in the matter of booze gave the K. K. a passable excuse for existence. The eighteenth amendment instead of meaning prohibition is merely a nuisance in Williamson County. Coal miners like their liquor hard. Facing the coal in the roasting heat of the lower veins calls for strong drink when the wearing day is done.

Ten Years of the Amalgamated

By P. Yuditch

DURING the last month of January the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has been celebrating its tenth anniversary. The 13th of October, 1924, marked ten years since the birth of the Amalgamated. It was on October 13, 1914, that the clothing workers were compelled to split the United Garment Workers' Union. On that day, the delegates of the clothing workers were driven out of the convention ruled by the Rickert machine, which was in session in Nashville, Tennessee.

The ten years in the life of the Amalgamated have been full of varied experiences. Its achievements have often been regarded with amazement by people of quite different sorts, who not only wondered at its accomplishments, but even at the peculiar nature of its activities. For the Amalgamated never pursued a clear-cut line of action. It constantly shifted its conduct, giving battle on the one hand, trusting to conciliation on the other, following a policy of class struggle and also of class collaboration. While launching an attack at one place, it very often, at the same time, made a peaceful retreat in another. The pages of its history are painted in varying designs, so that one finds it hard to know which is the truly typical pattern.

What has been the cause of these contradictions? It is worth while analyzing this for two reasons: first, so as to understand the path followed by the Amalgamated up to the present; second, to understand where it may lead in the future.



AT THE MACHINE.

The Amalgamated was born in October, 1914, as a child of revolt. The clothing workers rebelled against the Rickert machine of the United Garment Workers' Union. They left Nashville quite alone, deserted, hated by enemies and repudiated by so-called friends.

At such a critical moment, the utmost revolutionary determination was necessary. To establish their new organization, the clothing workers had to break through an iron wall, which was defended both by the clothing manufacturers and the yellow leaders of the labor movement. This barrier could not be destroyed by folded arms, nor by a policy of diplomatic conciliation. To accomplish this, there was required of the clothing workers the same revolutionary spirit which they developed before their revolt against the leadership of the United Garment Workers.

It happened, however, that the Amalgamated immediately after its birth, became a combination of two entirely different forces: on the one hand the rank and file, and on the other the new leadership under the control of Sidney Hillman.

Though the rank and file consisted of elements saturated with the spirit of revolt, the leadership was intrusted to a man who had won power as a mediator. It is no secret. Hillman was popular at that time because he followed a policy of class collaboration as a representative of the workers in the employ of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Hillman was not considered a revolutionist, socialist or anarchist, certainly not a Communist. He was known simply as an able mediator.

Years of Struggle.

Despite these contradictory forces, the Amalgamated began to break down the iron wall of capitalist resistance and started on its difficult up-hill climb to build and secure the new organization. It must be admitted, that notwithstanding the contradiction of forces, the Amalgamated at that time was driven forward. Both elements without doubt, served the organization faithfully. The spirit of class collaboration was not much of a hindrance then as the urge of the struggle for existence was far stronger than that. Most of the gains of the Amalgamated had to be fought for, and could not be obtained by begging. Even Hillman's spirit of conciliation was, to a certain degree, useful during that period. Hillman, the mediator, could very easily make his peace with the revolutionary spirit of the masses when he had no other alternative.

However, not all the positions won by the Amalgamated were obtained through battle. There were also cases where the leadership quietly made arrangements a la Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Thus from the very beginning, the Amalgamated followed a zig-zag path in all its activities. In general, however, its actual achievements surrounded the union in the early years of its existence with a revolutionary glamor.

As soon as the positions gained by the Amalgamated were firmly secured, the glamor quite noticeably began to fade. The entrance of America into the World War produced an industrial revival in the clothing industry. The manufacturers needed "hands." They were forced to make peace with the organization of the clothing workers. Even government officials then became mediators for the Amalgamated. It was

Negroes In American Industry

By William F. Dunne

AS I look back over the years I can see that we were probably "poor white trash."

We lived on Minnesota Avenue, and Joey, a little Negro boy whose last name I do not remember ever hearing, was my first playmate while we lived in Kansas City. Certainly we were miserably poor; that we belonged to the white race has never been disputed and justification for the supposition that we were "trash" is furnished by the distinct memory of being called "nigger lover," by older children when Joey and I ventured onto the nearby vacant lot whose garbage piles furnished an inexhaustible store of treasure for the younger set of the neighborhood.

I remember that the epithet held no approbrious meaning for me, but nevertheless I resented it just as an Irishman, an Englishman or a Swede resents being classified nationally in a certain tone of voice. My attempts to revenge what was evidently, for reasons not understood by me, intended for an



A NEGRO FAMILY JUST ARRIVED IN CHICAGO FROM THE RURAL SOUTH.

insult were not singularly successful. Joey was too good-natured to be of much value as an ally and the conflicts were generally in the nature of rear guard actions ending in the retreat of the three of us, Joey, myself and Rover, one of the nondescript dogs with which Kansas City abounded and which Joey and I had adopted, to the fastnesses of the kitchen of one of our mothers—our houses were side by side—or to the woodshed.

Our mothers were singularly uniformed as to the reasons for our troubles and unbelievably unsympathetic—particularly towards Rover. Our fathers we saw but seldom. They worked in the Armour packinghouse and were on their way to work before Joey and I arose in the mornings. They went to bed at an early hour and so did we.

We were governed by a matriarchy.

Overshadowing all else as a source of danger to Joey, Rover and me was the city dog-catcher. He was the terror of the neighborhood children who were all well supplied with unlicensed prototypes of Rover, and whatever differences ex-

isted between the races were submerged in the face of this common enemy. His advent into the district was made known by a sort of grapevine telegraph that was surprisingly efficient. Even the dogs sensed the danger and as a rule they made no protest when hurried into woodsheds and cellars.

Rover was an exception. I do not know if his mongrel heart held a sort of fearless defiance or if he was simply in rebellion against an exercise of authority but the fact remains that Rover would howl to high heaven at the most critical moments when the enemy was within earshot.

On one terrible day the grapevine failed to work and the enemy was within the gates. Joey and I adopted desperate measures. I stole a pair of mother's stockings and we lashed Rover's legs fore and aft. Joey stripped his three year old sister of her sole garment—a frock fashioned on severely simple lines—and with this emergency muffler we bound Rover's jaws while she ran screaming her protest in chocolate-colored nakedness.

Our mothers arrived as we were contemplating our work with justifiable pride. They lost no time debating the course to pursue. My mother seized Joey, Joey's mother grabbed me. With a loud smacking noise, black hand descended on white bottom and vice versa.

Joey and I left home that day with two slices of bread and three cold fried catfish to brave a world that we felt could be no more hostile than homes ruled by mothers to whom an undressed female child was of more importance than the liberty of Rover.

We were captured within four blocks of our domiciles, spanked again on already tender areas and put to bed after our commissariat had been raided.

* * * *

You ask what the foregoing has to do with the Negro in industry and I reply that the Negro in industry encounters a hostility from white workers that is artificial and not instinctive, that my childhood experience is that of thousands of white children who feel no hostility toward their Negro playmates until old enough to absorb the prejudices of their elders.

Nothing is clearer than this in the report of the Chicago commission on race relations—the most exhaustive and authoritative study of the real problem yet made in the United States and which was begun after the 1919 race riots.

The problem of the Negro in industry as well as in American society as a whole, is a problem created by the background of chattel slavery and intimately connected with its traditions, the propagation of a whole series of falsehoods and fetishes, scientifically untenable, but which by repetition and a certain superficial plausibility, have become dogmas which to question means social ostracism in the former slave states—the historical home of chattel slavery whose conceptions of the Negro as a social inferior who menaces white supremacy is the obscene fountain from which flows all of the poisonous streams that carry the virus of race hatred into

the ranks of the American working class and the labor movement.

Slavery not Abolished.

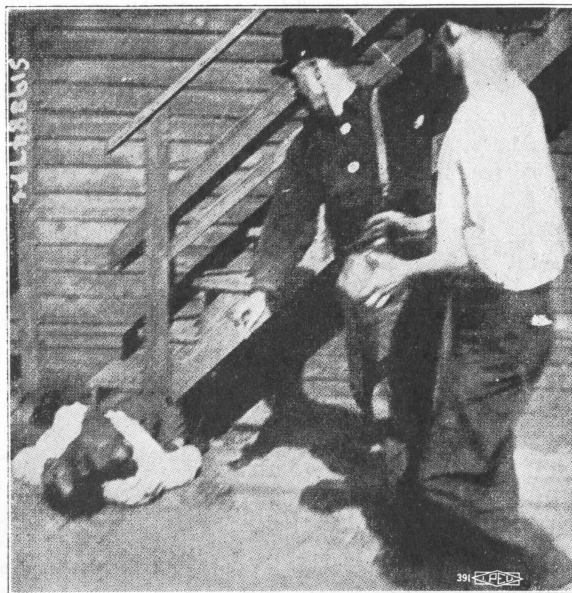
The slave south is not dead and slavery has not been abolished. It lives in song and story, it lives in every community where there are black and white human beings, it lives in the agricultural regions of the south, it exists in the industrial feudalism of the lumber and turpentine camps of the south, it lives in the southern non-union coal fields, it lives in the columns of the capitalist press of both north and south and the prejudice and strife among the workers is fed and inflamed like a gangrenous wound by this filth that it exudes.

The problem of the Negro in industry—it is really the problem of the dominant white workers if a white working-class exploited as the American working class is can be termed dominant—must be approached from two viewpoints—that of the Negro and that of the white worker. Both have their prejudices. Both are victims of constant and cunning misinformation supplied them with a deliberate aim and a diabolical cleverness hard to combat. But it must never be forgotten by those who see the danger to the workers of both races and consequently to the whole working class movement, that while the prejudices of the white workers have absolutely no foundation in fact, those of the Negro workers are, although a grave danger to working class solidarity and serious obstacles to organizing work, based upon enslavement, persecution and torture of black by white since 1619.

The Negro worker is the injured party and because he is, because the dominant white knows he is, the changes are rung on the unprovable assumptions concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Negro as an individual and as a race in an attempt to justify the denial of political rights, denial of equal educational privileges, Jim Crowism, discrimination in unions, mass murder in race riots, hangings, burnings at the stake and the rest of the long list of Dantesque horrors inflicted on the black race since its first representative was torn from his African home by white slave merchants.

Borrowed Prejudices.

The opinions of the working class in all social epochs



WHITES STONING NEGRO TO DEATH.

Actual photograph of the killing of a Negro by the mob shown below after chasing him for several miles.

up to the immediate period preceding revolution, according to the easily demonstrable Marxian theory, are the opinions of the ruling class. This applies with the greatest force to the opinions held by whites of the Negro. The white ruling class of the south has conspired since the civil war to deprive the Negro of every economic and political right. The rise of a Negro middle class has been fought consistently and white workers, imbued with the prejudices of their rulers have been only too glad to have inferiors to whom they could transmit the kicks given their own posteriors by the feudal aristocracy and the rising industrial capitalists of Dixieland.

The final argument for the suppression of the Negro with which disagreement must be accompanied by readiness to



CROWD ARMED WITH BRICKS SEARCHING FOR A NEGRO.

defend one's life against both white southern workers and capitalists and the social strata lying between, takes the form of the inevitable question: "Would you want your sister to marry a black blankety blankety blank blank blank?"

This is the form into which the hatred and fear of granting equal opportunity to the Negro rationalises itself. It is the sexual motif which lies like a thick and fetid blanket over the whole south, extending into the north as well, but as a thinner fabric in which rents are appearing, rents torn by the inexorable forces of industrial, political and social development in the United States.

Into the labor movement itself has been catapulted the monstrous fallacy, promulgated by a decadent feudalism based on complete subjection of the Negroes, that the black race individually and collectively, lusts with an ungovernable passion for the bodies of white women. This false dogma has been and is used to excuse all overt acts against the Negro on the part of whites when all other excuses fail. The white press and pulpit, the lecture platform, the moving pictures, silly but white ego-satisfying books of the Nordicismians, are used to perpetuate this easy and effective means of alienating all sympathy for the Negro even when he has been made the victim of the sadistic appetites of whole communities of maddened degenerates as in Mississippi, Jan. 26, 1919, where the burning of a Negro at the stake was advertised in the press for several days, the announcement of the hour at which the officers of the law would turn him over to the mob was made and special trains were run to accommodate the curious—a desperate spectacle without parallel unless we except the holocausts of Christians in ancient Rome.

A volume could be written on this phase of the race question alone but it is enough to say here that in other countries where there are large Negro populations, the sexual question does not arise. In the British West Indies, where the Negroes outnumber the whites 50 or 60 to one, according to the statement of Lord Olivier, formerly governor-general of Jamaica, no case is on record of an attack on a white woman by a Negro.

This instance alone is enough to discredit the whole myth of rape of white women as the basis of hostility to the Negro even if there were not available the testimony of competent and unprejudiced investigators who, without significant exception, are agreed that the opposite is true—a pronounced penchant of white southerners for Negro women—the millions of mulattoes are alone proof of the soundness of this conclusion—and that it is extremely doubtful if a dozen cases of attack on white women could be proved as fact in the whole horrid history of the innumerable lynchings of Negroes.

So much for the justification on moral grounds of discrimination against the Negro in the labor unions and industry as a whole.

Is the Negro a "Natural" Strikebreaker?

But the discrimination of the unions against the Negro worker is justified by the white workers on other than moral grounds in the north. He is accused of being an incurable strikebreaker and therefore a willing tool of the employers.

The influx of Negro workers into industry during the last decade has brought the question of his role in the labor and revolutionary movement squarely before the American working class. The expansion of American industry during the world war and the stoppage of immigration created a great demand for labor. The drafting of thousands of southern

Negroes into the army intensified the racial antagonism south of the Mason and Dixon line, tore them loose from their feudal environment and gave them an immensely broader outlook. Increasing persecution in the south and the demand for labor in the north brought hundreds of them into northern industrial centers into contact and competition with white labor.

Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, Gary, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and Toledo in the



NEGRO STOCK YARD WORKERS LAID OFF AND RECEIVING LAST WAGES.

Photo taken at temporary pay station established at Y. M. C. A. by the packing companies.

industrial east and middle west immensely increased their Negro working class as did cities lying halfway between north and south like St. Louis, Kansas City and Cincinnati.

Chicago is fairly typical of these industrial centers.

In sixty-two Chicago industries comprising box-making, clothing, cooperage, food products, iron and steel, tanneries and miscellaneous manufacturing, from which statistics were secured, the number of Negro workers increased from 1,346 in 1915 to 10,587 in 1920. The number of Negro workers therefore multiplied approximately eight times in the five-year period.

In forty-seven non-manufacturing industries in Chicago, employing 4,601 Negro workers in 1915, there was an increase to 8,483 in 1920, a 50 per cent increase.

In Chicago, concerns reporting the employment of five or more Negroes in 1920 and altogether employing 118,098 workers, the percentage of Negro workers classified generally by occupation was as follows:

Paper box manufacturing—14 per cent.
 Clothing—14 per cent.
 Cooperage—32 per cent.
 Food products—22 per cent.
 Iron and steel products (iron foundries)—10 per cent.
 Tanneries—21 per cent.

Miscellaneous:

Lamp shade manufacturing—27 per cent.
 Auto cushion manufacturing—50 per cent.
 Other industries (manufacturing)—5 per cent.

(Continued on page 236).

The Prison Story of the Wobblies

By Harrison George

IT is four-thirty in the morning of February 2, 1923. Wakeful, I had awaited the "get up" call of the guard, whispered through the barred front of my cell on the second gallery of "D" cell house at the great federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas. I was "going out on expiration of sentence." I had done my jolt and was going out... going out....!

The hush of night lay over the whole prison, broken only by the fitful coughs and snores of hundreds of sleeping men, penned in steel cages of the cell-block with its five galleries rising into lofty obscurity. The prisoner who goes out is aroused long before the others, and already I had said good-bye to my fellow workers the day before. There are some heart wrenchings for the companions of years left behind.

Now comes the guard with added, but welcome, racket. He unwinds the gallery lock and throws the lever, brings clinking keys to my cell door, unlocks it, rolls back the door and escorts me down to the cell desk, where he checks out my numbered cadaver while chattering sotto voce of a most interesting murder.

"Reckon he'll swing for it. Pretty slick... come up from Kansas City in a taxi... But they got 'im. If he'd been a nigger he'd been lynched... Leavenworth folks sure wuz sore... Heard some of our best people in the crowd a-sayin'..."

But the story was interrupted. The captain of the guards came to unlock the cell-house door to admit me to the main hall. Thence to my last neglected breakfast of oatmeal and



GUARDS URGE NEGRO MURDERER TO ATTACK I. W. W. PRISONERS.

Maurice Becker.

vile coffee. In forty minutes, by way of the clothing department, I was fitted out with prison-made shoddy clothes, given five dollars, and checked out the main gate.

The trolley station was pointed out. In its cold shelter I waited. Its wooden walls were adorned with varied scrawled obscenities. The wind was piercing cold... but clean. The car came. Personal responsibility nearly overcame me when I had—for the first time in a long, long while—to pay my fare ...Resurrection!

Resurrection! Not after three days, but after five years! Everything is strangely new, yet strangely old. The car joggles on a devilish rough track. Above, advertisements, colored gaudily—canned goods, tooth paste, cough drops..... capitalism! Then, the passengers, workers with greasy caps over their ears, whiskered, stooped—some of them—in old clothes or overalls, lugging dinner pails, dour of face and taciturn, going to work as the whistles begin to blow. More capitalism....! Now, at last, I know that I am free....!

* * * *



Maurice Becker.

SOLITARY.

It was a beautiful autumn day, September 7, 1918, that day we wobblies had arrived at Leavenworth. We arrived from Chicago in style, on a special train, though deuced cramped from being handcuffed in pairs on tiresome day-coach seats all night and all day. Tired, too, from singing wobbly songs all night and at every opportunity. Big Jim Thompson had shared my seat and my handcuffs, and had listened patiently while I had read him Swinburne's great lyric "The Triumph of Time." Significant title!

After the train had crossed the Missouri river, it stood on a switching track between rows of factories. Merrily we piped up, "Hold the fort, for we are coming, union men be strong," and the workers began hanging out of shop windows to listen. Then the train took the winding tracks up the long slopes to the prison.

From the railroad, or rear entrance, the prison is a towering citadel sitting atop a barren hill. Trusties, with yellow stars sewed on their coats, hung about the great gates which opened to swallow the whole train.

At last we are ordered to detrain. We are inside the walls. We can stretch gloriously as we are lined up and checked off by the accompanying marshalls and a guard, pistol at belt, whose jaws leak tobacco juice. Other guards high in the towers atop the walls look down nonchalantly as they lean on their rifles. They had heard us singing as the train pulled up the last slope and into the other gate—"For justice thunders condemnation, a better world's in birth." Maybe so, maybe so, but the wobblies were in prison!

* * * *

Let the reader who has begun to think he is to read "all about prison" be undeceived at once. I state flatly that no one can tell the depth of prison's wound, its stark agony, its persistent painless ache, its void. One floats, as it were, in the trough of the sea of years, the years that roll past like great, cold, gray waves, yet leaving one always without glimpse of horizon, down in the trough of the sea....

It is folly to swim in the trough of the sea... One had better float.... In the sea of prison years the sharks of madness devour the fools who swim...

Some time, when I was floating, in some book, whose title and author I forget, I read a passage by a famous prisoner of the Czar:

"History is a tremendous mechanism serving our ideals. It moves slowly, it is incalculably cruel, but the work goes on. We believe in it. Only at moments, when like a monster it drinks the living blood of our hearts to serve it as food, do we wish to cry out with all our might—'What thou dost, do quickly!'

* * * *

Going to prison is part of a revolutionist's job. Coming out of prison, still a revolutionist, is the other part.

As for a man, so for a movement. The cause which has passed through prison must not only pass through, but must emerge inwardly strengthened, shrewder, more daring. It is a real tragedy that the I. W. W. lost strength, grew confused, become hesitant, legalistic, pacifist....

The more the capitalist dictatorship shed its democratic mask, the more the I. W. W. pined for democracy's Loreleian song. It forgot what was said at the 1912 convention, "that no legal safeguard can be invoked to protect any member of the working class who incurs the enmity of the employers by

standing between them and unlimited exploitation of the workers."

It forgot that the only way to avoid persecution by the ruling class is to overthrow it, and the only modification possible to obtain comes from fear of revolution given by extra-legal strikes or mass political demonstration.

* * * *

We wobblies felt pretty cocky when we first got to Leavenworth. We had been thoroughly trained in the theory that "ideas cannot be imprisoned" and we felt that we had won a great "moral victory" over the tyrannous government. We would not be hard on President Wilson, but we were determined to stay in prison long enough to teach his administration a lesson....

Shortly after our arrival our attorney came to consult us on the matter of an appeal. He spoke to us collectively in the chapel. "Third Rail Red" questioned the wisdom even of going out on bonds; "I think it will be better for the movement if we stay here for another six months, anyhow."

Ah, but that unrepentant government....!

* * * *

Wobbly spirit and morale was good during the first year or so. If their souls needed consolation they concealed it, though the official consoler was available always upon request, made in writing the night before. This was Chaplain Allen, who had charge of the library and the spiritual punishment.

The library boasted 10,000 books, which were circulated to the cells upon request. Since each book contained an estimated number of 10,000 bed-bugs, the 100,000 in each cell stood in no danger of racial deterioration through in-breeding. They were all good, strong bugs. It was an arrangement of genius, no less than the Federal Reserve banks' control of credit and circulating media...

Attendance at Sunday morning chapel was compulsory, at first. But it was quickly discovered that the wobblies were singing rebel parodies of the most saintly songs. Thereafter chapel attendance was optional. Reverend Allen announced it with annoyance and promised a very unchristian punishment for those who came to get out of their cells and remained to scoff.

The chapel, the House of God, had bars on the windows and bars even on the sky-light. Guards, with clubs, ushered the marching lines of grey-clad convicts into divine worship. Chaplain Allen, Bearer of God's Word, sermonized from the pulpit. Beside him sat always the Captain of the Guards with unprayerful scowl and a 20-inch hickory club. After the invocation the convict congregation stood, and with eyes raptly directed toward the bars of the skylight sang soulfully, "Safely Guarded Through Another Week."

But the Chaplain was not such a bad scout, after all. There was a little matter of getting away with government gasoline which really deserves more attention. His innate humanity would out. As spiritual guardian of the convicts he confiscated all the naughty books found, and had acquired a private library which he read with great gusto.

* * * *

For some time I wondered at some of my fellow rebels going to the theosophical service which took place every second Sunday in a room of the chapel. The theosophy chap came up from Kansas City twice a month.

I wondered on, until once I went there myself, and discovered that besides the inconsequential lecture and literature available in the little room, the mystic brought with him—doubtlessly in conformity with his philosophy that Nirvana is attainable through physical processes—a bevy of charming daughters of Eve.

* * * *

On Sunday afternoons in good weather we "got the yard," were allowed to wander at will inside the walls. The wobbly parade ground was along "Wall Street." Not the den of



Maurice Becker.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST—LEAVENWORTH—1919.

OFFICER.—ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE S. P.?

C. C.—YES SIR.

OFFICER.—HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A REVOLUTIONIST?

C. O.—WHY, MY FAMILY DATES BACK TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

thieves in the shadow of Trinity on lower Manhattan, but the open space along the inside of the north wall, running from the stone shop on the west to the brickyard at the east.

Ambling up and down in groups of from two to six, we discussed and settled with certain finality all the problems of the supposed human race. These were the hours of diversion. Sweating hand-ball contestants shouted. Baseballs flew everywhere. Around a guitar Mexicans clustered, singing with mellow passion the love songs of the border. Italians shouted, with staccato unison, their finger-guessing game. Expert safe-crackers revealed in confidence to anxious neophytes, the art of rifling vaults without the use of nitroglycerine. And in the shade of the stone shop, Brent Dow Allinson called a conference of the prison intelligentsia.

Brent was an excellent type of "conscientious objector" who had read "The Great Illusion" and become convinced that the diplomats of capitalist imperialism do it an ill service by indulging in wars. He had but begun to instruct them on their error when he encountered the obstinate contradiction of an imperialist war. It was somewhat discouraging, but he insisted that, anyhow, the business of killing people was not to his taste, and, since he took his punishment with fortitude, no one can gainsay his sincerity.

In the conference sat several wobblies, Allinson, Taraknath Das, Doctor of Philosophy and Indian nationalist, Earl Browder, and a German count, Von Shaack, who had fallen upon evil



Maurice Becker.

RIOT IN THE MESS ROOM—LEAVENWORTH XMAS EVE—1918.

days in which his only hope was that the German social democrats would save his Prussian estate from the vandal hordes of Bolshevism. A hope, needless to say, in which he was not disappointed.

These conferences drew up minute plans of the new society, despite the dubious dissent of the count, who insisted that a world without class distinctions, particularly between counts and commoners, was both impossible and undesirable... ble...

There came a time when the Wilsonian "heart of the world" era began to pall upon Allinson, and under wobbly tutelage we had hopes of him. He even told me that he would fight, if it were with the Red Army. But, alas, he was expelled from our college before his education was completed, and straightway set about trying to teach diplomats not to be diplomats, and bourgeois not to be bourgeois...

* * * * *

In two or three years a considerable number of the wobblies began to feel that either the government had been sufficiently punished or that it was wholly unconscious of its misdeed and mistake of putting workers in prison merely for advocating the overthrow of capitalism. An amnesty movement upon this basis sprang up outside, and received much support from liberals who, two or three years after the war was over,

contended that though we had done nothing in the first place, it was now perfectly safe to release us.

But if it is easy to get a wobbly into jail, it is no small task to get him out. Wobbly etiquette is a stickler for all formalities. When getting into prison, the government did the deciding and we all came. But when getting out was the question, and whether we got out, and how we should get out, had to be decided by the wobblies, then the trouble began. Woe to him who ventured to foresee a problem and offer a plan of action to meet it. Firstly, he was rebuffed as a damned "intellectual" and secondly he was apostate from the wobbly creed of drifting into political crises with no other plan than the Preamble and the Industrial Union Chart.

Some waited for a general strike and scorned other methods, others were willing to have appeals to the President made for them but not by them. After some had made individual appeals it was decided that they had done wrongly. Then the question arose, "Shall we all appeal?" A statement refusing to appeal for clemency was drawn up, but no more than a few could agree on its items. Finally, however, someone sent it out and it was published over the names of all prisoners without their knowledge as "An Open Letter to President Harding."

There was a storm of protest until, suddenly, it was

discovered that the detested thing was winning great publicity among the liberals. At once and ever after, those who had protested it most were most set upon upholding their interpretations of "The Open Letter."

The bitter differences came over these interpretations. For the question then arose, "Shall we accept clemency which we have not applied for?" And then the question which split the prisoners into hostile groups, "Shall we accept conditional commutation?" Some wanted a vindication of innocence of any conspiracy against the imperialist war, and some wished, practically, that the government guarantee not to molest them henceforth in the perfectly legal "purely industrial" and peaceful pursuit of overthrowing capitalism.

The lack of political sagacity and planfulness among the wobblies, together with the artful maneuvers of the government to split them, harmonized nicely, and it is a tragic truth that the final release of all, instead of giving strength to the whole I. W. W., brought such division into its already confused and mediocre leadership that it still bleeds from the schism.

* * * * *

There is no question but that the I. W. W. suffered from the loss of leadership when the whole leading stratum went to prison. Nor is there any doubt that the test of war and prison found that leadership's weak spot—its lack of revolutionary ideological unity, and so disrupted the group that its release from prison was another blow to the organization as a whole.

It is a practical proof that a union, even though led by heroes, so long as they do not have a unified political concept of the revolutionary struggle, cannot effectively lead and direct such essentially political struggle as is the fight against imperialist wars or even the release of political prisoners.

* * * * *

Where is the revolutionary leadership such as gave the I. W. W. its proud name? The historical conflict at Goldfield, the marching thousands led to victory at Lawrence, the battles of McKees Rocks, the bitter violence of the Mesaba Iron Range strike led by those whose war cry against the thugs of the Steel Trust was "Three dead gunmen for one dead miner!" Was the defense of the union hall at Centralia but an ember which flared in the darkness?

There is nothing pre-ordained about it. The I. W. W. may continue to decay under a legalistic, pacifist and sectarian leadership; or it may well be that its earnest revolutionary elements among the rank and file may organize upon Communist principles and lead the I. W. W. to a greater and better future. But it must face realities!

The unquestioned center of revolutionary unionism is today the Red International of Labor Unions. It is sectarian silliness for the I. W. W. to pretend that it is strong enough in numbers or ideas either to contest the field or stand aside in mythical "independence." The I. W. W. has never claimed world jurisdiction, and it has officially disclaimed it. At the very First Convention, Resolution No. 16 declared the intention of immediate relations with the International Secretariat. Delegates were often sent to International Con-Secretariat. Isolation must be ended and the I. W. W. affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

* * * * *

Recognition that mere unionism is not sufficient for the revolutionary struggle should lead to recognition that there are two kinds of political parties, one which reflects the economic interests of the capitalist class and the other which reflects the economic interests of the working class. The I. W. W. should discriminate between these two, opposing the one, fraternizing and cooperating with the other.

Eight Centralia victims are rotting their lives away at Walla Walla, eight-five proletarian fighters of the I. W. W. are imprisoned in California, many others are scattered about the penitentiaries of this nation. Each group has its trials, tragedies and its lessons, which may not be told except by themselves. Certainly the writer would not attempt to detail their experiences as he has his own. But they are prisoners of the class war. They are our own. They are proletarian fighters. And they must be freed!

Everywhere, every Communist or militant worker must go to the I. W. W. and say, "You may differ with us on many things, but there are wobblies in prison. Do you agree that they ought to get out? If so, let us unite our forces on this one issue! Let us work together to rouse not only a protest but a revolutionary protest! Let us fight upon the basis of class struggle. Let us agree that our prisoners must be free not merely because they are innocent, but because they are workers who fought for their class. Upon that basis alone can we get their class to fight for them!"

"To the capitalist government let us say, "Give back to their class the wobblies in prison!"

The World's Workers Stand Behind Them!



VANZETTI

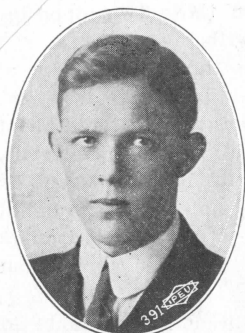
SACCO

MRS. SACCO

Thus far labor has prevented the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, but they may have even a worse fate—the fate that has befallen Tom Mooney. A supreme effort is necessary if they are to be spared this living tomb.

The Communists Take the Lead in Minnesota

By C. A. Hathaway



C. A. HATHAWAY.

FOR a number of years Minnesota has been in the public eye. The action of the state labor movement in endorsing amalgamation, its repeated demands for the release of Mooney and Billings and Sacco and Vanzetti, its stand for the repeal of criminal syndicalism laws and for the dismissal of the cases against the Communists arrested in the Michigan raids, as well as the success of its efforts to form a political alliance with the farmers in a farmer-labor party, have won for the Minnesota trade

unionists the approval of all real progressives throughout the country.

The same causes brought to Minnesota the bitter opposition of the labor bureaucracy, as represented by the officials of the A. F. of L. and their henchmen in the Minnesota state federation.

In every one of the progressive moves undertaken, in all the important struggles, the militants from St. Paul and Minneapolis played the leading role. In the conventions of both the state federation of labor and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the delegations from the Twin Cities, always strongly interspersed with Communists, have been the ones to advance the program and give militant expression to the needs and desires of the workers in the shops, mills and mines. This soon became apparent to the A. F. of L. machine and its local tools. They realized that if they were to succeed in blocking the rapid moves to the left being made by the workers in Minnesota, they would have to destroy the influence of the left wing over the central labor bodies in those two cities.

Gompers Steps In.

Three years ago the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. sent organizer (?) Paul Smith to Minneapolis. For three years he has been sitting around Minneapolis hotels drawing his salary and expense allowance of \$18 per day, doing good work as a stool pigeon for Gompers, (and now Green), but absolutely nothing to organize or improve the conditions of the wage workers. At irregular intervals he has condescended to attend meetings of the Minneapolis Trade & Labor Assembly, usually, however, only when he had some ultimatum to serve on the organization. It has become quite a common occurrence during the past three years, to see him drag his two hundred pounds of pork up to the platform and rather harshly notify the delegates that they have again aroused the ire of his Gompersian majesty, and that they must either repent or see their charter revoked.

The threat of the revocation of that much-abused, age-worn, charter has caused many sleepless nights to Minneapolis reactionaries and even to some fake progressives. Whenever a radical measure has been presented to the Assembly, they have pointed to the ancient document which adorns the wall

and solemnly warned the delegates that the string that held it was getting very thin. Today the string has broken—the charter has been revoked. After three years, Paul Smith has finally accomplished the job for which he was sent to Minnesota.

For six months, during which time it is on probation, the Assembly will be without a charter and then the new charter will be granted under the name of the "Central Labor Union of Minneapolis and Hennepin County." The old name, according to Smith, having become smirched with Communism.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has spent close to \$20,000 on Mr. Smith's maintenance during the past three years' time. In return for that amount they have succeeded in driving the Communists out of the Minneapolis central body, but they have strengthened the position of the Communists among the rank and file in the local unions. The most disastrous part of their attack has been to destroy the militancy of one of the best central bodies in this country and to drive many weaklings out of the labor movement.

Constitution Ignored.

In their attack against the left wing they ignored the constitution of the A. F. of L. and all parliamentary precedent. Comrade Stevens, Comrade Frank, and the writer were protested as delegates to the Assembly because of membership in the Workers (Communist) Party. The constitution of the A. F. of L. provides that no delegate shall be unseated until charges have been preferred against him and he has had a trial before a committee of the Assembly. It further provides that the delegate shall have the right of appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and pending this appeal he shall retain his seat in the central body.

All these rules were ignored. The Communists were unceremoniously thrown out, after which the local leaders entered into an agreement with the American Federation of Labor which provides that no person who is a member of the Workers Party, the I. W. W., or any other "dual revolutionary" organization, may hold office in the Assembly. The left wing countered by putting up a complete left wing slate composed entirely of members of the Workers Party. These candidates ran on the following program:

1. The immediate organization of a council of unemployed workers to include all working class organizations—this council to raise the slogan of "Work or full trade union wages for the unemployed."
3. The Assembly to lead an aggressive fight for increases in wages and against any lengthening of the hours of labor or reductions in wages.
4. A militant fight to force the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.
5. No persecution or expulsion of delegates because of their political beliefs or affiliations.
6. A fight to force the repeal of the Minnesota criminal syndicalism laws and support of all campaigns for relief of class war prisoners.

ganized into the labor unions; transformation of the antiquated craft union structure into powerful industrial unions capable of throwing the mass power of the workers into the struggle; the crystallization of an iron disciplined vanguard in the Workers (Communist) Party; unity with the working

class of all other lands; revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the blood-sucking capitalist system, the institution of workers' rule and the conquest of industry and government for the working class—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Douarnenez, the Pride of All France

DOUARNENEZ is a town on the coast of Brittany, in northwest France, whose inhabitants are sturdy and hard-working and capable of putting up a stubborn scrap for their rights now and then. The recent strike of the Douarnenez fishermen and sardine cannery workers has aroused

the whole of France. As a result of the wage increases won in the strike, the men now get 1½ francs (7¾ cents) an hour, while the women workers get one franc (5½ cents) an hour. A basic 8-hour day is established, with "time and a half" pay for overtime up to three hours, and "double time" for every hour additional.



STRIKE COMMITTEE OF DOUARNENEZ.

THE MAN WITH ONE EYE, FOURTH FROM THE LEFT IN THE BOTTOM ROW, IS FLANCHES, COMMUNIST MAYOR OF DOUARNENEZ, WHO WAS REMOVED FROM OFFICE BY HIGHER GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES FOR AIDING THE STRIKERS.



SCANNING THE HORIZON.

AFTER THE WINNING OF THE DOUARNENEZ STRIKE. WOMEN WATCHING FOR THEIR HUSBANDS BRINGING IN THE SARDINES TO BE CANNED.

The Red Voice

WHEN I first saw you there—
Near that window—where the sun never comes—
You were green and straight;
You were then in bloom.
Brilliant blood-flower,
The sweet odor of your blossoms
Challenged the stench in this cellar.

I knew you would not be able
To hold up your head—for long:
Anything so delicately beautiful
Would perish at that window.

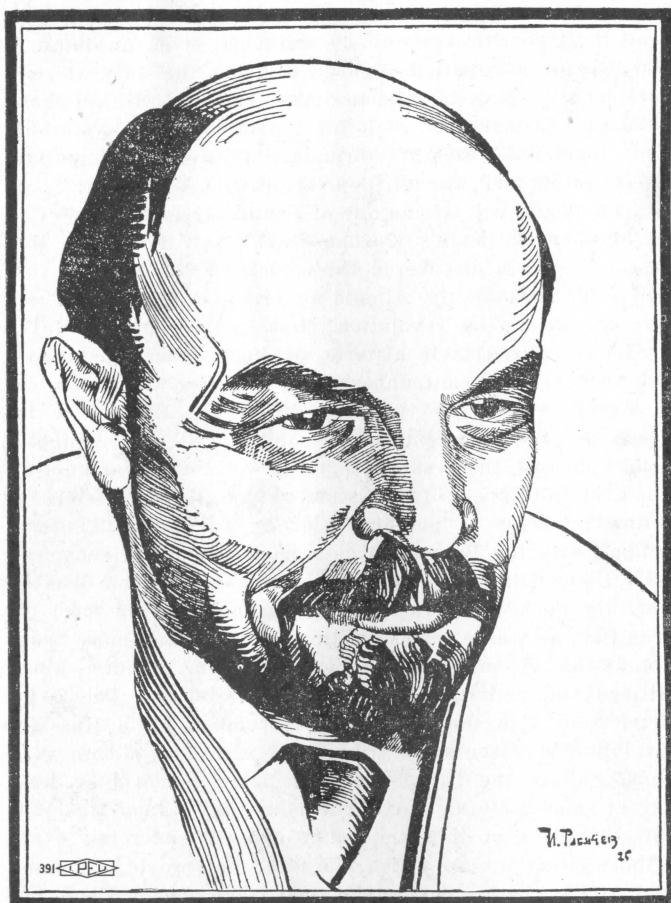
Now your stalk grows paler and paler—
The tip is white;
The once brilliant carmine of your flowers
Has faded;
The odor you give out is like the breath
Of a starved and dying child.

You ARE a starved and dying flower:
At the approach of death you lose hope.

Oh, lovely still! tho dying...
Lovely flower,
If you will live thru this dark night
I will batter down that wall
And you shall bask in the rays of the sun,
The green will return to your stalk.
Once more you will bear blooms
The color of pure red blood;
Once more shall your perfume
Be wafted thru the air—to me.
No more shall you droop
In this deep black pit of the night,
For the life-giving sun of the new day
Will conquer the night.

O lovely flower,
Drink in what life you can until the morn—
When I will batter down the walls of hate.

—JACQUELINE PERREAULT.



PEN-SKETCH OF LENIN.

than in the railway shopmen's strike of the same year, when Judge Wilkerson issued his blanket injunction and the entire Burns-Daugherty Department of Justice was turned loose upon the workers. During this strike troops were called out in 13 states. Side by side with this strike-breaking activity go wholesale arrests in disregard of the "rights" of free speech and freedom of assembly. The vicious "anti-syndicalist" laws are typical. When the workers, on their part, turn to legislation for relief the sham of capitalist democracy is manifest. Such laws as may be forced through Congress are vitiated in the interpretation, as for instance the Clayton Act. And at the end of the long road of legalism there sits the Supreme Court, ever ready with a Danbury Hatters decision, a Coronado decision or a Child Labor decision.

The responsiveness of the state machinery to the desires of the ruling financial oligarchy is a necessary feature of imperialistic foreign policy. The state becomes an agency for securing concessions and opening up fields of profitable investment abroad. For the export of capital to proceed uninterruptedly the government must be ready to "protect American interests in Mexico," to "see that Cuba meets her obligations," to "insist upon a real open door in China." If Morgan's heavy international loans are endangered it may even be necessary to go to war. Workers must be made soldiers to fight and die for Morgan. In this the capitalists have the assistance of a section of the workers themselves—the upper crust, the labor aristocracy, represented by the

cynical trade union bureaucracy, which has been systematically corrupted by the sharing of super-profits wrung from the exploited colonial and semi-colonial territories.

Capitalism found a temporary escape from the apocalypse of its contradictions by plunging into imperialism. But, as Marx had proved, the contradictions are fundamental. Lenin shows that the "escape" has only given rise to new and more serious contradictions. Decay of the productive forces under monopoly, disintegration of the capitalist class, intensification of the class struggle, and war, were some of the fruits. Competition on a national scale has been succeeded by competition on the world market, with the national states functioning as huge militarized trusts. In discussing the advent of imperialism I pointed out that a stage had been reached in the evolution of capitalism where it could not continue to exist except by conquering the world. The conquest is complete. In his epoch-making book on *Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin shows that between 1876 and 1914 four great powers acquired a colonial empire of 14,100,000 square kilometers, with a population of approximately 100,000,000. The entire territory of the earth has been parceled out. Yet capitalism has now reached a point where no single one of the ruling capitalist empires can continue to exist except by conquering the world. This is the greatest of all the contradictions which imperialism has conjured up.

From Theory to Action

Lenin did not study economic contradictions for amusement, but in order to make use of them for the struggle against capitalism. Against the background of the general Leninist analysis, all the characteristic features of Leninist strategy stand out in bold relief. Alliance with the exploited colonial and semi-colonial peoples, alliance with the peasantry, neutralization of certain petty-bourgeois and "de-classed" elements—even the Leninist policy with regard to the trade union movement, can be largely explained from it.

The Communist International's interest in India and Egypt, its working alliance with the Kuomintang party in China, thus appear not as isolated incidents but as a conscious union of forces destined to participate in the historic overthrow of capitalism. It is a practical application of the *Theses on the Colonial Question* adopted at the Second Congress of the Comintern, as presented by Lenin with some additions by Comrade Roy.

There were also *Theses on the Agricultural Question* at the Second Congress. Nor did Lenin first begin to think about the peasantry after the Russian Revolution. Otherwise the history of that revolution might have been different. Lenin's conception of the role of the peasants in the proletarian revolution constituted one of his important differences with the Mensheviks, and with nearly all the prominent pseudo-Marxians of the Second International. It is precisely on the question of the role of the peasants—the poor farmers, that is—that Leninism offers one of its most valuable contributions to the strategy of the working class movement.

Marx believed that agriculture would take the same line of development as industry: that it would be absorbed into the general capitalist system, that rapid concentration and centralization would take place, that large machine-operated farms would become the type, etc. In great part this development has actually taken place. Farming capital has become highly centralized; it is concentrated in the hands of bankers

2. Currents within imperialism and the strategy and tactics of the struggle against it;
3. Reformulation of the nature and function of the state, and the necessity of violent revolution;
4. Linking up of the national liberation movements with the class struggle of the proletariat;
5. Uniting the struggles of the exploited peasantry with the struggle of the workers;
6. Role of the Communist party as the conscious vanguard of the proletariat;
7. Soviets as the form of the proletarian dictatorship;
8. Extension of the theory and practise of the proletarian dictatorship.

Who can say that these additions to Marxism will be the last? The world changes and doctrines once compatible with Marxism become outworn while the general structure of Marxism remains firm. Marx once said that in England the overthrow of capitalism might take place peaceably; if he were living today, in the epoch of imperialism, he would certainly declare that to be impossible. In the prolonged crisis of capitalism growing out of the war, with its unstable shifting from open dictatorship to "democratic pacifism" and back, with its rapid disintegrating process setting loose new forces, with the super-imperialism of the Dawes Plan—it is quite possible that new laws will be established and new points of proletarian strategy discovered. And they will go to reinforce Marxism and Leninism. As Marx wrote, "the revolution is throughgoing."

Drama for Winter Night (Fifth Avenue)

You can't sleep here,
My good man,
You can't sleep here.
This is the house of God.

The usher opens the church door and he goes out.

You can't sleep in this car, old top,
Not here.
If Jones found you
He'd give you to the cops.
Get-the-hell out now,
This ain't home.
You can't stay here.

The chauffer opens the door and he gets out.

Lord! You can't let a man lie in the streets
like this.
Find an officer quick.
Send for an ambulance.
Maybe he is sick but
He can't die on this corner,
Not here!
He can't die here.

Death opens a door.

Yellow But Red!



NEWS NOTE.—"Ten thousand striking Japanese textile workers have declared that they will not go back to work until the boss is prepared to turn the mill over to them. Communist influence is reported to be strong among them."

Oh, God,
Lemme git by St. Peter.
Lemme sit down on the steps of your throne.
Lemme rest somewhere.
What did yuh say, God?
What did yuh say?
You can't sleep here. . . .
Bums can't stay. . . .

The man's raving.
Get him to the hospital quick.
He's attracting a crowd.
He can't die on this corner.
No, no, not here.

—Langston Hughes.

over. Mackenzie King, the present premier, is well known for his long service in Rockefeller employ, and his government is serving American interests well today.

In their fight for complete independence from Downing Street, the Communists of Canada will help them with all their might. Having won independence, however, when they

attempt to turn over Canada, lock, stock and barrel, to Wall Street, they will find in us their bitterest opponents. Independence is only a step, for each of us. For the dominant economic interests it is a step toward Americanization, to us, the Communists, it is a step towards a Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

The Carpenters Face Their Leaders

By J. W. Johnstone

FOR many years the Trade Union Educational League has carried on an ideological struggle against the ruinous and demoralizing policy of dual unionism. And it can be said, without contradiction, that the T. U. E. L. has been successful in this fight. Splitting away from the old reactionary unions, as a principle in the United States, is dead. Even in the I. W. W., where the most insistent and virile attempt was made over a period of nearly 20 years to form idealistic, pure, revolutionary unions upon a national and international basis, we see the Communists and other militants, through the Red International Affiliation Committee, working for the united front program of the Red International of Labor Unions within the I. W. W.

Today, dual unionism is not a dangerous factor in the American labor movement, and the proof can be found in the numerous expulsions of Communists, adherents of the T. U. E. L. and close sympathizers who accept the leadership of the T. U. E. L. and of the Workers Party, from the reactionary unions. It seems only yesterday that almost all the revolutionary elements of the American labor movement were making the A. F. of L. safe for the labor bureaucrats by withdrawing from the reactionary unions and isolating themselves in little sectarian groups, thus eliminating all opposition to the reactionary leaders. Now things have changed. The militants, instead of getting out, are challenging the leadership of the bureaucrats, and when expelled they fight for readmittance.

The success of the League in organizing the left wing and waging a militant fight within the reactionary unions, can be gauged in many ways. A powerful example is the gradual acceptance of the expulsion policy by the labor bureaucrats as the only means of combating the growing influence of the militants in the trade unions. They cannot meet the T. U. E. L.'s fighting program in any way other than by expulsion, which is a sign of their growing weakness.

Wm. L. Hutcheson is the latest autocrat to adopt this as a general policy against militants. Of course Hutcheson is not a novice starting out in a new game. He has expelled those who have opposed him before, even going so far as to revoke the charters of 68 local unions in the east during the 1916 strike, because they refused to accept a cut in wages.

This treacherous act was committed at a time when the strikers were almost assured of victory.

However, the situation now is different. The present expulsion policy, started by Hutcheson almost a year ago, is of a different character. It is aimed at expelling all those who oppose Hutcheson on the basis of principle, or who

attempt to expose his corrupt machine. Hutcheson, through his spy system (general organizing staff, etc.) has now a list of names of members throughout the country who are slated for expulsion. He is going through that list as fast as he can, at the same time trying to prevent an open revolt of the membership against his crude maneuvering by expelling these members without trial and in widely different points of the country. He does it through local officials, general organizers, or through the General Executive Board direct. So far 23 members have been expelled,—16 in Los Angeles,



BUD REYNOLDS, PRESIDENT LOCAL 2140 (DETROIT), VICE-PRESIDENT CARPENTERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Declared "expelled" in an arbitrary letter from Hutcheson's General Executive Board. No pretense of any trial or hearing.

five in Chicago, one in Detroit, and one in Philadelphia, while Mulcahy, of Providence, R. I., was first assaulted and then expelled from the last convention, because of his opposition to the Hutcheson Machine.

All these members have been expelled in flagrant disregard of the Constitution, the 16 in Los Angeles being expelled by telegraph, Reynolds of Detroit by letter, the five in Chicago by arbitrary action of the local president on orders from Hutcheson, while Burgess of Philadelphia was expelled after a fake investigation made by a sub-committee of the G. E. B. In no case were charges presented or any of the accused tried according to the Constitution, nor was the membership allowed a vote on the matter, although the Constitution expressly says that it takes a two-thirds majority of the members present at a hearing to convict a defendant.

All of the 23 members expelled were active in their union and enjoyed the confidence of the membership,—some were business agents, other delegates to and officers of district councils, president or secretary of a local union, or delegate to the central labor council. All of them have been members of the Brotherhood for from five to 30 years. Nineteen of them accepted the fighting program of the T. U. E. L., and nine were also members of the Workers (Communist) Party.

Hutcheson says he is going to expel everyone who is a member of the T. U. E. L., which means any member who is opposed to the class collaboration scheme or who attempts to expose the corruption of the Hutcheson administration. For the league has been doing this systematically, and anyone, whether a member of the T. U. E. L., the Workers Party, or neither, who does anything at all to expose this faker is classed as a member of the T. U. E. L. and either expelled or put on the waiting list for expulsion.

The five members expelled in Chicago, along with five other members of local no. 181, were guilty of the heinous "crime" of presenting a resolution to their local union which was passed and sent to the convention for action condemning the scab Landis Award agreement, which Hutcheson had signed without the knowledge or consent of the membership. This attack upon his class collaboration scheme had to be nipped in the bud, so five of these then members were expelled as a warning to all others. Since then, there have been no peaceful meetings of local 181 held, the membership supporting the expelled and insistently demanding that they be reinstated.

In Detroit, Bud Reynolds was expelled without even knowing that he was being tried or investigated. The G. E. B. just sent a letter to his local union and to the district council declaring his expulsion. Every local union in Detroit refused to recognize the expulsion. Hutcheson resorted to an injunction to stop Reynolds from attending meetings for the local union of which he is the president.

Bud Reynolds, the district council, and every local union in Detroit have defied the injunction, practically telling the court and Hutcheson to "go to hell." They are determined to see the fight through to the finish. Reynolds committed the "crime" of being a too ardent supporter of Morris Rosen, the left wing candidate for president against Hutcheson in the recent elections, and through his efforts Detroit cast a majority vote for Rosen.

F. W. Burgess, at this writing the latest victim of the

Hutcheson expulsion policy, was the campaign manager for Willis K. Brown, another candidate against Hutcheson. However, Burgess, the manager, was not as silent as Brown, the candidate. He pointed out where Hutcheson had changed the votes from "against" to "for" his pet old-age home scheme,



NIELS KJAR, A LEADING MEMBER OF LOCAL 181 (CHICAGO), FORMERLY DELEGATE TO THE CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR.

"Expelled" without trial, by arbitrary action of local president, with the approval of Hutcheson if not of the constitution.

and in addition dug out of the closet some more of the shady performances of the Hutcheson administration. This Hutcheson considers a dangerous tendency, so Burgess was expelled.

Who will be next is hard to tell. Maybe it will be Rosen, or his campaign manager. In Chicago, Hutcheson's tools say openly, "Wait until we get through with local 181; then we are going to start in on 1748 and go right down the line." Well, they are not yet through with 181, or with the Detroit membership, or Philadelphia, or Los Angeles. The fight has just begun, and before it is over Hutcheson will have lost his crown. It is not a fight for a day or a year; this fight will last just as long as Hutcheson is president of the Brotherhood.

Hutcheson is carrying on his expulsion policy upon a national scale, and is determined to either keep control of the U. B. C. & J. of A. or destroy it. He is absolutely unscrupulous. He uses the police, the courts, violates the constitution, and will destroy whole sections of the organization in order to keep his control of the union. He openly betrays the Brotherhood, as he did in Chicago, into the hands of the "open shoppers." He is opposed to strikes against the boss, but calls jurisdictional strikes, as he did in Kansas

(Continued on page 234).

In this volume he analyzes social relations in Russia, demonstrating with remarkable clarity and scientific knowledge, the incontestable growth of capitalism in Russia.

Lenin's Struggle With Struve.

Thus, from the very outset, two tendencies were apparent in legal Marxism. Lenin criticized Struve's "Critical Notes" and others of his works in the volume entitled "A Marxist Collection" which was burned, and which has not yet been published. (The article referred to is included in his collected works, under the pen-name of "Tulin".) Lenin was one of the first, who going hand in hand with Struve, felt, nevertheless, that he was not an altogether safe ally. In those years, when Struve was one of the most brilliant representatives of legal Marxism in Russia, it was not easy to come out against him, but Lenin did it. Already in the above-mentioned article, under the signature of "Tulin," he attacked the legal publications of Struve, accusing him even at that time of the gravest errors. He addressed him much as follows: "You

it may first be able to overthrow the autocracy of the Czar, and then push on against the autocracy of capital.... In short, it may once more be said, that the fundamental disagreement between the two groups, both within the camp of legal Marxism, resolved itself into the controversy regarding the hegemony of the proletariat, into the question as to whether the proletariat, would as a class, play the leading role in the revolution, whether it would in actual fact, conduct the struggle which would end in the victory of the working class, and the destruction of capitalism, or whether it would only advance in yoke with the other opposition forces, coming to a halt at victory over the autocracy, that is, at the establishment of a bourgeois system in Russia.

This then, was the background against which the workers' party in Russia was formed.

If you glance at other countries, Germany, for example, if you recall the historical work of Lassalle, you will see that in that country the bourgeois parties captured a significant portion of the workers, before the latter organized their own party. Lassalle began by liberating the workers from the influence of the bourgeois parties, their basic strata which the bourgeoisie had succeeded in capturing, and drew them over to the side of the workers' socialist party. And this development in Germany was not merely a chance phenomenon. Everywhere the bourgeoisie crystallized as a class before the proletariat, and everywhere they had their own party, their own ideology and their own literature earlier than the proletariat, and endeavored to capture a part of the workers for their own party.

In Russia the same phenomenon existed, but in a form peculiarly its own. Despite the fact that with us the bourgeoisie, as an open political force, took form later, nevertheless, in our case also, the first worker-revolutionists were impelled, not towards a workers' party, but toward the populist party, which, although to a certain extent bourgeois-democratic, was for all that a bourgeois party. To Lenin is due the credit for initiating in a certain measure, the thing that Lassalle had initiated in Germany. The setting, of course, was different, the ideological struggle assumed other forms, but the essential features were the same. The first thing to be done was to win over the various workers' groups that had gone astray, and had landed not in the workers', but in the populist party, in essence bourgeois; and then, having captured these groups, to begin together with them to build up a workers' party. Thus, if we keep in view the two currents in populism, on the one hand, and the two currents in Marxism, on the other, before us will be spread the ideological canvas upon which began the creation of the workers' party in Russia.

And now, after this long recital, I can proceed to my immediate theme—to the history of the party, in its proper significance.

The Embryo Period of the Party.

In his book, "What is to be Done?" of which I have already spoken, Comrade Lenin wrote that from the commencement of the eighties and nineties our movement was, so to speak, in the embryo stage of the party. In this decade, it was as though the working class was already pregnant with its coming child—the workers' party. There were just beginning to appear the first groups, which were very unstable, one falling to pieces, another being revived, when the first great ideological struggle commenced for an



ZINOVIEV.

From the bust by Clare Sheridan.

see one side of the phenomenon; you see that capitalism is coming, that it is breaking down the commune and serfdom—but you do not see the other side of the phenomenon, you do not see that with the initial appearance of capitalism our task does not consist in apprenticing ourselves to it, but in immediately organizing our own class, the working class, that

unions and farmers' organizations. This time, however, delegates to the state convention are to be elected at a series of county conventions held throughout the state. **These county conventions may be attended by any one who supports the Farmer-Labor Party** The contact with the workers' organizations and the organizations of dirt farmers is being cut off entirely. At the coming convention the Farmer-Labor Federation, which is the nearest thing to class organization inside the ranks of the Farmer-Labor Party, will be liquidated. Mahoney, who a year ago, was looked upon as a progressive is the leader behind this move.

The call to the convention concludes as follows:

"No members of the Workers (Communist) Party will be admitted to this unity conference March 20th."

Thus it can be readily seen that the journey to the right has been completed. Both the reactionaries and the so-called progressives are ready to scrap the Farmer-Labor Party, to give up all militant action in the trade union movement, to come out as open defenders of capitalism and the capitalist government.

The Communists are utilizing this situation by going to the rank and file exposing the treachery of these leaders. One mass meeting has been held in Minneapolis, attended entirely by trade unionists, at which our complete program was examined. Today it is safe to say that one-third of the rank and file workers in the labor movement in both St. Paul and Minneapolis are consciously following the lead of the Workers (Communist) Party. It may be that we will be eliminated in the central bodies of the American Federation of Labor; it may be that ultimately we will even be eliminated from local unions. But the campaign of persecution and expulsions followed here has reacted to our benefit and have strengthened our influence over the workers.

Negroes in American Industry

(Continued from page 208).

The percentage of Negro workers in non-manufacturing industries for the same year was as follows (the industries given below have always employed a larger percentage of Negroes than the industrial enterprises proper):

Hotels—53 per cent.

Laundries—44 per cent.

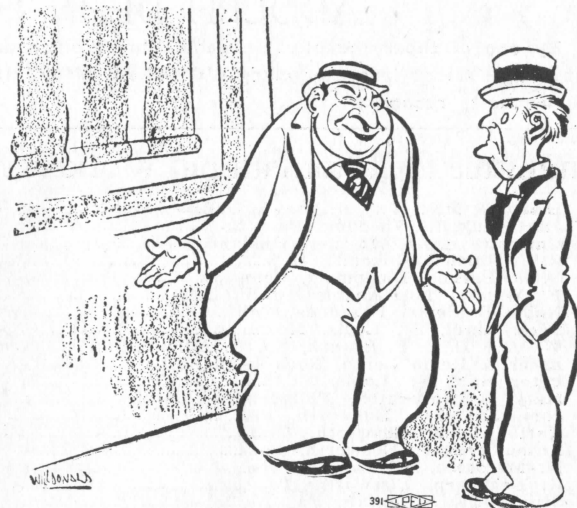
Mail order merchandise houses—8 per cent.

Railway sleeping and dining car service—68 per cent.

Miscellaneous (public service, warehouses, taxicabs, telegraph companies, etc.)—6 per cent.

A tabulation of the above percentages shows that in Chicago manufacturing industries in 1920 there was an average of 16 per cent of the working forces who were Negroes, with the quota rising to 23 per cent in the non-manufacturing industries.

According to the figures compiled by the Chicago Committee on Race Relations, the Negro population of Chicago increased from 44,103 in 1910 to 109,594 in 1920—an approximate increase of 250 per cent. The number of Negro workers increased from 27,000 in 1910 to about 70,000 in 1920. The increase in the percentage of Negro workers to Negro population in 1920 as compared with 1910 is undoubtedly due to the influx of Negro workers without families and consequently better able to leave the south.



YOU SAY YOUR CUSTOMERS GAVE YOU A BIRTHDAY PRESENT?

SURE. I HAD A COLLECTION BOX IN THE STORE MARKED "FOR THE BLIND"—AND THERE'S THE BLIND.

Migration North

Chicago is the heart of industrial America and from these figures we can gain a good idea of the magnitude of the problem created for the Negro himself—the labor movement and the Workers (Communist) Party by a social phenomenon which is well expressed in statistics showing that already in 1920 about 20 per cent of the workers in Chicago, the greatest industrial center in America, were Negroes.

The influx of Negro workers did not cease in 1920. It continued thru 1921-22-23, and figures made public by the southern state governments show that in this period more than 500,000 Negroes took their scanty belongings and left the southern exploiters to sulk in helpless rage. The Negro has at last found a way to avenge himself on his southern persecutors.

In 1924 the number of Negroes "goin' No'th" decreased due to the demand for agricultural labor in the south, where several million acres had reverted to the jungle because of the scarcity of labor.

The figures on lynching of Negroes in the south for 1924 speak volumes—they show a decrease of fifty per cent with a total of "only 19" Negroes done to death; horrible enough, but eloquent in that they show the increased safety of life and improved treatment in the drop from the 1923 total of 38 as a result of the withdrawal by the Negroes of their labor.

Most of the Negroes are in the north to stay and it is not necessary that the migration continue in a flood to bring the problem of the Negro in industry to the attention of the American workingclass. "The iron march of historical development" has already placed it on the order of business.

The unions of the industrial north and of southern states like Tennessee, North Carolina and Georgia that are rapidly becoming industrialized, can no longer shut their eyes and presume that only in isolated instances will they be called upon to make a decision. One-fifth of the American industrial workers now have black skins. They are in industry and are going to stay there.

(Another article by Comrade Dunne on the Negro question will appear next month.)

Fight the Capitalist Prosecutors!

DEFEND

Ruthenberg, Foster, Minor, Dunne, Severino
and the 27 others



THE CAPITALISTS WANT TO CRUSH THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

The Department of Justice has a new plot to take away the citizenship and deport Severino and other Communists and militant workers.

The Party membership and its friends and sympathizers must demonstrate their support.

WORKERS!

Rush funds to the

Labor Defense Council,
166 W. Washington St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Labor Defense Council
166 W. Washington St.
Chicago, Illinois

Here is my answer to the capitalist prosecution.....

Name

Address

City and State

Trade or Profession