THE FARM CRISIS - - By ANALYST

THERE is perhaps more muddled thinking on the farmer question in the United States than on any other economic problem. And such thinking is particularly muddled among the groups that are trying to bring about a working farmer-labor combination for political purposes.

This goes for the proletarian element in the farmer-labor movement, as well as for the Non-Partisan League and the Farmers' union and other organizations that think they see an identity of interest between the farmer and the wage-earner. Such an identity of interest in part exists—but not where these groups think it does. It does not consist, for example, in any supposed common motive for reducing the toll of the middleman.

Where most thinking on the farmer question goes wrong is in the assumption generally made that, somehow or other, the farmer does not get a fair price for what he sells. Wheat is worth so much on the farm, and considerably more when it is sold to the consumer in the form of bread. The spread is widely supposed to represent sheer graft—an unjust exaction from the farmer on the one hand and the consumer on the other.

It is easy to show, without going into abstruse mathematical calculations, that there is little basis for this easy assumption. For twenty years before the war, the prices of farm products rose faster than the prices of other goods, and there was a tremendous development of agriculture. These facts cannot possibly be made to square with the theory that farming was unprofitable because of low prices for farm products at the farm. Even if that assumption were not sufficiently disproved by the greater pre-war rise of farm products than of other goods, it would be knocked out by the record of agricultural expansion. No industry grows unless there is money in it.

But the present agricultural emergency is supposed to have grown out of the war and its aftermath. It may be said that if the position of the farmer was all right in regard to the prices obtainable for his products in the twenty years before the war, it isn't all right now. That, in fact, is the diagnosis most commonly made of the agricultural trouble. Farmers are going bankrupt by the thousand, it is said, because there is a disparity between the prices of what they have to sell and the prices of what they have to buy which puts them at a disadvantage to other economic groups all along the line.

If you take the situation as it stands at this moment, there seems to be some truth in this statement. But it is impossible to know the position of an industry by looking only at the prices of its products for a single day, or for a single year. Prices are always fluctuating in response to changes in supply and demand. The only way to find out how one enterprise stands in relation to another, or to industry and trade generally, is to consider the average prices paid for its products over a term of years.

When we apply this test to agriculture, what do we find? We find that farm products bring their natural price in the market the same as other goods. Farm products are low now; but they were high during the war. Index numbers published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture show that in 1914 the purchasing power of agricultural commodities was 12 per cent above the level of the preceding year, which is usually taken as normal in index number calculations. In 1915 the farm purchasing power index was 6 per cent above the 1913 level; in 1918, 12 per cent; in 1919, 11 per cent.

There has been a slump since. But the average from 1913 to 1924 is only slightly below the par of 1913. All last year the farm purchasing power index was rising. Indications are that it will continue to rise for some time. Over a period of years, the ups and down in farm commodity prices cancel out, and an average is struck that represents a fair exchange, value for value, between agriculture and other groups.

Economic science, as well as statistics, enforces this conclusion. One of the most solidly established laws of economics is the law of equal profits. This is the truth that, in the long run, capital and labor invested in one line of production will earn profits at the same rate as equal amounts invested in other lines, a result brought about by the ebb and flow of capital and labor in pursuit of gain. Since profits can only be realized by the exchange of goods, it follows that no class of goods can permanently sell on the bargain counter.

Does that seem a pretty big dose to swallow? Try to imagine the opposite. Suppose some industry to be earning fabulous profits. Will not capital and labor be drawn into it until competition brings the rate down? Or, on the other hand, can you conceive of capital and labor being continuously poured into an enterprise yielding a lower return than is obtainable elsewhere? You cannot. You cannot explain the tremendous flow of capital and labor into agriculture in this country in the last few decades, except on the assumption that the operation has been profitable to someone.

Profitable, yes. But for whom? That is the whole question. When it is answered, we shall have arrived at the true basis for farmer-cooperation, and shall have done with the false basis that is generally adopted now. The farmers of the United States are not prosperous as a class, and have not been prosperous as a class for a long time. How this fact can be reconciled with the assertion already made that Agriculture has been prosperous. The explanation is the same as the one that applies to the position of the wage-earner. The wage-earner is not prosperous because he does not own industry, and the farmer is not prosperous because he does not own agriculture.

There is plenty of evidence that the farmers are not prosperous. According to the census, farm mortgage debt increased from $6,330,236,951 in 1910 to $13,775,550,013, or 117.6 per cent; in the period from 1890 to 1910 it increased from $3,064,923,165 to $6,330,236,951. Doubtless much of this money was borrowed for investment purposes; but that it did not produce much profit for the farmer is shown by the fact, as reported by the secretary of agriculture, that in the fifteen wheat states alone more than 108,000 farmers have since 1920 lost their farms or other property thru foreclosure or bankruptcy, while more than 122,000 have lost their property without legal proceedings and nearly 373,000 are retained in nominal possession only by the sufferance of their creditors.

Forty per cent of the farmers of South Dakota are bankrupt, according to the secretary of agriculture; and 42 per cent in Colorado, 50 per cent in North Dakota, 51 per cent in Wyoming, and 62 per cent in Montana. Farm values dropped $13,000,000,000 from Jan. 1, 1922, to March 1, 1922, and in 1922 more than 2,000,000 persons moved from the farms to the cities.

But we must distinguish between the farmer as an individual, and the economic enterprise which he works. It does not follow, because the farmers have not prospered, that agriculture has been unprofitable, any more than the existence of slums in a big city proves that the industries of that city are losing money. The truth is that the capital invested in agriculture has been well paid. On the $13,775,500,013 of mortgage debt reported by the census in 1920, the average interest return was 6.1 per cent; and the return was considerably higher on the vast unreported volume of chattel and crop mortgages and collateral and personal security. Probably the borrowed capital invested in farming has regularly paid upward of 10 per cent. Considering the security, that is a handsome return.

Farmers are unprosperous as a class because they do not own the capital used in agricultural production. As agriculture grows more and more complex, it takes more and more capital to run it. This necessity steadily weakens the farmer's position as an independent producer, as a member of the petty bourgeoisie, and forces him down to a peasant status. He is a victim of the same process by which small capital generally has to make way in production for large capital. Always going on, this process is speeded up in times of crisis.

It is common knowledge that the principal cause of failure in business is insufficient capital. Thus in the week ended Jan. 17, 1924, according to Bradstreet's, out of 525 business failures in the United States, 379 involved concerns having less than $5,000 capital, 81 were failures of concerns with less than $20,000 capital, 28 of the defunct enterprises had less than $50,000 capital, 33 had less than $100,000, and only 4 had less than $500,000. That has been the story of business failures for years.

It is also the story of agriculture failure,—for the individual farmer. Agriculture, capitalized by the mortgage corporation, the banker, and the lender of personal credit, rolls up big profits for the owners of the money invested; it tends to show diminishing returns year by year for the actual producer. It may be well to emphasize again what has already been shown, that the cause of this unequal division of rewards is not fundamentally a question of prices for commodities. The fundamental trouble is that our whole economic system is organized, not for the benefit of the producer, but for the benefit of the man that supplies the capital.

Keeping this fact in mind should save the farmer-labor movement from serious mistakes. One error it should guard against is the effort, growing naturally out of the price-theory of farm depression, to unite all farmers with the wage-earners in a political movement. Farmers do not fall into a single economic class. They are divided among themselves into groups according to their command of capital.

In many states a large proportion of the farmers are true entrepreneurs. They own their farms and their machinery of production, largely because they or their forbears were on the ground before the present era of large scale capitalist production developed.

In other states, where the lure of cheap land induced thousands of men to start farming on a shoe-string, not ten per cent of the so-called rarmers are free from the domination of outside capital. They are victims of the fact that the growth and concentration of capital is making independent production as difficult in agriculture as in industry. Their place, if they only knew it, is with the true proletarians.

These men can be logically united with labor in an attack on the capitalist system. But a blanket appeal to all farmers, which ignores the fundamental economic distinctions among them, and attempts to base a farmer-labor struggle on the myth that exploitation takes place thru manipulation of commodity prices, is useless because unsound in principle, and dangerous because it tends to hide the true cause of both agricultural and industrial poverty.

The Farmer and His Troubles

A Hornet's Nest.

MICKEY M'GREW

By EDGAR LEE MASTERS

It was like everything in life:
Something outside myself drew me down,
My own strength never failed me.
Why, there was the time I earned money
With which to go away to school,
And my father suddenly needed help
And I had to give him all of it.
Just so it went till I ended up
A man-of-all-work in Spoon River.
Thus when I got the water-tower cleaned,
And they hauled me up the seventy feet,
I unhooked the rope from my waist,
And laughingly flung my giant arms
Over the smooth steel lips of the top of the tower—
But they slipped from the treacherous slime,
And down, down, down, I plunged
Thru bellowing darkness.

"Revolution in itself is no abstract principle, but a material historical fact, growing out of class antagonism, out of the violent subjection of one class by another."

The Farmer

Tells His Tale of Woe.

JOHN PEPPER: "FOR A LABOR PARTY" - By AUGUST THALHEIMER, BERLIN

(The review of the pamphlet by John Pepper is written by one of the best Marxists in the International. August Thalheimer is also the intellectual leader of the German Communist Party.)

COMRADE John Pepper has recently published, thru the Workers Party of America, a booklet which is intended to prepare the ground for the formation of a labor party in America, which will embrace all the elements of the labor movement which stand for an independent proletarian class party, and which shall also rope in the proletarian and semi-proletarian farmer elements. The booklet has already run into a second edition, the first edition having been published in October of last year in anticipation of the Cleveland Conference on the 11th of December, 1922, on the agenda of which there also stood the question of the formation of a labor party. The present edition was issued in view of the new conference of the 3rd of July, last.

This booklet by Comrade Pepper, while serving the immediate purpose of facilitating the formation of a labor party as mentioned above, at the same time provides a very clear and thoro analysis of the relationships of the classes in America, which is of very great interest to the European working class. America is a country where the capitalist system stands on the most solid basis and still, apparently, possesses unlimited possibilities. In the course of the World Revolution, America will certainly form the strongest bulwark of counter-revolution. Finally, America is the country which is on the way to becoming the strongest imperialist power, and which already, in spite of her official policy of non-intervention in European affairs, has cast her net over all lands and seas. For the foregoing reasons it is of the utmost importance that the working class acquires an exact knowledge of the class relationships and of the tendencies in the development of the classes in this capitalist Colossus. Such a knowledge reveals to us that this Colossus by no means consists of one compact mass, as is generally assumed in the west, but that already, elements of social disintegration are to be seen. Americans like to prate of gigantic figures and huge standards generally. As a matter of fact, things in America are on a far vaster scale and proceed at a much faster rate than we are accustomed to in our narrow and Balkanized Europe, and we should be committing a great error were we to estimate the pace and the extent of social movements in America by the diminutive European standards. This is not only on account of the extent of the country, but is due before all to her relative freedom from those traditions which check and hamper the broad masses in Europe. America is a young nation with a working class which is still in the early stage of development.

The writer examines in the first place the question as to how it is that, hitherto, all "Third Parties" which have arisen in addition to the two old parties the democratic and the republican party after a short time, during which they grew into more or less great mass parties, have, in one way or another, only disappeared. Comrade Pepper gives a short, but nevertheless, a most striking analysis of these parties, which serves to fully explain why this is bound to be the case. Viewed outwardly, we see that all these Third Parties have arisen in a period of economic depression, have reached their culminating point during the recurrence of the economic crisis, only to disintegrate with the return of a period of prosperity. This is the historical law which has hitherto governed these third parties.

The first of this series of third parties was the Greenback party (Greenback is a popular name for the dollar note), so called because it fought for a reform of the currency which should bring about a reduction of the farmers' debts. The party united the petty bourgeoisie and farmers, while later on workers joined it. The party was formed during the economic crisis of 1873, which, as is known, extended to 1880. The party gained about 82,000 votes in 1876, and in 1878 one million votes; but the prosperity which set in in 1880 destroyed it. In 1884 it could only command 175,000 votes.

There followed the "Knights of Labor." This party appeared in 1880 as a sect of no importance, but in 1884, a year of economic panic, it rose to more than 60,000 members, reaching its culmination in 1886 with more than 700,000 members, and about 6,000 local groups. The period of prosperity, beginning in 1887, led to the decline of the party, which in 1889 had only 220,000 members.

Thirdly, there appeared the People's Party. It traces its birth to the economic depression arising in 1890, reaching its highest strength in the year 1894, when it received more than one million and a half votes. The period of prosperity following destroyed its independence, and it joined the democratic party as its left wing. In the year 1900, when "prosperity was in full swing," this party had disappeared entirely, even as the left wing of the Democratic Party.

Pittsburgh

By Louis Lozowick.

The Progressive Party dates back to the crisis of 1907-1908. In 1909, the "National Progressive Republican League" was formed. A similar movement manifested itself in the democratic party as the "Democratic Federation." In 1912 an independent "Progressive Party" was founded, which immediately grew to a great mass party. It received four million votes from farmers, lower middle class, and workers, while at the same time the Socialist Party gained nearly a million votes. In 1916, during the great prosperity engendered by the war, the progressive party again disappeared.

The writer reveals quite correctly the causes of this phenomenon. All these parties were essentially petty bourgeois parties. Hence their vacillating and ambiguous character, their rapid rise in the periods of crisis, and equally rapid absorption by the great capitalist parties in the period of prosperity. The enormously rapid rate in the development and downfall of these parties seems to depend not only on their petty bourgeois character in general, but on the specifically American character of the petty bourgeoisie, i. e., the tremendous class fluctuations within the American petty bourgeoisie. The American petty bourgeoisie, the principal masses of which are small and middling farmers, are changing at an immensely rapid rate in their personal composition, owing to emigration, changing from farming to industry, from industry to farming, thru rising into the large bourgeois class or sinking down to the proletariat or down to the slum proletariat, etc. Special causes for the rapid decay of these petty bourgeois parties are, beside the looseness of organization, the want of a fixed economic orginizatory basis, and the utopian, confused and contradictory character of their programs. Hence with all these parties, the time arrived when they were taken in tow by the capitalist leaders ruling both the old parties. Either their leaders were bought, or their programs were annexed.

The author has shown by this analysis that the mistrust of the American workers in the existence of Third Parties is quite justified in regard to the former petty bourgeois parties. He shows, however, that all the causes which were responsible for the rapid disorganization of the petty bourgeois parties, would not apply to a worker's party, to a party relying upon the working class and including the small tenant farmers and the mortgage farmers and in which the working class has the lead. The writer considers that the trade-unions should be the organizatory foundation of this party. He declares the present moment of transition from the period of crisis to that of prosperity, to be especially favorable for the formation of a workers' party.

The writer then proceeds to the pre-requisites for the formation of a workers' party in the foregoing sense. Two underlying facts are to be noticed which are highly important for the further development of the class struggle in America.

The first is the development of a centralized governmental power, an extensive state bureaucracy. America has been, up to now, and remains even so today, for Karl Kautsky, the example of a democracy without autonomy. Kautsky has been dozing during the development of America in the last few years. The non-bureaucratic, decentralized American democracy is already a thing of the past. It was, before all, the world war which swept away this old idyllic democracy and created the modern, centralized state, administered in a bureaucratic manner and protected by militarism. The great war brought about an enormous extension of the presidential power, a centralized government control of the whole industrial life (shipbuilding, manufacture of munitions, coal, raw products of all kinds), the centralized governmental administration of railways and telegraphs, enforced labor in the war industries, the espionage act, the censor, a gigantic army and an equally gigantic bureaucracy.

The figures relating to the number of government employees are especially interesting. In 1884, the state bureaucracy had only 13,780 officials, but 278,000 in 1912, 440,000 in 1916 and 918,000 in 1918. At the end of the war, bureaucracy was again reduced to about 600,000 members, but its nature remained; the bureaucratic centralization has remained; the railroads have been given back to their private owners, but state control has been retained. At present we have the interference of the capitalized Government as arbitrator in workers' quarrels and as fighter for the interests of the employers in strikes.

The formation of a centralized state power in opposition to the working class is one of the conditions for the formation of a centralized proletarian class party. A second fact is the levelling down of the American working class. The differences between skilled and unskilled, between American and immigrant workers are being obliterated. Of special importance in America up till now was the difference between the native American workers and the immigrant European workers, which often coincided with the difference between skilled and unskilled workers. The war has enabled the great masses, especially the unskilled immigrant workers employed in the metal industry, to approximate their standard of life to that of the old workers' aristocracy. There is no longer any question of these masses going into agriculture. The land is already occupied. These masses, coming for the greater part from the East and South of Europe, descendants of peasants, half-peasants or petty bourgeoisie, are crowded together in enormous factories, transplanted into completely new conditions, and form the soil of the revolutionary development in America.

Further, the writer points out that, under the pressure of capitalist concentration on the one hand, and of the social pressure of the working class and petty bourgeoisie on the other, the old capitalist parties are decaying and the soil is being prepared for the formation of parties according to the altered social structure, i. e., a conservative reactionary capitalist party, including the reactionary elements of the democratic and republican party, a petty bourgeois radical party and finally a labor party. The writer considers that the conference of the 3rd of July will provide half a million of members at the very start. If this should be the case, it would betoken an immense progress, the beginning of independent action within the American working class. The American development is of special interest to the European workers. With the rapidly increasing capitalist concentration, with the growth of American forms of capitalism in Western Europe, there develops at the same time the American form of the class struggle: before all in the economic field, as recent strike movements have already shown.

We recommend this excellent booklet to the thoro study of all comrades.

"The opposition between theory and practice vanishes, for theory is nothing else than correctly considered and generalized practice."

"Leninism is the highest embodiment and condensation of Marxism for direct revolutionary action in the epoch of the imperialist death agony of capitalist society."

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THE MINERS' CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1)

and, instead of throwing a single miner out of employment, let us shorten the work day and divide what work there is equally among us."

The miners have no love for the coal operators, but have been taught that without them there would be no coal mined, therefore, no work, and no food, clothing and shelter. The radicals are teaching the miners that coal operators do not dig coal, that they do not even manage the coal mines, this being done in the great majority of cases by hired men, and that the elimination of the coal operator from the mining industry would mean that those who dig the coal and manage the mines would receive, in addition to what they get now, that part of the production which goes to the absent coal operator in profits.

When these facts sink into the heads of the active minority in the miners' union they will rally to the leaders who are now being crucified by John L. Lewis, because they are fighting for their class. The radical leadership that is now developing in the United Mine Workers of America will not, as in other years when the socialists occupied that position, waste their time in desultory tirading against the machine on the platform of "Democracy versus Autocracy," but will fight for immediate demands that offer a better solution of the problems of the miners than what Lewis can offer, show them that they can, by a fighting policy, secure more from the bosses than by sitting around a table in the agreeable climate of Palm Beach and point to a way out of the cul-de-sac into which the rapid introduction of new machinery is leading the coal industry.

Machine Not Impregnable

The old machine is vulnerable because it has no policy for the future. Its strength lies in its power to purchase the salable ability in the union and the fact that it has yet the ideological leadership of the majority of the miners. This must be admitted until contrary evidence that can stand on its feet is brought forward. On the appointive power, representation from large locals, the Howat case—questions not involving abstract theories, but matters of administration and internal policies—Lewis' machine was tipped over, but because there was no leadership that could rally the delegates ideologically, the machine simply waited until the fury aroused over these issues subsided and in the Howat case at the end of the convention, put on its hat and coat and went home.

The miners' union is the most powerful workingclass organization in America, and the most militant. It is a fighting organization, and is permeated with radicalism. The communists have a splendid opportunity to secure the leadership of that great fighting aggregation. The groundwork was laid for future activity at the Indianapolis convention. And that really was the only worth while accomplishment during the two weeks that the delegates were in session. The radicals left with a practical program for immediate action and the machinery necessary to put that program into effect.

The activity of the Workers Party at the convention, its generalship, the amount of literature it distributed, the meetings it arranged, and, most important of all, the part played by the DAILY WORKER, is a testimony to the virility of the only communist party in America, and its complete hegemony of the left wing working class political movement in the United States.

HOLIDAY - -

By WALDO FRANK

Published by Bori and Liveright, New York City; $2.00 Net.

A book aflame with the South. Dark passion throbs in it. The color of the South is in the book, the South where the songs of our land are born and flourish, where suffering bears songs, where the color of life is black and a deep red. Waldo Frank is a poet, he reaches the heights of poetry in his prose, he has caught the warmth of the place he describes, he has woven about it a beautiful story that hardly seems like a story, that is a poem and that is living. This book of Waldo Frank's is a living thing.

It isn't as if you took the book up and read it thru and said to yourself, "Oh, just another story, just another novel." It is not like other books, for there is nothing artificial about it, it is a live thing, it lives with you. There is the feel of the South in it, and not simply a study of dialect and curious customs, for the passion throbbing in it transcends these things.

A white woman is drawn to a Negro, and the Negro feels the white beauty of the woman upon him. The white woman is to blame if there is any blame. But she refuses to take the blame, she refuses to intercede for the Negro. In a moment of unguardedness when she was her real self on that Holiday, she was drawn to the Negro irresistibly, but later she has collected herself, her face is drawn again, her lips are tight, and the Negro, John Cloud, dangles from a rope.

John Cloud crushes a boll-weevil between his fingers, and even so the white man crushes the Negro. A black man falls into the water, and no white man jumps in to fetch him out, to save him from drowning. They let him drown because his skin is black. That is the hatred that exists down in the South, a hatred that breeds hatred, that ends with lynching. "John moves. In the silent gap between the passing black man and the whites, lives a red sore that thought and time must swell." Why this hatred? It is not natural, at bottom there is love between black and white. At bottom there is love between Virginia Hade and John Cloud, but the hatred is the only thing one can see on the surface. This hatred that is only on the surface must disappear some day and give way to the real thing underneath, but while it exists there are lynchings.

Judge Hade says this to his daughter, Virginia: "Daughter, you're smart. Smart enough to run this business by yourself. That I allow. But you-all ain't smart enough to run the South." That's at the bottom of it, the white men, or a clique of them, the rich white men, want to run the South. And the millions of Negroes don't count. They must work, they must pick the cotton and the fruit, they must amass the wealth for the rich white man, and the rich white man gets the poor white to help him keep the Negro down by breeding hatred in him. But the hatred will disappear, and then no innocent black men will be lynched, no, nor will guilty black men be lynched, there will be no lynching.

May a Negro love a white woman? Instincts say yes, traditions say no. "I've watched you, nigger, I've watched you lookin' at my daughter. How dare you look at my daughter? Nigger, that look in yo' eyes means murder in our land. How dare you, nigger, look so hard at my daughter that you forget to salute the white man at yo' side?" There you have it. It is forbidden for a Negro to look at a white woman, but Bob Hade, Virginia's brother, does permit himself to hunt for black women and to satisfy his lust upon them. The white man is privileged in this land.

Waldo Frank has felt the beauty of those millions of beings living down in the South, the black folk living in their communities, slaving away, and singing their beautiful songs, the life that springs out of the soil, that flickers bright against the darkness of misery. "—O you have so much! Low down. . . . You dumb and dull, we talk like you. And we sing your songs. And wherever we look, be it at Christ himself, your color's in our eye. Low down. In the quiet of our evenings at home, you are there. My feet wander in pain, toward you they wander. Pity for me. Low down. . . . Pity for me! I'll not feel sorry for you blazing niggers. You grow out of the soil. Your flesh stays sweet in the dark flames of the South. We wage a pallid fight, an ugly—there you are, blazing in ease, in truth, against our lies. Pity for me!" Those are the thoughts that course thru the white woman's mind.

Waldo Frank's style is the finest thing about the book. He does not use old, decayed methods, that were good at one time but are no longer. He seeks new paths, to fit his new materials. He has imagery, he creates, he invents, he breaks away from the traditional, he uses his fantasy, to weave new forms, to strike new phrases, he finds new paths. And all this is felt, not simply thought out, both thought out and felt, there you have a wonderful amalgamation which produces a great writer, one of our greatest, perhaps the greatest, Waldo Frank.

—SIMON FELSHIN.

Labor Conventions--1924

April 1-11, Pittsburgh, Pa., Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of North America.

April ——, Washington, D. C., International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

May 5-15, ——, International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America.

May 12-24, Cleveland, Ohio, Hotel Hollenden. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

May 12-17, Colorado Springs, Colo., Antlers Hotel. American Federation of Musicians.

May 26-31, ——, International Alliance Theatrical Stage Employes of the United States and Canada.

May 21-June 4, New York City, Hotel Imperial, United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

June 4, New York City, Hotel Astor, Actors' Equity Association (Annual meeting).

July ——, Chicago, Ill., International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.

July ——, ——, American Federation of Teachers.

July 1-10, Atlantic City, N. J., Continental Hotel, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

July 8-15, Atlantic City, N. J., Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

July 14-21, New York City, Piano, Organ and Musical Instrument Workers' International Union of America.

July 15-20, ——, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

July 21-27, Boston, Mass., International Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America.

July 21-26, Atlanta, Ga., International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union.

August 6-11, Chicago, Ill., International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.

August 11-16, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, International Typographical Union.

August 18-23, Los Angeles, Calif., International Photo-Engravers' Union.

August 25-30, Pressmens' Home, Tenn., International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

September 1-14, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

September 8, Kansas City, Mo., International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

September 8-15, New York City, United Textile Workers of America.

September 8-18, Indianapolis, Ind., United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

September 8-13, Detroit, Mich., International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

September 8-15, St. Louis, Mo., Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

September 8-18, Montreal, Canada, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America.

September 8-18, Kansas City, Mo., International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

September 9-19, Indianapolis, Ind., Journeymen Barbers' International Union of North America.

September 12-16, Kansas City, Mo., International Association of Fire Fighters.

September 15-22, ——, United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

October 7-10, ——, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

Fear Display of Wealth

Chancellor Marx, of Germany, has sent out word that no attempt is to be made at propaganda to influence the decision of the Reparations' Commission. At the "Esplanade," the Stinnes hotel, where Charley Dawes and the rest are stopping, a "Charity Ball," with tickets at $7.50 per, has been cancelled, because the display of wealth might unfavorably impress the visitors.

The "Esplanade" is the site of a soup kitchen, Stinnes' sole contribution to the "relief" of German hunger. The kitchen is supplied with the garbage from the hotel dining room. Thus, every time Banker Dawes eats a meal, he contributes to German relief.

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Special Magazine Supplement

THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION

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THE MINERS' CONVENTION

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

AFTER the smoke of battle and the fumes of bunk-laden oratory cleared away from Tomlinson hall, Indianapolis, where the 29th consecutive and 60th biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America was held, John L. Lewis, representing the reactionary leadership in the organization, still held his place in the saddle, tho his position was considerably more precarious than when the convention opened.

The fight at this convention was not, as in former years, between the controlling machine and the old progressives, but between the reactionary machine, which has assimilated or amalgamated the old progressives, and the rising radical wing, led by the communists.

The outstanding feature of this convention was that the radicals for the first time in the history of the organization, showed that they knew that it is not only necessary to fight, but to prepare this fight. As the convention progressed, this element was gaining in militancy and self confidence, and tho John L. Lewis may claim a victory, it was truly a Pyhrric one, because his Nemesis was born when he deliberately stole the vote on Alexander Howat and literally told the delegates to "go to hell."

With the radicals entering the next convention as well organized, disciplined and enthusiastic as when they left this one, John L. Lewis may have a different story to tell.

There is a greater number of capable machine lieutenants in the United Mine Workers of America than in any other industrial working class organization in the United States. It was said of the French army under Napoleon "that every soldier of France carried a Marshall's baton in his knapsack," and it can (also) be said that every member of the United Mine Workers who can use his tongue carries an organizer's commission in his portfolio. The Lewis machine is built on patronage. Whenever a promising member of the union shows his head above the common level, he is gobbled up by the administration forces, placed on the payroll if he is for sale, and if not, war is declared against him.

The political generalship of the miners' union is in the hands of John L. Lewis and William Green, assisted by Thomas Kennedy and Philip Murray. The first three named are clever, know the miners and can appeal effectively to their emotions. They are definitely committed to the policy of class collaboration, have no vision beyond an occasional increase of wages and improvement of working conditions. In this respect, they mirror the views of the majority of the miners—payroll brigade included—at the present time. They have the ideological leadership of the membership as was demonstrated whenever questions other than those relating particularly to the miners' organization, came up for consideration. That, together with a liberal show of force, determination—and the payroll—enables them to hold their seats.

On organization questions, however, their hold on the membership is precarious, only a refusal to recognize an adverse majority vote enabled them to retain power.

The Old Progressives

In other days the miners' union was the happy hunting ground for progressives. It was the nest where the industrial chickens of the socialist party were hatched. What a brood there was! Thomas Kennedy, Charles Keeney, John Brophy, Chris Golden, John Hessler, Otto Gunner, and hundreds of lesser lights. Where are they today? So indissolubly bound with the most reactionary machine that ever controlled the United Mine Workers of America that at the last convention there was only one old progressive deflection from the administration, and that was in the case of John Hessler of Indiana, whose Ku Klux Klan constituency obviously instructed him to vote against Lewis, on the issue of appointive power versus election by referendum.

The Klan, which is doing considerable "boring from within" in the miners' union, practically controls the organization in Indiana, and the power of election would mean to them the placing in the field of Klan organizers, getting paid by the miners' union, and organizing workers into the Invisible Empire under the direction of the Dragon of Indiana.

On every other issue that rocked the convention the old progressives never kicked over the traces or expressed the slightest disagreement with the reactionary machine. They can be put down as hopeless and the radicals must not count on them in any way. In fact, their acquaintance with the radical movement makes them dangerous enemies, much more so than the consistent conservatives.

The Radicals

The opposition to Lewis at the convention comes under three general headings. First were the communists, who fought Lewis on principle, because of his social outlook, plus his general conduct. Next came the radicals, or militants, who believe in fighting the coal operators, and who are disgusted with the subservient and complacent attitude of Lewis toward the bosses as against his ruthless persecution of the fighter in the union. This element is sympathetic to the communist message and is excellent fighting material. Last come those who, for various reasons, are anti-Lewis for other reasons, generally of a local character.

The militants lacked sufficient floor material, with the result that the few speakers they had spoke oftener than would be desirable were it possible to do otherwise. These few had to take the floor on every question where the radical point of view was at stake. The great majority of the communist delegates, owing to difficulties with the English language, or lack of experience in speaking, were unable to make themselves heard, and yet they were the backbone of the opposition and the nucleus of what will grow into the near future into the most formidable machine that ever challenged reaction in the United Mine Workers of America.

The non-communist radicals represented the largest opposition in the convention. This group was gradually learning to fight with the communists and, at the close of the convention, the voting strength of this element numbered around 450. This was demonstrated in the voting on the election of international delegates to the Mining Congress when John Hindmarsh, who fought with the communists on practically every issue that came before the convention, received 449 votes.

It is from this fighting element that the bulk of the organized opposition must come. Under communist leadership and discipline it is even now numerically strong enough to overthrow the present autocratic administration, but until the masses of the membership are ideologically in harmony with it, and a sufficiently large number of lieutenants are trained to man the union, such a victory would not be lasting, and might be disastrous.

The Fight for Leadership

The administration leaders understand the miners. The miners are intensely loyal to the organization. It is the big thing in their lives. It gives them whatever protection they have. They have sacrificed much for it, and without it they know from experience that their conditions of work would be almost unbearable.

The reactionary leaders take advantage of this fact and endeavor to picture every opposition leader as an open or secret enemy of the miners' union, whose actions are inspired by a desire to bring about the destruction of the United Mine Workers of America. Such a charge, delivered in deep sepulchral tones, to the nineteen hundred delegates, has a telling effect. No argument or evidence is needed.

The miners will not tolerate any leader who accepts a cut in wages. Therefore Lewis and his gang meet every attack on their leadership with an array of figures, tending to show that they have been instrumental in securing more wage advances than any other leaders in the history of the union. While, during the fight against the Nova Scotia miners, he waves the red flag and sounded the charges on the Third International, Lewis emphasized still more strongly the discrepancy between the wages of the Nova Scotia miners and that of their American fellow workers. He accused the radical leaders of the Nova Scotia miners with having accepted wage reductions, while he brought into the pockets of the anthracite miners the large sum of $44,000,000 a year in wage increases.

That the Nova Scotia miners looked beyond wage increases to the ultimate emancipation of the entire workingclass, where the producers could determine their own wages, while struggling for improved conditions in the meantime, was lost sight of in face of the fact that they receive less wages now than the miners of America under the leadership of John L. Lewis.

The delegates were in ideological accord with Mr. Lewis. They were not concerned with their emancipation from wage slavery; they only thought of selling their labor power for the highest possible price.

The point Lewis stressed most in dealing with the violation of the agreement between the British Empire Coal Company and the District 26, was that a violation of an agreement between the coal operaters and any section of the union weakens the confidence of the coal operators in the integrity of the union, thus rendering the making of contracts more difficult and the periods of unemployment thru strikes more frequent.

In the fight against Howat Lewis did not over stress the fight against the Industrial Court Law, but laid heavy emphasis on the lack of friendly relations between the coal operators and deposed Kansas officials for which he blamed the miners' leaders.

So far as Lewis is concerned, the miners' union is a business, of which he is manager. His commodity is the labor power of the members. Any department head who antagonizes the buyers of that commodity commits a crime that merits the severest punishment. The manager's job is to keep the miners satisfied so that they will give maximum service to the buyer.

The Artillery Preparation

The coal diggers are not afraid of radicalism as such, therefore the old leaders picture to them a broken and demoralized union with reduced wages the result if ever the radicals gain control. The first two days of the convention were practically consumed in psychologizing the delegates against the radicals, and the radical leaders who took the floor to stem this torrent of red phobia somehow got confused in the minds of the less mentally alert with the destructive bogey man, which was manufactured by Mr. Lewis. Immediately after he laid down the psychological barrage he sent forward his shock troops with the most dangerous resolutions and passed them safely thru the enemy lines while the latter were still groggy from the effects of the poison gas.

Being successful in his first brush with the progressive foe, Mr. Lewis oozed confidence, which resulted in giving him the support of the neutral mass, which always belongs to the strongest.

His Vulnerable Point

John L. Lewis stands brazenly on a platform, the only plank in which is the alleged ability to sell the miners' labor power to the coal operators at the best possible price. But he has no solution of the problems that confront the miners in the introduction of new machinery in the mines, which is increasing the production of coal per man to an unprecedented degree, thus throwing hundreds of thousands of miners out of work.

That is the big problem for the miners, the problem of unemployment.

Here the radicals hammer with effectiveness. They have a program. They come forward with the immediate demand of a six hour day and the nationalization of the mines. While Lewis claims there are over 200,000 men too many in the coal industry, the radicals say "No, there are too many coal miners outside the union. Let us bring them in

(Continued on page 8)

Where Is Our Prosperity?

THE official propagandists of the employers are overworking themselves spreading the illusion amongst the workers that we are on the threshold of a new era of prosperity. In many ways the publicity smacks of being an organized effort to befuddle the minds of the working men. One cannot pick up a newspaper or financial journal of any standing and fail to find columns stuffed with the great prosperity predictions.

But when one discards these romances of finance and examines the official reports of the Government and the authoritative statements of leading banks and manufacturing corporations he is confronted with a different story. He is then face to face with grim realities that the mass of workers must put up with.

The latest report on employment issued by the Department of Labor indicates that there has been a continuous decline in the number of workers employed since last June. The month of December which has been painted as a month of extraordinary prosperity in the daily press shows a decline of 1.5% of workers employed. Payrolls thruout the country have decreased 1.7%, the sugar refining industry and the steam railroad car building are the heaviest sufferers.

The daily record of pig iron production in December as well as the value of building permits shows a substantial decrease in December from the preceding month. The number of commercial failures increased from 1653 in November to 1862 in December. The same holds true for the value of the liabilities incurred thru these failures.

The situation in Illinois is particularly acute. The official statement of the Illinois Department of Labor speaks of the blight of winter having fallen rather heavily on the labor market. It goes on to say: "Unemployment of considerable proportions has made its appearance in several localities and is at its worst in Chicago, where the market is already glutted, from the migration of workers from the farms, from the South, and from down State mining towns, where operations have been suspended, has had to bear the strain". In the State the building industry has suffered a decline during December. Six of the largest producers of iron and steel, employing about 20,000 workers have dismissed 30% of their force in the last 30 day period. Automobile production was at low ebb during the month. At the same time the number of workers placed in industry by the State Employment Bureau fell by about 4,000.

These are the cold, dismal statistics that face the worker in his every day life. These are the facts of industry that give the lie to the prosperity propaganda being spread so assiduously by our employing class press.

THE THIRD PARTY QUESTION - -

By GEORGE HALONEN

WHEN the last party convention decided to withdraw from the Labor-Party thesis the part relating to the Third Party, it was distinctly understood that the question would be discussed in the party press. However, fundamental discussion has been carried on only in the language press. Comrades John Pepper, C. E. Ruthenberg and Max Bedacht, from whom we would have expected analytical ability and theoretical knowledge, have dealt with this question mostly polemically and politically they have erroneously "analyzed" more or less imaginary "groupings" in the convention and, instead of fundamental discussion of the Farmer-Labor movement, we have had assertions that the "majority" do not "love" farmers so ardently as the "minority," that the "majority" is formed from "sectarians," "propagandists," etc., that "something more than an assertion of a report in the Vol zeitung is needed to make the we believe that the Finnish language group in alliance with Comrade Ludwig Lore, Alexander Trachtenberg, Juliet S. Poyntz, etc., are all at once promoted to custodians of radicalism in the party," and other such nonsense.

Without troubling myself to answer these silly "analyses" and "polemics," which, I must confess, have in my mind minimized the Party analytical ability of these comrades in other respects, I wish to say that the majority of the delegates from the Ninth district considered the Third Party thesis, not only untimely but of such nature that, published as the resolution of the Communist convention, it would have created confusion and mistrust not only among our own members, but also among other sections of the Labor movement, and so, instead of clarifying our position and guiding us, the real work for a Farmer-Labor class party would have been weakened and confused.

The question of forming an alliance with a bourgeois Third Party, depends wholly upon a given situation, on actual conditions and the stage of development of the class struggle. Therefore, it was tactically wrong to state in the Third Party thesis: "Where the Farmer-Labor party candidates have no chance to win and the Third Party unquestionably can win against the capitalist parties with our support we will vote for the third party candidates."

Suppose, that the May 30th convention be so successful that a national Farmer-Labor party is formed, fundamentally based on the plan of federating at least many of the different workers' and farmers' organizations? Naturally, the Workers Party would be with this movement. Even if LaFollette were named as the presidential candidate, our position would not be changed, if the party were fundamentally based on workers' and farmers' organizations and not on artificial territorial, political lines.

Let us then assume that LaFollette did not join this Farmer-Labor party, but instead, after the old party conventions, being defeated there, with the other "radical" politicians and in conjunction with the Railroad Brotherhoods, would launch a Third Party regardless of the Farmer-Labor party established on May 30th, then we would have the Farmer-Labor Party and the Third Party. How to solve this question? It would be clear that the requirement of our thesis, "where the Farmer-Labor candidates have no chance to win," was self-evident and many of our party members would speculate that "the third party can unquestionably win" and therefore, according to our thesis, "we will vote for the third party candidates."

Would that be the right position, altho it were according to our thesis? Of course, solving of a situation like that would require, not a speculative thesis, but a careful analysis of the actual situation. It might be possible that the Farmer-Labor party in spite of the LaFollette Third party, would be real enough, strong enough, to get a vote of a million or two. And that after all would clearly indicate that at least the real beginning of a large class party had been achieved. But we, with our thesis, might be adventuring with the "winners" and instead of profit we would have to record a big deficit, by losing the faith of those labor elements which remained in the Farmer-Labor party and whom we betrayed with our thesis.

This simple example is sufficient to show that the thesis was untactical, giving weapons unnecessarily into the hands of our "yellow" as well as "leftist" opponents, creating confusion in our own ranks and making us, in the eyes of many workers and farmers, just the same as bourgeois politicians, because without actual happenings, real facts before their eyes, they could not understand our tactics otherwise than that they were based on the same "dealings" with the "winners" as they have seen in the other parties.

The communist tactics are so well defined that details how to vote and whom to vote for, do not need to be given before the situation requires it. The Central Executive Committee of the Communist party is well qualified (especially when of such quality as the majority of the present C. E. C. of the W. P.) to decide questions of this nature when the actual struggle with its experiences can convince us of the real necessity and benefit of such steps.

THEY WILL TELL THIS TALE

By IDA DAILES

MANY years from now, when the united human race is living the world over under the administration of things, the adults, after a full happy day of work and study, will gather their children around them and tell them this tale:

"Long years ago, when the world was divided into states, there was a section of the world that you learn about in your histories, called the United States. This state was established by means of a revolution, and those who were instrumental in establishing it called it a Democracy. Democracy in those days was a skeleton and the statesmen and politicians of that state saw that a skeleton could not rule over millions of people, so they sought to clothe it in flesh and blood.

"But they could not make a real, living thing out of a skeleton, so before they proceeded to compound the clay with which they intended to cover the skeleton, they told the people that those who would not believe in the Democracy were unpatriotic, traitors, and many other ugly but meaningless things.

"You see, these statesmen were the servants of a rich and powerful class of people called capitalists. Capitalists were men who, by some accident of birth or fortune, had come into possession of land or machinery, and allowed others to use these instruments of production for the purposes of earning a bare livelihood, in exchange for which the Capitalists received what they called Profit. Thus the Capitalists did little or no work and lived in ease and luxury, while great masses of people toiled many hours each day, scarcely earning enough to obtain the necessities of life.

"So you can see that the great majority of the members of the human race were slaves to land and machinery, and that they were the owners of this land and machinery. The Capitalists devised many ways of keeping them enslaved, such as encouraging them to hate people who lived in other sections of the world and spoke different languages, or had skins of different color, magnifying their religious differences, and teaching them to hate those whose opinions differed from their own.

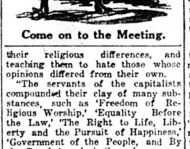
"The servants of the capitalists compounded their clay of many substances, such as 'Freedom of Religious Worship,' 'Equality Before the Law,' 'The Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness,' 'Government of the People, and By the People,' and similar phrases.

"Ah, the country grew, it came into conflict with other nations and engaged in wars, when the servants mixed some new clay, made of some new phrases, and renewed in the minds of the people the illusion that they were governed by Democracy. When the United States entered the great World War of 1914 for example, the statesmen told the people that this was a 'War for Democracy,' a 'War to End All Wars,' Of course, countless millions of workers died fighting for this sham Democracy, this lifeless thing of clay.

"By this time there were people who realized that Democracy was but a skeleton dressed up in phrases that meant nothing but that were intended to keep the workers in bondage. You see, the workers used up so much of their time and energy in producing profits, that they had very little opportunity to learn the truths of history and science, so that most of them did not know what was wrong with the world they lived in, and thought that things always had been and always would be as they were then. Therefore, believed everything the capitalists told them thru their statesmen, their newspapers, their schools, churches and motion pictures.

"So when these few wise people tried to show the workers that Democracy was only a lifeless figure, all the mouth-pieces of the Capitalists said to the workers: 'These people are traitors, anarchists, horrible Bolsheviks. They are interfering with our sacred War to 'Make the World Safe for Democracy.' And the workers, because they were too tired and uneducated to do their own thinking, silently permitted things to go the Capitalists' way. The servants of the Capitalists passed laws which permitted them to put some of these wiser ones among the workers in a place where they could not talk to other workers, called a prison, and kept others quiet by threatening them with punishment, but they could not suppress the new message altogether, and a brave few, inspired by the successful establishment of the First Workers' Government, at that time called Soviet Russia, kept up their work.

"As you all know, they were finally successful, after many hard struggles, in exposing Democracy. When the workers finally came to examine Democracy, and pulled off the painted and perfumed clay, what do you suppose they found? Not even a solid skeleton, for in the course of times the bones had crumbled and now, at the touch of the workers, they fell into a little heap of crumbling dust, which the workers buried deep underground."



Come on to the Meeting.

The Structural Iron Worker.

A VISIT TO MAX HOLZ

By DR. FELIX HALLE, Berlin

THE main entrance to the prison where Max Holz lies, opens on a quiet suburban street in the north of Breslau. It is a modern institution. The officials live in separate houses near the street. Four security police patrol the street. The sign "police station" at the main entrance shows that the bourgeoisie deems it necessary to guard the dangerous revolutionary with special police as well as with prison officials.

I ring at the main entrance. The gate is noisily opened. I show my credentials, am permitted to enter, and led across two courtyards with accompanying unlocking and locking of doors to the main building for men. The secretary informs me that the director ordered that I am to go to him immediately. The director, a Roman Catholic priest, receives me in his office. After greeting me, he assures me that Holz has all the privileges that can be granted in a prison. He orders Holz brought in. Comrade Holz enters. I have often had the opportunity, professionally, to see prisoners, especially those who have been sentenced to long terms in prison. I was shocked. Holz has been in prison since April, 1921—barely two years. The last time I saw him was in Moabit, the day he was sentenced. What inrouds these two years have made on him! His face is marked with the inexpressible suffering caused by deprivation of liberty. Max Holz is a man of action. The mass influences him and he influences the mass. His strength lies in his temperament. He called out the uprising of the slaves and will continue to do so, and his whole soul yearns for freedom. His will and his health are being broken against the walls of the prison. On the basis of the impression I received during my conversation with Holz, for several hours, I can testify that Max Holz must be pronounced unfit for imprisonment. He is troubled with nervous and rheumatic pains. He suffers from lack of sleep and appetite. He eats no bread, but lives only on nutritives, nerve food, etc. He has frequently collapsed. He hurt himself in a fall in which he suffered most loss of blood. It is possible, even probable, that with continued imprisonment, Comrade Holz may reach such a stage of despair that in a moment of sudden abberation he may lay violent hands upon himself.

The cell in which Holz, with the exception of the brief interval of exercise, must spend his days and nights, is 25 cubic meters in size, with a floor space of 8.4 square meters. Even for a normal person, a long residence in so small a space, results in an impairment of health. But for so high-strung a person as Holz, a long residence in this cramped space, is absolutely unbearable. Disregarding his rheumatism, a heritage of the war, the bourgeoisie condemns him to languish in a cold cell on a stone floor, and gives him only a paltry straw mat which Holz sent back because of its musty odor. The little light that enters the high window is merely a continual torture to a nervous person. But one must not imagine the prison to be a dark dungeon of the middle ages. The prison is a modern institution, and it should be emphasized that it is very clean. But that very fact is the most provoking—modern means are being applied in an absolutely senseless way, not to help people, but to torture them.

The Workers must not remain in ignorance of the gravity of Comrade Holz's situation. They must do everything possible to help Holz and free him from his miserable condition.

Before the Parliamentary Election in France

(Note: A declaration by the Communist Party of France giving a very good picture of the political struggles in France.)

Against the Bourgeoisie Bloc, for the Bloc of the Workers and Peasants.

THE majority of the Parliament has rejected the principle of proportional representation, as it would have made all parties in the forthcoming contest in the spring, appear under their proper colors. It has retained an election procedure, that falsifies the representation of the parties, and compels them to form coalitions, that is, to an inevitable confusion of programs.

The Communist Party is of opinion, that the elections of 1924 have a significance for surpassing all previous elections.

The country will be able to judge even better than in 1919 the policy of the war, and of those who brought it about. The Peace of Versailles marked the triumph of French imperialism, whose policy, since the end of the war, has led the world to destruction, France to bankruptcy, and has created prospects of a new war.

Within the country itself, this imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie is essentially anti-labor.

The electoral contest must bring into the field against those responsible for this policy, the mass of their victims—workers, officials and small peasants, tenants and consumers with small incomes. The country must sweep away those responsible for this policy of bankruptcy, famine and war.

The party alignments are already becoming apparent. The bloc of the left is setting itself in opposition to the National Bloc which since 1919 was the support of French imperialism and which is directly responsible for the present state of affairs. The left, if not yet officially, counts the leaders of the so-called Left-bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Social- and Socialist-Communist parties.

The Communist Party has refused to enter into such a bloc, and has persistently warned the workers and peasants against such a trap . . . The division of the bourgeoisie into a "Right" bourgeoisie and a "Left" bourgeoisie is but a superficial one. In reality, all the capitalists have common class interests. The employers of the Right and of the Left have the same interest in exploiting their workers, the property-owners of the Left and of the Right have the same intention of plundering their tenants, the dealers and speculators of the Left bring about increase of prices in the same way as those of the Right.

This struggle between the Left and Right bourgeoisie, is simply a superficial political struggle for the privileges of power. At bottom the bourgeoisie class is always prepared to defend its prerogatives against the worker and peasant classes whom it exploits. This superficial division was only set up in order to conceal the real class division, and to prevent the struggle most spring from assuming its true character, the character of a class struggle between all the exploited and their exploiters.

Great masses of workers, employees, peasants, clerks and small men are dissatisfied with the regime that continually renders their lives more insecure, and are prepared to resist, not only the national bloc, but the new capitalist regime—the thing which is really responsible.

The Bloc of the Left.

The bloc of the "Left" is only a maneuver of one section of the bourgeoisie to prevent the expression of this justifiable discontent from injuring the vital interests of the bourgeoisie, and under the mask of the "Left," still to keep the discontented to serve the profit of the capitalist system, as dividend earners and money-lenders, as speculators, parasites which join in this movement, hand over a section of the proletariat to the capitalist class, and betray the working class.

It is an absolute fact, that the bourgeoisie of the "Left" does not differ from the government of the National bloc, that it has not ceased to support the imperialist foreign policy of Poincare, that immediately after the strike of 1920, it concurred in the anti-labor policy of the National bloc, and that it still today helps to support the ministry by means of three radical members. The Senate, which has a left majority, has recently passed by a unanimous increase in rents of 104 per cent. Renauld Jean has exposed the details of this out and out capitalistic and anti-labor policy from the tribune of the Chamber.

The antagonism between the right and left is so artificial, that their dividing lines are still very indefinite and they move more to the right every day. This goes so far that finally even Poincare will be recognized as an element of the "Left." An editorial note, which the Ere Nouvelle recently made on the occasion of a speech by M. Chaumet, contained the following significant lines: "As soon as Poincare places himself on the side of the Republic against reaction, he will meet with no more opposition from us."

Against the extreme "Left" of the Radical-Specialist Party, the "socialist" wing, which issues such declarations! It is not the bloc of the "Left," which will defend the interests of the workers in town and country against those who enslave them.

The Workers and Peasants Have Their Own Bloc.

The workers and the peasants have their own demands for which they can unite on the firm ground of the class war against the whole bourgeoisie.

Together they must:

1. Set themselves against an adventurous foreign policy, which brings destruction in the world, and bankruntcy in public finances.

2. Fight for the annulment of the Treaty of Versailles and its disastrous results.

3. Strengthen the solidarity and the will to peace of the workers.

4. Demand the official recognition of the Soviet Republic.

5. Defend the working class, officials, clerks and small farmers against speculation, increase of prices, high rents, and against attacks upon the eight-hour day.

6. Demand for civil servants freedom of association and right of organization, and the 1,800 francs bonus.

7. Demand a system of social insurance, under which there can be no fraud or theft.

8. Demand a financial policy which abolishes wage taxes and Indirect taxation, and which takes from the war capital of the profiteers, dealers and speculators.

9. Strive for equality of political and economic rights for working men and women.

The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc.

As against the formation of a bloc of the left, the Communist Party is setting up the idea of the creation of a workers' and peasants' bloc. The bloc of the left necessarily signifies the collaboration and blending of classes, the workers' and peasants' bloc on the contrary, means the clear and irreconcilable class war.

The Communist Party demands from the other two proletarian parties the setting up of a united front of all workers against the bourgeoisie, which is artificially divided into a right and a left.

Profound differences of opinion divide us on the questions of defense of native country, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and revolutionary methods. They render a unity of organization of the political parties of the proletariat impossible. But for a definitely circumscribed and important action, in which it is a question of bringing the whole of the proletariat into the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party is ready to set aside the questions which divide us, to set up the unity of the proletarian forces for a minimal program of struggle. In making this sacrifice, it proves its will to see the unity of the forces of labor realized on the solid foundation of the class-war.

The Communist Party, therefore, suggests to all proletarian organizations, a Central Conference, to examine the platform to be set up and the practical problems which will arise in the formation of a workers' and peasants' bloc.

This general discussion and the formation of a class bloc of the workers and the peasants, necessarily presumes two elementary conditions:

1. United tactics thruout the country. It would be making a farce of the working class bloc, if it were only partly carried thru in certain localities, while in others the bloc of the "Left" was formed. The workers' and peasants' bloc must at the next election evoke the class war on a national scale.

2. A practice of real class war involving the absolute break with the bourgeoisie left parties. A certain number of socialist and socialist-communist federations have already created, with the radical party, the bloc of the left in their districts. Altho the two parties have not officially defined their attitude their most eminent leaders are daily working at the creation of the bloc of the left, together with the leaders of the radicals, both in meetings and at public demonstrations, as well as in the special press of the "Left" Bloc, Res Nouvelle, Quotidien, Paris Soir, etc.

One cannot maintain at one and the same time, the left bloc, and the workers' and peasants' bloc, the collaboration of and the struggle between the classes. Therefore, the Communist Party by suggesting to the other proletarian parties the formation of the workers' and peasants' bloc, places before these parties the unavoidable alternatives: with the Communist Party, to create the unity of the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie of the left and, of the right; or, with the Radical Party against the Communist Party, which latter absolutely refuses to take part in the collaboration of the classes.

The Communist Party is prepared to make the necessary sacrifice for the formation of the workers' and peasants' bloc, whose task it will be to arraign the whole capitalist regime.

THE NEGRO AND AMERICAN RACE PREJUDICE

By LOVETT FORT-WHITEMAN

THE student of social problems may easily discover, after but little investigation, that race prejudice, almost all cases, has its roots in some form of economic or industrial competition. Race prejudice is not something inherited—transmitted thru the blood from one individual to another. Thus, despite the fact that probably most persons believe such to be the case. One may see in any place in the South, black and white children playing together, even in sections where the greatest degree of animosity exists between the races. Yet the Negro is regarded in any of the European countries as a peculiar object of hatred or prejudice such as in the United States.

No social bitterness greeted the Negro at his advent on American shores from Africa. The enslavement was a matter simply of meeting the need of a labor supply in the colonies. Further, it is a well-known fact that there was much intermixing of white women and male Negro slaves before slavery became a definite and recognized institution in the country; that is before the greater value of the Negro as a slave was appreciated.

With the growth of the tobacco and cotton interests, there was an ever-increasing legislation restricting and defining the social status of the Negro. And the ruling or slave-owning class, in order to give its position some sort of moral justification, claimed that slavery brought the Negro in touch with civilization a higher plane of existence. This slave-owning class, controlling the and christianity and elevated him to agencies of public opinion, preached the inherent inferiority of the Negro. It should be borne in mind, however, that a public opinion wholly shaped by a slave-owning class, the belief of the inherent inferiority of the Negro and his social unfitness, after a time, became thoroly established, and part and parcel of the American social consciousness.

Even after the emancipation of the Negro from chattel slavery, it has remained to the interest of an exploiting class, to maintain a popular opinion of the social inferiority of the Negro. Today, the Lords of Industry, thru a servile press, the school, the church, and other agencies of public opinion, are able to keep the ranks of the working class divided on sentiment of race differences. Some of the unions bar Negroes from membership, and this is greatly to the interest of the capitalist class. This permits of a sort of a reserve army of Negro workers that may be employed to break strikes. And to enumerate the most out-standing manifestations of this sickly sentiment of American race prejudice as it effects the Negro, as follows: In the South, the latter is compelled to ride in rear seats in street cars, he is politically disfranchised, lynched and burned at the stake and in the North as well suffers industrial discrimination, residential segregation, and social denial of public accomodations. There may be such a thing as one race having a natural antipathy for another, but this does not imply hostility. Strife between races is based on some economic condition. And a struggle for economic and industrial advantages reflects itself in mutual hatred and groundless prejudice.

The Negro worker is unorganized and everything possible is done to keep him thus. We even find such organizations among Negroes as the Urban League, which is maintained by the capitalist class, and which functions as a nation-wide labor agency, supplying the Northern industries with raw cheap Negro labor from the South. And this has been a leading circumstance in the development of race riots in our Northern cities. When unorganized white labor finds itself confronted in the labor market with the Negro who is willing to do the same work for much less money, the natural reaction is one of hostility toward the Negro. And the willingness of the Negro to work for less money than the white man is rather a necessity—as has been shown.

Bitterness between the Negro and the white man in America, is stimulated and promoted by the capitalist class who unnecessarily resort to such a method in order to split the ranks of the working-class as a whole and to thus better affect its exploitation. It is simply a case of "divide and rule." But the practice having become deep-seated in our social organism, it has colored the social mind and the unthinking person regards prejudice against the Negro as a natural inherentable mental condition.

Yet this principle in the art of subjecting one race or class to another is a world-wide practice and

Likes Bedacht Article

To the DAILY WORKER. Please congratulate Max Bedacht on his "Our Attitude Towards the Third Party" in the Saturday magazine section of February 2nd. It is the most precise, concise, lucid explanation of the party analysis as of the last party convention and stand for the party as well, that I have read. It is as if I were at the convention myself, not thru the direct description of externals, but the abstract stand of the whole party. Lewis Mikelberg, Colorado.

THE CITY OF DREADFUL NIGHT - - - By O. HENRY

"DURING the recent warmed-over spell," said my friend, Carney, driver of express wagon No. 8,606, "a good many opportunities was had of observing human nature thru peekaboo waists.

"The Park Commissioner and Commissioner of Polis and the Forestry Commission gets together and agrees to let the people sleep in the parks until the Weather Bureau gets the thermometer down again to a living basis. So they draws up open-air resolutions and has them O. K.'d by the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Comstock and the Village Improvement Mosquito Exterminating Society of South Orange, N. J.

"When the proclamation was made opening up to the people by special grant, the public parks that belong to 'em, there was a general exodus into Central Park by the communities existing along its borders. In ten minutes after sun-down you'd have thought that there was an undress rehearsal of a potato famine in Ireland and a Kishineff massacre. They come by families, gangs, clambake societies, clans, clubs, and tribes from all sides to enjoy a cool sleep on the grass. Them that didn't have oil stoves, brought along plenty of blankets, so as not to be upset with the cold and discomforts of sleeping outdoors. By building fires of the shade trees and huddling together in the bridle paths, and burrowing under the grass where the ground was soft enough, the likes of 5,000 head of people successfully battled against the night air in Central Park alone.

"You know I live in the elegant furnished apartment house called the Beersheba Flats, over against the elevated portion of the New York Central Railroad.

"When the order come to the flats that all hands must turn out and sleep in the park, according to the instructions of the consulting committee of the City Club and the Murphy Draying, Returfing and Sodding Company, there was a look of a couple of fires and an eviction all over the place.

"The tenants began to pack up feather beds, rubber boots, strings of garlic, hot-water bags, portable canoes and scuttles of coal to take along for the sake of comfort. The sidewalk looked like a Russian camp in Oyama's line of march. There was wailing and lamenting up and down stairs from Danny Geoghegan's flat on the top floor to the apartments of Misses Goldsteinupski on the first.

"'For why,' says Danny, coming down and raging in his blue yarn socks to the janitor, 'should I be turned out of me comfortable apartmints to lay in the dirty grass like a rabbit? 'Tis like Jerome to stir up trouble wid small matters like this instead of—'

"'Whist!' says Officer Reagan on the sidewalk, rapping with his club. 'Tis not Jerome. 'Tis by order of the Polis Commissioner. Turn out every one of yez and hike yerselves to the park.'

"Now, 'twas a peaceful and happy home that all of us had in them same Beersheba Flats. The O'Dowds and Steinowitzes and the Callahans and the Cohens and the Spizzinellis and the McManuses and the Spiegelmayers and the Joneses—all the nation of us, we lived like one big family together. And when the hot nights come along we kept a line of childher reaching from the front door to Kelly's on the corner, passing along the cans of beer from one to another without the trouble of running after it. And with no more clothing on than is provided for in the statutes, sitting in all the windies, with a cool growler in every one, and your feet out in the air, and the Rosenstein girls singing on the fire escape of the sixth floor, and Patsy Rourke's flute going in the eighth, and the ladies calling each other synonyms out of the windies, and now and then a breeze sailing in over Mister Depew's Central—I tell you the Beersheba Flats was a summer resort that made the Catskills look like a hole in the ground. With his person full of beer and his feet out the windy and his old woman frying pork chops over a charcoal furnace and the childher dancing in cotton slips on the sidewalk around the organ-grinder and the rent paid for a week—what does a man want better on a hot night than that? And then comes this ruling of the polis driving people out o' their comfortable homes to sleep in parks— 'twas for all the world like a ukase of them Russians— 'twill be heard from again at the next election time.

"Well, then, Officer Reagan drives the whole lot of us to the park and turns us in the nearest gate. 'Tis dark under the trees, and all the childher sets up to howling that they want to go home.

"'Ye'll pass the night in this stretch of woods and scenery,' says Officer Reagan. ''Twill be fine and imprisonment for insoolting the Park Commissioner and the Chief of the Weather Bureau if ye refuse. I'm in charge of thirty acres between here and the Agyptian Monument, and I advise ye to give no trouble. 'Tis sleeping on the grass yez all have been condemned to by the authorities. Yez'll be permitted to leave in the morning, but ye must retoorn be night. Me orders was silent on the subject of bail, but I'll find out if 'tis required and there'll be bondsmen at the gate.'

"There being no lights except along the automobile drives, us 179 tenants of the Beersheba Flats prepared to spend the night as best we could in the raging forest. Them that brought blankets and kindling wood was best off. They got fires started and wrapped the blankets round their heads and laid down, cursing, in the grass. There was nothing to see, nothing to drink, nothing to do. In the dark we had no way of telling friend or foe, except by feeling the nose of 'em. I brought along me last winter overcoat, me tooth-brush, some quinine pills and the red quilt off the bed in me flat. Three times during the night somebody rolled on me quilt and struck his knees against the Adam's apple of me. And three times I judged his character by running me hand over his face, and three time I rose up and kicked the intruder down the hill to the gravelly walk below. And then some one with a flavor of Kelly's whiskey snuggled up to me, and I found his nose turned up the right way, and I says: 'Is that you, then, Patsey?' and he says, 'It is, Carney. How long do you think it'll last?'

"'I'm no weather-prophet,' says I, 'but if they bring out a strong anti-Tammany ticket next fall it ought to get us home in time to sleep on a bed once or twice before they line us up at the polls.

"'A-playing of my flute into the airshaft,' says Patsey Rourke, 'and a-perspiring in me own windy to the joyful noise of the passing trains and the smell of liver and onions and a-reading of the latest murder in the smoke of the cooking is well enough for me,' says he. 'What is this herding us in the grass for, not to mention the crawling things with legs that walk up the trousers of us, and the Jersey snipes that peck at us, masquerading under the name and denomination of mosquitos. What is it all for, Carney, and the rint going on just the same over at the flats?'

"''Tis the great annual Municipal Free Night Outing Lawn Party,' says I, 'given by the polis, Hetty Green and the Drug Trust. During the heated season they hold a week of it in the principal parks. 'Tis a scheme to reach that portion of the people that's not worth taking up to North Beach for a fish fry.'

"'I can't sleep on the ground,' says Patsey, 'wid any benefit. I have the hay fever and the rheumatism, and me ear is full of ants.'

"Well, the night goes on, and the ex-tenants of the Flats groans and stumbles around in the dark, trying to find rest and recreation in the forest. The childher is screaming with the coldness, and the janitor makes hot tea for 'em and keeps the fires going with the signboards that point to the Tavern and the Casino. The tenants try to lay down on the grass by families in the dark, but you're lucky if you can sleep next to a man from the same floor or believing in the same religion. Now and then a Murphy, accidental, rolls over on the grass of a Rosenstein, or a Cohen tries to crawl under the O'Grady bush, and then there's a feeling of noses and somebody is rolled down the hill to the driveway and stays there. There is some hair-pulling among the women folks, and everybody spanks the nearest howling kid to him by the sense of feeling only, regardless of its parentage and ownership. 'Tis hard to keep up the social distinctions in the dark that flourish by daylight in the Beersheba Flats. Mrs. Rafferty, that despises the asphalt that a Dago treads on, wakes up in the morning with her feet in the bosom of Antonio Spizzinelli. And Mike O'Dowd, that always threw peddlers downstairs as fast as he came upon 'em, has to unwind old Isaacstein's whiskers from around his neck, and wake up the whole gang at daylight. But here and there some few got acquainted and overlooked the discomforts of the elements. There was five engagements to be married announced at the flats the next morning.

"About midnight I gets up and wrings the dew out of my hair, and goes to the side of the driveway and sits down. At one side of the park I could see the lights in the streets and houses; and I was thinking how happy them folks was, who could chase the duck and smoke their pipes at their windows, and keep cool and pleasant like, nature intended for 'em to.

"Just then an automobile stops by me, and a fine-looking, well-dressed man steps out.

"'Me man,' says he, 'can you tell me why all these people are lying around on the grass in the park. I thought it was against the rules.'

"''Twas an ordinance,' says I, 'just pased by the Polis Department and ratified by the Turf Cutters' Association, providing that all persons not carrying license number on their rear axles shall keep in the pubilc parks until further notice. Fortunately, the orders comes this year, during a spell of fine weather, and the mortality, except on the borders of the lake and along the automobile drives, will not be any greater than usual.'

"'Who are these people on the side of the hill?' asks the man.

"'Sure,' says I, 'none others than the tenants of the Beersheba Flats—a fine home for any man, especially on a hot night. May daylight come soon!'

"'They come here be night,' says he, 'and breathe in the pure air and the fragrance of the flowers and trees. They do that,' says he, 'coming every night from the burning heat of dwellings of brick and stone.'

"'And wood,' says I, 'And marble and plaster and iron.'

"'The matter will be attended to at once,' says the man, putting up his book.

"'I own the Beersheba Flats,' says he. 'God bless the grass and the trees that give extra benefits to a man's tenants. The rents shall be raised fifteen per cent tomorrow. Good-night,' says he."

Discouragement.

DAISY FRASER

By EDGAR LEE MASTERS

Did you ever hear of Editor Whedon
Giving to the public treasury of the
money he received
For supporting candidates for office?
Or for writing up the canning factory
To get people to invest?
Or for suppressing the facts about
the bank,
When it was rotten and ready to
break?
Did you ever hear of the Circuit
Judge
Helping anyone except the "Q" rail-
road,
Or the bankers? Or did Rev. Peet or
Rev. Sibley
Give any part of their salary, earned
by keeping still,
Or speaking out as the leaders wished
them to do
To the building of the water works?
But I—Daisy Fraser, who always
passed
Along the streets thru rows of nods
and smiles,
And coughs and words such as "there
she goes",
Never was taken before Justice
Arnett
Without contributing ten dollars and
costs
To the school fund of Spoon River!

"By means of our work we are creating the conditions of a social order in which no class antagonisms will exist, no revolutions, and thus no revolutionists."

"The revolutionist knows only external obstacles to his activity, no internal ones."

The Fate of the Farmers

THE more one looks into the conditions in which the farmers find themselves today, the more one becomes convinced that two of the most ardently advocated relief proposals of the capitalists—the cutting of wheat acreage and diversified production—are utterly worthless.

Many farm experts of Wall Street have been yelling for a cut in the acreage of seeding wheat. The fact that our wheat exports fell 40% in 1923 has caused some to be misled by this propaganda. It is interesting to note what the application of this remedy means to the farmers. Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana show a decrease of 600,000 acres seeded to wheat. Yet, it is these very states that have applied the wheat acreage cut that are today suffering most from the acute farm depression.

The self-appointed saviors of the farmers who are doing the bidding of their Wall Street masters are also trying to convert the wheat farmers to the idea of livestock raising. The latest figures of the Department of Agriculture estimate the value of all farm and range livestock on January the 1st as much lower than that of the corresponding date of last year. Since January 1st, 1923 the estimated value of farm animals has decreased more than a quarter of a billion dollars. The value per head of milk cows, horses, swine, and cattle shows a substantial decline since the depression of 1921 set in on the farms.

The fate of the farmer is hopelessly bound up with the difficulties confronting world capitalism today. The fate of the farmer depends on the world economic conditions and on the status of our own industry. As long as these two factors make for farm depression, the farmers will be unable to get out of their present serious conditions. Under these circumstances, all remedies of the capitalists, regardless how extensively they may be advertised, are not worth an iota to the farming masses.

THE CRUX OF THE PHILIPPINE CONFLICT By JAY LOVESTONE

ONE of the most pressing questions confronting the Sixty-Eighth Congress is the problem of Philippine independence. There are several bills dealing with the American occupation of the Philippine Islands before the senate and house.

Were it not for the practically undivided attention the Teapot Dome affair is now receiving, the Philippine crisis would today have been in the forefront of our national political arena. Just now the Teapot politics eclipse everything else. But the Philippine question has its own little scandal, and its a mighty big one at that. And there is oil in it, too. It is very likely that the next scandal congress will tackle will be the General Wood family oil splash. No less noted an investigator than Samuel Untermeyer will probably step in to this exposure, which will be of first rate importance. Besides, startling evidence is promised by an investigation of the peculiar way in which General Wood has permitted concessions to be handed out to some of his political friends in the Archipelago.

To the American workers and farmers the Filipino problem is a matter of serious and far-reaching dimensions. Today the Philippines are the key to American imperialist supremacy in the Pacific—the theatre of the next great capitalist world conflagration. The very pith of the increasingly serious problem of militarism is today bound up with the acute crisis in the Philippines. No one can deny that militarism and imperialism in all their numerous dangerous ramifications are taking on ever-more threatening proportions, involving the life and security of the exploited workers and dispossessed farmers. To the extent that our working masses have a vital interest in this growing menace to their very existence, to that very extent are they drawn into the Philippine maelstrom.

Strategic Importance of Philippines

The Philippine Islands are the economic and military gateway to the Far East. From the naval and commercial point of view, the harbor of Manila and the Islands are the key to economic and naval supremacy in the entire Pacific. Kobe, Osaka, and Yokahama, the flourishing business cities of Japan; the Chinest coast from Shanghai to Hongkong, and the ports of North China Dairen and Tientsin; Singapore, the British Gibraltar of the Far East guarding the treasures of India; the Dutch East Indies, and the route southward to Australia—all lie within a steaming radius of 2,500 miles from Manila as a center. In this sphere of influence encircling Vladivostok, the Pacific gateway to Siberia, "India to the Arabian Sea, and Oceanica to Perth and Brisbane in Australia" there live and work close to eight million people—the prize labor market of the world.

The overshadowing importance of this strategic location of the Philippine Islands has won for the Archipelago the covetous role of being at "the cross-roads of the greatest trade routes of the future." Manila can well serve as a convenient distributing center for merchandise in this most densely populated section of the world.

Tremendous Natural Wealth

The Philippines are still a virgin field for economic development. Of the total area of 115,000 square miles, equivalent to the combined areas of the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, only about 11,500 square miles are under cultivation today. This 10 per cent of the total area is worth close to a quarter of a billion dollars.

This American dependency has close to 65,000 square miles of commercial forest land The islands can support a population at least three times their present number. The Philippines afford unbounded commercial opportunities. The field in sugar refining is practically untouched. The same holds true for fishing, canning and fruit and vegetable raising. Wide areas of grassy lands and hillsides are available for livestock raising. The mountains are teeming with such mineral wealth as coal, iron, silver, gold and other precious metals Rubber, cocoanut oil and hemp afford inviting investments. The islands are rich in petroleum, and are said to fall in the Borneo Oil field section, one of the six greatest oil areas of the world. With all its undevelopment, the Archipelago's total wealth today is estimated at about $6,000,000,000.

The Philippines are making great headway in economic development. The value of their six leading agricultural products—rice, corn, sugar, hemp, cocoanut, and tobacco has increased almost 300 per cent, from $122,000,000 to $343,500,000 in the period 1917-1920.

From 1903 to 1918 the number of manufacturing plants increased 156 per cent and the value of their products rose 754 per cent. The cocoanut oil factories, sawmills, sugar and rice industries have been making especially noteworthy progress. The Atlantic, Gulf & Pacific Co. and the Earnshaws Slipways and Co. have built modern iron and steel foundry plants and ship construction yards.

In the period 1917-1920 the total annual foreign trade of the Philippines practically doubled, rising from about 160 million dollars to more than three hundred million dollars. In the 25-year period of American domination, Philippine trade with the United States has risen from the meager share of 11 per cent in 1900 to 65 per cent for the first ten months of 1923. Cotton and cotton goods, iron and steel, machinery, automobiles, wheat, flour, meats and dairy products chemicals, dyes and drugs are among the leading articles exported by America to the Philippines. Hemp, cigars, leaf tobacco, cocoanut oil, hats, lumber, sugar and embroideries are among America's leading Philippine imports.

IN WEST VIRGINIA

A Breatning-Spell Between Battles

Need for Economic Development.

It is obvious that the Philippines have great need and plenty of room for economic development. And here is where we come to the crux of the whole Filipino independence question. The pivotal point of this problem like all other colonial questions of imperialist exploitation, lies in the investment of foreign capital by the financiers and industrialists of the more developed capitalist countries. The movement of the Filipino people for national independence is inextricably tied up with the titanic struggle now being waged by the dominant capitalist powers for raw material and new spheres of influence.

The Filipinos want capital. They need capital. But they do not want to give themselves away in bondage to foreign capitalist masters, they do not want to surrender their national independence in order to secure this capital. The Filipino people would like to have the foreign capitalist come in, invest his capital, get his profit, big as it might be, and then get out of the country. The Filipinos, however, are determined not to barter away their nationality for the capitalist mess of pottage, for the help that the foreign banker or manufacturer might give them.

On the other hand, the foreign capitalist, whether he be American or English, Italian or French or Japanese, just can't see how it can pay him to sink his capital into the development of railways, harbors, public utilities, the drilling of oil wells, the opening up of coal and iron areas, and the expoitlation of the other natural resources unless he himself, thru his government, has undisputed charge or outright ownership of these territories so that he might be assured of the security of his original capital and in addition be guaranteed a handsome profit.

A Capitalist Dilemma.

Herein lies the dilemna confronting the colonial peoples struggling for national freedom, for complete independence from the big imperialistic capitalist powers. The imperialist colonial problem presents another one of the many insolvable contradictions inherent in the capitalist system of production and exchange. Economically the Philippines, like all other industrially undeveloped countries, need the capital now controlled by the foreign capitalists of the highly developed industrial countries; politically, this very much needed capital is a millstone around the neck of the less industrially developed nation, a dagger at the heart of the nation, a menace to the very existence and independence of the people.

The Filipinos thus find themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea, between Scylla and Charybdis. The capital they would welcome economically strikes terror into their national hearts politically. There is no way out of the terrible difficulty for the colonial peoples as long as capital which is social in use remains private in ownership. The Filipinos can as much hope to make the economically welcome capital of the American banker and manufacturer politically palatable as they can hope to change the leopard's spots. Hence the utter impossibility of complete genuine national independence ever being voluntarily granted by the United States capitalist government to the Philippines.

The Government In Business.

Aware of the difficulties and dangers that accompany the investment of foreign capital, the native Filipino government attempted to meet the situation by getting into business itself, by taking over the role of the foreign capitalist itself. The development of the Islands' natural resources, banking, transportation, the sugar and coal industries were some of the enterprises embarked upon by the Filipino government.

In 1916, while American capitalists were busy piling up fabulous profits thru their supplying the belligerents with the means of life and death, the needs of industry and war, the Philippine Legislature passed Act 2,596 to encourage the organization of various industries along the Japanese lines thru the guarantee of a 5 per cent dividend on stocks of certain kinds of industries for a period of five years. In the same year Act 2,612 was passed to provide the proper fiscal agency for these native developments. The Philippine National Bank was thus founded on Feb. 4, 1916. Then there were formed in quick succession, the National Coal Co. under Act 2,705 on March 10, 1917, to develop the coal resources; the National Petroleum Co. under Act 2,814 on March 4, 1919 to develop the Filipino oil fields; the National Development Co. under Act 2,849 on March 10, 1919 to help the Philippines become self-subsisting thru the financing of isolated enterprises; the National Cement Co. on March 12, 1919 under Act 2,855, to meet the great demand for cement in the Islands. In the meanwhile the Manila Railroad was taken over by the government from British capitalists.

All of these corporations were organized on the basis of the native government owning at least 51 per cent of the stock so that foreign capitalists could not sneak in thru some financial back door and stifle the Filipino people.

General Wood Butts In.

For a few years the situation was developing rather favorably. Then the great economic depression of 1920-1921 that swept the world set in and set its heavy foot on the throat of the rising enterprises of the native government. Of course, these government industries, like all industries everywhere suffered and suffered severely thru the acute economic crisis.

Here the American capitalists saw their chance, tho the precise extent to which their observation was conscious cannot be guaged accurately, to throttle these dangerous attempts at what is often called State Socialism. Our capitalist government seized upon the losses suffered by the new native state industries thru the depression as an excuse to drive the Filipinos out of national business. The utterly fraudulent intentions and the brazen arrogance of this anti-native policy adopted by Harding are exposed in all their naked ugliness and dishonesty by the fact that in the depression of 1921 Philippine commerce fell only 32 per cent while American commerce dropped 48 per cent.

The first bombshell fired into the camp of the Filipinos was the report of the Wood-Forbes mission denouncing "the dangerous way in which the Filipinos had involved the State in business." Then General Wood's entire policy to date has been resolute and aggressive, highhanded and militarist, with the object of driving the Philippine Government out of business and having it stay out of business for good.

The choice of Wood as Filipino Governor General is in itself the best indication of the economic and naval importance attached to the Islands by the American imperialists and of the serious concern with which our capitalists viewed the entry of the native government into national business. General Leonard Wood has the unenviable record of being the most tyrannical and efficient servant of our employing class. The strikebreaker, General Wood has left his bloody imprint on the struggles of the West Virginia miners, on the 1919 steel strike in Gary, on the race troubles in Omaha, and on the Cuban people.

Governor General Wood's imperialist policy is aggravated by his being in a position to hand out valuable concessions to some of the tobacco, railroad, and oil millionaires who invested $2,000,000 in his disastrous 1920 presidential primary campaign. In April, 1923 Colonel Procter, who spent close to $750,000 on Wood in 1920, organized in the Islands a special corporation called the "Procter and Gamble Trading Co.," to exploit the cocoanut oil possibilities of the Philippines.

Here we have the conflict of imperialist capitalist interests with the needs and demands, and with the welfare and existence, of the Filipino nation. Here we have the lie given to all the sham pretenses at the self-determination of nations so grandiloquently mouthed by our ruling class in the last world war slaughter. In the case of the American imperialist attempt to uproot the most substantial basis for Philippine national freedom, the economic basis, the workers and farmers of the United States and the world are presented with a view of what our capitalism really is—stripped to the skeleton in all its naked brutality.

Salvation Lies in Unity of Oppressed

It is plain therefore that the very economic conditions of capitalist imperialism militate against the Filipino people being given freedom from our employing class exploitation and oppression.

It is likewise clear that because twice as much British capital is today still invested in the Philippines, the American imperialists will not dare to throw away the inestimable political advantages at their disposal thru the present political domination of the archipelago by Wall Street. The spectre of Anglo-Japanese unity in the Pacific still haunts our imperialists.

The inestimable value of the Philippines as a source of new raw materials, as a naval base, as the commercial gateway to the Far East, is uppermost in the minds of our capitalist rulers.

Consequently the Philippine crisis is bound to develop and grow ever more acute. Our exploiters will never surrender the bargain they got from the decrepit Spanish government when they paid 20,000,000 for these treasure islands. The best that can be forced out of our employing class, the most the Filipinos can hope for as long as the capitalists dominate our political and economic life, is some incomplete, limited national autonomy of some form or other.

The salvation of the Filipino people lies only in their union with the oppressed of the world, under Communist leadership and for Communism.

Complete economic and political freedom for the Philippines, genuine national freedom without strings attached to it, can and will be secured by the Filipino people and by all other oppressed nationalities only when capitalist imperialism is abolished, only when the rule of the exploiters is ended, only when the Workers and Farmers Republic is established.