

when these contradictions cry against these apologists of capitalism in voices that are anything but melodious.

Anarchy is "overcome!" Crises are "disappearing!" It is only necessary to consider realities just a little to dispel these truly miserable dreams. International industry is at the present time more disintegrated than it has ever been before. Absolutely every investigator states this. Everyone is talking of "The decay of world industry," "the ruin of world economics," etc., etc., while Hilferding is writing that anarchy has been overcome.

As a matter of fact, in reality the anarchy of production has not been overcome, but on the other hand has become intensified although actually changed in its form. It has changed from a disintegrated anarchy of innumerable separate, petty, industrial units into a concentrated struggle of imperialist monsters with the world as the battlefield. The losses caused by this fight are greater as it grows in magnitude. The same thing takes place with crises. Of course, anarchy is overcome in developed, enlarged trusts and internal "crises" are eliminated together. But it would be empty and unworthy foolishness to imagine that crises in general disappear. The world crisis that took place not so long ago and that was so devastating in its effects, should have "knocked dialectics" into the skulls of even the Social-Democrats; but, presumably, these skulls are so thickly crammed with obsequiousness that nothing else can penetrate.

Hilferding the Ultra-Imperialist.

However, it would be an injustice to R. Hilferding to assert that he does not understand on which side his bread is buttered. Probably he just feigns blindness and deafness; he is simulating when he begs for alms from rich American tourists as they pass through the Berlin thoroughfares. Well, even this is in the order of things!

Mr. Hilferding admits that Anglo-Saxon capital was victorious: he is even prepared to reconcile himself to the political and "spiritual supremacy of the Anglo-Saxons. . . ." and here Mr. Hilferding reveals to us the real Social-Democratic paradise.

Until now, Marxism has asserted that wars were indissolubly associated with capitalism, but our "thinker" boldly destroys this "antiquated" view.

First of all, he crawls servilely along to the necessary deductions, all the while winking sagely at the "Anglo-Saxons" with their superb "political and spiritual habits":

"The interests of Anglo-Saxon countries, and especially Britain, tend more to consolidation and organization of the fruits of victory already won, rather than to the extension of their territories. . . . The interests of the democratic. . . masses. . . are in complete harmony with those interests. . . ."

Further he is still more candid.

"Does capitalism really signify war, and can peace only be secured after its complete destruction? Or is it possible to establish new forms of a political world order, by a consistent (!) policy that would limit the sovereignty of separate units, to the benefit of a super-state organization? Will there not be more scope for evolutionary development here than has hitherto been supposed?"

Thus, Mr. Hilferding wishes us to understand that he is

all for evolution against revolution, that he supports the League of Nations against separate sovereignties, that he supports "Anglo-Saxon supremacy," habits, dollars and all other benefits against the events that occurred in "Eastern Europe" (which he contemptuously refers to in two words—for he is a "sincere, respectable investigator!").

Mr. Hilferding belatedly resuscitates Karl Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism," which the latter preached even as early as the beginning of the war. The "irony of history" is remarkable! Before the war, Kautsky was also terribly enamoured of British political "habits"; he considered British imperialism an absolutely innocent babe, the mainstay of peace and the blessing of mankind. And now, when the Anglo-Russo-French preparations for the war have been documentarily established, when peace was nearly broken (no doubt, also a part of the Revolution) and drowned in blood, the thought of the Social-Democratic theoretician reverts back to its premises, dialectically enriched by the loss of its last traces of Marxism.

Thus, Mr. Hilferding puts the question (and mutters an answer in the affirmative) of "ultra-imperialism."

Generally speaking, this imperialist "union of unions," the "super state" organization, a single "world trust," etc., etc., could be realized in two ways:

1. Either by agreement, or
2. By fighting and victory of the strongest group.

It is foolish to build hopes on the first method, since agreement is possible and real only when there is equality of power, when victory is uncertain or battle without issue. Who will maintain that there is equality of power at the present time?

The second method is that of victory. Hilferding takes the victory of the "Anglo-Saxons" as a basis: to him Anglo-Saxon "supremacy" is the real "League of Nations."

But this, too, is an illusion because, in the first place, there is no unity within this "supremacy," and secondly there exist a thousand and one other contradictions that make this "paradise" a complete illusion.

Of course, America is victorious, but there is infinite space between this victory and a world capitalism organized by America. It is possible that America even wishes to "place Europe on a ration," to use Comrade Trotsky's expression, but a "plan" is one thing and reality another. If there were no other contradictions, if there were no European conflicts, if there were no colonial movements that are capable of changing the map of the world in one sweep, if there were no East (the movement in China), if there were no opposition from the working class, if there were no American-Japanese differences, etc., etc.—in other words, if there were nothing that exists and were something that does not, (i.e., if there existed only one—and excessively stressed at that—a pan-American, tendency) then we should have an "American" League of Nations, a world-wide trust and European rations dictated by Uncle Sam.

Our tactics cannot overlook such a significant phenomenon as America's supremacy, but at the same time it must primarily depend upon an analysis of contradictions. This analysis is the fundamental task of our theory. We shall be in a position to define our tactics only when the picture of reality will stand out before us in its entire concrete form, the most important component part of which is the existence of contradictory tendencies.

Left-Wing Advances in the Needle Trades

By Earl R. Browder

ONLY a little more than one year ago it seemed to many observers that reaction was triumphant within the needle trades unions. The Chicago convention of the International Fur Workers' Union had approved of the expulsion of B. Gold and others, of the terrorist tactics of the officials, and had changed the constitution in a manner calculated to disfranchise the left wing. The Boston convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers had spent 10 days of its two weeks' sessions in expelling left-wing delegates and confirming membership expulsions, also changing the constitution to enable the officials to perpetuate themselves in office. In the Capmakers the left wing was still unclear and confused, and the officials were having their way unchallenged. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers at their convention in Philadelphia, although they still maintained their cloak of liberalism that was formerly Hillman's stock in trade, disappointed all those who hoped for any kind of real progressive action. Altogether it was not an encouraging picture, and the pessimists in our movement were agreeing with the reactionary officials, in their judgment that the left wing had received a terrible defeat.

Basis of the Left-Wing Program.

The left wing, under the leadership of the Trade Union Educational League, refused to accept this defeat. It declared that the left wing program would rally the membership and overcome the machine-made victory of the reactionary officials, because: (1.) conditions in the industry, the contracting system, etc., can only be remedied by a fighting union policy and administration that does battle against the employers; (2.) the reason why the union officials made war against the left wing was in order that they might make peace with the employers; (3.) the peace-policy toward the employers will mean betrayal of the workers, and thereby force the workers to turn toward the left wing leadership to remedy their grievances. This analysis made by the T. U. E. L. was substantiated by the developments in real life.

With that blindness to fundamental forces that characterizes reformist leadership, and with cynical disregard of the interests of the workers, the officialdom of the needle trades unions decided that they had complete power to deal with the membership as they saw fit. Feeling secure with their "constitutional amendments" against the left wing, with the left-wing leaders expelled from the unions, with the union machinery completely in their hands, they proceeded to announce an era of "peace" and "negotiations" with the employers; the weapon of the strike was declared taboo; co-operation with the employers, arbitration, submission to "impartial tribunals," became the order of the day.

With these policies the Sigmans, Hillmans, Zaritskys, and Kaufmans, were sowing dragon's teeth. Because these policies resulted immediately in wage-cuts, loss of control in the shops, demoralization of the unions, accentuations of every bad condition in the industry, therefore all the paper weapons of the officialdom against the membership, all their artificial majorities and machine control of the union, failed

them in their desire to control the masses in the garment industry. Where one left-wing worker had been expelled from the union, ten more sprung up in his place, in revolt against the surrender to the employers.

Revolution in the Furriers' Union.

New York City contains four-fifths of the membership of the Furriers' Union. And in May, 1925, one year after the Chicago convention had "legalized" Kaufman's expulsion policy, and 18 minutes after Kaufman had caused the leader of the left wing, B. Gold, to be beaten up and expelled—a combination of the left wing and other elements in opposition to Kaufman, under the leadership of Gold and the left-wing group, was elected to office in the New York Joint Board by the largest vote in years and by a majority of ten to one.

Today, the manager of the New York Joint Board of the Furriers is B. Gold, who together with Fannie Warshawsky and I. Gross represent the left wing that leads the new administration. Curiously enough, Kaufman still holds his paper weapon of expulsion of Gold, which was reversed by the Joint Board but never accepted by Kaufman. The fact that Gold is accepted by the membership overwhelmingly as their representative, that he occupies and directs the union office, that the manufacturers recognize the realities by dealing with Gold as the one who speaks for the workers—these things make clear the small revolution that has occurred in the Furriers' Union.

Of course, the revolution is not complete as yet. It is still going on. The new administration, while solid as a rock against the gangsterism of Kaufman, is not entirely homogeneous, nor is it as yet a left-wing administration, although the left wing leads and dominates it. During the elections the T. U. E. L. group found it necessary to point out, in a leaflet to the membership, that the program of the anti-Kaufman block was not a left-wing program. The T. U. E. L. earnestly and sincerely co-operates in this block with the anti-Kaufman elements which do not yet accept the T. U. E. L. program—but the T. U. E. L. does not abandon its own program, and it will continue to propagate this program, fight for it, and try to win over all of those who are not yet convinced. When the majority of the anti-Kaufman block is convinced of the correctness of the T. U. E. L. program, and accepts this program as the basis for the administration—only then will the revolution in the Furriers' Union have been completed. This is now the task of the Furriers' Union left-wing group.

What was the purpose of the anti-Kaufman block, and is this purpose being achieved by the recent victories?

The purpose was to break the hold of the Kaufman machine which, by gangsterism, terrorism and violence, had made the union a cess-pool of graft and betrayal of the workers; and by breaking this machine, to open up the way to membership control and union progress.

This purpose is being achieved. The gangsters have been amputated from the union treasury. They are now

either entering the service of the employers to be used against the union, or are waiting for orders from Kaufman if that worthy is able to secure enough money to launch them into open warfare to regain the union offices from the new administration. Graft on the part of former lieutenants of Kaufman has been so thoroughly exposed that even the right-wing elements are trying to grab off some of the credit by joining in the condemnation of their dishonest servants. The organizational machinery of the union is being re-organized on the basis of mass participation of the membership in the committees which enforce the union rules, recruit new members, and carry on the strikes. Already, as a result of the anti-Kaufman block election victory, the Furriers' Union in New York is entering upon a new phase of its life.

Overcoming Reaction in the Ladies' Garment Workers.

It was a grievous wound that was inflicted upon the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union when the Sigman machine launched the expulsion policy in 1923 against the left wing. It was a mockery and betrayal of inner-union democracy when, in Boston, May, 1924, this machine caused the convention, with a manufactured majority, to endorse the expulsions and re-write the constitution of the union to place all power in the hands of the machine. The I. L. G. W. U. will be many years in fully recovering from the ill-effects of the blow. It has demoralized the union and seriously weakened it, with lower wages, loss of shop control, and violation of agreements by the bosses, as a result.

As we pointed out at the time, however, the reactionary officials could hurt the union, but they cannot destroy the left wing. And since the Boston convention this left wing has grown in numbers, power, and clarity of program. Today, one year after it was outlawed, it has gained the leadership of the three great locals in New York—Locals 2, 9 and 22, representing the mass of the workers in this market.

That very thing which caused the bureaucrats to expel the left wing—i.e., their desire, not to fight against, but to collaborate with the employers—was at the same time the guarantee that the left wing would grow and flourish in spite of all persecution.

Typical of this policy of class collaboration by Sigman & Co., is the submission of the demands of the union to the so-called Governor's Commission. At Boston, Sigman had been forced, as a screen to cover the expulsion policy, to adopt many of the demands upon the bosses formulated by the left wing. This made necessary some new instrument to block these demands and at the same time avoid a fight. The Governor's Commission is such an instrument. Sigman could say that he stood for these demands, but they must be won before the Commission, and the Commission defeats the workers, not Sigman.

The base hypocrisy, the black betrayal, contained in this policy was brought out in the brief recently submitted by Morris Hillquit, attorney for the Sigman administration before the Governor's Commission, when he said that a phrase in his previous argument, to the effect that "no power on earth can make the garment workers accept the principle of piece work," had been mere oratory, not to be taken seriously, and that the union accepted the jurisdiction of the Commission over any and all matters affecting the life of the workers.

Such cowardly denial of even the intention to think about



BENJAMIN GOLD IN THE HOSPITAL
After being beaten up by the reactionaries of the Furriers' Union.
—Reproduced from Labor Herald of last year.

the possibility of fighting for the demands of the workers reflects the entire policy since the Boston convention one year ago. But the membership, instead of accepting placidly their betrayal of the officials, accepted instead the leadership and program of the left wing, so recently excommunicated from the union with bell, book, and candle by Sigman. With the amalgamation of three locals into the new Local 2, comprising over 10,000 members, the left wing, which had long fought for this measure also, began to crystallize its power, sweeping the elections of the local overwhelmingly. This was followed by strong victories in Local 9 and Local 22. These three locals are the largest, best organized, and generally the most powerful in the I. L. G. W. U., constituting the backbone of the organization.

This left-wing strength is not the result of a wave of vague sentiment. It comes from the realization that it is only the left wing which leads the daily fight for the real interests of the workers on the job. An interesting illustration of this fact, and of the stupidity of the old officialdom, is seen in the controversy over the question of the demand for guarantee of employment. The reactionaries put forward the demand for 32 weeks in the year guaranteed. The left wing demanded a guarantee of 36 weeks. Whereupon the reactionaries (see *Justice*, May 8th) denounced the left wing as demagogues, arguing that investigation had shown the average for the market was 32 weeks, and that a longer guarantee would throw a section of the workers out of a job altogether. But when the left wing pointed out the fact

that the 32 weeks average was based upon the 44-hour week, while one of the principal demands at present is the 40-hour week, the membership saw clearly that the reactionaries either had their tongue in their cheeks when they supported the demand for the 40-hour week, or else they were demanding a guarantee of employment which would be 10 per cent below the average employment per year in the market when the 40-hour week would be gained.

There is much promise of future progress in the I. L. G. W. U. at the present time, as a result of the renewed fighting spirit of the membership, the good organization of the left-wing forces, and the growing clarity of its program. A real mass movement is under way. Many dangers are still ahead, chief among which is a tendency toward timidity among some of the leading elements, a lack of faith of the power of the strong left-wing program to rally the masses, and a consequent inclination to concentrate too much on minor issues to the neglect of the broad revolutionary fighting issues of the entire trade. Any yielding to these tendencies, any compromising with the right wing, would be especially disastrous now, when the membership is aroused and ready to fight. The principal task of the left wing in this situation is to clarify its own program, to push its fighting policy against the employers, to control and eventually eliminate the contracting system, to withdraw the union from the Governor's Commission and enter into direct negotiations with the employers with preparations for a general strike, to energetically push forward its economy program within the union, and to draw the line between itself and the old officialdom so that the most backward member can see that to follow Sigman & Co. means surrender and defeat, while the leadership of the left wing means struggle and progress.

Crystallizing the Left in the Capmakers.

In the convention of the Capmakers' Union, held in New York City early in May, the left wing appeared in greater strength than had been expected even by ourselves. And although but a small proportion of the convention, these delegates made themselves the storm center of that gathering, by their energetic fight for demands that raised the issues in which the membership see involved their own vital interests, their living standards.

Trade issues were, however, not the only ones raised in this convention, and it is of the greatest importance that a resolution, introduced by the left-wing delegates, for international trade union unity and support of the Anglo-Russian Unity Commission, was adopted by the convention. The reactionaries were afraid to fight against this resolution, because of the tremendous popularity of the issue among the needle trades workers. President Zaritsky put himself on record as opposed to it, before the close of the convention, in order to keep himself in good odor with the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and also, doubtless, as an expression of his own reactionary character; but the fact that he and his lieutenants did not fight against its adoption, limiting their opposition to an amendment to strike out favorable mention of the Russian end of the unity movement, shows how strong is the sentiment for unity.

Growing strength, more maturity of judgment, greater clarity of program, are the principal developments of the left wing in the needle trades as a whole. This was true of the left wing in the Capmakers' convention. Mistakes are still

being made by our comrades, such as, in this convention, the failure to oppose Zaritsky for president. One of the most promising signs for the future, however, is the quickness with which such mistakes are recognized and branded as mistakes, as was done in this case by our left-wingers.

The Storm in the Amalgamated.

Sydney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has long based his leadership upon the pose of "progressivism." The establishment of the A. C. W. came through struggle, and the splendid fighting tradition of the men's clothing workers always has acted as a check upon the development of class-collaboration policies. But last year, facing a crisis in the industry, which forced a decision either to carry on a widespread struggle with the employers or to compromise the interests of the workers, Hillman definitely cast in the lot of his administration with the right wing of the American labor movement.

This sharp swing to the right of the A. C. W. officials was accompanied, necessarily, by a war against the left wing. In order to silence criticism, to prevent opposition to this surrender among the members the left wing had to be silenced. So Hillman began to follow in the footsteps of Sigman & Co.

In the Chicago market, the collaboration with the bosses was carried out in a particularly outrageous manner, by stealth and trickery. The employers demanded a 10 per cent wage reduction. Publicly this was refused and the membership reassured that no reduction would be accepted. But the reduction was actually put into effect, by means of a "re-adjustment" of prices which, upon investigation by the membership when they began to find their earnings decreased, was found to be an actual reduction of more than the original demand of the employers. The same thing, with slight differences, was performed in New York and other markets. The employers got their reduced costs of production at the expense of the workers, but the workers were told that the union had refused to accept any wage reductions. It was a raw piece of business that aroused the hitherto somewhat quiescent left-wing elements in the A. C. W.

In the elections that occurred in the spring of this year in Chicago, the left wing entered candidates and announced a program against the class collaboration policies of the Hillman machine. And here another of the Sigman methods of warfare against the left wing was adopted in the A. C. W. After intriguing to secure the defection of a small group of left-wing workers, the Hillman machine set upon the left-wingers at the election places with strong-arm men, driving them away, intimidating the voters, and sending two workers to the hospital with broken heads.

It is in New York, however, that the big struggle against the policies of surrender of Hillman has centered, and Local 5 has been the focusing point. And in New York the masses of the membership have been so thoroughly aroused against these policies, and against the warfare upon the left wing, that for months the reactionaries have suppressed demonstrations against their misrule.

The Local 5 struggle began when three workers were removed from their jobs with the consent of Wolf, one of Hillman's lieutenants, in the expectation that, by having to come to the officials for reinstatement, the position of these officials would be strengthened. But the executive of Local 5 immediately acted to stop removals from the shops, calling

a walkout, picketing the shop, and issuing a leaflet calling for the re-establishment of the old Amalgamated policy of struggle to protect the workers.

Then the Hillman administration began a series of suspensions, expulsions, removal of elected officers, etc., attempting to terrorize the workers of Local 5 into submission. This has culminated in the removal of the executive (an action which the local refused to recognize), the appointment of a new executive (which is so discredited that six of its members have resigned), and the expulsion of individual members throughout the country, particularly in Chicago, because of distribution of the Local 5 leaflet explaining the controversy.

As these lines are written the A. C. W. situation is at a deadlock. The administration refuses to restore union democracy, union meetings are not allowed, and the official machinery is stalled thereby; but the membership in overwhelming numbers supports the left-wing demands and the re-instatement of Local 5. The recent demonstration of several members in front of the general offices of the union was the direct result of this disfranchisement, and the refusal to allow the normal expression of opinion through the local meetings.

For the first time in the history of the A. C. W. there was no May Day meeting for the union this year in New York City. The officials were afraid to allow even the celebration of International Labor Day because of the resentment against their actions in Local 5. To such an extent will an official family go when once embarked upon the policy of surrender and collaboration with the employers.

Due to the lack of sharp and continuous struggle in the past, the left wing is poorly organized and its program is still somewhat confused. Taking advantage of this condition, certain rather irresponsible people put forward the slogan

of "No dues payments until our demands are met." It has been necessary for the left wing sharply to rebuke this dues-strike proposal and fight against it. Under no conditions can the left wing give its support to such a method of fighting even the most reactionary officials. This, and other deviations of policy that have appeared in the struggle, have made evident that the most pressing task of the left wing in the A. C. W. is to properly organize itself, to clarify its program. Only such organization and clarification will bring victory for the left wing.

A tremendous movement of the needle trades workers to the left is under way. It is a revolt against the policy of collaboration with the bosses, against surrendering without a fight the conditions won in past battles, and a demand for an aggressive fighting union to win new victories for the workers. This movement will succeed, either in forcing the officials to revise their policies, or in establishing an entirely new leadership in the unions—on condition that it is properly organized, that it is disciplined, that its program is clear, that it allows no destructive deviations to creep into its practice. It is the task of the Trade Union Educational League to give the necessary guidance to this movement, as to all others of a similar nature, to the end that the entire labor and revolutionary movement in America be strengthened and prepared for the greater battles that are to come.

The crisis in the needle industry as a whole, and the necessity for the growing left wing to reformulate its program and to more closely unite its ranks lend great importance to the National Conference of the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L., which will be held in New York on ance to the National Conference of the Needle Trades Section of the left wing towards leadership in the clothing unions and towards the adoption of a revolutionary policy by these organizations.

The Punch and Judy Show that is Congress

"I HESITATE to think," says Edward Keating, who now edits "Labor" but who hopes some day to draw a fat "progressive" government salary, "what would have happened to the Republic and its people during the years since the Armistice was signed, if Congress had not been here to raise a row when the Palmers, the Daughertys, the Burtlesons and the Falls became too raw."

It is the voice of the fake Progressive speaking. What would happen to the American people if it weren't for Congress? Well, for one thing, we might have fewer "Selective" Immigration laws, less fake "labor" legislation and more real help for the farmers. We might but we probably wouldn't. For the same powers that run the government at present would still be in operation. Congress itself does not determine anything. What has happened to the charges against Daugherty, to which Mr. Keating calls attention? What has happened to the charges against Fall? They have simply been dropped. Fall is a free man today—and the Doheny interests, exposed and "morally outlawed" during the Teapot Dome investigation, now combine with Standard Oil in the biggest and most powerful trust in the history of the American oil industry. Some months ago the country heard that Congress was to investigate the great electrical and super power trust. The "investigation" was dropped almost as quickly as it was taken up. Not another word of it has been heard from that day to this. Meantime, new merger and ex-

pansion plans are reported in the financial journals which will make this trust well-nigh impregnable.

The truth of the matter is that the center of gravity in political affairs has long since passed out of the hands of congressional and parliamentary bodies. Brother Keating's heartfelt remarks on Congress tend to keep alive the illusion that Congress is truly a ruling body, instead of a talking shop to divert attention from the real rulers of America. This is very pleasing indeed to the financial oligarchy in Wall Street, which exercises its political power directly through President Coolidge and the various national, state and local administrative departments of government. Congress is also used by Wall Street on occasion—just as the Supreme Court is used to nullify acts of Congress. But congressional rule is too cumbersome for the monopolist crew that dominates American capitalism in this day and age. Congress serves principally as a talking shop to delude and deceive, while the real decisions are made elsewhere.

When the workers understand this fully they will see that American "democracy" is only a sham to conceal the mailed fist of capitalist dictatorship. Communists want to replace this with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, of the workers. Brother Keating wants to preserve things as they are. That is why he is so solicitous about perpetuating the congressional illusion.

Reverie of a Reactionary Senator

MY day has been hard—the state problems unsolved,
Until history turns backward a page,
I must turn for relief to one book that I read,
"The Men of the Old Stone Age."

All property, privileges, taxes, and laws
Were plainly defined at that stage,
When they lived by the river or moved to the cave—
Those men of the old stone age.

Their warfare and maintainance surely were simple,
No subtle evasion, no investigation!
Our gains and our losses are one—O, we pay,
Quite dearly for civilization.

Their problems they solved in no indirect ways.
No budgets, no parties, and such.
We raise up ten questions in answering one,
And we spoil every bill that we touch.

I admire their statesmanlike laws, which of late
We have copied to help our investors.
And I'd long to return to their life in the wilds,
With our paleolithic ancestors!

—Geraldine P. Dilla.

Where Men Like Shadows Go

I HAVE walked streets where men like shadows go
Up rickety stairs to second story rooms.
And I have gone, too, hiding in gray piles
Of musty rags that they call sheets and watched
The red lights blink and men in terrible dreams
Toss themselves and cry like children in their sleep.

I have slept nights where sleep could never be
But the low moaning men in stupor make.
I have passed rooms where "queers" have beckoned me
And then ashamed hid in the gray dim light.
I have paid my fifty cents, nor found the rest
That I had asked nor touched the warmth of flesh.

There is an end to night but day is night
And night is day beside the sagging cot.
I have seen men who never cared to rise
And many more that never could—nor did:
The thin-skinned boy, pretty and called a "she",
Whose bed was made by men with blood afire.

The men who harvest Kansas' yellow wheat
(They harvest winter's now), old men with stumps
And those of youth who find adventure sweet
But know the time and wait with silenced fear.
I have slept nights where sleep led into death,
I have walked streets where men like shadows go.

—Raymond Kresensky.

To Certain "Brothers"

YOU sicken me with lies,
With truthful lies.
And with your pious faces,
And your wide, out-stretched,
mock-welcome, Christian hands.
While underneath
Is dirt and ugliness,
And rotting hearts,
And wild hyenas howling
In your soul's waste lands.

—Langston Hughes.



THE SENATE AT WORK