



VICTIMS OF CAPITALISM

Workers Imprisoned

In Germany, about.....	7,000
" Italy "	8,000
" Spain "	23,000
" Belgium "	2,300
" Lithuania "	200
" Latvia "	500
" Finland "	1,200
" Poland "	12,000
" Hungary "	70,000
" India "	253,000
" Roumania "	3,000

THEY ARE IN FOR US

WHO ARE OUT

Their wives are blacklisted. They can get no work. Their children need help. Winter is coming.

Their class war knows no geographical boundaries. Today the workers of Europe need OUR help. Tomorrow we may need THEIR help.

G I V E

in the spirit of

SELF HELP AND INTERNATIONAL CLASS SOLIDARITY

and get others to

G I V E

OUR AIM

To give aid to all needy workers and class war victims of the laboring masses without conditions, without political discrimination, whenever and wherever the existence of a working class is menaced by economic or natural catastrophe or by political oppression.

International Workers' Aid
19 South Lincoln Street
Chicago, Illinois

Here is my contribution to help the prisoners of.....
and their families.

Name

Address

City and State

Trade or Profession

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS AID



Fred Ellis

On the Road to Power



begin to act upon their own class policies, that they come to a fuller realization of the treacherous nature of this fake "democracy." In Germany, when hundreds of thousands of workers were thrown into violent conflict with their capitalist masters in the fall of 1923, and it seemed as though the capitalist system in that country must surely fall, it was the bearers of the "democratic illusion," the German Social Democracy, that turned the power over to the Ludendorffs, Hitlers, and the Fascist organizations, to rule the turbulent masses with machine guns and bombs. In England, when the transport workers were at the point of winning the demands of their strike, it was the "social pacifist," MacDonald, head of the British Labor party, who took the proclamation of martial law to the king for his signature, and thereby forced the workers to compromise. And in America we can confidently predict, with the full knowledge that the class interests controlling LaFollette will have their way with him, that in any great struggle of the workers that may arise when the LaFollette movement comes to power, the governmental powers will here also be turned against the workers or turned over to the Fascist elements in the United States.

Imperialism and LaFollettism.

Imperialist policy is the very keystone of modern capitalism. How little the LaFollettes, MacDonalds, Herriots, and Eberts endanger the capitalist dictatorship, what servile attendants they are upon the interests of their masters the capitalists, is witnessed by their care not to interfere in any way with the exploitation and suppression of colonial peoples. The middle class of each country is incapable of formulating, not to speak of carrying out, any policy that would interfere with the imperialist aims of its respective higher capitalist circles.

Perhaps our LaFollette enthusiasts may reply that the Wisconsin senator is an outspoken critic of American military adventures in South America, and that it is unfair to charge, in the absence of such action on his part, that he would serve American imperialism. But when we know that the pacifist MacDonald (who, by the way, opposed the world war with slightly more emphasis than LaFollette), once he was in office, proceeded to continue bombing defenseless natives in Irak, to handle India by forcible repression, that he continued imperialist intrigue in the Near East, and in every way continued the policies of British imperialism as established by the liberals and conservatives, it is not straining a point to expect that MacDonald's prototype in America, LaFollette, will follow the same course with regard to American imperialism. And when we further see Herriot, of France, continue the policy of the *Comite des Forges*, and of French imperialism in Africa, and French Indo-China, we have another reason for our belief. Further, when we consider that even the propaganda of the LaFollettites for the masses contains nothing but the most peurile sentimentalities, that Gompers, a big cog in the LaFollette machine, is an open defender of imperialism, that there is a complete absence of any program of action that would mobilize the resistance of the colonial peoples or crystallize the power of the working class against imperialism—then we know of a certainty that LaFollette and his kind are nothing but concealed imperialists, agents of capitalism in foreign affairs as they are at home.

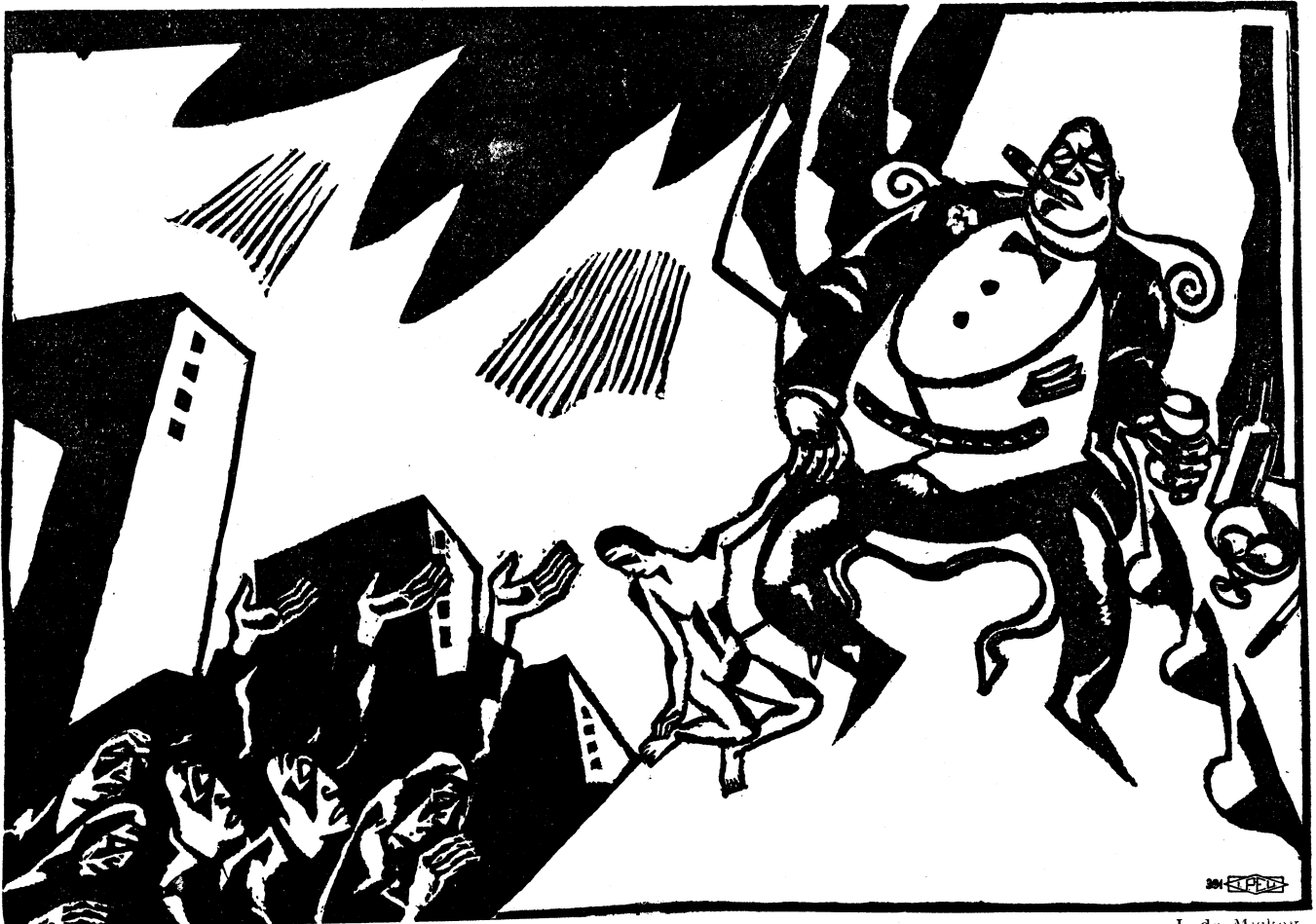
Debauching the Working Class.

At this moment the masses in America are just entering upon a drunken debauch of democratic illusions, fed to them by the LaFollette movement. Blindly they were making their exit from the two old parties of capitalism, and just as blindly they allowed themselves to be led into the domain of the petty bourgeoisie. And in the accompanying flood of middle-class sentimentalism, there has been submerged what promised to be the beginnings of a mass party of workers and farmers upon a class basis, with a class program, the rising Farmer-Labor party movement. There can be no blinking the fact that the farmer-labor movement, as a mass movement distinct from the revolutionary (Communist) movement in this country, has been terrifically weakened, that its basis in the minds of millions of workers and farmers has been cut from under it, by the sweep of the LaFollette illusion.

Thus the slogan of the Labor Party has lost its power to stir the masses. That is because, while previous to this time it stood as the organizational expression for realization or, at least, struggle for some of the dimly felt needs of the masses—today the masses have, organizationally, come to rest in the LaFollette

Here a lank gray mule is gnawing
 At a porch post and hee-hawing,
 There a droopy, lop-eared hound
 Moans and groans and snoops around.
 All the weather-beaten shanties
 Swarm with dogs and bucks and aunties,
 Howling, laughing, making eyes.
 There's the whimpering of flies
 In among old hoops and barrels.
 One black mammy ups and carols:
 "Goan to hebbem, yass my Lawd.
 "My good Lawd, my good Lawd.
 "Goan thah, goan thah, my good Lawd.
 "Goan to go to hebbem, yass my Lawd.
 "Oh Good Lawd!"
 Now I pass—reformed—saloons,
 That are rocked with giddy tunes,
 And I pass tamale wagons
 And I meet these female dragons
 That solicit on the street.

And I stroll along and meet
 With the skulking tribe that dallies
 Near these unexpected alleys:
 "Three ways, kid, and treat you right.
 "Spend a dollar, spend the night."
 Then the Sal-i-vation Sallies:
 "Lord, thine army stands and rallies!"
 And I know it's not so long
 Till I'll hear a wobbly song,
 And I do, I'm getting near them,
 So I hurry up to hear them
 And I join them on the run.
 But already they are done.
 Well, I hate to miss a meeting
 But I give them all my greeting
 As they sit there in a row
 On the curbstone singing low:
 "Join the union, fellow-workers?"—"Home, Sweet
 Home" and "Old Black Joe."



J. de Miskey.

The Rich



people" for support and make their appeals in the interests of "the people."

Judged on the basis of these utterances of the spokesmen and leaders of the Progressive movement, it is clear that they have no intention of building a party which even predominantly expresses the interests of labor. Labor occupies the same position in this supposed-to-be labor party in embryo as it has occupied in the Republican and Democratic parties. It is part of "the people" to which the Progressive movement appeals and does not pretend to be an organization making a special appeal to the workers because it is fighting for the economic interests of the workers.

The tradition that American government is a democratic institution functioning in the name of "the people," that it represents all classes alike, is something which has been systematically built up by the ruling class. The Progressive movement is fostering and reinforcing this tradition. For the idea of labor entering politics as a class to fight for its own political interests it is substituting a movement of "the people" qualified by that meaningless, milk-and-water phrase "progressive."

III.

The composition of the leading organization of the Progressive movement is most significant as an indication of the class interest which this movement represents.

Three movements developed, more or less independent of each other, during the last few years, which were tending in the direction of creating a new political party in opposition to the two capitalist parties which alternated in ruling in the name of the capitalist dictatorship. There was a rank and file movement of workers and farmers openly advocating the formation of a political party which would express the interests of these two economic classes. This movement took the form of an effort to build up farmer-labor parties. The second group consisted of the bureaucratic leaders of a section of organized labor which organized in the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The third group was the insurgent movement in congress under the leadership of Senator LaFollette, expressing a revolt against the domination of the

government by the big capitalists on the part of the independent manufacturers, bankers, well-to-do farmers and liberal professional groups.

What has taken place since LaFollette announced his independent candidacy for the presidency is that the third group, representing the revolt of little business against big business, has absorbed and imposed its leadership upon the group organized in the Conference for Progressive Political Action and even upon a large part of the rank and file movement which was fighting for a farmer-labor party.

It is essential to establish this point, because it is the determining factor in establishing whether the Progressive movement has within itself the possibility of establishing a labor party. The first group described above stood openly for the formation of a farmer-labor party. Had its efforts been crowned with success we would have had a radical farmer-labor party in the United States. The C. P. P. A. was dominantly made up of labor elements. Even though dominated by conservative labor leaders, a party created by the C. P. P. A., based upon the labor organizations it represented, would have been a labor party.

A party which had as its organization structure local organization created through labor unions sending delegates to a central organization, and state organization created through delegates from labor unions and farmers economic organizations, and a national organization built upon this structure, such an organization, irrespective of what degree of class consciousness it represented or how conservative its platform, would have been a labor party in the historical sense of that term. A party



built upon the economic organizations of the workers and farmers would be compelled, in some degree to fight for the economic interests of these two classes.

The fact that the LaFollette-Progressive movement took definite form at the C. P. P. A. convention in Cleveland gives the misleading impression that it sprang out of the C. P. P. A. The fact is that at the Cleveland C. P. P. A. convention a new leadership was imposed upon the C. P. P. A. and it became an appendage to the LaFollette-Progressive movement.

The proceedings of the C. P. P. A. convention show that the convention determined nothing. The LaFollette group



"I have known Savinkov since 1900. At the time he was still a Social-democrat but strongly inclined toward petty-bourgeois revolutionarism. Savinkov became a Socialist-Revolutionary, according to himself, on the basis of the agrarian question. I never noticed, however, any particular interest in this question on the part of Savinkov. In the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries he was always a terrorist, never participating in any other work but, on the contrary, manifesting a kind of contempt towards the other phases of the party's activities."

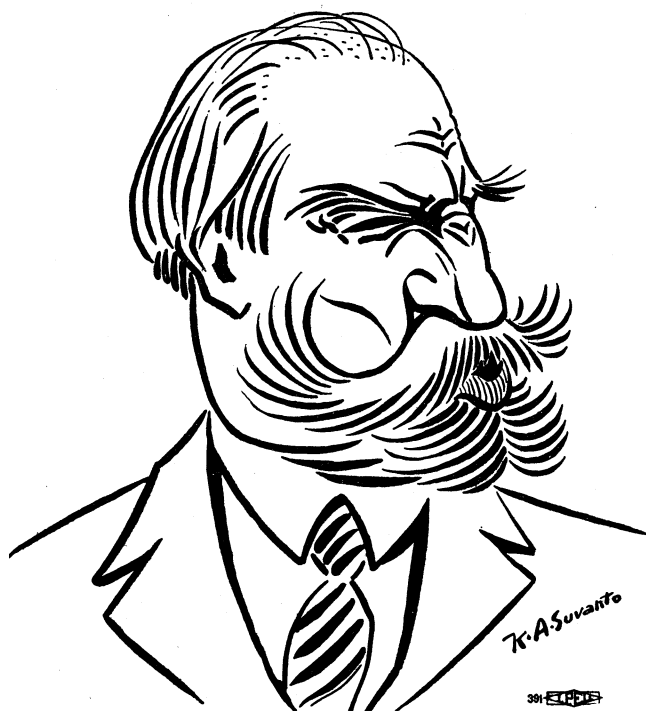
Grandstand play, firework effects, pose and gesture, without the least regard for the human element in the struggle, these seem to be the most pronounced features of Savinkov's character. Even in his hour of black defeat, facing the military court of the Soviet Government, he couldn't forego the pleasure of indulging in a play of melodramatics and stage-tragedy.

The Sentence.

The court sentenced Savinkov to death, but because of his admission of crime and guilt, because of his expressed determination to surrender and make peace, the court appealed to the government to change the death sentence to a lighter form of punishment. The government remitted the death sentence to ten years' imprisonment.

The barbarians! They will always choose their own way. They will never follow the illustrious example of their more civilized brothers, the capitalist governments of Europe and America! Is not this sufficient to justify another intervention?

The significance of the sentence meted out to Savinkov can best be realized by a comparison with the "justice" administered to workers under capitalist rule in other countries. Compare it, for instance, to the cause of the workers, Sacco and Vanzetti, who have been arrested and sentenced to death upon an admitted frame-up of the most brazen and



MR. HUGHES, HIMSELF.

outrageous nature in our own State of Massachusetts. Death is hanging over the heads of these innocent workers. Their lives are in danger. And unless the labor movement of the United States musters up very quickly some courage and determination, their lives will be taken. This is in civilized, democratic America whose Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, piously turns his face away from the Soviet government because he wouldn't "shake hands with murder." Bless the memory of Lloyd George!

Then come the "murderers" of Soviet Russia. And in order to spite the whole world, "our own" government included, they shamelessly and brazenly . . . refuse to murder. They hold in their hands the life of one of their bitterest enemies, a man who has, more than any other single individual, contributed to the dark misery and cruel sufferings of the Russian masses during the years of active counter-revolution and foreign intervention. And what do these barbarians do to him? They send him to prison for ten years.

Why? Because they wouldn't shed blood, even of their worst enemies, for the mere pleasure of doing it. They are not after vengeance. They merely want to protect themselves, to defend their lives and security. Or, in the words of the "Izvestia," the official organ of the Soviet Government:

"In their struggle for human happiness, the workers and peasants do not resort to vengeance against their enemies. They only make those enemies harmless."

The Collapse of the White Guard.

There is only one word with which to describe the effect of Savinkov's confession upon the ranks of the Russian White Guard. It is: **Katzenjammer**. Nothing short of it. They are shocked, demoralized, helpless, crushed.

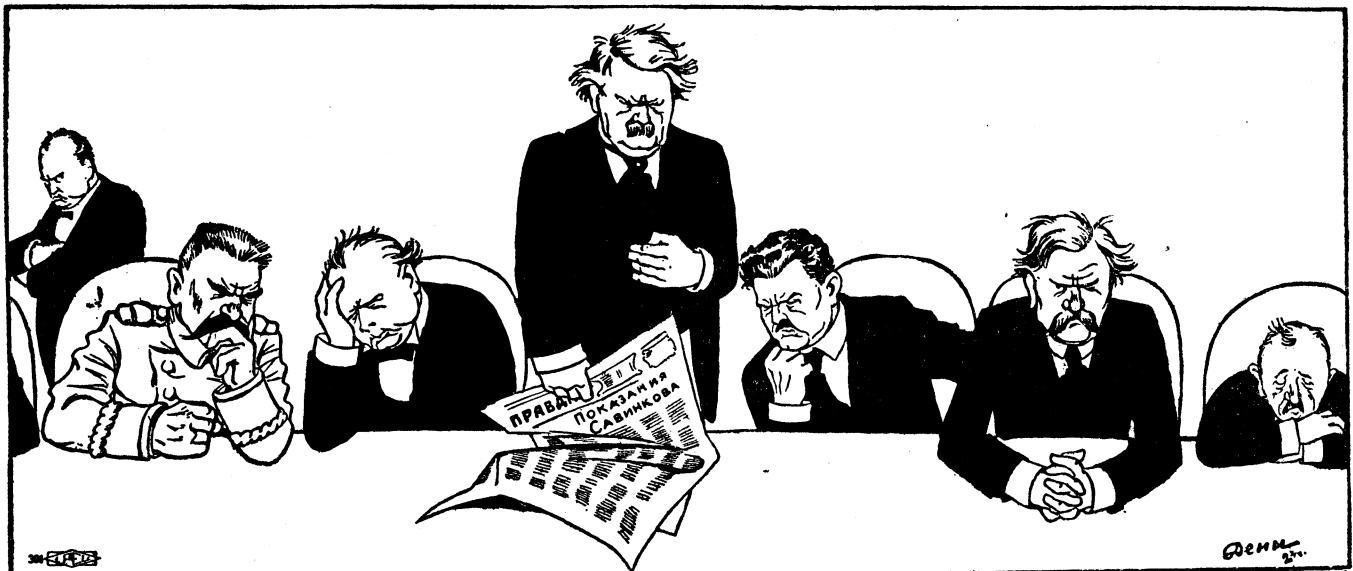
Just think of it! Savinkov, the prime mover of all white guard conspiracies, the livest wire in the whole counter-revolutionary mixup, the very apotheosis of irreconcilability to the Soviet regime, making peace with the proletarian revolution, admitting his crime and guilt and, to cap it all calling upon his friends and followers to recognize the Government of Workers and Peasants!

This is the limit! It is almost unbelievable, and so it was termed at first by Savinkov's erstwhile friends all over the world. But now, since the thing has been established beyond doubt, the Savinkov affair has come in for a good deal of explanation and interpretation in the press of the Russian White Guard and in the European capitalist press generally.

The organ of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, "Dni," published in Berlin, assumes the position of watchful waiting. The Socialist-Revolutionaries are awaiting, that is, further information. But, obviously, this is a case of "nervous breakdown" which resulted in total incapacity to react to anything.

On the other hand, the organ of the Cadets, *Rul*, also published in Berlin, bravely faces the music and declares the whole affair a cooked-up proposition between Savinkov and the Soviet government, totally devoid of any political significance.

This, however, is not the opinion of Miliukov, one of the chief leaders of the Cadets. In his organ, *Poslednie Novosti*, published in Paris, Miliukov takes the position that Savinkov is sincere, but that this sudden transformation of his should cause no surprise. Savinkov, he said, has always been an individualist, a believer in acting independently of the rest



Mussolini Pilsudski

Churchill

Lloyd-George

Herriot

MacDonald

Benes

THE RULERS OF CAPITALIST EUROPE READ SAVINKOV'S CONFESSION.

of the Russian groups in Europe, always a group by himself. That's why Miliukov is of the opinion that very few will follow Savinkov's example.

But this new hope of Miliukov is already contradicted by the facts as they are coming in from the White Guard colonies in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania, etc. Large circles of Russian emigrants are totally demoralized by Savinkov's confession and surrender, and are seriously considering the possibility of making peace and returning home.

Savinkov's Appeal.

Savinkov has issued an appeal to his friends and followers to make peace with the Soviet government. The appeal was published in the Russian press on September 13. It is well written. It states his case clearly and convincingly and should go a long way toward converting to his present point of view large numbers of his former associates.

"I have exhausted all means of struggle and have come to the realization that I have been defeated."

This is his starting point, from which he proceeds to ask: Does that mean that we must give up the fight? And he answers: No, not necessarily, provided there are serious reasons for continuing the struggle. But are there such? And here is how he answers his question:

"Who believes nowadays in the Constituent Assembly? Who will now condemn the Bolsheviks for having concluded the Brest-Litovsk treaty? Who now believes that the November (Bolshevik) revolution cleared the way for the coming back of the Czar?"

Nobody. Then, again:

"We love Russia, that is, the Russian people. And we ask ourselves: With whom do the Russian people stand? Are the Bolsheviks usurpers of power? Are they ruining our homeland? Are they sacrificing Russia to the Communist International?"

And he answers: The people are with the Bolsheviks. The Soviet government is restoring, strengthening and building up Russia. Under the Czar, Russia was the oppressor of Europe; now, under the Soviets, Russia is becoming the liberator of the world.

"But we have no freedom, some will say; to which I reply: And if the Whites had been victorious, wouldn't they have established a dictatorship? I prefer the dictatorship of the working-class to the dictatorship of generals who have learned nothing."

And he concludes:

"Many things had begun to become clear to me even while I was abroad, but it was only here, in Russia, that I became convinced through my own eyes that one should not and could not continue the struggle, that I finally decided that I was wrong and drew the consequences. And I know that I am not the only one who feels that way. I am not the only one who in the depth of his soul has already recognized the Soviet government. I call upon them to break their silence... A year will pass and ten years, and those who still retain a 'living soul' will come and confide in the toiling masses of Russia, and will say: We love Russia, therefore we recognize the Soviet government."

* * * *

It is well that Savinkov has surrendered and made peace, because he was a dangerous and a costly enemy. It is also well that he remains alive to continue to tell his story, which he has really hardly begun to tell, and which will be of immense interest and instruction to the toiling masses the world over. And, above all, it is well that the Soviet government is so magnificently right, so strong and so powerful, as to conquer its enemies not only physically, but also morally.

IN TRANSLATION

"THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE WORLD LABOR MOVEMENT"

By A. LOSOVSKY

Momentous developments are taking shape in the world's labor movement. What is the meaning of the left wing in the Amsterdam International? Why did the Red International Congress adopt a resolution for a world unity Congress of trade unions? In the December issue A. Losovsky, secretary of the R. I. L. U., will discuss these questions.

woman got word to friends who prevented deportation. He has had many narrow escapes and one instance at least is known of his receiving assassins sent to kill him, convincing them they were wrong and turning them into friends.

After Sun Yat Sen had been the active spirit behind the overthrow of the empire and the establishment of the Republic, he declined to take office though easily the popular choice. He refused the offer of the parliament in favor of Yuan Shi Kai, who turned out to be a scoundrel who sold out to foreign imperialism and suppressed the socialist party of China with the remark that it was "not like the socialists of other countries, who only study socialism." In the last few years Sun Yat Sen has by armed rebellion established a government of South China at Canton, from which as a center he hopes to unify the Chinese workers and peasants against both native and foreign exploiters.

Chinese Bourgeoisie Betrays Nation.

The native capitalists and merchants in South China are opposed to Sun Yat Sen. When the clash of arms sounded in the north, the merchants of Canton in collusion with English and American interests formed a real "white guard." They imported arms on the Norwegian steamer Hav. When Sun Yat Sen's government seized this ship, the White Guard seized a portion of Canton by armed sortie, barricaded the streets, and called for foreign assistance. Capitalism recognizes its own. America and England rushed warships to Canton, and to save the city from bombardment Sun released the ship load of arms—sent in, of course, contrary to law.

It is significant that the Cantonese labor unions support Sun Yat Sen enthusiastically. They enlisted to fight the White Guard. So did the poorer peasants. The capitalist press immediately branded these workers as "brigands" and "mercenaries." Needless to say the Communist Party of China is the organizer and active force within the "Kuo-mintang" which it regards as an armed mass party of farmers and workers.

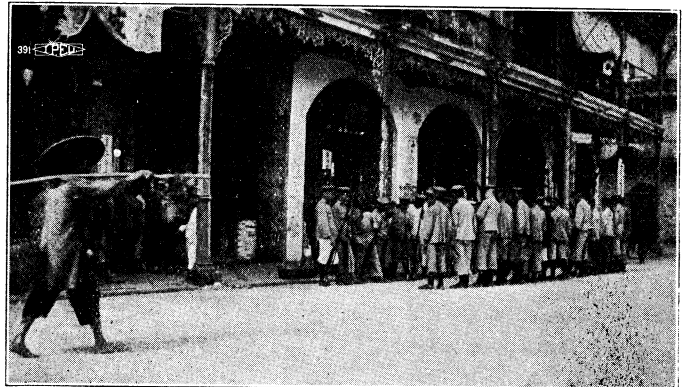
When Schurman's intrigue began to work into war, he suddenly left for Washington, refusing to talk or explain his departure. He came home to report on the eve of "Mobilization Day," which was a prelude to war just as "Prepared-

ness Day" in 1916 was a prelude to the great "war to end war." Since he has been away the Peking correspondent of a Tokyo paper telegraphed to his paper that "Secretary Hughes has sent four secret cablegrams to Wellington Koo, Chinese minister of foreign affairs. Undoubtedly the United States is plotting to take advantage of the trouble in China."

Preparing the War With Japan.

Undoubtedly the correspondent is right. American imperialism having carefully aroused the war spirit in America is now directing it against Japan. At the same time she legally furnishes Japan the excuse of a formal and studied insult by the Exclusion Act, she encroaches physically on Japan by force of arms in Chinese hands along the Yangtze and the Great Wall. In its turn Japanese imperialism is becoming alarmed. It holds counter demonstrations and business men "plead with the government" to protect Japanese interests in Manchuria. Meanwhile, French airplanes, German shells, American, English and Japanese munitions are pouring into China in complete disregard of "covenants" and "conferences."

If this puppet show of American-Chinese armies fighting Japanese-Chinese armies does not settle things satisfactorily to both parties, i. e., until one is satisfied with being beaten, then the major force of Japanese and American armies and navies will be called upon. So get down your tin hats, boys, for the war with Japan.



RECRUITING THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST ARMY ON STREETS OF CANTON



FRENCH BANKER TO RUSSIAN PEASANT:

"Ivan, throw off the Communist tyranny; then you'll be free to pay me 999,999,999,999 quadrillion gold rubles."

Tribute

SHE made a little song
I could not understand;
It was as if she lived
In some enchanted land;

She hummed it through the day—
It was a lovely thing;
I could not understand
What there was to sing.

I was a weary wretch
And toil was all I knew;
But she had made a song
And sang her short life through.

N. Bryllion Fagin.

Four Books on Coal

Four Hour Day in Coal

By Hugh Archibald, Mining Engineer. Published for the Bureau of Industrial Research. 150 pages, \$1.50.

The author, writing from his experience of twenty years as engineer in coal mines gives a vivid picture of the conditions under which coal is dug. He shows that the fundamental causes of strikes have been the same for a generation, and that they will continue as long as underground operations are run as they are. He shows how these conditions affect the price of coal, and the thousand commodities that are manufactured with the aid of coal.

A timely little book. If everybody would read it there would be a more intelligent public appreciation of the conditions that lie at the root of the present trouble.—Power.

Government Operation of Coal Mines

Compiled by Julia E. Johnson. (Handbook Series), 325 pages. \$2.40.

This Handbook deals with operation by the Government of one of our most important natural resources in the interests of the people as opposed to the present system of private ownership. It contains reprints selected to reflect all the various points of view on the subject, and a selected up-to-date bibliography, and briefs are included. A separate section is given to the discussion of price control or regulation as a means of stabilizing prices and preventing profiteering.

IN PREPARATION!

Anthracite

By Hilmar R. Rauchenbusch, an investigator for the Bureau of Industrial Research.

An advance edition, of which the permanent edition is to be an enlargement, was issued last spring. In it Mr. Rauchenbusch has made a study of conditions in the coal mining regions, the aim of which is to put the public in possession of the facts concerning wages, living conditions, and other matters at issue between the miners and their employers, all with a view to supplying a basis for an intelligent estimate of such reports and recommendations as may come from the Government coal commission.

The Strike for Union

By Heber Blankenhorn. Published for the Bureau of Industrial Research.

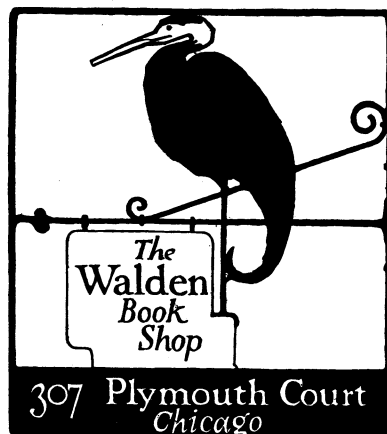
This book attempts a patient following thru of every angle in a single strike, based on field studies, and checked against other studies. It goes behind the record of courts and press; the story of a strike in the record of what goes on in men's heads.

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- "Singing Jailbirds" and "Hell," two dramas; paper-bound, 25 cents each, six for \$1.00.
- "They Call Me Carpenter: A Tale of the Second Coming," cloth \$1.50, paper 75 cents.
- "The Cry for Justice: An Anthology of the Literature of Social Protest," cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00.
- "The Book of Life," a Book of Practical Counsel: Mind, Love and Society. Price \$2.00.
- "Damaged Goods," novelized from the play by Brieux; cloth-bound only, \$1.20.
- "Sylvia's Marriage," a novel; "hard covers," \$1.00.
- The following at \$1.20, cloth, and 60 cents, paper any three for \$3.00 cloth, \$1.50 paper:
- "The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism."
- "The Jungle": a novel of the Chicago stock-yards.
- "100 Per Cent: The Story of a Patriot."
- "The Profits of Religion": A Study of Supernaturalism as a Source of Income and a Shield to Privilege.
- "King Coal": a novel of the Colorado coal country.
- The following at \$1.50 cloth, \$1.00 paper:
- "Manassas," called by Jack London, "the best Civil War book I've read."
- "The Metropolis," a picture of the "Four Hundred" of New York.
- "The Journal of Arthur Stirling," the literary sensation of 1903.
- "The Fasting Cure," a health study.
- The following at \$1.00 in "hard covers":
- "Samuel the Seeker," a story of Socialism.
- "Jimmie Higgins," a novel of the World War, a best seller in Russia, Italy, France, Germany and Austria.

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