# The WORKERS MONTHLY

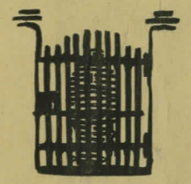
*A Communist Magazine*



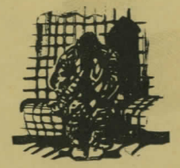
MARCH, 1926

25 CENTS

# Eight Are Convicted
## in the Zeigler Frame-Up!



*Henry Corbishly*
*Frank Corbishly*
*Stanley Paurez*
*Ignatz Simich*
*Martin Simich*
*Mike Karadich*
*Eddie Maliski*
*Steve Meanovich*
*are*
**Convicted!**



These eight men are the leaders of the miners in Zeigler.
Their crime was that they fought the boss for better wages.
Their crime was that they fought against the Ku Klux Klan.
Their crime was that they wanted a more militant leadership.
Now, they are paying a penalty for standing by the workers.

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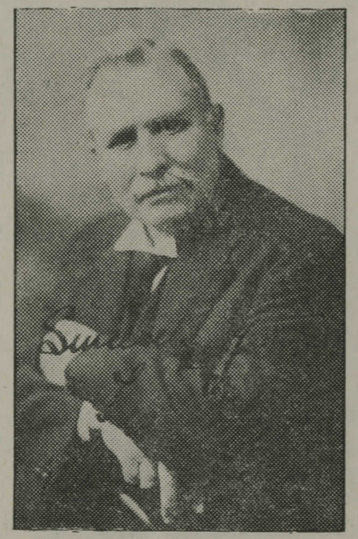

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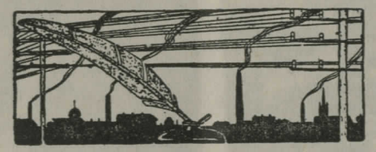

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"THE WALL OF THE COMMUNARDS."


# THE WORKERS MONTHLY

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## Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Paris Commune

By Alexander Trachtenberg

FIFTY-five years have passed since the workingclass population of Paris rose in revolt against a treacherous ruling clique, and with the use of arms established its rule in the city. The epic of that brave struggle has been written in the revolutionary lore of the proletariat, and wherever workers struggle for a free communist society each anniversary of the first conscious revolt against the bourgeoisie is joyously remembered. When the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia was marking red letter days on the Soviet calendar, it remembered the day of the Paris Commune as it did its own November 7th, and March 18th is a legal holiday in the Soviet Union.

### The Story of the Commune.

During the war with Prussia (1870-1871), a war through which Napoleon III hoped to bolster up his tottering monarchy, and which Bismark used to mould a united and stronger Germany, the French armies were suffering one defeat after another. The debacle at Sedan sealed the doom of Napoleon's reign and his monarchy and a provisional government was formed on September 4, 1870. With Paris as the objective of the victorious Prussians, the population armed itself and the National Guard was assuming the command over the defense of the beleaguered city. The Provisional Government ostensibly pledged to wage a defensive war, was in fact making overtures to Bismark, wishing to end the war at all costs. An armistice was signed on Bismark's terms on January 27, 1871. As a guarantee of France's observance of the pledges given in its behalf by Thiers, the head of the Provisional Government, the Prussian troops were permitted to occupy the forts surrounding Paris.

The National Assembly elected in February consisted in the main of reactionary elements anxious to make peace with the Prussians and plotting to secure their aid in clearing Paris of revolutionary elements who were gaining ascendancy. At the time when Paris was preparing to defend itself against the invaders, the treacherous government, settled at Versailles, was expediting peace negotiations with the external enemy in order to turn its attention to its foe at home. Having sufficiently humbled France and having inflicted heavy penalties on the French people for Napoleon's adventurous war, Bismark was ready to accomodate Thiers and keep the Prussian troops near the gates of Paris. While occupying the surrrounding forts, the Prussians conveniently kept a section open so that the Versailles troops could harrass the Parisians at will.

After failing in previous attempts, Thiers sent during the night of March 18th his regiments to disarm Paris. His particular objective was to take away the artillery which the National Guard kept when the government troops were disarming under the armistice provisions. Thiers, however, miscalculated. The entire workingclass population rose to the defense of the city. Before the dawn the hired Versailles troops were in retreat from Montmartre and Belleville which they occupied during the night, and the National Guard was in complete control of the situation. There were even defections among the Versailles troops, Generals Lecomte and Thomas being executed by their own soldiers.

During the day the National Guard occupied the various administrative buildings, including the City Hall, and the municipal government of the French capital passed into the hands of the revolutionary Central Committee of the National Guard. Elections were held within a week, and on March 28th, the new city government consisting of 65 revolutionists and only 15 adherents of the National Assembly publicly proclaimed the Commune.

### The Commune and the First International.

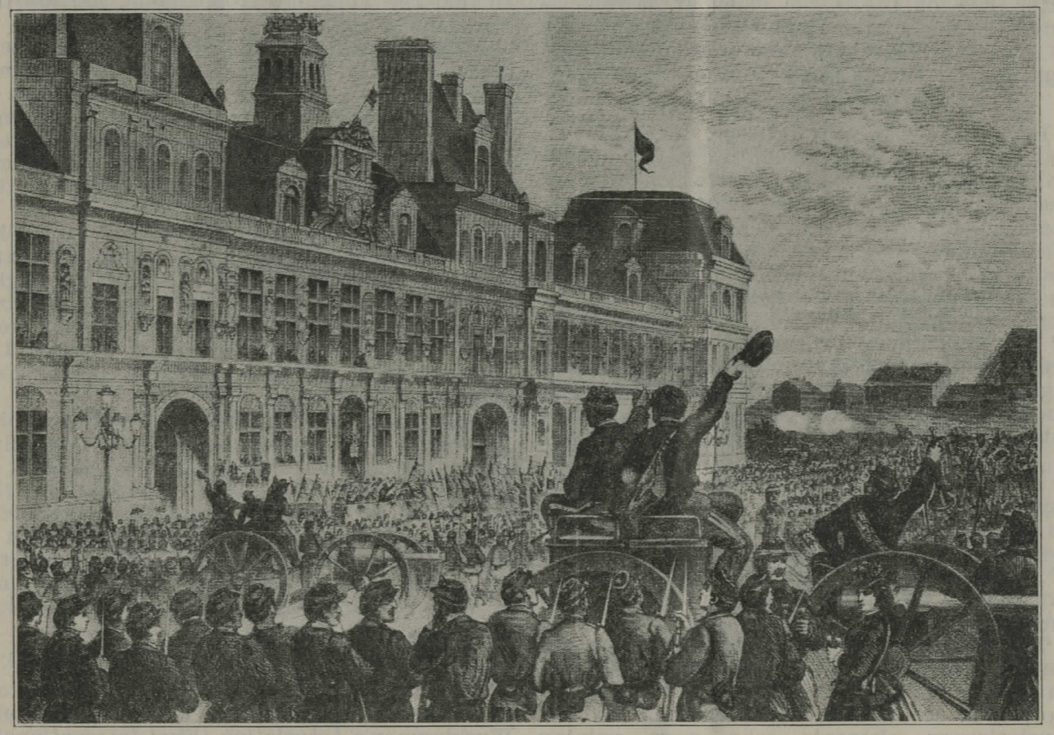
With bated breath the revolutionary workers of the world, organized then in the International Workingmen's Association (First International), were watching the unfolding of the Commune.

The heroic struggle on March 18th, the establishment of proletarian dictatorship by the Central Committee of the National Guard was the first attempt at workers' rule since the foundation of the modern labor movement. Marx took an active interest and was diligently studying the development of events in France and the reaction toward the Paris Commune throughout the world. Although the majority of the Communards were Blanquists and among the minority who were members of the I. W. A. were more Proudhonists than socialists, Marx abstained from open criticism of the activities of the Commune. Marx recognized in the Commune a united front of the various revolutionary groups determined to fight the bourgeoisie and the miserable Thiers' government. The fraternal sympathy and loyal support of all revolutionists were immediately shown to the Commune. Marx wrote to Varlin and Frankel, members of the Commune and French representatwives in the I. W. A.: "I wrote in behalf of your cause several hundred letters to all corners of the world where we have connections. The working class was for the Commune at the start." The French police accused Marx and the I. W. A. of being responsible for the Commune, and even reproduced "official" instructions to the Paris members to rise against the government. The publication of "Zinoviev letters" and Comintern "plots" in various countries by the minions of capitalist governments are proofs of the old saying that history repeats itself.

### The Marx-Kugelman Correspondence.

During the Commune Marx wrote a letter to his friend Dr. Kugelman in Hanover, which Lenin considered one of the greatest revolutionary documents and which he said ought to be reprinted and hung on the wall in the home of every class conscious worker. Outside of the famous "Address of the General Council" which we shall mention later, the letter to Kugelman gives Marx's reaction to the great revolutionary drama which was being enacted before his eyes. The Marx-Engels correspondence, where so much valuable material on revolutionary tactics is to be found contains no letters regarding the Commune. The last letter to Engels during that period was written on September 16, 1870, and the next on August 29, 1871. During this time Engels was in London and lived near Marx.

In 1907 Lenin edited a Russian translation of Marx's letters to Kugelman, written between 1862 and 1874 and published by the **Neue Zeit** in 1902. Kautsky, who was then editor of the famous socialist journal, wrote that the years which the correspondence between Marx and Kugelman covered were "the most important



The Proclamation of the Commune.



epoch of that period. . . . Lassalle's agitation, the founding of the International (1864), the appearance of **Capital** (1867), the first attempt at proletarian dictatorship during the Paris Commune (this Marxist language came naturally to Kautsky in 1902), the break-up of the International caused by the Bakuninists who, defeated at the Hague Congress (1872), have introduced the deadly poison into the organization. At the same time a revolution from above took place, which achieved at least in part, what the bourgeois revolution of 1848 attempted to accomplish—the fall of Austrian absolutism, establishment of a republic in France, unification of Italy, unification of Germany, tho incomplete (without Austria)."

### Lenin Applies Marx to Russian Revolution.

Lenin considered it important to publish these letters at that time because they contained some opinions of Marx which were applicable to the phase of the revolution which Russian socialism was then experiencing. It was after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, when the Mensheviks with Plekhanov at the head were considering the Revolution completely defeated.

In an elaborate and brilliant introduction, Lenin takes the letters to Kugelman as a text for his answer to the white-livered socialists who lost all faith in the revolution because the first attempt was not crowned with success: revolutionary theory with revolutionary policy,

"In Russia there is abroad among the socialists a middle-class conception of Marxism that that union without which Marxism becomes Brentanism, Struvism, and Sombartism. The doctrine of Marx has combined in one the whole the revolutionary period with its special tasks for the proletariat is an anomaly, while the 'constitution', 'left opposition' is the rule. In no other country is there now such a revolutionary crisis as in Russia, in no other country are there 'marxists' (who belittle and vulgarize Marxism) who take such a sceptical and philistine attitude to the revolution. Because the nature of the revolution is bourgeois, the deduction is made that the bourgeoisie is the driving force of the revolution, while the proletariat has only subsidiary purposes and is not able to lead it."

On March 3, 1869, Marx wrote Kugelman that the revolutionary movement in France was gaining momentum and that "the Parisians are beginning seriously to study their recent revolutionary past and to get ready for the newly approaching revolutionary struggle." Lenin calls particular attention to Marx's ability to feel the pulse of the epoch, and during peaceful times foresee approaching revolutionary crises.

"Pedants of Marxism," writes Lenin, "believe this is ethical nonsense, romanticism, absence of realism. No, gentlemen, this is a union of theory and practice of the class struggle."

On December 13, 1870, Marx wrote Kugelman, among other things, the following prophetic words: "Whatever the outcome of the war, it has taught the French workers the use of arms, and this makes the future more hopeful." Three months before the Paris uprising Marx was already smelling powder, and foresaw the approaching crisis.

### Marx Writes Kugelman on the Commune.

The celebrated letter to Kugelman which Marx wrote on April 12, 1871, during the height of the Commune, and which Lenin considers the crowning letter of the entire collection, began as follows:

"If you will turn to the last chapter of the **18th Brumaire** you will see that according to my opinion the next revolutionary uprising in France will be an attempt to destroy the bureaucratic military machine instead of handing it over from one group to the other as was done previously. Such indeed is the preliminary condition of every genuinely popular revolution on the continent. This is exactly the attempt of our heroic Paris comrades. What dexterity, what historical initiative, what ability for self-sacrifice these Parisians display. After six months of starvation and destruction caused more by internal treachery than by the foreign enemy, they rise under Prussian bayonets as tho there was no war between France and Germany, as tho the enemy wasn't still at the gates of Paris. History records no such example of heroism. If they will be defeated it will be because of their 'magnanimity'. They should have immediately marched on Versailles, as soon as Vinay and the reactionary portion of the Paris National Guard escaped from Paris. The opportune moment was missed on account of 'conscientiousness'. They did not want to start a civil war, as if the monstrosity Thiers hadn't already begun it with his attempt to disarm Paris."

Marx, the revolutionary strategist, knew that when the enemy of revolutionary Paris was on the run, it was the job of the National Guard to pursue Thiers' defeated army until it was annihilated, rather than allow it time to reorganize its forces and return to fight the Paris workers. Remembering Plekhanov's famous admonition after the failure of the December, 1905 uprising in Moscow—"They shouldn't have resorted to arms"—Lenin recalls that Marx warned the Parisian workers in September, 1870, when the Blanquists were bent upon the overthrow of the bourgeois government against unprepared uprisings. (In a letter to Engels in August, 1870, Marx expressed his doubt regarding a favorable revolutionary situation in France, while German troops were surrounding Paris.)

"But how did Marx act when what he warned against what took place in March, 1871? Has

he used it against his opponents—the Blanquists and Proudhonists who were leading the Commune? Has he like a school ma'am kept on repeating: I told you so, I warned you. Here you have your romancing, your revolutionary dreams. Perhaps he criticised the Communards as Plekhanov did the December fighters with a self-satisfied philistine reproach: 'They shouldn't have resorted to arms? Marx considered an uprising in September, 1870, an insanity. Seeing a mass uprising in April, 1871, he gave the full attention of a participant in the great occurrences, which marked a step forward in the historic revolutionary movement."

In the second part of his letter to Kugelman, Marx mentions another grave error in the early history of the Commune: "The Central Committee (of the National Guard) relinquished its powers too soon to pass them on to the Commune. Again on account of 'honesty' carried to suspicion. Be it as it may, this Paris uprising, even if it will be suppressed by the wolves, swine and dirty dogs of the old order, is the most glorious achievement of our party* since the June uprising. Compare these Parisians, ready to storm the heavens, with hangers-on of the German-Prussian holy Roman empire with its antediluvian mascarades reeking with the smell of the barracks, church, junkerdom, and especially philistinism."

Here again Marx, the centralist, realized that a successful revolutionary struggle against Thiers could have been carried out by the Paris workers only under the leadership of a centralized revolutionary authority which had the military resources at its command. This centralized authority was then the Central Committee of the National Guard. By renouncing its powers and turning over its authority to the loosely organized Commune, the National Guard dissipated the revolutionary energy of its armed forces.

Five days later, April 17, Marx writes Kugelman again about the Commune. He takes issue with his friend who seemed to have compared the Paris rising to the protest demonstrations which took place in June, 1849, and which were of a petty bourgeois origin. Kugelman must have been questioning the wisdom of the revolt and showed his scepticism regarding its outcome. "To create world history would be, of course, very easy if the struggle could be waged only under absolutely favorable circumstances," was Marx's caustic repartee.

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* Although the majority of the leaders of the Commune were not followers of the I. W. A., yet the influence of the I. W. A. and Marx among the Paris workers was marked. Among the leaders were Varlin, Frankel, Longuet, Vaillant, Pottier, Dupont, Duval, Theiss and other members of the First International.

After saying that other circumstances are also possible and these must be taken into consideration, Marx declared that in the case of the Commune "the decisive unfavorable circumstance must be sought, not in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of Prussians at the very gates of Paris. This," he continued, "the bourgeois scoundrels of Versailles knew. That is why they put before the Parisians the alternative: either to accept the provoked struggle or to capitulate without a fight. The demoralization of the working class which would ensue as a result of the second instance would be a greater misfortune than the loss of any number of leaders. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and the state representing its interests, has, thanks to the Paris Commune, entered a new phase. However it may end this time, a new landmark of universal historical significance has been achieved just the same."

This was precisely Lenin's attitude regarding the December uprising in Moscow in 1905. The revolutionists of Moscow who had the support of the masses either had to accept the provocation of the Czar's troops or go down in moral defeat before the Moscow workers. Tho defeated after a hard fought battle, the revolutionists came out of that unequal struggle glorified by the entire working class of Russia.

While the panicky Mensheviks were mumbling the Plekhanov formula: "They should not have resorted to arms," Lenin saw in the heroic struggle of the Moscow workers the revolutionary will to conquer of the Russian working class as a whole.

Commenting on Marx's observation that the Paris workers had to take up the fight, Lenin wrote: "Marx could appreciate that there were moments in history when a struggle of the masses, even in a hopeless cause, was **necessary,** for the sake of the future education of these masses and their training for the **next** struggle."

It was this hopeful view of the Paris uprising applied to the revolutionary struggle of 1905 that led Lenin to maintain in his introduction to the collection of the Kugelman letters in 1907, when dark reaction was the order of the day in Russia: "The working class of Russia has already demonstrated once and will prove again that it is able to 'storm the heavens'."

And it did in 1917.

### The Counter-Revolution Triumphs.

The Commune existed only two months. During this time it showed, according to Engels, its class character in most of the administrative acts. Among the social achievements of the Commune must be mentioned: the reorganization of the army to make it serve the interests of the Commune; the separation of the Church and State; removal of religious control over public education; abolition of night work in the



Louis Auguste Blanqui.

bakeries; limitation of the payment of officials to not more than worker's wages; abolition of fines levied upon workers; and granting the workers the right to operate the shops and factories deserted or closed by their owners.

Writing on the 40th anniversary of the Commune, Lenin made the following elementary Marxian observation: "In modern society the proletariat, enslaved by capital economically, cannot rule politically before breaking the chains which bind it to capital. This is why the Commune had to develop along socialist lines, that is, to attempt to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, the rule of capital, the destruction of the very foundations of the present social order."

Cut off from the rest of the country, and having lost strategic opportunities at the beginning, the Communards were soon to fight for their very lives. Thiers reorganized his forces at Versailles. With the aid of soldiers hurriedly returned from the German camps and the benevolent attitude of the Prussian troops, he was able to marshall new forces and make war on Paris. Thiers' troops were permitted by the Prussians to concentrate around the city. The Commune allowed it to go undefended, except the eastern part which was inhabitated by the working class population. From May 21 to 28 the city was subjected to a bombardment by the Versailles army. The Paris workers retired to their quarters, fought like lions to defend the Commune. The counter-revolution showed no mercy. Fighting against odds the Commune fell amid ruin and destruction, brought by Thiers' avenging hordes. As a result of a week's fighting thousands lay prostrate in the streets, more thousands of captives were taken to the Pere la Chaise cemetery where they were slaughtered in groups and many more were exiled to penal colonies.

### Marx's Epic on the Commune.

The first attempt at proletarian dictatorship was short lived. The heroic struggles of the Paris workers, the actual achievements and potential possibilities of the Commune, have since been the subject of wonder and study by the revolutionary movement of the world. The first to come forward with a complete analysis of what had happened in Paris was, of course, Marx himself. The blood of the Parisian workers, spilled in the couse of proletarian emancipation hadn't dried when Marx read to the General Council of the I. W. A. a paper which was destined to become one of the greatest pieces of political writing ever penned. Two days after the fall of the Commune, May 30, Marx read his famous "Address" which later became known under the title "The Civil War in France." From a letter to Professor Beesly on June 12, we learn that the "Address" was more than twice as long as was published.

When the Address was published in June, 1871, the authorship was not given. The names of the members of the General Council were affixed to the document. Marx was forced however, soon to announce himself as the author because of the attacks in the bourgeois press. In a letter to Kugelman, June 18, Marx writes: ". . . Now, this manifesto, which you will soon receive, is creating a devilish excitement, and I have the honor to be at this moment the man who is vilified and threatened more than any one else in London. This is, really, fine—after twenty years of a muddy idyll! The government organ, **The Observer,** threatens me with court proceedings. Let them try. I dare the canaille!"

Marx wrote "The Civil War in France" to meet the attacks upon the Commune from the bourgeois and reformist ranks. In true Marx fashion he drew a picture of the forces which brought it about and hurled his invectives against the bourgeoisie and its agents. He knew that all crimes in existence would be charged against the Paris workers, just as the Bolsheviks were accused of all crimes which could be conjured up by the morbid mind. He unmasked the enemies of the Commune before they had a chance to speak. He also had in mind the faint-hearted, the 'I told you so' revolutionists, when he analyzed the conditions under which the Commune had to work and

glorified the heroism and revolutionary self-sacrifice of the proletarian workers of Paris.

"The Civil War in France" will forever remain a literary communist landmark because one sees in it not only Marx the theoretician, but also the herald of the people, the fighter, the revolutionary strategist, the enthusiastic leader, the defender of his class against any and all enemies.

The Commune made mistakes. Marx was accused of taking the Commune with its mistakes under the protecting wing of the I. W. A. But Marx knew of these mistakes. He wrote to Frankel and Varlin in the letter referred to above on May 13: "The Commune, it seems to me, is spending too much time on small matters and personal frictions. Evidently other influences besides proletarian are at work. All this will not amount to much if you could only make up for the lost time." There were grave errors mentioned by Marx in his letter to Kugelman referred to above. Marx wrote about the fatal mistake of the Commune in not fortifying Paris both against Versailles and the Prussians; leaving undefended the Montmartre heights in the north was, he thought, particularly playing into the hands of the enemy.

Marx's "Address" does not deal with the details of the Commune. It was written too soon to give a review of what had actually occurred between March 18 and May 28. This was done by others in special studies of the Commune published later. Marx began his "Address" with a masterful analysis of the brigand crew which took control of France after the monarchy fell. Thiers and every one of his accomplices are closely scrutinized, their treacherous dealings with Bismark revealed, and their political chicanery exposed. Marx shows how armed proletarian Paris stood in the way of their schemes and that is why the "pacification" of Paris had to be accomplished at all costs. The gauntlet was thrown by the invading mercenaries of Versailles and all Paris rose to the defense of the city. "The glorious workingmen's revolution of March 18 held undisputed sway of Paris. The Central Committee (of the National Guard) was its provisional government. Europe seemed, for a moment, to doubt whether its recent sensational performances of state and war had any reality in them, or whether they were the dreams of a long bygone past."

Marx testified to the absence of acts of violence after March 18th. While Thiers was crying out about the execution of two of his generals by the Communards, Marx tells how General Lecomte, who led one of the attacking regiments, came to his end. The general ordered his soldiers to fire on an unarmed gathering, and, when the soldiers refused, he insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, his own men shot him. "The inveterate habits acquired by the soldiery under the training of the enemies of the working class, are, of course, not likely to change the very moment these soldiers change sides." While the Commune would not use terror,—"the magnanimity of armed workingmen"—the Communards taken as prisoners to Versailles were tortured and executed without trial by Gallifet.

### Marx and Engels on the State.

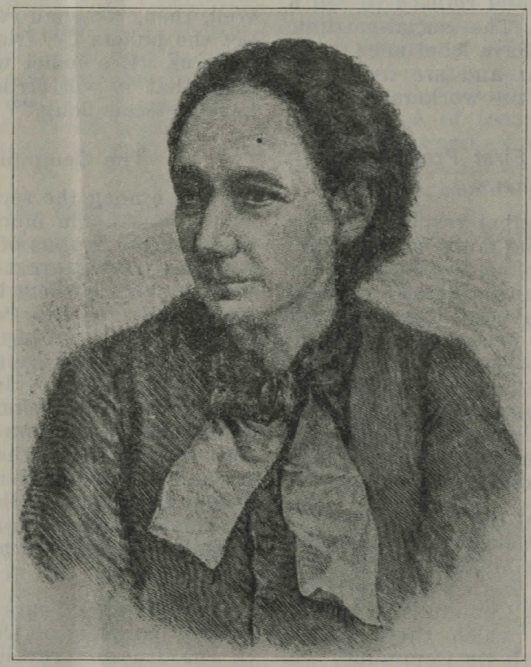
"The Civil War in France" is great revolutionary classic. The third part of it is particularly replete with passages which will always remain guideposts for the student and active worker in the Communist movement. It is here that we find analyzed the most important contribution of the Commune. At the very beginning of this section we come across the famous passage which was used the following year by Marx and Engels in an introduction to a new edition of the Communist Manifesto and which they considered as an important amendment of the Manifesto.

Marx asks: "What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?" He answers by quoting from the proclamation of the Central Committee on March 18: "The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling class, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking over into their own hands the direction of public affairs. . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power." Then follows Marx's historic comment: **"But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes."** It was this theme and Marx's discussion of the origin and development of the bourgeois State which served Lenin as text for his "State and Revolution." Readers of that important study of the State, "the problem of all problems" according to Bukharin, will find profuse quotations from this part of "The Civil War in France." It should be remembered that already on April 12th, in his letter to Kugelman, Marx spoke about "the destruction of the bureaucratic political machine," as a prerequisite of a real popular revolution.

In 1891, the 20th anniversary of the Commune, Engels wrote an introduction to a new German edition of "The Civil War in France." (The available English translation of the pamphlet has only part of that introduction. The reason for the omission of the second part is not given. Whether his omission was an act of vandalism or of ignorance, the writer is not prepared at present to venture an opinion). In criticising the Commune for not taking over the Bank of France and using it for its own advantage, Engels points out that the Commune tried to utilize the old government apparatus. He comes back to what Marx took up in his "Address" by asserting that "the Commune should have recognized that the workers, having assumed power, cannot rule with the old State power, the machinery used before for its own exploitation." Engels concludes: "In truth, the State is nothing but an apparatus for the oppression of one class by another, in a democratic republic not less than in a monarchy."



Here is Marx's analysis of the nature of the State in capitalist society. "At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labor, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labor, a public force organized for social enslavement, an engine of class despotism. After every revolution, marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief."



Louise Michel.

And further again, after analyzing the results of the various revolutions from 1830 to 1871, Marx concludes on the nature of the capitalist State: "Democracy is, at the same time, the most prostitute and the ultimate form of the State which nascent middle-class society had commenced to elaborate as a means of its own emancipation from feudalism, and which full-grown bourgeois society had finally transformed into a means for the enslavement of labor by capital." The Commune, according to Marx, "was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class rule, but class rule itself." The different measures of the Commune were aimed at the very foundations of bourgeois rule. It was "to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes and therefore class rule. With labor emancipated, every man becomes a working man and productive labor ceases to be a class attribute." Marx saw in the Commune not merely a revolt, not only an experiment. He saw in it a proletarian dictatorship exercising the will of the working class to abolish these forms which made class rule possible.

Speaking about those who usually prattle of the emancipation of labor until labor really begins to emancipate itself, Marx says: "The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish the class property which makes the labor of many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. . . . But this is Communism, 'impossible' Communism!"

Marx shows that the middle classes had everything to gain from the Commune, and in fact, the Paris petty bourgeoisie benefited by the legislation regarding the moratorium on debts and the payments of rentals. Similarly, in the case of the peasants, Marx declares that the Commune was perfectly right in telling the peasants that "its victory was their only hope."

### Marx on "National Defense."

Marx speaks of the last stand of the Paris workers, who fought against terrific odds. He shows how their defeat was accomplished under Bismarck's patronage. The fact that they were but recently enemies did not prevent the Prussians from helping Thiers in his murderous work. Marx was moved to make the following observation on the nature of nationalism and war, after witnessing the cooperation of the German militarists and French reactionaries in their onslaught on the Commune:

"The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war: and it is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out in civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national governments are one as against the proletariat."

How many socialist parties of the warring nations remembered this passage in August, 1914. Plekhanov called upon the Russian socialists to fight against Prussianism. Scheidemann and Ebert yelled about the Russian Cossacks, threatening the "free" institutions of Germany. Renaudel and Vandervelde exhorted the French and Belgian workers to defend the fatherland in the name of democracy and national interest. Henderson did the same in England, and Spargo in America. A class peace was demanded so that the workers and capitalists might all unite to fight their "common" enemy. Only the Russian Bolsheviks and minorities in the various socialist parties did not surrender their socialism and refused to fall a prey to this apostasy. The social-patriotic parties during the war have continued their class peace after the war and are today the stone around the neck of the workers who still follow them.

### The Commune—the First Proletarian Revolution.

The Commune is the great tradition of the French working class. The mute walls of Pere la Chaise remind the French workers of the heroism of their proletarian fathers who fought for freedom from wage slavery. The Commune is also the heritage of the entire proletariat. It was the first revolution with the workers not only fighting in it but also controlling and directing it towards proletarian aims. As Lenin wrote in 1908: "The Commune taught the European workers to consider concretely the question of the social revolution."

The Commune is one of the brightest jewels in the workers' revolutionary diadem. Marx's tribute at the close of his historic Address testifies to the fealty of the world's proletariat to the memory of the valiant Communards and to the cause in behalf of which they fought: "Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of the new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

### Engels on the Commune as a Dictatorship.

The Commune was the first attempt at proletarian dictatorship. It was not victorious but it was the prototype of the lasting dictatorship inaugurated by the Russian workers forty-six years afterwards. The socialists, wedded to bourgeois democracy, claim that the founders of scientific socialism did not favor proletarian dictatorship and that only the "Byzantine" Bolsheviks introduced it into the Marxian lexicon. Engels' introduction to "The Civil War in France" written in 1891, closes with the following passage: "The German philistine (read 'socialist'—A. T.) has recently been possessed of a wholesome fear for the phrase: dictatorship of the proletariat. Well then, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship is like? Look at the Paris Commune! This was the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

Engels was the revolutionist par excellence. He lived in the spirit of a revolutionist to his old age. When he wrote the above quoted passage he was over seventy years old. Several years before, the day following Marx's death, Engels wrote to his and Marx's friend and comrade, Johann Philip Becker: "Now we are almost the only ones left of the old 1848 guard. Well, then, we shall remain on the barricades. Let the bullets fly, friends fall, it will not surprise us. If a bullet will get one of us, let us hope that it will strike well so one wouldn't have to linger long."

### The Commune is Immortal.

From among the second generation of Marxists, it was Lenin more than anyone else who analyzed the lessons of the Commune. Kautsky, who has done a great deal to popularize Marx (which didn't prevent him later from disowning him) neglected the Commune. Lenin saw in the Commune the birth of the methods which the workers will have to use in the struggle for their emancipation. In his article on the 40th anniversary of the Commune, quoted above, he summarizes as follows his evaluation of the historic significance of the Commune: "The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic liberation of the workers; it is the cause of the world's proletariat. In this sense it is immortal."

Some twenty years ago a translation of a French pamphlet on the Commune was popular in the Russian revolutionary movement. It opened with the following words: "Uncover your heads, for I shall speak about the martyrs of the Commune."

March is a month which is replete with days of remembrance for the revolutionist. "March days" include the barricade struggles during 1848 as well as the establishment of the Commune in 1871. March 14, 1883, is the day of Marx's death, which to Engels meant that "Humanity became shorter by a head." March 2, 1919, is the day when the Communist International was founded.

We shall think on this 55th anniversary of the Commune about the brave Communards but the best way to revere the memory of the dead at Pere la Chaise is to rededicate ourselves to the cause in which they heroically fought and for which they gloriously gave their lives.



# Imperialism and the American Working Class

By Jay Lovestone*

WHAT are the influences of imperialism upon the American working class? What has the development of imperialism brought to the American workers? What has it meant for them?

### The Aristocracy of Labor.

The influence of imperialism on the American proletariat is twofold. One section of the working class, consisting of several millions of workers—the labor aristocracy—imperialism bribes, debauches and corrupts. With what results? We find that this upper stratum, this aristocracy of labor, these highly skilled and privileged workers, become, in effect, part and parcel of the bourgeoisie, standing in antagonism to the rest of the workers—to the great masses of the unskilled proletariat. Mr. Green is in effect a member without portfolio in the Coolidge cabinet.

### The Masses of the Proletariat.

On the other hand, the great mass of the working class imperialism oppresses, exploits, and never ceases to force down in their standards of living. To these workers at the bottom imperialism is an ever present threat. These masses of workers fight bitterly for the least economic improvement. But they fight more often and even more intensely for the most elementary social rights and freedom—freedom of speech, the right to organize and the like. It is among the skilled workers who have already won these rights in many instances that we find increase in wages to be the principal cause of strikes and industrial struggles. The great mass of workers in the imperialist stage of capitalism tends more and more to go to battle with the exploiters for the elementary social rights, for even the most basic and elemental prerequisites to their self-development as a class.

### The Role of the State.

It is here that the role of the bourgeois state stands out with especial significance. What is the objective of the state? Primarily to ensure capitalist control of national production; to enforce discipline on the workers. The state is continually extending its influence and power in order to perpetuate the hegemony of the capitalist class. That is why in struggles where great masses of workers are engaged in defence of their elementary social rights the state interferes so ruthlessly and with such despatch. The intervention of the state in the struggles of the workers against the employers reaches its most consummate and brutal form in these battles of the great masses of the unskilled.

### Imperialism and the Standard of Living.

It is also entirely wrong to make the sweeping statement that imperialism has been undermining the standard of living and is responsible for the reduction of the wages of all the workers of the United States. We must not fail to see **two** tendencies in the consequences imperialism has for the American working class. On the one hand, as we have seen, imperialism corrupts and buys out a section of the working class—the labor aristocracy; on the other hand, imperialism degrades, oppresses and exploits the decisive majority of the proletariat, the great mass of the unskilled workers. These two basic economic forces, or rather basic economic effects, reflect themselves in tremendous political consequences. The political consequences may be slow in maturing but their trend is unmistakable.

### The Wages of the American Working Class.

If we examine the situation we find that it is entirely too sweeping a contention to maintain that the wages of the whole American working class have been going down. The absolute wages of a certain section of the working class have been **increasing.** The absolute wages of the highly skilled workers have gone up with the development of American imperialism. There is considerable truth in the jokes about the spread of the radio, the phonograph, the telephone, the automobile, among a certain section of the workers. The radio and the telephone, the phonograph and the automobile translate themselves into very significant political effects; or rather they have very great political significance tho we may not see it very clearly in all instances. Of course the relative share of the workingclass in the United States —that is, of nearly every section of the working class—has decreased insofar as wage increases proportionally have not kept up with the increases of production. In other words, the increase in wages has not at all kept pace with the increase of production as a result of the constantly increasing production efficiency of the American worker and industry.

### Imperialism and the Corruption of Leading Stratum of the Proletariat.

But perhaps the greatest blow that imperialism deals to the working class is the removal from its ranks of some of its best material that

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* The following article is an abstract of Comrade Lovestone's speech at the recent Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. The subject it treats is of such fundamental importance that it has been thought advisable to publish parts of this speech in the workers Monthly.
—Editor, Workers Monthly.

usually serves as a source of leadership for it in its struggles. The workers who are best qualified to be leaders of the proletariat, the workers who are the best organized, who are the best educated, who are the best disciplined only too often come from the upper stratum of the working class. Because these elements are so corrupted by the imperialist super-profits of the bourgeoisie, we find ourselves losing our hold on this source of proletarian leadership. Such was the situation in England for a long time. In the United States this condition still exists to a large extent. And we know how serious it is.

### Imperialism and the Trade Union Burocracy.

On the other hand, as the other side of the medal, the rapidly developing American imperialism has produced a strong trade union burocracy that has developed as quickly to become an organic part of the apparatus of the imperialists in maintaining their hold over the workers. As imperialism develops, the trade union burocracy also develops and assumes new functions. New stages of development give rise to new demands and the trade union burocracy and the upper strata of the labor aristocracy have to meet these new demands. The root of these developments, the reasons for the appearance of new demands and the assumption of new functions by the trade union burocracy are to be found in the pressure that is being brought to bear upon the burocracy by the rank and file of the working class, primarily the great mass of the unskilled, the proletariat in the basic industries.

Naturally new needs give rise to new functions and new functions require new agencies. Gompers' methods and general line are being continued today with, of course, the variations due to the gradually developing new situation. The role of Green & Co. is no different from the last phases of the role of Gompers & Co.—agents of American imperialism. Under ever new forms the trade union burocracy is playing its unchanging part as an integral part of the imperialist apparatus.

Take, for example, the fact that certain renegades from the Socialist Party are coming over to the trade union burocracy and are being hired by the officialdom. This is a new fact since pre-war days, since 1914. We remember how Mr. Gompers proved ready, as soon as war was declared, to hire these socialist renegades and assign to them the increasing duties which his group, which the trade union burocracy, had to fulfill for the bourgeoisie. Do we not recall how Chester Wright and William Engliish Walling and Stokes and other renegades of this type were employed by Mr. Gompers after they broke with the Socialist Party which had adopted the St. Louis resolution against the war? Mr. Green now continues this policy of Mr. Gompers. Mr. Green continues this general orientation adopted by Gompers immediately after the war broke out under pressure of the special task his burocracy was compelled to fulfill under the strenous war conditions.

It was the same tendency—the same necessity for responding to new needs and new tasks in defense of imperialism—that caused the A. F. of L. burocracy to endorse the Workers Education Buro as far back as 1919. Of course, this is a new trend in the American labor movement and in the tactics of the burocracy. It reflects the effects of the world war upon the American working class. But this trend was initiated by Gompers and Mr. Green is now only following in his footsteps.

### The "Two and a Half International Tendency" Among the Burocracy.

It is therefore a mistake to see in these attempts of Green & Co. to adapt themselves to the pressure of the masses and to the new tasks imposed upon them by the bourgeoisie, by the intensified development of American imperialism anything tending towards a 2½ International tendency. For what is the 2½ International tendency? Ideologically, the 2½ International tendency in America would be that of a group of workers, or, if you please, in this case, trade union burocrats, for whom the Socialist Party is not sufficiently militant, not sufficiently progressive, not sufficiently revolutionary—while the Communists are taboo because they are too radical, too militant, too revolutionary. . . It is evident that the trade union burocracy in this country is not developing in this direction. The movement of the trade union burocracy in America is towards the **right.** The movement towards class collaboration certainly does not have in it a "2½ International tendency." Nor is the employment of socialist renegades a "2½ International tendency." The 2½ International tendency in this country is a real fact and an ever-present danger—but at this time it must be sought for elsewhere than in the trade union burocracy.

There is considerable danger in the 2½ International tendency for the American workers. But this danger does not grow out of the fact that Green is utilizing a greater number of liberals with a Socialist tinge. The fact of the matter is that today the whole Socialist Party is practically, in so far as its roll in the class struggle goes, in the place where Spargo and Walling and the other renegades were in 1917. The whole Socialist Party has moved to the extreme right. Green & Co. have not moved to the left. We should analyze specifically the manifestations of American 2½ Internationalism in order to combat its dangers. Any other method will prevent us from meeting the realities and overcoming the difficulties confronting us.

What is mistaken as encouraging forces for



"2½ Internationalism" are really the attempts of the burocracy to give an answer to the movement of large masses of the rank and file towards the left. It is simply new methods of warfare, new methods of maintaining reaction in the saddle, and not progress; above all not even the first signs of militancy among the labor burocracy.

Take the slogan of "unity" that is now and has been very recently raised by a whole number of burocrats, for example, as raised by Green at the last convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. What does this slogan mean? The slogan of unity when it is thus raised by the burocracy is not a concession of these burocrats to the need for a united labor front against capitalism. Nothing of the kind! It is the slogan of unity against the Communists and against those who demand militancy and are for the class struggle. It is a slogan to drive all progressive and left elements out of the trade unions. Is this anything new? Is this "2½ Internationalism"? It is simply a new form, an intensification of the campaign waged by the agents of the imperialists in the labor movement against the ever-growing militant proletariat in the trade union organizations. Mr. Green is as much and no less the servant of imperialism than Mr. Gompers was. The difference is—Mr. Green is serving American imperialism in 1926. Mr. Gompers' period of service dated several years before 1926—particularly since 1917.

### Imperialism and the Revolutionization of the American Proletariat.

The development of imperialism of course throws the workers into new struggles. But we should not speak abstractly of workers preparing for new struggles. It is useless to speak of a new wave of resistance unless we find the economic basis of our conclusions. What are the causes likely to lead to the development of discontent amongst the masses? In our opinion, one of the most important of these factors is the development of a challenge to American imperialism on the part of other imperialist powers, particularly European imperialist powers, as a result of the tendency towards the unification of European capitalism against America's policy of aggressive exploitation of Europe.

Under the leadership of Great Britain we find European capitalist powers beginning to unite to resist the menace of the financial hegemony of American capitalism in such countries as Germany, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia. This means a sharpening of the conflict between Great Britain and the United States. This means a growing challenge to American imperialism—a challenge that must, sooner or later, translate itself into an open clash. American imperialism has not yet been undermined by this challenge. It has not yet been even weakened. But—all signs point to a revival of intense competition. This means that we are facing a condition in which the American bourgeoisie will not be able to give many privileges to the upper stratum of the working class as they have given and as they are still giving in this period while their domination is undisputed. But the moment American imperialism is seriously challenged, the moment the beginning is made in effectively undermining its present role of domination of the world economic situation, that moment will mark the beginning of the revolutionization of the working class in this country.

So it was in England. Of course we need not in this country spend so much time, go thru such a long period as England did before it arrived at the present stage of development of the working class. In the present stage of capitalism events move much faster. Today we are still in many respects in the state which the English working class has already gone thru and when American capitalism becomes as shaken up as British imperialism is today, then we will see an even sharper development towards political consciousness in the ranks of the American workers than we see among the British workers today. That moment will mark the beginning of the sharp radicalization of the American working masses. That moment will mark rapid strides in the development of the Workers (Communist) Party as a mass Communist Party—as the leader of the American proletariat.

# The I. L. D. and Its Mission

By T. J. O'Flaherty

THE International Labor Defense came into being at a national conference held in the Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, on Sunday, June 28, 1925. It was born out of the necessity for an all-inclusive non-partisan defense organization that would provide a shield for the protection and defense of all workers who found themselves in the toils of the capitalist legal machine because of their activities in behalf of the working class.

More than one hundred delegates representative of many sections of the labor movement attended the first conference. There were present trade unionists without any political affiliations, I. W. W.'s, Socialists, Communists, and many class war prisoners who had left the dungeons of capitalism with the firm resolve to lend their aid to any movement that would show promise of being an effective agency to help the political prisoners still in jail and defend future casualties of the class struggle.

### The Activities of the I. L. D.

As the name implies, the International Labor Defense does not confine its activities to cases of capitalist persecution inside the borders of the United States. In these days of capitalist imperialism, when the Chinese coolie is just as much a slave of the House of Morgan as the coal miner of the non-union fields of West Virginia and Kentucky; when the German proletarian slave of the Dawes plan is ground down by the same power that fills the jails of America with radicals; when the persecuted workers of Italy are prodded with bayonets purchased with Wall Street dollars and the Horthy dictatorship in Hungary is guided by the financial expert of the American bankers, it is folly for the workers of any country to imagine that their legitimate sphere of interest is confined to the national boundaries of the particular country under whose flag they are plundered. The international plunderbund knows no country. Its god is profits. It invests its money where the returns are greatest and its gives preference in employment to those out of whose sweat it can wring most dollars, regardless of color, race or creed.

### The Government—Servant of Big Business.

As in all countries where capitalism controls the forces of government, the American workers feel the heavy arm of the the state against them whenever they engage in a conflict with the employing classes with the object of securing a little more of the product of their toil or to retain what they gained thru previous struggles. Every instrument of the ruling class, from the municipal policeman to the supreme court, is utilized as the situation warrants to prevent the exploited workers from winning their demands. Whenever the workers succeed in improving their living conditions, they do so as a result of their organized might, thru the exercise of their collective power and not thru assistance from the government, of state or nation.

Tho the government is supposed to be a government of all the people—on paper—it is obviously a brazen tool of those who own and control the means of wealth production and distribution. The jails have been filled with workers who have participated in strikes but no employer is known to have tasted the bitterness of prison confinement as a result of his participation in a labor struggle. The government which many workers so fondly believe is their own is the handmaiden of big business.

### The Workingclass Victims of Government Attacks.

But if there are no employers in jail for activities labelled as offenses against law and order arising out of strikes, the same cannot be said for the workingclass. Even in this period of comparative industrial peace there are over one hundred workers of many shades of political opinion behind the prison walls. We have Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, victims of one of the most brazen frame-ups in history; J. B. Schmidt and Kaplan, human sacrifices to the iron masters' wrath; 72 members of the I. W. W. in California, convicted for mere membership in a labor union; the Centralia victims of American Legion hoodlumism and almost one hundred Communists and other radicals indicted thruout the country and threatened with long periods of imprisonment.

The capitalists are very impartial in their selection of victims. They are not particular about the political beliefs of the militant workers who threaten their profits. The heavy hand of the law descends on all alike—Wobblies, Communists, trade unionists without any political affiliations and those Socialists who believe in the class struggle and practice what they believe.



### In Union There Is Strength.

Hitherto the various workingclass organizations whose members fell foul of capitalist justice had their own defense committees whenever necessary. But experience proved that this diversity had serious drawbacks. The various organizations were playing a lone hand. There was duplication of effort, overlapping and a tendency in the direction of organizational fetishism. Mutual jealousy was not easy to avoid. The sentiment for a co-ordinated all-inclusive, non-partisan defense organization gained ground and this sentiment assumed tangible organizational form in the birth of the International Labor Defense.

Left to Right: Rena Mooney, Tom Mooney, Ed. Nolan, W. K. Billings, Israel Weinberg.

### The Formation of the I. L. D.

In a manifesto adopted by the conference which launched the I. L. D. it was pointed out that there had been more persecution and jailing of workers during the last ten years than in any other period of equal length in the history of the United States and that, far from this condition showing any promise of decreasing, there was every indication that the assaults against the workers would continue with increased vigor. With regard to the persecution of workers in this and other countries the manifesto declared:

"The continued persecution of the workers in this country and the unmistakable signs of its intensification call for the organization of all the forces at the disposal of the workers for the struggle against this terror and its sponsors. This condition, if allowed to continue, will mean the destruction, or at best, the serious weakening of the labor movement. The need of this period is for every conscious workers to pledge his support to a concerted movement whose purpose is to concentrate the resistance of the whole working class and all those sympathetic to the cause of the workers, in defense of the militants who are singled out or grouped together for a target of attack by organized capitalism.

Until now, workers' defense has been spontaneous and sporadic. Defense committees have been created hastily as cases arise and frequently have had to depend on workers without adequate connection and experience to properly handle them. Wide-spread publicity often is not secured and the power of the labor movement at large is not mustered for the defense. As a consequence, many obscure workers have been railroaded to prison without the knowledge of the labor movement, "unknown soldiers" of the class war. **All possible forces must be rallied for the** defense of every worker attacked through the courts or otherwise by the agents of capitalism.

This conference, consisting of delegates from all sections of the labor movement and from ex-

isting labor defense bodies, sets up the International Labor Defense for the purpose of fulfilling this mission. The International Labor Defense is a non-partisan organization. Its object is to unite all forces for labor defense. It constitutes itself as an ever-ready and ever-willing champion for the defense of all workers attacked for their activity in the labor movement, for expression of political opinion or for industrial affiliation.

The International Labor Defense will seek to collect material and give publicity to all cases of working class persecution, to expose brutal treatment of class war prisoners and to bare secret anti-labor activities such as labor spy systems, etc. This conference proclaims that the International Labor Defense stands ready to provide legal, moral and material aid to all workers persecuted for their activities in the labor movement or for expression of opinion. The conference considers it a first duty of the working class to look after the comfort and well being of its hostages to capitalism and to supply material comforts and the means of existence to their families.

The International Labor Defense will organize and lead nation-wide campaigns for the release of all class war prisoners, conduct a relentless struggle against anti-labor legislation, and fight for the repeal of all criminal syndicalism, criminal anarchy and sedition laws—exceptional measures designed to give a legal covering to the attacks of the ruling class upon militant workers and the whole labor movement.

The conference sends its warmest fraternal greetings to all class war prisoners in America and to the victims of the white terror abroad. It declares its unqualified solidarity with the exploited workers and farmers the world over and appeals to them and to all sections of the American labor movement to rally to the International Labor Defense in its task of fighting back the capitalist jailers and hangmen."

Charlotte Anita Whitney.

The International Labor Defense has on its national committee prominent progressive intellectuals, trade union militants, members of the I. W. W., Communists, socialists and farmer-laborites. It elected as its national chairman, Andrew T. McNamara, prominent in the progressive wing of the International Association of Machinists. Edward C. Wentworth, author, is vice-president and James P. Cannon, long an active figure in the workingclass movement, is executive secretary.

### The Work of the I. L. D.

Since its formation the I. L. D. more than justified the expectations of its founders. Tho only a few short months in existence it has already established itself firmly in the hearts of the militant workers of the United States.

It has defended and aided in the defense of several important cases, among which are: the frame-up against the shoe worker, John Merrick in Haverhill; the Farrell case in Farrell, Pennsylvania, where South Slavic workers were indicted; the Ford and Suhr case; the trial of the Pittsburgh Communists; the Zeigler frame-up; the Crouch and Trumbull case; the Michigan Communist cases; the appeal of Anita Whitney and the Benjamin Gitlow case.

Outside of those major cases the I. L. D. is weekly called upon to defend workers who run up against the capitalist legal machine in the performance of their duties in their class.

Besides defending American class war prisoners the I. L. D. organized campaigns to save Rakosi and other victims of the Horthy dictatorship and Julio Mella, Cuban revolutionary worker who with several other workers was thrown into prison by the agents of the American sugar trust in that country. The White Terror in European countries, the bloody deeds of the imperialists in Asia, Africa and South America against the colonial peoples are given publicity by the I. L. D. and the American workers are aroused to a realization of their duty to their fellow workers in other lands.

(Continued on page 212.)



# LENIN - The Mountain Eagle

## By I. Stalin

The following brilliant picturization of the political character of Lenin constitutes a chapter in the original Russian edition of Stalin's work on Lenin and Leninism. Unfortunately it was omitted in both the English and the American editions. We are very glad indeed to have the opportunity of presenting this remarkable article to the readers of the Workers Monthly. —Editor. Workers Monthly.

I FIRST became acquainted with Lenin in 1903. This acquaintance, it is true, was not personal but developed by means of letters. But it left an indelible impression on me which has not left me during the whole period of my work in the party. I was at that time in exile in Siberia. My acquaintance with Lenin's revolutionary activity from the end of the nineties and especially after 1901, after "Iskra" began to be issued, led me to the conviction that we had in his person an unusual man. In my eyes at that time he was not simply the leader of the party; he was in fact its creator, because he alone understood the inner nature and the immediate needs of the party. When I compared him with the other leaders of our party, it always seemed to me that his co-workers—Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod, and others—stood lower than Lenin by a whole head, and that Lenin, in comparison with them was not simply one of the leaders, but a leader of the highest type, **the mountain eagle,** knowing no fear in battle, and boldly leading the party on along the untried path of the Russian revolutionary movement. This impression penetrated so deeply into my soul that I felt the necessity of writing about him to one of my close friends who was at that time living in emigration, requesting his opinion. Within a short time, being already in exile in Siberia—that was at the end of 1903—I received an enthusiastic reply from my friend, and a letter, simple but profound in content, from Lenin, whom my friend had evidently made acquainted with my letter. Lenin's note was comparatively short but it gave a bold and fearless criticism of the activity of our party and a remarkably clear and concise analysis of the whole plan of work of the party for the next period. Only Lenin was able to write about such complicated things in such a simple and clear manner, so concise and so daring, when every phrase not merely speaks but shoots. This simple and bold note strengthened my conviction still more that we had in the person of Lenin the mountain eagle of our party. I cannot forgive myself for having abandoned this letter of Lenin's, as well as many others, to the flames, according to the custom of the underground workers.

From that time began my acquaintance with Lenin.

### Lenin's Modesty.

I met Lenin for the first time in December, 1905, at the conference of the Bolsheviks at Tammerfors (in Finland). I hoped to see the mountain eagle of our party, that great man, great not only politically, but also, if you like, physically, for Lenin presented himself in my fancy in the form of a giant, stately and imposing. What then was my disappointment when I saw nothing but an ordinary man, smaller than the average in height, differing in no way, literally in no way, from ordinary mortals. . .

It is taken for granted that a "great man" usually must come late at meetings in order that the members may await his arrival with palpitating hearts, and just before his appearance, warningly murmur: "Sh-h. . . . quiet . . . he is coming." What then was my disappointment when I discovered that Lenin had come at the meetings before the delegates, and, skulking somewhere in a corner, was carrying on a conversation, the most ordinary conversation with the most ordinary delegates to the conference! I cannot deny that this seemed to me somewhat of an infringement of necessary rules.

Only afterwards I understood that this simplicity and modesty of Lenin's, this striving to remain unnoticed or, at any rate, not to become conspicuous and not to emphasize his high position—that this is one of the strongest traits of Lenin, the new leader of the new masses, the simple and ordinary masses of the deepest depths of humanity.

### The Strength of His Logic.

Two speeches of Lenin at that conference were remarkable—on current events and on the agrarian question. Unfortunately they have not been preserved. They were inspiring speeches, arousing the stormy enthusiasm of the whole conference. The usual strength of conviction, the simplicity and clearness of the argumentation, the short phrases, understandable by all, the absence of posing, the absence of fancy gestures and phrases for effect, for making an impression—all this distinguished the speeches of Lenin from those of the ordinary "parliamentarian" orators.

But at that time it was not that characteristic of Lenin's speeches which charmed me. What charmed me then was that irresistible strength of logic in Lenin's speeches which, a little coldly but thoroughly, takes possession of the audience, gradually electrifies it, and then takes it, so to speak, completely prisoner. I remember what many of the delegates said at that time: "The logic of Lenin's speeches is like a mighty tentacle, which seizes you from all sides with pincers, and from the embrace of which it

is impossible to extricate yourself: either you surrender or resign yourself to complete ruin."

I believe that this peculiarity in the speeches of Lenin is the strongest characteristic of his oratorical art.

### No Whimpering!

The second time I met Lenin was in 1906 at the Stockholm Congress of our party. Every one knows that at this congress the Bolsheviks remained in the minority, suffered a defeat. That was the first time I saw Lenin in the role of the vanquished. Not by one iota did he resemble other leaders who whimper and become dejected after a defeat. On the contrary, this defeat transformed him into a condensed bit of energy, filling his supporters with inspiration for fresh struggles, for future victory. I speak of Lenin's defeat. But what was this defeat? We need only observe Lenin's opponents, the victors at the Stockholm Congress—Plekhanov, Axelrod, Martov and others: they were little like actual victors, for Lenin, in his unsparing criticism of menshevism, beat them to a pulp. I remember how we Bolshevik delegates, huddled together, looked toward Lenin, asking his advice. The talk of some of the delegates betrayed weariness and dejection. I remember how Lenin, in answer to such talk, caustically said thru his teeth: "Don't whimper, comrades, we are certain of winning, for we are right." Detestation of the whimpering intellectuals, faith in his own strength, faith in victory—that is what Lenin spoke about with us. We felt then that the defeat of the Bolsheviks was only temporary and that the Bolsheviks were bound to win in the near future.

**"Don't whimper in case of defeat"**—this is the characteristic in the activity of Lenin which helped him to rally round himself an army, devoted to the end, and confident in its strength.

### No Haughtiness!

At the next congress in 1907 in London the Bolsheviki became the victors. That is the first time I saw Lenin in the role of the victor. Usually victory turns the heads of other leaders, and makes them arrogant and haughty. Most often in such cases, they begin to celebrate the victory, to rest on their laurels. But not by one iota did Lenin resemble such leaders. On the contrary, just after the victory, he became especially vigilant and alert. I remember how Lenin insistently impressed upon the delegates: "First of all—don't be carried away by victory and don't become proud; secondly—clinch the victory; thirdly—despatch the enemy for he is merely vanquished but far from being dead." He caustically ridiculed those delegates who thoughtlessly asserted that, "now it's all over with the Mensheviks." It was not difficult for him to prove that the Mensheviks still had roots in the labor movement, that it was necessary to struggle with them understandingly, in every way avoiding an overvaluation of our strength and especially an undervaluation of the strength of the enemy.

**"Don't allow victory to turn your head"**—this is the peculiarity in the character of Lenin which helped him to judge soundly the strength of the enemy and insure the party against possible surprises.

### Stern Adherence to Principle.

Leaders of a party must not fail to esteem the opinion of the majority of their party. The majority is a strength with which the leaders cannot afford not to reckon. Lenin understood this no less than every other leader of the party. But Lenin never became a slave to the majority, especially when that majority was not based upon principle. There were times in the history of our party when the opinion of the majority or the momentary interests of the party came into conflict with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. In such cases Lenin, without hesitation, stood resolutely for principle against the majority of the party. Moreover, he did not fear in such a case to come forth literally alone against all the rest, relying on the fact that, as he often expressed it, "the policy of stern adherence to principle is the truest policy."

The following two illustrations are especially characteristic of this attitude:

1. In the period of 1909 to 1911, the party, shattered by the counter-revolution, passed through a period of complete disintegration. This was a period of lack of confidence in the party; an epidemic of desertion not only on the part of the intellectuals, but also to some extent of the workers; a period of renouncement of underground work; a period of liquidationism and decomposition. Not only the Mensheviks, but the Bolsheviks as well, produced a whole series of fractions and tendencies, broken away to a large extent from the labor movement. You all know that it was during this period that the idea arose of complete liquidation of underground work and of the organization of workers into a legal liberal Stolypin party. Lenin was then the only one who did not succumb to the general contagion and held aloft the banner of our party organization, rallying the dissipated and shattered forces of the party with marvelous patience and with unheard of tenacity, fighting against any and every anti-party tendency within the labor movement, defending the party principle with unequalled valor and perseverance.

We all know that in this struggle for the party principle, Lenin afterwards proved himself the victor.

2. The period from 1914 to 1917, the period of the heat of the imperialist war, when all or nearly all social democratic and socialist parties succumbed to the general madness of patriotism and gave themselves up to their native imperialisms. This was the period when the Second International lowered its banner before capitalism, when not even such people as Plekhanov, Kautsky, Guesdé and others withstood the wave of chauvinism. Lenin was then the only one, or nearly the only one, who raised a resolute fight against social-chauvinism and social pacifism, who exposed the treachery of the Guesdes and Kautskys, and who branded the half-heartedness of the wavering "revolutionaries." Lenin knew well enough that he had an insignificant minority behind him, but that was of no decisive importance to him for he knew that the only true policy, the only one which could succeed, was the policy of consistent internationalism. He knew that the policy of stern adherence to principle is the truest policy.

In this struggle for the new international, Lenin proved himself the victor.

**"The policy of stern adherence to principle is the truest policy"**—this is the formula with the aid of which Lenin took by storm new "unassailable" positions, capturing the best elements of the proletariat for the cause of revolutionary Marxism.

### Faith in the Masses.

Theoreticians and leaders of the party, tho knowing the history of the people, tho thoroly acquainted with the history of the revolution from beginning to end, are yet sometimes afflicted with one shameful sickness. This sickness is a fear of the masses—lack of confidence in the creative ability of the masses. This gives rise to a certain aristocratic attitude on the part of the leaders toward the masses, who, though not experienced in the history of the revolution, are yet called upon to break down the old and build the new. The fear that the spontaneity of the masses may run wild, that the masses may "destroy more than is necessary," the desire to play the role of governess, endeavoring to "teach" the masses from books, but not wishing to learn from the masses —these form the basis of this type of aristocratic leadership.

Lenin represented the exact contrary of such leaders. I don't know of another revolutionary who believed so deeply in the creative power of the proletariat and in the revolutionary strength of purpose of its class instinct as did Lenin. I don't know of another revolutionary who so unsparingly flagellated the self-satisfied critics of the "chaos of revolution" and of the "bacchanals of the self-initiated action of the masses" as did Lenin. I remember how, during one conversation, in reply to a remark of one of our comrades that, "after the revolution normal order must be established," Lenin sarcastically remarked: "It's too bad if people, who want to be revolutionaries, forget that, in history, the order most nearly approaching the normal is revolutionary order."

Hence the scornful attitude of Lenin toward all those who endeavored to look upon the masses, to learn to understand their activity, to study attentively the practical experience of the struggle of the masses.

**"Faith in the creative power of the masses"**—that is the characteristic in the activity of Lenin which made it possible for him to understand its spontaneity and direct its movement into the channel of the proletarian revolution.

### The Genius of the Revolution.

Lenin was born for the revolution. He was verily a genius of revolutionary outbursts and the greatest master of revolutionary leadership. He never felt so free or so exuberant as during the time of revolutionary shocks. I certainly don't mean by this that Lenin approved equally of every revolutionary shock, or that he always and under all conditions stood for revolutionary outbursts. Not by any means! I merely mean that never did the ingenious perspicacity of Lenin manifest itself so fully and so precisely as during a revolutionary outburst. In the days of the revolutionary upheavals, he literally bloomed, became clairvoyant, foresaw the movement of classes and the probable zigzags of the revolution, seeing them as though they were in the palm of his hand. Not without cause was it said in our party circles that "Ilyitch can swim in the waves of the revolution like a fish in the water."

Hence the astonishing **clearness** of the tactical slogans and the "bewildering" **boldness** of the revolutionary projects of Lenin.

I recollect two especially characteristic events illustrating this peculiarity of Lenin.

1. It was the period before the October Revolution—when millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, driven on by the crisis at the front and in the rear, demanded peace and freedom; when the military leaders and the bourgeoisie were preparing a military dictatorship in the interests of the "war to the end"; when all so-called public opinion, all the so-called Socialist Parties were opposed to the Bolsheviks, treating them as German spies; when Kerensky was striving to drive the party of the Bolsheviki underground—and had already partially succeeded; when the whole of the army of the Austro-German coalition, still strong and well-disciplined, confronted our tired and disintegrated army, and when the West-European "socialists" remained in blissful coalition with their bourgeois governments in the interests of "war to complete victory. . ."

What does it mean to raise a rebellion at such a moment? To raise a rebellion in such a situation means to stake everything on one card. But Lenin did not fear to risk it, for he knew, he saw with his own clear-sighted vision, that the uprising was unavoidable, that the uprising

would succeed, that the uprising in Russia would set in motion the masses of the west, that the uprising in Russia would transform the imperialist war into the civil war, that the uprising would bring forth a republic of Soviets, that the republic of Soviets would serve as the bulwark of the revolutionary movement of the whole world.

You all know that this revolutionary forecast of Lenin's was realized afterwards with marvellous exactness.

2. In the first days after the October Revolution, the Council of People's Commissars tried to compel the treacherous general, Commander-in-Chief Dukhonin, to discontinue war activities and open negotiations with the Germans for an armistice. I remember how Lenin, Krylenko (the future Commander-in-Chief) and I went to the General Staff in Petersburg to negotiate with Dukhonin. The moment was a painful one. Dukhonin and the staff categorically refused to fulfill the order of the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissaries). The whole commanding apparatus of the army was in the hands of the staff. As far as the soldiers themselves were concerned, it was uncertain what the twelve millions would say, held in subjection by the so-called army organization that was bitterly hostile to the Soviet power. As you all know, the uprising of the Junkers was then maturing in Petersburg. Moreover, Kerensky also was attacking Petersburg. I remember how after a few moments Lenin's face was illuminated with a kind of unusual light. It was clear that he had already made his decision. "Come to the radio station," he said. "It will serve our purposes; we will remove General Dukhonin by a special order, appoint Comrade Krylenko in his place as Commander-in-Chief, and appeal to the soldiers, over the heads of the commanding staff, to surround the generals, to discontinue war activity, to get in touch with the Austro-German soldiers, and to take the cause of peace into their own hands."

That was a leap into the unknown. But Lenin did not fear this "leap"; on the contrary, he looked forward to it, for he knew that he army wanted peace and that it would obtain peace, sweeping away on the road to peace each and every obstacle; for he knew that this method of gaining peace would not fail to affect the Austro-German soldiers, and that it would unleash the desire for peace on all fronts without exception.

Who does not know how this revolutionary forecast of Lenin's was also realized afterwards with absolute exactness?

**Perspicacity amounting to genius, the ability swiftly to grasp and divine the inner meaning of events taking place**—this is the characteristic of Lenin which helped him to frame the correct strategy and clear line of conduct in the various windings of the revolutionary movement.

*(Continued from page 208)*

### The "Labor Defender."

On the first of January this year, "The Labor Defender," a monthly illustrated magazine, official organ of the I. L. D., made its appearance. This publication aims to be a common meeting ground for all class conscious workers who are willing to join together for the defense of the prisoners of the class struggle.

Though yet in its infancy the I. L. D. has carried on a vigorous campaign against anti-labor injunctions, persecutions and deportations of alien workers and the vicious criminal syndicalism laws which are on the statute books of thirty-four states. A very important feature of I. L. D. work is the provision of relief for the dependents of the imprisoned fighters of the class war as well as for those who are in jail, so that the hardships of prison life may be mitigated by their ability to purchase books, tobacco and other necessities that help to break the monotony of their existence.

### The Membership of the I. L. D.

The constitution of the I. L. D. declares that every person who signs an application card subscribing to the aims of the organization is entitled to membership. While the building up of a large individual membership is the goal of the I. L. D., there is also the provision that: "All workers' organizations such as labor unions, workers' fraternal and benefit societies, etc., which sympathize with the aims of International Labor Defense shall be entitled to collective membership upon payment of an agreed monthly contribution." The dues for individual members is only ten cents per month.

### Work of the I. L. D. Among Foreign-Born Workers.

The I. L. D. is organizing special committees among workers of non-English speaking nationalities. The alien workers, particularly those who do not speak the official language of the country, are specially subject to persecution provided they take an active part in the progressive wing of the labor movement.

The International Labor Defense has set itself the immediate task of rallying the working-class for a campaign to free all class war prisoners now in American jails and to wipe the iniquitous anti-free speech and anti-syndicalism laws off the statute books. While capitalism exists there is bound to be persecution of the workers. The workers must maintain a constant struggle against the employing class. One of the most effective ways to wage that struggle is to defend those workers who become prisoners of war, to look after the material needs of their dependents and to fight against every attempt on the part of the capitalist government to make it more difficult for the workers to build up the industrial and political organizations they must have in order to free themselves completely from the chains of wage slavery.



# The Raisins in the Filipino Cake

By Harry Gannes

FROM McKinley to Coolidge, every agent of American imperialism has urgently insisted that the Philippines were kept under American control solely for the good of the Philippines. McKinley's proclamations, pronunciamentos, documents, messages and other verbal clouds on the islands sounded as if they were mingled with tears trickling from the very heart of the first imperialist persident.

"Ah! poor, suffering Filipinos!" was the sense of his diplomatic emotions; "We saved you from the aggrandizement of Spain for the sake of humanity. Soon you will become a free people. But we implore you, let us civilize you first. Freedom will come in time. It is not our policy to hold colonies."

The process of "civilization" persists in spite of its having reached the technical limit set by United States legislation (Jones Law) and in the face of vehement protest of the entire Filipino nation.

### What Is the Attraction of the Philippines?

What is there in the Philippines that has the superlative magnetic force to attract the governmental apparatus, army, navy, capital, ships and goods of a nation 7,000 miles away?

Besides the fake issues raised by the American war-manuacturers that Japan will seize the Philippines or that they are necessary in the military scheme of defense, what are the real reasons for United States dallying in the Philippines? What lotus flower did the Americanos eat in those verdant islands that makes them forget they are putting their feet on somebody else's table?

Sergio Osmena, president of the Philippine senate and head of the independence commission in the U. S., and Pedro Guevara, Philippine representative in Congress both suspect why this country refuses to vacate. In their memorial addresses to the present session of congress, the Filipino spokesmen say:

"The United States could have done with the Philippines whatever would have pleased her. She had the force so to do." One course open to America "was permanent retention for purpose of exploitation and aggrandizement."

But the timid politicians quickly veer from so bare and true an estimate of America's intentions.

Congressman Frear of Wisconsin, was a little more open in exposing America's reasons for holding on to the Philippines. On June 3, 1924, in a speech in congress, he said:

> **"Wood objects to early independence for the Filipinos. Weeks, who has $33,000,000 of Filipino funds loaned out to favored banks in Boston, New York, Washington, and Chicago, also may think these funds should be held for at least 25 years longer."**

Now we are getting closer to the truth. Of all the territory in the world that the United States has its hands on, the Philippines, geographically and economically, promise the most thorogoing and profitable imperialist development in the interest of American bankers.

### The Geographic Situation of the Philippines.

The Philippines are situated to the southeast of Asia, with the Pacific Ocean on the north and east, the Celebes sea on the south, and the China sea on the west. They are 631 nautical miles from the nearest port of China, and 1,306 miles from the nearest Japanese port. The total area of the islands exceeds the combined territory of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, namely 115,026 square miles. There are 12,000,000 people on the islands.

Within a radius of 3,500 miles nearly 800,000,000 or about one-half of the world's population live. In short, the Philippines are situated in the center of the Asiatic trade routes of the present and future.

### Economic Resources of the Philippines.

The country is mainly agricultural. Nearly 9,000,000 acres are under cultivation out of an available 70,000,000 acres. The main crops are sugar cane, cocoanuts, tobacco, corn, abaca, coffee, and maguey. During 1924 the crop value amounted to $215,000,000. Worcester and Fairchild, American capitalists are vitally interested in the sugar crops; Heath is interested in hemp; and as Congressman Frear expresses it, "Haussermann, Cotterman, and other men are interested in everything from Philippine cigarettes to gas and cocoanut oil."

It is estimated that there are in the Philippines 200,000,000,000 board feet of available lumber. No wonder that J. Sloat Fassett, an American magnate in the Philippines, is one of the most rabid of anti-independence shouters. Fasset believes that "God and nature designed the Philippine Islands to be among the fairest dwelling places for man. . . ." That's why the wants to own all the lumber there.

"Where iron is, there is the fatherland," and the Philippines have enough of its share to attract American investments. The bureau of science estimates that there are in various prov-

inces of the Philippines 502,000,000 metric tons and 60,000,000 tons of coal. Gold and other minerals are also available to the steam shovels of the gringos.

There are 8,354 manufacturing establishments with a capital investment of $111,236,000, and an annual production of $178,047,000. Small, it is true, when compared with the United States, but a promise of future development that no careful investment banker or his agent in Washington can overlook. Foreign trade for one year in the Philippines reached over $250,000,000. This includes export of raw material to the United States and import of finished products from the American protector.

### American Imperialism in the Philippines.

The Manila American chamber of commerce, dominated by American capitalists, practically controls the greater share of the country's business. At the same time the only sentiment against Philippine independence is engineered by this same body.

The American interests in the Philippines, such as Fassett, Orth of the Binding Twine trust, the sugar interests, the tobacco interests and the cocoanut oil interests, comprising at most 700 Americans, are unanimous for United States domination; and because their interests coincide with the imperialist policy of their homeland, any degree of independence is refused.

Now that Hoover charges the British Government with conniving at limiting the world's supply of rubber, the Philippines offer themselves to the United States as a possible rubber plantation. The **Chicago Tribune** in an editorial (Jan. 20, 1926) said: "The government has surveyed the Philippines and estimates that 70,000 tons of rubber per year can eventually be produced there. . . . The Philippines would be a natural first choice. . . ." The only objection the Trib has to the Philippines is that the Filipino has a habit of trying to protect itself against American aggrandizement.

Recently, however, a bill was pushed thru the legislature donating 250,000 acres of land for experiments in rubber production. The avowed object of the bills is to pave the way for the future investment of foreign capital in Philippine rubber plantations; and the foreign capital would be 100 per cent American.

### The Filipino Proletariat

And what is the outlook for a labor supply in the Philippines? True, the Filipinos have revolutionary traditions; but, on the other hand, American capital knows that the Filipinos have been under Spanish domination for 300 years, which is no mean proletarian apprenticeship. Ninety per cent of the Filipinos are Christians. What more could an employer of labor ask? There were registered in the 1918 census 3,893,544 laborers. The supply of labor is so plentiful in the Philippines that 10,000 workers emigrated to the sugar plantations of Hawaii in 1924.

The docility of the organized labor movement in the Philippines is exhibited by a resolution that was passed at the last convention of Legionaires de Trabajo (the Philippine labor fraternity):

> "We declare publicly, solemnly that we recognize the great privileges and blessings we are now enjoying is the work of the great American nation and for this reason we are not only loyal to her but also thankful for the valiant protection she is affording our country. We protest against the insinuation to the effect that we are disloyal to the United States."

It sounds almost as if Brother Green had written it.

Despite the fact that the wide masses are overwhelmingly against American rule, the hope is that they can be held in check.

This is the economic aspect of the Philippine question. Even with its tremendous resources and its ability to absorb American commodities (the Philippines being fifth in importance of countries consuming American goods) the surface has not been scratched. American capital in its world scramble for markets and sources of raw material surely is not ready to let slip through its clutches so valuable a prize as the Philippines. Even a congressman knew as much when he said:

> "Why has President Coolidge turned a deaf ear to the Filipinos' plea for early independence as conveyed in his letter to Speaker Rojas? . . . Why is an army man (Wood) opposed to the Philippine legislative branch of government still kept in command of a peaceful people, ruling with a despotic hand and repeating his disturbing record made in Cuba?
> "The reason is not hard to find." It is "the commercial, selfish and unwarranted control of the Philippines by American business interests here and in the islands that have subordinated human rights to exploitation and dollar control."

There is not the slightest sentimental attachment between the United States and the Philippines. Not even the magic blanket, the Monroe Doctrine, can cover Philippine domination. The control of the Islands is due to the imperialist routine of American capitalism, making itself secure in its present possessions and reaching out its finger for more.

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# The Big Stick in Latin-America—Its Size and Cost

By Sam Darcy

THE march of American imperialism is so rapid that a survey of its extent quickly falls out of date. It used to be said that the sun never sets on the British empire; today we must change that to read that the sun never sets on American investments—yet never are lands so dark as when these same investments gain footholds in them.

### The Imperialist Big Stick in Latin-America.

Let your eyes run quickly over the map of the western hemisphere—first to Cuba:

The United States has a very important naval base in Cuba. Posts of marines, however, are never confined to the coast, but are stationed at any strategic point. The Cuban government can make no loan nor dispose of any of its possessions without the consent of the U. S. Uncle Sam is nowhere so much a Shylock as here. His representative at Havana controls the execution of the political and financial policies of the land—policies which are determined by absentee landlords and bankers living in the United States.

In Haiti there are about two thousand marines who helped American bankers to supervise the "election" there. An American financial advisor exercises complete control of its finances, collects customs and makes loans which the U. S. government guarantees—thus assuring its continued occupancy. The nation's constitution was here rewritten to permit the acquisition of land by U. S. corporations.

In Santo Domingo the United States landed an army—without any declaration of war—dismissed the president and congress and for seven years ruled by military decrees under the supervision of an American representative and two thousand five hundred marines. In 1924 a promise was extracted from Wall Street that the military governor would be retired—but his promise was not given until the Dominicans promised to allow the U. S. to collect the customs and administer the finances of the country. Though the promise was given the military governor remains.

The great bourgeois hero, Theodore Roosevelt, took Panama with an "agreement" that disbanded the army of that country and provided that the U. S. could take over any additional territory it may deem fit for the protection of the canal. The cost of this alone in lives and wealth could have balanced the budgets of more than one of the hungering nations of today.

In Honduras the American minister and two U. S. corporations are ruling the country. In Nicaragua a U. S. admiral favorable as usual to American bankers has confessed that at least eighty per cent of the population are bitterly antagonistic to his rule, and are continually on the point of revolt.

In all these countries there are military forces guaranteeing the investments of American capital. In Salvador, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia the U. S. has official representatives directing and controlling the finances of the countries. And nowhere has it yet been recorded that from this control Wall Street has not gained in profits nor has it ever been recorded that the countries involved have not lost in lives, wealth, freedom and standard of living from such control.

Above we have listed eleven countries where the United States officially controls the governments either by direct exertion of military power or the threat of military force.

In addition to these there are the other Latin-American countries which are controlled by the United States corporations thru the use of National Governments that have become vassals of Wall Street. In Guatemala, for example, the United Fruit Company and other American financial interests have secured control of the railroads which have now become a part of the International Railways of Central America, the largest American railway enterprise outside of the United States.

In Costa Rica after thirty years of peace, American oil and fruit interests fomented a revolution and have used this as an excuse to set up a government which acts as broker for American capitalism.

In Mexico, United States capitalists own one-third of the nation's total wealth of two-and-one-half billion dollars. They own a major portion of the land and seventy-three per cent of the oil land.

Out of twenty Latin-American republics eleven have their financial polices directed by official representatives of the American government. Six of these agents have military forces to insure the carrying out of their decrees. Those countries not yet controlled directly by official American representatives are being infiltrated by Wall Street investments. And it will not be long before these countries will have their finances controlled in the same manner as the others.

### American Imperialism and Its European Rivals.

During the last few years, the United States has been continually eliminating European capitalists from North and South American trade. This is done by various methods. The first is by a process that has become known as "funding," that is, combining together all the international obligations of the nation after which one big loan is floated in the United States to take care of it all. The European creditors are then paid off and eliminated. The United States government, of course, must then protect the lives and property of its citizens within those countries where the loan has been floated. Since the lives are rarely in danger, despite all the propaganda about the "revolootin' " the U. S. government sends in marines to protect the dollars. This "funding" process has already been worked successfully in about half of the Latin-American states. The Department of Commerce in a bulletin issued about a year ago, makes the following very interesting comments:

> "Our great interest in Latin-America is largely a growth of the last ten years. Yet our investments include $610,000,000 in public securities and $3,150,000,000 in industry."

Another method in the elimination of Europe from North and South American markets is thru arbitrations. The Swiss, British, Spanish and French governments have in the past been selected by Latin-America as arbitrators in the disputes between and among the countries involved. But the United States government is now using its great power to eliminate all this. The recent sending of military forces to insure our state department's decision in the dispute between Panama and Costa Rica is one illustration of this. The very recent sending of the head of all our military forces, General Pershing, to settle the dispute between Peru and Chile in the Tacna and Arica affairs is another illustration of this.

This incidentally helps to explain why the U. S. government was so loath to enter the League of Nations. These small South American countries are all members of the League and if the U. S. were also a member it would become necessary for it to allow the League council to settle disputes between small South American countries. This would stop the elimination of Europea ncountries from South American affairs and would defeat the purposes of American imperialism.

The third method of capturing South America for Wall Street is that of sending naval "missions" to South American countries. The United States today has missions in Peru and Brazil. When Argentina protested against the sending of these missions, saying, in the diplomatic language of bourgeois governments, that it would create "suspicions" in South America, the state department arrogantly replied that in order to prevent this it would not play favorite with any one but would send missions to all countries thereby eliminating jealousies among them!

### The World Extent of American Imperialism.

The use of the big stick is not, of course, confined to Latin America, but extends to the Philippines—the largest U. S. colony, and into Europe in the execution of the Dawes' Plan, into Asia to insure Rockefeller's oil interests there—into every part of the world where American investments have found their way—and this means every important section of the globe.

### The Cost of Maintaining the Big Stick.

Of course, it costs much to maintain this big stick in good shape so that it is serviveable at all times. In case of war—that is the purpose of having a stick. . .

Karl Liebknecht in the resolution he wrote on the war says as follows: " The war is not only the result of the policy of competitive armaments which we have always opposed; it is not only the result of secret diplomacy, it is not only a Bonapartist undertaking directed against the working class movement; it is, in its very historical nature, imperialistic. It is imperialistic in its origin. It is imperalistic in its objects, i. e., it pursues capitalist aims of expansion and conquest." This can very well be applied to what is happening today in the increase of American investments in Latin-America.

Jacques Doriot shows in an article on the effects of imperialist war on the working youth that the extraordinary increase during the war in the diseases arising from poverty (tuberculosis, etc.), was most marked among the exploited youth. A German official statement has shown that young men from 19 to 25 years suffered 44 per cent of the total sum of mortal losses of the war. In France the 1913, 1914, 1915 classes were almost without exception annihilated; in England the conscription system crushed the whole youth; in Belgium the age limit for military service (about thirty years) threw the whole burden of active service upon a small stratum of young workers; while in the United States, out of the hundred odd thousands of workers killed in the war, the bulk was largely young workers.

The toll of dead and wounded among the American young workers who are now in the army and navy and are victims of peace times preparations for war is a warning sign of what can be expected in the coming war. Senator King of Utah, in an article in Current History says in illustration of this point:

> "In the last ten years the government has expended $150,000,000 for submarines. Practically the whole of this money has gone into the hands of private contractors who have delivered to the government 120 submarines. At least ten of these submarines, because of defective mechanism, have gotten beyond the control of their crews and have sunk. in most cases causing the death of members of their crews. . . In 1924 explosions on the battleships Mississippi and the Trenton alone caused the death of 60 men.'



### The Extent of American Militarism.

The facts concerning the deaths of those engaged in military service are very difficult to obtain, since it is to the interest of imperialism to have the youth know of the cost they must pay to make profits for Wall Street. Yet from the one quotation above it can be seen that in the practice maneuvers of the military forces the toll of deaths run into large figures. The government well knows that another war even larger and more devastating than the World War is inevitable and it is grooming the forces of militarism very carefully for this purpose. Much ink has been spilled in the jingo press concerning the insufficiency of "our" air forces at the present time. An investigation of the budget appropriations brings some very remarkable facts to light. The increase in appropriations for the air service alone went from about one million dollars to over one billion dollars in the short space of four years, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1916 | $ 1,300,000 |
| 1917 | 26,033,000 |
| 1918 | 685,000,000 |
| 1919 | 1,172,343,877 |

The outlays authorized by Congress for increase in the navy, which cover new construction, have in the last ten years amounted to one and one-half billion dollars. The total naval appropriation for the last decade amounts to $6,980,641,947.

In dollars alone the above figures will give a slight glimpse of the gigantic cost of preparing for new wars. The United States boasts that it has a standing army only of some one hundred and forty thousand men. This, of course, does not include the navy and the marines, which are among the very largest in the world. But it also fails to include a tremendous reserve army that the U. S. is building among the civilian population through Citizens' Military Training Camps, Reserve Officers' Training Corps, War Colleges, etc., all of these but recent phenomena in war preparation. So that if the United States standing army itself has not increased in very great proportions the militarization of the civilian population has really increased the extent of militarism to an almost unbelievable degree.

Citizens' Military Training Camps really began as late as 1921. Since then they have increased as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1921 | 10,681 |
| 1922 | 22,000 |
| 1923 | 25,000 |
| 1924 | 34,000 |

The figures for 1925 are not as yet obtainable but they undoubtedly show a tremendous increase over 1924. General Pershing in an article which was syndicated throughout the bourgeoisie press wrote, "The time is not far distant when instead of training 25,000 young men we will be training 100,000 each year."

Reserve Officers' Training Corps were organized under what is known as the National Defense Act, according to which the president is authorized to appoint a reserve officer in any public school having over 100 students. The function of this officer to give military training to the students in the school. Under the authority of this act, 3,392 young army men were made second lieutenants at the end of 1924 for the purpose of administering this training. During the school year, 1924-1925, more than 226 educational institutions in the United States had their students receive this training. The exact number is extremely difficult to obtain. Two hundred and twenty-six institutions maintained units of the R. O. T. C. but the secretary of war reports that many schools which do not officially maintain units nevertheless give military training. Even without these the total number of students taking military training during this period runs to the number of 125,504. R. O. T. C. units were instituted as late as 1916. There are at least forty military schools alone. Every important college and almost every second rank college has an R. O. T. C. unit. The program of militarization of the young workers is carried on largely through the Citizens' Military Training Camps, while that of the young students through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. Both these institutions are cheap and effective means of training armies to serve as cannon-fodder in the next war. The total number of those young men being groomed for military purposes totals to well over 500,000. This is a very conservative estimate in view of the existence, in addition to the above, of the state militia in most of the states, which can be turned into federal units on a moment's notice.

The American government is carrying on an extensive propaganda to show that the U. S. S. R. is maintaining a large standing army, but when we take into consideration the various forms of militarization in this country and work out a proportion on the basis of population we see that the United States has approximately four men trained to bear arms to every one in the first workers' republic. And this despite the fact that Soviet Russia has an area to defend many times that of the United States and has the bourgeois governments of the whole world plotting against it.

In 1924 and 1925 the appropriation for military purposes totaled approximately 59 per cent of the entire budget, while in 1926 the government announces that appropriations for military

*(Continued on next page)*

# The Agricultural Situation

By Alfred Knutson

BOURGEOIS politicians and statesmen have always considered the farmers of very great importance to them in the maintenance of the system of capitalist exploitation. The farmer is regularly paraded before the "public mind" as a man possessing sound, conservative ideas and who can be depended upon to do the "right" thing in any situation where the interests of the capitalists are threatened. Who has not heard the politicians say, or seen the expression in the capitalist press: "The farmers are among our best citizens and we must come to their assistance"?

Bankers and businessmen miss no opportunity to cultivate the friendship and the good will of the farmers. At businessmen's luncheons, grain and corn shows, county and state fairs, and numerous other similar gatherings, the farmer is usually invited to participate and to take an active part. Special "farmers' days" are staged at many of these "community gatherings," ostensibly for the purpose of entertaining and "serving" the farmers but with the real aim of extracting profits from the farmers and thus enriching the capitalists.

Whenever the city industrial workers become "unruly" and "unpatriotic" and are compelled to resort to strikes and mass protests against low wages and unsanitary living conditions and threaten to take matters into their own hands in order to do away with these evils, hope is expressed by the capitalist exploiters that the farmers will come to the rescue and save their system of exploitation. It is interesting as well as quite instructive to note in this connection that the Czarist counter-revolutionaries and the capitalist governments of France, England and the United States have always pinned their hopes on the "good sense" of the Russian farmers in eventually "showing their teeth" by rising against the "tyranny" of the Soviet government. Needless to say the Russian farmers show no such disposition.

This catering to the support and good will of the farmers on the part of the capitalists is no mere accident. It is a settled policy with them and it helps them enormously in maintaining their system of exploitation. In practically every country of the world today great efforts are put forth by the capitalists and their governments to get the support of the farmers in the struggle with the "rebellious" city industrial workers who are more and more challenging the capitalist powers. The "good," "conservative" farmer is called upon to save the day for the exploiters. But will he?

### The General Situation.

During the last two decades, especially since the close of the world war, it is apparent that a great change has taken place in the attitude of the farmers towards political and economic questions, and none has been quicker to perceive this than the capitalist who is now observed to be making extraordinary efforts to win the farmer as an ally in propping up the tottering capitalist system.

The capitalists, however, are unable to save the situation for themselves. In the countries of Europe, outside Russia, the farming population is being reduced to the state of serfs and slaves through the increasing exploitation by the capitalists and the landlords, and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as for instance, India, China and South America, capitalist imperialism is exerting greater and greater pressure upon the farming masses, driving them to revolt and rebellion and gradually forcing them to seek an alliance with the city industrial workers in whom they feel they have found a powerful friend and ally.

In America tenancy and mortgaged farmers are increasing, the farm debt is piling up ever higher and higher, hundreds of thousands of farmers are leaving their farms every year because they are unable to make a living upon the land. The standard of life of the American farmer is falling fast. Farmers generally throughout the country frankly state that they see no hope of ever being able to pay their debts, their main struggle at present being that of paying interest and taxes, and even this is now becoming impossible. Efforts of bankers, businessmen and farm leaders of the social-democratic type to relieve the bad economic situation which has arisen among the farmers, without abolishing the capitalist system which is responsible for the farmers' distress, have proved and will continue to prove futile.

In Soviet Russia alone there is an upward trend. Here the farmers have gotten rid of their exploiters, the capitalists, and are building a new future for themselves and their families. Despite the great destruction of the imperialist and civil wars and the ignorance and slavery inherited from the czarist regime they are forging ahead culturally and economically. All this talk about revolts of these farmers against the Soviet government, concerning which we hear so much in America and other countries, is of course absolutely nonsensical. While in Europe last year I traveled over 2000 miles in the farming territory of the Soviet Union, saw the Russian farmers at work in the fields and I know that they are steadily increasing their economic well-being and loyally supporting the Soviet government. Why shouldn't they? It is their government and it fights for their interests!

### Significant Tendencies.

The farmers learn by experience. More and more they are trying to understand just what are the causes for the conditions under which they now suffer; more and more are they rolling over in their minds how they can find a way out of the dilemma in which the capitalist system has placed them, and now they have come to the conclusion that the cause for their misfortune is due to the extortions they are subjected to by the "Big Interests," "Big Business," as represented by speculators in food products, great grain combines, and banks. It is true that they are yet somewhat hazy about their understanding of the capitalist forces which are exploiting them, but, nevertheless, their antagonism towards the capitalist interests mentioned above is unmistakable.

It is also noticeable, especially in the older countries, that the farmer is becoming conscious of the fact that he does not represent


Drawn by Maurice Becker

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purposes have increased to 80 per cent of the entire budget. Simultaneously with these announcements come pious statements from the war and state departments of attempts at world disarmament and for the establishment of "eternal peace." Military appropriations since the World War have been on the increase, clearly pointing to the fact that the government sees as clearly as the Communists that we are headed for another war.

### The Youth in the Struggle Against Militarism.

It is inevitable that the youth will bear the burden of the next war, even as they have borne the burden of the last war. It therefore devolves upon the youth to take upon itself the struggle for preventing the next war, not by pacifist declarations, but by Communist deeds. Of all the existing youth organizations one only clearly points the way—THE YOUNG WORKERS (COMMUNIST) LEAGUE.

The time is rapidly approaching when the American workers will take heed and exercise the inalienable right of the masses recognized by Lincoln in his first inaugural address, 1861, wherein he says that "a people grown weary of existing institutions may exercise their constitutional right to change or amend them or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow them."

a homogeneous economic group, but that there are different economic strata within the farming population itself—there being, for example, rich and poor farmers, a land-owning class and mortgaged and tenant farmers and farm workers. This differentiation is becoming more and more pronounced with the development of capitalism and can already be clearly noticed even in the United States.

The time was, too, when it was anathema to speak about the identity of economic interests between the farmers and the city industrial workers, but as the pressure of capitalist exploitation has increased, the farmer is coming to understand that the city industrial worker is his best friend and natural ally.

As has been stated, the capitalists and their agents, the capitalist governments, are aware of these tendencies among the farmers and they are therefore, moving to fortify their position by forming a close alliance with the "best," the wealthy farmers and through these control the semi-well-to-do farmers. In this way they hope to defeat the move of the city industrial workers in forming an alliance with the masses of exploited farmers.

### The Black Agricultural International.

This campaign of the capitalists to secure the farmers as an ally, in order thereby to continue their game of exploiting both the farmers and workers is seen in the organization of the Black Agricultural International, with headquarters in Warsaw, the aim of which is to organize the farmers of all countries under the leadership of the reactionary, wealthy land owners. Through this organization the capitalists hope to be able to fight successfully against the city industrial workers who are more and more encroaching upon their power.

### The Peasants' International.

The Black Agricultural International is in sharp opposition to the real Farmers' International, with headquarters in Moscow, whose laudable purpose is to organize the exploited farmers of the world and bring about an alliance of these farmers with the workers in the industries of all countries for common action against world capitalism and imperialism. This is the International the oppressed farmers everywhere should adhere to and support.

### 1. General Statistical View of Agriculture.

America is not only the greatest industrial country of the world, but it is also the most important as far as agricultural production is concerned.

Land in farms in 1920 comprised 955,883,715 acres and the number of farms was 6,448,343. The estimated farm population on January 1, 1925, was 31,134,000.

The total number of persons gainfully employed on the farms is approximately ten million. At the present time about 2¾ million of these are tenants, 1¾ million mortgaged farmers, 4 million farm workers, and the rest rich farm owners.

Wheat production in 1925 was 697,000,000 bushels, corn 3,013,000,000 bushels, oats 1,470,000,000 bushels, potatoes 346,500,000 bushels, cotton 15,386,000 bales.

The value of farm property in 1920 was $77,924,100,338. Gross income from grains in 1925 was $1,900,000,000 and gross income from meat animals, $2,600,000,000. The total gross income from all farm production in 1925, $12,100,000,000.

### 2. "Opportunities" Vanishing.

It will be noticed from the above brief figures that there is no question about the importance of American agriculture and that the American farmer is efficient in producing food for mankind. He tops the list among the world's farmers in quantity of production per man. He is working long hours, faithfully and hard. However, when we examine his economic status the fact is driven home to us that he is coming to share less and less in the wealth he produces.

For many decades this country has been glorified by the capitalists, who exploit the farmers, as a land of "unexampled opportunity" for achieving material well-being. Especially did they point with pride to the vast stretches of "free" land that awaited the industrious young farmer on the broad plains of the west, and the fine chances afforded him in disposing of the farm products he raised in a profitable market and the great wealth that would accrue to him from his investment in the years to come.

This day, however, is no more. The west with its frontier is gone and American capitalists have now a limited opportunity for expansion in this field and it is becoming more difficult for them to find a solution for the marketing problems. The field of operation for the capitalists is steadily being restricted and, without free, unhindered opportunity for economic expansion, their system of exploitation is doomed. This is the reason that American capitalists are busily engaged in other countries, seeking other markets and new fields for the investment of their capital.

During the world war, and some time after, the American farmer experienced temporary economic relief, farm prices being higher than usual and credit facilities moderately satisfactory to the farmer. This "good" period, however, was broken by the great financial crisis of 1921-22, and now again, in 1925-26, we are face to face with a serious economic and financial crisis in the corn belt. The net result of these waves of agricultural depression and "improvement" has been, even in this, the present so-called period of "unexampled prosperity," a steady downward trend in the economic position of the American farmer.



### 3. Decline in Agriculture.

Despite the contention of the capitalist politicians that the farmers are "prosperous" and "sitting pretty," facts prove that their economic status is steadily deteriorating and that they are receiving less and less for their work upon the land.

Men are not so anxious to farm as they used to be. Within the last two decades there has been a steady drift of the farm population to the large industrial cities of the country. The farm population is actually diminishing. The net movement of persons from the farms in 1924, for instance, was 679,000 and the total decrease of the agricultural population during the year was 182,000.

Government figures on the agricultural situation illustrate what is happening to the farmers. Taxation on farm property in 1914 amounted to $344,000,000. In 1922 it had increased to $797,000,000.

The number of tenant farmers in the United States in 1880 was 25.6 per cent of the total number of farmers and this percentage has increased with every decade until in 1920 it reached 38.1 per cent.

The same fact is brought out by the increase in mortgage debt of the farmers. In 1910, this was 33.2 per cent of the total value of farm property, and in 1920 this had increased to 37.2 per cent. It has been estimated by non-governmental authorities that the total farm debt has now grown to at least 14 billion dollars and that the farmers of the country do not earn enough net from the sale of their crops to pay the interest on this debt.

The government further says that bankruptcies among farmers were 6.4 per cent in 1919-20; 9 per cent in 1920-21; 14.4 per cent in 1921-22 and 17.4 per cent in 1922-23.

At the present time, while the capitalists and their press, are talking in high-sounding phrases about "farm prosperity," numerous country banks in both the wheat and the corn belts are compelled to close their doors because of "depleted reserves," the real reason, of course, being that the farmers are not sufficiently prosperous to be able to pay their debts to the banks.

The capitalists may try to bolster their system of exploitation by employing beautiful phrases about "good times," but the facts of the agricultural situation plainly reveal the contradictions of the system of capitalist production and distribution, and these contradictions will eventually destroy, not only the capitalists, but also the capitalist system of which they are the product.

### 4. Sharpening of Class Antagonism.

With the inevitable worsening of the economic position of the farmer, due to the increasing pressure of capitalist exploitation, class differentiations among the farmers are becoming more pronounced. Not very many farmers in America are even now conscious of these class differences. In organizations like the Farm Bureau Federation, the Farmers' Union, the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, and in farmers' elevator, creamery, store or other economic organizations of the farmers, no distinction of classes is made. Well-to-do farmers, tenant and mortgaged farmers, retired farmers and even farm workers are jumbled together in the same political and economic movements as if they possessed the same interests.

However left wing tendencies among the farmers of the United States are beginning to crop out in movements like the Western Progressive Farmers, the Labor or Farmer-Labor parties of the Southwest and in the organization of the United Farmers' Educational League.

### 5. Political Expression of Discontent.

Farmers generally, especially those living in the states all along the line in central United States—the bread and meat basket of the country—are clearly discontented with their economic position and desire very much to find ways and means of remedying the situation.

It is quite natural that the farmers in this section should be the first to organize politically because they feel the iron heel of the great banks and the big capitalist grain, meat and cotton combines most sharply. Nearly all farm movements of any consequence, political or economic, have had their origin in this territory, and it is practically certain that future developments will prove no exception to this general tendency.

There are today signs of a political awakening among the farmers of America. In the Southwest—Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana—a virile political movement is springing up among the much exploited farmers and farm laborers in this section. In Texas the farmers are being organized into "The Labor Party," thus showing a tendency on the part of the exploited farmers in this state to consider themselves as workers.

The leaders of this movement are interested in starting the All-American Labor Party and state so frankly. In this they want the co-operation of farmers and workers in other parts of the country. "The Toiler," the political organ of the movement, strongly advocates the organization of such a party and makes its appeal largely to the exploited farmers and farm

workers, but it also works for an alliance of the farmers with the city industrial workers.

The Western Progressive Farmers have begun organization work in the Northwest and are meeting with success. This organization is anti-capitalistic, advocates the formation of class farmer-labor parties, and its general activity is of a left wing character.

New political activity is taking place within the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, the issue of the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party having been raised on a state-wide scale. That things are not "dead" politically among the farmers of North Dakota is proven by the fact that the county conventions held by the Nonpartisan League last January were very well attended.

In Montana and South Dakota new political interest is also shown. At the state convention of the Farmer-Labor Party of South Dakota held last December a compromise was made with the democratic party on program and candidates, but since then, a complete Farmer-Labor Party ticket has been selected for the next election, and this party as well as the one in Montana, is ready to join in a national farmers' and workers' political movement.

The bad economic situation among the farmers in the Middle-west states, in the corn belt area, which worries the Coolidge administration so much, has not yet produced any noticeable political movement but it appears that the opportunities are favorable for the launching of Labor or Farmer-Labor Parties in this section. It is quite possible that if the political movements in the Southwest and the Northwest gain some force and momentum, the states of the middle-west may be swept into the same political current and thus create a solid block of states from the Canadian boundary to the Gulf, with millions of men and women who will be opposed to the two old capitalist parties. Such a prospect should seriously engage the attention of the exploited farmers and workers during the coming months.

The formation of such an alliance of political movements of prominent agricultural states, in which the farming population predominates, is a possibility in the not distant future. The suggestion has already been made by leaders in the farmer-labor political movement of the Southwest that a great farmer-labor conference of the states of the Northwest, the Middle-west and the Southwest be held next July at some central point like Kansas City or Omaha.

### 6. Capitalist Remedies.

The Coolidge administration, bankers and businessmen have been busy during the last few months trying to find a solution for the acute situation which has arisen among the farmers in the corn belt, and the proposals made by them are typical of the methods generally employed by capitalism to "help" the farmers.

There is, of course, never any real desire to help the farmers. The main object of the capitalist politicians is to appear to be doing something for the farmers in order to quiet their rebellious mood and for the purpose of fixing up their political fences for the next election.

The proposals advanced include a farmer-controlled agency for handling the farm surplus problem, aid to the farmers in building their own marketing organizations, lowering of tariff rates, the development of corn sugar as an outlet for the corn crop, restriction of the sown area, etc.

No suggestion is made by these "helpers" of the farmers that the profits extracted from the food producers by the capitalists are to be restricted. Oh no, they have no intention of hurting their own business but are studiously figuring out how they can exploit the farmers some more and thereby increase their profits. And Coolidge and Jardine, the representatives of the Wall Street capitalists, favoring farm marketing agencies controlled by the farmers! It is worthy of note that many so-called farm leaders are applauding this absolutely imbecile and impossible gesture.

At the conferences held in Washington, Chicago and Des Moines no exploited farmers were invited to attend. Those present were capitalist politicians, bankers and businessmen with a sprinkling of well-to-do farmers who have no economic cares and who cannot properly represent the exploited farmers and farm laborers.

It is high time the working farmers and farm workers of this country hold their own conferences, take matters into their own hands and in alliance with the city industrial workers oust their capitalist exploiters from the marketing places.

### 7. What the Farming Situation Requires to Be Done.

The facts of the farming situation throughout the world, outside the Soviet Union, reveal that the economic position of the farmer is steadily becoming worse and that the capitalists and their governments are unable to "stabilize" agriculture.

Today, in the great farming region of the United States, with the crisis of 1921-22 not yet liquidated, the farmers in the corn belt suffer heavy losses through low prices, country banks are still closing their doors in the Northwest and Middle-west states and farmers continually being dispossessed of their land through inability to pay their debts to the banks.

What must the farmers do to secure relief from the conditions under which they now suffer under the capitalist system?

The approach to the solution of the agricultural question involves two processes, as follows:

1. In view of the fact that millions of farmers still adhere to the two old capitalist parties efforts must be made to separate the working farmers and farm workers from this unholy alliance thru the formation of organizations of their own, and bring about an alliance between these organizations and the city industrial workers organized in a Labor Party.

The present agricultural situation in the Northwest, Middle-west and Southwest is conducive for the organization of Labor or Farmer-Labor parties among the farmers, this work being already under way, with a growing promise of a political alliance between these three sections of the country some time during the next summer.

2. Farmers are going to discover sooner or later that they will not be able to solve their problems under the capitalist system and that it will be necessary for them therefore to destroy this system, and establish the workers' system and that this can only be done thru the revolutionary method. It is an illusion to suppose that the capitalists will give up their privilege of exploiting the farmers without a fight, without a struggle. The farmers must be prepared for this and offer organized resistance against their exploiters.

The leadership in this revolutionary struggle against the capitalists must be taken by the city industrial workers because they are the most class conscious and in a better position than the farmers to offer mass resistance to the capitalist exploiters and thus finally break their power. The workers, however, need to make an alliance with the most revolutionary elements among the farmers in order to be in a position to win the fight against capitalism.

The revolutionary organization in this country that is able to solve the problems facing millions of exploited farmers and farm workers and rid them from the yoke of capitalism, is the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

To this party the wide-awake, fighting, class conscious working farmers and farm workers must turn for inspiration, guidance and strength in destroying forever the capitalist system which is responsible for the evils of the agricultural situation and which robs both the farmers and workers of their toil.



# The Democratic Party

By H. M. Wicks

(Continued from January issue)

THO Clay and Webster were weak vacillating spokesmen for the indsutrial north, striving to break through the political barriers thrown in its path by the Democratic party,—the party of the slave holders—a younger man, but one with long experience in political struggles, dared to challenge the very existence of slavery. That man was William H. Seward, twice governor of New York, and who in the decade from 1850 to 1860, was the most hated and feared opponent of the democratic party in the country.

On March 11, 1850, Seward delivered the third of the great speeches that were heard in the senate that month. The other two were the speeches of Calhoun and Webster. While Webster's reply to Calhoun on the question of the fugitive slave law—a law compelling the return to their masters of slaves who escaped to the northern states—was apologetic, Seward assailed the institution of slavery with all the invective at his command. He defied those who demagogically appealed to the United States constitution to protect slavery and declared that a "higher law" than the constitution demanded the extinction of slavery.

One of the democratic congressmen, L. Q. C. Lamar, in assailing this speech in the house of congress, declared:

> "I was on the floor of the senate when your great leader, William H. Seward, announced that startling program of anti-slavery sentiment and action against the South, . . . and, Sir, in his exultation he exclaimed—for I heard him myself—that he hoped to see the day when there would not be the footprint of a single slave upon this continent. And when he uttered this atrocious sentiment, his form seemed to dilate, his pale, thin face, furrowed by the lines of thought and evil passion, kindled with malignant triumph, and his eyes glowed and burned upon Southern senators as though the fires of hell were burning in his heart."

This gem was the expression of democratic sentiment of the day. The Southern mind could conceive of nothing more destructive than the proposal to abolish slavery.

Seward became from the date of this speech forward the **bete noire** of the democratic party. Every defender of slavery, every hireling of the

slave power maligned and villified the New York senator. The northern opponents of slavery acclaimed him their spokesman.

### Webster Covered with Obloquy.

While Seward was being showered with plaudits the veteran statesman, Daniel Webster, was everywhere throughout the North the object of the deepest hatred. From press and platform the most abusive and contumelious language was used against him. Supporters of the whig party who hoped to forge a political weapon against the democratic party of slave holders and who looked to Webster and Clay for leadership openly proclaimed the demise of their own party.

Webster was condemned everywhere as a traitor to the cause of liberty.

A tremendous mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, cheered to the echo the speech of Theodore Parker who compared the action of Webster to that of Benedict Arnold, and declared that Webster was an unscrupulous scoundrel seeking southern support for the presidency.

Horace Mann said that Webster had played false to the North, called him a fallen star, a Lucifer descending from heaven. Whittier, in his poem "Ichabod," mourned the fall of one in whom honor and faith are dead.

### New Leaders Carry on the Old Fight.

Seward had two strong allies in Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and S. P. Chase of Ohio, in his fight against the democratic party. The flamboyant leader of the democratic party, John C. Calhoun, too ill to deliver his speech defending the fugitive slave law and advocating slavery for California and New Mexico, sat huddled in his seat while it was intoned by a reading clerk. When it was finished he tottered down the steps of the capitol and died four weeks later. His place was taken by Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. It was these two leaders, Seward and Davis, who dominated the wing and democratic conventions in 1852.

Webster was a candidate for the whig nomination, Milliard Fillmore, who became president on the death of Taylor, was also a candidate. Seward mistrusted both of them and succeeded in nominating General Winfield Scott. Jefferson Davis and his supporters looked with suspicion upon Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, and did not consider any of the other prominent candidates could win. Likewise the southern leader was convinced that no southerner could carry the election as the growth of industrialism in the North had resulted in its population far outdistancing that of the south. The problem was to find a Northerner who was also an avowed champion of the democratic party, hence a defender of the slave power. Finally Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, was brought forth as a dark horse.

But the treachery of Webster and the miserable compromise of Clay as the spokesman for the whig administration under Fillmore, wrecked the chances of that party. Pierce and the democratic party won a spectacular victory, and the plantation owners were once more in the saddle.

### The Path to Secession and Civil War.

The conflict between the two economic systems, chattel slavery in the South and industrialism, with its wage slavery, in the North, conducted under the parliamentary forms of democracy, led directly to secession and civil war during the next eight years, under the two democratic administrations of Franklin H. Pierce and James Buchanan.

Realizing that the rapid growth of population in the North, which was stimulated as the first great trunk lines of railroads began to span the continent, heralded the inevitable triumph at the polls of the indutrialist group, the policy of both these administrations was directed toward consciously preparing the ground for a division of the union so that the cotton plantation owners could conduct commerce with European nations without interference from the northern capitalists.

Five political events, during those eight years, were landmarks toward the great conflict. They were:

1—The struggle to settle Kansas.
2—The organization of the republican party.
3—The Dred-Scott decision.
4—The John Brown raid.
5—The election of Lincoln in 1860.

The Pacific railroad project brought forth the question of creating Nebraska territory. To strike a balance between slave states and free states it was agreed that two territories, instead of one be created, and the Southern one be known as Kansas. A clause in the bill specifically repealed the Missouri compromise that arose out of the first conflict over the slavery question. It was understood that Nebraska was to be a free state and Kansas a slave state.

The northern industrialists resented this and began to pour settlers into Kansas with the idea of declaring the territory free under terms of an election arranged to choose members of the first territorial legislature. The slave holders of Missouri, on election day in 1855, sent more than 5,000 men into Kansas to vote for pro-slavery candidates. The result was that the legislature met, declared some of the delegates chosen by the northerners illegally elected, seated those elected by the Missourians and adopted a code of laws upholding slavery. This was resented by the northerners who, under the leadership of one Dr. Charles Robinson, who had played a prominent role in the settling of



California, organized a second government of the territory, adopted a constitution without a slave clause, and asked for admission to the union.

### Two Legislatures for Kansas.

The next year the struggle over Kansas came up in the senate. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, led the northerners, while Douglas led the pro-slavery party. Sumner's speech on this occasion which he entitled "The Crime Against Kansas," was a philippic that ranks with the best of all time. So devastating was his indictment that no democrat could reply. One Brooks tried to reply and, after a few words, gave up in despair and bodily assaulted Sumner with his cane; in the melee many democratic senators aided in pummelling Sumner.

Lewis Cass, of Michigan, the nestor of the senate, who had been a member of Jackson's cabinet, was horrified at the audacity of Sumner, and his open defiance of the slave power, and exclaimed:

> "I have listened with equal regret and surprise to the speech of the honorable senator from Massachusetts. Such a speech, the most un-American and unpatriotic that ever grated on the ears of this high body, I hope never to hear again here or elsewhere."

The accusation of un-Americanism, now a banality, was taken seriously those days. How familiar is its ring to Communists of today!

In spite of the furious debate and the general turmoil in the senate, nothing came of it. Congress could not agree and the factional fight still raged in Kansas.

A pro-slavery grand jury indicted several of the anti-slavery leaders; a federal marshal sent from Washington, with several aids, arrested those indicted; fighting broke out in Lawrence and other points and five anti-slavery supporters were killed.

One Kansan, John Brown, with seven followers, started on a campaign of vengeance. His first raid was on Pottawatamie creek, where he took five pro-slavery men from their homes, killed them and left them on the roadside. Thus was started the guerilla warfare that raged at intervals during the next nine years, or until the close of the civil war.

### Organization of the Republican Party.

While congress debated the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 many mass meetings were held to protest against the measure. At Ripon, Wisconsin, March 20, one of these meetings adopted a resolution to the effect that a new party be created to "resist the encroachments of slavery." Even this mild proposition, leaving slavery intact, aroused the most virulent maledictions from the ranks of the democrats, who had by this time mobilized all their forces, press, pulpit, schools and every available means of publicity, to prove that slavery was a divine institution and that those who opposed it were infidels and "Nigger lovers." From thousands of ignorant preachers the admonition of St. Paul, "Slaves, be obedient to your masters, for the powers that be are ordained of God," was thundered forth to appall the abolitionists.

In spite of the nation-wide democratic campaign in favor of the slave power a convention was called at Jackson, Michigan, on June 6, to fight against the extension of slavery, a state ticket was nominated and other states called upon to do likewise. Wisconsin soon followed Michigan's example, while Vermont, Indiana and Ohio nominated anti-Nebraska tickets.

This new movement carried but one state, Ohio. The majority was 75,000. Disheartened whigs tried in vain to gather together the remnants of their bankrupt party by launching a secret political organization called the "know-nothings." It assailed the Irish catholics, because most of them were democrats, and worked exclusively under cover. With a few state victories to its credit it finally threw off its secrecy, but the light of day revealed it as nothing more than the old whig outfit under another name, In 1856 it lost its anti-slavery wing when it refused to demand the restoration of the Missouri compromise.

Taking advantage of the continued economic depression, the collapse of the whig party and the strife arising out of the Kansas-Nebraska controversy, the political spokesmen of the industrialists called a national convention at Pittsburgh, Pa., on February 22, to organize a national party. After adopting a platform demanding the exclusion of slavery from the territories and the admission of Kansas to the Union, it called a nominating convention to meet in Philadelphia on June 17. This was the birth of the republican party.

Still vacillating and hesitating, the supporters of the new party dared not openly proclaim their antagonism to slavery; they merely proposed preventing its extension beyond the already existing slave states.

### The Campaign of 1856.

Seward was the outstanding figure of the prominent members of the new party and all expected he would be the candidate for president. But his long fight against slavery and his opposition to "know-nothingism" had won for him many enemies. As the date of the Philadelphia convention approached a feeling of resentment arose against him, encouraged to a considerable extent by the bitter attacks against him and Charles Sumner that filled the columns of the democratic press. Incapable of defending its most able and prominent spokesman, the first convention of the republican party chose John C. Freemont, who had gained prominence be-

cause of his career in California, to head the ticket.

The democratic convention met at Cincinnati, June 2. Pierce and Douglas stood forth as the most likely candidates. But the Kansas-Nebraska fight had created such animosity in the north that the slave holders were terrorized and feared to name a man responsible for it, so they chose James Buchanan, who had been absent from the United States as ambassador to England and had not been involved in the great struggle over Kansas.

The whigs held a convention and nominated Fillmore, whom the know-nothings had already secretly nominated.

Kansas was the issue of the campaign. In this campaign the democrats definitely raised the question of the Union. Did anyone think, they asked, that the south would submit to be ruled by a president and congress elected from the free states? None of the democratic spokesmen concealed their intentoin of splitting the United States into two parts should Freemont win.

While the republicans emphasized "bleeding Kansas," the democrats evaded the issue and continually threatened secession. The result was a victory for Buchanan by large majorities in the south and sufficient northern states by small majorities to assure his election.

### The Dred Scott Decision.

Two days after the inauguration of Buchanan, March, 1857, a decision of the supreme court was made public that had been held up for many months because of political consequences. This was the infamous Dred Scott decision, which denied the legal existence of Negroes as persons and declared they were merchandise or property.

The case arose over the claim of Dred Scott, a Negro slave, who had been taken from the slave state of Missouri in 1834 to Illinois by his master.

Later he was taken back to Missouri. Scott learned in 1838 that the status of Illinois prohibited slavery and that his transfer to Illinois had made him a free man. Scott had been severely whipped by his master in Missouri and he was instructed to bring suit for assault and battery. The Negro won in a Missouri court. The supreme court of Missouri reversed the decision. It was an appeal from this cuort that brought the case to the United States supreme court at Washington. The case was an exceedingly dangerous proposition and the court feared to touch it. Not until the question of slavery became so acute that it could not be evaded did the supreme court act.

Seward, the republican leader, openly charged in the senate on March 3, 1858, that Buchanan, before he was inaugurated, had entered into a conspiracy with the supreme court to fasten slavery upon the United States forever. In a scathing denunciation of the president and the supreme court he referred to the inauguration of Buchanan as "that great national pageant that was to be desecrated by a coalition between the executive and legislative departments to undermine the national legislature and the liberties of the people." Continuing his defiant attack, he said:

> "Sir, the supreme court attempts to command the people of the United States to accept the principle that one man can own other men; and that they must guarantee inviolability of that false and pernicious property. The people of the United States never can, and they never will, accept principles so unconstitutional and abhorrent. Never! Let the court recede. Whether it recedes or not we shall reorganize the court, and thus reform its political sentiments and practices."

Buchanan, the object of this phillipic, covered himself with igmony by his vicious administration in the interest of the slave power.

This same year occurred the senatorial campaign which produced the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates in Illinois. In this series of debates Lincoln drew his inspiration from Seward's brilliant polemics in the senate against slavery and the Dred Scott decision. Douglas was forced to recede from one position after another in these debates, until finally he had to admit, in a debate at Freeport, Illinois, that on the basis of state's rights, a state could exclude slavery from its territory in spite of the decision of the supreme court in the Dred Scott case. While this retreat saved Douglas in his senatorial campaign it discredited him in the stronghold of the democratic party, the South.

The Dred Scott agitation resulted in widespread victories for the republican party in the congressional elections of 1858. Two years earlier the composition of the house was 131 democrats, 92 republicans and 14 know-nothings. In 1858 there were 109 republicans, 86 democrats, 13 anti-slavery democrats and 22 know-nothings.

### John Brown's Raid and His Murder.

Before the new congress convened the raid of John Brown of Kansas, at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Since his act of vengeance in Kansas he had been busy endeavoring to organize a band of armed followers who would seize and fortify a position in the mountains of Virginia or Maryland, make raids in the sorrounding territory, for the purpose of liberating and arming the slaves for a rebellion. He imagined that such action would inspire others to join his forces until he could create an insurrectionary force powerful enough to crush the slave power.

This mad scheme brought him to Harper's Ferry, where he with 18 followers seized the government arsenal on October 16, 1859, captured some thirty citizens whom he held as prisoners, cut the telegraph lines, and for 24 hours held his own against citizens and local militia. On the morning of the 18th he was captured by a detachment of marines under the command of Captain Robert E. Lee, taken to prison at Charlestown where he was tried and sentenced to hang on December 2. Had he been killed in the fighting at Harper's Ferry, he would have been regarded as a fanatic bandit, but the picturesque and defiant bearing of this old man at the trial evoked the admiration of the north and his demise was utilized by the abolitionists to inflame sentiment against slavery.



### Davis Splits Democratic Party.

Events during the years 1858-59 heralded the inevitable defeat of the democratic party nationally. Douglas, though mistrusted in the south because of his compromising position in the debates with Lincoln, was the undisputed leader of northern democracy. Jefferson Davis, through his control of the southern democracy, was the leader of the overwhelming majority of the party. He carefully prepared for the nominating convention of 1860 by introducing in the senate on February 2 a series of resolutions demanding that congress guarantee slave property in the territories. As the day of the convention approached it became apparent that these resolutions were introduced for the purpose of forcing Douglas and his supporters to make clear their position as well as to consolidate secession sentiment in the South.

When the democratic convention met at Charlestown, So. Carolina, on April 23, Davis and his supporters held a caucus and endorsed the resolutions. Douglas and his supporters dared not endorse the demands to force slavery into territories against the wishes of their inhabitants. The platform committee accepted the former and the battle began. Douglas was accused of responsibility for the abolitionist sentiment in the north by his evasive attitude on the slavery question. One of the Douglas delegates, speaking against the proposed platform, stated that the position of the Davis supporters was at last perfectly clear and delivered an ultimatum that they would not accept such a position. By a vote of 165 to 138 the Douglas position was upheld. Then a delegate from Alabama arose nad announced that his state would withdraw from the convention. He and his colleagues left the convention and were followed by the delegations from seven other southern states.

Five southern states remained with the convention although their delegations sympathized with those who had left. After balloting for three days it was impossible to get a two-thirds majority for any candidate so the convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore, June 18. There they nominated Duglas for president and a southerner, Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, for vice-president.

The Davis group adjourned to meet at Richmond, Va., on June 10, where they nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for president and Joseph Lane of Oregon, for vice-president.

### Republicans Nominate Moderate Candidate.

All indications pointed to Seward as the candidate of the republican party. He was the undisputed leader. But when the convention met his opponents were a majority. His fiery crusade in the senate against slavery and his unsparing denunciation of all compromisers struck terror in the hearts of the moderates, who pointed to the defeat of Fremon, in 1856, as auguring against the success of a candidate who was outspoken against slavery in the south. They desired a candidate who would oppose the extension of slavery, but would leave the already existing slave states strictly alone.

After taking three ballots, Abraham Lincoln was nominated as he was considered a man who would try to straddle the issue; use the government in the interest of the northern industrialists and at the same time leave slavery intact.

The remnants of the whig and know-nothing parties combined again and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for vice-president. They called themselves the constitutional union party and adopted a platform appealing to voters to "save the country" from sectionalism.

### Election of Lincoln and Secession.

Seward, though defeated at the nominating convention, remained the chief spokesman for the republican party and, against the charge of Douglas that the union would be dissolved, succeeded in allaying the fears of the northerners, so Lincoln succeeded in obtaining a plurality, but not a majority, in the elections. But in each house of congress the republicans were a minority against the combined opposition.

Election day was the first Tuesday in November and on the 20th of December, two and a half months before the inauguration of Lincoln, the state of South Carolina called a convention to consider the situation and proclaimed the dissolution of "the union now existing between South Carolina and the other states, under the name of the 'United States of America'."

Buchanan, the democratic president, instead of sending forces into the south to put down the growing rebellion, deliberately encouraged the movement. Responsive to every whim of Jefferson Davis, whose lackey he was, the president permitted other states to secede until by February 4, a month before Buchanan was to leave the white house, six states in all had seceeded and on that day a convention was called in Montgomery, Ala., which established the "Confederate States of America" with Jefferson Davis as president, and issued a call for the other slave states to join it.

This was the final achievement of the democratic party as the political expression of the chattel slave owners from the day it was created by Andrew Jackson to the treasonable administration of Buchanan.

*(Continued in April Issue.)*

# Economics of Class Collaboration

By Bertram D. Wolfe

*(Continued from January Issue)*

### Fifth Type: Strikebreaking Wages.

OF course, the crudest and most extreme form of this payment of surplus value extracted from the more exploited workers to a "privileged" section is the astounding wage paid to those staying on the job or coming to work during a strike—to scabs. They receive double and treble the average wage, and even more in some cases, sinking so low in the taking of a bribe from the surplus value created by the exploited workers on strike for better conditions that all sense of solidarity is destroyed. There is actually a professional group created that goes from job to job breaking strikes in return for this Judas wage. Here they live so obviously and directly from the betrayal of their fellows and from the surplus value extracted by the bosses from the strikers that they became a vile type of exploiter, not of the work, but of the distress of the workers. Closely akin to this class and also paid out of surplus value extracted from the workers they betray, are all manner of labor spies and informers.

Another type that develops the psychology of a pettty leech and receives his pay from the surplus value of his fellow-workers in the same shop is the efficiency man, the straw-boss, the speed-up man, and certain types of foremen, department heads, etc., who are "promoted" from the ranks of common labor as a reward for servility, toadying, or "snitching." Sometimes a bonus system (the bonus also comes from his fellow-workers) develops a "speed demon" who sets the pace for his fellows and derives his extra income from wearing out not only the workers in his shop but himself as well.

### Sixth Type: Direct Exploitation.

Another type of worker who derives a part of his income (in some cases even the whole of it) directly from the surplus value of his fellow workers in the same shop without being a capitalist (owner of machines and other capital used as means of exploitation) is the petty subcontractor who has a handful of men working under him. This system is sometimes used in mining, for example. The mine and mine machinery are the property of the capitalists (the company, in this case) and concessions are given to certain miners to run gangs of laborers to extract the coal from a given section of the mine. The company pays the straw-boss or section boss (he is known by various names) who hires and pays his "gang." The less he pays them the more he earns, so that he has a thoro exploiter psychology, altho he is not a capitalist, and, in the case of some industries, actually works alongside of the rest of his gang.

### Apprentices and Helpers.

Sometimes the apprentice and helper system, altho its roots are different, serves also to create a condition not unlike that described above. For example, a plumbers' helper or a two-thirder in the printing trades, where long apprenticeships are necessray (5 years in the printing trades) is often capable of doing and actually performs the same work as a journeyman (master), but gets a much lower salary. An investigation of some of these industries will reveal that the journeymen get a wage slightly above the average thru their job monopoly and the apprentices and helpers get a wage much below the average. The boss pockets the difference, but gives some of it (this is unconscious both on the part of the boss and the journeyman) to his journeymen. Thus they indirectly derive their privileged position in part from the surplus value extracted from their helpers and apprentices. In those industries in which apprentices and helpers readily become journeymen or "masters," permanent stratification does not result, but in some industries a man tends to stay a helper all his life, and then a great gulf is created between the two layers.

We have spoken above of the problem of restricted industries, closed charters, high entrance fees, special examinations of a difficult nature, etc. In this connection it must be borne in mind that as in the case of any other attempt at monopoly, a monopoly of the existing supply of the commodity labor power cannot be effective for any length of time unless there can be a restriction of the creation of a new supply. In certain skilled industries this is possible by the methods indicated above during such time as large scale machinery is not introduced to abolish the craft skill. It can be practiced by a section of the workers, then, who can, if they are strong enough, limit the number of apprentices, keep newcowers out, etc. But it must be borne in mind that this increases unemployment and lowers the average wage in other industries, so that this temporarily privileged section is so privileged at the expense of the rest of the working class.

### Seventh Type: Imperialism and the Standard of Living.

High profits in a given industry for the bosses, and high wages for the workers, where there are no monopolies involved, tend to equalize themselves readily thru the attraction into the privileged industry of new capital in the first case, and new labor supply in the second.

But between countries, there is not the same degree of mobility of capital and labor, especially the latter, as there is within a country. Thus it comes about that the standard of living within a given country can remain much higher than that in another for an indefinite period. This period is prolonged by the restriction of immigration because of its costs, the difficulty of uprooting people from their birthplace, barriers of language and culture, and even (as in the U. S. today) by legal regulation.

The same capital oftentimes employs labor in one country at a very high wage and in another ("backward") country at a much lower wage. Here the privileged workers derive some of their higher income, at times, which is flayed out of the hides of the yellow, brown, and black workers of the industrially backward nations. Thus the higher standard of living of the workers in one country as compared to those of another is in part due to the intensified exploitation of the workers in the second country. Mobility of labor within the country tends to equalize the distribution of this source of income so that a whole working class may be living in part at the expense of their fellows in another country. This may be distributed in the form of shorter hours, wages, social legislation, unemployment doles, pensions, etc.

Sometimes the proletariat of the imperialist country, or some section of it, must be kept quiet so as to keep it from interfering with the efficiency of an expedition of conquest or to get it to take part in an imperialist war. Then the employing class may throw to it temporary concessions wrung out of the oppressed nation.

A very simple example from our own country of an industry's getting into a temporarily strategic position on account of its necessity to imperialism is furnished by the Adamson Eight-Hour Law. This measure, providing for an eight-hour day for railroad employees, was proposed in 1916 when American munition and heavy industry plants were taking in money as a vacuum cleaner takes in dust. The railroads were essential to this war profit taking from European industry. The strategic importance of the railroads to imperialism increased greatly as America's entrance into the war became certain. The President himself submitted the proposal to Congress. It was passed and was to become effective January 1, 1917. The railroads secured an injunction, but, when the workers threatened strike, it was the government itself, executive committee of the imperialist section of the capitalist class, that compelled the railroad capitalists to yield.

Certain sections of the skilled workers regularly supply the upper "aristocracy" in industries in backward countries. In Mexico, for example, all the well-paid jobs, machinists, engineers, mechanics of all sorts, foremen, overseers, etc., are filled from the United States. These workers are well paid and part of their pay is derived from the brutal exploitation of native labor. They are naturally imperialist in their ideology and a conversation with them always reveals them as in favor of direct annexation of Mexico.

What kind of ideology the alliance of certain privileged sections of the working class with imperialism begets can be illustrated by a quotation from the declaration of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, created to "sell" the war for "democracy" to the American workers. This reads:

"We recognize in this great struggle at arms a war that is essentially labor's war—a war of the useful people of the world against the agents and institutions of tyranny and oppression and we are resolved to remain with this struggle to its victorious conclusion."

### Eighth Type: The Feathered Nest.

Now a word as to labor leaders, labor statesmen, and the like. It is not my purpose to analyze the question of direct corruption. Much research has been done on it and more should be done. But a few observations would not be amiss.

In the first place, a clear distinction must be drawn between the "labor aristocracy" which consists of workers, albeit bourgeois-minded ones, and their leaders. Many recent articles have confused the two.

When we think of labor leaders receiving salaries in excess of those of cabinet ministers, when we remember that a labor congressman in the U. S. receives $7,500 per annum, when we think of the appointment of labor leaders to government jobs, war labor and railroad labor boards, of labor leaders made Ministers of Labor, heads of state labor commissions, etc., it is easy to understand why all these folk with cozy corners, occupied or in prospect, will advocate "peaceful, law-abiding" methods that will not shake them out of their soft places. Thus his majesty's minister in the British Labor Government of MacDonald, Clynes, was expressing a very natural sentiment when he declared: "It is the working class I fear."

Labor history is fairly replete with cases of leaders who have been ousted or have "retired" to work for the very corporation that they were formerly supposed to be fighting. For others, the price of treachery is a government job. When imperialism is badly in need of help, as in wartime, the number of such jobs multiplies with surprising rapidity. Even the lower-priced Judases like Spargo were able to take quarters in the Waldorf-Astoria during the world war.

### Ninth Type: The "Brain-Workers'" Income.

The intellectual in countries where capitalism is "healthy" is quite regularly a supporter and

prop of the capistalist system. Where he enters the labor movement to lead it out of the wilderness and show it the promised land, he is usually notoriously unreliable. The socialist movement with its appeal to "workers of hand and brain" is often deeply grieved by the lack of interest and even hostility of the "brain-worker." Where he infiltrates in large numbers, as in the British Labor party, and succeeds in getting in a position of leadership, his efforts are directed toward the blunting of the edge of the weapon of class struggle, and he becomes a lieutenant of the capitalist class. This is true of professional men, writers, professors, preachres, etc.

What is the economic basis of this? How does the intellectual and professional man derive his income?

For the most part, professional fees and salaries which range from earnings less than those of the average exploited worker to the enormous incomes of specialists, consulting engineers, technical consultants, best-seller novelists, lawyers, etc., are derived from the surplus value extracted from the working class by the capitalist class. These incomes, whether in the form of fees, royalties, commissions or salaries, come, for the most part, from the capitalist class. But the whole income of the capitalist class is derived from the surplus value extracted either from their own workers or from the workers of the "backward" nations. These intellectual elements that serve the master class are thus thrown scraps from its banquet board. They are the dependents or hangers-on of capitalism and quite naturally will not bite the hand that feeds them.

The writer of latest best sellers or of scientific works knows that he is not writing his books to be purchased in any considerable number by exploited workers, but by the exploiters out of the proceeds of unpaid labor. Some categories of luxury workers are in a similar position. As the luxury industries of Paris during the French revolution worked counter to the abolition of royalty, because it meant the ruining of their means of livelihood, so these servitors today have what the worker would denominate "lackeys' souls." Thus Hobson, the liberal bourgeois economist, expressed the fear that Europe would live more and more on the backs of the colonial peoples and that all the necessary industries involving the production of raw materials and their elaboration would move increasingly to China and India and Africa and that, from the streams of wealth pouring into Europe, the master class would indulge itself in luxuries, in the production of which the whole of the European working class would become increasingly occupied. These workers would be reduced to the condition of parasites upon imperialist money-kings, lackeys and servitors, and caterers to luxury tastes. And deriving their income from the exploitation of the colonial peoples they would be willing supporters of capitalism and imperialism. This picture of a parasitic Europe (or today of a parasitic America) is not as fantastic as it seems. There are actually tendencies working in that direction, but they are offset by counter-tendencies that it is not within the scope of this article to discuss.

### Workers' Education.

In recent times there has been developed a "Workers' Education" movement in the United States which aims in large measure to carry the culture and the text-books and professors of the universities to the proletariat. University text-books, tho they may get a few worker-readers and purchasers, are still written for the upper class, paid for in the main out of the sum of surplus value extracted from the workers and form a species of mental poison for an awakening working-class. And these distinguished professors, as shown above, also derive their income from surplus value and are hangers-on and supporters of the capitalist system. Their only mission can be to drug the workers' minds with capitalist ideology. Some of this workers' "education" (better called "deaducation") is given by instructors who give their full time to such work. In such cases they are usually in the same position as the labor leaders analyzed above and can generally be depended upon to give the point of view of the labor leader.

### Tenth Type: Labor Banking.

Returning for a moment to the labor leader, we find that he is increasingly seeking to derive his income not from the workers' dues, but from such ventures as labor banking. These banks become investors, like all banks, of the funds of their depositors. They invest these funds in industry, buying bonds, making loans at interest, buying shares and buying whole industries. Thus the banks, like other capitalists, becomes exploiters of labor and the labor leader who controls the bank derives his income from the surplus value extracted from workers in other industries.

Thus, for example, the locomotive engineers' bank invested in the Mexican-Great Northern railway, becoming interested thereby in our imperialist ventures in Mexico. They invested in the open-shop coal mines in West Virginia that begot the famous Lewis-Stone controversy.

It is an open secret that Warren Stone stopped Albert Coyle, editor of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal, from attacking the Pennsylvania railroad for its policy toward the clerks employed by that system, after Stone's bank had gotten heavily tied up with investments in the Pennsylvania's stock.

B. Stolberg, in a recent article in the "Nation," declared that the Amalgamated Bank is "investing only in enterprises sympathetic to the labor movement" (Nation, Sept. 30, 1925, p. 350). This simply is not so. The Amalgamated plays the market, makes short term loans to business men, etc., and derives much of its income from the surplus value of workers in other industries.

But Stolberg is more fortunate in grasping the situation in an article in the Century, entitled the "Peter Pans of Communism," in which, tho he does not understand or draw the proper conclusions from it, yet he sums up very "nicely" the tendencies sketchily described in the present article with the intention of stimulating invsetigation. (That is the purpose of my article, not Stolberg's). He declares:

"Undoubtedly this archaic Gompers' method is passing. It is too primitive and unconcerted to balance the rights of labor in our complex industrial civilization. But instead of going socialist, the progressive (!!!) wing of American labor is molting into trade union capitalism. With the instinct of self-preservation (as the Stolberg and other writers for the liberal bourgoisie understand self-preservation), it is ADAPTING ITSELF TO OUR IMPERIAL CAREER . . . (emphasis mine—B. D. W.). Hence arises what one might call the new economic policy of American labor. Even now it could not very well 'throw off its chains' for already those chains are worth close to one billion dollars in capital investment and business enterprise."

Stolberg, like Hobson in the passage summarized above, has grasped one side of the present development in our labor movement. As to the counter-tendencies, that shall be the subject of other articles.

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First Russian Baron (to the other): Ah, my dear friend, how familiar! This is America—but how like our Holy Russia of the Tzars!

# The History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

### The 1907 London Congress.

FOLLOWING upon these events, the London or Fifth Congress of our party was held in the Spring of 1907. There was a long controversy as to how it should be called: we Bolsheviks, taking the Bolshevik congress as the third, counted the Stockholm as the fourth, and the London as the fifth. But the Mensheviks did not recognize our Third Congress, and, not wishing to reckon this congress the Fifth, wanted to call it simply the London Congress. At this congress three new groups came on the scene: the Polish social-democracy, the Lettish, and the Bund, which, as I have already before mentioned, had left the Party in 1903. These three organizations, the first two by a large majority, and the Bund in a significant measure, stood with us. And thus, in London, despite the fact the revolution was at an ebb, thanks to support that we received from these three new groups, who adopted our standpoint, we obtained a majority—a comparatively weak one, it is true, often depending upon two or three votes, but nevertheless, a majority. The Mensheviks hung on to party control by their teeth, and we had to avail ourselves of not very gentle methods in order to wrest power from them, and free the party from their clutches. At the London Congress a discussion on parliamentary tactics took place lead by Tseretelli, for the Mensheviks (he had been a member of the Second State Duma), and Alexinsky, then a Bolshevik, who had been elected to the Duma from our party by the Petersburg workers. (He is loth to forget this, and to this day when he is a monarchist and with Wrangel, he still signs himself, "Deputy of the State Duma from the Petrograd Workers"). At this congress there also developed a hot theoretical controversy on the question of the relationship of the liberal bourgeoisie to the revolution, and on the character of the revolution in general. This discussion, which attained very broad dimensions, was carried on by the leading theoreticians and the most noted speakers on both sides. The principal speakers were Plekhanov for the Mensheviks, and for the Bolsheviks Comrade Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, who entered our party and took part in this congress as a representative of the Polish workers. The speeches on the character of the Russian revolution, and on our relationship to the liberal bourgeoisie delivered at this congress by Rosa Luxemburg and Comrade Lenin remain to this day models and masterpieces of political analysis. And from this viewpoint the discussion that went on at the London Congress is by no means antiquated, for it was here that the basic question was decided as to whether the Russian working class was to serve merely as an auxiliary force to the bourgeoisie or whether it was to play an independent role in the coming revolution.

### The Central Committee Elected at the London Congress.

In the Central Committee elected at the London Congress our majority was a very insecure and insignificant one. In his book Martov has reminded me of certain things that I had forgotten. The composition of the Central Committee elected at the London Congress was as follows: from the Mensheviks, Martinov (now with us), N. Jordania (who was president of the Georgian Menshevik republic, and is now in Paris), Goldman-Gorev, and Noy Ramishvilli (Menshevik member of the first Duma); from the Poles, Tyschko, (he was shot during the German revolution soon after Karl Liebknecht), and the Communist Varski (now in our Party); from the Bund, Abramovitch and Lieber; from the Bolsheviks Comrade Lenin, Zinoviev, (this was the first time I was elected to the Central Committee), Goldenburg (he later became a Menshevik, and then returned to us, dying a Bolshevik), Rozhov (whom many of you probably know—at that time was one of our best friends and representatives of Bolshevism), and finally, the late Dubrovinsky; from Latvia, Rosen, (now dead, Bolshevik) and German. This last is our present Comrade Danishevski of the War Department. I mention him because he was at that time the conciliator; in several important instances the Central Committee, as they then jokingly put it, was "Germanized," German voting now for the Bolsheviks and now for the Mensheviks. It can be imagined what a stable policy would be the fruit of such cohabitation. The Bolsheviks saw this and at this same London Congress took steps to elect their own illegal Bolshevik central committee. We said: in this Central Committee we shall work and do our duty, unpleasant as it may be, but the real work we shall do in our own Bolshevik Committee. For it was clear that this forced marriage with the Mensheviks would be short-lived. Thus, summarizing the results of the London Congress we may say: it gave the theoretical victory to the Bolsheviks and took the party control away from the Mensheviks; but the Central Committee was still not ours, the situation was in the highest degree unstable, the system of separate factions continued, and the Bolsheviks were forced to separate organization.



As we were returning from the London Congress the Second Duma was dispersed. The Social Democratic fraction was arrested, charged with conspiracy and the famous trial commenced which ended in sentence of hard labor for a number of the deputies. We entered the period of illegality. Our newspapers were shut down. The bourgeoisie, despite their protests against the dissolution of the Duma, had no intention of going in for another trip to Viborg. They stayed peacefully in Petersburg; now and then, in order to salve their conscience, making opposition speeches against Stolypin, or throwing around—like Rodichev, for example—cutting little phrases about "Stolypin's Necktie," i. e. the gallows. But this was all just for show: in reality the whole bourgeoisie took its stand completely on the basis of the Stolypin Constitution.

### The Third Duma.

After the Czarist monarchy had dissolved the Second Duma placed on the order of the day the question of a Third—after it had "slightly" amended the laws of suffrage,—incidentally in a rather curious manner. The chief correction consisted in depriving the peasants of their electoral rights. (There was nothing to deprive the workers of, since they had practically no electoral rights as it was). This measure was altogether understandable. Up to the time of the Second Duma the autocracy still placed its hopes in the "good little peasant." Even the cleverest representative of the Czarist monarchy, an old crocodile like Pobedonoszev believed in him. The monarchists thought that it was best to put their money on the peasant. They said: he will not betray us, we shall be able to come to some agreement with him; the peasant has faith in the "Little Father" and will not go against him. But the Second Duma showed Czarism that the peasant was losing faith in the Czar. And thus, a major operation was performed on the electoral laws which deprived the peasants of suffrage. It was done with a certain amount of skill. The peasant election candidates were sifted by the landlords who had a majority and picked out whichever suited them. Thus, the distinctive feature of the evolution of the monarchy in the period from the Second to the Third Duma consisted in the fact that the monarchy lost its faith in the peasant, which, of course, arose from the fact that the peasant had lost his faith in it.

The party was now confronted with the question: should we participate in the Third Duma which would be openly a Duma of the Black Hundred. At this point there arose grave difference of opinion among the Bolsheviks themselves. The great majority came out against participation and for boycotting the Duma, hoping to succeed in accomplishing the same thing that they had accomplished in 1905 in the Bulygin Duma. A serious struggle developed in the Bolshevist faction. Comrade Lenin, with a very small number of supporters insisted on participation in the Third Duma, but the great mass of the Bolsheviks opposed it. Pamphlets appeared proving that Lenin had gone to the right because he wanted workers to enter a Black Hundred Duma such as this Third one would be. He answered: the Third Duma is pig-stye, but if the interests of the working class demand that we stay in a pig-stye for a while,—we'll do it. The motivation of Comrade Lenin was the following: In 1905 the relation of forces was such that at any moment the revolution might have flared up, and we might have conquered both the Czarist monarchy and the Bulygin Duma; in 1907 no such relation of forces exists and it is clear that the Czarist monarchy can be sure of several more years of life, for there seems to be no chance of doing away with it. If we boycott the Duma it will meet in spite of us, and we must be prepared for several years of the severest reaction. The Black Hundred Duma will be a pig-stye but even there we can be of some use to the working class by converting the platform into an instrument for agitation.

### The Controversy Over the Exploitation of Legal Possibilities.

Thus arose the discussion over the exploitation of legal possibilities. The party was completely illegal: its parliamentary deputies had been sentenced to prison, and only a few legal outlets remained to it; a few unions and workers' clubs, and now the Third Duma, to which the workers might send a few representatives, and there reach the people with the truth over the heads of the Black Hundred deputies. This discussion brought about temporarily a rather critical situation in the Bolshevik ranks. If, at that time, the anti-Leninist tendency had triumphed for any length of time, our party would have probably become converted into a sect. The fact is that the activity of our party in the unions was not meeting with sufficient success because we had let the proper moment go by. For a time there had gained the upper hand among us those who said: **"Why should we go into the unions? Our business is the party. We shall go underground and work there, and as for the unions—let the Mensheviks have them." This was a tremendous mistake which cost us very dear.** We won back the unions from the Mensheviks only after October, 1917, and up to that time they had a majority in them. The basic idea of Comrade Lenin was that we must stay with the working class, be-

come a mass party, not allow ourselves to be confined to underground activities, and not let ourselves be transformed into a narrow group. If the workers are in the unions, we must be there too; if we can send even one representative to the Czarist Duma, we shall send him. Let him tell the truth to the workers, and we shall publish his speeches in leaflets; if we can accomplish anything for the workers in the workers' clubs, we shall be there too. We must exploit every legal possibility in order not to be sundered from the toiling masses; we must live their life, and not become transformed merely into propagandists, waiting around for a revolution that will come some time or the other. The workers, said Comrade Lenin, have no use for men of this stamp. The workers demand that the party be bound up with them, that it be with them at every turn of the road, and give them the answer to all the problems of everyday life.

It was only thanks to the tremendous authority of Comrade Lenin that notwithstanding the fact that he was in a minority, the Bolshevik faction decided to participate in the third Duma, and that it succeeded in seating several deputies, among whom was Poletaev who afterwards played an important role in the work of organizing Pravda and Zvezda.

This discussion within the Bolshevik faction must be borne in mind because it will be necessary to return to it when I speak of those tendencies in Bolshevism which later on received the name of Otzovism.

### Liquidationism.

At the same time when in the Bolshevik ranks a divergency arose on the lines of boycottism and anti-boycottism, or for and against the exploitation of legal possibilities, a divergency arose also in the Menshevik ranks along other lines. A tendency was beginning to take shape among the latter which received the name of "Liquidationism." The origin of this word is as follows:

A number of Menshevik leaders had come to the conclusion that it was necessary, as they expressed it, to liquidate the underground, to put an end to illegal organization, to adapt themselves to legality within the Tzarist regime, to narrow down the party program, to make it acceptable to the Tzarist—or as they then called it—the June 3rd monarchy, and to recognize once and for all that the revolution was ended and take the road of simple struggle for the economic demands of the worker. The outstanding representatives of this liquidationist tendency was none other than our present-day brother-in-arms and dear Comrade Larin. He was at that time an extreme Menshevik liquidator, which does not prevent him from today at times assuming the pose of a representative of the "left" wing of Bolshevism. All sorts of transformations take place!

In Petersburg Comrade Larin founded the legal sheet "Rebirth," which was consciously tolerated by Stolypin. In this group there were also Yezhov, Potressov, Levitsky and other Mensheviks. This group of Mensheviks liquidators Comrade Lenin called "Stolypin's Workers Party," and this label stuck to them like the mark of Cain. Then they also started a second journal, a scientific one, "Our Dawn," in which Martov, Dan & Co. also participated. They ridiculed our illegal organization. Larin himself wrote: "In any city it is easy enough to get together a couple of dozen circles of the green youth. But what does that amount to? Real people will not go into the underground." They broke up our Central Committee, and their leaders, Michail, Reman, Juri—three Menshevik members of the Central Committee came out with this statement: "We are members of the Central Committee, but we are not so stupid as to go on with this foolery; we will not attend the meetings of your Central Committee. All illegal organizations ought to be dissolved; they have outlived their day. It is time to build a social democratic party upon European lines."

Martov and Dan, who were abroad, attempted to take a neutral position, not wishing to lose the standing they had in our party. And thus, as Comrade Lenin put it, a certain division of labor was carried out: Potressov, Yezhov, Levitsky, Larin and their adherents established themselves in Petersburg and undermined the party from there, while Martov and Dan remained inside the illegal apparatus, in order to sabotage it from within.

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# "The Destiny of a Continent"

By Manuel Gomez

THE DESTINY OF A CONTINENT, by Manuel Ugarte. Translated from the Spanish by Catherine A. Phillips; edited, with introduction and bibliography, by J. Fred Rippey, Assistant Professor of History, University of Chicago. Alfred A. Knoft, Inc., New York.

MANUEL UGARTE, outstanding Argentine author, is a literary man of the traditions of early nationalism, when **literateurs** also were fighters against oppression. These traditions are not dead. In the historical background of present-day imperialism they come sharply to the fore in all of the countries whose national existence is attacked or threatened. Ugarte is typical of a whole circle of Latin-American intellectuals who have become standard-bearers of Latin-American consciousness for the preservation of Latin-American liberty. Among others might be cited Palacios, Vasconcelos and Peroyra. For years now Ugarte has remained aloof from "pure literature" and has devoted himself to the struggle against United States imperialism, which he sees plainly as the universal exploiter of the western world.

**El Destino de un Continente,** written in 1923, is well known thruout Latin America. It records the experiences of a propaganda tour in which the author traveled from country to country, emphasizing the all-enveloping sweep of American imperialism, but insisting boldly: "The destiny of Latin America depends in the last resort on the Latin-Americans themselves." The present translation, marred tho it is by the most stupid and unscrupulous editing, will be welcomed here. It should be read with sympathy by all those who realize, with Marx and Lenin, that "no people that oppresses another can itself be free," and who are interested in mobilizing every possible element for the overthrow of American capitalism.

### Latin America—An Essential Unity.

Reading thru the pages of this passionate and earnest offering, two things particularly impress themselves upon the mind. One is the comparative ease with which the imperialist capitalism of the United States has been permitted to go on occupying one important stronghold in Latin America after another. The other is the essential unity of this vast region which is thus being mutilated piece by piece. Ugarte tells us, "It is so difficult to see any difference between an Uruguayan and an Argentino that, even after long experience and dealings with both, it still proves a difficult task to classify them." Even in Brazil, the only one of the South American republics in which Spanish is not spoken as the official language, he notes "a radical kinship." We are dealing with a homogeneous people, cut across by local frictions and divided into separate republics it is true, but with a tradition of unity dating back to Bolivar. Despite apparent indifference toward "la patria grande," despite numberless hostilities, the general similarity of economic development and the necessities of the common resistance to a single powerful imperialist enemy are creating a common ideological consciousness that should not be ignored. Ugarte himself is an expression of it. Similar expressions are to be found everywhere, especially among the workers and students. Intensely significant is the fact that the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, organized only a year ago, has already established sections in Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay and Brazil.

The importance of this development is tremendous. Single-handed, few of the Latin-American republics have been able to offer any but the feeblest resistence to imperialist domination. A united Latin-America would throw an entire continent into the scales against Wall Street. The slogan of "a confederation of Latin-American states" is one that every revolutionist must support.

### The Trail of American Empire.

Ugarte began his tour in New York, whence he had come after two years in France. He was greatly impressed by the signs of energy, power and industrial development that he saw on all sides. But he pierced the hypocritical pretense of our "democracy" at a glance.

"It was enough," he writes, "to see the position of the Negro in this equalitarian republic to understand the insincerity of the premises which were proclaimed. Excluded from the universities, hotels, cafes, theaters and tramways, he only seemed to be in his right place when in the name of lynch law he was dragged thru the streets by the crowd."

Leaving the United States, Ugarte set out to see "the shipwreck of the Antilles." His first impression of Havana is significant: "For a moment I believed myself in New York. Others have made the same remark, myself among them. The impress of American rule is so marked in Havana that it is impossible to take seriously the legend of Cuban independence. The "war to free Cuba" has left the island tied hand and foot by the Platt Amendment, with American representatives directing affairs thru the instrument of dummy Cuban presidents. American sugar kings reap the profits.

Next Santo Domingo.

"My first vision of the country on landing was the customs house under the management of North American officials. As a guaranty for the payment of the interest and sinking fund on the total debt of the country (20 million gold pesos), the government of Santo Domingo found itself obliged in 1907 to hand over the

first installment of its autonomy to the United States."—Then came the marines!

"I did not visit the neighboring republic of Haiti," says the author, "because it was already overwhelmed by imperialism. (It was in 1912 that Urgarte's voyage was made!) and because it is painful to learn by experience that history has its sanguinary ironies. A country with a colored population like Haiti, 'protected' and 'civilized' by a nation which isolates and persecutes the Negroes in its cities, closes its universities to them, and burns them in the public squares, is one of those paradoxes which sometimes rise to the imagination of great humorists. Absurdity is one of the forms of national logic, but never has it presented itself in such a flagrant form as in this case."

Ugarte's visit to Panama did little to erase the imprsesion of omnipresent empire.

"The railway which takes us from Colon to the capital, skirting those stupendous constructions which open a communication between two oceans, is, of course, completely North American; just as the Canal Zone, the hotels, the all are North American. To the passing travtroops, and the flags which wave over them eler the Republic of Panama does not exist."

In the five republics of Central America the situation is somewhat different, but here, too, the complete domination of Wall Street is unmistakable. American customs inspectors, American banks, and sometimes—as in Nicaragua and Costa Rica—even American troops. And the ubiquitous United Fruit Co., which divides among its shareholders an annual dividend amounting to more than the united budgets of the governments of Central America!

### The Long Hand of American Imperialism.

Eloquent of the extent of imperialistic control over these little dictatorships is the fact that nowhere did the noted Argentine author receive the slightest co-operation from the local government. His telegrams to the president usually remained unanswered. Secretary of State Knox happened to be making his Latin-American trip at that time and the puppet-dictators were eager to have their house in order for Mr. Knox. After a single speech in Guatemala, Ugarte was politely ejected from the country. He was waiting at the port of San Jose when the following wire reached him from one of Estrada Cabrera's underlings:

"Your friend and admirer allows himself to point out to you the advisability of taking advantage of the boat which sails for Salvador today. I do not doubt that there too the perfect gentleman and talented writer will receive an enthusiastic welcome. GENERAL ENRIQUE ARIS."

He was denied admission to Nicaragua, a police official informing him: "There is a law prohibiting the entry of anarchists into the country."

These experiences lead him to make the remark that "in the course of time the United States may end in becoming the only country in which we are allowed to speak with perfect freedom against the policy which they are themselves carrying out in Latin America."

Wherever he traveled, Senor Ugarte found evidences of American imperialism—in Equador, Peru, Bolivia, and in a lesser degree even in the republics of the south. It is to be remembered that this was in 1912. If he were to go over the same ground today he would be face to face with Wall Street at every turn.

### International "Rights."

"Every new position which is acquired," he muses, "involves rights over others, or opens up ever-widening zones of influence, and there is no logical reason for coming to a halt in these wandering enterprises. But we unfortunately know that in international questions right is in fact no more than a word which serves to designate the economic or military power of an expansionist community. It is 'the right of commerce,' 'the right of order,' 'the right of public health,' 'the right of civilization,' according as economic, pacific, prophylactic or cultural pretexts for conquest are invoked."

### Disunion in the Face of Imperialism.

When he is inclined to censure some Latin-American state for not putting up a sturdier resistance to the overpowering advance of American imperialism, he is reminded of the words of the Cuban foreign minister, who said to him:

"You reproach us with not having put up a good defense. . . But what have you all done to encourage us, to support us, to make us feel that we were not alone?"

This is the question which keeps repeating itself thru the book, and which in a measure finds its answer there. Ugarte never comes face to face with a manifestation of imperialism without considering means for unified resistance to imperialism. He has a vision of "a firm, unyielding tripod," with one leg in Argentina, another in Chile, and the apex in Mexico.

### Mexico Under Carranza.

Mexico kindles his deepest admiration. Mexico is to him, as to many others, the great rock of Latin American resistance. He visited the country twice, once in 1912 and again in 1917, under Carranza. It is the Mexico of Carranza that he loves best. Without being able to analyze the petty-bourgeois nationalist foundation on which Carranza's government was based, Ugarte instinctively felt the heroism of this narrow, stubborn, fussy old patriot.

"General Carranza's government," he says, "was at that time making a special epoch in Latin-American policy. For the first time one of our republics was confronting imperialism and addressing it on equal terms."



It is good to see old Carranza being given his due. So much has been written in defamation of the frowsy "first chief" that we are apt to forget that, with all his faults, he made Mexico such a rallying center of opposition to Wall Street as to electrify all Latin America. Indeed, it is from Carranza's time that the conception of Mexico as a bulwark against American imperialism dates.

### The Mass Protest Against Imperialism.

Ugarte was accorded good official receptions in Colombia, still smarting from the rape of Panama, and in Peru, but Mexico was the only country where the government rendered active aid to his propaganda. In counter-distinction to their governments, the support of the people was enthusiastic. Spontaneously formed committees of welcome met the author at every port. His meetings were invariably crowded and the sentiments he expressed wildly applauded. The comments of the press (which Senor Ugarte gives in detail) show that the spirit of Latin-American unity against imperialism was already firmly rooted and that it could be built upon. No one can read Ugarte's book, knowing it is one of a whole school, without realizing the moment of this uncontrovertible fact.

The book itself is in no respect a scientific work on imperialism. It is florid in style and inclined to be wordy, and reflects all the characteristic weakness of the group of intellectuals to which Ugarte belongs. The author is steeped in bourgeois-literary mysticism. He has naive illusions about the good intentions of "Catholic Spain" and about "Europan civilization" in general. Formerly a member of the Socialist Party of Argentina, he left the party some twelve years ago to take up his individual line. He was indeed no socialist, despite his warm sympathy for the working class. Nevertheless, he was more loyal to socialist principles than the Socialist Party of Argentina, as the cause of his separation reveals. The following letter, which brought about his resignation, is self-explanatory:

### The Socialists Support Wall Street.

"To the Editor of La Vanugardia (offcial organ of the S. P. of Argentina): In your Sunday issue I have read with surprise a paragraph on the anniversary of Colombian independence which ends as follows: 'Like all the South American republics, this country was for a long time convulsed with civil wars; Panama will probably contribute towards its progress by entering fully into the concert of civilized nations.' I protest against these words, hardly fraternal in tone, and against the implied insult to the republic (Colombia) which deserves our respect, not only because of its misfortunes, but also because of its glorious past and that pride to which it has never played false. To allege that Panama will 'contribute to its progess' is to mock the grief of a people, the victims of imperialism, which has lost, in circumstances well known to all, one of its most important provinces—and so has, forsooth, been 'civilized' by those bad citizens who acted as the instrument by which their national territory was mutilated.

"As this note on Colombia was published in the same number of La Vanguardia in which an editorial of mine appeared, and as this coincidence might cause some to believe that I share these opinions, I find myself obliged to write this letter, and to declare that I am completely at variance with the article in question, which strikes me as unnecessarily offensive; moreover I will add that, if the standpoint of this paper leads it to speak disrespectfully of the Latin-American republics, I, who have devoted my energies to defending the fraternity of our peoples, shall find myself regretfully forced to abstain from collaborating with it. MANUEL UGARTE."

### The Liberals—Hypocritical Agents of Imperialism.

It would be a mistake to conclude this review of "The Destiny of a Continent" without saying a word about the pretended friends of Latin-American liberty in the United States. Professor J. Fred Rippey, who was chosen by the publishers to edit the present volume in its English translation, is typical. Professor Rippey is a "liberal" to whom the name of Woodrow Wilson is the symbol of political loving kindness. He speaks at "cosmopolitan banquets" and imagines himself a thorough anti-imperialist. Yet, in editing this book, Professor Rippey has performed such deliberate service to imperialism as to reveal at once the hypocritical essence of his whole tribe. The editing is an insult to Senor Ugarte. It is a dastardly trick, tending to poison and pervert the effect of a book to which the author has given all his energies, aspirations and faith.

Professor Rippey goes about his task in the familiar professorial manner. An interjection of doubt here, a suggestion of patronizing superiority there. He begins in the introduction by assuring his readers that Ugarte's work "is not the raving of a maniac or the mere frothing of a lone radical." But ". . . in my opinion, may of his statements are one-sided and inaccurate." "This is not the place to pass judgment on our Latin-American policy . . . " etc., etc. Then there are the editorial footnotes, scattered generously thru the early chapters. Ugarte makes reference to the important book, **Los Estados Unidos contra la Libertad**, by the Mexican diplomatist Isidro Fabela, and the edi-

tor comments with a footnote: "a violent denunciation of our imperialism, published recently in Barcelona." Ugarte's exposure of American hypocrisy in the treatment of the Negroes in this country, already quoted, is supplemented by the following editorial note: "Such treatment of the Negro is confined largely to the southern States, and Ugarte's statement is somewhat exaggerated even for this section."

Other examples abound. "Perhaps Senor Ugarte took the jingoists of 1900-1901 too seriously. . . . "; "One would like to have the documents in this matter. . . . "! This is a very broad statement. . . . "; "But the action of these diplomats was disapproved by the administration"; "To test the accuracy of these statements would involve long and careful investigation. It can only be pointed out here that Senor Ugarte does not distinguish between the acts of officials and those of private interests." "The Carribean policy of the United States may have been influenced by benevolence, by fear of European intrusion, and by desire for economic opportunities. Of these possible motives Senor Ugarte can only see the last. He is no more inaccurate than those who will see only the first or the first and second."

### The Proletariat Is the Only Ally of the Oppressed Peoples!

Who will say that the "liberals" have not earned their imperialist spurs? It is becoming more and more evident to the national liberation forces in America's colonies and semi-colonies that their only reliable allies in this country are to be found in the ranks of those who are themselves engaged in a life and death struggle with the universal oppressor, in the ranks of the revolutionary working class. A unified Latin America, marching side by side with the class conscious workers of the United States' would strike terror into the heart of the molders of imperialist policy from Wall Street to Washington.

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