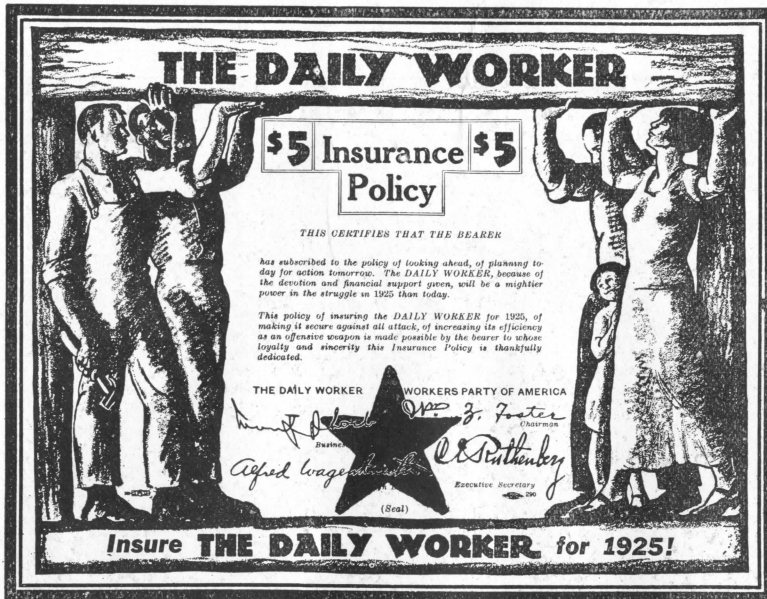


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Symposium In a Cell--Leavenworth

Maurice Becker



# The Sixth Trade Union Congress of the U.S.S.R.

By Charles E. Johnson

THE Sixth Trade Union Congress of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics assembled at the time when the economic conditions of the proletariat of the Soviet Republics had been thoroughly improved; when the international position of the U. S. S. R. had been greatly strengthened and when on the other hand, a new wave of reactionary forces was rising and sweeping against the working class of the world.

The desire of the Russian workers to create the United Front with the workers of all other countries in the struggle against the capitalist offensive stands out prominently in all the decisions of the trade union congresses. Unfortunately, however, thus far all the attempts towards bringing together and uniting the trade union movement have ended in failure, of course, owing to the treacherous disruptive policy of the yellow bureaucrats, especially those of Germany.

Nevertheless, Comrade Zinoviev, addressing the Sixth Congress in the name of the Russian Communist Party, and analyzing the world situation in his usual masterly manner, again emphasized the necessity of the united trade union movement, saying in part as follows:

"We have been and are today true pupils of Lenin,

members of the Communist International, and we firmly adhere to our positions. And remaining at our fighting posts, without any diplomacy we extend a helping hand to the organized trade union movement of the world and say: 'Let us unite on elementary principles, on the A. B. C. of the struggle against the bourgeoisie that is advancing with such unheard of insolence and unanimity.' Yes, without fear of being mistaken we say: 'The time will come when in spite of everything we shall form a United International of Trade Unions, and the British workers will not be among the last of those who together with us will map out the course of final emancipation and freedom for the workers of the world.'"

That this statement and appeal is not an empty phrase but rather based upon reality can be substantiated by the very fact that lately a leftward tendency has been developing among the British Trade Union Movement and, despite the Ramsay MacDonalds, Clynes, etc. the British and Russian trade unions have established connections and friendly contact. Further, the cordial reception given to the Russian trade union delegation at the recent British Trade Union Congress and the tremendous ovation received by the British Trade Union Delegation at the Sixth Russian



SIXTH ALL-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS IN SESSION

Congress serve as striking illustrations of friendship.

Above all did the speeches of the British delegates make it certain that this new friendship will bear fruit, especially those of Ben Tillet and A. A. Purcell. Paying tribute to Lenin, Tillet said:

"Passing the mausoleum today, I thought there was great significance in that structure where lies the relic of one of the greatest men we have ever known. I think Lenin was the greatest man in his attack upon the capitalist system, he was a still greater man in holding you together. It does not lie with Lenin now, but with the principles he taught, it lies in your soul, in your brain, to carry on that work, for the world looks to you. May your message be overpowering, and may your example bring the people of the world together in a mighty brotherhood of men."

Comrade Purcell asserted:

"I can say that our British working class has greater appreciation of international work, and knows more of Russia today as a result of our agitation, and can appreciate the work of the Russian workmen far, far better today than they did in the days previous to the General Election. Our adherents have been growing numerically until now we can count 5,500,000 voting solidly for the candidates of the working class despite all lies and calumnies. Again, be that as it may, the time has come when there must be international unity, and when I say that, I believe that the real basis of international unity must be a definite ANTI-Capitalist class organization and not any general form of unity."

"More and more, I repeat, our working class in Britain, is beginning to recognize the importance of international solidarity and, I think, I am uttering their view when I say that our own General Council of the British Trade Union Congress will do its utmost to see that the Russian Trade Union movement is brought within the sphere of the international mosaic. Our first step is to get some agreement as to the basis, to get the parties together and to come to some form of common agreement. I say that we cannot leave them out of account, it would be absurd to attempt to leave Russia out of any type of international organization. It would be like having Hamlet played, without Hamlet acting in the play. Our task is that of the British Trade Union movement, and our mission is, that of mediators. You must try to meet as far as you can our desires to come together under the international flag. We, on our part, will do all we can in that direction. **If Amsterdam cannot do it, then, we, of the British movement, are convinced that it will be our task to force on this unity ourselves.**" (Prolonged applause)

Thus the question of the international unity of the trade unions of the world became the central issue of the Sixth Congress of the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. Of course, the question of the practical measures necessary to establish unity in the international trade union movement and to organize, in accordance with the decisions of the Comintern and of the R. I. L. U., a United International, arose in its full scope.

Comrade Losovsky, reporting on the unity of the international trade union movement, faced this question squarely when he stated that we are fully aware of the deep gulf dividing the Communists from the Amsterdammers, but that

we still urge the calling of an International Congress on the most democratic principles and we tell the Amsterdammers:

"Should you prove to be in the majority at the congress you will direct the affairs, and we—the minority—will fight for influence over the masses. Should the R. I. L. U. adherents come out victorious, however, the entire working class would be considered as a single army, and the Executive Bureau as the fighting proletarian staff directing this army." He also emphasized that unity, to be achieved, depends upon the carrying out of the following slogan: "Into the factories and shops, to the masses, and again to the masses. For the broken trade union movement of the world can be welded together only through the pressure of the entire labor movement. And one of the most effective methods of promoting unity is to establish agreements and joint committees between the trade unions of the various countries."



LEFT TO RIGHT: A. A. PURCELL, CHAIRMAN OF BRITISH TRADE UNION DELEGATION; ROTHSTEIN, TRANSLATOR; BEN TILLET; A. FINLEY; SEMINSKY, TRANSLATOR; JOHN TURNER

The approachment between the two most important sections of the world trade union movement—Russia and Britain—Losovsky reiterated, marks the beginning of a new era in the creation of organic unity of the world labor movement, especially since the projected international is to draw in the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

After brief discussion in which besides the Russians, also the members of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. and the representative of the French Unitary Confederation of Labor participated, Comrade Tomsky, in the name of the Presidium of the Congress, read the following resolution:

"In view of the fact that the speedy bringing about of unification in the international trade union movement possesses a historic significance for the whole world,—especially in view of the approaching period of fresh bourgeois imperialist reaction, in many of the most important countries—the Sixth Congress considers it is its duty, on its part, to do absolutely everything in its power to help in this matter.

"The Sixth Congress considers it is its duty to meet half-way the measures undertaken by the Hull Congress of the British trade unions and is glad to confirm that with its decision, according to the declaration of the Delegation of British trade unions at present in Moscow,



it will be satisfying the desires of the overwhelming majority of the British workers.

"In order to co-ordinate the activities of the British and Russian trade union movements, in the matter for fighting for unity, the Sixth Congress will give all powers to the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, after negotiations on this matter with the General Council of the British Trade Unions, jointly form an **Anglo-Russian Commission**, the task of which will be to co-ordinate the actions of the trade union movement in both countries in their struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement.

"The Congress proposes that the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions should immediately set to work to carry this into effect, while taking into consideration the Congress's earnest desire that said Commission should be formed not later than January of 1925.

"Likewise the Congress charges the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions to take all steps which it will find necessary in the interests of the unity of the international trade union movement"

"The Sixth Congress notes with pleasure the declaration of the British Trade Union Delegation at present in Moscow, to the effect that it considers this step as very expedient and that it will defend and advocate it before the British Trade Unions and their General Council. In such a co-ordination of the activities of the British and Russian (U. S. S. R.) Trade Unions for the attainment of unity, the Sixth Congress sees a true guarantee for the success of the international unification of the trade unions and a strengthening of the fraternal relations between the workers of Great Britain and the workers of the U. S. S. R.

"The Congress holds that in following this example the trade union organizations of other countries will, on their part manifest the necessary activity for the realization of unity."

You see then, declared Tomsky, that so far we have made a very modest beginning in the matter of reaching the objective we have set ourselves. We are fully aware of the fact that unless the German, French, Italian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Austrian and the trade unions of other European as well as non-European countries are made to take up the fight for the establishment of unity, there can be no talk of a genuine international unity of the trade union movement.

The problem of the unity of the international trade union movement can in no way be settled by the question of the mutual relationship as between the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions and the Amsterdam International. The realization of unity will only be rendered possible provided all organizations embraced by the R. I. L. U. enter into the make-up of the future new united international of trade unions.

Comrade Tomsky further declared that the struggle for unity must be closely interwoven with the struggle against imperialist wars, intervention, Fascist reaction, the capitalist offensive, the Dawes plan, which aims at the enslaving the German workers to the Anglo-American capital.

In making this move the Russian unions point out that the R. I. L. U. had repeatedly declared its readiness to lead the trade union movement out of its state of isolation, for which purpose a world trade union congress should be convened on an equitable basis where the trade unions affiliated

to both the R. I. L. U. and Amsterdam should be represented.

The Sixth Congress of the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. unanimously approved Comrade Tomsky's statement and adopted the resolution without a dissenting vote.

True, this agreement is still subject to ratification by the General Council of the British Trade Unions. There will, of course, be found plenty of opponents among the British trade union bureaucrats and it goes without saying that such arch-reactionaries as Wm. Green, Grassman, Jouhaux, etc., will apply themselves to the utmost to prevent its going into effect. It is doubtful, however, whether they will be successful in disrupting and sabotaging the agreement, as the Left Wing lead by Purcell, Hicks, and others has the sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the British Trade Union members and, we are inclined to hope that Purcell will prove a man of action and will translate his words and promises into effective deeds.

It is clear, in any case, that an acute struggle between the Left Wing and the Right Wing of the Amsterdammers is inevitable. This struggle will bring ideological clarity and strengthen the organizational solidarity of the militant elements both in England and elsewhere, affecting even politically and organizationally backward America. On the whole, this is a serious event, which will undoubtedly give added impetus to the problem of world's labor unity.

The Left Wing of the British Trade Unions still has a quite confused ideology; it is a mixture consisting of stern class war fighters and pacifists. The latter tendency is on the decline, class-conscious tendency is growing numerically and gradually drifting towards the Communist position. Consequently, I believe, that the Left Wing and the National Minority movement of Britain, lead by Comrade Pollitt, will fight together, which of course, will accelerate the drift of the Purcell's Left Wing further to the left.



TOMSKY, HEAD OF THE RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS, AND RYKOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE U. S. S. R.

had such and such a program. The accusation is that the defendants as an organization BELIEVED IN certain things as embodied in a program. Technically the legal statute puts it as a question as to whether they as an organization "advocated" certain views or actions, but in practice the term "advocate" is interpreted by the court as meaning not a direct solicitation of some person to do a concrete thing at a concrete time and place, but as meaning to "advocate" in the colloquial sense of holding within one's mind the opinion that certain things in general should be done, and expressing such opinions as political beliefs. The defendants are not accused of any overt act, nor of soliciting any definite person to any definite act.

The Workers (Communist) Party of course will continue to exist regardless of any decision of any court or any other act of the government power; but it fights here in the clammy air of the legal pettifoggers for the legal acknowledgment of its right to exist. In fighting for this right, the Workers Party is fighting in behalf of the whole working class and for every working class organization, be it trade union or any other.

The trial of Ruthenberg, and before it the trial of William Z. Foster (which resulted in a hung jury), teemed with questions about "force and violence" and the "overthrow of the capitalist state," and civil war.

A political party is being prosecuted because its purpose is to substitute a new ruling class in the place of a present ruling class, and the legal basis of the prosecution in that this political party makes a historical analysis which shows that the revolutionary act of substituting one ruling class with another ruling class is invariably accompanied by violence and civil war.

The prosecution of these Communists in Michigan is characterized by the heaviest emphasis upon the fact that the political convention in which they assembled was a secret convention—an "underground" convention—and that the Communist Party maintained an "underground" organization. Heavily underscored was and is the question of the Communist Party having the purpose of confiscation of the property of the wealthy classes through the medium of a workers' and farmers' soviet government and without compensation.

Thus, if the state and the financial powers behind it have their way, practically the entire leadership of a young revolutionary class party will enter the ancient dungeon of Jack-



ROBERT MINOR

son, Michigan, in the effort to destroy, to head off and prevent the revolutionary movement of the present day.

### An Old Prison Speaks

An ancient prison, indeed, is the one at Jackson, Michigan! It was established in 1839! (Whether the present structure has been remodelled since 1839, this writer does not know, though he may soon be able to examine the ancient masonry from the inside.) The old stones are grey and splotted with green like the face of an aged man. Speak, old stones! Speak! You who have endured through eighty-six years—through some of the most stirring times of this country's history—have you ever before seen a struggle like this?

And it seems as though the old grey stones do speak!—speak like an old man muttering in his heart, groping slowly for memories that are dim.

Speak, old stones! Have you ever before been witness to a struggle of a new, up-coming, vital young class to form its own class party as leader of its fight to become the ruling class?

"Yes," says the old prison wall, "yes, I have seen such a struggle. Here in Jackson, Michigan,—here under the window of Ruthenberg's cell—here within sight of the thirty cells which you may occupy, you young revolutionists—I once looked out upon the founding of a new, young class party which had the purpose of making its class the ruling class of this country. . . . That was a long time ago. . . . It is the ruling class. . . . It has remained the ruling class for seventy years, undisputed until you came to dispute its rule. It was the capitalist class, and here in Jackson, Michigan, under my walls it founded its class party for the winning of its undivided rule. It held its first convention here in Jackson, Michigan, and here it gave its party its name: the Republican Party. . . . The class party of the capitalist class."

But tell us, old stone walls,—you speak of the Republican party—was it a revolutionary party?

"Yes, to a certain extent it was—in that day. That was a period of great class struggle, the struggle between the capitalist class of the North and the semi-feudal landlord class of the South. It was a struggle to complete the Revolution of 1776—to put the industrial capitalist class undisputedly and alone in the saddle."

But tell us, old stone walls, what was the method of the then new party, to put its class into power? The old stones reply:

"Civil war! The War of 1861."

But was there at that time any overt act of violence?

"Yes. The sympathizers and some men who later became organizers of that party were then engaged in armed combat in the state of Kansas—'bloody Kansas,' they called it then."

But in that convention of 1854 here in Jackson, were there any wilful and purposeful violators of the law? Was there any talk of law violation?

"Yes, there sat in the convention men who were openly committed to the violation of the Fugitive Slave law and who advocated its violation and solicited others to violate it."

And tell us, old stone walls, you didn't hear anything of an underground organization then, did you?

"Yes," says the old prison wall, "yes, the first and original 'underground' of this country's history—and prob-





GROUP OF MICHIGAN DEFENDANTS JUST AFTER THE BRIDGMAN RAID

Those in the picture are, left to right (top row): O'Flaherty, Erickson, Lambkin, Dunne, Mihelic, Bail, Reynolds, Ashworth; (bottom row): Talentire, Harrison, Bechtold, Nordling, Ruthenberg, Krumbein, Lerner, Sullivan, McMillan. "Ashworth" later turned out to be Francis Morrow, a stool pigeon who testified in the Foster and Ruthenberg trials.

ably the one from which all 'undergrounds' of the world obtained their name—the 'underground railroad.' Among the men who met here were some who were founders and organizers of that underground, secret organization having the direct and sole purpose of violating the laws of the United States by the forceful and illegal confiscation of property in the form of slaves."

But was not the Republican party a legal party? Did it not conduct itself as a lawful party participating in the elections to obtain its objects?

"Yes, it acted as a legal party while some of its members conducted an illegal underground association. It went into the elections lawfully, and being unable fully to obtain its object it went into civil war to obtain them."

But it fought in the lawful name of the United States government—

And I hear the old stone walls laugh. "It used whatever means were at hand, as will any class that is struggling for power. That it secured the formal name of the state power in the election of 1860 was but a fortunate incident. Among the men who in other states followed the lead of the Michigan convention in forming the Republican party were some who contributed money to John Brown who used it to purchase weapons for armed insurrection against the United States government. The soldiers who marched through Georgia singing 'John Brown's Body Lies Mould'ring in the Grave' were only validating the armed insurrection at Harper's Ferry." The old stones chuckled again, like an old man in his beard. "A class whose historical mission it is to ob-

tain state power and to inaugurate a new social order, uses all legal possibilities, but it obtains power!"

But would not the capitalist class have waited for legal—"It did not in 1776!"

By what right—

"By the right of REVOLUTION! The right which is written into the Declaration of Independence—the first of all the fundamental laws of the American Union."

But we also are revolutionists—

"You are of a different class. We are the capitalist class; you are of the working class. We in turn imprison you for a revolutionary program."

But justice? Why do you open your prison gates for us?

"Class justice. You are getting it. Our class justice exists to keep us in power at any cost."

The law—

"The law must be interpreted in whatever way is necessary to keep us in power, or set aside entirely when necessary to crush you."

But the masses are exploited, robbed—

"Yes, by us. That is the purpose of the law."

That which we have imagined the old prison walls to say, is perfectly true.

Had the Republican party been a mere parliamentary party, and no more, the Southern states would have closed the issue by putting into practice their "constitutional right" to secede (which was then widely credited). That would have ended the matter, and the "foolish" republican experiment on this continent would have died. A great slave

# Latin-American Peasants Turn to Communism

By Bertram D. Wolfe

The peasants of Latin-America, in their greater part Indians, are turning more and more to Communism as their only way to emancipation from the landowner and from peonage.

In Peru, the Indigenous Federation of Labor, representing two million Indians, has just issued a public statement declaring that the Peruvian Indian has never given up his primitive agrarian Communism and will not, and that the Indian is Communist by instinct and by necessity. This same federation has repeatedly risen against the tyrannical government of Peru which represents American capital and at present is beginning a new revolt in union with the workers of the cities.

Even more important because much less vague and platonic is the adhesion just voted by the League of Agrarian Communities of Vera Cruz to the Peasant International of Moscow.

The League of Agrarian Communities of Vera Cruz represents the most advanced and best organized peasant elements in the republic. There are about 1,000 such communes in the state of Vera Cruz and a similar number in each of the other states of Mexico. The League has from the beginning elected Communist officials and adopted a Communist program. When the Peasant International was formed and sent out call for the first congress, the league responded by sending its leader and president, a member of the Communist Party of Mexico, Ursulo Galvan, to Moscow.

He returned to find the country in the throes of a fascist rebellion, and entering the port of Vera Cruz secretly, for it

was in the hands of a fascist army (last December, 1923), he took to the hills, raised an irregular peasant troop, which armed itself by attacking the fascist military garrisons and attacked the rebel troops of the reaction from the rear at the same time as the federal troops attacked them from the front. Since then the government has not been able to disarm these peasant forces and they remain armed.



URSULO GALVAN  
LEADER OF THE MEXICAN PEONS

Galvan's activities in this revolt behind the fascist lines made him more popular than ever, and when at the congress celebrated in December, 1924, by the league, he reported on his trip to Russia and what he saw and what the Peasant International meant, the adhesion was voted unanimously amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm.

What is perhaps even more important is the decision to send him to all parts of the country to organize the rest of the peasants with a Communist program, to unify them in a single national organization and to unite them to the Peasant International. He has already begun this propaganda trip and is being enthusiastically received everywhere. As Mexico is predominantly an agrarian country, the significance of this Communist tendency among the peasants cannot be overemphasized.

Another significant fact is that the serious issue in the congress of the yellow Mexican Federation of Labor, (December, 1924), came over the agrarian question, the peasant elements in the federation desiring to adopt a Communist program and to take the land by force, and the leaders, being government agents in the employ of the government of Mexico, opposing this with all their force and proposing that the land be taken only by "constitutional means."

## The Five Point Star

Dank is the fog that dogs our steps,  
The mist that twists in siren shapes,  
Edging us on to ledges him  
Where Death, expectant, grimly gapes.

Baleful the light, though beautiful,  
That leads to those seductive arms  
Whose clasp is death and burial  
Beneath the bullfrog's late alarms.

Weary of too much travelling,  
Wary of leaders who mislead,  
We know not how to stay nor start,  
Nor to go back, nor to proceed.

Sudden upon the blood stained sky,  
Bright like a bayonet afar,  
Cleaving the dark, the doubt, the death,  
Rises the pilot Five Point Star.

Russia, salute! Not to your lands,  
But to your toiling working class  
Who broke the spears of all the Czars  
Upon their breasts, that we might pass

From haunted days, and hunted ways,  
(Poor harried slaves, who breathe by stealth!)  
Through Revolution's iron gates  
To the Industrial Commonwealth!

—J. S. Wallace.



# History of the Russian Communist Party

## *The Struggle Between Populism and Marxism*

By Gregory Zinoviev

I HAVE already said that the entire struggle between populism and Marxism could be expressed in the formula: People versus Class. However, the historical nature of this struggle is not so simple. In order to understand the nature of the struggle we shall have to go into it deeper and in a more serious fashion.

Populism took issue with Marxism upon the question of the future of Russia and particularly on the role of capitalism in our country. In the seventies, and even in the eighties, it was still possible to attempt to prove (as the populists did) that Russia, in distinction to other countries, would not have to pass through the stage of capitalism. Basing itself on the fact that at that time capitalism in our country was still very weak, and that large-scale industry was only at its beginning there appeared a whole school, calling itself socialist, and populist, and which attempted to prove that the development of Russia would proceed along different lines from the development of other countries, that we should succeed in jumping over from the then primitive relations of small industry, directly to socialism.

In connection with this there arose a discussion of great importance, about the relations to the peasant commune. A number of populists attempted to prove that our peasant commune is nothing else but the nucleus of communism, that Russia would escape the road of industry on a large factory scale, the road of large-scale concentrated industry with its accumulation of great wealth, with the creation of a proletariat as a distinct class. In short, that Russia could pass over directly to the new socialist order of society based upon the small communist nuclei, without first passing through a period of large-scale capitalist development.

Regarding the workers, the revolutionary populists held the opinion that for a struggle against capitalism the workers might prove very useful. True, as time went along the populists arrived at the conviction that the workers are more susceptible to revolutionary pro-



G. W. PLEKHANOV

paganda than the other social groups. Thereupon, the populists began an energetic campaign to bring the workers into the populist circles. However, the fundamental social force upon which the populists based their tactics was not the workers, but the so-called "people," or speaking more concretely, the peasantry.

### The Mistakes of the Populists

The mistakes of the populists became more apparent as the development of social relations in Russia proceeded further. The number of factories and shops was continually increasing, the working class in the cities was also growing in number, while the role of the peasant commune, which was also becoming clearer, proved that this commune had nothing in common with socialism or communism. In other words, the development of our country was running against the contentions of the populists and it was for this reason that the Marxists who were basing their theories on the realities of our life, succeeded very soon in completely defeating their opponents, the populists.

I shall not go here into the details of this struggle. It would take us too far away from our main subject. We must, however, keep in mind that this struggle about the role of the peasant commune, on whether or not capitalism will establish itself in Russia, and whether our country will develop along some peculiar, specific, unknown lines, that all this struggle was in reality a struggle around the following question: What is the social role of the proletariat? Which is the basic and fundamental power in the coming revolution? The unexpressed objective in all these discussions was whether there would develop in Russia a distinct working class, and what role this class would play in the development of Russia. It is for this reason that I believe that the conflicts between Marxism and populism were based primarily upon difference of opinion on whether the development in Russia would produce a distinct class of industrial workers and upon the role of this class in the coming revolution.

# A Pan-American Fig Leaf

By J. W. Johnstone

“THE world ought to belong to us—workers of hand and brain.

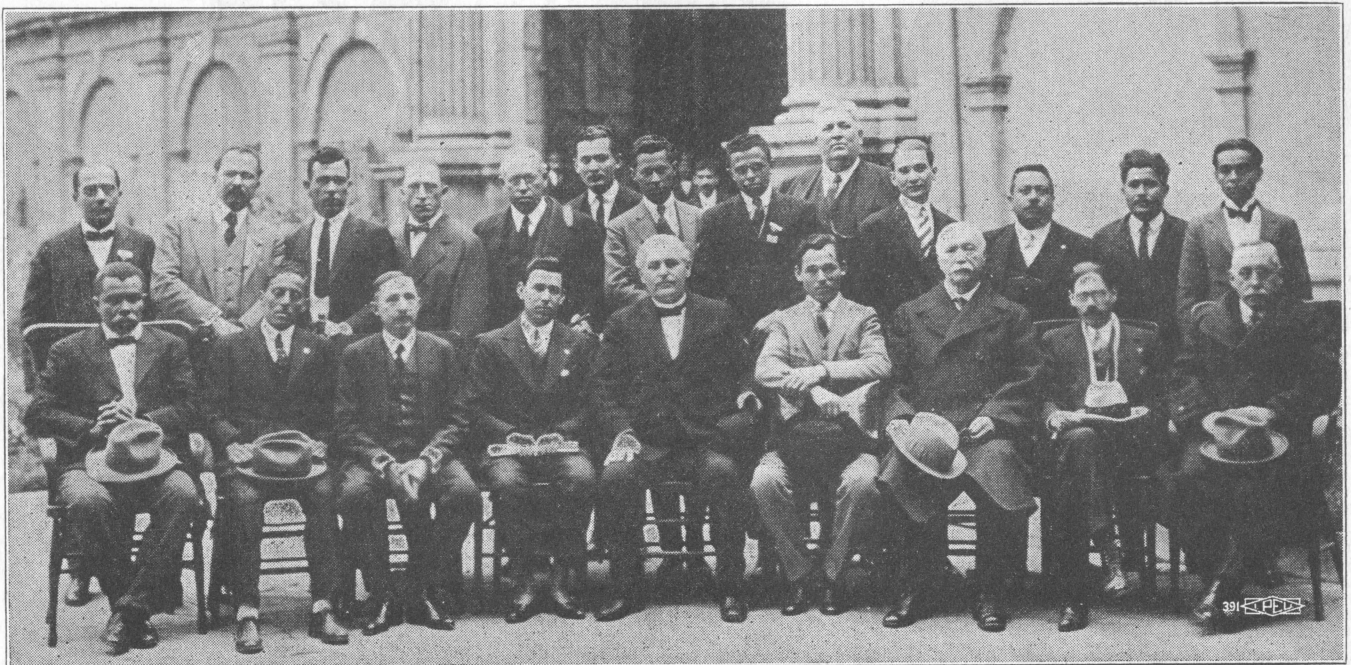
“We aren't so revolutionary. All we want is to change an adjective, just one adjective. We want the **Bourgeois** order to give place to the **Proletarian** order. If this should be brought about, it would mean that those who toil would displace in authority the idlers who do nothing but own—that everywhere, in all factories, mines, offices and fields, the workers would rule. Workers would regulate the workshops and workers would make the laws of nations.”

One can imagine Gompers' cynical smile as he read the above lines. They were sent to him by Enoch Adames V, of the Federation of Labor of Panama, as part of a letter of protest against the policy of the A. F. of L. in the Canal Zone, which is a policy of dividing the workers, of playing upon racial prejudices, of relegating the native Panamanian workers to the permanent status of common-grade labor, with wages 25 to 30 per cent lower than those paid to Americans.

The author of the letter was one of five Panamanian delegates to the recent convention of the so-called “Pan-American Federation of Labor,” held in Mexico City. Yet, in the midst of the labored apologetics on behalf of imperialism, in the midst of the long speeches in defense of the bourgeoisie and calling for class collaboration, the ardent apostle of change did not indicate that he wanted to change even a syllable. Not a word of protest did he utter. The Panamanian's self-obliteration is easy to understand. He could not withstand close association with Gompers, Woll & Co. when

they came face to face in Mexico City. In his afore-mentioned letter of protest, Senor Adames expresses what is, after all, only a vague revolutionary tendency; he and his colleagues lack real class consciousness. They are without experience. Their movement is half-formed. Gompers had only to whisper a few empty phrases in their ears and they were satisfied—or overwhelmed. Promises were gratefully accepted in lieu of deeds. Time and experience will line up at least some of these delegates in the fight against the imperialists.

The case of the delegates from Panama is typical. It might be duplicated in the instance of the delegates from Nicaragua, or Costa Rica. None of them represents an actual labor organization. There are only two regularly-constituted trade union bodies in the “Pan-American”: the A. F. of L. and the C. R. O. M. (Mexican Federation of Labor). Otherwise, the “Pan-American Federation of Labor” is a grandiose fake, its affiliated membership existing almost entirely on paper. The delegates to Pan-American Federation of Labor conventions are handpicked by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, who control the purse-strings. If they have a spark of revolutionary feeling, it is soon dimmed; they find themselves helpless before the smooth working of the administration machine, operated by the A. F. of L. aces with the faithful support of Luis N. Morones and his fellow-fakers at the helm of the C. R. O. M. Thus we have the absurd spectacle of decidedly nationalistic Latin Americans passing resolutions in favor of the Monroe Doctrine, the Wall Street-owned “Pan

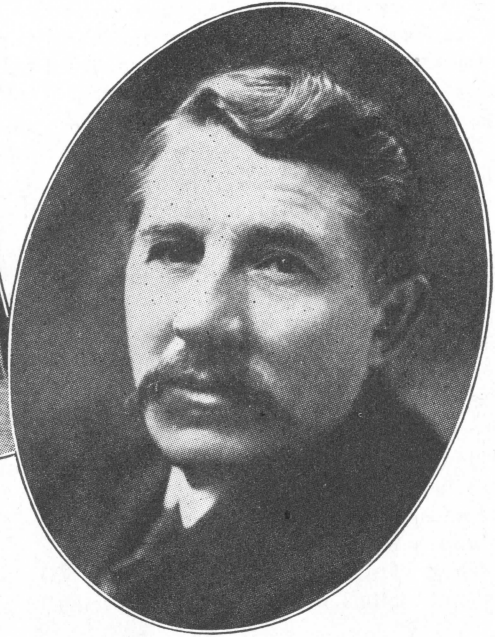
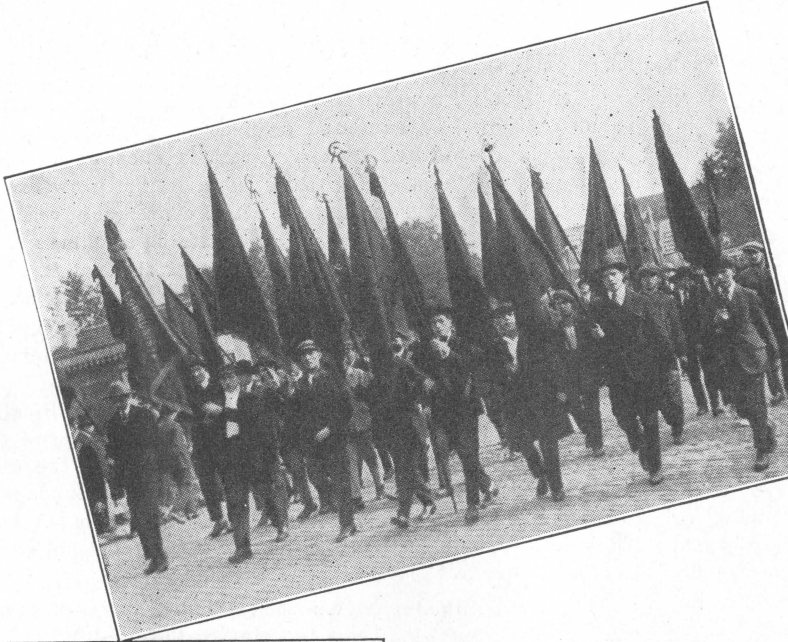


AT THE CONVENTION OF THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

In the front row, seated, are: three of the Panama delegates, Trevino (Mexico), Morrison, Vargas, Duncan, Moneda (Mexico) and Iglesias. Gompers and Morones were off somewhere having a little “tete a tete” when the picture was taken.



# The Class Struggle in France



ABOVE, AT LEFT: HOLIDAY MARCH OF PARISIAN COMMUNISTS; UPPER RIGHT-HAND, OVAL: MARCEL CACHIN, COMMUNIST MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, ONE OF THE FOREMOST FIGURES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE; BELOW, AT LEFT: LEONID KRASSIN, SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE; LOWER RIGHT-HAND: MONSTER DEMONSTRATION IN PARIS AGAINST THE DAWES PLAN—THE CHINESE GROUP IN THE DEMONSTRATION.

Let us take the Teapot Dome and other scandals which for a time threatened to upset the republican administration. No more brazen orgy of grafting was ever unveiled in the United States. Officials of the government were caught red-handed accepting money in return for favors rendered at the expense of the government. Yet, in the recent elections the government responsible for this graft carnival was returned to office with one of the biggest pluralities in the history of this country and those who exposed the corruption buried underneath an avalanche of votes. It is true that the return to power of the republican party was due to other reasons than mass approval of its grafting propensities. The point is that the corruption with which it was associated was completely lost sight of in the more vital issues that were pushed to the front during the election campaign. The masses refused to be horrified over the graft exposures.

A few examples will prove what a rotten cesspool of corruption the capital of capitalist America is. We will begin with the Harding administration, though the previous regimes could put up as good or as bad a record.

Albert B. Fall was made secretary of the interior in the Harding administration. He had charge, among other things, of the naval oil reserves in California and Wyoming, the latter being known to fame as the famous Teapot Dome. These oil reserves were formerly under the control of the navy department, but Mr. Fall had better "connections," so they were turned over to him.

Shortly afterwards Fall leased the California reserve, number one, to Doheny and the Teapot Dome to Sinclair. Nothing very wrong about that. But it was divulged that Doheny sent one hundred thousand dollars in a satchel to his friend Fall and Doheny gave him \$25,000 and a large number of cattle. The moralists exploded on hearing this and the Democrats thought they saw a chance to get back into office. They were disappointed.

The Teapot Dome investigation followed and the public was treated to the juiciest feast of scandal it was ever its good fortune to see spread before it.

Before the deluge of oil was cleared away hundreds of reputations appeared to be ruined, but in reality nobody was seriously hurt, except those who bungled their roles. One of those was Archie Roosevelt who turned out to be a miserable weakling, who went back on his gang. He had a job as vice-president in one of the Sinclair oil companies, but his real duties were taking care of Mrs. Sinclair's poodle dog, accompanying her to the movies and purchasing traveling reservations for her husband. The big thieves, Fall, Doheny, Sinclair, Shaffer of the Denver Post and others got a lot of good publicity out of it and are still enjoying themselves in the wide-open spaces of "free" America.

William Gibbs McAdoo was discovered to be on the Doheny payroll and to have used his influence as Wilson's son-in-law in order to enable Doheny to rob Mexico. For this service he received large sums of money. He was honored by half the Democratic party with the nomination for the presidency. A religious row and not his connections with the Doheny money bags spoiled his chances of being in the White House today, by robbing him of the nomination.

When Denby, former secretary of the navy, and one of those responsible for putting so much oily temptation in the way of Albert B. Fall, arrived in Detroit after being removed from office thousands met him at the railway station and gave him a reception such as is given only to conquerors. The crowd thought he was kicked out for doing just what they would have done if they had the chance.

The financial dealings of Jess Smith read like the work of a highly imaginative fiction writer. He dealt in millions, had a desk at the department of justice from which he directed his grafting operations. This graft he shared with Harry M. Daugherty, head of the department of justice—when Jess was not around. Jess was not a member of the cabinet, but he peddled a good line of graft and was master of his trade. As such he enjoyed the distinction that all professional men fall heir to.

Jess Smith dealt in liquor permits, prison pardons and other commodities. His woman was not treated properly by other members of the gang, to wit, the Daugherty boys, after Jess died, so the story of the Smith-Daugherty operations came to light.

It is true Daugherty got kicked out of the cabinet as a result of the investigation. It is equally true that he was unpopular, but not because he was a grafter. His hostility to labor, particularly his action in securing an injunction against the striking shopmen at the behest of the railroad barons, put him on the verboten list of the organized workers throughout the country.

The capitalists, of course, did not like the way he allowed himself to be exposed as a member of the Smith grafting circle and they would punish an ordinary politician for such deviations, but Daugherty was a valuable tool of theirs and they could not forget his services to them during the railway strike.

Daugherty was kicked out of the cabinet, but he is back in Washington again, and on the calling list of President Coolidge, the same man who dismissed him from office.

We also have Forbes, who is now on trial in Chicago for having performed the disappearing trick on millions of dollars appropriated by congress to take care of the wounded war veterans. Forbes entered into deals with contractors to divvy up on contracts for the building of hospital. In his spare time he shot craps with the wife of another grafter, while



TWO DRY CONGRESSMEN DISCUSSING THE HIGH COST OF GRAFT



bottles of Haig and Haig looked down from a bureau on their innocent pleasures. The other fellow, the lady's husband, got jealous and squealed on Forbes. Judging by the number of bankers who have taken the stand as character witnesses for Forbes, shooting craps with other men's wives may become a popular form of indoor sport in capitalist social circles from now on. Forbes, boon companion of the late President Harding, is setting the fashion. Nobody, outside of the wounded veterans and those who might have been let in on Forbes' graft, seems to be excited.

Then we have another tale of graft, with a Boccacian touch, in the revelations of the fascinating Mrs. Scott, wife of a Michigan congressman. Army officers and gambling figured in her testimony. A burned hole in her kimono was what caused her husband to let the public in on a little diversion. The burnt hole was caused by the lighted end of a cigarette. An army officer was at the other end of it. Graft, illegal transportation of liquor, drunken prohibition officers—this is the tale unfolded by witnesses to life in Washington. Graft is the order of the day. It is getting monotonous.

So much so indeed that we can barely sum up sufficient energy to read the latest graft scandal from Kansas, where the governor was caught selling pardons. His son accepted a check for over one thousand dollars for delivering the governor's pardon for Fred W. Pollman, paroled forger, and former bank president. The governor said his son was "in-discreet." He was.

This article started with two low criminals in a detective bureau. They were pikers. It is possible the police officer who finally called up their bondsmen only got a ten dollar bill for his pains. The policeman who steps on the running board of your flivver and threatens to arrest you for violating some city ordinance may change his mind on receipt of a five spot. But it takes more and more as you go up until the cost of getting a big gun like Fall do something for you knocks you cuckoo. Modern grafting like modern industry is done on a large scale. Only the cockroach grafters deal in fives and tens.

Communists know that under a system based on robbery, "clean" government is neither possible nor should the workers be interested in it. The more corrupt and rotten the capitalist government, the easier it will fall. Capitalism is interested in clean government, because that means efficient government. But nevertheless, capitalism, having the curse of Cain on its brow finds its own government corrupted and seduced by members of its own class. The Dohenys and Sinclairs corrupt the Falls, who are charged with the duty of conserving the resources of all the capitalists.

Let them rob and steal from each other! We will not call a halt. Our duty ends with making whatever propaganda we can out of the corruption that is exposed daily in capitalist governments. We are interested in showing the workers how thin is the veil of virtue with which capitalism seeks to hide its foul face.

The robbery that we are interested in putting an end to is the robbery of the workers by the capitalists. When that aim is achieved and the workers have accomplished their historical mission of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing their own rule on its ruins, then we will be interested in "clean and honest" government.



A WORKER VISITS WASHINGTON

## NEXT MONTH

The March issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY will be something to prize and keep. It will tell

### The Prison Story of the Wobblies

Written by an ex-convict

Illustrated by an ex-convict—

some of the finest drawings that have appeared in any American magazine.

### Negroes in American Industry

By William F. Dunne

In this article, "Bill" Dunne deals with the growing importance of negro labor in America industry, and voices the common interests of all workers, whites as well as blacks, in a strong, militant and all-inclusive labor movement to fight against capitalism.

Other features will be:

### What Kind of Education is Workers' Education?

By Max Bedacht

### The Background of Leninism

By Manuel Gomez

### Ten Years of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

By Rose Wortis

### History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

Alexander Bittelman's translation of this remarkable work by president of the Communist International is in itself sufficient reason for the reader to resolve not to miss a single issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY. Another large installment will be printed in the WORKERS MONTHLY for March.

# Employers Association in the United States

By Louis Zoobock



LOUIS ZOOBOCK

ing our unions will enable us to plan correct tactics and proper methods of war with our enemy.

In this article an attempt will be made to describe the foundations of the employers' organizations in the United States.

## How the Employers Organize.

Employers are not organized in any one way or manner. In fact, the variety of associations is large. In number, the associations now in existence, or which have been organized in the United States total over 2,000, all of which have dealt with the labor problem in some phase or form. Of all this number, there is not an important association that is an exact duplicate of another. Manifestly any attempt to discuss each of these various associations in detail would necessarily require the writing of a book. Here, we can only resort to a general description of the employers' associations. This will give us some idea as to the workings of organized capital.

## Development of Associations.

Although the association movement can be traced back into the middle ages and beyond, the most important and powerful associations did not appear prior to the year 1885. Around that year many interesting developments occurred in the conflict between employers and workmen. The year 1886, was notably a year of strikes, and the preceding and following years were filled with labor troubles. This was the period when the Knights of Labor reached its height, and defeated by the associations generally, began its decline. At this time also the A. F. of L. had its origin, but was not yet regarded as of much significance. During this period, several noteworthy strikes occurred on a number of railroads, and in 1887 the General Managers' Association, composed of the 24 railroads centering or terminating in Chicago, was formed.

In the year 1886, the Defense Association evolved out of the National Association of Trade Manufacturers, in order better to fight the Iron Molders' Union. In 1887, the United Typothetae of America was organized to resist the demands of the International Typographical Union for the nine-hour day. Many local associations were active during this period as is shown by the fact that associations ordered in the years 1884-1886 over 75 per cent of all lockouts. Trade agreements were almost entirely a local matter in the eighties, the national associations were mainly organized to fight the unions.

After having practically crushed the Knights of Labor,

the national associations became relatively inactive until in the nineties. Then came strikes of noted magnitude in the mines and on the railroads. The year 1894 even surpassed the high record of 1886 in the number of employees involved in strikes. In that year the General Managers' Association defeated and broke up the American Railway Union. But no national association had yet become permanently and persistently belligerent towards the unions, although a number of local associations had become such.

## Negotiatory Associations.

The negotiation of a national trade agreement by the Stove Founders' National Defense Association and the International Molders' Union in 1891, marks the beginning of the period of development of national negotiatory associations.

The period of the highest development of negotiatory associations practically coincides with the greatest development of the formation of trusts and other similar business combinations to control prices. Business men utilized labor unions in forming such combinations. Negotiatory associations made trade agreements with certain unions, and by means of these generally forced the independents to come into the combination or to conform to the prices set by the combination if their business were not ruined. The history of the building trades of the period is replete with instances of such conspiracies. It was a situation that produced strikes, and in certain cases gave dishonest labor leaders an opportunity to graft off the combination, and thus force it to divide some of its great profits, or at every turn "to hold up" the independent. These conditions were not generally permanent, for if the combination monopolized the trade or industry, it could then turn on the union.

## Belligerent Associations.

Beginning about 1901, and extending to the present time there was a distinct evolution of belligerency among old associations and in numerous newly formed ones. The great anthracite coal strike of 1902 brought out the power of unionism. The employers awoke to the need of better defensive organization and a great growth began of radical or militant associations, that had tried the trade agreement and were breaking away from it and fighting the unions on many fields.

The National Metal Trade Association began its career as a negotiatory belligerent about this time. Citizens' alliances were growing up in many localities, and this movement was characteristically a belligerent one.

The National Association of Manufacturers had been formed in 1896, but became belligerent in 1902. The belligerent American Anti-Boycott Association, now the League of Industrial Rights, and the Citizens' Industrial Association of America were organized respectively in the years 1902 and 1903. The United Typothetae of America became prevailingly belligerent in 1903. The negotiatory National Founders' Association became belligerent in 1904, and the negotiatory National Erectors' Association began its belligerent activities in 1905 and attracted world-wide attention in 1911 as a result of its belligerency.

None of these associations now existing has in any way decreased its belligerency. On the contrary the associations



# Defense! Defense!

*Defense Against the Attack of the  
CAPITALIST PROSECUTORS!*

Ruthenberg  
is under  
sentence

—  
Minor  
comes  
next



Foster,  
Dunne  
and 28  
others  
are in  
danger

## **THE PROSECUTORS WANT TO CRUSH THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY!**

Its leaders are attacked. Its organization is menaced. But its rank and file stands firm—and its friends and sympathizers are demonstrating their support.

### **WORKERS!**

Rush funds to the  
Labor Defense Council,  
166 W. Washington St.,  
Chicago, Ill.

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

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

Name .....

Address .....

City and State .....

Trade or Profession .....