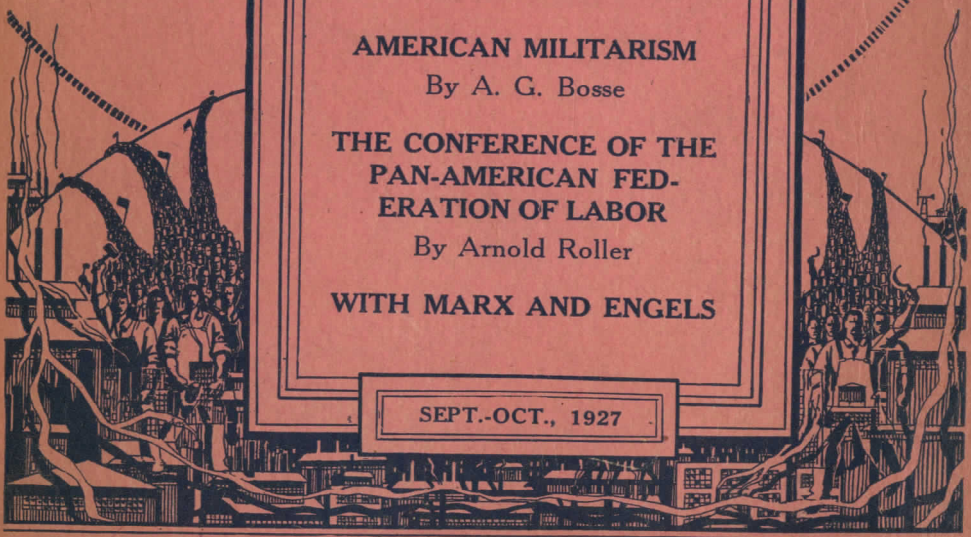
Henry Malter

The COMMUNIST

VOL. VI. NO. 6

In This Issue

SEPT.-OCT., 1927



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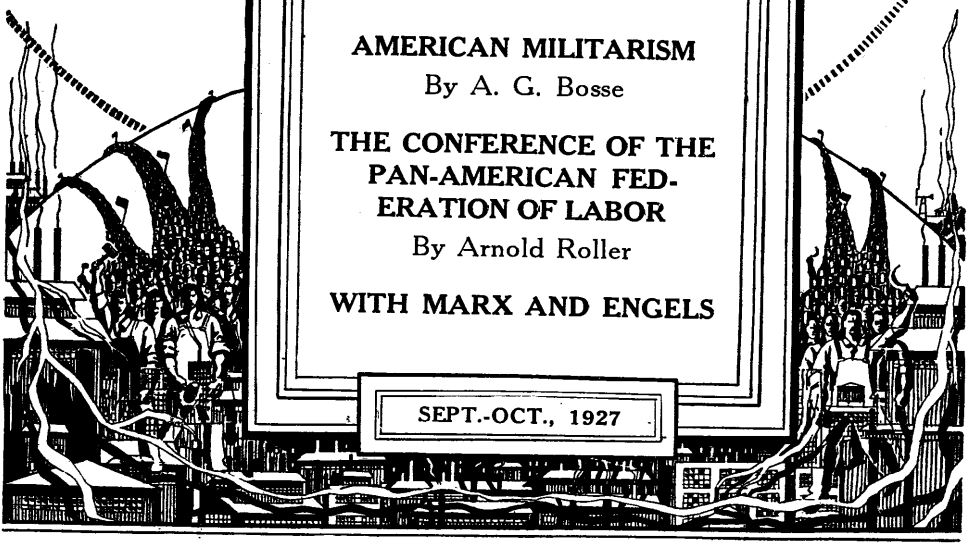

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The Communist

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MAX BEDACHT, Editor
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The Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

By ROBERT MINOR

A SMALL section of the American bourgeoisie seven years ago began the action which is officially known as the "execution of two murderers and pay-roll bandits". But the Sacco-Vanzetti case has since then shaken a whole world with political turmoil; in half a hundred different countries, on seven continents police and troops have been massed, industrial processes have been slowed up, traffic impeded, diplomatic messages exchanged, law-making processes influenced, while tens of millions of workers have passed through psychological experience, the tendency of which is to push working class history forward. And the end of the Sacco-Vanzetti case has not come, and there will be no end to it as long as history lasts.

Certainly Sacco and Venzetti were not pay-roll robbers or murderers; they had nothing to do with the crime which served as the legal basis for their conviction and execution. But certainly, also, the established innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti was only a secondary factor in the tremendous political movement which burst forth through the channel of the case. The noble and courageous action of the "two obscure Italian anarchists" in going to their death, thinking at the last moment not of themselves but of the best manner to serve the mass movement of which their names were the symbol, certainly helped to give a magnificent spirit to the mass movement. But, further than this, Sacco and Vanzetti had very little to do with the world event which is called the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The anarchist move ment, to which they were passionately devoted, served to bring to the case its first small publicity, but certainly the vast turmoil of political movement was not an anarchist movement. The anarchist movement, at least in the years covered by this case, is not revolutionary in any sense, but Sacco and Venzetti, themselves fired with revolutionary spirit, became symbols of revolution. Their cause became the cause of a world-wide struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working-class revolutionary forces. Everywhere Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations became in name and in fact "bolshevistic".

The affair which the bourgeoisie called the "execution of two pay-roll bandits and murderers" became a world-wide political struggle of the working class with the capitalist class—and particularly with the capitalist imperialism of the United States of America.

LEARNING TO HATE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

Through the Sacco-Vanzetti case, countless millions in all quarters of the world, for the first time learned to hate the capitalist United States, consciously, articulately, with an undivided class will. The features of the American Legion convention in Paris served as the best example. The American Legion convention was a world-celebration, staged with all the political effectiveness that two world powers, with the aid of virtually every printing-press and other social and state agency, could give it. And yet the first news and the last news and almost the only interesting news of the event, had to do not with the doings of 20,000 American fascists in the Capital of Continental Europe, but with the actions of the masses of workers of France in dragging before that convention the bodies of two dead Italian laborers. Every plan, every movement of the horde of American militarists, every utterance of official France, was inffuenced by the reactions of French workers to the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. The "triumphal" entrance into Paris of General Pershing, the "man who won the world war", had to be converted into a miserable back-door entrance because Sacco and Vanzetti had been murdered by the capitalism that Pershing represented. The American Expeditionary Force on its second visit to the France it had "saved" had to be protected with massed troops and police from insult by the "saved" populace. Throughout Europe and Latin-America, United States embassies and consulates became in the eyes of the toiling masses, "houses of shame" which had to be protected by police and military from expressions of contempt by the most numerous sections of the populations.

Such phenomena must have some meaning deeper than any questions of the life or death of two persons, guilt or innocence, "mistakes of justice", etc.

The execution was a calculated, ruthless murder. We are not moralizing here. The vast majority of the American ruling classes which supported the execution undoubtedly was convinced that correct public policy called for the execution. In their own terminology, the bourgeois were convinced that this was "right" and "justice". From the bourgeois point of view there was no "miscarriage of justice". But we know that the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was one of the most conscious and deliberate acts of the American bourgeoisie. It was a *demonstrative* act. It was a purposeful demonstration to the world. And if we examine the present position of the American bourgeoisie, we begin to comprehend what that something was, which this bourgeoisie demonstrated.

A NEW-BORN GIANT TRIES HIS MUSCLES.

It is not an empty coincidence that the Sacco-Vanzetti case was produced in the United States of America; nor is it an accident that it came to its bloody climax in exactly the summer of 1927. The "strange" phenomena of the case fall into a certain consistency as soon as they are considered in relation to time, place and circumstance. For instance, the original arrest of Sacco, Vanzetti and several of their associates was only an incident in a series of thousands of arrests in the unbridled reaction and repression of 1920. Before anyone dreamed of connecting them with any robbery crime, the United States department of justice had given them its attention as "reds"; had set its detectives after them, and these detectives had already arrested one of the group, Vanzetti's comrade Salsedo, as a "red", and had murdered Salsedo. The arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti was made in connection with the effort of the department of justice to suppress the meetings of Italian workers which Vanzetti was conducting in which he planned to make a public protest against the meurder of Salsedo by federal detectives in New York where Salsedo had been found dead after seven weeks of daily administration of the "third degree". When arrested, Sacco and Vanzetti were questioned, not about a pay-roll robbery and murder, but about their opinions and activities as "reds". The dropping of the federal charge against them as "reds" and the beginning of the murder case against them came only after a newspaper exposé of the mysterious killing of Salsedo had made the case embarrassing for the federal government. I cite all of this detail in order to show that there was nothing strange or unaccountable about the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti. They were arrested as a part of the "red raids", their prosecution, conviction and execution are, with any consistency, traceable only to their being revolutionary labor agitators.

After the arrest, in each of its ups and downs the course of the case was responsive to the influence of changes in the class struggles at home and abroad. The conviction occurred while the reaction was in process. When the reaction slowed up, the course of Sacco and Vanzetti toward the electric chair slowed up. During the upward surge of the revolutionary movement (factory occupation) in Italy, where the Sacco and Vanzetti defense had become the basis of some agitation, the defense of the case looked "hopeful". When the period of factory occupations by workers in Italy gave way to the coup d'etat of Mussolini, the legal technicalities of the courts of Massachusetts began to exhibit aspects more difficult for the

defense. But still the case dragged on in the "seven years' delay" of which the bourgeois press now speaks so unctiously. If we look at the record of other events in the United States, we find that an upward swing of the labor party movement occupied a certain portion of the "seven years' delay" of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and that the act of bringing the case to a bloody conclusion during that period could not have been politically expedient on the part of the ruling class. Conditions in Europe, where the case had gained still more currency, the period of doubt about the acceptance of the Dawes plan, the period of delicate operations for stabilization, the flux of militancy in the European labor movement, the British general strike,—all of this went to create a world-political atmosphere in which the ruling authorities in fact did not push forward as rapidly as would have been possible the execution of the two Italian workers in Massachusetts.

THE REACTION RETURNS WITH THE ELECTRIC "GUILLOTINE".

But the world situation and the domestic situation of the United States underwent a change. Relative stabilization of capitalism in Europe was accomplished, the general strike in England came to its defeat. The betrayal of the Chinese revolution presented a picture of seeming "collapse" of revolution in Asia, promising a heydey of world-reaction and at the same time an advance in the developments which lead toward world war. These and other incidents, such as the suppression of the Vienna workers' revolt, created a general tone of reaction.

With the tightening of its hold on Europe and the apparent success of the effort to dull the edge of the militant labor movement there and in Asia, the consciousness of security in its dominant position grew in the American bourgeoisie. It is not accidental that this capitalism which has within ten years risen from the "rank and file" of debtor nations into the position of most powerful lord of nations, should at last begin to exercise and to flaunt its new power with some "little" incident of ruthlessness which, without obvious connection, nevertheless serves as a ringing challenge to the world—a demonstration of the autocratic power which this imperialism feels. America, as the overlord of the world, takes on the "dignity" befitting her wealth and position. That that "dignity" is manifested in the slaughtered bodies of two working-class agitators is not out of accord with the picture. To the bourgeoisie nothing is more dignified than ruthless action toward its class enemies.

It must not be forgotten that the American bourgeoisie feels itself especially to have a free hand because of the subserviency of the official labor movement in the United States. Later we will speak of the astonishing way in which this subserviency was manifested in this particular case; here we speak only of the general character of the trade union bureaucracy as militant servants of capitalism. In every other country of the world the labor bureaucracy (even when suppressing a Berlin uprising or a Vienna demonstration, or breaking a British general strike) makes some sort of formal pretense of aiming to substitute a socialist system for the capitalist system. The American trade union bureaucrasy has for decades boasted of its role as defender of capitalism. But, even more than this,—in the past several years this bureaucracy has been, and still is, moving to the right and plunging into class-collaboration schemes, systematic strike-breaking, aggressive imperialism and militant reaction in general to a degree never before seen or dreamed of anywhere in the world.

We must bear in mind that these and connected circumstances have in the past ten months brought about a nation-wide *offensive* against the labor movement in the United States. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was carried through at the height of a smashing offensive against the needle trades workers in New York City, in which offensive the employers, the police and all government agencies, the trade union bureaucracy and the socialist party bureaucracy were united to destroy a group of trade unions which represented a key position of militant workers. At the same time a less dramatized but even more significant struggle, with more or less the same line-up of forces, was and is being carried on in the coal fields, where the employers and bureaucracy fight to emasculate or destroy trade unionism.

In the midst of this reactionary offensive,—with the official labor movement *not* restisting the reaction—the execution of two militant revolutionary figures was not at all out of harmony with the prevailing phychological atmosphere. Turning the current on the electric chair was easily a part of the general offensive against all that spelt militancy and conscious revolutionary principle in the labor movement.

It was "all in the picture" just at that moment to give the small revolutionary section of the American working class a heart-sickening example of what the American bourgeoisie will do toward revolutionaries.

In this light it was a conscious, deliberate—a *demonstrative* act against the American working class.

And toward the working class of the whole world, and toward all elements being drawn into the anti-imperialist movement against the United States, it was a demonstrative act of defiance, a declaration of the coming of age of an overlord of the world.

THE WORLD PROLETARIAT ACCEPTS THE CHALLENGE.

The proletariat of the world accepts the challenge.

American imperialism had succeeded in dulling the edge of working class militancy in Europe. In a thousand ways the social-democratic auctioneers had been "selling" the United States to the European proletariat, as the A. F. of L. bureaucracy through such means as the Pan-American Federation of Labor had been "selling" the benevolent United States imperialism to all of Latin America. As against this were piled up evidence after evidence of the enslavement of the European toilers and the expropriation of certain strata of petty-bourgeoisie as a result of the working of the Dawes plan and other American schemes in Europe, and, in Latin America the criminal assault upon Nicaragua, the bullying of Mexico, the fluke of Tacna-Arica, the tightening of the rope around the necks of Haiti and Santo Domeingo, etc., were making the "benevolence" of United States imperialism more and more difficult fiction to maintain. A dramatic demonstration of a sort that would cut across all arguments and furnish the whole world with a simple expression of the fact that United States Imperialism was the coldest-blooded imperialist bully was required. When the Sacco-Vanzetti agitation neared its climax, it was clear that this agitation took its deepest roots in exactly those spots of the world where hatred of American imperialism was most due.

The Sacco-Vanzetti movement is essentially an anti-imperialist movement. Other classes than the proletariat were also swept into the mighty stream. A horde of ruined and semi-ruined petty bourgeois in Germany and France, dimly sensing the cause of their expropriation but dumb in expressing it, suddenly found a way in which clearly, logically, unanswerably and even bravely to express their hatred of the capitalist United States. Even a large part of the press of the big bourgeoisie in European countries found the possibility of reflecting the mass clamor. In France there was already a situation leading toward a tariff struggle with American capital; from the point of view of French capital it was not inconvenient to have a background ready-made of mass agitation against American capitalism on the basis of an American "Dreyfus case". Thus the flood mounted high and for a moment even

crossed not only national borders, but also class lines. This made more difficult than ever the task of the reformist labor leaders who had taught the social-democratic masses to follow the petty-bourgeoisie. The formation of a United Front of the working class was realized to certain extent in many places. Efforts of Social-Democratic leaders to sabotage or to prevent the united front were unsuccessful in many countries other than the United States. Since the Russian October revolution, a net-work of numberless obstructions to international actions of the proletariat has been built up. All the cleverness of the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic reformist bureaucracy has been expended for ten years to rebuild the water-tight bulkheads of separation between the national sections of the working class. The betrayal of the general strike in England and the counter-revolutionary suppression of the workers of Vienna by thesocial-democratic trade-union bureaucracy had been charactertistic phenomena casting the European proletariat into a general mood of defeat. Suddenly, with the cry of "Save Sacco and Vanzetti", a new and irresistible wave of international working class militancy swept over the world, overflowing all the barriers. A vast international class movement arose and spread throughout Europe, Asia, South Africa, Australia and North and South America, and this movement was directed against the ruling class and government of the United States. This dramatization of the American bourgeoisie's attitude toward the working class—and toward two *foreign-born* members of the American working class—was too strong and clear not to awaken the logical anti-imperialist attitude. It suddenly became possible to express through the Sacco-Vanzetti case the relationship of the American imperialist bourgeoisie to the working class of a half hundred countries in which American imperialism is, or begins to be, in an exploiting position.

It had been hard to express this before.

As the tenth of August, the date set for the execution, drew near, the international agitation climbed to its apex. If we leave out of consideration the October revolution, it is safe to say that the attention of the working class of the world had never before been so unitedly and sharply fixed upon one obejct, its psychology so completely unified. The execution on August 10th would have caught the protest movement at full tide, and this would not have been good policy from the point of view of the American bourgeoisie. *Therefore* and *therefore alone,* the machinery of the state postponed the execution until confusion and doubts of the outcome, reawakened illusions, could break the unity of the movement. As soon as this tremendous world

movement was shaken with hesitation, the electric switch was closed and Sacco and Vanzetti burned to death.

HOW THE "LABOR" FRIENDS HELPED.

The role of William Green and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy was too subtle a role, relative to the level of understanding of the American labor movement, to appear clearly to the masses. The belief is general that William Green interceded for Sacco and Vanzetti. In fact William Green helped to electrocute them. It was done in this way: Green asked for the *commutation* of the death sentences; the plea was made in such a way as to imply that there could be no question of the integrity of the courts, that of course the verdict of a court of law sustained by the higher courts must be regarded with respect, but that the guilty men should be treaty with leniency. Of course Green knew that there could be and would be no leniency, that the only case for Sacco and Vanzetti was on the basis that they were not guilty of any crime, but were victims of class justice, were "guilty" only of being revolutionists; Green knew that the only hope lay in the pressure of the working class and organized labor against the actions of the State machinery and in denunciation of the court verdicts. Green's whole action "in behalf" of Sacco and Vanzetti, therefore, as the head of the organized labor movement, was to use the prestige of the A. F. of L. to help turn on the electric current. His plea for commutation, virtually a plea for their *life imprisonment,* apart from its brutal meanness, was practically a statement that they were guilty; and in such a statement made as the head of the labor movement, Green belied the position of even the backward membership of the A. F. of L.

Of course the basis of Green's action was the purpose of holding back the masses of the trade unions as much as possible from the radicalizing process, taking the vitality out of the movement and at the same time creating the illusion of supporting it.

The role of the socialist party here, like that of the social-democracy abroad, contained the same essence as that of Green, but adapted to slightly different necessities. The fundament of the socialist party's policy was to keep up the impression that it was fighting for Sacco and Vanzetti, and at the same time to prevent the movement from obtaining any mass united front basis upon which it would become radicalized, leading in the Communist direction. The statement of Mr. August Claessens, spokesman for the socialist party, that the proposal

for a general strike for Sacco and Vanzetti was a proposal of the Communist alone and that the call for the strike should not be heeded, was a strike-breaking act which helped to minimize the size of the strike and therefore to promote the execution. The statement of J. Ramsay MacDonald, then on a visit in the United States, that the approaching execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was a purely internal affair of the United States, and that therefore he could not comment on it, was a sharp shock to some of the naive members of the socialist party. And yet the attitude of the socialist party was in the same spirit: there must be no united action of the masses of workers because this would result in a movement toward Communist methods and the Communist party; there can be petitions to the governor, which would be quite constitutional, but there must be no political strikes which would put outside pressure on the courts and which thereby lead in the bolshevistic direction.

The uniformity of the role of the social-democratic parties of the world is indicated by the plea of the Berlin "Vorwaerts" that the conviction was an *error* of justice, and by the general refusal to make a united front with the Communists for a world-wide campaign of defense.

However, one feature of the actions of the social-democracy was very little noticed: Just at the height of the movement for saving Sacco and Vanzetti, the social-democratic parties all over the world began an intensive and extensive campaign *against the Soviet Union* on the ground of the execution of certain white-guardist terrorists in Soviet Russia. Thus the social-democratic leaders did the thing of all things best calculated to confuse and sabotage the mass movement, and to turn the historical balance in favor of reaction. The social-democratic leaders the world over helped the bourgeoisie to come through the Sacco-Vanzetti affair with as little as possible revolutionizing of the psychology of the masses.

The legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti has left a permanent deposit, which remains among the present and future factors of history. The working class of the world has been to a certain extent stirred out of a lethargic mood, has been further internationalized, and in the fast approaching events of world war against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution, American Imperialism will hear a thousand million times the names of the two Italian laborers whom it murdered in Massachusetts.

American Militarism

By A. G. BOSSE

THE naval disarmament conference at Geneva has centered the eyes of the world upon the question of militarism and has increased the already great interest in war danger. Communists know that in the countries meeting at Geneva there is neither the will nor the power to achieve any material degree of armaments results, it will be used to propagandibe pacifist illusions among the workers, behind which war will be prepared with increasing intensity. If no agreement is reached, then the imperialists can openly prepare for war. The naval disarmament conference will be better understood if general militarist activities are first considered. It will then be realized that any limitation and even reduction in the navy of the United States will have no material effect upon its military power or upon the tendency toward ever-increasing militarization. The present great advances in aviation, chemical warfare and submarines are enough to offset many times over even great reductions in naval armament.

THE GOVERNMENT'S WAR POLICY.

IN the last annual message of President Coolidge to Congress, delivered at the end of 1926, there were the usual appeals to both the peace and war sentiment, protesting peaceful intentions, but boasting of military achievements. The talk about peace was phrasemongering, but that about war was based upon facts: "When it is considered that no navy in the world, with one exception, approaches ours, and none surpasses it, that our regular army . . . is the equal of any other like number of troops, that our entire permanent and reserve land and sea force trained and training consists of a personnel of about 610,000, and that our annual appropriations are about $680,000,000 a year, expended under the direction of an exceedingly competent staff, it cannot be said that our country is neglecting its national defense." The U. S. "is maintaining the most adequate defense forces in these present years that it has ever supported in time of peace". He hypocritically goes on to say that while the U. S. is doing its best to abolish wars, it must be remembered "that the peace we now enjoy had to be won by the sword and that if the rights of our country are to be defended, we cannot reply for that purpose for anyone but ourselves".

After such statements one can realize how much peace protestations are worth: "Our policy of national defense is not one of making war, but of insuring peace". The amount of space devoted to war talk in the President's message is in the same proportion to his claims of work for peace as the relative length of the quotations given above. In an Armistice Day speech a month previously, Coolidge took advantage of another opportunity to boast of the extent of American militarism, stating that the military forces were the largest "ever maintained in time of peace. . . . In the last half dozen years we have appropriated for their support about $4,000,000,000".

A few months ago, the American ambassador to Great Britain, Houghton, delivered a speech at Harvard University in which he suggested that governments be deprived of their war-making powers and that these be vested in the people; also that a 100 years peace treaty be made. Aside from the impossibility of ever-achieving such proposals under capitalism, they are interesting, first, because they come from the chief American Ambassador, but chiefly, because of the reception accorded them in the U. S. The American press and the great news associations practically ignored the proposals. The Government made no comment, and only a few liberals went into raptures over the idea. The U. S. is too busy militarizing the country to do more than throw out a word or two about peace now and then.

THE MILITARY BUDGET OF THE U. S.

FIVE times as much is now spent upon the military establishment of the U. S. as before the war. The six powers, the U. S., England, France, Italy, Germany and Japan have increased their aggregate military expenditures 70% since before the war, whereas the U. S. has increased its 400%. For the year 1927-28 appropriations for the U. S. army and navy are $680,000,000, of which $360,000,000 are for the army, and $316,000,000 for the navy. In 1926 Great Britain increased its military budget by $100,000,000, and still has not caught up with the expenditures of the U. S., which are greater than of any other country in the world. In 1927 England appropriated $660,000,000, Japan $213,000,000, France $218,000,000, Italy $179,000,000. The cost of militarism in the U. S. is rising steadily each year: In the year 1925-26 it was $4.94 per capita, and in 1927-28 it rose of $6.03—a far greater rise than the increase in population.

THE AMERICAN ARMY.

THE land forces are divided into three categories—Regular Army, National Guard, and Organized Reserves. The Regular Army is the permament cadre, one of whose chief tasks

is to prepare civilian components for war-time mobilization. The National Guard is a class militia which maintains internal order, especially during strikes and riots, and supplements the Regular Army in case of war. The Organized Reserves are cadres of officers organized for the development of a mass army when war comes. Besides these there are the Reserve Officers Training Corps (R. O. T. C.), which trains students in educational institutions to become officers, and the Citizens' Military Training Camps (C. M. T. C.), which trains students and workers to become non-commissioned officers and reserve officers.

The Regular Army has a present strength of 136,000, of which 12,000 are officers. This small number of officers does not show their true strength, however, for during the war there were 86,000 officers in the Army. There are now more than 128,000 officers in the Reserve, and thousands more are being trained each year. The small size of the Regular Army does not show the potential war-time strength. Secretary of War Davis, stated last year that in case of war, the careful industrial mobilization which has been carried out will enable the Government "to equip an army of 4,000,000 men more completely than we did in 1917 and 1918, and in a shorter time, and for several billion dollars less than was spent for equipment in the world war."

The potential man-power of the country is more important than the regular military forces. At the end of 1926 the available military man-power of the various powers was as follows:

Country	Regular Army	Organized Reserves	Unorganized Reserves	Total	Per Cent of the Population
U. S.	136,000	278,000	.....	18,500,000	19.6%
England	200,000	307,000	5,670,000	6,136,000	13.6
USSR	654,000	412,000	11,935,000	13,000,000	9.6
France	668,000	5,280,000	765,000	6,713,000	17.0
Germany ...	100,000	.....	8,400,000	8,500,000	13.6
Italy	237,000	4,075,000	2,088,000	6,400,000	15.2

(The total of 18½ million for the U. S. includes about 5,000,000 men who had military training in the world war. The British figure for the Regular Army 200,000, excludes India but includes the other colonies.) During the world war, 5,000,000 Americans were mobilized within a year and a half. The number drawn into active service in a war lasting longer and making greater demands would be far greater.

Besides the Regular Army there is the militia of the various States—the National Guard, which has a present strength of 175,000, and is to be built up to a strength of 250,000. Other forces are the Reserve Officers Corps of 128,000, the Reserve Officers Training Corps (R. O. T. C.) of 105,000, Citizens' Military Training Camps with a 112,000 trained graduates. A total

strength of 670,000 soldiers and officers would be a conservative estimate of the present land forces of the U. S. From official reports one can tell little about the condition and morale of the Regular Army. The Secretary of War stated in November, 1925, that the Army was in "admirable condition", but two months later he said its condition was "extrmely serious", due to bad housing, insufficient reserve supplies and ammunition, high desertion rate, etc. It all depends upon where the speech is made and what impression is desired. It is true, however, that the rate of desertion is very high, amounting in 1926 to 14,000 out of 100,000 men, as a result of bad feeding, oppressive conditions, etc.

The morale of the officers, however, is high. For they represent the middle and big bourgeoisie and are thoroughly impregnated politically with capitalist ideology. Those in the National Guard represent the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, for their main use is against the labour movement. The young university men in the R. O. T. C. also largely represent sections of the bourgeoisie which are militarist and imperialistic. All officers undergo a complete political training which imbues them with a faith in capitalism and makes for unquestioned obedience to orders. The officers are closely linked up with numerous militarist societies, particularly with the American Legion.

More than 40,000 soldiers of the Regular Army are at present in the Pacific Colonies (Panama Canal, Hawaii and the Philippines) and many of them are now being used against China. They are ready for use against Japan or other foes in the coming war in the Pacific. These troops have hundreds of airplanes, a large number of tanks, artillery, etc. More than 5,000 soldiers are in China and more can be sent at a moment's notice from the Philippine base.

War sentiment is carefully worked up through various military manoeuvers, which serve to give practice under conditions closely approximating those of war time. In 1925 there was a joint Army and Navy manoeuver off Hawaii, "most extensive ever conducted". In 1926 there were, among other manoeuvers, the Pan-American flight of the Army Air Corps. This year there were the joint Army, Navy and Air Manoeuvers in New England against an imaginery British attack, and in Texas the joint Army and Air Corps manoeuvers, "the greatest areial concentration since the war". The review of the fleet of 98 warships and numerous airplanes occurred a few months ago. In September a "defense" of New York was held in which there was a great concentration of heavy artillery and anti-aircraft guns.

AVIATION.

ALL the Great Powers, the United States among the foremost, are concentrating most of their attention at the present time upon airplanes. It is in this field that the greatest progress in military technique is being made. During the last four years, the air fleet of the U. S. has increased 67%, of England 82%, Japan 100%, of France 22%, of Italy 220% and of the States bordering on the U. S. S. R. more than a 100%. The programme for the next three or four years for most of these countries calls for a similarly great increase over the present number. England is now building enough planes to double the number it has. In 1926 the number of planes built in the U. S. was 1,180, built in 67 factories. This was an increase of 60% over the previous year. When we realize that civil planes can readily be converted into military planes, we can see what rapid progress is being made in building up military aviation under cover of encouraging commercial aviation. Last year military and naval planes in the U. S. flew 25,000,000 miles and commercial planes almost as many more. About 4,500 students were given training in flying, a greater number than in any other country in the world. During the past six years $200,000,000 was appropriated for Army and Naval aviation, and at the last session $107,000,000 more was appropriated. During the year beginning July, 1927, 590 airplanes will be built for the Army and 275 for the Navy. The five-year aviation programme authorized by Congress last year provides for 2,000 planes for the Army and 1,000 for the Navy by 1932 and for a personnel of 1,650 officers and 15,000 men. Already the Army Air Corps has 1,100 officers and 10,000 men. The five-year programme means $200,000,000 for the purchase of airplanes plus probably as much more for other aviation expenditures.

The greatest improvements in modern warfare are being made in aviation, and the United States is by no means the most backward in such technical advances. Congress has recently appropriated money for a new airship that will be the largest in the world. The figures describing it are as follows: Length, 870 feet; contents, 6,500,000 cubic feet of non-inflammable helium gas; cruising range, 6,000 miles at a speed of 80 miles an hour; crew, 45 officers and men; carrying capacity, 5 airplanes. Another new development is armoured airplanes, a twin-motored bomber having been just built for the Army. It is reported as adapted for fast construction on a large scale and is longer-lived and easier to maintain than present bombers. It climbs twice as fast as existing ones, carries 6 machine guns in armoured turrets which can shoot in all directions, and can

carry two tons of bombs. The crew is five men—the pilot, a bomber and two machine-gunners. The cruising speed is 100 miles an hour for 8 hours, the maximum speed 120 miles an hour. Some other new developments in the U. S. are three-inch anti-aircraft guns with a maximum vertical range of over 10,000 yards; a 105 mm. gun with a vertical range of 14,000 yards; flashless powder for use at night with resulting increased accuracy; improved sights and finders, etc. Since the world war there has been great progress made in increased range, increased rapidity in picking up targets and so on. Hits per gun battery per minute have increased from 2 to 7, volume of 3-inch gun fire has increased from a salvo each 5½ seconds to one each 3 seconds. Sound locators and searchlights working together in detecting and illuminating planes flying 8,500 feet over a defended area have scored nearly 100% hits in recent tests in California. Radio telegraphy now makes possible two-way conversation between an airplane and the ground up to a distance of a 100 miles. The U. S. Army has invented a new devise for sending visual signals by radio from the ground to an airplane, which obviate the need for trained radio operators in the plane, and which can be useful for spotting artillery fire. The successful flight to Hawaii used a new directing radio beam which helped the pilot to maintain the correct direction. Mines flying without pilots and regulated by radio, floating bombs, 2,000 kilogram bombs which can bomb battleships, etc., are other new developments.

Numerous recent practice flights have been disguised as non-military ventures. These include the 18,500 Pan-American fight, coast to coast flights from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico, the Byrd trans-Atlantic flight, the Hawaiian flight, the great manoeuvers of over 100 planes in Texas, and innumerable other experiments for distance, endurance, carrying capacity, etc. The Lindbergh, Chamberlain, Byrd and Hawaiian flights are being used to the utmost by the militarists to show the vulnerability of the U. S. to attack by air, and a great propoganda is being carried on to increase "air-mindedness". Within two or three weeks of the Lindbergh flight the number of applications for the Army Air Corps doubled. It will be worth while in concluding this section on aviation, to dwell for a moment on the significance of the development of aviation for the working class and the revolutionary movement, for it will serve capitalism here as well as in wars between capitalist powers. Any mutionous or revolutionary activity within the Army or Navy can easily be put down by aviators, who are chiefly officers with the class sympathies described above. Their strategic position in the air can force mutinuous soldiers to sur-

render on the threat of being blown up. Since airplanes work almost singly and are not grouped in trenches, subject to common hardships and massed together for long periods, as are the infantry, the feeling of solidarity against oppressors arises with difficulty. The use of aviation against an oppressed nationality is ideal, for large numbers can be sent abroad without any of the notice which would accompany the movement of large bodies of troops. The working-class and ainti-imperialist elements would hardly know of their departure. The effectiveness of such action was shown when Ramsay McDonald's British Labour Government sent airplanes to bomb the rebellious natives of Iraq.

CHEMICAL WARFARE.

THE use of poison gases was heatedly discussed in the U. S. at the end of last year, when it was decided to oppose their abolition. Powerful groups such as the American Chemical Society, the American Legion, War Department, war-chemical manufacturers, and militarists all over the country protested against the abolition of the use of poison gas—the U. S. Senate rejected a treaty on poison gases which was before it. All sorts of statistics and testimonials were adduced as to the "humaneness" of poison gases. The press stated that only 2% of all the war casualties were due to poison gas, but if this figure is correct it is probably because gases were first used in 1915 and were not brought into full play until much later in the war. In 1918, 20-30% of all American casualties were due to gas, and since then tremendous progress has been made both chemically and mechanically. The talk about 2% casualties being due to gas comes from propaganda put forth by the War Department which characterizes chemical warfare as "doubly humane and constructive". The ability of the American Chemical industry to turn out larger quantities of poison gas than other nations due to richness of her resources and mass production was an additional argument. The U. S. signed treaties in 1899 and on numerous occasions since then, outlawing the use of poison gases. On July 17, 1925, it was due to the insistance of the U. S. that 27 nations signed an agreement at Geneva to outlaw use of bacteria and poison gas in war time, but last year Secretary of State Kellogg stated that "all governments recognized that it is incumbent upon them to be fully prepared as regards chemical warfare and especially as regards defense against it, irrespective of any partial or general international agreements looking to the prohibition of the actual use of such warfare". The head of the Senate Military Committee, Wadsworth, cynically stated that "when wars break out, treaties and conventions perish".

An American officer writing on chemical warfare in "Current History" for June, 1926, speaks of "heartrending schemes being planned and placed in experimentation for aerial bombing, gassing, germ inoculation and liquid fire devastation" in order to wipe out morale behind the battle lines. Detailed projects have been worked out for bombing and gassing cities, especially industrial and railroad centers, land under crops, hospitals, waterworks, food manufactories, in short, the "utter wiping out of the necessaries of life and the rise and spread of famine and pestilence among the enemy people."

MILITARIZATION OF THE YOUTH.

EXTENSIVE propaganda is being conducted to militarize the youth of the country both in the colleges and in the factories. And as a corrollary to this, to combat all anti-militarist organizations. This propaganda is made necessary by the difficulty of obtaining enlistments, for in the world war less than 1% of the 5,000,000 in the Army enlisted voluntarily. The rapid growth of militarism among the schools and colleges of the country is evidenced by the fact that last year 112,500 students graduated from Reserve Officers Training Corps units, 5.760 of whom received commissions for the Officers Reserve Corps. Last year 125,000 students enrolled in R. O. T. C. units in 257 colleges and schools, and in 50 other institutions there was also military training. Nearly one-quarter of all the colleges in the country have R. O. T. C. units, and nearly half of these institutions make attendance compulsory. The Navy also has an R. O. T. C. which gives practical training courses on battleships during summer in order to extend the reserve officers corps.

The attempt to give training to young workers centers around the Citizens' Military Training Camps, which aim to turn out non-commissioned and officers' reserves. The majority of those attending ar still students, but the War Department is propagandizing the young workers in an attempt to get more of them to attend the camps. Businessmen are co-operating in this, for last year 200 large corporations in New York City urged their men to attend. During the last seven years over 200,000 men have been enrolled, the great majority of them being young men. In 1927 37,000 were enrolled in 53 camps, and the aim of the Government is to increase the annual number receiving training to 100,000. The Boy Scouts, numbering over half a million, are a powerful source of militarist propaganda among the children of the country. Ex-members of the branch called Sea Scouts filled most of the vacancies in two important naval officers' reserve divisions last year.

INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION OF THE COUNTRY.

SOME time ago there was much talk about conscripting capital as well as labour in the next war, and Coolidge advocated this in his last Armistice Day speech. But in his message to Congress a month later he forgot about it, and the Secretary of War recently stated that capital would not only not be conscripted but would be promised higher prices for war materials. The Government has organized a Council of National Defense, which has divided the country into 14 industrial districts. These organize the manufacture of all war and auxiliary materials. Complete manufacturing drawings, specifications and bills of material have been drawn up for a large number of war articles. Contracts have been made which need only to be signed to become effective upon the outbreak of war. Such contracts are a powerful incentive towards building up preparedness and war sentiment among the manufacturers of the country, for if there is no war these billions of dollars of orders are lost. The number of industries affected is shown by the fact that the War Department is planning for mass war-time production of over 700,000 articles. At the close of the world war the Government set aside enough war material for an army of 1,000,000 men, and this together with the tremendous sources of raw material and mass production possibilities insure adequate industrial support in case of war. In practically every important section of the Government the Rockefeller-Morgan banking group have members of their firms or of other banks and corporations which they control. Some examples of this are the Assistant Secretary of War, Davidson, who is the son of a deceased partner of Morgan, and the head of the Government Aircraft Commission, Morrow, who is a partner of Morgan.

PATRIOTIC AND MILITARIST ORGANIZATIONS.

THE A. F. of L. is more reactionary than any other labour body in the world, and its policies of class collaboration and to combat pacifists, Communists and the labour movement. They are quite as busy in the interests of the employers' associations and great corporations which support them as they are in their militarist work. At the beginning of this year, some 30 patriotic societies, officers' organization, businessmen's associations, and the American Federation of Labour (A. F. of L.) met to organize a country-wide movement to influence Congress in favor of preparedness. One of the chief militarist organizations in the country is the American Legion, which has 10,000 branches and a membership of 1,000,000 war veterans. It is dominated by an officer caste, by profiteers who were dollar-a-

year men during the war, by Main Street petty bourgeois, rotarians, etc. It differs from the majority of the militarist organizations in that it has to its credit numerous cases of violence against radicals, pacifists, labour organizations and Communists. The head of the Legion invited Mussolini to address its convention a few years ago, stating, "Do not forget that the Fascists are to Italy what the American Legion is to U. S." Most of the other organizations, except the Ku Klux Klan limit themselves to legal action and propaganda.

The National Security League, another militarist society which is headed by a retired Army general, is characterized by a Congressional Investigating Committee as follows: "If the curtain were only pulled back . . . the hands of Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Morgan . . . Guggenheim would be seen, suggesting steel, oil, money bags, Russian bonds, rifles, powder and railroads". The chairman of the American Defense Society, Hooker, is the head of a great war chemical corporation, and the Society is one of the most active in combatting Communists and labour unions as well as in advocating industrial and military preparedness. The National Civic Federation is a group of Wall Street bankers and industrialists and A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Its acting head, Vice-President Woll of the A. F. of L. endorsed the Arcos raid and urged similar action in the United States. The Federation supported Kolchak and Grand Dukes Cyril and attacked Russian famine relief. It advocates military preparedness and, since Hooker is one of its directors, urges support of the chemical warfare industry. At present the "Daily Worker", organ of the Workers Communist Party, is being prosecuted by the Government upon the instigation of the Keymen of America, a patriotic organization directed by representatives of other patriotic societies, army officers, heads of great corporations, etc.; associated with it are the Inspector General and Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the U. S. Army. The reason for the prosecution is the Party's militant campaign against the war on China and against the war danger.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND MILITARISM.

THERE are scores of such organizations in the U. S., each doing its bit to propagandize preparedness and militarism and militarism are unsurpassed for vicious opportunism. It participates in the Wall Street National Civic Federation, works together with the American Legion, and endorses the C. M. T. C. Its leaders aid in christening warships and oppose the building of U. S. gunboats in Shanghai for use on the Yangste River only because they want such ships built in the U. S. They have

endorsed and supported the Government's policy of war against China, Nicaragua and Mexico, of non-recognition of the U. S. S. R., etc.

The S. P. has been nearly as reactionary as the A. F. of L. During the world war, their pacifism turned into patriotism, and now they refuse to oppose in any way the threat of war against the U. S. S. R. Their press endorsed the war on Nicaragua, urging only that it be made legal and "authorized . . . as our constitution demands". Victor Berger, one of the leaders of the S. P., did not like the use of ruthless course against Nicaragua, and wanted to know, "Is there is no such thing as peaceful penetration?" The S. P. finds the prospect of war against the U. S. S. R. merely "interesting" and will support the imperialists in such a war just as their compatriots all over the world will.

CONCLUSION.

THE danger of war is greater now than at any other time since the world war, and few observant persons would be surprised if it broke out in the next year or two. It is necessary only to enumerate the danger spots to realize this: the joint imperialistic attacks on China, the provocation of Britain and the border states against the U. S. S. R., the U. S. and Mexico, Nicaragua, and South America, Italy and Jugo-Slavia, the Hungarian military mobilization of "agricultural labour", France and Italy, etc. The imperialists are trying to cripple the working class organizations in preparations for this new slaughter, as is evidenced by the British Trade Union Bill, the Italian Labour Charter, the German campaign against the 8-hour law, French military mobilization law, compulsory arbitration in Norway, etc. Marshall Foch predicts a world war within 15 years, but the important thing that he admits the fact, even though he pretends it is still far away.

The U. S. will play a leading part in any new war. The era of its passive role of vendor of supplies and money-lender is over. From now on it becomes an active participant, and it is fully prepared industrially, financially and militarily for an aggressive part. Boasts of a peaceful past are ridiculous, for during 150 years of its existence, the U. S. has been at war a good many years.

The Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor

By ARNOLD ROLLER

The conference of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Washington, July 18 to 23, was a conference of "labor" delegates most of whom were appointed by the various Latin-American dictators for the purpose of defending or denying the crimes committed by them against the working class.

The manner in which the delegation of several Latin-American countries were made up was exposed by the correspondence of Odolfo Dickman, with the secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Santiago Iglesias. This correspondence was published in the socialist newspaper of Buenos Aires, "La Vanguardia". To the invitation of Iglesias to take part in the Washington "Labor" congress, Dickman, who represents the "Confederación Obrera Argentina", wrote that the Argentines will not send delegates, though they had originally intended to participate. "We see, he writes, "that we have committed an error in accepting your invitation, as we are not used to take part in labor congresses in whose organization the ministers of Foreign Affairs and the ambassadors participate. We have seen the note sent by the Pan-American Federation of Labor to Mr. Pueyrredon(Argentine ambassador), the representative of the Argentine landowning oligarchy to the government in Washington; we have seen the blank credentials sent there to be filled out at will by the government officers, the same kind of credentials which we also received and which we are returning you herewith unfilled. These facts, which were unknown up to a few days ago and which we never would even have suspected, enabled us to recognize that the Pan-American labor movement is one of the agencies by which the United States State Department tries to extend its influence, a purpose to which we do not intend to contribute." Signed: Adolfo Dickman.

Twenty-five to thirty delegates appeared at the congress, representing the following countries: United States, Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Salvador and Porto Rico. This lists 11 countries. Porto Rico, however, is a possession of the United States and the Porto Rican Federation of Labor asserted that it believes that Porto Rico should remain an integral and inseparable part of the United States. In this conference, however, it was counted as a separate country. The delegates from Peru, Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala were

appointed by their governments. The Colombian delegate has been residing in Washington for many years, and, as he himself confessed, was not even in correspondence with the group whose seal adorned his credentials. It is almost certain that he is an employee of the Colombian legation. Morones, minister of Commerce, Industry and Labor in the Mexican government, appeared in person as the Mexican delegate. The Peruvian delegates, in whose country no national labor federation exists, and where the trade unions lead very precarious lives, said that they represented the "Assembly of United Societies of Peru" and the "Universal Union of the Peruvian Confederation of Artisans", two non-existing organization, invented to adorn the credentials filled out by the Peruvian government. The credentials filled out by the other governments for their delegates were, however, not such flagrant forgeries and, with the exception of Colombia, represented more or less existing organizations.

The congress opened with a speech of the President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green. From the sea of platitudes and repetitions about liberty and freedom, brotherhood and fraternity, justice, democracy, unselfishness and humanity, which he offered as the "ideals" of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, emerged the demands of the PAFL as postulated by Green. He asked for a free press in every country, with the restriction however, "free to publish such articles as are not libelous", freedom of conscience, and political freedom, self-determination of nations, self-government and the right of every people "to work out their own destiny in accordance with their ideals and their desires and their hopes and aspirations, free from molestations by any other nation or any other country." But just at the moment when he came to the declaration "we are irrevocably opposed to the use of arms or to a declaration of war in the settlement of any dispute that might arise between the Latin-American republics and the United States . . ." the Associated Press correspondent at the convention received a cable, which he passed on to the delegates, announcing that the American marines had killed 300 Nicaraguans. Green finished his speech by telling how Gompers gave his life for the PAFL, because if he had not gone to Mexico to the last convention he might not have died. Green was followed by Morones who attacked the communists and the Soviet Union. He defended the PAFL against the accusations expressed in the Latin-American countries that it is "the advance guard of American capitalism." "There are may of us", he shoulted, "who are quite accustomed to this treacherous

assault. Some of these propagandists coming from Russia to the dark corners of the American continent are constantly speaking against the capitalistic tyranny, but they are themselves striving to impose upon the workers a tyranny of their own making. They say frankly that they do not agree with us because we do not want to submit to the Russian tyranny, which is the worst of all." He defended the American Federation of Labor against "agitators". "Communists have constantly charged the A. F. of L. with being an ally of American capitalism, and I assume the responsibility for my words in stating to you that the American Federation of Labor has never been allied with American capital but has been a true and loyal representative of the working class of this country." Morones concluded his speech with the following statement *in Spanish:* "Even if the United States would wage war against Mexico the two labor movements would continue united over the heads of their governments." In the English translation given to the press this statement was mitigated as follows: "And if a time should ever come (and this I hope and pray never will) when the friendly relationship of the United States and Mexico should be in any way broken, I want to say to you that I cannot conceive of the possibility of a break between the relationship of the working masses of the people of Mexico and the working masses of the people of the United States."

After these two inaugurating speeches, messages were read from various Latin-American countries congratulating the congress and wishing it all success, among them also one from Haiti, informing the congress that just as they were about to sail for the convention, the Haitian delegates were arrested together with seven newspaper editors. There was a congratulatory message from the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and one from the Central American Labor Federation, whose headquarters are in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. There was also a message from Lima, Peru, from the Federation of Bank Employees who wrote that they regreted that, on account of local tyranny, they were prevented from coming to the congress. (There were however, two Peruvian delegates who were not prevented from coming.) It is also interesting that though there were "official" delegates from the Dominican Republic, including a certain Dr. Medrano, who signed himself, "President of the Dominican Federation of Labor" and from Panama, messages arrived from Panama and the Dominican Republic that several delegates were arrested just at the moment when they were leaving for the conference.

The second day of the conference was mostly occupied in

reading the report of the Executive Council of the PAFL. At the end of the morning session, Salomon de la Selva, a young Nicaraguan poet, who lived most of his life in Mexico and New York, and who represented the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor, asked for the immediate acceptance of his resolution protesting against the massacre committed by the American marines in Nicaragua and asking for the immediate withdrawal of the U. S. army from Nicaragua. The Venezuelan delegate, Ricardo Martinez seconded the motion, while the Dominican delegate opposed its immediate discussion. Green, presiding, refused to permit discussion of this resolution and ruled that the resolution should be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Thus the protest against the American massacre in Nicaragua was temporarily suppressed.

The report of the Executive Council referred to the accusations made by the American imperialist press that the Mexican Federation of Labor (CROM) was a communist organization. The report "indignantly denied" this and pointed out with pride how the CROM persistently fought against communists and "all radicals in general."

The financial report divulged the fact that the PAFL received in the 23 months since the last account $14,166, of which $9,584 was contributed by the American Federation of Labor and the rest by the other members. No public sessions were held on the third day, during which the Committee on Resolutions, presided over by Mathew Woll, was engaged in "editing" the 35 resolutions submitted by the various delegates.

Before these resolutions were read to the convention, a small storm broke out over a letter from President Machado of Cuba. The text of the letter was as follows:

> William Green, President of Pan-American Federation of Labor, Washington.
>
> I express hope for the success of the PAFL congress which results I am sure will contribute to tighten the links which should bind the workers of the American continent in a common activity of mutual advantage, practiced within the justice, the order, and the liberty which have caused us so many sacrifices in previous epochs. Since my government is interested in fulfillment of a policy of betterment of the workingman, I trust that the good intelligence between all the classes and the sincere work of co-operation of each one of them in the sphere of their respective activities will bring about the crystallization of reciprocal hopes and benefits.
>
> (Signed) MACHADO, President of Cuba.

Ricardo Martinez, the Venezuelan delegate, protested against this letter and demanded that it should be stricken from the records. He reminded the delegates how Machado had caused the murder and imprisonment of countless Cuban workers and

said that "if this communication is accepted, he would use this to try to appear as the true protector of the workers of Cuba." Woll, however, said that it would be foolish and dangerous and unparliamentary to refuse to accept the communication of a president of a republic. The acceptance of this letter commits the conference in no way—Mathew Woll explained—"it rather commits President Machado to a recognition of the PAFL *as the only legitimate labor movement.* Regardless of his previous attitude, we can appeal to the workers and Machado cannot resist such an appeal." In other words if Machado recognized the PAFL, it does not matter to Woll and the officers of the PAFL if he murdered the workers in his country. Green then ruled Martinez's motion out of order and ordered Machado's letter read into the records. Thus Machado is on the records of the PAFL as a friend of labor.

Woll, as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented his report. He started by explaining that by "editing" the resolutions submitted to the committee, he by no means intended to change the spirit or the motives of these resolutions. He was guided, he assured the convention, not by any "abstract principles", but only by a desire to be "helpful" in expressing correctly the wishes of the various delegates in the customary form used in resolutions. The first resolution he submitted was the Resolution No. 1—as accepted at the previous congress of the PAFL in December, 1924, in Mexico. He wanted its re-acceptance as a reaffirmation of the principles of the PAFL. He did not read the resolution and only said it contains "general principles of liberty, justice, humanity and democracy" and thought it was not necessary to read it, since it was printed in the previous report. But the Guatemalan delegate insisted in having the resolution read so that he might know what he was voting for. This resolution is the "Monroe Doctrine" of the American Federation of Labor, indirectly attacking the communists, and opposing the entrance into the Americas of organizations and ideas from "other countries."

The resolution was accepted without opposition. These assertions of the principles of liberty and justice and democracy caused great enthusiasm among the delegates sent by the dictators of Cuba, Peru, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. The Guatemalan complained that there are "many agents" in Guatemala working against the PAFL. The Cuban delegates wanted the speech of Morones verbatim printed so that they might use it in their propaganda against the communists. The Dominican also wanted the speech of Green "who directs the destinies of the workers of the American continents."

Green then made a second speech in which he attacked every left labor movement:

> "This class of people seek to develop internal strife, misunderstanding among the working people. They insidiously circulate propaganda having for its ultimate purpose the destruction of the trade union movement as represented by the Pan-American Federation of Labor. They are weak numerically. There are not so many of them. They make a loud noise. They are strong vocally.
>
> "They constantly attempt to destroy the standing and the influence of leaders of labor, officers of labor organizations who are clothed with responsibility and who are called upon to serve in responsible positions. They attempt to destroy confidence in the labor movement, in our Pan-American Federation of Labor, through the circulation of false reports regarding their leaders, undermining confidence in the leaders of the movement. They attempt to undermine confidence and destroy the organization known as the Pan-American Federation of Labor. . . .
>
> "We will not, we cannot be deceived by those who pretend to be our friends but who are really our enemies, and we will oppose the pretending friends just as vigorously as an open enemy. We are committed to an unrelenting opposition to those destructive movements connected with us. No matter what may be their name or names, no matter what brand they may wear we will oppose communism or any other "ism" that seeks to destroy the labor movement of Pan-America, as represented by the Pan-American Federation of Labor, just as vigorously as we will oppose capitalists and those who seek to exploit us through the formation of corporations or those who seek to destroy us by any other means."

After this intermezzo the reading of the other resolutions was resumed.

Resolution No. 2, submitted by Nicaragua, referred to the fact that a private bank of New York has a 99-year concession and agreement with the "National Bank of Nicaragua" according to which all Nicaraguan funds must be deposited in that bank, which does not pay any interest to the depositor, has the right to issue notes and all kinds of securities without guarantee and is free from any taxes to the Government of Nicaragua. The resolution demands that the PAFL should extend its "moral support to the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor for the retention of the ownership of the Nicaraguan National Bank by the people of Nicaragua and for the ultimate and complete control of that institution by Nicaragua and its people."

Resolution No. 3, submitted by the Venezuelans, protested against the dictatorship of Gomez and appealed for "moral and material support to put an end to this lamentable situation." (The passage of the original resolution, "that the noble and virile example of Mexico in breaking with the tyrant" should be followed by all other governments, was left out in the resolution as edited by Woll and accepted by the convention.)

Resolution No. 4, submitted by the Dominican delegation, assures that "the present government of the Dominican Republic presided over by Don Horacio Vasquez, has placed no obstacles in the development of the trade union movement" and requests the establishment of the 8-hour day for employees of the national government, the municipal governments and those engaged in Public Works. (No mention is made of an 8-hour day for other classes of workers.)

The fifth resolution, that of de la Selva, protested against American intervention in Nicaragua. In the form as "edited" by Mathew Woll, it retained the original request for withdrawal of American troops, but the whole document is reduced to the most humble and submissive terms. The American intervention is mentioned only once, while everywhere else it says "a foreign intervention" and protests against the "capitalistic efforts, both native and foreign, to subjugate the Nicaraguan worker." The resolution regrets that "the people of Nicaragua had been the unfortunate victim of a *foreign* intervention." . . . It expresses "regret for the events having occurred recently in Nicaragua" and asks the United States to terminate its intervention *in the interest* of that Nation." (The Spanish translation, however, reads "intervention in the affairs of that nation.) The massacre of Ocotal, reported by all bourgeois news agencies, was not mentioned, but substituted by a passage "that we deplore the tragic events as related in the daily press, referring to the loss of life *said to have occurred*". Only after a hard struggle in the resolution committee, after de la Selva threatened to abandon the PAFL, did Woll agree to go even so far. This resolution was unanimously adopted, even by the "radical" element in the congress who did not seem to understand the shades of wording introduced by "Editor" Woll.

Resolutions 6, 7 and 8 were submitted by the delegation of Panama. The 6th protests the discrimination against native workers in the Canal Zone. The resolution requests the president of the PAFL to ask the (American) Metal Trade Union of the Canal Zone, to make arrangements with the Labor Federation of Panama "to give occupation to efficient and capable native workers under the same wages and labor conditions under which all other workers are employed", repeats the well-known fact that it is the Metal Trades Union, a member of the A. F. of L., which prevents the natives from working under the same conditions as the Americans.

Resolution No. 7 opposes the new treaty by which Panama is made a vassal of the United States.

Resolution No. 8 protests against recruiting workers for Panama in other countries.

Resolution No. 9, submitted by the Peruvians, asked that Government Officers of Labor should be created everywhere.

Resolution No. 10, submitted by the Dominican delegation, requested the creation by the Dominican government of a Department of Labor and Immigration.

Resolution No. 11 referred to Sacco and Vanzetti. As submitted by the delegates from Nicaragua, Venezuela, Guatemala and Santo Domingo, it asked for "liberty for Sacco and Vanzetti as all workers are convinced of their innocence," but as "edited" by Woll it reads that the PAFL, "through its officers, should appeal to the good sense and the sound judgment of the Governor of Massachusetts to exercise his power of clemency and authority of pardoning these men."

Resolution No. 12, submitted by the Cuban delegation, requests that "the exclusion of natives from the employment or work in foreign corporations (in Latin-American countries) should be discouraged."

Resolution No. 13, submitted by the Peruvians, requested that the various American governments should appoint labor attaches to the various embassies and legations as is done by Mexico. This demand for more jobs for deserving servants of the various dictators was greatly applauded.

Resolution No. 14, submitted by the Peruvians, called for more frequent labor congresses.

The appetite for still more jobs increased. So the Cubans, Peruvians and Dominicans asked for an amendment providing that the largest organization in each country should nominate a representative to keep in contact with the PAFL, which should maintain him, to organize the non-affiliated labor movements; to prevent workers from falling under the control of radical organizations. In addition to that the PAFL should appoint representatives in all countries. The eager speakers forgot that the financial report read only the day before, showed a balance in the treasury of the PAFL of only $56.63. Green had to rise to dampen this enthusiasm for jobs. But he promised that when each country had an organization authorized to speak for the large mass of wage earners, the matter could be discussed again, when "we can judiciously extend recognition" to the "legitimate" organizations representing labor. Thus, as it is left to Kellogg to "recognize" governments, so it must be left to Green to "recognize" labor movements. He then asked the three delegations to withdraw their amendment.

Resolutions 15, 16 and 17 were submitted by the Porto Ricans. No. 15 asked that the labor federations of Latin-America should federate and fight not only for better salaries but also organize for sick and death benefits, and for this purpose ask the American Federation of Labor and the CROM for literature explaining how to do this. No. 16 requests the President of the United States and the Senate to grant Porto Rico the necessary legislation "so that the island may continue its progressive development" by passing under the jurisdiction of the American Department of the Interior (instead of the Department of War as at present). No. 17 refers to the emigration of Porto Rican workers to the Dominican Republic and requests that the Department of Labor of Porto Rico send a representative to Santo Domingo, who should reside there and protect the Porto Ricans until they are fully settled. Iglesias supported the resolution on the ground that though emigration is a bad thing, the emigration of Porto Ricans to Hawaii and to Arizona proved disastrous, and therefore he prefers to experiment with their emigration to Santo Domingo.

Resolution No. 18, submitted by the Dominicans, requested that all workers of the world should give their moral and material support for the erection of a *monumental lighthouse* commemorating Christopher Columbus. That monument, in honor of the memory of Columbus, should be erected on the coast of the Dominican Republic because Columbus landed there first. Accepted unanimously.

Resolution No. 19, submitted by Nicaragua, referred to an agreement made between private bankers in New York and the Diaz government of Nicaragua and requests the PAFL to give its moral support to the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor "in its effort to free the Nicaraguan people from economic domination by foreign bankers and foreign governments." In support of this resolution Soloman de la Selva gave the history of American intervention and massacres in Nicaragua, of the exploitation of the people by American bankers. Martinez (Venezuela) wished to speak in support of the Nicaraguan motion, but Green prevented him from speaking because if he agreed, it was not necessary, since nobody is opposed to the resolution, and if he disagrees, he has no right to speak, because Nicaragua is not his country.

Resolution No. 20, also introduced by Nicaragua, protests against recent killings of three Haitian workers by American marines without provocation and asks that the U. S. government pay an indemnity to the families. Woll proposed that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the PAFL

for "investigation and further action." Iglesias supported Woll. Martinez accused Iglesias of attempting to suppress the resolution so as not to embarrass the military rule of the United States in Haiti. He spoke of the American oppression in Haiti, Nicaragua and other Latin-American countries. Here Green found the occasion to interrupt him because he spoke on Nicaragua instead of Haiti, and shouted that "the PAFL is not a clearing house for all the grievances Latin-American peoples may think they suffer. We must pursue a dignified policy and not indulge in terms of denunciations, as there is danger that our purpose may be destroyed." The report of the Resolutions Committee instead of the original resolution was then adopted.

Resolution No. 21 asked for the establishment of a "Pan-American Popular Bank" under the auspices of the PAFL with branches in all countries of the American hemisphere. This resolution was referred to the officers of the PAFL for report at the next convention.

Resolution No. 22, submitted by the Peruvians, requested that President Coolidge and the PAFL should be asked to do all in their power to see "that the provinces of Tacna and Arica are immediately delivered to Peru, their rightful owner." The resolution of the Resolutions Committee, as read by Woll, was accepted—"asking for a just and amicable settlement between Chile and Peru."

Rios Casell, the Peruvian delegate, was not satisfied with that form as submitted by the Resolutions Committee. He made a long chauvinist speech against Cile, including in his condemnation expressly the working class of Chile who "did nothing to have these provinces returned to Peru, but even supported the oppression of Tacna and Arica." "The events of Nicaragua, Haiti, Venezuela are nothing," he said, "compared with the terrible injustice done to the people of Tacna and Arica by the people of Chile." He declared that he was not satisfied with the report of the Committee. When Woll answered that after all the PAFL cannot settle territorial questions, and that this would be a matter for the two countries to settle amicably, the second Peruvian, Benavides, got up to make a second patriotic speech for Peru. He said he expected some gratitude from the United States, because Peru was the first country to recognize the independence of Panama. He said that the "horrors committed by the Chileans in Tacna and Arica have no precedents in the whole history of humanity." He himself "was stoned in Arica when he was there as the plebiscite representative of Peru. Finally the resolution of the Committee was accepted against the Peruvians. (It leaked out from the closed sessions of the

Resolutions Committee that these two Peruvian delegates wanted to submit a resolution condemning Mexico for its stand on the Church question.)

Resolution No. 23. The Peruvian delegates wanted a minimum wage established in all countries affiliated with the PAFL. The Resolutions Committee changed this to a request to the Executive Council of the PAFL to make an investigation about the wages in various countries affiliated with the PAFL. This was accepted as submitted by the Resolutions Committee.

Resolution No. 24. Guatemala asked that all resolutions be printed and distributed all over Latin America. The Committee agrees in principle but asks that pro-rata contributions should be made by the affiliated organizations and when sufficient funds have been collected, the resolutions would be printed and distributed. Accepted in this form.

Resolution 25. Guatemalans ask, in view of the great poverty of the peasants of their country, that the PAFL should influence the American manufacturers to sell them agricultural instruments and tools at reduced prices and that the government of Guatemala should exempt these tools from custom duties. The new form as "edited" by Woll and as finally accepted was to "ask the officers of the PAFL to use all their influence to prevail upon the governments of the Pan-American countries to encourage every possible effort to facilitate industrial and agricultural development in their respective countries and that the PAFL should co-operate with the respective labor movements to that end."

Resolution No. 26. Mexico asks that the PAFL should send greetings to the forthcoming International Labor Congress in Paris in August, 1927.

Resolution No. 27. Mexico asks for a commission to be sent to the Latin-American countries for an extensive campaign of organization of the PAFL, the expenses to be shared by contributions of labor organizations affiliated with the PAFL. Accepted as submitted.

Resolution No. 28. Nicaragua and Salvador urge that, in view of the suspicions, fears and jealousies spread by the enemies of the PAFL, each country affiliated with the PAFL should send to the PAFL specific reports about matters in which the co-operation of the delegates is desired. Accepted.

Resolution 29, as submitted by Panama, asked the workers for the "establishment of universal peace by refusing absolutely to participate in war" and to "immediately initiate, through the respective delegations, the necessary steps to secure full accord between the labor associations of America in order to obtain the

non-participation of workers in warfare either directly or indirectly." Woll reported as follows: "Your Committee finds itself in full accord with the ideal expressed in this resolution," but "to more fully express this ideal and to hasten the attainment of this laudable object your Committee recommends approval of the following resolution in lieu of the one proposed,"—that "the Fifth PAFL congress requests the labor organizations of the Western hemisphere to put forward their best efforts towards maintenance of peace between their respective countries." The drafters of the original resolution voted for Woll's "more fully expressed" form.

Resolution No. 30 was submitted by the Cuban delegates, M. A. Delgado, Oscar Díaz, President of the Cuban Railroad Union, E. F. Perez, and J. Arevalo, the Editor of the "Acción Socialista", an organ supporting Machado. This resolution intended for the sole purpose of defending Machado was too much even for the PAFL leaders of the PAFL. The resolution declared that "the workingmen of Cuba are not at present restrained or prevented from organizing freely any unions." Woll reported that the Committee is of the opinion that the resolution should be referred to the Executive Committee of the PAFL in view of the previous reports, and "that the officers of the PAFL should continue their good offices in securing justice to the workers in Cuba."

Resolution 31, submitted by Delgado and Díaz for the Cuban Railroad Brotherhood, declares that "the version that in Cuba the labor organizations have been disorganized may be destroyed." The resolution asks the congress for assistance in organizing all workers in Cuba under the guidance of the Railroad Brotherhood as represented at this congress. That also was too much for Woll and he substituted a recommendation that "the Secretary of the PAFL should go in person to Cuba to give encouragement and assistance, at a time convenient, possible and practicable."

Resolution No. 32, introduced by the Cuban delegation, asks that "in view of the existence of an eight-hour day for government employees in Cuba, the Executive Committee of the PAFL should request the President of Cuba for the enactment of an eight-hour work day law for the workers in industrial and commercial establishments." This resolution was also referred to the Executive Committee of the PAFL, "without committing it to any particular method or form in attaining the end desired" . . . "To do all in its power and influence in securing the establishment of a maximum eight-hour day for the workers of Cuba."

When the Guatemalan delegate Quintana, referring to the Cuban resolution, said that it will be necessary to be very careful when making the investigation in Cuba because he knew about many very bad things which have happened there to the labor movement, the Cuban delegate Delgado rose to say that Quintana may have heard "some bad things, but these refer only to labor organizations which are opposed to the ideals of the PAFL and are inimical to the nation."

Resolution No. 33, also submitted by the Cubans, complained that "Cuba is not on an equal footing with Hawaii, the Philippines, and Porto Rico as regards the entrance of its products into the United States" and requests the removal of import taxes on sugar. Woll declared that this resolution, "being of an intensely political nature involves the interests not alone of the citizens of Cuba, but that of other nations as well" and therefore "recommends referring this resolution to the Executive Committee of the PAFL with authorization to make a careful study of the conditions prevailing and to take such action as it finds warranted." This substitute resolution was accepted.

Resolution No. 34 became the storm center of the whole congress. It referred to the Monroe Doctrine and was submitted by the delegates of Venezuela, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic. Later when the discussion became heated the Dominican delegation withdrew their signatures from the resolution. The text of the resolution is:

> WHEREAS, Since 1898 the Government of the United States has sought to justify, by *ad hoc* interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine, the conquest of Porto Rico, Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, its semi-colonial rule of almost all Latin America, the bombardment of Vera Cruz, and a total of 35 invasions which from that year is the record of its interventionist policy in those countries;
>
> WHEREAS, The precedent of said invasions weighs like a fatal menace against the integrity of other peoples of America when these peoples cast off the yoke of dictatorships like that of Gomez in Venzuela, Leguia in Peru and Machado in Cuba, dictatorships which are now endorsed and have the backing by and of the present policy of the United States;
>
> WHEREAS, Recent events in Nicaragua bring out clearly the imminence and magnitude of the danger;
>
> WHEREAS, The conventional interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine are endorsed in their aims and purposes by the industrial and financial power of the United States, as it has been likewise endorsed with perfect clearness in a recent declaration of the American President when he said: "The person and property of a citizen are a part of the general domain of the nation, even when abroad."
>
> WHEREAS, Each and every invasion of Latin America, as that painfully registered in Ocotal, Nicaragua, yesterday, exacts a tribute of blood and causes great suffering to the class in which the Pan-American Federation of Labor is chiefly interested and the progress of which more directly affects the laboring classes of North America; therefore, be it

Resolved, 1.—That the Fifth Pan-American Labor Congress held in the Building of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C., interpreting the will of all the organizations that compose it, denounces hereby the frankly imperialistic character of the United States government, clearly and explicity set forth by President Coolidge;

2.—That this Congress declare the Monroe Doctrine to be the instrument, never concurred in by Latin America, for United States imperialism;

3.—That this Congress advocates that the American forces of occupation, where found, be withdrawn and that all unjust treaties imposed by force be annulled (Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, Dominican Republic, Haiti);

4.—That the Government of the United States be requested that Porto Rico be given the government that the majority population ask for; absolute independence; and

5.—That the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be hereby authorized to take such measures as may tend to the realization of the four points incorporated above.

For this, Woll offered the following substitute:

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have been led to believe the Monroe Doctrine was exclusively designed and applied for safeguarding the national integrity and sovereignty of the peoples of this continent against foreign assault;

WHEREAS, Such has not been in practice the sole application given to that doctrine, but it has time and again been used in detriment of the rights and liberties of the weaker nations of this Continent through far-stretched interpretations of said Doctrine with which the Pan-American Federation of Labor cannot be in accord and to which the peoples of this Continent have not given their consent;

WHEREAS, One of those strained interpretations and enlargements on the Monroe Doctrine proclaims that the person and property of a citizen of the United States are a part of the general domain of the United States as a nation, even when abroad; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor registers its firmest opinion that the citizens of any country when abroad must be respectful of and obedient to the laws of the countries wherein they may find themselves, and subject to those laws on an equal footing with the citizens of those countries, and that any investment or investments of any nature made by the citizens of any country abroad must likewise be subject respectfully to the country's laws wherein said investment has been made; and that no recourse to arms nor to force in any manner is justified in seeking to obtain for foreign citizens and foreign investments privileges above the rights that the native citizens or the investments of native citizens enjoy.

This substitution was opposed by Martinez (Venezuela) in a speech in which he attacked not only the imperialism of the United States but likewise the tyrannies of the Latin-American dictators, subservient to American capital.

Martinez's speech released a flood of patriotic speeches in defense of their countries by several "labor" delegates. First the Peruvian delegate Rios Casell rose to assure the congress that there is no tyranny in Peru or anywhere in Latin America,

except in the head of Martinez. (Great applause from the delegates of Cuba). He said that nobody was ever persecuted or exiled in Peru except the anarchists, who operate under the name of Communists, and even in these cases where the government was compelled to take protective measures, (the dictator) Leguía himself saw to it that the families of these misguided victims should not suffer. The delegate from Panama, Cordero Ayala, protested against Martinez's statement that the United States had detached Panama from Colombia. "We are as free and sovereign a nation as any other country in the world. We are a small nation but we are making an equal treaty with the United States." Then the Dominican delegation declared that they withdraw their signature from the original resolution. The Cuban delegate Delgado said that the Monroe Doctrine meant nothing else but America for the Americans and "we are all Americans," and we all owe gratitude to the United States because it liberated Cuba from the Spanish yoke.

These expressions embodying at the same time patriotism for their respective countries and loyalty to the United States greatly pleased Green. He explained that the Monroe Doctrine was beneficial to the whole American continent and it was only due to the Monroe Doctrine that South America was "not invaded by rapacious, greedy tyrannous European governments, and that the Monroe Doctrine means nothing else but America for the Americans. He said he was deeply hurt as an American when he heard such sentiments expressed against his country by a man who was its guest; but on the other hand he appreciated deeply the sentiments expressed by the delegates from Cuba, Peru, Guatemala and Santo Domingo.

De la Selva remarked that he has nothing against the doctrine as explained by Green, but that this is not the Monroe Doctrine, it is the Green Doctrine, which unfortunately is not applied and not under discussion.

After this the floor was refused to Martinez, and Green took the vote. The substitute resolution was accepted without a dissenting vote. (Only Martinez and Nicaragua abstained).

Resolution No. 35 thanked Chester Wright, the English Secretary of the PAFL, for his past services, accepted his resignation and abolished the office of English speaking secretary of the PAFL. (It is probable that this elimination of Wright is the result of his recent independent report on the Machado tyranny in Cuba.)

Other former officers of the PAFL were re-elected without opposition. The next conference will be held in Havana, Cuba, probably in 1929.

In a concluding speech Morones urged that in the future greater caution should be exercised in the admission of the delegates and all those should be excluded who cannot prove that they are members of bona fide labor organizations. He also attacked "those who arrived here only for the purpose of justifying their governments." (This was meant against the Peruvian delegates.) He asked that in the future only real labor representatives of really existing labor organizations should be admitted.

The session of July 23, was dedicated to the reading and adoption of the reports of the Executive Committee. The Cuban Arevalo and the Peruvian Rios Castell were members of this Committee.

The report on Mexican-United States relations refers to the land laws, the smuggling treaty, the migration problems and concludes with the following passage:

"We commend the action reported to us regarding the position and action of the Mexican Federation of Labor in defending itself against the overt and insidious activities of Communist propagandists and we view with pride and gratification the courageous and effective faith in democracy and freedom manifested by our brothers in that connection. They stood true to the principles of trade unionism.

"It is our hope that the relations thus far so cordially and effectively maintained may continue, for the sake of the progress of human freedom and liberty in both these great nations."

The report on Venezuela says that the Venezuelan government does not allow free opportunity for the investigation of all charges made against it, as suppressing all labor activity and comes to the conclusion that "dictatorship has not disappeared from this hemisphere."

The conference endorsed the following statement regarding

"THE COMMUNIST ATTACK UPON THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR":

> "Under this caption the executive board reports upon the hostility of the Communist International to our trade union movement. An example of the hostility of the Communist International is included in the report in the form of a quotation from the Pravda, Moscow Communist organ.
>
> "We have all been aware of this propaganda. Few, if any, of our national trade union movements have been free from this attack.
>
> "For this hostility we do not hold the people of Russia responsible. We hold the Communist International responsible. It proclaims itself committed to the philosophy of dictatorship and autocracy which can not be otherwise than in conflict with freedom and democracy.

"We shall defend our trade unionism, our democracy, our free institutions, wherever they are attacked and no matter by whom or when they are attacked. We know full well the measures that have been taken by the Communist propaganda to undermine the trade unions of this hemisphere. But we declare this hemisphere dedicated to liberty, freedom, to justice and democracy, be they assailed by the extremists and the would-be destroyers who are on either side of us.

"We commend our Executive Board for bringing this attack out into the light in its report. The red propaganda, as we have seen it at work, is the propaganda of destroyers, insidious and treacherous. A gallant foe we might respect. For this foe we have only contempt and enmity.

"Those who have, through misguided idealism or mistaken understanding, exposed this cause of destruction and terror, we shall again have with us when their understanding reveals to them the falseness of that doctrine. The great masses of the people, having truth, will find their way in time to their economic and political salvation."

Regarding the appointment of delegates to the future congresses the report said that only national labor federations will have the right to appoint delegates to the future congresses, and in cases where there are several national labor federations, the Executive Council of the PAFL will decide which federation can send a delegate.

On the Road Labor Conscription Law the Committee reported that after all it "is not as severe as was told", but nevertheless, as it is a menace to liberty it should be altered. The Peruvians refused to vote for the suggestion of the Committee headed by Woll that the Labor Conscription Law of Peru should be abolished or even modified.

Another report referred to the law promulgated in February 16, 1926, in Guatemala, which makes it a crime punishable with three years in jail to cease work collectively, and with eight years of the strikes affect "activities of public necessity".

Against the report of Woll, condemning the law and asking for its abrogation the Guatemalan "labor" delegate sent by his government, Manuel Triboiller, got up to "defend his country". He said that the law is not so bad, "that the workers have all liberty to cease work if they give 15 days' notice. The existence of Labor Department in Guatemala is proof enough that the government is in favor of labor. The Guatemalan government has given approval to all labor movements with the exception of communism, and the Pan-American Federation of Labor is also opposed to Communism. Then why protest, if otherwise there is perfect liberty. It would be detrimental to the labor movement of Guatemala to protest against that law". In spite of the objections of this interesting "bona fide labor" delegate, the resolution was accepted, and Woll appeared as more radical as these "labor delegates".

One report dealt with Argentina. The PAFL had received a serious rebuke from the Argentine workers as reported at the beginning. In revenge the report expresses sympathy with the workers of Argentina for being the victims of internal dissensions and of propagandists without scruples, of men who "seek their own profit with visionary, vicious and destructive ideas." The report calls upon the workers of Argentina to "organize unions of their own creation dedicated to the economic interests of the workers, and that the officers of the PAFL be encouraged in their efforts to obtain the affiliation of the legitimate labor movement of Argentina."

Green made the closing speech of the congress. Again "liberty, freedom, democracy, justice, fair dealing and good will." In conclusion he said:

"There exists in Latin-American countries a distrust and suspicion of United States policies and purposes. That suspicion and distrust must be removed in order that good-will and friendship among these peoples may be won.

"You should return to your homes as ambassadors of good-will and better understanding."

Kellogg could not ask for more.

Whither Wuhan?

By Sz-Toh-Li (Hankow)

Hankow, China, August 1, 1927.

THREE months ago Wuhan was still the centre, the heart of nationalist-revolutionary China. Wuhan was the only centre that could boast the support of the masses, the toiling masses of the workers and peasants—the decisive factor in every revolutionary movement. Three months ago Wuhan could easily be distinguished from Canton, where Li Chi Hsin, the reactionary tupan inaugurated his bloody dictatorship and annointed himself with the best blood of the Cantonese proletariat and peasantry. Three months ago Wuhan could also be distinguished from the military dictatorship of Chiang Kai Shi who came to the fore as the champion of the big bourgeoisie and the feudal elements of China, who were willing to compromise as easily with the Northern militarists as with the imperialist powers. Three months ago the voice and authority of the Wuhan Government commanded the fear if not the respect of even the most venomous enemies of the Chinese Revolution. At home the reaction dared not raise its head; abroad the imperialist powers were already beginning to reconcile themselves to the idea of the permanence and stability of the Nationalist Government. Three months ago the Wuhan Government still enjoyed the unqualified support and solidarity of the international proletariat and of the exploited peoples throughout the world. The First Workers' Republic, occupying one sixth of the globe and representing a mighty revolutionary nation of 140 million workers and peasants, lent every ounce of their phenomenal energy and revolutionary fervor in support of the Chinese Revolution and of the Wuhan Government. Three months ago the workers, peasants, soldiers and students, and even the merchants were taught by the propagandists of the Kuomintang that the Chinese revolution constituted an integral part of the World Revolution. Wuhan, as the heir of Red Canton, promised fairly to become the second Mecca of the World Revolution. Labour delegations and trade union representatives from the imperialist and colonial countries came to revolutionary China to see for themselves what profound changes were taking place in awakening, giant China. The Wuhan Government, as formerly Canton, became an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted of all the colonial and semi-colonial countries: Hindus, Koreans, Javanese, Filipinos, Formosans, etc. Three months ago the first International Workers'

Delegation, composed of representatives of the working class of the three major imperialist countries, was still on the territory of the Wahan Government, acquainting itself with the work and progress of the revolutionary forces of the new China, especially with the condition of the toiling masses and their organizations, The Trades and Peasants' Unions. This the International Workers' Delegation could then do freely, for the Trades and Peasants' Unions were free and strong and thriving without any hindrance on the part of the reactionary forces. The social revolution was beginning to shoot its roots deeply into the soil freshly tilled by the political revolution. The agrarian revolution was beginning to sweep certain sections of Nationalist territory with its mighty waves. Three months ago, representatives of over fourteen million trade unionists of China, Korea, Java, U. S. S. R., England, U. S. A. and France met in Wuhan at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, whose first word was spoken in condemnation of imperialist invasion of China, and whose first appeal was to the workers of the Pacific and of the whole world to come to the active support of the Chinese Revolution. As with the International Workers' Delegation, so at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, representatives of the Kuomintang and of the Nationalist Government made grandiloquent declarations about the decisive role played in the revolution by the Chinese proletariat, the peasantry and the Trade Unions; they declared solemnly that never, NEVER would the Nationalist Government deceive or betray the workers and peasants. Shortly after the Pan-Pacific Conference, there was convened, also in Wuhan, the IV Trade Union Congress of the All-China Labour Federation. Representatives from all parts of the country, even from provinces still in the hands of the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western militarists and reactionaries, gathered in Hankow, reported on the condition of the workers in the various sections of the country, and, breathing inspiration from the revolutionary atmosphere of Wuhan and from the revolutionary experience and militancy of the Chinese proletariat and its leadership, they jointly adopted momentous decisions which were to acid-test their own strength and the revolutionary character of the Nationalist Government. Here too, eloquent representatives of the Nationalist Government and of the Kuomintang assured the delegates that the two main moving forces of the revolution were the workers and peasants, and that the Nationalist Government would and could never betray the interests of these two classes which constituted the mainstay of the Chinese Revolution.

TODAY.

TODAY the Wuhan Government is no longer revolutionary. It is completely in the hands of what may be called the Nationalist Militarists. No ingenious confusion on the part of Wong Ching Wei or any one else can deceive us. Today the Wuhan Government cannot by any stretch of the imagination be distinguished from that of Li Chi Hsin or that of Chiang Kai Shih. How could it be? The trade unions have all been raided and rummaged in true Chang Tso Lin fashion by Nationalist troops under omnipotent reactionary generals. Not a single trade union is open today in the Wuhan cities. The trade union leaders are either under arrest (if not executed) or have been forced to flee. Martial law is the order of the day. Strikes are forbidden and trade union organizers are outlawed. Every movement for the improvement of the condition of the workers is branded as Communist and is punishable by death. The trade and peasants' unions in the Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi provinces have been destroyed and many leaders and active workers executed. Reaction reigns supreme and has become brazenly daring. Wuhan today is stifled with posters and proclamations issued and distributed by the reactionaries, calling for the complete destruction of the trade unions. The leaders of the All-China Labour Federation and the Hupeh General Labour Union are being hunted down like criminals. Proclamations by the Government, the Military Council and the counter-revolutionary garrison commander offer big rewards for the denunciation and arrest of labour leaders and strike agitators. Only the other day the Chairman and two Secretaries of the Wharf Coolies' Union were arrested by garrison troops on the charge that they were instigating the workers to a general strike. Executions of workers and active trade unionists take place daily in Wuhan. Many of the most active arsenal workers of Hanyang have been executed. The "People's Tribune" of August 5, carries the following news item: "Wang Fang Hsin, a reactionary, was executed by order of Wuhan Garrison Headquarters on Wednesday (Aug. 3). He was discovered to have plotted for a general strike . . ." The "Hankow Herald" of the same date reports that on Aug. 3, about ten former workers of the British Cigarette Co., being officials of the B. C. C. Workers' Union, were arrested and handed over to garrison headquarters, charged with instigating local labour to a general strike. (They have probably met with the same fate). The "People's Tribune" of Aug. 11, reports that twenty-five "communists" including the Chairman of the Kiukiang General

Labour Union were executed in that city by order of the Nationalist Government.

Does all this not recall the days of Sun Chuan Fang in Shanghai or of Wu Pei Fu in Hankow? The cynicism of the Wuhan counter-revolutionaries surpasses the morbid bestiality of a Mussolini. When the Italian Fascist Generalissimo murders trade unionists and reyolutionaries, he at least does not charge the victims with being reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. The Wuhan executioners on the contrary, murder the trade union leaders and revolutionary workers on the charge that they are reactionaries(!). This is of course intended to deceive the working masses. But the workers will not be deceived. They know their leaders and will avenge them in no uncertain manner.

With the closing of the trade unions, the labour pickets have been disarmed, arrested or driven away. And here enters another characteristic feature into the new reaction of Wuhan. The newspapers of Aug. 11, report that armed corps of "labourers" have been organized under the auspices of the Labour Department of the Kuomintang for the purpose of "protecting the workers against the plots of the revolutionary labour leaders". . . . Judging from the experience of the Chinese working class in Canton, Shanghai and elsewhere, there can be no doubt but that these "armed labour corps" are a new edition of Fascist bands organized for the purpose of disrupting the labour and peasant movements. On this score, as on most any score, the Wuhan Government may without hesitation shake hands with Chiang Kai Shih and Li Chi Hsin.

Not only the trade unions, but the Kuomintang is also being "reorganized" from top to bottom, and the henchmen of the militarists are put in control everywhere.

Today the Wuhan Government cannot claim the support of the workers and peasants or of their organizations. How could it, when the workers and peasants are oppressed and every movement suppressed, their leaders executed, and the organizations destroyed by irresponsible soldiery? Today all the corrupt elements, all the feudal landlords, the gentry, and all the militarists on Nationalist territory are drunk with their temporary triumph. Today the Northern militarists are strengthened and the imperialist powers encouraged to play their old game of oppressing the Chinese people unhindered by the vigorous and determined, revolutionary nationalist movement of a few months ago. Today the Wuhan Government cannot claim the sympathy of the international working class, for the simple reason that by its rapacious acts directed against the labour

movement, it has sunk to the level of Chiang Kai Shih, Li Chi Hsin and Wu Pei Fu. Today the Wuhan Government no longer enjoys the solidarity and support of the First Workers' Republic of the U. S. S. R., because it would indeed be demanding or expecting the impossible to expect the revolutionary working class of Russia to lend its support to a government which crushes the labour movement and executes its labour leaders. Today Wuhan is no longer the asylum it was for the persecuted revolutionaries of other oppressed countries. Revolutionary Hindus, Koreans and Javanese are as unsafe as they are in the domain of Chiang Kai Shih or Li Chi Hsin, who two months ago had arrested two Javanese delegates to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference. Today even the speeches of the same eloquent confusionists who but two months ago prattled about the Chinese Revolution being an integral part of the World Revolution, and the Nationalist Government ever betraying the interests of the working class and peasantry . . . yes, even their speeches are not the same. . . . And their deeds are definitely counter-revolutionary.

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HOW THE COUP STARTED.

IT started with the blood bath in Hunan, where the labour and peasant movements were very strong and highly developed. For fear of the agrarian revolution, the reactionary militarists in the province decided to crush the labour and peasant movements. The trade unions and the peasants' unions were literally destroyed. Hundreds of workers and peasants were executed. This on the territory of the Nationalist Government, under the very nose of the Central Kuomintang. There could be no mistake about it: the Nationalist Government was in the grip of the reactionaries. General Tang Shen Chi, the boss of Hunan Province, was the self-appointed "investigator", judge and executioner. What he dictated the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang "approved". The atmosphere was systematically poisoned with cries, slogans, posters, articles, speeches and manifestoes reeking with accusations of "infantil sickness of the labour and peasant movements", "inmature action", "undesirable elements leading the workers and peasants", "nihilism and anarchy as opposed to Sun Yat Sen'ism", etc., etc. "Public Opinion" was being prepared for the counter-revolutionary coup. The masses were to be deceived.

On June 30, the last and closing session of the IV. Congress of the All-China Labour Federation took place. During the same night the A. C. L. F. headquarters were raided by garrison

troops and everything destroyed or stolen. Then the pickets were disarmed. The Nationalist Government and the Kuomintang did nothing to restore order, except issue a few manifestoes with barren phrases about "protecting the workers and peasants". This was only a manoeuvre intended to deceive the masses. In the instructions issued by the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang on July 7, we find such pearls as: ". . . Because of the defective organization of the trade unions and peasants' unions, no capable leaders appear, and because of the lack of capable leaders, the existing organizations are bad (exact wording of General Tang Shen Chi's 'recommendations' to the Government). . . . The peasants and labourers are illiterate and therefore the unions are easily manipulated by a few persons. . . . Taking advantage of the situation, undesirable elements have gained access to the unions and have tried to carry out their selfish plans"(!). . . . This mind you, was only one week after the IV. Trade Union Congress, at which the representatives of the Kuomintang and the Government spoke of the leading role of the trade unions in the revolutionary movement and of the asset of revolutionary trade union leaders. Compare these sweet words with those in the manifesto of the K. M. T. (see People's Tribune of Aug. 3) regarding its new labour policy: ". . . The motive of the Central K. M. T. in correcting mistakes committed by peasants and labourers is to lead such movements into their proper channels and place suitable persons in lead of such movements in order to ensure their rapid development. . . ." How stupid and shortsighted to believe that a party like the Kuomintang which has in its ranks so many merchants, militarists, gentry and petty bourgeois elements, should force their "suitable persons" on the Chinese trade unions and peasants' organizations, to "lead them into proper channels". . . . No! The workers and peasants will reject such encroachments in an unmistakable manner.

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THE THEORETICIANS OF REACTION.

THEN follows a series of confusion injections by such eloquent confusionists as Wong Ching Wei, in the form of a series of articles dealing with the K. M. T. and the masses, and the land problem and the class struggle, and the U. S. S. R. and China and Capitalist countries, and everything under the sun except the burning question whether the destruction of the labour and peasant movements—which was going on while Mr. Wong Ching Wei was writing his articles and pronouncing his speeches—and the wholesale execution of labour and peasant

leaders, were what he, the self-styled apostle of "pure Sun Yat Sen'ism" considered to be in accordance with the principles of Dr. Sun. It is typical of this self-styled heir of Sun Yat Sen'ism that he defines the National Revolution simply as "the struggle of an oppressed people against imperialism". More than that he does not see and does not want. The social revolution does not exist for him. The class struggle to him is a crime (!) Let the toiling masses, the workers and peasants be good and help the Chinese bourgeosie beat imperialism in order that it may itself have the monopoly on exploiting the Chinese working class and the peasantry—and Mr. Wong Ching Wei will thank them. . . . (See "People's Tribune" of Aug. 8 and 9).

The height of confusion and learned stupidity is reached in another series of articles published during the same period of preparation for the reactionary coup by Kou Meng Yu, the Minister of Education, Mr. Kou throws the terrible bugaboo of Nihilism into the discussion, and quotes Dostoyevsky himself . . . and Bakunin and even Marx . . . in an effort to prove that the present actively revolutionary labour and peasant movements in China lead to Nihilism which is opposed to Sun Yat Sen'ism. . . .

The trio of petty bourgeois theoretician and ideologists of "Nationalist Revolution" is completed by Sun Fo, Minister of Communications, who also ventures into theoretical discussions (read: justification of the reactionary coup) which furnish a splendid shield to all the dark forces at present operating at Wuhan. Mr. Sun Fo who seems to have learned mighty little from his revolutionary father Sun Yat Sen, poses as attorney-general against the masses. He accuses the masses of no less a crime than "the illegal usurpation of political power" from the Kuomintang and the Government. ". . . The great responsibility for the illegal activity of the people(!) falls upon the shoulders of persons who are leading the mass movement. In order to avoid such a crisis and the defeat of the Revolution, we must get rid of the misrepresentations of the theory of Nationalist Revolution . . ." (See "People's Tribune July 15). Indeed the gods must laugh to hear this self-satisfied and vain-glorious son of a great man accuse the masses of "usurping political power". The masses! With what contempt these little pups who were brought to light by the same masses he now despises, speak of the masses! As if the masses of workers and peasants who constitute the overwhelming majority, perhaps 95% of the population, could "usurp" anything! Between the masses and Mr. Sun Fo it is not difficuult to find the usurper. . . .

In another "theoretical" article ("P. T." of July 20), entitled "The only way for the Nationalist Revolution", Mr. Sun Fo

points out three possibilities: Facism, Bolshevism or Sun Yat Sen'ism. He pretends to reject the first of these. But let us ask our complacent theoretician whether the destruction of the labour movement and the execution of labor leaders is nearer to Fascism than it is to Sun Yat Sen'ism. Or does Mr. Sun Fo so understand the three principles enunciated by his father that he could shelter the counter-revolutionary labour policy of the last few months under the label "Pure Sun Yat Sen'ism"?

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THE PRACTITIONERS.

WITH such ideological preparation, the events which followed came as no surprise to anyone. With three such ideologists standing intellectual-guard to the out-and-out militarists who first wrecked the labour and peasant movement in Hunan (the hated reactionary General Ho Chen of the 35th Army), every obstacle seemed cleared away for them in Hankow and in the Wuhan cities. General Ho Chen becomes garrison commander of Hankow. He orders his soldiers to raid and destroy all the trade unions in the city. (For a complete list of trade unions so dealt with see statement of Hupeh General Union in "People's Tribune" of July 23). The trade union leaders are forced to flee; they are hounded by the soldiers and spies of Ho Chen, who apes his intellectual masters mentioned above and also indulges in theorizing on National Revolution. In an open proclamation (see "Hankow Herald" July 19) General Ho Chen asks a series of questions and gives the answers to them: ". . . Is the mission to break all the national systems, eliminate all classes and to establish a socialistic order—National Revolution? No! National Revolution has for its object the overthrow of imperialism, emancipation of the people and the establishment of an independent state. . . . Why should we then place under the revolutionary banner all the anti-humanity and anti-national practices, systems and thoughts such as advocating prostitution, overthrowing moral teachings, beating down the learned class, overthrowing the system of merchants, supporting local rascals and overthrowing all family conceptions. . . ."

In another manifesto issued to his troops Ho Chen gives a long list of crimes committed by the labour leaders:—". . . ancestral temples confiscated, executions, posters urging women to forsake their husbands, students slogans denouncing their own parents, chaos, anarchy, grave tombs removed . . . *and the preaching of the class struggle. . . .*" This manifesto ends

with the slogan: Support Wong Ching Wei, Sun Fo, Tang Shen Chi, support Buddhism and Confucianism". . . .

We congratulate Messrs. Wong Ching Wei, Kou Meng Yu and Sun Fo on the splendid results of their tutorship. . . . The militarist Ho Chen who has the lives of hundreds of workers and peasants on his conscience, and the super-militarists of the same type (Tang Shen Chi & Co.) are now the honourable executors of the will of Dr. Sun—as Messrs. Wong Ching Wei and Sun Fo understand and interpret it. Woe to that national revolution which depends on practitioners such as Ho Chen and such theoreticians as the trio above mentioned!

There is one phrase in Ho Chen's proclamation which gives away the whole show: "Preaching the class struggle" . . . That is precisely where the dog lies buried. . . . It is not because temples have been confiscated or prostitution advocated, or women urged to leave their husbands (how familiar all these stupid accusations sound to those who are conversant with the counter-revolutionary press which vituperated in the same manner about the Russian Revolution), no—it is not because the labour movement and the labour leaders threatened to "break up the family" (how familiar again!), but it is because the revolutionary labour movement of China did not abandon the *class struggle*, that the reactionaries of all colours and shades found themselves together in the cause of exterminating the revolutionary labour and peasant movements. That is where Mr. Wong Ching Wei and Ho Chen and Sun Fo and Kou Meng Yu and Tang Shen Chi and Chiang Kai Shi and Li Chi Hsin and all the militarists and reactionaries and brief-holders for the bourgeoisie find themselves under the same quilt dreaming like dreams. . . .

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THE VOICE OF THE LEFT KUOMINTANG.

AMIDST this incessant cry of Bolshevism, Nihilism, Infantile Sickness, Mass Usurpation, Undesirable Labour and Peasant Leaders, and the idiotic "revelation" by the same Ho Chen of a "communist plot to kill all Chinese above 25 years of age who have not joined the Communist Party" (see "Hankow Herald" July 27)—a few fearless and clear voices may be distinguished, which give the lie to all these bugaboo cries and slogans and revelations. They are the voices of such personalities as Mme. Sun Yat Sen (member of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang) and Tang Yen Tah (until recently Chief of the Political Department of the Nationalist-Revolutionary Armies).

No one has as yet accused Mme. Sun of being communist or bolshevik; nor Tang Yen Tah. Both Mme. Sun and T. Y. T. have resigned their posts and quit the Nationalist Government for reasons which are clearly set forth in declarations issued by them. It is characteristic of the state of mind of the "Saviours of the Revolution" of the new Hankow regime that the declaration of Mme. Sun was suppressed and the "People's Tribune" of July 17 was confiscated by the military authorities because it carried the said statement. What is it that the new masters of Wuhan fear so much in the statement of Mme. Sun?

> ". . . Some members of the party Executive are so defining the principles and policies of Dr. Sun Yat Sen that they seem to me to do violence to Dr. Sun's ideas and ideals. . . . In the last analysis all revolution must be social revolution based upon fundamental changes in society; otherwise it is not a revolution but merely a change of government. . . . As to the workers and peasants—these classes become the basis of our strength in our struggle to overthrow Imperialism . . . and effectively unify the country. They are the new pillars for the building of a free new China. . . . Without their support the Kuomintang as a revolutionary party becomes weak, chaotic and illogical in its social platform. . . . If we adopt any policy which weakens these supports, we shake the very foundations of our party, betray the masses, and are falsely loyal to our leader. . . . At the moment I feel that we are turning away from the policies of Sun Yat Sen. Therefore I must withdraw until wiser policies prevail . . ."

Mme. Sun says in so many plain words that the present policy of the Wuhan regime is a direct betrayal of the masses of workers and peasants. She speaks of the "social revolution" which necessarily involves the class struggle and deepgoing changes in the social structure and the social relations of the country. This is unpleasant and jarring music to the ears of the reactionaries now in control of Wuhan.

Tang Yet Tah, in an article published in "People's Tribune" of July 7, calls for a consistent struggle against reaction. He denounced the false cry of "excesses" and points to the necessity of basing the revolution on the masses. In his letter of resignation to the Kuomintang, Tang Yen Tah accuses: ". . . many have deserted the three principles". . . . He reminds that when Chiang Kai Shih started massacring the workers and peasants, he demanded a punitive expedition against the traitor Chiang. But now ". . . those who formerly favored the expedition—now prepare for surrender and compromise; those who formerly advocated the full protection of the interests of the workers—have started to massacre them." He then proceeds to warn that if the anti-labour and anti-peasant policy is continued "the revolutionary significance of the K. M. T. will be lost and its power reduced to naught. The natural result will be that the Kuomintang will itself become counter-revolutionary. . . . ". . . If

in the expedition against Chiang Kai Shih we do not attack him from the standpoint of his feudalistic and counter-revolutionary actions, but as an individual, it will become a private struggle between militarists. . . . The consequence will be a failure as in 1911". It should be noted that Mme. Sun and T. Y. T. do not stand alone in their attitude.

The Wuhan Government today, though it still shouts a few hazy slogans against Chiang Kai Shih, does not and cannot seriously mean it, for what on earth distinguishes the bestialities and executions of Tang Shen Chi & Co. in Wuhan and Hanyang from those in Shanghai and Canton. What difference does it make to the Chinese worker whether he is murdered by the militarists in Shanghai or in Hankow; by Sun Chuan Fang, Chiang Kai Shih or by the order of Wong Ching Wei or Tang Shen Chi? What difference does it make to the Chinese peasant whether he is massacred by the reactionaries under Chiang Kai Shih in Kiangsi, Li Chi Hsin in Kwangtung or Tang Shen Chi in Hunan . . . (We shall therefore not be at all surprised if we hear very soon of a happy reunion of Wuhan and Nanking, of Wong Ching Wei and Chiang Kai Shih.)

Following upon the resignation of Mme. Sun and Tang Yeh Tah, came that of the Labour Minister who pointed out that the new masters of the Wuhan Government have hindered every move of his in favor of the working class. Sou Chao Ging is Chairman of the All-China Labour Federation. He is a true proletarian and famous for his splendid leadership of the Seamen in the Canton-Hongkong strike. He is a member of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and he delivered the report on the situation of the Chinese Labour Movement at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference. The Wuhan Government has already issued a warrant for his arrest and the arrest of Li-Li-San, Secretary of the A. C. L. F. We have before us the draft of various labour laws worked out by Sou Chao Ging, which were stranded and pigeonholed by the Kuomintang Executive. A new Labour Ministry has been set up, and what do we hear from it when it is inaugurated? In his inaugural address, the brand new "Labour" minister, a certain Wang Fa Chin, declared that the difficulty in improving the condition of the workers was entirely to blame on the "so-called leaders of the trade union movement". He also spoke of an "unbridled" labour movement in recent times. The first act of the new Labour Ministry was directed against the workers and their trade unions. In a proclamation issued by this ministry in the beginning of August (see "People's Tribune" of Aug. 4), we find the following shameless words: ". . . It has been learned from various sources that there are many reactionary (!) ele-

ments who have recently coined all sorts of rumors and have tried to instigate a general strike. . . . Any labourer whose conduct is detrimental to public peace and order will be severely dealt with." Such is the new "labour" policy of this new "labour" ministry.

* * *

CONCLUSION.

THE Chinese Revolution is not "over" as so many who wish it were, believe. The Chinese Revolution is on. It is not a passing wave; it is a deluge which, once started, will sweep away the last semblance of the old order of things. The main forces of the Chinese Revolution remain the proletariat and the peasantry. Against the united front of these two classes every reactionary and militarist will shatter his skull and the petty bourgeois intellectual worms who now theorize on "National Revolution without class struggle", will die of starvation or consume their own vitals. The temporary bloody glory of the reaction, whether under the leadership of Chiang Kai Chih or Tang Shen Chi, are but passing episodes in the drama of revolution. No political power can last long without the support of the two mainstays of the revolution: the workers and peasants. The Chinese Revolution cannot be reduced to naught by ever so many decrees of the old or new militarists. The cry of Communism and Bolshevism and Nihilism cannot blind the workers and peasants to the fact that they are being oppressed, their organizations destroyed and their leaders executed. The bourgeoisie and all its auxiliary forces are scared to death by the prospect of the Revolution being accomplished under the leadership of the working class. It therefore suppresses the labour movement and "reorganizes" the trades and peasants' unions. But Chiang Kai Shih and Li Chi Hsin were ahead of them in this respect . . . and Wu Pei Fu and Sun Chuan Fang, though they are not so well versed in the three principles of Sun Yat Sen, were even ahead of these. Their logic is common; their words are almost identical; their deeds are as drops of water alike unto each other; their methods are the same, their fate is the same—oblivion. The Chinese working class has advanced too far forward on the path of revolution to be driven back or crushed so easily for any length of time. The Chinese Revolution lives in the millions and tens of millions of exploited workers and peasants. Temporary reverses may take place. The final victory though, is assured, for once arisen, the giant proletarian and peasant classes will not be downed.

China and American Imperialist Policy

By EARL BROWDER

WHEN the American gunboats joined with the British in shelling Nanking on March 24, there was great joy in the interventionist camp, particularly in the Shanghai British newspapers. This act and the later identic notes, was taken as a sign that the U. S. Government had bowed before the British policy in China. Indeed, there was good reason for such belief, for if the shelling of Nanking and the following notes were not to be merely a first step toward a broad application of armed force to crush the Chinese revolution, then it became a silly, futile, irresponsible act, without even imperialist logic.

The closing days of April, however, have shown that American imperialist policy is not so simple in relation to China. Coolidge's public speeches, coupled with the instructions sent to MacMurray in Peking, have again halted the projected British intervention, which was to have occupied Hankow. The Shanghai British press, in high rage, is denouncing the U. S. Government in unmeasured terms for this "treason".

Thus, again, has American imperialist policy performed one of its characteristic wobbles on the question of China. This is not an accident. These seemingly uncoordinated and incomprehensible contradictions in American policy in China are the result of the struggle within American imperialist circles, a struggle between two lines of policy toward China. This struggle has not yet been decisively settled; American policy still wavers uncertainly between the two. It is very important that these two policies, and the forces behind them, be understood better.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN RIVALRY

A MAJOR feature of world politics is the struggle between Great Britain and America for control of the world markets. This struggle was, for many years, centered in Central and South America and the islands of the Carribean Sea. Up until 1900, American policy in China consisted mainly of dragging along in the rear of Great Britain. Quickly after the Spanish-American war, however, the United States awoke to its "manifest destiny" in the Pacific; that struggle which began primarily as one for control of the Carribean, had ended by giving America the Phillippine Islands and Hawaii—major po-

sitions in the Pacific. From this point onward, the Anglo-American rivalry changed its center to the Pacific Ocean.

American imperialist policy in the struggle for control of Latin-America had been crystallized in what is known as the Monroe Doctrine. This is the "closed door" of the Americas, against European powers—and Japan. But in the Far East, American imperialism found all the positions already occupied, mainly by Great Britain and Japan. And these two rivals of the rising American power, were still in close alliance with one another. America was still, in spite of holding the Philippines, a rank "outsider" in the Far East. Hence the cry for the "open door" in China, the demand for a "fair share" of the imperialist loot, became sharp and imperative on the part of the United States. What had been in Latin-America the "closed door", in the Far East was suddenly transformed into the "open door".

As the United States became a Pacific power, especially with the opening of the Panama Canal, a new Pacific orientation began to take place in her foreign policy. An "independent" line in China became more and more insistently demanded. Great markets of untold riches were to be had—but Great Britain was already in ahead, with a monopolistic position, and a powerful ally, Japan.

The World War withdrew imperialist attention for a few years from the Far East, except that of Japan. The latter, however, was busy with the notorious "21 points" and in occupying Shantung and Manchuria. American imperialism was quite shocked when, at the Versailles peace conference in 1919, she realized to what an extent she had been frozen out of China. Not only was Great Britain sitting tighter than ever, but also, with British support, Japan was taking everything else in sight.

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT Wilson at Versailles knew quite well that American imperialism was opposed to sanctioning Japan's grab in China. But, as the price of support by Great Britain and Japan for his League of Nations idea, he acquiesced in it. This was his undoing, for American imperialism turned against him and destroyed him. By this time, imperialist interests were keenly aware that in the Pacific, particularly in China, the destinies of the world would soon be fought out.

But to fight immediately against both Great Britain and Japan was too dangerous. They must be separated, the alliance must be broken. This was achieved by a combination of threats and concessions to Great Britain. At the Washington Conference, 1921, the Anglo-Japanese alliance was broken; and here

also, again, China was sacrificed to a compromise between Great Britain and the United States. This was the logical outcome; the U. S. was and is interested in China only insofar as she can use China against her rivals, or gain direct advantages for herself. (Here let me add a word on August 8: the inability of the U. S. and Britain at the recent Naval Conference to find even a temporary formula of compromise is due, primarily, to the re-establishment of the alliance with Japan, a "secret" understanding that is known to the whole world.)

American imperialism's rivalry with Japan is not so broad or deep as that with Great Britain. *But it is more immediate and more acute,* it contains a *more immediate threat of war.* The fundamental reasons for this are, that the U. S. must defeat one at a time, and chooses Japan for the first struggle because (a) Japan is the weaker, the more easily defeated, and (b) because it is easier and more profitable to find temporary compromises with Great Britain than with Japan; the latter has contacts with America only where the interests clash sharply, while British can still give a quid pro quo.

It is of more than ordinary interest to remark again, that the imperialism of the United States is firmly convinced that it will soon fight a war against Japan. It was barely two years ago that an official in the Navy Department created a great scandal by declaring publicly that the American Navy was preparing for such a war. One of the most widely-read and discussed books in years, has been Hector Bywater's description of an imaginary war between the U. S. and Japan, supposed to occur in 1931-32. And the following news despatch from an American news-service emphasizes the same point:

> "Washington, Feb. 21:—Favorable report has been made by the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs on the bill providing for a $3,500,000 depot in the State of Nevada to store naval munitions.
>
> "Storing of naval munitions for the Pacific fleet and Pacific Coast defenses at a point in the desert, far inland and across the mountains from any Pacific Port, has never before been seriously suggested. Fear of a Japanese attack upon the Pacific coast determined the decision."

IN TRANSITION BETWEEN TWO POLICIES

FROM all this tangle of rivalries and greeds (with many more complications and factors which we have no time to go into now) rise the hesitations, the vacillations, the seeming contradictions of American actions and policy in China. American imperialism is in a period of transition between two policies, the old policy of accord and accommodation with the other imperialist powers, and a new policy of driving for complete

American dominance in the Pacific. It is very probable that for several years, the United States will waver and shuffle about on each critical question in regard to China, and, according to the exegencies, of the moment, will make a trade with Britain, whereby British policy in China gains a temporary support, or, on the contrary, will take another step in the establishment of that much-heralded "independent" policy, which is coming to realization slowly—but surely.

This characteristic wavering of American policy toward China is especially expressed in events since 1919; it is seen in Wilson's negotiations at Versailles; it comes out sharply at the Washington Conference; it is seen in the attitude towards the Nationalist movement; it was expressed in the shelling of Nanking and the identic notes, followed by withdrawal from the joint action. It will be expressed again and again in the events to come.

All these apparent waverings, hesitations, vacillations, can be understood only if studied, not as manifestations of a policy toward China considered as a "separate question", but rather as a part of a very complicated three cornered struggle of America against Japan and Great Britain, and each against all the others. And the arena of this great battle is not only China, but the entire world.

WHAT DOES AMERICAN IMPERIALISM REALLY WANT?

IT is clear that America is gradually developing a policy in the Far East that sharply contradicts that of Great Britain. What does this new policy mean for Chinese people, for the Chinese revolution? Is it directed toward helping the Chinese people to throw off their old fetters and emerge as a free, strong, united Nation?

There are two sides to the answer to these questions. First, it must be said that the existence of deep, sharp struggles between the imperialist powers, is decidedly favorable to the Chinese revolution. Imperialist rivalries constitute one of the great international factors which insure the success of the Chinese revolution. (The other chief international factors are (a) support by the Soviet Union, which has broken the imperialist world front; (b) the national liberation movement in other lands; (c) the inner decline of British economic life; and (d) the growing revolutionary workingclass forces).

But if the existence of different policies toward China on the part of Great Britain and America is, objectively, an aid to the Chinese revolution, this is a very different thing from saying that it is the policy of the United States to help the revolution.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than such a statement. American imperialism wants to halt the revolution, far short of its goal of social and economic revolution; although quite willing to see British imperialism driven out of China, her aim is to replace it with American imperialism; wishing to see a Chinese Government able to resist the aggressions of Japan, she wants that Government weak enough that it must lean for support on America; opposing the dismemberment of China, it is because American imperialism expects, itself, to hold the hegemony of all China. In short, American imperialist policy is just as ruthless, greedy and oppressive as that of Britain. Its goal is more ambitious, being complete control of all China. It is ultimately more dangerous, because it is more powerful and fights with subtler weapons. After British imperialism is defeated in China, American imperialism will press forward for its conquest, the campaign for which is already under way.

CORRUPTION BY MACHINERY AND LOANS

AMERICAN imperialism relies, for its conquest of China, upon its enormous surplus of machinery and money, which are the two things of which China stands most in need. American imperialism looks upon China as the field, which it needs above all else, for great loans and investments which will create great markets for steel, Machinery, etc. But American imperialism will require "guarantees", which will be of such a nature as to stop short the development of the Chinese revolution, and turn Chinese national independence into a thin shadow. Such conditions will doubtless include the following:

1. Workers and peasants must not have any decisive role in the Chinese Government. Trade unions must be "tamed" or destroyed.

2. All talk about socialism, nationalizing the railroads, banks, and heavy industry, must be suppressed. Chinese industry, transportation, and finance, must be based upon private ownership.

3. Mortgages must be given to American imperialists on all important works, accompanied by American supervision and control.

Given such conditions, American imperialism would doubtless be glad to grant all other things as nonessential. The American money lords expect, by finance and machinery, to accomplish what Britain failed to do with warships and troops—the conquest of China. America also uses warships—but they follow after the mortgages. That is a later stage. Witness Haiti, Nicaragua, etc.

AMERICA, CENTER OF WORLD REACTION

IT will be well for Nationalist China to remember, when dealing with America, what is the latter's role in world politics today. It is the role of center, organizer, leader of the reactionary forces of the world. American imperialism today draws tribute from all parts of the world, and its accumulating wealth as constantly goes forth to further corrupt, enslave, exploit.

It is not simply due to a whim on the part of Coolidge, that the United States refusese to have any relation with the Union of Soviet Republics. It is, on the contrary, because there is fundamental opposition, antagonism, of the United States to every power which is able to resist its aggressive expansion, its imperialist penetration; this antagonism deepens to bitter rage when, as in the case of the Soviet Union, this other power becomes the center, organizer, and leader of the exploited peoples and classes of the world.

Toward revolutionary China, American imperialism holds the same deep antagonism. This enmity of American imperialism, the Chinese revolution cannot avoid unless it is ready to deny itself, destroy and halt its own work, submit itself to the violation of American imperialism instead of British imperialism.

But if this enmity cannot be avoided, it can be defeated. Although the most powerful imperialism in the world, even America, in alliance with all the other imperialist governments, broke her teeth on the Soviet Union and was forced to retreat in baffled rage. That was becaus, not only were the people of Russia solidly united behind the revolutionary party, but also because they had the assistance of allies, the revolutionary workers within the imperialist lands. China has the same powerful allies, plus the greater national liberation movements, plus the successful revolutionary power of the Soviet Union. With these forces, China may resolutely press forward in her revolution, confident in the victory over British imperialism, and also over the more powerful enemy, American imperialism. To this end, the policies and forces of American imperialism should be closely studied in detail. When the power of American imperialism is broken, that is the day of victory for the world revolution.

Marx and Engels on America

By AVROM LANDY

(Conclusion)

This is the theme that characterized both Marx' and Engels' thinking throughout the entire decade from 1850 on. Scarcely had they recorded the facts of a new period of prosperity than they began to scan the horizon for an approaching crisis. They searched for the starting point of the revolution in the objective crises as they had their origin now in China, now in America, and now in Europe itself. Personal hardship gave way to intense satisfaction at the prospect of an imminent revolution. In this period, their attention is concentrated on the contradictions of capitalist industry and the world market. The existence of a class conscious proletariat and its organized vanguard, without which a proletarian revolution is impossible, in spite of the anarchy of capitalist production, is tacitly assumed. Given a crisis, the revolution, they were convinced, would take on a socialist character. The reason for this lay in their conviction that the revolution would occur within the limits of Europe, the center of the capatilist world with a numerous proletariat with the experiences of the French revolution and English chartism behind it.

There interest in America was limited by its bearing on the development of the revolution in Europe.

On September 23, 1851, for example, Engels writes to Marx: "Let us hope the Australian gold-stew does not retard the commercial crisis. At any rate, it is momentarily creating a new, for the most part fictitious, market and is driving cotton up, since the sheep-flocks are being neglected."[20]

Less than a year later, on April 20, 1852, he writes to Marx again, saying: "According to all regulations, the crisis must come this year, and it probably will; however, when one considers the present, entirely unexpected elasticity of the East Indian market and the confusion brought in by California and Australia, as well as the cheapness of most of the raw materials which keeps the products of industry equally cheap and the

[20] "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Engels und Marx." Hrsg. von A. Bebel u. E. Bernstein. I. Bd. Stuttgart 1913. p. 245.

absence of all large speculation, one is almost tempted to prophesy an extraordinarily increased endurance to the present period of prosperity."[21]

On August 20th of the same year, Marx even expresses the doubt that the approaching crisis might bring the revolution on much more quickly than would be desirable. "In France, according to the Gazette Agricole," he writes, " a deficit of the next harvest of a third below the average, which, according to J. B. Say, means famine in France. — In Germany medium harvest. In England already a flow of money from the Bank for corn purchases. Incidentally, insane speculation in the City. Last week bankruptcy on the Stock Exchange. Finally, in North America, as I see from the New York Herald, the most insane speculation in railways, banks, housing-construction, unheard-of expansion of the credit system, etc. Is that not approaching the crisis? The revolution might come earlier than would be desirable for us. Nothing worse than when the revolutionists must provide for bread."[22]

In an undated letter to Marx, written sometime during the summer of 1852, Engels writes: "The crisis certainly appears to be wanting to come, even if the recent failures were only forerunners. But France stays in the sauce, and that is quite a bit. — The small panic in the gold market seems past, the consols and railway-shares are rising fast again, money is easier, speculation still distributed over corn, cotton, steamboats, mining-operations, etc. . . . I do not believe in a longer prosperity than October or November. . . . Besides, it still depends very much on the intensity of the crisis whether it will produce a revolution at once — at once, that is, in six to eight months. The bad harvest in France has the air as if something might happen; but if the crisis becomes chronic and the harvest better, in the end, than expected, it may still last till 1854. I admit, I wish I still had a year left to study; I still have much to go through. Australia harms, too. First by its gold and the cessation of all its other exports, as well as the stronger influx of all commodities conditioned by it; then by drawing off the surplus population here at the rate of 5000 a week. California and Australia are two cases which were not foreseen in the Manifesto: the creation of great new mark-

[21] ibid. p. 313.
[22] ibd. p. 334. August 20, 1852.

ets out of nothing. They must still be included."[23]

A few quotations from Marx' article on Revolution in China and Europe, published in the New York Tribune for June 14, 1853, will help to make Marx-Engels' outlook during this period even clearer. "The attention of our readers," he writes, "has often been called to the unparalleled growth of British manufactures since 1850. Amid the most surprising prosperity, it has not been difficult to point out the clear symptoms of an approaching industrial crisis. Notwithstanding California and Australia, notwithstanding the immense and unprecedented emigration, there must ever, without any particular incident, in due time arrive a moment when the extension of the market is unable to keep pace with the extension of British manufactures, and this disproportion must bring about a new crisis with the same certainty as it done in the past. But, if one of the great markets suddenly becomes contracted, the arrival of the crisis is necessarily accelerated thereby. Now, the Chinese rebellion must, for the time being, have precisely this effect upon England." And again: "Since the commencement of the eighteenth century there has been no serious revolution in Europe which had not been preceded by a commercial and financial crisis. This applies no less to the revolution of 1789 than to that of 1848. It is true, not only that we every day behold more threatening symptoms of conflict between the ruling powers and their subjects, between the state and society, between the various classes; but also the conflict of the existing powers among each other gradually reaching that height where the sword must be drawn, and the **ultima ratio** of the prices be recurred to. In the European capitals, every day brings dispatches big with universal war, vanishing under the dispatches of the following day, bearing the assurance of peace for a week or so. We may be sure, nevertheless, that to whatever height the conflict between the European powers may rise, however threatening the aspect of the diplomatic horizon may appear, whatever movements may be attempted by some enthusiastic fraction in this or that country, the rage of princes and the fury of the people are alike enervated by the breath of prosperity. Neither wars nor revolutions are likely to put Europe by the ears, unless in consequence of a general commercial and industrial crisis,

[23] ibd. p. 341-342.

the signal of which has, as usual, to be given by England, the representative of European industry in the market of the world. It is unnecessary to dwell on the political consequences such a crisis must produce in these times, with the unprecedented extension of factories in England, with the utter dissolution of her official parties, with the whole state machinery of France transformed into one immense swindling and stock-jobbingconcern, with Austria on the eve of bankruptcy, with wrongs everywhere accumulated to be revenged by the people, with the conflicting interests of the reactionary powers themselves, and with the Russian dream of conquest once more revealed to the world."

The long expected crisis did not come until the fall of 1857. And this time it proceeded from America. The failure of their prophecies of an immediate crisis did not dampen Marx' and Engels' enthusiasm nor shake their conviction of the imminency of the revolution. They waited patiently, fully convinced of the fundamental correctness of their views. A new crisis meant a new revolution. That was their assertion in 1850 and their belief in 1857. And so we find Engels writing to Marx on October 29, 1857: "The American crash is beautiful and far from being over. We may still expect the mass of importing houses to fall; till now only individual houses seem to have fallen. The reaction upon England also seems to have begun in the Liverpool Borough-Bank. So much the better. Now trade is pop once more for three or four years; we now have a chance."[24] And several weeks later, Marx records his own satisfaction at the turn of events in a letter to Engels dated November 13, 1857. "As much as I myself am in financial distress," he states, "I have not felt so cosy since 1849 as at this outbreak. Besides, you may tell Lupus[25] for his peace of mind that I have shown the Tribune in a thorough article, now that the whole statement is before us, and even by the mere table of discount-rates of 1848 to 1854, that normally the crisis would have had to appear two years earlier. Even the delays explain themselves so ration-

[24] op. cit. vol. 2. p. 200.

[25] Lupus, or Wilhelm Wolff, lived in Manchester. Biographically speaking alone, one might link his name with that of his two friends and speak of Marx-Engels-Wolff. He was one of Marx' and Engels' oldelst friends and supporters, and whe he died he left a small legacy to Marx. It is to him that Marx delicated the first volume of "Capital."

ally that Hegel himself, to his great satisfaction, would have found the 'Idea' again in the 'empirical divergence of the world of finite interests'."[26]

Thus far we have seen the limits of Marx' and Engels' interest in America during the fifties: the development of the revolution in Europe and primarily in England as a result of an economic crisis. At this point, however, the question arises: In what specific way could America affect the development of the revolution in Europe? Why should a crisis in America react upon England to such an extent as to lead to a revolution? The answer to this question is very important and will also serve to explain Marx' and Engels' later interest in the American Civil War.

In spite of the enormous strides in its industrial development, recorded by Marx and Engels in 1850, America was to them essentially a European colony. And as such Marx characterized it even as late as 1867. "The United States," he stated in "Capital," "are, speaking economically, still only a colony of Europe."[27] In other words, its chief business was the export of raw material for European consumption, and the import of industrial products primarily from England. Economically, therefore, America was chiefly an accessory of English industry, and as such, conditioned by it in its own development. "The economical development of the United States," Marx said on this point, "is itself a product of European, more especially of English modern industry. In their present form (1866) the States must still be considered a European colony."[28]

Both continents were thus bound by the organic ties of world trade, the chief commodity of which was cotton in one form or another. And while English industry dominated the

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[26] op. cit. vol. 2 p. 201-202. Cf. Marx to Engels, Dec. 8. 1857: "Since Lupus has always kept account of our crisis-prophecies, tell him that the Economist of last Sunday declares that during the last months of 1853, all through 1854, autum 1855 and 'the sudden changes of 1856' Europe has constantly had only a hair-breadth escape from the impending crash." (op. cit. vol. 2. p. 214). Marx' articles on the American crisis of 1857 will probably appear in future numbers of The Communist.

[27] "Capital". Vol. I. Chicago, 1921. p. 838. Footnote.

[28] ibid. p. 493. Footnote to the 4th German edition. To this Engels later added: "Since then the United States has developed into the second industrial country of the world, without thereby losing its colonial character entirely." (ibid.)

world with its products, Marx looked upon the cotton industry as the chief branch of British production. In his review in 1850, he even spoke of the nineteenth century as the Cotton Age. "The Golden and Iron Ages have long disappeared," he wrote, "it was left for the 19th century with its intelligence, its world market, its colossal productive forces to call the Cotton Age into life."[29]

Cotton, in Marx' and Engels' view, thus not only became the pillar of English wage-slavery, but acted as a powerful stimulus for the development of slavery in America, and this, in turn, became the foundation of wage-slavery abroad. "Whilst the cotton industry introduced child-slavery in England," Marx therefore wrote, "it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage-earners in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world."[30]

By its demand for cotton, British industry not only drew America into world trade and allowed it to acquire a fundamental position in world economy, but determined to a large extent the character of its production." . . . There is not the least doubt," wrote Marx, "that rapid strides of cotton spinning, not only pushed on with tropical luxuriance the growth of cotton in the United States, and with it the African slave trade, but also made the breeding of slaves the chief business of the border slave-states. When, in 1790, the first census of slaves was taken in the United States, their number was 697,000; in 1861 it had nearly reached four millions."[31]

Cotton was thus the barometer by which Marx and Engels estimated the pace of the coming revolution. And while it was not long before Marx modified his early views concerning the necessity of slavery to the existence of bourgeois society, he continued to attribute a basic role to cotton and consequently to American cotton production resting on direct slavery. In this respect, America's position in world economy was far from unimportant, especially from the point of view of the proletarian revolution. Nothing could occur at one end of the economic nerve without seriously affecting the other.

[29] Nachlass. vol. 3, p. 458.
[30] "Capital" I, p. 833.
[31] ibid. p. 485.

It is clear that from this point of view, the destruction of chattel slavery in America, the pedestal of European wage-slavery, would have far-reaching consequences for the working class; even a crisis in America, without resulting in the abolition of slavery, would not leave England unaffected.

There was another respect, however, in which America might have serious consequences for this revolution. During the crisis of 1857, Marx and Engels had expected the American crash to bring on the English and European revolution. When the crisis had passed and the revolution failed to materialize, a new problem presented itself to them. As long as America played the role of agricultural colony for England and Europe, supplying them with cotton and furnishing a huge market for their industrial products; as long as it did not itself become an independent industrial country, involved in its own capitalist contradictions, the modern class struggle and revolutionary labor movement, it occupied a problematic position in relation to the social revolution. For, not only was it unable to participate directly in the revolution, guaranteeing the support of a proletarian movement, but as a large section of that portion of bourgeois society which was still following an upward curve, it presented the danger of helping to crush the proletarian revolution in Europe. It was in this sense that Marx wrote to Engels on October 8, 1858, without specifically pointing to America. "We cannot deny that bourgeois society has experienced its sixteenth century for the second time," he said, "a sixteenth century which I hope will sound its death-knell just as surely as the first pushed it into life. The actual task of bourgeois society is the production of the world market, at least in its outlines, and a production resting on the basis of it. Since the world is round, this seems to have come to a close with the colonization of California and Australia and the opening up on China and Japan. The difficult question for us is: On the Continent the revolution is imminent and will also assume at once a socialistic character. Will it not necessarily be crushed in this small corner, since the movement of bourgeois society is still ascendant on a much larger terrain?"[32]

(In our next article we shall follow Marx and Engels through their second period.)

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[32] op. cit. vol. 2. p. 292-293.

An Apology To Our Subscribers

Due to unavoidable circumstances, the regularity of issuing of the "The Communist" has been interfered with.

The editors have been overburdened with other duties in connection with the pre and convention period of The Workers Communist Party, the moving of the National Office of the Party to New York City and all the different problems arising out of the contemplated and accomplished changes within the different spheres of activities in all departments and branches of The Party—have been the direct causes of this irregularity.

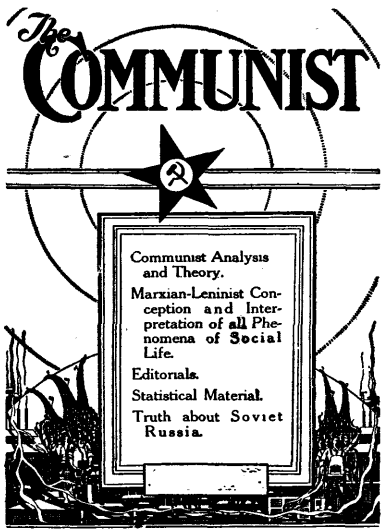
Conditions are getting to normal again, and with the removal of "The Communist" after October 25, 1927, to 43 East 125th St., New York City, N. Y., and with such changes and improvements made as recommended, our subscribers will have no further justified complaint to make.

In the meantime we ask all of our subscribers and present readers to help increase the circulation of this medium of Communist Analysis and Theory, the Marxian-Leninist conception and interpretation of all Phenomena of Social life and the truth about Soviet Russia.

Your co-operation will be appreciated.

Fraternally yours,

Management, "THE COMMUNIST"



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