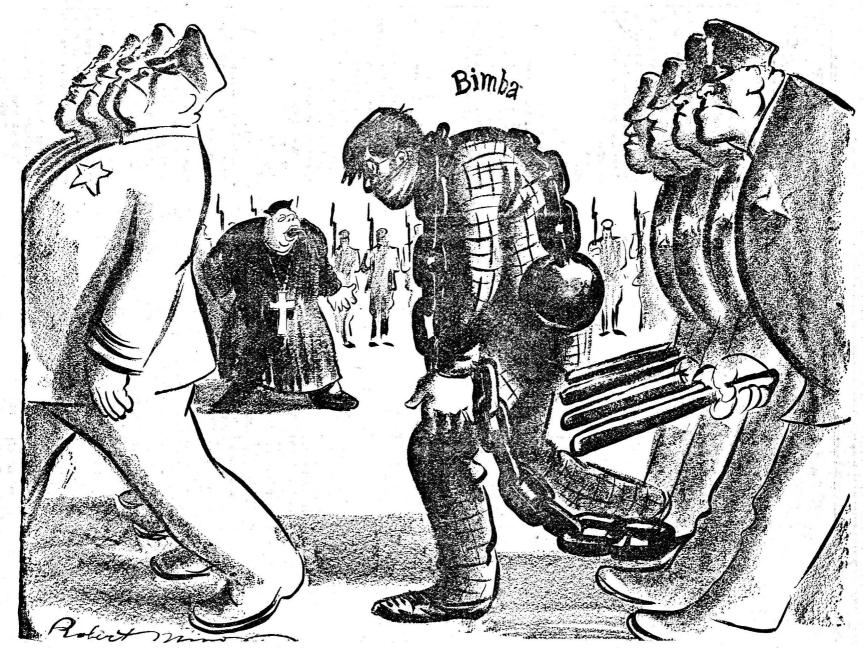
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1926

290



### The Blasphemer

### God, the Supreme Shoe Manufacturer

ANTHONY BIMBA, Communist editor, is on trial at Brockton, Mass., for having told a gathering of shoe workers that there is no god. Bimba is also on trial under the charge of seditious utterance, because he is said to have told the shoe workers that the most intelligent, courageous and aggressive workers ought to join the Workers (Communist) Party. But the tremendous sensation that is now blazoned in the headlines of the capitalist newspapers of Massachusetts is based on the fact that the Communist editor is being prosecuted in the greatest of all shoe factory towns, for denying the existence of the greatest of all shoe manufacturers—to-wit: God, otherwise Jehovah, the Almighty maker of not only shoes, but also of men, women, hats, coats dogs, cows, monkeys and bacteria-in short, the Supreme Manufacturer of all things, who even made, so they say, the smaller has to be protected, not only in a colonial village, but also in a shoe manufacturers of Brockton in his own very image.

We must remember that Massachusetts is a very pious state. The great Roman catholic church has a little kingdom of its own there, with Boston the seat of the mighty prince of the church of god, Cardinal O'Connell. Then there is the Protestant Episcopal church, with its own little kingdom, and there also, in Boston, is the seat of that other powerful church of Christian Science, founded by the Holy Lady, Mrs. Eddy-and there is the stronghold of Theosophy, and Spiritualism, and New Thought, Unitarianism, Ethical Culture, and all of the other variations of ideas of the Supreme Manufacturer.

It is said that the Roman Catholic Cardinal and his priests are especially interesting themselves in the effort to put the blasphemer in jail. But at the same time the judge and the prosecutor are members of the Unitarian church, which varies from most other churches in that it denies that the Supreme Manufacturer has a superintendent and foreman known respectively as the Holy Ghost and Jesus Christ.

All the cohorts of god are assembled in a united front to put Bimba, the blasphemer, in a little stone cell.

An old law, 230 years old, enacted in the year 1696, is the law under which Bimba is prosecuted. The fact that this old law, enacted at the time when Massachusetts was a colony and was steadily burning witches, and which in its first form imposed the death penalty for atheists, is the only thing which tends to break the united front of the bourgeois community by splitting off the "liberal" section of the bourgeoisie which does not like to uphold what are called the "blue laws."

But it is pointed out by the prosecutors that the old "blue law" has been re-enacted in recent times, long after the burning of witches had ceased and after the Supreme Manufacturer had changed his ways and had inspired the setting up of United Shoe Machinery company's appliances. This is as it should be. God modern factory.

WHY must the human shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts preserve the belief of the shoe workers in the Supreme Manufacturer of Heaven?

The question almost answers itself.

Shoe workers must believe in the Divine Shoe Manufacturer of Heaven because it helps to make them believe in the mortal shoe manufacturers of Brockton.

The shoe manufacturers of Brockton have to have god. Those who have inquired into these forbidden matters know that god has undergone many changes, and with every change he has adapted his character exactly to suit the character of the ruling classes of the earth at the particular time—and always in each country to the particular ruling class of that country. With the break-up of feudalism, god was transformed from a feudal warrior into a rotund burger. With the coming of the factory system, god shaved off his beard, put on a white vest and

(Continued on page 2.)

#### God, the Supreme Shoe Manufacturer.

(Continued from page 1.)

spats, and became the best of all business men, keeping books and exploiting labor for surplus value.

When the Communist editor was brot to trial, the prosecutor declared that "the people must be protected in their belief in god."

Yes, it is necessary, from the point of view of the manufacturing interests, to make the "people" (that is, the working people) believe in some variation of the god myth. Or at least, to make them see the whole of the universe in the form which has a supreme authority at the top. This is necessary in order that the working masses will feel that it is "natural" to have a superior class at the top of earthly affairs, owning the social machinery of production and distribution, ruling, exploiting and judging the propertyless workers, even as "God" is supposed to rule, to exploit and to judge the entirety of human kind. Human-kind is supposed to be made "in the image of God,"—but the fact is that god is created (as a mythical figure) in the image of the kings and emperors, and, in later days, in the image of our own Rockefellers and Morgans.

And God always changes with the system of exploitation.

At the present time of tremendous change-or rather in the period which is now nearing its end; the last stage of capitalism -many changes in the forms of religious belief are to be seen. We see an inconceivable number of weird and semi-"rational" religious forms spring up. We even notice that parallel to the effort to establish a single mighty world-oligarchy, as shown among other things in the league of nations and world court, a recent effort is being made to create a "universal religion." And some big Jewish financiers are fostering an effort to reconcile the Jewish and Christian faiths. Among petty-bourgeois philosophers we find a renewed growth of "agnosticism"—the effort to find a pseudo-rational basis without positively denying the existence of "God," but saying, "I don't know," and thereby evading the matter. "Agnostics" are only a variation of the cult of capitalism which does not dare to conceive of a form of society which has no ruling, propertied class, and therefore, does not dare conceive clearly of a universe which has no ruling, all-owning God above. The agnostic sees the universe in the same form as that in which it is seen by the believer in god-he sees the world as a pyramid with the exploited masses below, but says the pyramid leads so high in the clouds that he cannot see whether there is a god on top of it or "something else."

BUT the "blasphemer" in this case is a Communist. His conception of the universe is that of historical materialism. To the Communist view, the Marxian view, the universe is not a reflection of the passing forms of social institutions, with a great mass of perpetually enslaved men at the bottom, under a mon-strous pyramid of authority above. The Marxian, the Communist view of the universe absolutely excludes all such questions as the existence of a god. The Marxian is therefore not an "agnostic," but an atheist. He seeks to throw down the system of exploitation and of rule over the masses by a superior human ruling class. He foresees clearly a society in which there will be no superior human authority, and he does not build a mystic image of "divine authority" in mimicry of the human rulers. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not reflected in a mystic system. The Marxian knows that system of superior authority in society is a temporary, not an eternal system, and his scientific materialist philosophy becomes a powerful instrument in his hands to bring about that change. He knows that with the disappearance of a class society, with the disappearance of all necessity for state authority (even, finally, the disappearance of the need of the working class state authority), there will inevitably disappear also all forms of religious belief, all concepts of the rule over mankind by a mystic image of human rulers.

The Marxian, the Communist, helps to free the working class of the superstitious conception of the universe, thereby helping the workers to direct their energies toward their liberation from the rule of the capitalist class. Anthony Bimba is therefore, hailed to court as a blasphemer.

But the tremendous changes that are going on in the material basis of production are reflected at this time by a stirring and unrest even in the bourgeois world's religious forms. Contradictions within the capitalist system bring conflicts such as the "evolution trial" at Dayton, Tennessee. The rapid industrialization of the backward southern states brings the conflict to establish the variations of religious superstition that are better adapted to exploitation of workers in scientifically run factories.

The trial of Bimba is in a certain degree another "Dayton, Tennessee."

But the trial of Bimba is also different from the trial at Dayton. The Dayton case was defended from the point of view of pseudo-rational variations of religious superstition which try to reconcile to themselves the revolutionizing science of Darwin. The Dayton trial was an example of the wavering and evasive contortions of "agnosticism," which seek, not to undermine "divine" authority, but to shift it to a more protected base. But in the trial of Bimba at Brockton, there is no such evasion.

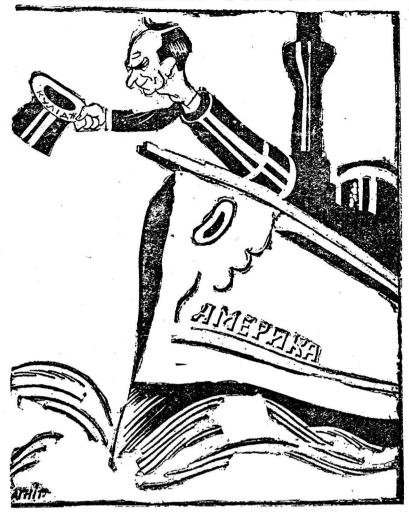
Bimba denied the Supreme Manufacturer, and all of the little shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts, and their priests and preachers and ethical culturists strike at Bimba in vengeance.

In this trial the revolutionary worker, Bimba does not ask the bourgeoisie to accept the revolutionary materialist philosophy—an impossible thot—but insist upon exercising the right of free speech which the capitalist "democracy" pretends to give even to the working class.

From this trial of the Communist editor the workers should learn a great deal about the ideological superstructure of bourgeois society which helps to keep the workers blinded for slavery.

ROBERT MINOR.

Cal Coolidge Comes to the Disarmament Conference



Here is the cartoon from Proletarska Pravda, published in Kiev, Ukraina. The artist shows Mr. Coolidge sticking his head from the 16-inch gun of the battleship America, to tell the European governments that they should disarm. Of course, the game is to have all those nations disarm with which American imperialism expects to have war in the near future.

### Class Collaboration Abroad

By F. M.

RANK Hodges, secretary of the International Miners' Union, has proposed an international merger of the coal operators of several separate countries as a means for helping the British coal crisis. This proposal is heartily welcomed by the German coal operators' paper in the Ruhr, and the German Social-democratic organ, the Vorwarts.

In the organ of our German brotherparty, Comrade E. Ludwig, shows how the plans of international capitalist mergers create new reformist illusions among the workers, hoodwinking them with hopes of "peace" through the united front of the capitalists. The proposal of Frank Hodges has arisen from the international coal crisis, which is felt especially in England and Germany. In spite of the state subsidies, the English coal report has continued to decrease after 1925. New and bitter fights threaten from the side of the miners. The subsidies end April 13 and the capitalists demand longer hours and wage cuts. The demand of the miners is the nationalization of the mines.

The German coal operators have been "rational" and have already thrown out of employment tens of thousands of miners. This means that of the German interests glish coal barons are contradictory. Both of them are conducting a hard fight at the cost of the miners. It is this competition that Frank Hodges now wants to abolish. And his intention is to abolish the class struggle at the same time. This comes out in connection with the appointment of a British Coal Commission advocating the creation of a British coal syndicate. Hodges now wants to conciliate the German operators with this British trust. The threat of monopoly prices by such a merger he puts aside with this sentence: "I fear trusts less than anarchy and chaos."

Of course the German-English coal syndicate could not wipe out capitalist chaos. By lessening German-English competition, the rise in coal prices would provoke customs wars from the side of other countries which are compelled to buy the coal. The contro-

other industrial capitalists would not mean abolition of the capitalist anarchy. Nor yet the conflicts aroused by the increase of coal prices.

The German reformist Loeffler gives epression to these same reformist illusions in the following words: "It is to the interests of the miners that the bitter competitive struggles on the world market be prevented, for they, as the economically weaker group, have to bear the costs. But an international organization of the coal industry can exist only if it serves the interests of the coal industry, the miners and the consumers equally."

This is class collaboration, national and international, expressed in plain words. No wonder that the German union bureaucrats are holding up their American brothers as an example. The miners' struggles, now going on or threatening in America, England and Germany, are evidence enough against this reformist illusion. There is only one means of meeting the crisis, says Comrade Ludwig. That is, the nationalization of the coal industry, its operation under the control of organized labor and international understanding of the miners in collaboration with their class brothers of all coun-

### To You, Slaves!

By J. D. Spiegel.

I

Like a thunder from the sky
Rise ye workers, rise and cry:
"Down exploiters, down ye slayers,
Down ye renegades and betrayers!"

1

Strengthen your arms, clench your fists;

Striving for glory, hold firm your breasts;
Loosen your rage elevate your fury:

Loosen your rage, elevate your fury; Be ye the judges, be ye the jury!

III

Only through firmness, unity and might

Will you conquer the darkness of night,

pelled to buy the coal. The contro- And turn it into a blossom-way versy between coal capitalists and For the coming victorious festal day!!

# A Temporary Defeat in the Anthracite

By Alex Reid.

Secretary, Progressive Miners' Committee.

THE agreement entered into by the miners' officials and the coal owners in the anthracite field must receive the careful study of the miners, not only in the hard coal, but in the bituminous as well.

The miners' officials are already making much of the fact that the miners at the reconvened convention indorsed the contract, and it is well that we examine the reason of the indorsement, with the contract itself.

The miners after a six months' strike, with but little financial aid, many of them receiving no aid whatever, in semi-destitution, with every agency of the opposition against them, including the officials of the union themselves, found that they could hardly do anything else under the circumstances but accept the proposed agreement.

#### False Leadership.

ET no man believe for a moment LET no man penere to a that the miners, in accepting the agreement, thought they had received what they were entitled to, or believed that they got what they could have secured if the strike had been properly managed. Far from it, the miners know that the strike was mismanaged from the beginning, and thousands of discouraged miners accepted the agreement with the statement, "that it is all we can get under false leadership."

#### Five Year Peonage.

THE miners have returned to work in comparative quietness. As the miners prepare to go below there are no smiling faces to be seen at the pit mouth as are seen after a successful battle with the operators. No, the miners are very grim looking, as they go to work, and many of the miners are heard to denounce bitterly the betraval. Many of the miners state openly that they return for a while to make a few dollars but that they will never accept the five-year peonage contract.

### Co-operate with Bosses.

One particular section of the contract is worthy of special attention. "Co-operation with the bosses for efficiency." A board is to be created to study efficiency, and its plans to be applied "for the benefit of each party." These efficiency boards have prepared plans before in many parts of the mining industry, but the results of the plans have at all times made for more profits to the coal barons at the expense of the miners.

The introduction of machinery has resulted in an addition to the unemployment list, the miners have become mere laborers to the machines, working harder for less money. working conditions have been destroyed, and with the new system of mining behind the machines, the old art of mining is almost entirely gone, with the miners as laborers to the machines.

Efficiency in the coal mines of the bituminous, under the Farrington regime, for instance, has resulted in many miners in Illinois being forced to do the work of the day men, such as setting of timbers, cleaning falls, laying track, etc., for little pay, and in many cases for no pay at all. This has resulted in lowering the wages of the miners considerably.

### Kicked Out of the Union.

S in the bituminous, so it will be A in the anthracite. Under a fiveyear contract, the operators will have time to change all working conditions that they desire to change, and will kick all those out of the industry, and out of the union, that object to the change.

No man that has read and studied the contract believes it will run five years as written at the present time. The miners will undoubtedly change the provisions of the agreement, if not by peace, then by strike, long before the five years are up. As they see their conditions lost, one after another, with the resultant reduction in their meager wages, they will undoubtedly strike to remedy the situation, and Lewis will not be able to betray them a second time.

L EWIS must have understood this when he permitted the arbitration clause to be written into the agreement under a different name. A board of two men has been given full authority to settle any demand of either party to the contract.

The board has been given "full power and with reservations or restrictions, and the parties agree to abide by any decision or decisions of such board either on the merits of the controversy, or as to proceedure to be followed."

A forerunner of this condition was found at one of the mines in Wilkes-Barre, belonging to the Pennsylvania coal company, the first morning after the strike. A dispute arose about a certain kind of work at the mine, the operators wanting to change the previous custom. The miners immediately rejected the proposed change, with the result that the men returned home and refused to work until the matter was settled. Bear in mind that this happened the first morning after the men returned to work after having been idle nearly six months, and in starvation.

#### Will Not Submit.

IT goes to show the men are not go-ing to submit tamely to the terms of the traitorous agreement. It shows something more. It shows the coal operators are not going to wait long before their campaign against the miners' wages and working conditions is launched

The operators feel they have a tremendous advantage over the men at the present time. Knowing the men are in destitute circumstances and tied down with the agreement, which will be carried out by the miners' officials to the best of their ability, the operators feel that the miners cannot afford to fight against any of these impositions, for fear of losing their jobs and being kicked out of the industry with no other employment to

#### Repudiate It.

THE operators are gloating over their victory, a victory that could never have occured under the leadership of the progressive miners, or if the strike had been managed by the rank and file themselves. The capitalist press is also gloating over the miners' defeat, but they are gloating much too soon. The contract is signed, but it is not carried out, and I make the rough guess that the miners will not carry it out for five years.

### Capitalists Gloat.

THE New York Times gloats editorl ially as follows, which is but a sample of the manner in which the capitalist press is trying to break the morale of the miners and to destroy the United Mine Workers of America:

"The outcome reveals him (John L. Lewis) beaten at nearly every point. He ordered the strike in order to get higher wages. He orders the men back to work at the old wage. He demanded the check-off in its most rigorous form. If he gets it at all, it is only in a modified form. For months he vowed to high heaven that he would never consent to arbitration, yet he finally put his name to an agreement which stipulates that controversies not capable of being settled directly shall be referred to a board-to all intents and purposes a board of arbitration-with full power and without reservation or restriction, and the parties agree to abide by any decision or decisions of such board. It is hard to imagine a retreat more complete or a defeat more absolute.

### **Expected Different Results**

WE expect the capitalist press to gloat over the betrayal. That is its service to its class. But surely the miners are entitled to expect something different from their leaders. We pay them high salaries to look ofter our interest, and we do not scrimp high expenses, as an examination of the report of the treasurer will show.

I deny that we got defeated. That is, I deny that our defeat is permanent. Lewis betrayed us for the moment, but we will never tamely submit to the treason. Our victory is only a little delayed, and when we are

door, we will again enter the fray and Lewis shall not betray us a second time. Let the capitalists rave and gloat; our time is coming in the very near future, and we will recoup our losses, and will gain our demands.

Already thruout the anthracite the militant progressive miners are organizing for their program, and the rank and file are indorsing the program in almost every local union in the field. This program, which calls for a 100 per cent strike in the industry, would have won the miners' strike, and nobody knows that better than Lewis and his reactionary machine. National yearly agreements, shorter workday and shorter week, etc., etc., will be fought for in the mining industry in America in the very near future, and all the Lewises. Farringtons and Cappellinis will not be able to stop it.

The reconvened convention which indorsed the agreement stands out as the most despicable act of the labor fakers. The miners' representation was cut down to a mere nothing in comparison with the convention that formulated the demands. No opposition was permitted. No discussion was allowed to the progressive miners' delegates. Ed. Sharfenburg, the militant miner, attempted to take the discussion of the merits and demerits of the agreement onto the floor of the convention, but was immediately expelled from the convention. The minminers' leaflets which carried the progressive miners' program be read diggers that was in days gone by.

pays to chase the wolf away from the | to the convention. But altho Lewis stated that it was because Sharfenburg had indorsed the program and distributed it, that he was expelled, and altho the delegates and miners in the galleries demanded that it be read, Lewis refused to permit it to be read.

> Many miners stated that if the program had been read, the delegates would have refused to ratify the con-

> And so the strike passes into history as America's "Black Friday," and we, like the British miners, will not forget it.

> The settlement is made. A settlement that settles nothing. The miners are more discontented than before they came on strike. They see everything gone for the present time, they see that their six months' struggle proves to be in vain for the present, they see that their officials are to blame for the temporary defeat, and not the strength of the operators. The miners know that the strike could have been won by pulling out the maintenance men, by bringing out the bituminous men to support them, and they are determined that the bunch of traitors will not have it in their power to betray them much longer.

Anthracite miners! Build up the United Mine Workers of America in co-operation with the progressive miners! The progressive miners' program is the only program the miners have, and the program which will ers demanded that the progressive make the miners' union the fighting organization for the benefit of the coal

## Woman's Day

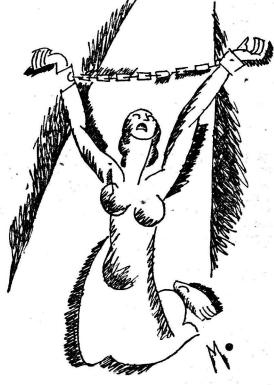
By Lillian L. Borgeson.

T of working class women-women who toil for long hours in factories and shops, and women who struggle continually to maintain their pitiably miserable homes—are rallying together in all parts of the country to celebrate the international holiday of working class women— March the Eighth.

These women workers are opening their eyes to the real meaning of the oppression by the bosses of the working men and the working women. They are learning thru hard and bitter experience the vital need for organization on the part of the working classboth men and womenagainst the horrible conditions under which we workers are forced

mune threw off the shackles of their solidarity. old, humble position, and took their rightful places beside the working men of Paris on the barricades of the revolution, is to be celebrated in Chicago in a particularly effective way.

Working women's organizations from all over the city of Chicago, representing eleven different language speaking groups, met in a delegate conference recently to plan an international celebration of women's day. Girls from the machine shops, working mothers worrying about the little ones they'd left at home, women used to the "floor" from participation in their union meetings, real working class women were there. And in enthusiastic little breathless talks, some in speeches in which they obviously sought for their words, these women



March the Eighth-the day on with other women of the working which the women of the Paris Com- class in this demonstration of their

> They chose Saturday, March 6, as the time of the meeting, because the 8th happened to fall on Monday and working class women find it hard to get out on Monday. They chose their speakers and assigned the subjects. And the subjects showed their interest-women and the trade unions, women and the class war, the working class housewife, women in Soviet Russia.

> If you live in or near Chicago and are interested, and surely no worker can fail to be interested—come to Northwest Hall, Chicago, on March 6, and take part in this demonstration of the awakening of the working class women to their conditions and their resolution to fight for what is theirs.

Remember the place. Chicagoans-Northwest Hall, at the corner of North Ave. and Western Ave., Chicago. Remember the date- March ready, when we have a few meager all showed their intense desire to join 6 on Saturday. Remember to come.

## GOOD CITIZEN" - By Werner Wehlen

forward as if he had carried a burden on his shoulders all his life. His arms hung loosely down his sides, with hands like weights. Gray hair covered his head. The skin on his face was grayish and dusty, and it gave one a barky impression. His eyes were sunk far in his head, and were framed with almost visible bones. Out of them shone no light, no hope. There was a look of patient obedience in them. There was an air of harmony between his humble soul and his crooked back. He was satisfied with his lot.

For many years he had worked as garbageman at the Constitution Hotel. But now it was different. He was no longer garbage-man. He was boss. He recalled the days when he had been a jack of all trades around the place. That was long ago, in his younger days. The hotel had grown enormously. Now there were janitors around, scrub women, polishers, women who dusted furniture, men who cleaned rugs with vacuum cleaners, innumerable bellhops and waiters, and a doorman who was dressed like a king. There was also a man to help carry out the garbage. Of this Smith felt proud. He was boss.

Why shouldn't one feel proud? One had a steady job, nothing to worry about. The work one knew by heart. So many cans full, so many cans to empty. It was easy. When Sunday came one went to church. And there was the kind man, the servant of God, who knew all and loved all. One should work and then pray, and then everything would be glory. One would be saved! Smith was glad. He worked and he prayed.

ONE day Smith was called into the manager's office. An employe had died and there was a job in store for an honest man. The manager had decided on Smith. He had carried garbage long enough. The manager had gathered riches while Smith had gathered garbage. Someone else could carry garbage. Smith shouldn't have to break his back any more. It would be easy for him to keep the convention | a big one! And how good it smelled! It sure- | ought to be in jail.

papers thrown around, dust the chairs, and keep the spittoons clean. Only, one must do his work quietly and go about in silence. One should perform his task and leave like a shadow, without a sound. There were big men who required attention without disturbance.

Smith was overwhelmed with joy. Had the manager been a statue he would have kissed his feet. Had the manager been a child, Smith would have embraced him in his arms, but as he was a middle aged man whose diameter increased every year, Smith did not dare. He was irresolute as to what he should do to show his appreciation. He worried himself so that he could hardly stand on his feet. He tortured his soul by making himself think that he had been the worst sinner that had ever lived and that the manager was god almighty. And in his lowliness he clasped his hands and bowed before the manager, not daring to look him in the eyes. Before he went to bed that night, he fell down on his hands and thanked the Lord.

He idolized the men for whom he kept the convention room in shape. But he could never understand these people. There was Mister Pork, for instance. An awfully big and heavy fellow, having a fat cigar wedged in between his lips. Then there was Mister Pigsteel, a most peculiar man. For hours he would talk about iron and steel; and one day he declared he had sent a telegram to the east for a shipment of hands. Hands were cheap in the east and it was worth while to pay the freight. Smith wondered what kind of hands Pigsteel referred to. Were they mechanical hands, or was he talking about human hands. In his ignorance, Smith looked at his own hands. He didn't know. Another time there was an automobile accident outside the hotel, followed by an agonizing scream from a woman who must have been torn in two. The shriek echoed thru to the convention room, but Pigsteel puffed his cigar and never moved. He was thinking of the market prices.

Another nice man was Mister Oilbarrel. Once this kind-hearted soul gave Smith a cigar. Such

QMITH was an old man. His body was bent | room clean. All one had to do was to pick up | ly must have cost a dollar at least. What kind of work did one do who could afford cigars like that? One was no sewer-digger. That was sure.

After this Smith was overjoyed when he found smoked cigar stumps on the floor. The short stumps he chewed right away; the long ones he took home and saved for Sunday eve-

Mister Pork, in a speech one day, mentioned Smith, who was walking around with a dust rag and mechanically picking up newspapers which had been thrown around. It was good citizens-like Smith-one needed now. Good men. Men who could make themselves useful. Dependable souls. Christians. Honest to God fellows who believed in Jesus. Men should be satisfied. The Lord provided for everybody. All men were born free and equal.

This was America: a great country, a free country. People came here from all over the world. They came here in rags, and they came here hungry. But they were clothed, and food was set before them. They were given a chance, an opportunity. There were men like Mister Pigsteel and Mister Oilbarrel, not to mention thousands of others, that provided for these stranded souls. Jobs were given to them in factories, mines, shops, all maintained for that purpose. One should be thankful. One should try to see. Try to understand. Smith was happy. He saw and he understood.

ON his way home that night, Smith happened to pass a street meeting." His old bones caused him to stop for an instant and he heard the speaker thunder forth: "Man was born free and is everywhere in chains." What a lie! Such a fool! A bum. Look at that fellow's rags! Why didn't he get himself a job? Talking like that! Who was in chains? Why didn't he go and listen to Mister Pork? There was a man who knew something. Or why didn't he go back where he came from? This was no place for talk like that. Chains. . . Imagine! What in hell did he know anyhow? One couldn't help swearing at an idiot like that. He

And look at the rascals hanging around listening to that bunk. The frowns on their faces! God, why were there maniacs like that? They weren't human beings. Couldn't be. Did Mister Pigsteel or Mister Oilbarrel know of dirt like this? Smith hoped not. If these men were broke or if they had lost their money, why didn't they get themselves a job in the mills or at Mister Pork's factories? There they could make up what they had lost. They looked as if they didn't believe in God. They were lost.

Smith consumed his weary walk, disgusted -but glad he wouldn't have to go to heaven with a pack like that. He thanked Jesus that he lived in a free country where there were good Samaritans, such as Mister Pigsteel, Mister Pork, and so on. One thing that he brooded over for a moment was Mister Pork's statement that "all men were born free and equal." Had God created these devils among the good people?

ONE morning Smith did not appear at the Constitution Hotel. Several hours passed before anybody became aware of his absence. Old newspapers were lying around, waiting to be picked up. The chairs were dusty. The spitoons were full. Cigar stumps lay strewn about. But it was not noticed until almost noon. There was going to be a luncheon and speeches by Mr. Pigsteel, Mr. Pork, Mr. Oilbarrel and others; also the manager of the Constitution Hotel. The manager came rushing in, made at finding the room in such condition. What was the matter with Smith, anyway? Didn't he know enough to come on time after all these years? He ought to be discharged for such carelessness.

The manager went to the effort of finding Smith's address. After finding out that he lived in the old rooming-house and factory district, a boy was sent there to inquire after him.

An hour later the boy returned. The address had led him to a dingy old hovel. He had found Smith in a dark hall bedroom, lying with clasped hands, on a rusty iron cot—dead.

Dead! What business did one have to die when there were spitoons to be cleaned. Well, Smith had been a good fellow. One needed more men like that. Men that lived quietly; worked hard; and died in peace. He would be rewarded. He had been a good citizen.

# Passaic---The Hell-Hole

By Mary Heaton Vorse

hell-hole of New Jersey, where now 12,000 underpaid textile workers are fighting because "they want to live"-fighting the textile barons for a bit of the cloth they make so that they may withstand the wintry weather, is the result of a few hours spent with a relief investigating committee. A story such as this could be duplicated a dozen times during the course of one day. Nothing can better emphasize the need for relief. We ask all who want to help win this strike to write for contribution lists and send remittances to General Relief Committee, Textile Strikers, 734 Main avenue. Passaic, N. J.

THE investigator said, "Mind the stairs. They're broken."

The hall was as dark as a mouse hole. The tink was so dense you could have cut it into chunks. Broken stairs, tunnel-like halls, open- can do." ing on the human burrows. A flicker of a match showed the filth of ages underfoot. They housed cattle and dogs better. Cattle and dogs are valuable. We went into a flat almost as dark as the hallway. In a little room was a kitchen which gave on an air-shaft. The bedroom in back of it was pitch black. The front room alone had light. A woman with a baby in her arms and two babies

"You will excuse my mother if she don't get up. open sores on her legs."

Impossible to walk on the picket line with them. "How much do you make," we asked.

forms of government are undemo-sat there and told this amazing story of unbroken bad luck, desertion, underpay, her mother's illly appointed by the president, acting ness, her father's unemployment in the most terrifying matter of course way. This was the way wish. life was. Most of the people she knew were like

"I don't need coal," she added. "I go out with dren where there isn't any eats or coal."

clinging to her skirts welcomed us.

lived in the front room.

to do. He doesn't get 'em often."

and an odd job now and then.

Her single pair of shoes were trodden down.

"Sixteen thirty," she answered. "Not much monopoly capitalism, the czarism of when you think that there are seven of us and the babies have got to have milk and shoes."

She was a comely woman and cheerful. She

They tramped thru slushy streets.

FOREWORD: This picture from the textile | an old sack and get coal off dumps." We walked away thru slushy streets.

"She hasn't got it so bad as some," the relief worker commented. "She's got her rent." He pushed open a door.

"The smell is fierce," he said. "These tenements are fierce. The woman where we're going keeps her rooms clean. She's a nice woman. But she's not lucky. She was in the hospital three months, and three days after she went to work comes the strike."

She was a kindly, middle-aged woman and smiled in friendly fashion at us. Near the stove sat her husband. He was bent over, his skin was vellow, his blue eves were sunken into his head. He had not worked for four years.

"He has a cough. He sits all day near the stove and gets the kids' meals. That's all he

The strike relief had sent a doctor there. His instructions lay on the table. They read: "Go to bed until fever has passed."

"He won't go to bed. He's had a good deal of fever these last four years. He worked in the mills as long as he could-before he got his

Sitting by a table was a calm-eved little girl with wheat-colored hair flowing down her back. She was thirteen years and large for her age. She has to stay in bed most of the time. She has She was the kind of little girl that makes you think of the country. She looked as if she be-Her story came trickling out little by little. longed there. She was so tranquil and quiet with She had no husband. She had four children un- her blue eyes and gentle ways. How had she gotder ten years of age. Her father and mother liv- ten along thru the months that her mother was ed in the back room and she and her children sick in the hospital and her father too sick to work? Her fourteen year old brother had some-"You see, father's the janitor here, so we get how or other managed to scrape enuf money toour rent free. Sometimes he gets some odd jobs gether for the three of them. The wonder of it was how good a home they had. Because they "Well, I've got a job for a week as night watch- had made of these three rooms at the top of the man," said the father stoutly. He was an old man stairs a home. They had almost nothing unless of kindly aspect, a man who is pleasant to meet. you can put courage in a bank, and can count He was not very old, but the mills had laid him serene gallantry as among your belongings. In aside. They had used up his youth and tossed the midst of this spirit-breaking sickness and him out. And now he was lucky to have a roof misfortune they had the audacity to have flowers over his head, even in a tenement of this kind, growing in pots as well as some feathery-leaved plants whose name they only knew in Polish. "Now if you could let us have something to And they had a kitten. One thing they didn't eat I am going to make along all right. What I have was any complaints. They were a little apoloneed most is a pair of shoes to go out on the getic about having to have relief, but they explained with the mother having only worked three days they had to have something. The mother smiled and her eyes lighted. The relief investigator turned to the English members of

"She says how glad she is going to be when her daughter will get her working papers next year. She says her girl can hardly wait."

The father was coughing over the stove. The little girl who looked as if she belonged in a country lane sat there tranquil. The mills would claim her soon. It was her mother's highest

"Well," said the relief worker as we went down the stairs, "they ain't so bad off. We got to go now and see that widow mother with eight chil-

was very pleased to learn that my

The Negro workers have begun to the message of international form their own unions; but these are unity, full of real sympathy not tolerated north of the "Dixie" with their comrades in Britain, line, as a Negro hotel porter, who had in Russia and thruout the world. wished heartily to be one again, told of those meetings make me cononce been out on strike with some will finally triumph in America. hundreds of Negro fellow workers. Turn now to the Negro worker. All their places were taken by scabs

Yet the Negro worker is one of the workers in the shops for not help but face; yet while the doors the greatest potential sources of publication in this paper. Send A characteristic feature of the con- of most unions remain closed, or very strength for American trade unionism. your manuscripts to Robert

have painted too dark a picture. British working man saw them, vor. And the future is hopeful, of that I am convinced, were the rank and file American trade unionists—eager to hear

I may seem, in this article, to

stories and articles written by

# Capital and Labor in the United States

By A. A. PURCELL (British Fraternal Delegate to Last A. F. of L. Convention)

1 got from the United States was workers being merely incidental to not surprising, since spying is of its one of the extraordinary obsession the great task of extracting profits- nature a form of insurance-against with bigness that runs thru the whole and fabulous profits, too-for plutocof social and industrial life there. racy. An ironical fact worth noting, against any militancy whatever on Everything is "million dollar"-every- is that its keenest advocates are emthing is on the grand scale. This aft- ployers, servile writers and the likeer all is natural enough; for in the not workmen. It is easy enough to United States we have capitalism in talk glibly about the "advantages" of its most gigantic, most advanced, America when you don't have to bene-

That America is the home of trusts about the high wages current in Ameonstrate the advantages, to the employers as well as to the workers, of high wages.

What struck me, as a workman, most about the various works and facunforgettably on my mind was the spirit of vigorous regimentation, the extreme division of labor which makes a man a mere automaton, performing one monotonous mechanical forming one monotonous mechanical operation year in year out. The Ametreme regimentation to which the boasted high wages, is even more plemented by some observations on than its British counterpart, a monotonous tyranny in which the worker is regulated and ordered and disciplin-ed and controlled to the last possible days to the spy sys-

THE first superficial impression 1 its so-called "benevolence" towards its surance is in this country. Which is It is no use blinking the fact that in in his declaration that the American I submit that we must not be delud fit from those "advantages" yourself.

A point into which I inquired with and combines, of the most highly de- some care was the question of high veloped stage of capitalist monopoly, wages. Here it was particularly help- finding, that to employ spies is playis a commonplace. But I doubt if all ful to get the evidence of English the implications of this fact, and more workers who had emigrated in the particularly its meaning for the work- course of the last few years. They ers, are fully realized by those who all told me the same story. Tho their ing their "patronage." In addition to have never set foot in the land of the nominal wages were higher than they free. There has been a good deal of would be getting in England, the cost workmen, in the factory, Burns or loose talk going on for some time of living was so high that their real wages were about the same; in some their "men" who worm their way into rica, about the superior conditions of case even less. Special stress was life of the workpeople, the number of also laid by all my informants on known to achieve prominent positions workmen who own their own motor the terrific pace and intensive charac- in the movement, which they were sense of the words a "minority move cars, and so on. We have even heard ter of the work. So severe is the able to employ with deadly effect. I this talk inside our own movement, strain that men are, on the average, have met men who have been spies nority of the industrial workers of using the example of America to dem- worn out at forty years of age— and they made no bones about it— the United States. I do not need to promptly get the they sack; another sidelight on "benevo- gun in their pocket. lence."

It must be remembered, of course ed with their perfection of industrial trade, where skilled workers such as technique, remarkable in itself the that is. No, what impressed itself painters, plasterers and bricklayers command at the present moment in America a high "scarcity value"; their

My previous remarks about the exthe most all-pervading and one of the most significant features of American tem. It is no exaggeration to say that in America the spy system is as wide American industrialism is nothing spread, as usual, as powerful and as

strikes, against trade unionism the part of the workers.

Spy companies, such as Pinkerton, Baldwin-Felts. W. J. Burns and a score of others are themselves vastly wealthy and powerful corporations. living like parasites on the general body of capitalism. Even if employers find, as a number of them are ing with fire, they cannot escape. The spy company has them in its clutches, and it blackmails them into continusending spies to work, as ordinary Pinkerton or the others will have the trade unions, and have been any more than they did

An American writer in this magazine, \*Mr. Heber Blankenhorn, de-

The tendency of American unions (not without parallels abroad) toward being craft cliques bore its part in begetting espionage. Not only did this leave outside the unions masses of workers to be the battening ground of disorganizing spies, but, within the unions, cliques, with their undemocratic practices, invited spying. When "getting" the official clique meant getting the union, employers were likely to avail themselves of the opportunity.

\*The Labor Monthly, August, 1922, more nor less than a slave system; integral a feature of industry as in- vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 94-102.

union movement, the American movement-by which I mean the American Federation of Labor— is extremely backward. It is organized on the most rigid, narrow, exclusive craft basis which makes even the unfortu nate craft distinctions that still exist in our own movement pale into insignificance. Its attitude towards the sixteen or twenty millions of unorganized immigrant workers is a more aloof, more hostile re-edition of the attitude of our "new model" craft un ions towards the unskilled workers sixty and more years ago. Its attitude towards the masses of Negro workers, with which I deal in detail below, is even more hostile,

The American Federation of Labor does not pretend to be other than an organization of the skilled white "aristocracy of labor"; it is in the literal ment," organizing only a small miwell at length on its various char- destroyers. The New World is acteristics which seem so reactionary - cated to human freedom. from our point of view—such as its

the American Federation of Labor that, speaking as fraternal delegate from the trades union congress, I legal and illegal—are openly and shamelegaly at the book and are openly and shamelegaly at the book are openly and the open are openly and are openly and the open are openly and the open are openly and the open are open a made a plea for American support of shamelessly at the beck and call of International Trade Union unity. That petuate the capitalist system and the conceivable in England, was the re- there cannot be even a beginning to strike much longer, and on infinitely 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chi-

comparison with, say, our own trade Federation of Labor would only unite ed by the mere forms of government with labor movements: -that rest on sound, fundamental principles of democracy and justice

> berty. The same point was stressed in the convention resolution, which formulated a labor "Monroe Doctrine," saying among other things:

and righteousness and human li-

The Americans stand for democracy. . . Neither the Red International of autocratic Moscow nor any other international may in complacency ignore this definition of American labor policy. American labor is friendly to all the world, in so far as the world is bent upon achievement of the aims of democracy. It will contest to the last every inch of ground whatever and wherever autocracy seeks to invade the hallowed soil of this hemisphere. And we shall accept no pretence of "world labor unity" as a mask for invading disrupters and

Now I want to say, with the same opposition to nationalization and to in- frankness and sincerity that my Ameplea was rejected by President Green exploitation of the working people? ception of a "fraternal" delegate from facing this problem. It is true that less, than his white brother.

and that if we pierce thru to the facts behind those forms we see that America is ruled by a capitalist dictatorship. America is the supreme example of the new czarism-the czarism of the finance oligarchy.

Even some of the most important cratic. Thus the cabinet is personalon his own absolute discretion. It is responsible to him and to him alone.

This undemocratic spirit holds this. equal sway in the American Federation of Labor and the American trade union movement. The movement is ruled by an oligarchy which has virtually absolute powers. I noticed, for so well-known a patriotic and non-some Negro workers are organized instance, at the Atlantic City conven- labor organization as the American Le- in American Federation of Labor Untion how all the important committees gion. This delegate was himself a ions. There were Negro delegates at It represents the facts as one and delegations were nominated by prominent trade union leader, Major the Atlantic City convention, but they the president and automatically George L. Berry, of the printing and were delegates in name only and set down without fear or faagreed to by the convention. Thus, pressmen. Many of our best friends seemed to be completely isolated. the president in effect determined the in this country, because of their so-decisions of the convention, for the called "left" tendencies might soon reports of the various committees are find themselves railroaded out of the plea for the unity of all workers, meetings I was privileged to adusually adopted without much ado. A. F. of L. as extreme "lefts" as black, white, brown or yellow, was dress in a number of the princi-This is attributable to the overwhelm- many good militant union men that much appreciated by the Negro trade pal American cities. There that there are exceptional trades scribed the labor spy system as "bedependent labor political action. rican friends showed to me, that all ingly official character of the convenience tion.

The "spoil system" which is such | man, or a group of men, stand no that they should always be borne in plete humbug. "Democracy"—in the a feature of American official life ap- chance against the official machine, mind. To a British worker it comes land of the frame-up, the gunman and plies in the American Federation of backed up as it actually is by the with something of a shock to observe the spy? "Democracy"—in the land Labor, and, I believe, in many of the powers of the law and the police. that many prominent officials of the of Rockefeller and Morgan, of Pink- unions. Thus when President Green Once outside the American Federation previously been a trade unionist and The spirit and the enthusiasm American Federation of Labor and its erton and Baldwin-Felts? "Democ- succeeded the late President Gom- of Labor you are finished; your mouth affiliated unions are republican or racy"—in the land where Negro lynch- pers, he gave notice of dismissal to is stopped, your activities checked, me. He told me, further, that he had fident that the cause of unity democratic members of congress. Im- ings and the bludgeoning and mur- every man-jack of the American Fed- and if necessary suppressed. agine our feelings if, nowadays, Brider of workmen striking for their eration of Labor staff-organizers, agine our feelings if, nowadays, Bridger of workmen striking for their length of tish trade union leaders sat as liberal rights have been a part of every day etc., irrespective of their length of There are many millions of him. and the strike broken. Those scabs of The DAILY WORKER wants

vention, which would have been in- difficult of entry, to Negro workers standard of life he can hold out in a zine Section, The Daily Worker,

called "left" tendencies, might soon great loss of the movement. For one

### Profits of the Future

THE present world rubber situation brings into prominence a feature of monopoly capitalism that Lenin wrote about in his work on "Imperialim." One of the characteristics of imperialism is its control and monopoly of the world supply of raw material. As this is accomplished the struggle between imperialist nations begins to center about the control of possible, future sources of raw ma-

"Not only are the already discovered sources of raw materials of importance to finance capital," says Lenin, "but also the possible sources of such materials, as technique is developing very fast in our times, and the lands which today are useless, may tomorrow become useful. . . . Just as the trusts capitalize their property at two or three times their value, counting on the 'possible' future profits and on further results of monopoly, so also does finance capital in general tend toward the acquisition of as much land as possible, no matter what kind, where, or how, counting on the future sources of raw

The restrictions on the export of rubber by British producers, imposed by the Stevenson act, has created a monopoly on this very important raw material that has sent American rubber manufacturers scurrying all over the world seeking possible, future sources of rubber. While it is true that the American rubber manufacturers are not losing any money by the present restriction of rubber (the rise on the crude material being transferred to the purchaser of the finished product) large producing capitalists feel very uneasy when a foreign imperialist power has complete control over a much-needed raw material.

American imperialism does not like to be placed at the mercy of a competitive nation for any of the important raw materials.

While rubber holds the center of interest at the present moment, there are other star actors on the international economic stage which concern American capitalists. There is an official Franco-German control over the price of potash. The Chilean government manipulates the price of nitrates; and America's reaction to this monopoly gives us a very vivid picture of imperialism at work thru the instrumentality of the Tacne-Arica Commission, enslaving a smaller nation that accidentally possesses a much needed mineral. The Dutch government controls quinine; Yucatan, sisal, from which is made binder-twine used in American wheat fields.

The United States consumes 900,-000,000 pounds of rubber yearly. A little over a year ago the price of crude rubber to the manufacturers was 35 cents per pound, and with the passage of the Stevenson act by Great Britain, the price jumped to \$1.10 the pound; it now hovers around 90 cents per pound. At the same time, the amount of rubber imported has been restricted by the rubber planters.

The immediate situation is clearing up. The price of rubber is gradually going down and the supply is becoming more abundant. But it is not the intention of the British imperialists to relinquish this very important monopoly, which is especially directed against the United States, as this country is the world's largest user of crude rubber.

The fact that the American tire and rubber goods manufacturers are not so much concerned with the immediate situation as they are with the future source of supply is indicated by the unanimity that prevails among the leading men in the rubber industry in their search for a future supply of this raw material.

Though little actual sowing of rubber trees has been undertaken, F. A. Seiberling, president of the Seiberling Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, has been carrying on negotiations with Senator Osmena of the Philippine independence Commission for concessions to rubber growers in the Philippines; Harvey S. Firestone, of the Firestone Company, has been chasing his engineers all over the world look-

Mr. Firestone first choose the Philippines as the best place for his operations. But the Philippine land laws, which restrict the size of plantations, caused him to hesitate. Conferences with a view to raising the restrictions by the Philippine legislature proved futile, as the Filipinos recognized that the infiltration of large sums of capital would at the same time act as a loadstone. With American capital more firmly established in the Islands the possibility of independence of this American colony would disappear completely. Hence the laws were not changed to suit Mr. Firestone.

However, just recently negotiations with the Filipinos have been resumed by Mr. Seiberling, and according to newspaper reports he was able to extract very satisfactory promises from Senator Osmena. When this bit of news reached Manila the wires began to grow hot.

The president of the Filipino Legislature, Quezon, sent Osmena a cable asking full details of negotiations between him and Seiberling. Quezon said, in part:

"United Press dispatches quote Seiberling as stating that he agrees with the opinion recently expressed by you whom he described as receptive to suggestions for development of rubber possibilities of the Philippines and who believes that the problem of land restrictions can be adjusted and solved. . . . Please cable what has taken place between you and Seiberling."

Osmena replied saying: "I told him any reasonable proposition submitted to the legislature would undoubtedly receive due consideration. Our stand having always been against any curtailment of our autonomy. Proposals to amend land laws by congressional enactment will of course be vigorously opposed."

Osmena was referring to the congressional investigation of the British rubber monopoly then under way, which seemed extremely well in the hands of the rubber manufacturers, ready to do their bidding. But for the time being no direct steps have been taken in the Philippines to insure the future supply of crude rubber and profits to the rubber manufac-

Harvey S. Firestone, his Philippine venture fruitless, did not become discouraged but immediately sent engineers to every available rubber country. Inquiries were instituted by his technicians in Mexico; but the results were not very satisfactory. They next went to Central Africa and Panama. Here the labor supply was limited and not cheap enough. Then hopeful eyes were turned to Liberia.

The aim of Firestone in Liberia is a million-acre rubber plantation producing 400,000,000 pounds of rubber a year, at a cost of about 10 cents per pound. Harvey Firestone, Jr., in an interview in London given to a correspondent of the Wall Street Journal, said that 2,000 acres had actually been planted. The wages to be paid to the Liberian workers and peasants by the Firestone plantations will be 24 cents a day; though British experts assured the Firestones that they would have to pay much higher, at least 48 cents per day. Young Firestone insisted that they could get all the workers hey need at 24 cents a day.

During the course of giving testimony before the Congressional committee investigating the rubber monopoly, Harvey S. Firestone told of a 35,000 acre plantation that had been leased by him in the State of Chiapas, Mexico. "I want to point out," said Mr. Firestone, "that it is my opinion that if America is to attain any degree of independence in its source of supply of rubber as well as other materials, which are now in the hands of foreign monopoly, our government must give proper encouragement to capital and must assure the industries interested that it will lend its utmost assistance in protecting our invest-

The Rubber Association of America, the central executive committee of the rubber manufacturers cartel in the United States, proposes spending millions of dollars establishing an inking for possible rubber plantations. dependent source of supply for Ameri chopathic personality, or—the man tomorrow for those who toil.

### Getting Theory

By Harry Gannes



"Without Revolutionary Theory, There Can Be No Revolutionary Practice!" (Lenin). The artist, Lydia Gibson, shows the worker reading the "Workers Monthly," the theoretical organ of the Workers (Communist) Party.

can manufacturers. The places par personal. He desires campaign mateticularly chosen by the Rubber Association were the Philippines, Sumatra, Liberia and other far eastern coun-

There is the possibility of the invention of synthetic rubber. But so far produce a substitute cheap enough.

Charges have been made against Herbert Hoover, the political leader in the fight against the British rubber monopoly, that his interest is purely tires and other rubber articles.

rial for booming himself for president. This might be true. However, sometimes the bourgeoisie must use political issues based on the political and economic situation that confronts them. Hoover is exploiting the desires the chemists have not been able to of the rubber manufacturers for future profits, on the one hand, and on the other hand the chauvinistic prejudices of the petty bourgeois, as well as their resentment to the increased cost of

### Jobless? You're Bugs!

By Henry.

N these columns two weeks ago I described one of the many religious meetings that took place in the "Hobo College" in the past four

Aside from the Jesus peddlers, who in large numbers come to the "College" to inject their religious dope of obedience and submissiveness into the hungry, homeless and jobless men, there comes another class of capitalist hirelings who call themselves "psychiatrists."

Many of those "psychiatrists" who come to the "Hobo College" occupy high positions in state and county hospitals for insane, or in penal institutions, universities, or such. Others fare well on the fat fees they charge bootleggers and convicted criminals for making them out as insane when caught for crime. It is rather amusing to observe how this branch of the head-fixing industry is supporting the crumbling robber system. In the past few weeks many of the so-called "mental disease specialists" spared no efforts to convince the jobless men that the reason they have no jobs is because they are either physically or mentally defective. The main cause of vagrancy-they say-is physical or mental disability.

A vagrant, according to the law, is a person without visible means of support, so all men out of work are in the vagrant class.

Here is the list of mental diseases as given by the psychiatrists, that afflict the unemployed and cause men to go from place to place seeking jobs that are not there:

Insanity, neurosis, paransia, psy-

may be simply a "moron."

So if the boss discharges you from work, immediately you get one of the above mental diseases and you will have it until you get back to work, if you are lucky enough to find a job.

Someone asked one of these "specialists" this question: "Is it not a fact that over 85 per cent of all crime that is being committed is committed against private property, as, for instance, robbery, theft, burglary, petit larceny, embezzlement, etc., and if we would abolish private property would not crime automatically decrease 85

"It may be true that 85 per cent of all crime is committed against property," the "specialist" answered, but I am not interested in that, I am interested in the abnormal behavior of a person who steals." In other vords if a man is hungry and steals a loaf of bread they call that abnormal behavior and psychiatrists will prove that, not his belly, but his head, is abnormal.

From my observations of the capitalist dope peddlers and the spirit in which the men react to the carefully prepared doped, it seems to me that the big joke is on the "psychiatrists." The men may listen as they do to the capitalists' bugaboos, but they have learned by bitter experience in life that the blame for their wretched life lies, not in the mental disorder of the starving wage slave, but in the social system itself. If there are any shortcomings in the mentality of the average worker it is the lack of understanding of the value of workers' organization. Join militant workers' organizations and you will quicken the tempo of the march of progress of the working class that leads to a better

## Dictatorship in the American Revolution

By Gertrude Brown.

THE American War of Independence has usually been pictured as a spontaneous uprising of the whole liberty-loving American people against British tyranny; an event in which "liberty, fraternity, equality" were the watchwords, and oppression could have no part. No wonder that many have been led, or rather misled, into thinking that there is an American way of making revolutions democratically-as against the Russian Dictatorship of the Proletariat. But this conception is as false as it is mischievous. It is the result of mythmaking, not history. The truth is that the Revolution was a bitter civil war as well as a war for independence. From the very first there was as large a faction against the Revolution as for it. And how were these anti-revolutionists treated by the patriots? They were beaten, suppressed, routed out of the country. Their property was heavily taxed and later confiscated. Loyalists, or Tories as they were called, "were social lepers." They had neither rights nor privileges. A journal of the time so defines one:

A Loyalist is a thing Whose body is in America Whose head is in England, and Whose neck ought to be stretched.\*

As stated, the Loyalists were no small number. They were chiefly composed of the following classes: (1) the royal governors and their coteries (2) those merchants who needed British protection, (3) the large landholders of New York and the middle colonies, (4) the clergy and all their followers, (5) the aristocracy of "culture" and professions. But these classes were playing a losing game. With their adherence to royalty, feudalism, to the dying system of social castes and legal privileges, they were harking back to the Their institutions were disintegrating, their power for progress nil. On the other hand the revolutionaries were of the rising class. They represented the merchants and manufacturers. They stood for capitalism, constitutional government, freedom of trade. And, tho they fought for their own interests entirely, they represented the needs of the time. Their day was dawning. Thus they were more aggressive, better organized, more conscious of their aims and fully determined to realize them.

### The Patriotic Dictatorship.

As the struggle became definite and the opposition crystallized, the revolutionists began organizing to crush it. In their struggle for liberty they utterly ignored the rights of anyone who did not identify himself with their aims. "The machine for suppression of the anti-revolutionists," acording to S. G. Fisher, ("The Struggle for Independence") "was fully as well-organized and systematic as responsible for any misdeeds of the Washington's army!" As early as substitutes so hired. April, 1772, two years before the declaration of Independence, Boston organized the Committee of Correspondence. This body sent out appeals to other colonies to follow their example. And in a short time there were similar committees everywhere. Later many others were formed. There were then Correspondence Committees, Committees of Safety, Committees of Sixty, Committees of One Hundred, Committees of Inspection of Observation, Town Committees, Precinct Committees, County and District Committees. Some were temporary, others permanent. For every Loyalist demonstration there was organized a committee to deal with it. These bodies were pledged to secrecy. Their rule was tyrannical and despotic in the extreme. Even where the Loyalists were in a clear majority they were so roundly defeated, persecuted, and hounded out of the country that they "never opened their heads again." First, and most important, they were disarmed. Revolutionist groups went from house to house and took away all Loyalist weapons. They were urged by the Continental Congress to perform this task with the utmost thoroness. As arms were then not easily obtainable, this meas-

\* Quoted by S. G. Fisher, "Struggle ists." for Independence." \*\* Westchester Farmer, 1775.

Illegal Elections.

THE revolutionaries were never deterred from action because they were in the minority. Committees were appointed at county meetings where sometimes not more than onefourth of the freeholders attended. In the elections for delegates to the first Continental (inter-Colonial) Congress-in Boston-Samuel Adams had the key of the assembly-hall in his pocket, allowing no one in or out; in Georgia five out of twelve parishes sent deputies; in South Carolina ten out of thirty-four counties sent none; in New York there were heavy majorities against sending delegates, but deputies were sent nevertheless by small groups of revolutionaries who taxed themselves to pay the expenses. In some counties only one-twentieth of the voters were present. As one editor expressed it-"Two men met, and one appointed the other a delegate to the Congress."\* Another said, "The Continental Congress is a law-making body, unknown to the law or the constitution of the coun-

Civil Liberty Abolished.

 ${
m A}^{
m NTI-REVOLUTIONISTS}_{
m rights.}$  They had no vote. They could hold no offices, could not receive valid title to land, act as jurymen, or use the courts to sue for damages to person or property. In some cases Loyalists could not be apothecaries.

Freedom of speech, press or assemblage was absolutely unknown. One Tory said, "There is more liberty in Turkey than in the dominions of Con-Tory publishers were assailgress." ed, their presses broken, their lives threatened if they dared offend again, many could find safety only by leaving the country. Disparaging the congress or the states was interdicted. Citizens were persecuted for drinking the king's health, for discouraging enlistments in the patriot army. One man was arrested because he called his dog "Tory," thus intimating that a Tory led a dog's life. A preacher was haled into court because he baptized a child "Thomas Gage," the name of an English gen-This man was accused of using eral. a religious maneuver to insult the cause of liberty. In all these proceedings mere suspicion was sufficient to lead to imprisonment. The committees called what witnesses they chose and freely condemned suspects to prison in their absence.

Even neutrality was a crime. Families were roughly dealt with because they had not prevented their relatives from joining the British service. Some were compelled to hire substitutes for any of their relatives who had fled to evade service and were held

Property of the Tories Fair Game.

THE possessions of the Tories were at all times insecure. High fines were imposed for every kind of offense. If they were wealthy they were heavily taxed for war expense. Some were compelled to pay stipulated sums daily to the guards stationed at their homes. In New York and South Carolina, Loyalists were obliged to make good all robberies committed within their country, while men tried for theft were condoned if their victim had been mistaken for a Tory. and altogether excused if he actually

In most of the colonies the lands of the Loyalists could be freely used for war purposes-as appropriating their timber to build Continental vessels. And in towns containing a minority of Tories, their property was quite freely disposed of. Desirable articles of their personal property were often raffled off by the authorities. They were deprived of kitchen utensils and even wearing-apparel. And-shades of Russian emigres!there is a pathetic instance of "two aristocratic ladies using their coach-

ure did more than anything else to house as their dining-room and the exonerated from all pains, actions, weaken the opposition. fowl-house as their bed-chamber." and suits." The public sentiment

As the struggle progressed, the states realized how valuable the property of the thousands of refugees was for revolutionary war purposes. The authorities then began to protect the property from vandalism and to confiscate it "legally." The legislatures passed laws to this effect, specifying in the preambles just how it was to be disposed of. This was systematically carried on till many years after the treaty of peace. New York alone is said to have derived more than \$6,000,000 from this source. Washington expressed his hearty approval of these measures saying that "the state of affairs demanded such severity."

Mob Action Everywhere Legally Sanctioned.

YNCHING originated at this time L YNCHING Grands Law, after the name of Charles Lynch of Virginia who took the punishment of Tories in his district into his own hands. His example was widely followed, and there was no limit beyond which this summary punishment might not go. Tories were ridden on rails, left tied to trees in the woods, mercilessly pelted with stones Groups were led through villages and tormented in every gruesome way until they shouted, "Hurrah for Liberty." Hundreds were put to hard labor of all kinds. A novel form of torture was to lock victims up in rooms in which a fire was burning, with the chimney stopped up.

Tarring and feathering became a recognized form of punishment, in flicted upon the slightest suspicion. There were victims by the thousands. One man in a letter to a friend asks if it would be "featherable" to carry a certain paper in his pocket. In fact, the practice was so well recognized that an official record in describing the tarring and feathering of several Tories says: "and the whole was conducted with that regularity and decorum which ought to be observed in all public punishments."

The legislatures and courts sanctioned all violence committed, holding that the motives justified the deeds. In the case of a suit for damages against Judge Lynch, for example, the court ruled that as he "had suppressed conspiracy by timely and effectual measures which although not strictly warranted by law, were justifiable from the imminence of the danger, he and and persons whatsoever concerned in suppressing the same conspiracy . . . stand indemnified and

\* Van Tyne, "The Loyalists."

The public sentiment in this case is well reflected in several ditties sung at the time, in which Lynch and his aides are extolled. Here is one for example:

Hurrah for Colonel Lynch Captain Bob and Calloway! They never turned a Tory loose Until he shouted "Liberty."

Persecution Continued After the War.

THOUSANDS of refugees were de-barred from returning to the country after the treaty of peace. For one reason because it was a serious matter to have been tainted with treason. For another, it was extremely difficult for many to re-establish themselves. as all their possessions had been confiscated and would not be returned. Many thousands were legally debarred even if they could have returned unmolested because, as was well expressed by Samuel Adams, the patriot, They could scarcely fail to treat with contempt the new order of things. and try secretly to undermine it." \* This measure was particularly important because for several years it was feared that Great Britain would try to re-establish herself in America. Thus they did not hesitate legally or otherwise to hold the reins tightly in their hands as long as there was danger of overthrowing their new order. Conclusion.

THE value of knowing that the American war for independence was no saintly affair lies not in belittling its achievements. It was no doubt historically necessary to throw off the British yoke, to establish capitalism in this country, to create a proletariat. The Dictatorship of the Patriots too was necessary, since no ruling class gives up without a struggle. But if this rigid control over the opposition was essential and justifiable in the American Revolution, it is a thousand times more so in the proletarian revolution, in which the opposition is world wide and unrelenting, and the vanguard small. The American revolutionaries saw clearly that if they did not oppress the Tories, the Tories would oppress them. So too we workers must know that if we do not down the bourgeois opposition, it will down us. It is up to the working class to bring to success the real Revolution. For as Marx so well puts it, in the Communist Manifesto, "All previous revolutions were revolutions of minorities in the interest of minorities; the proletarian revolution is the selfconscious independent act of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority."

Quoted by Cutler, "Lynch Law." # J. Hosmer, "Samuel Adams."

### "Settled"

### A Poem on the Anthracite Strike

By ADOLF WOLFF.

PACK to the treadmill slaves! Back to the tunneled night Back to your cavern graves The mines of anthracite.

Beaten and betrayed By those you pay to lead Heavily you've paid Profusely you bleed.

You dared like men to stand Against abuses frowned. To force your just demand Your busy tools you downed.

Hunger you defied, Despair, and biting cold, Most bravely you tried, The battle line to hold.

You lost, and lose you must Like doomed and beaten slaves Until you cease to trust Your leadership to knaves.

<sup>\*</sup> Quoted by Van Tyne, "The Loyal-

# The New Kind of Lynching

By Elsa Bloch.

TWICE within a period of two weeks, the newspapers of the country have given the publicity of the first page to cases of southern Negroes, charged with crime, to whom state officials, "at great expense and trouble," had given "protection" from the waiting mobs.

On February 1, the newspapers reported that Edward Harris, a Negro of Lexington, Kentucky, was to be brought into court on the charge of having "murdered a man and his two children, and assaulted the wife." The papers detailed elaborate plans being made by state officials to "protect Harris from attack." "Cavalry, machine gun squadrons, and a tank company" were to guard the courthouse to prevent mobs from breaking in and seizing the prisoner.

The next day the papers told of the use of "tear-gas bombs to rout the mobs at Harris' trial." On February 3, screaming headlines announced that the jury in the Harris case, having "deliberated sixteen minutes," brought in a verdict of "guilty" and a death sentence.

From Georgetown, Delaware, a week later, came the news that "tear-gas bombs were used to rout the mob storming the trial of a Negro," and that while this was going on the jury sentenced the "attacker of a twelve year-old girl" to death.

WITHIN the sixty-one years that have passed since the close of the civil war, thousands of lynchings have taken place. These the newspapers have reported, briefly, and with more or less indifference. Only a few weeks ago, newspaper readers learned of a lynching party which had hit on the refinement of broadcasting by radio the screams of its victim. This report aroused little comment in the capitalist press. And it has also happened that Negroes accused of crime have thru luck escaped lynching. And no headlines announced these events.

BUT now suddenly, newspapers are filled with the "bravery" and "determination" of state officials who "prevent lynchings or attacks on Negroes brought to trial." Why?

Because there is pending in congress a bill-the Dyer bill-which makes a gesture of putting upon the federal government the responsibility for punishment of lynching. All the exaggerated stories of how law-abiding officials prevented the lynching of two Negroes, all the bloated reports of "protection from the mob" which a kind state has given to two of its colored citizens (while proceeding to sentence the same colored citizens to death in 16 minute trials) are nothing more than an attempt finally to kill the anti-lynching bill which has been in congress committees ever since

WHAT was the character of the trial accorded the two Negroes Harris was arrested on one day; on the next he had been convicted was on his way to the gallows. There was no long-drawn-out trial, such is accorded wealthy men in cities Chicago, there were no psychiatrists to prove the "insanity" of ta

there were no witnesses for the defense. No man of Harris' own race was allowed on the jury. Harris had a perfunctory trial, the jury "deliber ated" for sixteen minutes, and the sentence was death.

ERVILE capitalist "Negro" newspapers, altho they customarily protest against lynching, are silenced by this "trial." Intellectually chloroformed with the superstition of legalism, some boot-licking Negro editors are overcome by the fact that the victims "had a trial."

Let us say openly what everybody with any intellectual courage knows to be true—that such a trial was another form of lynching. Except that the torture of the stake was lacking, there is no difference between such a trial and a lynching.

No need to flinch because the Negro victim is accused of rape. The word "rape" is a means of preventing any defense. This will raise a howl of rage from those who are steeped in bill to become law, and saw to it that

Negro is accused of rape and you dare defend him-you are guilty of defendind a rapist! Therefore if you want to hang an innocent man without a defense, accuse him of rape, and nobody will dare defend him. This is glaringly illustrated in the "trial" of Edward There were two charges Harris. against him: one of murder and one of rape. The prosecutor chose to give him his sixteen-minute "trial" on the charge of rape; there was no defense, and the mere utterance of the charge was assurance of conviction.

Nor is there any reason under the circumstances to take seriously the statement that the black prisoner confessed. Such confessions have exactly the value of the confessions that once were wrung from the victims of the church inquisition,-that is, precisely a little terrorizing, a piece of paper and a pencil. We know something of the way confessions are obtained from terrorized victims.

The newspapers do not suggest what would have happened to the two Negroes in question had they-by some miracle-been proved innocent. We know that they would have been hanged anyway. But there are no miracles, and there was not the slightest chance of anything but death for the Negro in this "trial." Therefore it was not a trial, but a lynching. "The spectators in the courtroom glowered at the skrinking defendant," commented the Chicago Tribune in its account of Harris' trial. What juror would have dared to hold out against the evidence of such flaming race-hatred?

HAT the newspaper propaganda has been telling the southern mobs is this: "You need not trouble to lynch a Negro accused of crime. You can rely on our courts, in which only white judges,-only white jurors (poisoned with ruling class ideology) and only white spectators are allowed, to kill that Negro just as surely as if you were to bind him and light the kindling under his feet. We allow no Negroes to hear the case. We stuff the white population, which is to make up our juries, with lies about the character of the Negro, so that they will be certain to convict. We can have the whole thing over with and the 'nigger' on his way to the gallows in sixteen minutes. This method may not be as pleasurable as a lynching, but it is as certain, and it puts the stamp of legality on the whole matter and prevents the possibility of interference with our established prac-

THE day after sentence had been I passed on Edward Harris, the Chicago Tribune carried the following editorial:

"Kentucky used the protective force of its state militia to give Edward Harris, Negro murderer and rapist, a trial and save him from a lynching. It was a quick trial, with a plea of guilty and a hanging sentence, but the mob did not get him.

"Harris killed a white man and his two children and attacked the wife. The justice usually adminstered in the south to such a Negro criminal involves a mob, a smashed jail door, a rope, and the nearest telegraph pole. Kentucky, calling 1,000 guardsmen into service at a cost to the state of some \$30,000, is establishing a new civilized order in place of the barbarous method of lynching.

"Kentucky's example is the best argument yet offered against the Dyer bill.

"The Dyer anti-lynching bill is pending in congress, its aim, to empower the federal government to arrest and prosecute those guilty of aiding in a lynching. The Dyer bill is bad because it relegates to the central government police powers properly belonging to the state. It should be defeated, but southern states, to justify their opposition, must demonstrate that there is no necessity for outside law to step in."

THE story of the course of the Dyer 1 anti-lynching bill in congress is interesting. The republican party never intended the Dver anti-lynching the systematized hysteria which is the even if it became a law it could be

purposes. Ever since the introduction of the bill in the fall of 1921-which the republicans were unable to avoid -the republican caucus in congress, while pretending to be heartily in favor of the measure has made every effort to lose it on one pretext or another. The recent newspaper campaign against the bill is only the climax of the long story.

The prevalence of lynching, especially in the southern states, no one in congress attempted to dispute. The report of the house judiciary committee said:

"In the thirty years from 1889 to 1918, 3,223 persons were lynched, of whom 2,522 were Negroes and of these fifty were women ... the south (had) 2,834, with Georgia leading with 386 and Mississippi following with 373... In the year 1919, 77 Negroes, 4 whites and 2 Mexicans were lynched; ten of the Negroes were ex-soldiers, one was a woman. During 1920 there were 65 persons lynched; 6 were white and 59 were Negroes: 31 were hanged, 15 shot, 8 burned, 2 drowned, 1 flogged to death, and 8, manner unknown."

Of course the charge that the Negro s a beast who will take advantage of the Dver law to commit atrocities. that he is especially prone to crime and must be dealt with by special measures, is one of the lies which the ruling class of the south (and of the whole of the United States, for that matter) has used to poison the minds of white workers against black, to keep the Negro in a state of semislavery for the benefit of the rich em-

Many of the members of lynching parties in the south, knowing that no state official would presume to arrest a white man for the murder of a Negro, have taken no trouble to conceal their identity. A lew weeks ago the Chicago Defender, a Negro weekly, was able to print the picture of a mob, taken while the mob was in the act of burning a Negro. The members of the mob did not attempt to prevent the picture being taken, nor to deny their identity when the protograph was printed.

The Dver anti-lynching bill provides that any member of a mob which puts someone to death shall be imprisoned for life, or for not less than five years, and that state and municipal officials who thru neglect of duty fail to prevent lynchings shall be imprisoned not more than five years or fined not more than \$5,000. Federal district courts would have jurisdiction. A provision originally contained in the bill, but later stricken out at the behest of the senate, required any county in which a person is lynched to forfeit \$10,000, which would go to the family of the victim. The bill defines "a mob or riotous assemblage" as "an assembly composed of five or more persons acting in concert for the purpose of depriving any person of his life without authority of law." (This number was later changed to three.)

The hideous "joker" in this bill is easily seen. It is well understood that such a law, in the hands of a capitalist class government, would never be used in defense of members or groups of the exploited classes, but if ever applied (any more than the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution) it would be applied only for the framing up and hanging of such 'a mob or riotous assemblage" as the Negro tenant-farmers of Elaine, Ark., or of strikers-Negro or white-whose 'assembly composed of three or more persons acting in concert" for resistance to exploitation would be quickly diudged to have the "purpose of depriving any person of his life without authority of law," if, as usual, the agents of the ruling class succeeded in provoking violence.

This possibility has not been overlooked by the capitalists. The New York Times, discussing the Dyer bill, commented editorially:

". . . It is noted that the only killings listed occurred in southern states. There is no mention in the report of the recent massacre of non-union miners in the Herrin, III., bituminous coal fields."

The introduction of the Dyer bill let loose a flood of race hating propaganda in the house and the senate. The democrats, who could control no Negro votes and could therefore be more frank about their intentions, filibustered for hours at a time to prevent the bill from coming to a vote, using for their arguments all the lies that have for years poisoned the minds of southerners. Representative Garrett of Tennessee had this to say:

"You gentlemen do not know what it is to live in a section where a wife dare not travel alone in the fields. You do not know what it is to raise a daughter who after the age of ten years lives under the shadow of a Damoclean sword. When you put these ideas into the heads of those few black beasts of their race, you are increasing the commission of crime."

And Representative Prout of North Carolina: "How do you think the black beast will view this law?" And Garrett appealed to the anti-Chinese prejudice of ignorant California representatives, told them that they were 'confronted with a perplexing race question," and begged them to "stand with the opponents of the Dyer bill in resisting interference of the federal government in state affairs." "Whatever you people in the west decide to do in working out your problems," said Garrett, "we of the south will understand."

Soon came the news that the antilynching bill had divided the republicans in congress. Some of them thought the bill "unconstitutional." Others considered it "unnecessary." Still others thought that it would be 'unwise" to hold up other legislation for "this one bill."

But the Negro leader, James Weldon Johnson, himself a muddled follower of the republican party, let the truth of the matter out when he publicly declared a year and a half ago that there exists a "gentlemen's agreement" between the republican and democratic party leaders, by which it is always managed that just enuf votes are cast against the bill in the senate to defeat it, or a filibuster is allowed to kill it,-while the republicans retain the reputation of being "for" it.

But as far as there is any controversy between northern republicans and southern democrats over this bill, it is a controversy between the particularism of the backward, rural south and the industrial north, to whose interest it is, generally, to extend federal jurisdiction over all phases of life in the back-country of the south. But to pass this "antilynching" bill is not necessary to the purpose, and it was easy to reach the 'gentlemen's agreement" to let it die.

Finally however, the bill passed the house, with 17 republicans voting against it. In a few days, to the surprise of many, the senate committee reported favorably on the bill. Little doubt was expressed that, if the bill were allowed to come up, it would

Now the republicans were in an embarassing position. Fortunately for them, the democrats in the senate began a determined filibuster to prevent the bill from coming up. The next day, word came from the republican caucus that their "dread of an extra session" would probably ' force them to d the anti-lynching measure." And the day after that, the New York Times carried the headlines: "Filibuster kills anti-lynching bill. Republican senators in caucus agree to abandon the Dyer measure. Majority promises democrats bill shall not be called up again in present congress." Senator Lodge said: "The conference decided very reluctantly that it was our duty to set aside the Dyer bill and go on with the business of the session.'

And there the Dyer bill has lain. until this year when republican newspapers make much of the reports of southern democrats that they are well able to prevent lynchings themselves, and that Federal interference is unnecessary.

And thus the "gentlemen's agreement" can live, and southern ruling class can lynch its Negro slaves in the court-room instead of the public square.