

Follies of 1924

By Jay Lovestone

STANDING on the warm shore of Miami Beach and looking northward to the giant factories and banks, our Strikebreaker-General has once more proclaimed Harding's renomination. Daugherty, the President's legal adviser and political manager, has determined to rededicate Warren Gamaliel to the Presidency and America to normalcy.

Why this great haste in blowing the political trumpets of a man, who, regardless of all his failings and failures, is "destined" to succeed himself? Why is it that Presidential timber is being advertised so much earlier than is customary in national elections?

Preparing for a Great Struggle

The year 1922 saw America engulfed in the most gigantic strike wave. First of all, there were the three great national strikes—the textile strike, the mine strike, and the railway strike. Never before in our industrial history were there so many workers on strike and never before did they stay out so long. Though the great industrial battles of 1922 proved of inestimable aid to the workers in putting a halt to the open shop drive, yet these battles were not decisive. The workers did not succeed in shelling the employers out of their industrial entrenchments. On the political field the class struggle was as indecisive. Despite the tremendous pressure of the workers and the working farmers in the last election, the reactionary exploiters and big capitalists are still securely in the saddle at Washington and all the way down the line.

But the employers are determined to fight it out to a finish. Their sanguine hopes to uproot every vestige of working class organization and slash wages to the bone have not been realized. They must try again, try harder than ever before to achieve this infamous purpose.

That the center of gravity in the next phase of our class struggle is veering to the political field is evidenced in many ways. The Government is more and more openly fighting the battles of the employers in the labor struggles. Tomes could not adequately narrate the strikebreaking activities of the Government in the recent class conflicts. Today, the working and farming masses are more conscious of their need for organizing and fighting politically than they have been ever before. Day by day the Government is unmasking itself as an outright agency of the powerful industrial magnates and bankers. It is this growing knowledge of the true role of the Government that has brought the pressure of the working and farming masses on the big employers. The effect of this pressure is reflected in the wave of insurgency in the Republican Party, in the results of the last election, and in the widespread sentiment for the organization of an independent political party of the city and rural working masses.

The 1924 election is, therefore, already looked upon as the next big phase of the class war. It is about the 1924 election and its issues that the contending armies in the struggle are gathering. A big fight is in sight and energetic preparations are on foot.

Issues and The Issue

IN the characteristic American fashion many issues will be injected into the 1924 campaign. Tariff, taxation, railways, agricultural relief, prohibition, the open shop and the World Court will stuff our newspaper columns. But all of these issues, when stripped of their verbiage and rhetoric, simmer down to one fundamental, composite issue—the Open Shop Question—the impending gigantic struggle between the working class and the employing class.

Tariff is perennial campaign swash. On the problem of taxation, Harding will talk and Mellon will act. Warren Gamaliel will talk of lowering all taxes and Mellon will continue to aid and abet the millionaire tax dodgers by another covert or overt reduction of the surtax.

As to agricultural relief, it is not unlikely that Harding's farm homilies will materialize into the one bright spot in his clouds of "mellifluous phraseology." The Government may buy some grain for another starving country. Incidentally the big grain gamblers will have another opportunity to rob the farmers by forcing them to sell at low prices. In view of the Chester concession in Turkey, the invigorated "sick man of Europe" may become the new recipient of Wall Street generosity. But while Harding will be talking, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace will work hand in glove with the packers and grain elevator magnates.

Strenuous efforts will unquestionably be made to win the farming masses over to the side of Big Business. In the class conflict today the rural masses are wavering between the powerful industrial employers and the city workers. We should, therefore, not be surprised to see a reduction in railway rates in order to appease the discontented farmers. Of course, the Government will grant a bonus to the poor railway capitalists to help them bear this reduction. On the heels of such a reduction and after an expenditure of more than one billion dollars by the railway capitalists for "improvements," the country will be spared the luxury of even a discussion of government ownership and will be prepared for a new wage cut. The rail companies will spend this money with their usual reckless extravagance among the supply and equipment companies in the clutches of the same railway financiers. Thus operating expenses will mount, the rate of profit will decrease and the reduced freight charges will have to be raised again. The continuity of the flow of dividends on the new billion will have to be guaranteed. And the Government will do it. This vicious circle in which the city and rural masses find themselves will be the real solution of the railway problem.

Now as to prohibition. The workers can rest assured that in these days of highest tariffs and protection of Big Business, bootlegging which, next to agriculture, is perhaps our biggest industry, will be adequately protected. Prohibition will be enforced. But the enforcement of prohibition will only serve as a further subterfuge for Republican lavishness in patronage. Prohibition enforcement offers a chance to appoint numerous agents and marshals who can be lieu-



Hoover's Hootch

tenants for building up a strong Party machine and who will act as a potential army for the enforcement of "law and order" against striking workers. An effort will be made to draw the Solid South closer to the Republican fold through prohibition enforcement. The South is hungry for patronage and the Republican machine can stand lots of strengthening there.

Finally, the world court issue. The Democrats and Republicans will play hide and seek around this vagary. The Republicans will call their panacea a "Permanent Court of International Justice." The Democrats will stick an old label, "The League of Nations," on their quack remedy. As a matter of fact the practical politicians will allow Harding to indulge only in the thinnest of abstractions when discussing foreign policy. It will be up to Hoover and Hughes and Senator Pepper to talk of a League of "Limited Liability." Harding will at best fight for it "within the limits of his temperament." Thus those who favor the League will not be antagonized and those who oppose the League will not be lost. As usual, indefinite sidetracking will be the capitalist solution.

But no matter what the Democrats and the Republicans will say of the world peace, it is obvious that both prefer to employ the talk of foreign affairs only as a screen behind which they can hide their real objective—to crush the workers. When Wilson was talking world peace, Palmer was hounding and imprisoning workers. Wilson had his Palmer and Harding has his Daugherty. While Harding will be

talking peace Daugherty will be waging ruthless war against the workers. Harding will be Don Quixote and Daugherty will be Sancho Panza.

Republicans Closing Their Ranks

THE arena is being quickly prepared for an attack on the workers. In the name of public economy and private health Harding will take a trip to Alaska. The country is buzzing with gossip that this trip is a political junket but Harding insists that he will speak and act only as President. Warren Gamaliel proudly points to the fact that his trip to the Canal Zone brought the country "economies amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year." Incidentally it should be pointed out that these "economies" were secured through forcing a reduction of wages and intolerable conditions of employment on the workers in the Canal Zone.

This early announcement of Harding's candidacy coupled with the characteristic Gamalielian defense of outraged innocence, is merely a notice to the Republican insurgents to toe the Party line and quit fooling. They must be either for or against Harding. A united Party organization is a prerequisite to a successful campaign against the workers.

It is for this reason that Harding is irritated by the existence of Congressional and Senatorial blocs which are but a vague expression of the first stages of developing class-consciousness. Thus spake Gamaliel at St. Augusta: "There is a menace in the perpetuation of class and the organiza-

tion of blocs... There is danger in envy and jealousy... Let us be on guard against envy and jealousy." But Senator Jones who led the disastrous fight for the Ship Subsidy and who is not considered Presidential timber could afford to speak more plainly. And he did. Said the Washington Senator: "Republican senators may be gumshoeing. I think some of them are. There is no teamwork amongst them. Each one is doing and advocating what he thinks his constituents want. The main argument now made for or against a proposal is that people are for it or against it. **THAT SHOULD BE THE LAST ARGUMENT URGED.**" The last, especially, is refreshing in its honesty and frankness.

The workers and working farmers need have no illusions as to the floodgates of progressivism overwhelming the Republican machine. The reactionaries controlling the Party have weathered many a storm before. In the 'Eighties the revolt of General Weaver petered out. In the 'Nineties Teller led a small band of the hopeless, only to see McKinley win in a walk-over. And even the mighty Teddy, lion-tamer and phrase-monger, could not resist the temptation of falling in line with the Old Guard at the first favorable moment.

The insurgents of today will do no better. They haven't the kidney to fight. Borah will perhaps be given a chance to preside at the Convention. Walter F. Brown, a prominent Ohio ex-Bull Mooser, will very likely be given the chairmanship of the National Committee. Such steps will serve to keep in line some blind, groping rank and file progressives. But no matter what feint gestures the Old Guard will make to progressivism, they will maintain control of the Party. This condition was well summed up by Daugherty in his remarks on the first nomination of Harding. He boasted:

"At the proper time after the Republican National Convention meets, some fifteen men, bleary-eyed with loss of sleep and perspiring profusely with the excessive heat will sit down in seclusion around a big table. I will be with them, and will present the name of Senator Harding to them, and before we get through they will put him over."

Daugherty has good reason to be proud of his boast. There is no reason for his not being able to repeat this performance in 1924.

The Issue—A New Open Shop Drive

IN this fashion will the doubtful be whipped into line and the faithful be put on the job. Harding himself will be extremely chary of coming out foursquare for the open shop. He will speak as he spoke after Herrin. He will speak of the inalienable constitutional right of the workers to labor for the employers under any conditions. Harding, like "Injunction" Bill Taft is "surrounded by men who know exactly what they want."

It will be up to the practical fellows like Daugherty and "Hell-and-Maria" General Chas. G. Dawes, to deliver the open shop goods to Wall Street. Daugherty will bellow about law-enforcement, but only against the working men. He will not move a finger to punish the agents of the Missouri & North Arkansas railroad who hanged the innocent worker Gregor. Our Strikebreaker-General will not

make the slightest effort to secure the enforcement of the safety laws on the railways capitalists. Daugherty will busy himself imprisoning workers who may be violating his injunctions by giving bread to the famished children and starving families of the striking shopmen.

As early as last December "Hell-and-Maria" General Dawes, Chicago banker and expert in profanity, opened the Republican Party's campaign for the open shop. Addressing the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, this eat-em-alive swash-buckler, who in 1896 helped Mark Hanna sell McKinley to the workers, swore: "The politicians these days are afraid of the labor unions, many of which are headed by criminals... We need men who are not afraid of mobs—who are ready to fight." And accompanying Harding on his last Southern golf expedition, "Hell-and-Maria" went on to thunder: "In the next contest one of the great parties in clean cut language and without evasion must take its stand for the new bill of rights against minority organizations. The American citizen demands that this issue be drawn. Politicians will try to dodge it at their peril. The American citizen is no longer asleep and the American loves his country."

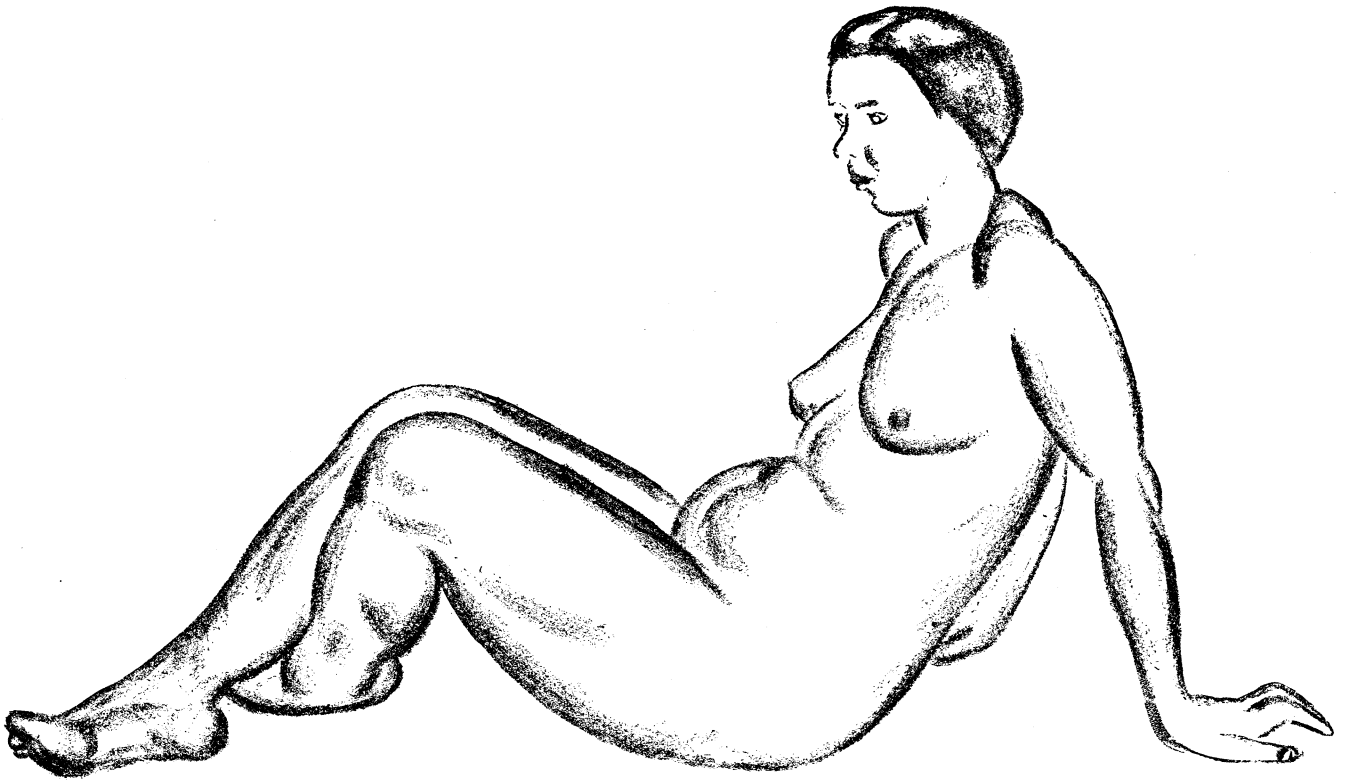
Indeed, the General, being a banker, is especially qualified to speak for all American citizens. As such, he is particularly qualified to speak on what American citizens love.

It is a Daugherty or a Dawes who will be the cock-of-the-walk politically in the Republican Party, in the conclaves of the innermost councils of the employing class. In the Republican campaign of 1924, Daugherty and Dawes will unquestionably be the Gold Dust Twins. They will pull the financial strings and they will pull the noose around the worker's neck. When Daugherty and Dawes talk of law enforcement, prosecution of "Reds" and the open shop as issues of the 1924 campaign it is a sign of the coming storm. It is proof that the capitalists mean business; that they are on their hind legs to fight.

The workers and working farmers must at once prepare for this coming fight. In the past year the American Federation of Labor lost close to eight hundred thousand members. The farmer's taxes today are twice what they were ten years ago. For three consecutive years the farmer has been receiving lower prices for his produce. All the working farmer has in the bank at the end of the year are promissory notes on which interest is overdue—but not a cent in money.

The working masses in this country cannot look forward to either the Democratic or Republican parties for relief. A Southern farm paper has recently painted the following vivid and realistic picture of the two Parties. It said that the Republican Party is in the food pen and growing so fat from the political pap that it could scarcely stand to eat; and that the Democratic Party was running around outside the pen, growing leaner and leaner, and squealing louder and louder while trying to get in.

Nor can the city and rural working masses trust the progressives and liberals of these parties. The great "friend of labor," Wm. G. McAdoo, only recently sent a letter congratulating the Ku Klux Klan hero, Mr. Mayfield, upon his election to the United States Senate from Texas. The notorious Republican insurgent and progressive, Hiram Johnson, who worked overtime defending the infamous labor hater Wm. J. Burns, has, of late, been resting in Italy. At a ban-



A Drawing

Louis Riback

quet with the bloodthirsty Fascisti Premier who has jailed and murdered hundreds of workers Senator Hiram Johnson, waxed eloquent and said: "After having admired the grandeur of ancient Rome, I have seen the marvel of modern Italy, Professor Mussolini."

Finally, Governor Sweet, who was elected as a progressive Democrat and "friend of labor," is considering the appointment of Mr. Alva B. Adams, lawyer for the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fé railroad, to the United States Senate to succeed the late Senator Nicholson. The Santa Fé is one of the worst enemies of labor. Its shopmen are still locked out. But the railroads can well afford to have another friend in the next senate. The "friends of labor" must therefore help them.

For the workers and working farmers there is but one way to hurl back the coming open shop drive. The workers and working farmers must get together to use their political power in their own self-defense. They must organize a powerful independent mass political party unreservedly committed to the protection of the interests of the city and rural working masses. They must build an independent political party on the basis of all the organizations of the workers and working farmers regardless of political differences.

EDYTHE BAKER, sketched at the WINTER GARDEN, is
The Subject of THE MAY COVER by Frank Walts

Curves

OF every gesture Beauty makes
I know that I can find,
A curve is like a song unheard
But singing to the mind.

What Beauty utters in her curves,
I always like to mark
In veering of a bird in flight
Or in a fountain's arc.

The haunting crescent of the moon
Arches into a hymn;
The rainbow gestures eloquent
With music of its rim.

But yet, of all the singing curves,
Most lyrical belong
To symmetries of girls that coin
The silence into song!

Louis Ginsberg.