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From John Brown to Andy Mellon

The republican party was born amid terrific class struggles over three-quarters of a century ago. It cut its teeth on the cannon of Lincoln's armies.

The republican party came into existence playing a role that was not reactionary—a role that had a revolutionary phase. "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Man" was inscribed on the banner of the Free Soil party which can more or less be called the father of the republican party. In the year that the convention of left-wing Whigs, Democrats and Free Soldiers at Jackson, Michigan, gave the name "Republican" to the party that was to lead the country through civil war to modern capitalism, many of the same forces were making civil war against the United States government in "Bloody Kansas." The names of John Brown and James H. Lane in Kansas were the "sacred relics" of the republican party.

The republican party played one of the biggest world parts in the bourgeois revolution.

This morning the republican party meets in national convention in Kansas City, not far away from the Kansas that was once bloody. Not John Brown or Jim Lane carrying rifles on the backs of wild mustangs, but Herbert Hoover, the efficiency engineer, and Andrew W. Mellon, finance-capitalist, sipping gin rickeys in private cars, are the symbol of the republican party.

Jackson, Michigan, birthplace of the republican party, now has no further claim to fame than as the location of the prison where C. E. Ruthenberg was jailed.

The republican party, the classic party of the American capitalist class, has led the capitalist state through the cycle of development from an infant republic that still had a revolutionary task to perform to the fat and brutish imperialism of today which is the most colossal force for counter-revolution in the world. Civil war there is still—and the republican party and the class it represents are on the opposite side of civil war—the reactionary side, the slave-owners' side. The class it represents, and the state and federal governments of that class, are sending marines to drop bombs on the John Browns of Nicaragua, and troops and "mediators" to shoot and swindle striking wage-slaves. The United States government, which functions through the bureaucracy of the republican party and the democratic party (which is now only another "republican party"), is entirely and completely a force for reaction, for stagnation of all social development, for exploiting, enslaving, crippling, poisoning the life of the masses—for the capitalist class, whose government it is, is entirely parasitic, reactionary.

Andrew W. Mellon rolled into Kansas City in his private car, in his vest pocket the decisions which will become the program of the republican convention. Behind Mellon are the greatest bankers and overlords of industry who control the United States and who manipulate its government as though by push-buttons. These finance capitalists will decide or have already decided who the candidate of the convention will be. If it is not Coolidge, that is because these overlords believe that this fish of the white house can no longer preserve the illusions of the masses in the clowning which is called "democratic" government. In all probability it is Hoover—and the question there also is whether or not this ideal chief strike-breaker and slave master can preserve sufficiently the illusions of the slave-masses he is to whip.

The republican party convention is the convention of the highest bureaucrats on the payroll of the biggest bankers and trust magnates. It may not be feasible to keep this set of republican bureaucrats in office, even with the selection for the vice-presidency of a scavenger-politician of the West who has made a profession of playing "farmers' friend." And if it is not feasible—then this set of bureaucrats will largely pass out of active service in the governing apparatus, and another set of servants of the same masters—the democratic party, will obtain the job of suppressing the masses of the United States and conquering the world for the same ruling class.

Since 1860 no political party has ever won a national election in the United States except that party that had the largest campaign corruption fund. This has usually been the republican party. The only instances when the democratic party carried a national election were also, the only instances in which the largest bankers and industrialists turned their contributions mainly to the democratic party instead of the republican.

The republican convention is busy trying to carry out the orders of the masters back in Wall Street so skillfully as to preserve the blind faith of the working class and the agricultural population in the government of Wall Street which is rapidly strangling that population.

If the republican convention, under Mr. Mellon's guidance and with the help of a few Curtises, can't do it, the masters will fall back on Al Smith for four years of service just as good.

A plague on both of the political houses of Wall Street!
Vote Communist!

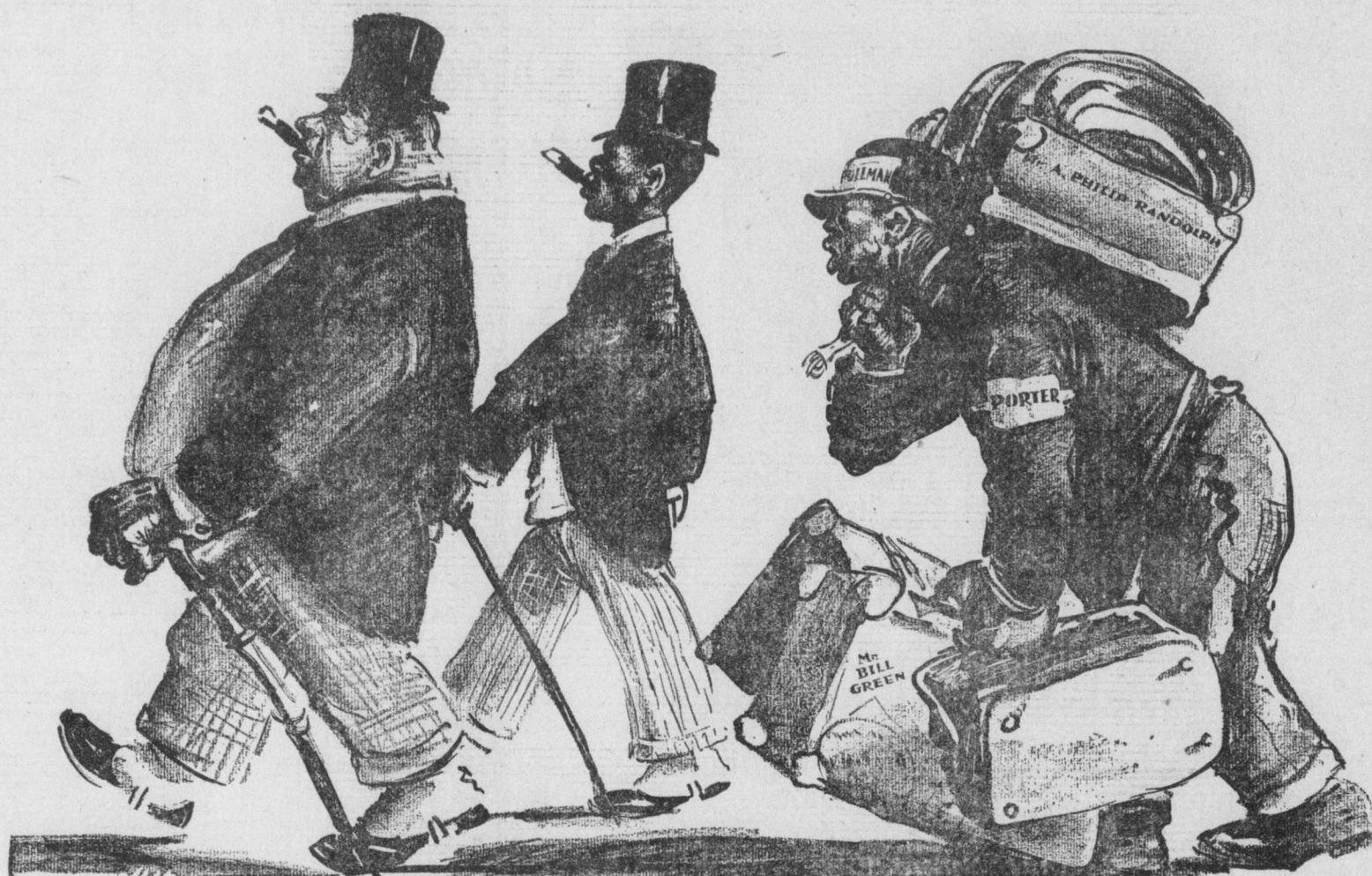
HISTORY

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

*The pendulum swings so far, and then
Return on itself it must,
And the moment comes when the beggars ride
And the kings lie in the dust.*

*Ever and ever the clock strikes one
After the longest hour,
And the whirlwinds of revolution sweep
The workers into power!*

"NO STRIKE, GEORGE, THIS IS THE HIGHER STRATEGY OF LABOR." By Fred Ellis



PULLMAN PORTER: "Yes, Mr. Green and Mr. Randolph, but I am going to have something to say about this!"

Score Pullman Strike Betrayal

Statement of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party

The strike of the Pullman porters was called off by leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The movement of the Pullman porters, which created the largest single trade union of Negro workers, is of great significance, and the betrayal of the militant strike movement of these Negro workers is of great import for the whole labor movement and for the entire working class of this country.

The very existence of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters belies the slander of the corrupt white bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor that Negro workers cannot be organized. The splendid fighting spirit shown by the practically unanimous strike vote of the organized Pullman porters is a flaming indictment of the Randolph-Webster leadership of the Brotherhood and of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. which choked the strike before it could develop.

Is the Strike Necessary?

The conditions of the Pullman porters are unbearable. They work 400 hours a month. The wealthy Pullman Company forces the porters to work under a disgraceful, humiliating tip system. A fight against the 13-hour day and for the establishment of an 8-hour day, a struggle against the tip system and for the establishment of decent wages is an imperative, pressing necessity for the Pullman porters.

Determined struggle—strike—is the order of the day for the workers on the Pullman cars. Only by means of a powerful mass organization, of a militant leadership, of a fighting policy will the Pullman porters be able to extract any improvement of their conditions and the recognition of their union from the Pullman capitalists.

The Treachery of the White Bureaucracy.

The organization of the Pullman porters is handicapped in many respects in entering into the struggle with the Pullman Company. The Pullman Company is one of the most powerful trusts in this country, follows the most ruthless open-shop policy, and applies the most brutal, crushing methods against the railroad workers. The unification of all trade unions of the railroad workers and the organization of the unorganized railroad workers is necessary to combat the powerful Pullman Company. The craft organization of the sixteen "standard" railroad unions are unable to carry on a really successful struggle against the centralized Pullman capitalists. The trade union bureaucracy within and without the A. F. of L. is responsible for the criminal split of the railroad workers and for the unorganized status of the overwhelming majority of the slaves of railroad capital. The white prejudices of the labor aristocracy and its corrupt leadership are responsible for the fact that the Negro railroad workers are excluded from the trade unions of the white railroad workers.

Narrow-minded craft and race prejudices are the leading principles of the "standard" railroad trade unions. But it must be stated that the present Randolph-Webster leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters shares the responsibility with the white bureaucracy of the railroad unions. The Randolph-Webster leadership did not make any serious effort to combat the craft and race prejudices of the white labor aristocracy. Quite the contrary. They ac-

cepted craft isolation and accepted race segregation. The basic shortcomings of the organization of the Pullman porters are that it is a craft organization and that it never put up a sincere struggle against race segregation.

Strike Bluff or Strike Struggle.

The strike call issued by the present Randolph-Webster leadership of the organization was not for a moment meant seriously. It was only a bluff. It was only a speculation on the Watson-Parker law. It tried to induce President Coolidge to declare a state of "emergency" and set up a committee for arbitration. The treachery of the Randolph-Webster leadership consists in the fact that they want to build a movement based on the "emergency" of the capitalist railroads instead of basing the movement on the emergency of the dire situation of the Pullman porters. The present leadership of the Pullman porters called for the "intervention" of President Coolidge and the capitalist government instead of calling for the solidarity of all railroad workers. They based their strategy on the infamous Watson-Parker law, which institutes compulsory arbitration and makes all strikes illegal for the railroad workers. The present leadership of the Pullman porters has only played with the weapon of the strike, using it only as a bluff, and did not make serious preparations for a determined strike struggle. Randolph and Webster are the accomplices of Green and the other corrupt leaders of the white labor aristocracy. The wire of Mr. Green, advising the Pullman porters to call off the strike, was pre-arranged and is but a miserable alibi for Randolph and Webster. The present leadership of the Pullman porters is no better than the leadership of the white labor aristocracy. They accept the craft isolation, race segregation, and no-strike policy of the A. F. of L.

The Pullman porters must realize that the calling off of the strike and its "indefinite" postponement constitute a serious defeat and endanger

the very life of the union. The powerful Pullman Company will now begin a merciless drive of extermination against the union. The policy of the Pullman porters must be: industrial union, solidarity of the Negro and white railroad workers, organization of the unorganized, and militant, sincere strike preparations.

The Communist Party and the Negroes.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America considers it its duty to expose the treachery of the corrupt bureaucrats of the white labor aristocracy and to fix responsibility on the Randolph-Webster leadership of the Pullman porter organization.

The Communist Party considers the organization of the Negroes into trade unions as one of its foremost historic duties. In the existing trade unions it fights for the admittance of Negro workers. If the white labor bureaucracy refuses to admit Negroes, the Communists help to form new Negro trade unions. At the same time we fight for the principle: One trade union for each industry for white and Negro workers.

The Communist Party proposes to organize inter-racial committees on trade lines for the purpose of organizing Negro trade unions and to work for the solidarity of Negro and white workers. The Communist Party demands the immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negro workers. We fight for equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers.